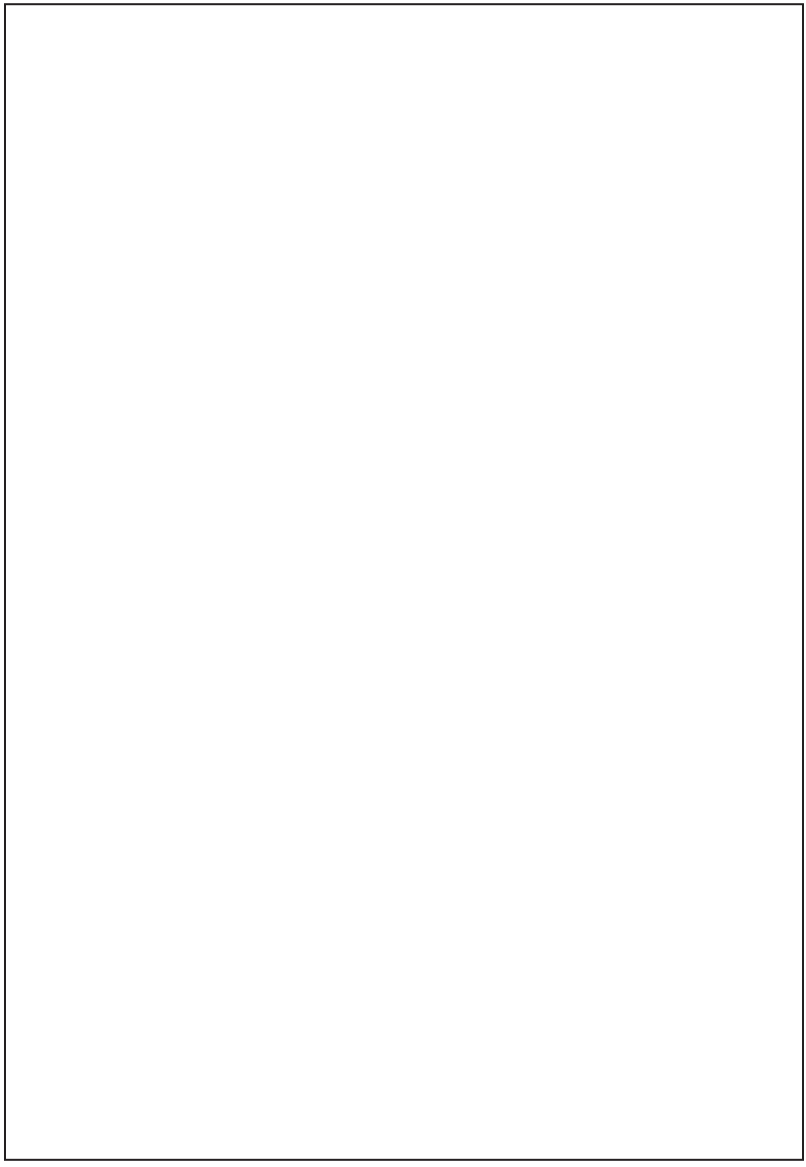

Photographer: John L. Bechet

Msgr. Robert Frederick Trisco
(1929–2023)

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In Memoriam

A Life in the Service of Church History

By
Robert Frederick Trisco
(as told to Nelson H. Minnich)

Robert Frederick Trisco was born on 11 November 1929, the son of Richard Edward Trisco (1893–1981) and Harriet Rose Hardt (1902–52). His father was a construction superintendent who earlier worked as a carpenter foreman on large buildings for commercial, governmental, and industrial agencies (department stores, airports, etc.). Robert grew up in the Ravenswood neighborhood on the North Side of Chicago in the parish of Queen of the Angels, where he attended grammar school (1935–43). His family lived in and owned an apartment building. He was an only child and enjoyed going to the local library, where he was an avid reader, and to the museums and the planetarium. Over the years, he tried various sports, even taking lessons in golf, but the sport he liked best was swimming. In his parish he was a server at Mass. The Dominican sisters who taught him encouraged him to become a Dominican priest. On graduating from Queen of the Angels, he decided to study for the diocesan priesthood. His father had hoped he would become a medical doctor, but did not stand in the way of his clerical vocation. Robert attended Quigley Preparatory Seminary (1943–48), living at home and taking the subway and elevated to school. He did his high school and first year of college studies there, graduating in 1948. It was reported in the Seminary's publication *The Candle* (vol. XXIV, nr.14, April 13, 1946): "Robert Trisco of 3C with the almost unbelievable average of a 100 led the school in studies, when report cards were passed out last week." While a student at Quigley, Robert attended a performance of Giuseppe Verdi's *Aïda* at the bandshell in Grant Park. He fell in love with opera, especially *bel canto* music, and

started to go to the Chicago Lyric Opera. For the rest of his life, he looked for opportunities to frequent the opera. On graduating from Quigley in 1948, he moved on to St. Mary of the Lake Seminary in Mundelein, Illinois, where he received a BA in 1951, after studying philosophy for three years, being taught mostly by Jesuits. His parents could visit him once a semester.

Around graduation time, the rector called him aside to ask if he would be willing to study theology in Rome. For thirty years, no seminarian from the Chicago archdiocese had been sent there for study, and Cardinal Samuel Stritch, an alumnus of the North American College, was being pressured by his fellow cardinals (e.g., Francis Spellman) to send a student. Robert secured his parents' permission and had an interview with Cardinal Stritch before departing. Robert found the cardinal very fatherly and developed an affection for him over the years. Robert's parents accompanied him by train to New York to see him off at the dock. It would be the last time he saw his mother, who died within a year. She would write to him almost every other day and Robert would reply weekly—he still has the letters. He sailed on the *U.S.S. Constitution* with twenty fellow American seminarians to Naples, where they did some sight-seeing on their way to Rome. The last three weeks of September and the first two of October he stayed at the Villa Santa Caterina, a summer get-away for the North American College, which was located near the papal residence in Castel Gandolfo. It had a swimming pool, tennis courts, a grove of trees, and a view of the Tyrrhenian Sea. It was later sold to Opus Dei, which restored and developed it. In the fall of 1951 Robert began his studies at the Pontifical Gregorian University, living for two years in the North American College located on the via dell'Umiltà (near the University) and in his third and fourth year moving to the new facility on the Gianicolo, which was blessed on its opening in 1953 by Pope Pius XII. While on summer vacation in Switzerland in 1952 he received word that his mother had suddenly died, and was told it would be too difficult for him to return to Chicago in time for the funeral. He received his STB in 1953 and the STL in 1955.

On December 8, 1954, Robert was ordained at the North American College by its rector, Bishop Martin J. O'Connor. [The rector later became nuncio to Malta and held various curial positions. In 1971, Robert traveled with him aboard the ship *Raffaello*, in first class, concelebrating Masses and sitting at the same table for meals.] Robert's first Mass in Rome was a solemn high Mass at the Church of Sant'Agnese fuori le Mura (the titular church of Cardinal Stritch), with his fellow Chicagoan Paul Marcinkus as deacon; his classmate and Swiss friend Hans Küng as subdeacon; one of

the servers was Edward Egan, then a seminarian and later cardinal archbishop of New York; and the archpriest was Msgr. Ernest J. Primeau, the rector of the Collegio Santa Maria del Lago (the residence on the via Sardegna 44, for post-graduate priests from the Chicago archdiocese studying in Rome, founded in 1934 by Cardinal George William Mundelein because the accommodations in Rome for priests of his diocese were inadequate. The three-floor house had an apartment for the cardinal while he was in Rome that was otherwise occupied by Msgr. Andrew Landi. The building was later sold by Cardinal John Patrick Cody and today it houses a bank). Robert's father and step-mother, Helen Bilstein (a cousin of his mother), were in attendance. In July of 1955, Robert finished his studies at the Gregorian University, receiving the STL degree. He was awarded a *bene merenti* medal in recognition of his outstanding academic record at the Gregorian that was later mailed to him. After final examinations, he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Lebanon, Egypt, and Greece with classmates and others organized by the Franciscan Commissariat for the Holy Land. On Robert's return to Chicago in August of 1955, he celebrated his first Mass in the diocese. Cardinal Stritch told him to stay with his parents to rest and catch up on family matters.

Cardinal Stritch decided that Robert should go back to Rome for doctoral studies. He left it up to Robert to choose the field. Because the diocese already had an abundance of theologians and canonists, Robert thought he could be of best service if he trained as a church historian. Msgr. Harry C. Koenig, who had an STD from Mundelein but had studied Christian archeology in Rome, taught church history and served as librarian at Mundelein, and he would need a successor. Robert proposed to the cardinal that he study church history and his proposal was approved. Robert sailed back to Italy aboard the *Andrea Doria* to Naples and took up residence at the Collegio Santa Maria del Lago. There he met guests who came to meals, including Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani, who was a friend of Primeau. Msgr. Andrea P. Landi of Brooklyn, who also resided there and was head of Catholic Relief Services in the Mediterranean Basin, likewise brought numerous guests to dinner at the "Chicago House." At the Gregorian University Robert followed the prescribed courses in church history, receiving his Hist. Eccl. L. in 1957 and his Hist. Eccl. D. in 1962. He never had the opportunity to take a course in American church history, because it was not offered. He chose as his dissertation director the only faculty member who had some expertise in American church history, the German Jesuit Ludwig Hertling, who published in 1954 by the Morus-Verlag in Berlin the 333-page *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten*. Robert had difficulty deciding on what topic to write.

Koenig advised Robert to join the American Catholic Historical Association, which he did, and Robert then wrote to its secretary, Msgr. John Tracy Ellis, for advice. He mentioned to him that he would be spending the two summer months at the Church of Our Lady of the Assumption and St. Gregory on Warwick Street in downtown London. Archbishop Martin O'Connor had suggested to Robert that he needed some pastoral experience, and through the good office of the American Apostolic Delegate in Great Britain, Archbishop Gerald P. O'Hara, he found him this position. On his way to England, Robert spent four days at Bayreuth, where he attended a performance of Richard Wagner's *Ring* cycle. When he arrived in London, he found that the church on Warwick Street had few resident parishioners, for it was in a commercial area and serviced mostly those who came there for Mass and confessions on weekdays. When Ellis came to London that summer, he invited Robert to dinner at his hotel, where he suggested that Robert study the issue of the juridical status of the Jesuits who provided pastoral care to the American colonists before the establishment of a diocese. Robert checked the archives of the Westminster Archdiocese where he found little material on the American colonies that had not already been utilized by scholars. Ellis was so impressed by Robert that, with authorization from university officials and the Department of History, he went personally to Cardinal Stritch to request that he release him to join the History Department at the Catholic University of America. A faculty member there, Father Henry [Harry] J. Brown, a priest of the archdiocese of New York, suggested to Robert that he work in the archives of the Propaganda Fide in Rome. Because of the one-hundred year rule, they were open only up to the 1850s. Robert decided to study how the papacy dealt with the nascent church in the old Northwest: Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Missouri in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Robert sent a draft of his dissertation to Ellis to read and suggest any revisions. In June of 1959, Robert defended his dissertation orally. In a revised form it was published in 1962 as volume 125 in the series *Analecta Gregoriana* by the Gregorian University Press in Rome as *The Holy See and the Nascent Church in the Middle Western United States, 1826–1850*, pp. xii, 408. While working on the dissertation Robert spent part of his summers outside Rome: in 1957 taking the *cours d'été* at the Institut Catholique de Paris as a *boursier du Gouvernement Français* and visiting the village of Ste. Jean d'Arc, and in 1958 at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, studying German literature while living with a German family and taking his meals at the nearby parish rectory. While in Paris in 1957 he learned that Cardinal Stritch was flying there, and so he went to the airport to welcome him on the tarmac. A representative of the nuncio to France was also there and he invited the car-

dinal and Robert to dinner at the nunciature. Stritch later invited Robert to his hotel, where they discussed the position at Catholic University. The cardinal asked Robert if he wanted to accept the post. Robert had visited the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in 1948, but had not taken notice of the adjacent university. Robert told the cardinal that he would follow his advice. Stritch replied, "I think you should go." When the cardinal left Paris by train, Robert accompanied him to the station. On parting, the cardinal leaned out the window to tell him, "Don't worry about arrangements at the university, Sonny. I'll take care of them for you."

In May of 1958 while Robert was still in Rome, he became part of the team that cared for Cardinal Stritch, who had been appointed Pro-Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, and while on board the ship to Italy had experienced an occlusion in his right arm. Robert and Primeau met the ship in Naples and brought the cardinal to a hospital in Rome, where the doctors amputated the cardinal's arm. Robert would visit him regularly in the clinic, reading to him. Eventually Stritch was brought to the Chicago House, where he tried to learn to eat with his left hand. But he experienced a heart attack and was returned to the clinic. In the middle of the night, Robert was told that the cardinal was near death. He rushed to his bedside to be with him at the end. The funeral was in the Church of Sant'Ignazio, which Robert attended. Because Stritch had given permission to Robert to teach in Washington, it was not clear if the new archbishop of Chicago would agree to this arrangement. Trisco wrote to Cardinal Albert Meyer explaining the situation and asked him if he still wanted Robert to go to Catholic University. Meyer checked the previous correspondence of Stritch and told Robert to go. Before departing Rome, he was given an audience (*baciamano* or "kissing the hand") with Pope John XXIII through the good offices of Msgr. Primeau. Robert seized the opportunity to say that it would be good if the archives for the pontificate of Pius IX were opened to scholars. To which Pope John responded: "Anch'io sono di questo parere."

In September of 1959 Robert took up his position at the Catholic University of America. His room was on the north side of the fourth floor of Caldwell Hall, facing west, with his meals in Curley Hall, where he was assigned a place at the table of Msgr. Aloysius Ziegler, a priest from Milwaukee who was head of the History Department. Over the years he also had among his assigned table-mates Father Meletius Wojnar, a Ukrainian, who on occasion would experience epileptic seizures during meals and go silent, but then return to normal. Another assigned dining companion was Father Bernie Deutsch, who would tease Robert because he was an alumnus of the

North American College. This stopped when Father Deutsch suddenly left to marry. Robert would celebrate morning Mass in the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, and he was on hand when in November of 1959 the upper church was dedicated. The History Department was housed in offices in the southwest corner of the third floor of Mullen Library, together with the office of the American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA) and the *Catholic Historical Review,* for which Robert was appointed in 1960 as an associate editor with responsibility for the book review and periodical literature sections, having already been appointed assistant secretary of the ACHA at its December 1959 meeting, effective in 1960, becoming the executive secretary (1961–2006, 2007–09) and its treasurer (1983–2006, 2007–09). Robert was appointed part-time archivist (1959–62) and taught the seminarians American church history (to fill in for Ellis, who was on sabbatical). Ziegler also assigned Robert to teach medieval English church history since Brian Tierney had just left the University. In addition to getting up these new courses and working in the archives and for the ACHA and CHR, Robert was appointed to the board of the *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* planning the articles on American church history and being assigned to write the entry on the Second Vatican Council.

When the American bishops planned their participation in the Council, they followed the suggestion of Bishop Primeau of Manchester, NH, and the General Secretary of the NCWC, Msgr. Paul Tanner, that they be assisted by a *peritus* who was a church historian, namely, Robert Trisco. The National Catholic Welfare Council therefore appointed Robert to work for all the US bishops. Robert sailed to Europe aboard the *Queen Mary*, landing in France. He traveled by train to Leuven, where he visited Canon Roger Aubert, who invited Robert to lunch and advised him to keep a diary while serving at the Council—something Robert did assiduously. When Robert arrived in Italy, he offered to teach a two-week minicourse on American church history to the seminarians of the North American College at their summer retreat, the Villa Santa Caterina in Castel Gandolfo. The rector, Bishop Martin O'Connor, was happy to take up his offer. The University declined to pay Robert's expenses at the Council, and the NCWC therefore paid them. Also serving as periti from CUA were: Fr. Frederick McManus, canonist and expert on the liturgy, Father Meletius Wojnar of the Order of St. Basil the Great and an expert on Oriental canon law, and Msgr. Joseph C. Fenton of Springfield MA, a dogmatic theologian. Robert was assigned to the staff of the NCWC whose head was Msgr. Paul Marcinkus of Chicago (who also served in the Segreteria di Stato as a secretary of the Nunciature of the first class) and whose administrator was Msgr. Joseph Emmenegger of Milwaukee, former rector

of the Casa Santa Maria. Robert lived at the Casa Santa Maria while serving as *peritus*. He was assigned to the Press Panel. He attended all the general congregations, which usually lasted from 9:00 am to noon at which he, sitting in a loggia, took notes summarizing the speeches. His years of studying at the Gregorian University, where classes were taught in Latin, prepared him for this task. Initially a rule of strict secrecy was imposed whereby he could report only what was said but not who said it. Paul VI later lifted this rule. Fr. William Keeler of the Harrisburg Diocese also served as a general *peritus*, not being assigned to any particular congregation. Beginning in 1963 their notes were then compiled into a digest that was mimeographed and widely distributed among readers of English. The Press Panel was open every day that the Council met. Given Robert's extensive knowledge of what was transpiring at the Council, he was interviewed for R.A.I. (Italian television) by Giuseppe Alberigo and Paolo Prodi. Robert also served the American delegation by translating the speeches of bishops into Latin, typing them up, and helping the bishops on their delivery. He kept a diary of his experiences at the Council, which became the basis for his article in the *Jurist*.

Initially the council was envisioned as continuing into the spring of 1963, but it was prorogued to the autumn, and so Robert returned to CUA, where he was appointed editor of the *CHR*. Msgr. Ellis had resigned the position. He found himself at odds with the university's rector, Bishop William Joseph McDonald, whom Ellis felt did not esteem scholarship, taking offense at the way he introduced Ellis to a visiting bishop as "Oh, he writes books." Ellis went to the University of San Francisco, where he had friends and where the Jesuits provided him with an apartment. Because Robert had returned to CUA too late to have classes assigned to him, he spent his time working at the CHR with paternal assistance from Dr. Martin Maguire. Robert continued the policies Ellis had set at the journal. The one innovation he made was in the design of the journal's cover, replacing the mono-green cover with one that was white with a different illustration for each issue. In the spring of 1963, his good friend Fr. Hans Küng was touring the States, giving lectures on the Council, and Robert secured for him an invitation to lecture at CUA. During the Holy Week/Easter vacation, they went together to Mexico City and Acapulco where Hans suffered a serious sunburn.

In the fall semesters of 1963–65, Robert was back at the Council as *peritus*. In 1963 he sailed to Genoa and took the train to Trent, where he attended the conference commemorating the 400th anniversary of the close of the Council of Trent, and met on that occasion the famed historian of

the Council, Msgr. Hubert Jedin. In 1965 on his way to Rome, he stopped in Vienna to attend the International Congress of Historical Sciences—thereafter he made it a point to attend the Congress every five years wherever it was held. In Vienna he met his former colleague Msgr. Ellis and another former CUA faculty member and now professor at the University of Vienna, Dr. Friedrich Engel-Janosi, who took them to a local *Heuriger*. Back at the Council, Robert found exciting the exposure to different ideas and the animated discussions. He personally was confident that the reforms enacted by the Council would bring about desirable changes, especially in the area of the liturgy. At the end of the Council, Robert together with the other *periti* was granted an audience with Paul VI, who gave to each as a memento of their service at the Council a copy of the New Testament in Greek. Msgr. Fenton was, however, disillusioned by the Council that did not adopt his type of theology. He resigned his post at CUA and returned to his diocese where he became a pastor.

Back at CUA, Robert was a member of the History Department. He was an instructor (1959–63), assistant professor (1963–65), associate professor (1965–75), and ordinary professor (1975–96). He taught the Catholic and Counter-Reformations, English History from the Elizabethan Settlement to the Nineteenth Century, Modern Papal History from the French Revolution to the First Vatican Council, a three-semester survey of American Catholic church history, plus seminars. Among his close friends on the History Department faculty were Monsignors Ziegler and Joseph Moody, Father Antonine Tibesar, OFM, and Dr. John Zeender. Robert directed over two dozen dissertations (more than his predecessor Msgr. Ellis), mostly on American and English topics, and even one in the Spanish language. If need be, he would suggest a topic for a dissertation and was careful to return corrected chapters promptly. Two of his doctoral students, Frs. Joseph C. Linck and Raymond J. Kupke, edited a *Festschrift* in his honor, entitled: *Building the Church in America* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999), presenting it to him after a Mass in the Basilica at a banquet hosted in the Archiepiscopal residence in Baltimore by Cardinal William Keeler on the occasion of Robert's seventieth birthday. His former student the then-Archbishop of Milwaukee, Timothy Dolan, obtained for him the honor of protonotary apostolic. The diploma announcing this was presented to him in a ceremony during the 2005 meeting of the ACHA in Philadelphia by Archbishop Dolan, with Cardinals Justin Rigali and William Keeler joining in.

In the summer of 1966, after the close of the Second Vatican Council, Robert was invited by Msgr. Theodore McCarrick, the rector of the Pon-

tifical Catholic University of Puerto Rico in Ponce, to give to a university audience a series of lectures on the Council. Robert knew Msgr. McCarrick from the time he came to CUA in 1959 and met McCarrick, then a doctoral student in sociology, living in Curley Hall, and holding the office of Dean of Students. As an administrator McCarrick would sit in a prescribed seat at the administrators' table on a dais in the dining room of Curley Hall. Robert gave lectures not only at the university in Ponce, but also at the branch university in Mayagüez, and at the sisters' College of the Sacred Heart in San Juan. While on the island, he also engaged in ecumenical dialogue with representatives of the Protestant churches there. Years later, in October of 2008, he was visiting lecturer at Peking University.

Soon after the Second Vatican Council, the rector of CUA, Bishop William Joseph McDonald, proposed establishing an institute for ecumenical studies at the university and asked Robert to head it. Robert declined on the grounds that he lacked expertise on the topic. McDonald dropped the idea. He next decided to rearrange the top administration of the university because Msgr. Joseph B. McAllister of Washington, the vice-rector, needed to take a leave for health reasons. McDonald proposed making him now Executive Vice-Rector, Robert Academic Vice-Rector, and Msgr. James Magner of Chicago as Vice-Rector for Business and Finance. The post of Academic Vice-Rector lacked a description of its duties. With the help of Dr. Martin Maguire, Robert drew one up and sent it to McDonald for his approval which was never formally given. Robert presided over the consultative elections of unit heads. When the Board of Trustees decided not to renew the contract of Fr. Charles Curran, Robert was never consulted, but the rector called in McAllister and Magner as witnesses when he told Curran that his contract would not be renewed. This decision set off a faculty and student strike. The Board of Trustees was unhappy with the bad publicity and pressured the Chancellor, Cardinal Patrick O'Boyle, to back down and have McDonald grant Curran tenure. When McDonald's second term as rector expired in the summer of 1967, he returned to the Archdiocese of San Francisco as an auxiliary bishop. He had alienated many of the faculty. Fr. John Whelan of the School of Sacred Theology was appointed as acting rector. Trisco asked his permission to take a course offered by the University of St. Louis for a week in the fall semester of 1967 for university administrators, which he gave, and Robert went to St. Louis. On his return Robert attended the 1968 spring meeting of the CUA Board of Trustees in St. Louis at which Whelan proposed, without consulting Trisco, that his position as Academic Vice-Rector be abolished. It was. Trisco was thus the first and only Academic Vice-Rector in the history of the university. Finding Whelan too devious, Cardinal

Patrick O'Boyle of Washington, the chancellor of the university, saw to it that he was not given a second year as rector. Robert returned to full-time teaching. Brother Nivard Scheel, C.F.X., became acting rector. He had Trisco represent him as an observer in the hearings at which faculty members who signed the letter opposing *Humanae Vitae* in 1968 were asked to explain their position. Trisco said nothing at these meetings, except to point out to a philosophy teacher, the Rev. Dr. Russell Ruffino, that the decision not to renew his contract was made before he signed the letter.

In the early 1970s the University set up a committee headed by Dr. John Zeender that recommended collecting the units that taught ecclesiastical subjects, such as the former School of Sacred Theology, the School of Canon Law, and the Department of Religion and Religious Education in the School of Arts and Sciences, and merge them into a new School of Religious Studies. Together with Cardinal William Baum (the archbishop and chancellor) and Fr. Carl Peter, Robert was a member of the search committee for the new dean. It chose the church historian Colman Barry, O.S.B., of Saint John's Abbey and University. The new Department of Church History was initially administered by Drs. Catherine Cline, Berard Marthaler, O.F.M., Carl Peter, and Robert until its faculty was large enough to have its own chair. Robert was the first member of the department, joining it in 1976. In January 1977 Dr. Nelson H. Minnich was added, and soon after Fr. Robert Eno, S.S., was given a joint appointment, at which time Robert became the department's first chair (1976–78). He was appointed the Kelly-Quinn Professor of Ecclesiastical History in 1999–2000.

Robert served the US Bishops' Conference in various ways. He was appointed a consultant to the planning committee for the Bicentennial in 1976. He recruited scholars to write essays that were published on a weekly basis in Catholic newspapers and magazines. Later he collected them for a volume titled *Catholics in America, 1776–1976* (Washington, DC: National Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1976). A Ukrainian bishop complained to Robert that the volume failed to contain an essay on his rite and wanted him to re-issue the volume with the missing essay. But funding was not available for such a project. Robert was also appointed to the planning committee for the Quincentenary of the Discovery or Evangelization of America. It met in several places including Mexico City during a bitterly cold time in January where the lodgings were not heated. One proposal was to update Joseph B. Code's *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy* (1964), but the Archbishop of Baltimore, William Borders, vetoed the proposal. Instead, the committee commissioned Dr. Christopher Kauffman to com-

pile a two-volume history of the Church in America. Robert served on the Bishops' Committee for Priestly Life and Ministry (1968–71) and produced a lengthy article on "Bishops and Their Priests," which was published first in a volume edited by Msgr. Ellis and later as a separate book. Robert was also the press secretary for the bishops' semi-annual meetings (1969–72). Robert served too on various ecumenical dialogues. He was a member of the consultation with the American Baptist Convention (1966–72) that produced a pamphlet comparing the Baptists' believers' baptism with the Catholic sacrament of Confirmation. When Robert served on the Consultation with the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches (1972–75), he felt at times that some of his Catholic colleagues on it espoused positions more Protestant than they themselves held. He found very pleasant the conversations he had on the Consultation with the Episcopalians (2002–07), but they produced no results. He also served on the section of the Pontifical Council for Promoting the Unity of Christians that dealt with the Orthodox Churches. At its meeting in Emmittsburg, MD, he found that the Orthodox were often in disagreement among themselves so that no agreements with the Catholics could be reached. In addition, the representative of the patriarch of Moscow, Hilarion Alfayev, openly attacked Cardinal George Leo Cassidy over the Catholic Church's effort to have restored to it the property confiscated by Soviet regimes. The Archdiocese of the Military Services appointed him to the historical commission for the cause of beatification of Father Vincent Capodanno, and the Diocese of Raleigh for that of Father Thomas Frederick Price.

Robert's skills as an administrator were highly prized. He was appointed to numerous university committees over the years, e.g., self-studies, Faculty Handbook, budget, appointments and promotions, library and archives, editorial board of the press, etc. For almost a half-century he managed the affairs of the American Catholic Historical Association and served as editor of the *Catholic Historical Review*. Back in his archdiocese of Chicago he was elected a member of the Presbyteral Senate (1975–76). He was approached by Cardinal John Cody to see if he would be willing to serve as vice-rector of Mundelein Seminary, but he declined, feeling he could serve the Church better as a church historian.

Robert was for many years a member of the Pontifical Committee of Historical Sciences. He first came in contact with it during the International Congress of Historical Sciences when it met in Bucharest in 1980. There he met its president, Msgr. Michele Maccarrone, who invited Robert to join the members in a visit to the patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church. During the visit, the patriarch, a tool of the Communist govern-

ment, was asked about providing churches in the new suburbs of cities. He claimed there was no need for them, because many churches existed in the inner city that the faithful could attend. But that was difficult because the government reduced public transportation on Sundays. After the Bucharest meeting in 1982, Robert was invited to join the Pontifical Committee on which he faithfully served until his mandatory retirement in 2009 at 80.

Robert was a regular attendee at national and international conferences on church history. He attended all annual and most of the spring meetings of the American Catholic Historical Association, where he gave his reports as secretary and eventually also as its treasurer, until his retirement. He paid his own travel and lodging expenses and thus helped the ACHA to build up its endowment. In recognition of his extraordinary contributions to the Association, he was awarded the Centennial Award at the ACHA's annual meeting in Chicago in 2019. As mentioned earlier, he also regularly attended the every quinquennial meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences, where he joined the International Commission for Comparative Ecclesiastical History, becoming the liaison for the United States, president of the American sub-commission, and member (assessor) of the Commission's Bureau (1980–2010).

Many of Robert's scholarly publications were the result of requests for them by editors or learned societies. The Pontifical Committee of Historical Sciences, the Canon Law Society of America, the Catholic Theological Association, the Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, NY, the editors of the *Jurist* and *Concilium* and major reference works (*American National Biography*, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, *Dictionary of American History*, *Encyclopedia Americana*, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, etc.), in addition to leading scholars such as Hubert Jedin and Giuseppe Alberigo, all requested from him contributions to their publications. He was considered an expert on such topics as bishops: procedures for choosing them, synods and annual meetings, relations with their canons and clergy and laity; priestly life and ministry; and particular prelates. For the Folger conference on Carlo Borromeo, he prepared a paper tracing the cardinal's relationship to the Council of Trent. On the request of Cardinals Pio Laghi and Achille Silvestrini, he examined the private papers of Cardinal Amleto Giovanni Cicognani preserved in the diocesan archive at the seminary of Faenza. Cardinal Laghi got Robert permission to use this material. While Robert was working in Faenza, Cardinal Laghi came to the city and addressed a congregation in the cathedral celebrating the feast of the Madonna delle Grazie. He told his listeners

that there was a scholar in the audience, Robert Trisco, who would tell Americans how devoted to Mary the people of Faenza were. Later Alberigo asked Robert to present a paper at a Bergamo conference on the relationship between Cardinal Cicognani and Pope John XXIII. Diplomatic relations between the Vatican and America were the study of two of his articles: a history of the construction during the Depression of the expensive building housing the Apostolic Delegation (later nunciature) in Washington (1994) and the relationship between the State Department and the Apostolic Delegation during World War II (2003).

One of Robert's more popular publications was his *A Guide to American Catholic History* (1982), co-edited with Msgr. John Tracy Ellis. Msgr. Peter Guilday had a long-standing desire to see such a publication. His last doctoral student, Father John Paul Cadden, O.S. B., had written a dissertation on American Catholic historiography that included a substantial bibliography. On Guilday's urgings Father Cadden planned to enlarge and publish it, but was taken away from academic pursuits when he became a military chaplain during World War II. Msgr. Ellis then took up the task, publishing in 1947 his *A Select Bibliography of the History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. It was revised as *A Guide to American Catholic History* (1959). Two decades later Ellis asked Robert to help produce a newly revised, updated, and enlarged, second edition. Robert combed various bibliographies for materials missing in the earlier editions and for works that had been published since them. The new edition was jointly published in 1982 by the American Bibliographical Center of Santa Barbara, California, and by Clio Press of Oxford, England.

Two of the topics Robert investigated on his own initiative both related to his home diocese of Chicago. For the Ellis *Festschrift*, of which he was a co-editor, he studied the origins of the Independent Polish National Church in the parish of St. Hedwig on Chicago's Northside (1985). To deepen an understanding of the factors that led to this schismatic church, Robert went to Rome and sought access to the relevant documents in the archives of the Propaganda Fide. Because these were closed for the pontificate of Leo XIII, Robert initially sought a special access permission from the secretary of the Congregation for the Evangelization of the Peoples, Archbishop Sergio Pignedoli, who politely insisted on following the rule. Robert mentioned his difficulty to his friend Archbishop Paul Marcinkus who obtained from the pope's secretary, Msgr. Ettore Macchi, a letter requesting that the secretary make an exception for Robert. When Robert returned to the archives, its archivist, Fr. Josef Metzler, told him that the secretary would like to see him. In a cold and almost sarcastic tone of voice,

Archbishop Pignedoli informed Robert that he now had permission to look at the pertinent documents in the archives. The other Chicago-based article had to do with Cardinal Mundelein, who in a speech on May 18, 1937, condemned Adolf Hitler's religious persecutions and referred to him as "an Austrian paperhanger," a comment that drew protests from the German government with authorities in Washington and the Vatican. He found in the Vatican archives of the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs and the Secretariat of State many documents that revealed the Holy See's handling of the delicate affair. He presented his findings at a conference held at Brown University in October of 2010 and his paper was published in *Pius XI and America*, edited by Charles P. Gallagher, David I. Kertzer, and Alberto Melloni (Vienna and Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2012). For a collection of essays on reform and authority in the late medieval and Renaissance church, he returned to a topic on which he had written his licentiate's thesis back in 1957. With fresh research he studied the proposals of Emperor Ferdinand I to the Council of Trent for a reform of the Roman Curia. Almost 200 printed pages in length, it was more a monograph than a chapter in a book (1981).

Robert's two principal forms of entertainment were opera and travel. He attended operatic performances in such places as Rome, Paris, Bayreuth, Munich, Bucharest, New York, and Washington, and festivals at Castleton (Virginia), Charleston (Spoleto), Glimmerglass, and Glyndebourne. Among his favorite composers were *bel canto* Vincenzo Bellini, D. Gaetano M. Donizetti, and Giocchino A. Rossini and the Romantics Giuseppe Verdi, Richard Wagner, and Giacomo Puccini. He also loved international travel. For many years he would travel with Msgr. Harry Koenig, but when his friend's health failed Robert would join groups organized by travel agencies. He usually took a major trip or cruise every year, visiting all the continents (except Antarctica) and including such places as North Africa, the Middle East, India (four times), Southeast Asia, the Far East, Russia, Latin America—for he had already visited the major and many minor sites in Europe. He was able to do this into his senior years because he kept himself physically fit by regular exercise such as weight-lifting and aerobic exercise under the guidance of a trainer. For over forty years, early in the morning, no matter what the weather, he would walk from his residence in Curley Hall on campus to the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, where he celebrated in the crypt church the 7:00 am Mass.

Among the many honors he received over the years were an honorary H.L.D. from Belmont Abbey College (1992), an honorary membership in

the Accademia di San Carlo (Milan) (1986–), a second *bene merenti* medal (for twenty-five years of service at the Catholic University of America), being named on the recommendation of Cardinal James Hickey, Archbishop of Washington and Chancellor of the University, an honorary prelate of His Holiness (1992), and on the recommendation of Archbishop Dolan of Milwaukee Protonotary Apostolic Supranumerary (2005) by Pope John Paul II. He has been a Knight of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem since 1993 and a Knight Commander since 1998. He received the Founders' Award of the Alumni Association of the Pontifical North American College (2017), and the Albert Nelson Marquis Lifetime Achievement Award (2018) in *Who's Who in the World*.

In his final years, Robert had problems with the veins in his legs. He had some ablated, but then incurred wounds that would not heal. He underwent repeated treatments for the wounds and had twice a week rebandagings. He was forced to wear a boot that his doctor claimed impaired his ability to drive and his driver's license was suspended. He insisted on getting around and would use a walker and even purchased an electric scooter to get him from his residence in Curley Hall to the CHR office in Mullen Library where he regularly carried out his duties to the very end. He left on his desk in the CHR office his unfinished pastings of entries for the Periodical Literature section of the Summer issue and died suddenly in residence in Curley Hall on the evening of July 29.

His wake was held on Sunday, August 6 in the Vincent P. Walter Room of Curley Hall, under the apartment in which he had lived since 1962. He was laid out in in a simple pine coffin he had purchased from the Trappists, wearing his priestly robes with a chasuble decorated with the Cross of Jerusalem, the insignia of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. Cardinal Timothy Dolan, Archbishop of New York and former doctoral student of Msgr. Trisco, celebrated the funeral Mass and gave the homily on Monday, August 7 in the Crypt Church of the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, where Robert celebrated the morning Mass for many decades. He was buried in St. Joseph's Cemetery in River Grove outside Chicago on Belmont Avenue in a grave plot next to his parents, whose graves he had faithfully visited over the years.

As part of his legacy, Msgr. Trisco donated to the Catholic University of America $650,000 in support of the John K. Mullen of Denver Memorial Library and the study of Church History at Catholic University. The majority of this bequest will establish The Msgr. Robert Frederick Trisco Church History Library Endowment. Msgr. Trisco's gift will

allow the University to continue to add to its impressive collection and ensure that future historians have the materials they need to continue his life's work. The remainder of his bequest will be used to process archival materials he bequeathed to Mullen Library, including his personal papers and correspondence, as well as papers from the American Catholic Historical Association and *The Catholic Historical Review*. He also joined with his colleague, Nelson H. Minnich, in establishing the Robert F. Trisco and Nelson H. Minnich Prize for Editing Works in Catholic Church History to be given on an annual basis by the American Catholic Historical Association.

May this good and faithful servant be welcomed into the heavenly paradise where he may see face to face his smiling Lord and and be lovingly embraced by all those he has served so well over his ninety-three years.

Bocche Inutili: Abandoned Children, Warfare, and Civic Religion in Siena

Sarah Loose Guerrero*

This article examines the hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena, Italy during a siege in 1554–1555 to explore two related threads within the historiography of charity: the treatment and perception of abandoned children, and the intersection of hospitals and civic religion in a time of crisis. Dedicated to the Virgin Mary, people viewed the hospital and its children as a reflection of Siena's piety and devotion to its patron saint. During the siege, the designation of the hospital's children as bocche inutili *and the resulting perceptions of the city's failure in its performance of charity towards abandoned children enabled the hospital's rector to use rhetoric around foundlings and charity to protest policy and negotiate resolutions. This incident allows us to see how, during times of crisis, abandoned children, through their physical presence in processions and as objects of rhetoric, could hold an important place in civic religious devotions and discourse.*

Keywords: charity, civic religion, foundlings, children, Siena

Introduction

In early September of 1554, the Italian city of Siena found itself under a second month of siege and rapidly losing ground against the encroaching Spanish and Florentine forces.[1] With promised military reinforcements at least three months away and an insufficient food supply, the city's hope of enduring a long siege dwindled. Siena's governing council, the Balìa, consulted with Piero Strozzi and Blaise de Monluc, the two foreigners heading Siena's defense, and together agreed that the city's population needed to

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1. For an overview of the War of Siena, see Fausto Landini, *Gli ultimi anni della Repubblica di Siena, 1525–1555* (Siena, 1994); Roberto Cantagalli, *La Guerra di Siena (1552–1559)* (Siena, 1962); Arnaldo D'Addario, *Il problema senese nella storia Italiana della prima metà del Cinquecento (La Guerra di Siena)* (Firenze, 1958).

decrease.[2] Accordingly, the government established a committee of four men to conduct a census of Siena's inhabitants. Its purpose: to identify individuals capable of participating in the war effort and distinguish them from those unable to contribute.[3] The committee designated those who fell into the latter category as *bocche inutili*, or useless mouths.[4] This phrase, used in times of war, signified individuals who, through illness, injury, or age, were considered little more than mouths to feed. In this case, the census committee applied the term to a number of elderly, sick, lame, and poor citizens of Siena.[5] The committee also designated a specific group of children as *bocche inutili*: the "innocent little children of the Scala hospital."[6]

Through examining the inclusion of these children as part of the city's useless mouths during the siege of Siena, this article explores the treatment and perception of *abbandonati*, or abandoned children, and the intersection of hospitals and civic religion during a time of crisis. Foundlings have been a natural focus for studies of charity across the late medieval and early modern periods, and although it is often difficult to access the lived experiences of these children, the sources available do allow us to examine how institutions (and the broader public) viewed and treated abandoned boys and girls.[7] Furthermore, scholars have shown how the work of charitable

2. Blaise de Monluc, *Commentaires de Blaise de Monluc, Mareschal de France*, Edition Critique, ed. and annotator Paul Courteault, 3 vols. (Paris, 1911–25, here 1913), II: *1551–1563,* 41, 55.

3. A record of the survey can be found in the Archivio di Stato di Siena (hereafter ASSi); those designated as useful mouths included individuals with professions like stone mason or carpenter, or those who had private stores of money and grain. See ASSi, *Balìa*, no. 955.

4. The phrase is used in numerous documents from the time, including letters and deliberation records, as well as the writing of chroniclers like Orlando Malavolti and Alessandro Sozzini; see Malavolti, *Dell'historia di Siena scritta da Orlando di m. Bernardo Malavolti gentilhuomo sanese, La Terza Parte* (Siena, 1599) and Alessandro di Girolamo Sozzini, *Diario della cose avvenute in Siena dal 20 luglio 1550 al 28 giugno 1555*, ed. Giovanni Pietro Vieusseux (Firenze, 1842).

5. The "uselessness" of these individuals stood in contrast to those referred to as "non-combatants." Non-combatants were non-military who were able-bodied and capable of providing some valuable service or contribution to the war effort. For more on the status of non-combatants see: Christopher Allmand, "War and the Non-Combatant in the Middle Ages," in: Maurice Keen, ed., *Medieval Warfare: A History* (Oxford, 1999), 253–72.

6. This phrase comes from the chronicle of Orlando Malavolti, who made particular mention that among the useless mouths there were many "innocenti figliuoli dello Spedale della Scala"; see Malavolti, *Dell'historia di Siena*, 164. All translations from primary sources, unless otherwise noted, are the author's own.

7. See examples such as: John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York, 1988); Philip

institutions and foundling hospitals often served as a measure of a city's piety and fulfillment of its spiritual obligations.[8] In Siena, Santa Maria della Scala's dedication to the Virgin Mary meant that people viewed the hospital's works, including the care of *abbandonati*, as a reflection of Siena's dedication to its patron saint. By examining the case of Siena during the siege of 1554 this study shows how connections between foundlings and civic piety were employed to navigate communal strain and crisis. The designation of the hospital's abandoned children as *bocche inutili* and attempts to expel them from the city enabled Santa Maria della Scala's rector to use rhetoric around foundlings and charity to protest policy and negotiate resolutions with the government and military leaders. Dismay at the city's failure in its performance of charity towards the hospital's children as expressed in chronicles indicates that such rhetoric was not only used by hospital leadership, but also employed more broadly. Understanding these events in Siena demonstrates that even (or especially) during times of crisis, abandoned children, through their physical presence in processions and as objects of rhetoric, could hold an important place in civic religious devotions and discourse.

Santa Maria della Scala's Foundlings and Siena's Civic Religion

To properly analyze the events of the siege, it is helpful to first provide context regarding the hospital, its children, and Siena's civic religion. By the sixteenth century, the care of foundlings held a significant place among the charitable services performed by Santa Maria della Scala, as attested by various sources.[9] Visual evidence of this comes from several frescoes in the hospital's *Pellegrinaio* (central hall) which indicate that the connections

Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence* (Ann Arbor, 1990); Anne E. C. McCants, *Civic Charity in a Golden Age: Orphanage Care in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Urbana, 1997); Brian Pullan, "Orphans and Foundlings in Early Modern Europe," in: *Poverty and Charity: Europe, Italy, Venice, 1400–1700* (Aldershot, 1994), 5–28. Nicholas Terpstra, *Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, 2005).

8. For examples of this specific to Italy, see the works cited in the previous note, as well as David Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia: The Social History of an Italian Town* (New Haven, 1967), and David M. D'Andrea, *Civic Christianity in Renaissance Italy: The Hospital of Treviso, 1400–1500* (Rochester, NY, 2007). For a comparison between Italy and cities elsewhere in Europe, see Andrew Brown, "Civic Religion in Late Medieval Europe," *Journal of Medieval History,* 42, no. 3 (2016), 338–56.

9. Santa Maria della Scala was a multi-service institution, offering daily alms to the poor, running infirmaries for men and women, providing housing for pilgrims, and taking in abandoned children. A good overview of the hospital and its functions can be found in: Beatrice Sordini, *Dentro l'antico Ospedale: Santa Maria della Scala, uomini, cose, e spazi di vita nella Siena medieval* (Siena, 2011).

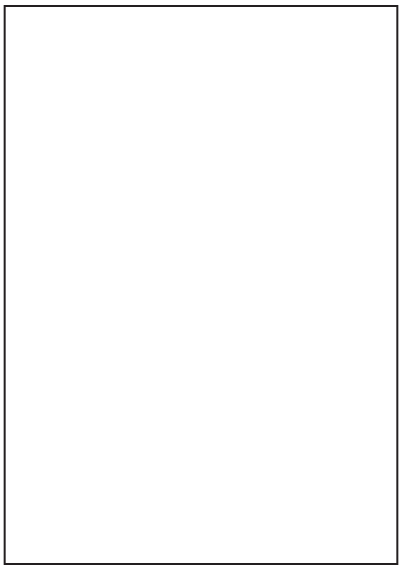

Figure 1. Vecchietta, *The Dream of the Mother of the Blessed Sorore,* 1441, fresco, located in Santa Maria della Scala. Image copyright and permissions by Alinari Archives, Photo Credit George Tatge, Art Resource, NY.

between *abbandonati*, the performance of charity, and civic piety were well-recognized by the fifteenth century. These frescos, commissioned by the hospital administration, communicated to audiences past (and present) the ways in which the institution envisioned itself and desired to be perceived. One painting, part of a series on the east wall detailing the history of the hospital, places abandoned children at the center of its founding (see Figure 1). Records from the eleventh century indicate that Santa Maria della Scala began as a pilgrim's hostel and infirmary, not as a home for orphaned children.[10] However, by the time that Lorenzo di Pietro, known as *il Vecchietta*, painted this cycle in the fifteenth century, the story of the hospital's foundation had altered. As depicted by Vecchietta, the story began not with the Blessed Sorore, the legendary founder, caring for pilgrims and their broken shoes, but instead with a dream given to his mother. In this dream, Sorore's mother saw the charitable work her son

10. The earliest documentation for Santa Maria della Scala is a deed of gift that dates to 1090 and refers to the hospital as a *xenodochium et hospitalis de Canonica Sancte Marie*; for more on this and the early history of the hospital see Michele Pellegrini, *La comunità ospedaliera di Santa Maria della Scala e il suo più antico statuto* (Siena, 2005), 27.

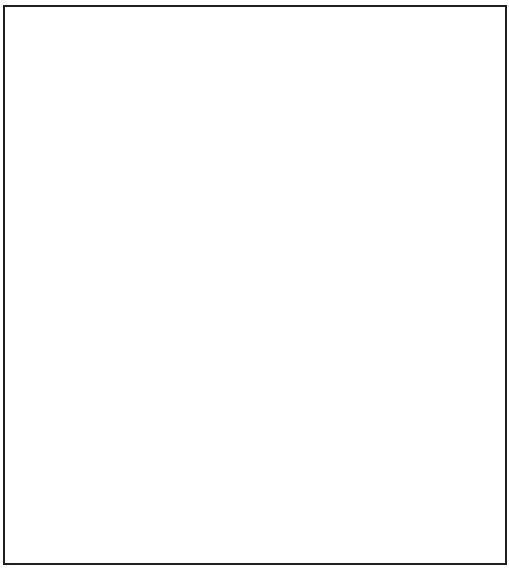

Figure 2. Domenico di Bartolo, *Education and Marriage of the Foundlings,* 1441/1442, fresco, located in Santa Maria della Scala. Photograph permissions by White Images, Scala, Art Resource, NY.

would someday perform, represented by a line of toddlers climbing a ladder to the heavens. Vecchietta's depiction of this dream included Sorore steadying the ladder at the bottom while the children climbed safely into the open arms of the Virgin Mary, who waited at the top.[11] The choice to tell the story of Santa Maria della Scala's founding with an emphasis on the care of abandoned children gave this charitable activity prominence and underscored the important place this care occupied within the hospital's daily life by the fifteenth century.

Another fresco that emphasized the importance of the hospital's *abbandonati* is part of a series on the Pellegrinaio's west wall (see Figure 2). Placed between scenes of feeding the poor and caring for the sick is a fresco by the artist Domenico di Bartolo, crafted to display the array of good works Santa Maria della Scala provided for Siena's foundlings. In the

11. For more on the legend of Sorore see Alessandro Orlandini, *Gettatelli e pellegrini: gli affreschi nella sala del Pellegrinaio dell'Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala di Siena: itinerario didattico su una summa figurativa dell'assistenza ospedaliera fra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (Siena, 1997), 45–46; also Henk W. Van Os, *Vecchietta and the Sacristy of the Siena Hospital Church: A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism* (The Hague, 1974), 1–3.

center, the rector receives a swaddled newborn into the hospital's care; in one corner there are wet nurses caring for infants and toddlers while nearby a schoolmaster instructs children studiously at work. A final scene shows the rector giving one of the hospital's daughters in marriage, complete with a coin purse in his hand, representing the dowry given to the girl's new husband. As a whole, the fresco demonstrates how the hospital received, nourished, educated, and financially supported its abandoned children. It also indicates that raising foundlings was not viewed as a temporary responsibility, but, rather, a long-term commitment. In her analysis of this fresco, Diana Bullen Presciutti argues that di Bartolo's imagery and iconography drew on the medieval artistic vocabulary of the Acts of Mercy and the life of the Virgin Mary. Presciutti states that by using these frameworks, the fresco "envisions the care of foundlings as a lifelong cycle of tutelage," and conveys ". . . an idealized image of foundling care."[12] The imagery and practices displayed in the fresco "make the claim that this charitable work has received divine sanction."[13]

These frescos make it clear that the hospital's foundlings and the care it provided them formed a crucial part of its identity as a charitable institution. What, then, do we know about the hospital's children at the time of the war? Unfortunately, many specifics regarding the children are difficult to gather since the numbers received, names, and ages are found in records rather intermittently until the late sixteenth century.[14] However, it is clear that Santa Maria della Scala took in and raised both male and female *abbandonati*, and records suggest that most of the children residing at the hospital ranged in age from two to twelve years old, with a fair number of teenagers (mostly girls) present as well. As represented in the frescos, infants were a significant group of foundlings. The hospital placed

12. Diana Bullen Presciutti, *Visual Cultures of Foundling Care in Renaissance Italy* (New York, 2015), 52–53.

13. Presciutti, *Visual Cultures of Foundling Care*, 53. For her entire analysis of the fresco, see pages 51–60. Presciutti also analyzes two more of the Pellegrinaio frescoes in her book, both of which depict the payment of Santa Maria della Scala's wet nurses. Dating to the late 1570s, these paintings were created several decades after the siege of Siena but indicate the continued importance of foundling care to the hospital and its charitable mission. See Presciutti, *Visual Cultures of Foundling Care*, 190–202.

14. There are several excellent assessments of the hospital's records and what we can know about its abandoned children during the late Middle Ages; see especially Maura Martellucci, "I bambini di nessuno: L'infanzia abbandonata al Santa Maria della Scala di Siena (secoli XIII–XV)," *Bullettino Senese di storia patria*, 108 (2003), 9–221, and Pellegrini, *"More filiorum*: The Problematic Integration of Young Foundlings into the *Familia* of a Late Medieval Hospital," in: *Adoption and Fosterage Practices in the late Medieval and Modern Age*, eds. Maria Clara Rossi and Marina Garbellotti (Rome, 2015), 85–105.

newborns with both urban and rural wet nurses with whom babies remained until they were weaned, and sometimes even beyond.[15] Infants thus counted as part of the hospital's total number of children, but many were unlikely to reside at Santa Maria della Scala itself. An inventory from 1599 lists the names of approximately three hundred children residing at—and, for a few of the older teenagers, working in—the hospital.[16] In his chronicle of the war, Alessandro Sozzini gave the number of children belonging to Santa Maria della Scala in 1554 as 250, not including infants.[17] Considering these two sources alongside a letter written during the war which claimed that the children and the women who cared for them numbered around three hundred individuals, it is likely that the number of Santa Maria della Scala's foundlings during the 1550s was somewhere between two and three hundred.[18]

The hospital and the individuals who supported it treated the care of these two- to three-hundred children as an important part of Siena's devotion to the Virgin Mary. Both the hospital's dedication to Mary and its proximity to the Cathedral promoted Santa Maria della Scala as a locus of Siena's civic religious devotions. The Sienese preacher San Bernardino once described the piazza occupied by the hospital and cathedral as the face of the city: "I remind you that [the Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala] is one of the eyes of your city; the right is the Episcopate, while the left eye is the hospital. Look how the piazza in between is sort of long, like a nose. Hear me! Citizens, give charitably to the hospital!"[19] The implication that the hospital and the church were observant eyes reminded the people that the Virgin, patron of the hospital and the Cathedral, watched their pious devotions. The association of the hospital with the Virgin was further enhanced by Santa Maria della Scala's acquisition in 1359 of a large collection of relics that included the Virgin's belt. The hospital constructed a new

15. For more on wet nursing and Santa Maria della Scala see Martellucci, "I bambini di nessuno," 93–103.

16. ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Visite 3086, fols. 4r–8r.

17. Alessandro di Girolamo Sozzini, *Diario delle cose avvenute in Siena dal 20 luglio 1550 al 28 giugno 1555: con altre narrazioni e documenti relativi alla caduta di quella repubblica* (Firenze, 1842), 306.

18. ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Copialettere 436, fol. 52v.

19. As quoted in Roberto Parenti, "Santa Maria Della Scala: Lo Spedale in forma di città," in: *Storia di Siena, I. Dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica*, eds. Roberto Barzanti, Giuliano Catoni, and Mario De Gregorio (Siena, 1995), 239–52, here 239. Cynthia Polecritti has detailed how this sermon was given in 1427 the day before another on peacemaking. She states that "The implicit message of these two sermons is that charity unites citizens and protects them from external danger." See Cynthia Polecritti, *Preaching Peace in Renaissance Italy: Bernardino of Siena and His Audience* (Washington, D.C., 2000), 225.

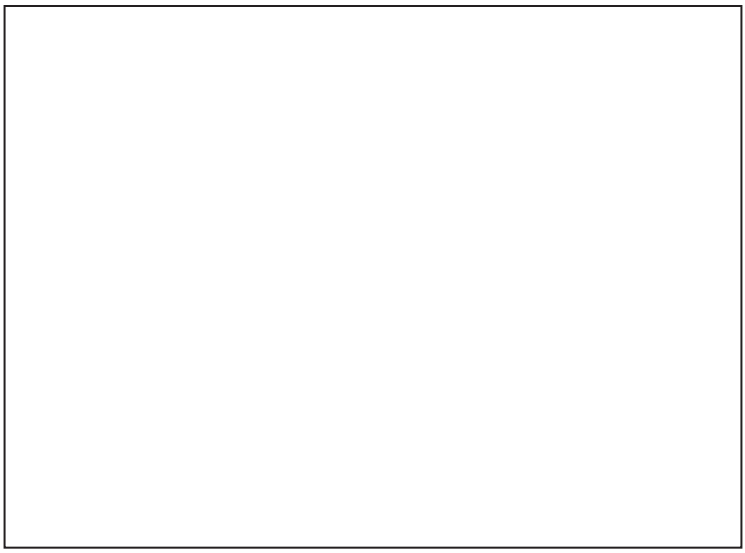

FIGURE 3. Jastrow, *Façade of the former Hospital Santa Maria della Scala, now a museum. Piazza Duomo, Siena,* 2005, photograph. Photographer has released the image into the public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Facade_Santa_Maria_della_Scala.jpg

chapel for the relics and commissioned local artist Bartolomeo Bulgarini to paint a special altarpiece. The new chapel and altarpiece (depicting the Assumption of the Virgin) promoted Santa Maria della Scala as an even more appropriate setting for the city's annual celebration of the feast of the Annunciation, a responsibility given to the hospital in 1359.[20] As part of the festival, participants gathered in the piazza between Santa Maria della Scala and the cathedral to view the relics, lifted and shown through a small window in the hospital's façade.[21]

Leading up to the siege of 1554, Sienese festivals and devotions to Mary based in and around the hospital, its relics, chapel, and foundlings increased.

20. For more on the relics see Anne McClanan, "Bulgarini's *Assumption with Doubting Thomas*: Art, Trade, and Faith in Post-Plague Siena," in: *A Faithful Sea: The Religious Cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200–1700,* eds. Adnan A. Husain and Katherine E. Fleming (Oxford, 2007), 65–75.

21. The celebration of this Marian feast was second only to the feast of the Assumption, the city's primary and most important civic religious celebration; see Diana Norman, *Siena and the Virgin: Art and Politics in a Late Medieval City State* (New Haven, 1999), 15.

Beginning in the 1550s, the children of Santa Maria della Scala, and particularly the girls, actively participated in government-sponsored and mandated devotional processions.[22] For example, in 1550 the Balìa voted that, as an act of devotion to Mary, the city government should provide dowries for fifty young women, half of whom should be daughters of Santa Maria della Scala. In November, this act was celebrated with a procession that included the dowry recipients, followed by young boys and girls crying out "Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us!"[23] Likewise, as the siege began in 1554, the daughters of Santa Maria della Scala participated in two processions, one in August and one in September. The August procession was led by 150 young girls, barefoot, dressed in white, with hair disheveled to indicate their distress.[24] The sights and sounds of the August procession were then repeated in September, when both older and younger girls from Santa Maria della Scala again walked barefoot through the city, singing lauds soliciting peace and mercy that, apparently, reduced the crowd to tears.[25] As John Koenig has argued, processions like these put the "victimization" of these young orphans on display for the entire city and acted as a plea to both Christ and the Virgin for divine mercy as crisis encompassed Siena.[26]

The good will and peace that civic devotions aimed to produce were already growing urgent as war broke out in 1552, initiated by the Sienese

22. Government sponsored devotions as a means of seeking unity became common across the early sixteenth century. From 1525 to 1552 the city government was reformed ten times, and as political debate roiled Siena, civic devotion to Mary was employed to unite disagreeing parties. Between 1483 and 1555 the Sienese re-dedicated the city and gave the keys of Siena to the Virgin on four occasions, a ceremony reserved only for the most desperate times. For more on this see Gerald Parsons, *Siena, Civil Religion, and the Sienese* (London, 2004), 14–15. For more on the political divides in Siena, see Christine Shaw, "Popular Government and the Petrucci," in: *L'ultimo secolo della Repubblica di Siena: politica e istituzioni, economia e società,* eds. Mario Ascheri and Fabrizio Nevola (Siena, 2007), 19–29.

23. John Koenig, "Saving Siena: A Renaissance State's Religious Response to Political and Military Crisis," *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria,* 111 (2004), 40–204, here 170.

24. Sozzini, whose eye-witness chronicle describes the procession, states that it was performed specifically to ask for Mary's intercession; see Sozzini, *Diario*, 275.

25. "Dal Duomo, partì la processione con l'immagine del Crocifisso: avanti a tutti le citole dello Spedale grande, scalze, intonando laudi, com poste per l'occasione da un devotissimo predicatore della chiesa, che chiedevano a Cristo misericordia e pace; era un canto così drammatico, triste e melodioso che strappava il pianto a chiunque lo ascoltasse," Sozzini, *Diario*, 291–92.

26. Koenig, "Saving Siena," 183. Religious processions in general were a common tool employed by city governments to navigate times of crisis. For another example, see Pascale Rihouet's analysis of plague processions in Perugia; see Rihouet, *Art Moves: The Material Culture of Procession in Renaissance Perugia* (London, 2017), 167–226.

rebellion against the Imperial troops of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. The ostensible purpose of the troops, sent to Siena in 1525, was to keep the peace between political factions. In practice, however, the soldiers established an imperial foothold in the city that lasted until 1551 when the Sienese, tired of Spain's presence and interference in local affairs, rose up and drove the imperial force out of the city. Hostilities then commenced between the Sienese and their French allies on one side, and the Spanish with their Florentine allies on the other. As the war progressed, the appearance of Santa Maria della Scala's children and their participation in processions devoted to the Virgin were integral to the spectacle and practice of civic religion. The *abbandonati* occupied this significant space as the sights and sounds of the religious processions emphasized the link between the children, Mary, and the piety of Siena's people.[27] During the war and the siege of 1554, it was precisely these connections that provided a point of protest and source of rhetoric for Scipione Venturi, the hospital's rector, as he sought to negotiate with civic and military leaders. The sights and sounds of the abandoned children also provided imagery that Sienese chroniclers drew on to explain the horrors of the siege and place the blame for Siena's loss of the war on the city's lack of devotion.

The Siege of 1554–1555: *Abbandonati* and Negotiating a Crisis

As rector of the hospital, Venturi's need to negotiate arose from the struggle to fulfill all the demands placed on Santa Maria della Scala. From the start of the war, Siena's military and civic leaders used the hospital as a tool for the city's survival, adding new roles to the institution's usual charitable and civic activities. For the army, the hospital provided medical services and use of its fortified farms outside the city for housing and staging troops. The city government, meanwhile, relied on the hospital's grain stores to supplement Siena's food supply. As Venturi and the hospital's other administrators sought to meet these demands, they continued the usual charitable services, including the care of *abbandonati*. However, adjustments had to be made due to the crisis of war, many of which can be seen in hospital records from the time.

During the early stages of the conflict, one of Venturi's many priorities was to determine how the hospital could best ensure the safety of its foundlings. In addition to making arrangements about livestock and food supply, Venturi prepared for the possibility of a siege by placing more chil-

27. For more on children and the sounds of charity, see Dolly MacKinnon, "Hearing the Poor: Experiencing the Sounds of Charity in Early Modern England," in: *Experiences of Charity: 1250–1650*, ed. Anne M. Scott (Farnham, Surrey, England, 2015), 239–56.

dren than usual on farms and properties in the countryside. Under normal circumstances, *abbandonati* were often sent to the farms, but this was typically done in small numbers, with most hospital properties housing only a few children at a time. However, inventories from the annual visit to the hospital's farms in 1552–1553 indicate that during this year at least fifty-three children were sent from the city to farms southwest and southeast of Siena.[28] The hospital placed these children not only in its own farmhouses, but also with the families of its sharecroppers. For instance, the central farmhouse at Castelluccio, where the farm's administrator resided along with other staff, took in two boys, sixteen and five years old, as well as one four-year-old girl. Then, from among the twenty parcels of land rented to sharecroppers at Castelluccio, seven families took in one abandoned girl each. It appears that officials took into account the family's size when deciding where to send the girls; the seven families at Castelluccio that took in foundlings had between two and three children of their own, while families with five or more children were not asked to participate.[29] Based on the few instances where ages were given in the records, it seems that girls from ages four up to twenty were placed as part of this effort.[30]

Accompanying the push to house more children safely outside the city, Santa Maria della Scala's administrators also planned an unusually high number of marriages with sharecroppers for their daughters during 1552–1553. In the same volume that details the placement of children on farms, record-keepers also identified sharecroppers, or their sons, who should be given a hospital daughter to wed. Officials selected four men farming land belonging to the farm of Montisi, one at Castelluccio, and three men at Cuna, making a total of eight potential marriages for hospital daughters. It is not clear if all of these marriages took place; scribes wrote only brief notes such as "give a wife from the daughters of the hospital to the son of Biagio," implying that these were prospective, but not certain, matches.[31] Records of dowry payments made to the husbands of hospital

28. These included the farms, or *grance*, of Montepescali, San Giusto, Serre, Montisi, Cuna, Castelluccio, Spedaletto, and San Quirico. The number is likely higher than the fifty-three this author has counted, since there are "fanciulli di casa" listed as being sent to Montepescali, but a specific number for this group is not provided; see ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Visite 3066, fol. 4r.

29. ASSI, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Visite 3066, fols. 69v–79r.

30. This is not the only crisis during which children were sent from the city to the hospital's farms; an outbreak of plague in 1523, for example, saw the hospital sending multiple children to reside in the countryside. See ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Visite 3065, fols. 52r, 70r, 92, 118r.

31. ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Visite 3066, fols. 46r.

daughters list only one of these marriages, the union of Jacomo di Giovanni, a farmer at Cuna, with Faustina, in 1553.[32] The hospital's dowry payments paused altogether in 1554, so it is difficult to tell if any of the other potential marriages took place that year. Regardless of whether the marriages occurred, the evidence that administrators sought them out demonstrates a concerted effort to move hospital daughters safely out of the city. In combination with the placement of young children in the countryside, this shows that during the early stages of the war, Santa Maria della Scala's administrators treated the lives of *abbandonati* as a priority.

As the war intensified in the spring and summer of 1554, it was no longer easy to send children out of the city and food supply became a serious concern. Pressure mounted on the hospital as its responsibilities of foundling care and the provision of food collided. From July through August of 1554, the Balìa repeatedly called on Santa Maria della Scala to provide grain from its stores for the public. Deliberation records report that the hospital's granary delivered at least 200 *moggia* of grain to the government in the space of two months.[33] As Florentine and Spanish conquests cut off supply routes, Piero Strozzi led what became the last major food convoy into the city on September 18. Later, in November, the enemy also took the castle of Crevole, ending its use by French troops as a base for blockade activities. These events made it virtually impossible for supplies to reach Siena and only small amounts of food trickled into the city.[34] In response to the situation, Siena's civic and military leaders, led by Strozzi, Monluc, and the Balìa, took steps to control the remaining food supply within the city walls, including the stores of Santa Maria della Scala.

On September 28, the Balìa ordered the hospital to cede its grain stores to the *Uffizio dell'Abbondanza* (the office that regulated the price and sale of grain in Siena) and give the keys of the hospital's granaries to the *Capitano del Popolo* "for the sustenance of the citizens and the use and defense of the city."[35] This order coincided with a citywide search con-

32. ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Sposalizi 1348, fol. 48v.

33. ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Deliberazioni 28, fols. 25v–27v. The moggio was a measurement of volume frequently used for dry goods like grains. In sixteenth-century Siena, one moggio was equal to approximately 872.4 liters. This would make 200 moggia about 174,480 liters or 92,474 kilograms, a significant amount of grain.

34. Simon Pepper and Nicholas Adams, *Firearms and Fortifications: Military Architecture and Siege Warfare in Sixteenth Century Siena* (Chicago, 1986), 130–31.

35. ". . . il publico intende valersi del grano d'esso spedale per sostentatione dei cittadini e utile et difesa del[l]a città. . . ." ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Deliberazioni 28, fol. 28r; also Cantagalli, *La Guerra di Siena*, 333–36, 345.

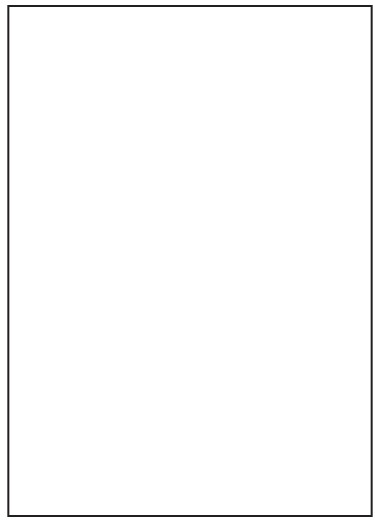

Figure 4. *Piero Strozzi (c. 1510–58), maréchal de France en 1554*, sixteenth century, oil on panel, 12.5 × 8.2″ (32 cm × 21 cm), located in the Palace of Versaille, MV 4069. Image is in the public domain. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Piero_Strozzi.jpg

ducted by the communal government and French representatives to assess supplies and discover any hidden stores the government could appropriate.[36] Additionally, the military claimed sole use of Santa Maria della Scala's medical services for the treatment of wounded and ill soldiers. This order created a heavy burden for the hospital's infirmary, which took in as many injured as possible by placing up to four men per bed.[37]

The requisition of both the infirmary and the granaries represented an extension of government authority beyond usual bounds. Orders to supply the city with grain did not contradict tradition, but requiring Venturi to surrender the granary keys was abnormal. As rector of Santa Maria della Scala, Venturi understood the institution's responsibility to serve the city, but the overworked and under-supplied condition of the hospital raised concerns. In a letter to Strozzi, Venturi articulated the hospital's situation and expressed the difficulty of complying with the Balìa's orders: though

36. According to Orlando Malavolti's chronicle, the search included "case, conventi, e altre luoghi," Malavolti, *Dell'historia di Siena*, 164.

37. Sozzini, *Diario*, 270.

he did not begrudge the government's use of the grain supply, he wanted Siena's leaders to understand that they had placed the men, women, and children of the hospital, who he always referred to as the hospital's family, in a dangerous position.[38]

Tensions between Venturi, Strozzi, and the Balìa only increased with the next step taken to preserve the food supply: the identification and expulsion of the "useless mouths." As described at the outset of this study, Siena's leaders convened in late September 1554 to determine how the city might survive an additional three months until promised reinforcements arrived from France. Strozzi, Monluc, and the Balìa declared that the non-combatant population within the city walls should be reduced from 25,000 to 15,000 and they formed a commission of six men to identify individuals who should be turned out of the city. The commission conducted its census and produced a list of approximately 4,400 names. This led to the first expulsion order and an evacuation of 1,000 people on September 22, 1554.[39] These refugees successfully left the city, but they were the first and last to do so; two days later Spanish and Florentine troops halted another company of evacuees outside of Siena and did not permit them to pass. From the end of September onward, imperial troops forced anyone attempting to leave the city to turn back, and they executed any blockade-runners unlucky enough to be apprehended.[40]

These actions were, of course, part of the opposition's strategy to either starve the city into submission or provoke Strozzi and Monluc into a final fight. The tradition of targeting non-combatants and using them to wage psychological warfare on the opposition was common during the late Middle Ages, though the morality of the tactic was increasingly debated in the sixteenth century.[41] However, Strozzi and Monluc were not to be deterred. Despite the unsuccessful evacuations of late September and the punishment of blockade-runners, the military commanders prevailed upon the Balìa to move forward with the expulsion of more useless mouths. On

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38. ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Deliberazioni 28, fol. 28. Venturi was not alone in his use of family and household language to discuss the inhabitants of Santa Maria della Scala. Such language was commonly used in hospitals throughout Italy. For the example of the Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence, see Phillip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti. 1410–1536* (Ann Arbor, 1990), 143–44.

39. ASSi, *Balìa,* no. 955.

40. Landi, *Gli ultimi anni della Repubblica di Siena*, 194–95.

41. For a succinct treatment of this topic, see Allmand, "War and the Non-Combatant in the Middle Ages," 253–72.

October 4, Strozzi and the Balìa ordered that all remaining *bocche inutili* be turned out of the city.[42]

This time, the expulsion order included the foundlings of Santa Maria della Scala as part of the useless mouths. On the morning of October 5, 1554, Venturi sent a group that reports say included 250 of Santa Maria della Scala's children, ranging from six to ten years in age, to join the departure from Siena. Unlike many refugees in the group, the hospital's children almost certainly had places to go once they left the city. There are no records describing Venturi's exact plan, but earlier efforts to send children to the hospital's farms suggest that these were likely their destination. Unfortunately, neither the foundlings nor the other exiles made it very far. Once outside the city's walls, enemy troops ambushed the caravan just over a mile from the city, quickly overwhelmed their small military escort, and wounded a number of people. The survivors made their way back to Siena and appeared, traumatized and distraught, outside the Fontebranda gate. In his chronicle of the war, Sozzini offered a description of the returning refugees, stating that the sight of the children "thrown on the ground, robbed, wounded, and stricken, would have made even Nero cry," and he estimated that over one hundred citizens perished in the attack. Though phrased for dramatic effect, Sozzini's words convey a sense of disapproval for the events experienced by the children as part of the expulsion, which did actually produce some tragedy. When the returning foundlings were counted, staff discovered that five were missing: two had died in the attack and three had been taken by Spanish troops. Venturi's response to this disastrous exodus was swift and firm. He confronted Strozzi the following day and informed him that unless the army could find a more secure road out of the city, the hospital refused to expel any more children.[43]

While the loss of these children and the failure of the expulsion was upsetting, the experience of the hospital's foundlings in these events became an important point Venturi could use in his communications with civic and military leaders. In his letters, Venturi drew on the suffering of the children and used it as leverage in negotiations over grain supplies. On October 14, less than two weeks after the failed expulsion, Venturi attempted to convince officials to provide the hospital with its full (and

42. The hospital received warning of a potential expulsion in late September, including a visit by two officers of Siena's military on September 28 to discuss the levying of grain from the hospital's stores and the upcoming expulsion; see ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Deliberazioni 28, fol. 28.

43. Sozzini, *Diario della Guerra di Siena*, 307.

promised) allowance of grain. The hospital, he argued, had fully complied with government orders to reduce the number of Santa Maria della Scala's occupants to 300 mouths and to suspend one of the hospital's most consistent and pious charitable acts: the daily distribution of alms. In return for this, Monluc promised the hospital a grain allowance of fifteen moggia per month, an amount, according to Venturi, that was insufficient for the "tanta famiglia," or large family, remaining in the hospital.[44]

In his letters, Venturi used the language of family to add impact to his attempts to bargain. It was common across Italy for charitable institutions to employ paternalistic rhetoric and the concept of family to those within their walls. According to Terpstra, this kind of language "was not empty rhetoric, but powerful" and could be used as "an inducement to action."[45] Furthermore, although Venturi used the term "bocche," he never employed the phrase "bocche inutili." Instead, he referred to "le bocche che si è disegnato cavare," or "the mouths designated to be thrown out." This choice of words seems deliberate: he refrained from calling these mouths useless, only admitting that others designated them so. Venturi always referred to the children as part of Santa Maria della Scala's family, reinforcing for the officials reading his letters that the *abbandonati* were part of the hospital, its dedication to Mary, and its charitable and pious works.

This language and its message of family were echoed in another letter, this one addressed to the enemy: the Marquess of Marignano, a commander of the Florentine troops. Perhaps in anticipation of additional expulsion attempts, Venturi told Marignano that: "I was moved, perhaps through divine inspiration, to plead with you . . . to grant me your permission of safe conduct so that I may securely send all the young boys and girls of this most pious [hospital] between the ages of five and eleven out of the city, accompanied by some matrons to care for them . . . in total about 300 mouths."[46] A grant of safe conduct, Venturi explained, would allow the children to be

44. ". . . io con tutto il cuore supplico a vostra eccellentia che dia subito ordine à Mons. di Monluch che riduca i feriti secondo l'ordine sopra detto a nostri dia sicurta per quanto e possibile di poter cavare della città le boche che si è disegnato cavare . . . dar ordine ch'io habbia quella quantita del grano che e necessaria per il sostentammento d'una tanta fameglia [sic]," ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Copialettere 436, fols. 51v–52r.

45. Terpstra, *Abandoned Children*, 285.

46. "Mi son mosso e forse per divina ispiratione à suplicarla che . . . si degni concedermi permesso di suo salvocondotto che io possi cavar sicuramente fuora de la città tutti li fanciulli e fanciulline di questa piissima casa delo spedale da l'eta di cinque anni in fino ali xi con compagnia d'alquante matrone à lor governo che faranno in tutto il numero d'intorno a boche 300," ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Copialettere 436, fol. 52v.

removed to a place where they might "live more comfortably, to the honor of God and his most holy Mother." Not only did Venturi emphasize that the children of the hospital, through their lives, honored God and Mary, but he also referenced Mary as the "particular protectress" of the "most holy" hospital.[47] Thus, whether communicating with Siena's leaders or those of the opposing armies, Venturi remained consistent in his emphasis on the religious role of the hospital and his portrayal of its children as a representation of piety and charity.

Venturi also employed this rhetoric when he appeared in person before the Balìa to express his discontent with the actions of the government. He reminded the council of the agreement to send provisions and informed the members of his communications with the Florentines regarding safe conduct.[48] Unfortunately, these efforts did not have the desired effect. Ten days later, on October 24, the city government confiscated all the grain remaining in Santa Maria della Scala's storehouses, leaving enough to sustain only two hundred people.[49] This was less than the three hundred people who occupied the hospital, so it was accompanied by a second expulsion order that directed Venturi to turn out the rest of the hospital's useless mouths. These orders seem to have pushed Venturi to a breaking point: he informed the members of the Balìa that if they wanted to expel more children, they could do it themselves and he then returned to his home and declined to have anything further to do with hospital business, essentially resigning from his administrative duties.[50] Clearly, in this instance, the military's demands for food supply outweighed the rhetoric Venturi had hoped would sway the government in the hospital's favor.

Venturi's sudden resignation had a quick impact on the Balìa, which decided to finally intervene with Stozzi and Monluc to ensure that Santa Maria della Scala would receive the grain supply agreed upon in previous

47. ". . . per condurle in luogo dove possino piu comodamente vivere a honor di dio e del[l]a sua santissima madre particolar protettrice di questa piissima casa," ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Copialettere 436, fol. 52v.

48. The word the scribe used to describe Venturi's attitude during this meeting was "scontenta," meaning displeased or dissatisfied; see ASSi, *Balìa*, Deliberazioni 159, fol. 12v.

49. Sozzini, *Diario della Guerra di Siena*, 314.

50. It is possible that Venturi's refusal to follow orders means that this was a forced resignation, rather than a resignation by choice, and later references to the issue suggest that this may have been the case. However, there is no overt evidence to substantiate a forced resignation, there is only an acknowledgement that he refused to follow orders; see ASSi, *Balìa*, Deliberazioni 159, fol. 55r–v.

discussions.[51] However, caught between the hospital and the city's defense, the members of the council also moved to enforce Strozzi and Monluc's orders for yet another expulsion. With Venturi absent, on October 31, the Balìa oversaw the expulsion of forty-five boys between the ages of ten and fifteen years old from Santa Maria della Scala. This small group left the city during the day with no escort and a few possessions, only to be found again at the city gate a while later, barefoot and dressed in nothing but their shirts. The Imperial army encountered them on the road, stopped them, stripped them of their belongings, including shoes and clothing, and sent them back to the city. Confronted with another failed expulsion, the government had no choice but to allow the boys to return to Santa Maria della Scala, which they did, walking two-by-two, as if in a religious procession. In another dramatic recounting of events, Sozzini recorded that the citizens who observed the boys were moved to tears and wept openly in the streets.[52] Sozzini's choice to depict the return of the boys in this way shows that Venturi was not alone in his use of the *abbandonati* as a rhetorical tool to express the seriousness of the crisis and protest the expulsions. Sozzini's description of the crowd's weeping suggests that at least some of Siena's citizens understood what the foundlings represented and were upset by the treatment of the children. This interpretation is substantiated by the way Sozzini relates the events that followed.

In the wake of Venturi's departure, the Balìa authorized the hospital's treasurer to act in his place.[53] But this was no more than a formality since, on November 2, the Balìa authorized the *Quattro del Biado* (officials over Siena's grain supplies) to take the keys to Santa Maria della Scala itself and remove any last grain in the hospital's stores.[54] This left the hospital family entirely dependent on Strozzi, Monluc, and the government to send the promised rations of grain each month. Aside from one disbursement that arrived at the end of October, no additional provisions followed. To avoid starvation, the young girls would go out of the hospital in groups each morning to collect wood and any other scraps they could use to barter for food. Describing these events, Sozzini drew an explicit connection between

51. On October 30, the Balìa petitioned Monluc to send ten moggia of grain to Santa Maria della Scala ". . . per sostentamento in parte delle bocche che stanno nello spedale." See ASSi, *Balìa*, Deliberazioni 159, fol. 51v.

52. Sozzini, *Diario della Guerra di Siena*, 317. See also Cantagalli, *La Guerra di Siena*, 345.

53. ASSi, *Balìa*, Deliberazioni 159, fol. 55r–v; see also ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Deliberazioni 28, fol. 28v–29r.

54. Cantagalli, 345; also Sozzini, *Diario della Guerra di Siena*, 318–19.

the children, the hospital, the Virgin, and the outcome of the war. The sight of these starving young girls troubled the wider public, he explained, especially since the Sienese hoped for the Virgin Mary to intercede and preserve their liberty. According to Sozzini:

> The citizenry were disturbed by the fate of these children of the city, first received and raised in the house of mercy that was thought to be the foundation of the hope that men had regarding the intercession of the Glorious Madonna with her only-begotten Son to liberate Siena from the danger of destruction and now instead, from hunger and from despair.[55]

There are several significant correlations that Sozzini makes here, including his reference to the foundlings as "children of the city" and his portrayal of the hospital as the "foundation" of the city's hope for the intervention of the Virgin on Siena's behalf. Just as Venturi sought to cultivate the image of Santa Maria della Scala and its children as representatives of Siena's dedication to Mary, Sozzini's chronicle does the same. The connections made by Venturi and Sozzini are further supported by the chronicler Orlando Malavolti, who wrote of the "innocenti figliuoli dello Spedale della Scala," and described how, with "inhuman cruelty," they were abandoned and exposed to evils that included enemy attacks, wild dogs, wolves, hunger, and death.[56]

The treatment of Santa Maria della Scala's foundlings as part of the expulsions of *bocche inutili* and its portrayal in these sources suggests the importance, even in times of crisis, of the practice of charity towards *abbandonati* as a gauge for civic piety. Venturi, Sozzini, and others in Siena used the treatment of Santa Maria della Scala's children and their representation of devotion to Mary as a means to protest the importance the government placed on the physical, rather than the spiritual, resources of the hospital. Just as the Sienese ascribed their great military victory at the battle of Montaperti in 1260 to the Virgin's intervention, in this hour of crisis they attributed their struggles to misplaced civic priorities. That the city government and military leaders allowed the starvation of these same

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55. "La cittadinanza era turbata dalla sorte di questi figli della Città, prima accolti e cresciuti nella casa della misericordia che si pensava fosse il fondamento della speranza che l'uomo aveva affinché la Madonna Gloriosa intercedesse presso il suo unigenito Figliolo per liberare Siena dal pericolo di distruzione e ora, invece, alla fame e alla disperazione." Sozzini, *Diario,* 319.

56. Though it is doubtful that any of the hospital's children suffered attacks by wolves or wild dogs, the fact that Malavolti would assert such speaks to the horror felt by the Sienese regarding the treatment of the children; see Malavolti, *Dell'historia di Siena*, 164v. See also Parsons, *Siena, Civil Religion, and the Sienese*, 15.

orphaned girls, who just months earlier had processed through the streets as a representation of Siena's pious devotion to the Virgin, seemed a sufficient reason for Mary to abandon the city.

Conclusions

Drawn out of his temporary retirement by mid-December, Venturi continued using this rhetoric as he resumed negotiations with Strozzi, Monluc, and the Balìa. In his arguments with them over food disbursement and supply, Venturi emphasized the importance of the hospital family (including the children) as a source of religious devotions.[57] Imploring government officials to keep their promise to provide Santa Maria della Scala with sufficient provisions, Venturi constantly reminded them of the hospital's connection to Mary and its role as a religious house. In a letter dated to December 17, 1554, Venturi plead with Strozzi to send grain to the hospital, with particular emphasis on the suffering of its family and its religious role:

> Wherefore, seeing this most religious house in such great extremity, which ought to have hope in God for the preservation of the city, because of the good works and piety on which it was founded, which act as a sacrifice to continually placate the anger of God, I cannot prevent my heart from grieving greatly seeing that I lack the power befitting my office and seeing continually the troubles of the whole city, which cannot be endured without great sorrow. The poor lack places to go, and the sick who come to us daily can no longer be received by the hospital; the abandoned boys are dispersed throughout the city and dying of hunger, while the orphaned girls, lacking bread, remain in danger of death by starvation or some other evil, wherefore I beg and I beseech you that . . . my family and I will not have to die of hunger. . . .[58]

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57. As noted earlier, the author has yet to find any document that fully explains Venturi's resignation and return. Neither the hospital's nor the Balìa's records indicate the exact date of his return to administrative office.

58. ". . . onde vedendo io in tanto esterminio questa religiosissima casa, nella pietà e santissime opere nela quale era fondata (siccome io credo) buona parte della speranza che si deveva havere in Dio per la conservatione di questa città e quasi un sacrifitio che continuamente placava l'ira di Dio, non posso fare che di cuore non mene ramarichi massimamente vedendomi a forza mancare di quanto si conviene all'offitio mio e vedendo continuamente la mestitia e il cordoglio che ha tutta la città di questo fatto la quale non puo se non con gravissimo dolore soportare il vedere cacciare i poveri mandarne via l'infermi che vi erano, non dar ricetto a quelli che giornalmente vi vengono, andare i fanciulli dispersi per la città morendo di fame e le povere fanciulle stare in pericolo mancando loro il pane di morir di fame ò a forza capitar male, onde con tutto'l cuore la prego e supplico che . . . la mia famiglia ed io insieme non habbiamo a morir di fame," ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Copialettere 436, fols. 53v–54r.

Following this description of conditions within the hospital, Venturi insinuated that Santa Maria della Scala's condition was the fault of Strozzi and the Balìa. He reminded Strozzi of the hospital's compliance with all the government's requests and the failure of civic officials to respond in kind. According to Venturi, the grain the city government sent in October lasted for only twenty days and was clearly insufficient to sustain the hospital through an entire month.[59]

Underscoring these complaints, Venturi appealed to the hospital's piety as a reason for its preservation. With the image of cast out and starving foundlings as his backdrop, Venturi called the hospital a "most religious house" and described the righteousness and charitable works on which Santa Maria della Scala was founded as "a good part of the hope that ought to be had in God for the conservation of this city." Through its pious good works, he asserted, the hospital "placates the anger of God," and keeps destruction at bay.[60] Referencing the possibility that Siena might lose the war if the Virgin abandoned it, Venturi argued that by removing the hospital's food supply and largely ignoring its cries for help, Strozzi, Monluc, and the Balìa increased the anger of God and thereby decreased their chances of success. Venturi's description of the suffering of the foundlings depicted them, in a sense, as twice abandoned. Their first abandonment came when their parents left them at the hospital, and the second when the city government and military leaders enacted policies that subjected them to the dangers of starvation and potential death.

With the siege growing more serious and in the wake of the failed expulsions, it seems that Venturi's rhetoric, and the disapproving reactions of Sienese citizens to the sight of the hospital's starving children, finally moved the city government to action. On December 20, 1554, the Balìa held council and formally recognized the sufferings of "the most pious house of Santa Maria della Scala," making special note of its lack of provisions and financial resources. The members of the council acknowledged Venturi's efforts to maintain the institution and voted to exert their energies on the hospital's behalf.[61] Accordingly, they sent representatives to Monluc to discuss Santa Maria della Scala's situation and remind him of

59. ". . . altro che moggia xv di grano qual non bastò a quella famiglia oltre a li xx giorni di detto mese di ottobre. . . ." ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Copialettere 436, fol. 53v.

60. ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Copialettere 436, fol. 53v.

61. Their actions, the deliberation records explain, should be for the good service and restoration of the hospital: "benefitio servitio et reparatione del detto spedale." See ASSi, *Balìa*, Deliberazioni 159, fol. 146v.

promises made regarding provisions for the hospital. On Christmas day 1554, Monluc agreed to pay Venturi for the grain owed to the hospital.[62] Then, in January of 1555 Strozzi and Monluc agreed to raise Santa Maria della Scala's grain allotment from fifteen to twenty moggia per month.[63] These arrangements alleviated tension for a time, but the relief never fully materialized as the siege carried on and the food supply in Siena dwindled. The sum Monluc offered in repayment for the seized grain was insufficient and by February, a desperate Venturi begged Strozzi to send the hospital more provisions, stating that "in your hand rests the lifting of this most religious house from extreme ruin."[64] A few months later, on April 22, 1555, Siena was forced to surrender to the Florentine and Spanish armies and the long siege finally came to an end.

As Siena underwent the crisis of siege, it is clear that government officials, hospital administrators, and citizens like Sozzini understood that the children of Santa Maria della Scala embodied the city's devotion to the Virgin Mary. Despite this, anxieties over food supply led to extensions of government authority and military orders that included seizing the hospital's grain, designating foundlings as *bocche inutili*, involving the children in failed expulsions, and contributing to their starvation by failing to send promised supplies. In response, Venturi, as hospital rector, consistently reminded Siena's leaders that Santa Maria della Scala's foundlings, the hospital's role in civic devotions, its dedication to Mary, and its provision of charity, were critical to Siena's survival. Venturi invoked the conditions of the hospital and the treatment of its foundlings as a means to protest government policies and negotiate disagreements. The sight of starving orphans in the streets made clear to the people of Siena that the crisis of war had altered traditional norms of civic devotion, and Venturi harnessed these emotions and rhetoric in his communications with city leadership.

Venturi's pleas did yield some success and prompted the Balìa, on more than one occasion, to adjust policies and seek to enforce previously neglected agreements. At the same time, where Venturi succeeded in convincing the city government to express concern for the hospital, his rhetoric largely failed with Strozzi and Monluc. Although their repeated removal of food from the hospital and multiple attempts to turn its children out of the city derived primarily from their focus on the military

62. ASSi, *Balìa*, Deliberazioni 159, fol. 161r.

63. ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Copialettere 436, fol. 58v.

64. Monluc offered 250 scudi, but Venturi argued that this sum was less than half the sum actually owed; see ASSi, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala*, Copialettere 436, fol. 58r–v.

aspects of the war, this alone does not account for Strozzi and Monluc's actions. Venturi's petitions did not always sway Strozzi and Monluc because these men were outsiders who lacked resonance with Siena's civic religion, as embodied by the hospital's children. This case, then, is also an example of how civic religion was firmly embedded in particular spaces. Even as the significance of civic devotions heightened in times of crisis, their importance might be recognized, but not necessarily felt, by those outside the community.

The treatment and perception of Santa Maria della Scala's *abbandonati* during the siege thus establishes the importance of foundlings as a symbol of civic piety and suggests that their significance in this role could increase during times of trouble. As scholars continue to study hospitals and seek to understand how and why communities practiced charity in certain ways, it is worth continuing to examine how the bodies and images of recipients of charity, like foundlings, were employed as representative and rhetorical tools. This study also suggests that there is much to be learned from seeking to understand the practice of charity, the experiences of foundlings, and the roles of charitable institutions in times of crisis.

Two Enlightenment Dominicans among the Freemasons in Eighteenth-Century Vienna

Viliam Štefan Dóci, O.P.*

Two Austrian Dominicans, Albert Tschick and Franz Poschinger, belonged to Freemasonry in the 1780s. Although their shared interest in the Enlightenment led them to join, they took different paths as members of the association. The article outlines the brief biographies of the two Friars Preachers, sketches their development as Enlightenment preachers, and presents the Masonic period of their lives in the context of the history of Austrian Freemasonry. It contributes to a more nuanced view of the relationship of the Catholic clergy and the Friars Preachers to Freemasonry in the eighteenth century.

Keywords: Freemasonry, Catholic Enlightenment, Dominican Order, Austria

Introduction

The German Dominican friar Ludovicus Greinemann is quite well known in historical research because of his anti-Masonic sermons in Aachen in March, 1779, which contributed to a temporary closure of the local lodges.[1] His Neapolitan confrere, Gregorio Maria Rocco (1700–82), very popular among the people for his social commitment, is reported to have tried to influence King Charles VII (King of Naples 1734–59) not to allow lodges in his kingdom.[2] It is hardly surprising that the Dominicans

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1. August Pauls, *Geschichte der Aachener Freimaurerei: Die Aachener Freimaurerei in der reichsstädtischen Zeit (bis Ende September 1794)* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld, 1928), 136–39. For additional biographical details see Reinhard Markner, "Ludovicus Greinemann (1737–?)," in: *Handbuch der Verschwörungstheorien*, ed. Helmut Reinalter (Leipzig, 2018), 122–25.

2. José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, *Masonería, iglesia e ilustración: un conflicto ideológico-político-religioso*, 4 vols. (Madrid 1976–77, here 1977), III, 17–18. For Rocco's biography, see *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 100 vols., 88 (Rome, 2017), Pasquale Palmieri, "Rocco, Francesco Antonio Maria."

tried to fight the Masonic movement in various ways, especially after it was condemned by the Bulls of Pope Clement XII, *In Eminenti* in 1738 and of Pope Benedict XIV, *Providus* in 1751. Religious indifference and strict secrecy about the presumably immoral activities of the lodges, which would be harmful to society, were identified as the greatest dangers promoted by the association.[3] Probably, after thorough research, one could compose a very long list of the friars of the Order of Preachers who in the course of the eighteenth century distinguished themselves to various degrees as opponents of Masonry on account of their strict commitment to orthodox Catholic doctrine and the papacy.

An historian, who is not necessarily interested in representations of homogeneous history, is pleased to discover cases that are considered exceptions to a rule and, as such, point to the complexity of a historical reality. For an historian, therefore, discovering those friars of the Order who had sympathies for the Freemasons, even to the point of joining them, is an attractive object of research. The distinguished scholar of the history of the relations between Freemasonry and the Catholic Church, José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, published in the fourth volume of his work *Masonería, iglesia e ilustración* a list of the Masonic clergy of the eighteenth century, in which twenty-seven clerics are explicitly identified as Dominicans.[4] However, at least one such identification is missing: it is the Viennese friar Franz Poschinger (1745–96),[5] who, together with another friar of the Order's Austro-Hungarian Province,[6] Albert Tschick (1741–1802),[7] belonged for a time to the Masonic circles in Vienna. Tschick's and Poschinger's affiliation to Masonry in 1783 can be seen as the culmination of their development as reform-minded and enlightened priests which had begun in the 1770s.

The author of this article places the two friars within the "Catholic Enlightenment," broadly understood in the sense of Ulrich L. Lehner and

3. José Antonio Ferrer Benimeli, "Freemasonry and the Catholic Church," in: *Handbook of Freemasonry*, eds. Henrik Bogdan and Jan A. M. Snoek, [Brill Handbooks on Contemporary Religion, 8] (Leiden, 2014), 139–54, here 139–42. It is important to note the author's reference to placing the papal condemnations in the context of the actions of other European rulers against the Freemasons.

4. Ferrer Benimeli, *Masonería*, IV (1977), 59–180.

5. Ferrer Benimeli, *Masonería*, IV, 155.

6. For the establishment of the Order's province with its official name *Provincia Hungariae,* see Isnard W. Frank, "Zur Errichtung der Österreichisch-ungarischen Dominikanerprovinz zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts und zu ihrer Vorgeschichte (1569-1704)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum,* 43 (1973), 287–341, here 332–41.

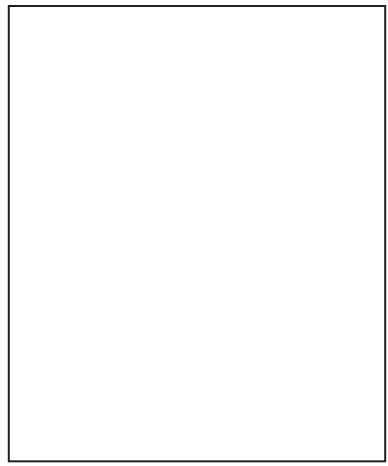
7. Ferrer Benimeli, *Masonería*, IV, 175 (here the spelling: Tschinck).

Shaun Blanchard,[8] as well as Jeffrey Burson:[9] a movement consisting of Catholics who entered into dialogue with eighteenth-century Enlightenment thought and culture in various ways and to varying degrees in order to contribute to the reform of the Church and the improvement of society. On the basis of some of their sermons from the 1770s,[10] both Tschick and

8. Ulrich L. Lehner and Shaun Blanchard, "Introduction: The World of Catholic Enlightenment," in: *The Catholic Enlightenment: A Global Anthology*, eds. Ulrich L. Lehner and Shaun Blanchard, [Early Modern Catholic Sources, 3] (Washington, D.C., 2021), 1–18, especially 10–15. Here, on pp. 11–12, the authors clarify the portrayal of the Catholic Enlightenment as a global movement presented by Ulrich L. Lehner in his book *The Catholic Enlightenment: The Forgotten History of a Global Movement* (New York, NY, 2016), namely that it was not a kind of homogeneous school. In his book, Lehner was essentially concerned with showing that there were people in the Catholic milieu who were striving for a reconciliation between traditional Catholicism and modernity. For other accounts of "Catholic Enlightenment" as a historiographical category, see e.g., Ulrich L. Lehner, "The Many Faces of the Catholic Enlightenment," in: *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, eds. Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy (Leiden, 2013), 1–61; Norbert Jung, "Die Katholische Aufklärung—Eine Einführung," in: *Katholische Aufklärung und Josephinismus. Rezeptionsformen in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa*, eds. Rainer Bendel and Norbert Spannenberger (Cologne, 2015), 23–51; and Jürgen Overhoff, "Die Katholische Aufklärung als bleibende Forschungsaufgabe: Grundlagen, neue Fragestellungen, globale Perspektiven," *Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert*, 41, no. 1 (2017), 11–27. However, the category and recent historiography of the Catholic Enlightenment is also critically examined, as for example in the contribution by Patrizia Delpiano, "Un nuovo revisionismo. A proposito di *Catholic Enlightenment,*" *Rivista storica italiana*, 131, no. 1 (2019), 333–58, or Christoph Schmitt-Maass, Gideon Stiening, and Friedrich Vollhardt, "Einleitung: 'Katholische Aufklärung'?—Möglichkeiten, Grenzen und Kritik eines Konzepts der Aufklärungsforschung," *Aufklärung*, 33 (2021), 7–16.

9. Jeffrey D. Burson, "Catholicism and Enlightenment, Past, Present, and Future," in: *Enlightenment and Catholicism in Europe: A Transnational History*, eds. Jeffrey D. Burson and Ulrich L. Lehner (Notre Dame, IN, 2014), 1–37, here 14.

10. From numerous sermons delivered by Tschick and Poschinger, a few—held on special occasions—were published in print. While four sermons by Tschick are known to have been handed down, in the case of Poschinger there are nine; moreover, there are other sermons of Poschinger from the journal *Wöchentliche Wahrheiten für und über die Prediger in Wien*. All of them date from the period 1773–83. Although a comparison between the two preachers is only possible to a limited extent in view of the different number of sermons that have survived in both cases, it can be said that Poschinger leaves the impression of a more moderate reform preacher whose sermons were theologically better founded. Some sermons have already been studied, e.g., in Viliam Štefan Dóci, "«…das lehret uns der Catholische allein seeligmachende Glaub…» Theology in the Sermons of Austrian and Hungarian Dominicans in the 18th Century," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 115 (2020), 204–34; Id., "Religion, Tugend und Pflicht. Zur Morallehre in Predigten der österreichisch-ungarischen Dominikaner im 18. Jahrhundert," in: *Kulturen der Moral: Beiträge zur DGEJ-Jahrestagung 2018 in Paderborn*, eds. Kristin Eichhorn and Lothar van Laak (Hamburg, 2021), 85–100. On the journal mentioned, see Bernhard M. Hoppe, *Predigtkritik im Josephinismus: Die »Wöchentlichen Wahrheiten für und über die Prediger in Wien« (1782–1784)*, [Studien zur Theologie und Geschichte, 2] (St. Ottilien, 1989).



Fr. Franz Poschinger OP (1745–96), n.d., graphic. Artist unknown. Stored in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Bildarchiv und Grafiksammlung. Reproduced with permission.

Poschinger could also be described as adherents of the philo-Jansenist "Reform Catholicism," "'enlightened' in its way," as portrayed by Dale Van Kley.[11] In light of other sources, however, they also supported Enlightenment ideas that would be considered heterodox from the perspective of "Reform Catholicism" in the Van Kley sense, though perhaps not both to the same degree. Following Harm Klueting's distinction in his article on the Catholic Enlightenment in Austria,[12] perhaps they would have to be called "Enlighteners in Catholic Austria" and not "Catholic Enlighteners."

A broad concept of "Catholic Enlightenment" allows one to talk about the affinity between the Catholic Enlightenment and Freemasonry. In a recent study, Kenneth Loiselle stated that the Catholic Enlightenment "was also a cultural movement where ordinary men and women created institutions like Freemasonry where they could live their faith in ways that

11. Dale Van Kley, *Reform Catholicism and the International Suppression of the Jesuits* (New Haven, CT, 2018), 46–56, here 51.

12. Harm Klueting, "The Catholic Enlightenment in Austria or the Habsburg Lands," in: *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, eds. Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael Printy (Leiden, 2013), 127–64, here 143. This standard differentiation of the scholar can be found recently in Harm Klueting, "Über die Vereinbarkeit von Aufklärung und Katholizismus. Standortbestimmung zur katholischen Aufklärung im 18. Jahrhundert," *Aufklärung*, 33 (2021), 119–43, here 124.

were useful, practical, and individual."[13] In the lodges in France, he underlined the presence of the clergy, and in particular the religious clergy.[14] This was also the case in Vienna, as shown below. In addition, Loiselle highlighted criticism voiced by the Catholic Freemasons of the *philosophes* and their atheistic and materialistic views, as well as the Catholic Freemasons' emphasis on the person of Jesus Christ as the model and teacher of true morality.[15] On the one hand, the critical remark of Loiselle[16] regarding the findings of Margaret Jacob—if the latter would like to claim general validity—that Freemasons at best kept "the residue of the Christian heritage,"[17] is to be agreed with. On the other hand—and Loiselle does not deny this—many Catholic Freemasons, including members of the clergy, moved away from some of what were generally believed to be "the" Catholic doctrines: a good example of this is the French Abbé Claude Yvonne (1714–91), who became a founding member of the lodge *Concordia Vincit Animos* in Amsterdam during his exile there from 1752 to 1762.[18] Whether this was actually the case with Poschinger and Tschick is difficult to say. In any case, there is a connection between their sympathies for reform ideas, which called for a reasonable Christianity and its practical and useful contribution to society on the one hand, and their affiliation with Masonry, which saw its task in working for moral perfection and the happiness of universal humanity, on the other hand.

Enlightened Preachers

The surviving sources allow for more or less brief biographical sketches of the two Dominicans. In particular, based on some of their preserved sermons delivered in the course of their priestly ministry, a development and intensification of the Enlightenment attitude in both of them can be observed.

The older of the two, Albert Tschick (another spelling found in the sources: Tschigg) was born on April 20, 1741 in Burgau in Styria and bap-

13. Kenneth Loiselle, "Freemasonry and the Catholic Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century France," *The Journal of Modern History*, 94, no. 3 (2022), 499–536, here 533.

14. Ibid., 503 and 505.

15. Ibid., 514–16. On the defense of the Christian character of Masonry by Baron Louis Théodore-Henri de Tschoudy (1727–69) and Joseph de Maistre (1754–1821), see Jérôme Rousse-Lacordaire, *Rome et les Francs-Maçons. Histoire d'un conflit* (Paris, 1996), 70–74. Rousse-Lacordaire pointed out that de Maistre, unlike Tschoudy, was ready to accept papal authority on the question of Masonry.

16. Loiselle, "Freemasonry and the Catholic Enlightenment," 534.

17. Margaret Jacob, *The Secular Enlightenment* (Princeton, 2019), 4.

18. Jeffrey D. Burson, *The Culture of Enlightening: Abbé Claude Yvon and the Entangled Emergence of the Enlightenment* (Notre Dame, IN, 2019), 125–40.

tized on the same day with the name Franz Xaver.[19] He was admitted to the Order as *filius* of the convent in Graz and, after completing the novitiate, he made his profession on October 24, 1760.[20] After his ordination to the priesthood, Tschick carried out higher studies at the *studium generale* in Graz; according to the provincial catalogue of 1767, he was *studens formalis* at that time.[21] In 1767 the Provincial appointed him as the festival preacher at the Dominican convent in Leoben in Styria.[22] Tschick later returned to Graz when he was appointed as a regular preacher at the Dominican nunnery of St. Leonhard in 1772.[23] His oldest preserved sermon comes from the time he held this office. It was delivered on June 29, 1773 in the parish church in Graz in honor of St. Peter the Apostle. Among other things in this sermon, Tschick spoke of Peter's denial of Jesus: this sin, that is, the experience of his own weakness, was an important lesson for Peter. Peter had to acknowledge that he was dependent on divine grace and needed God's forgiveness. Thus, the future chief shepherd learned that he had to have patience and love in dealing with sinners.[24] It is remarkable how the preacher used the story of Peter to urge the audience to be patient with the weak, sinful members of the clergy.

> The loftiness of our state, the excellencies of our character, the Lord, God, who has sanctified us in an excellent anointing; all command us to be examples of salvation. However, have we become angels through the laying on of holy hands? Are we by our anointing, here among the throng of the wicked, in grace, without more possible falls, as there, the fortresses of Zion, immovably established? Do we not always, like you, mockers, yourself, carry around the human being in our bosom? Duties increased by the sanctity of our state give you the right to demand their fulfillment at our hands; but are not danger and occasions of falls more possible where those are more numerous? And, if the worldly man who has sinned deserves pity, can the cleric be contemptible to your evil eyes?

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19. *Regestum provinciae Hungariae fratrum Praedicatorum inchoatum 28. Aprilis 1765 sub provincialatu admodum reverendi ac eximii P. Fr. Antonini Thuille*, stored in Vienna, the Dominican Convent Archives (hereafter referred to as DCA), Bücher Nr. 55, fol. 102r; *Liber baptizatorum ad parochiam in Burgau ab anno 1720*, stored in Graz, Archives of the Diocese Graz-Seckau, Sign. 6221, on April 20, 1741, available online: https://data.matricula-online.eu/de/oesterreich/graz-seckau/burgau/6221/?pg=41.

20. *Regestum provinciae Hungariae sub provincialatu P. Fr. Antonini Thuille*, stored in Vienna, DCA, Bücher Nr. 55, fol. 102r.

21. *Catalogus personarum et officiorum sacri ordinis Praedicatorum provinciae Hungariae […] pro anno Domini 1767* (Munich, n.d.), 9, stored in Vienna, DCA, Kataloge, Hungaria.

22. *Regestum provinciae Hungariae sub provincialatu P. Fr. Antonini Thuille*, fol. 206r.

23. Ibid., fol. 220v.

24. Albert Tschick, *Lobrede auf den hl. Petrus Fürsten der Aposteln, und ersten Oberhirten der Kirche […]* (Graz, [1773?]), 11.

> How? Is the respect for us, which is your duty towards us, obliterated by the fault? Is the respectfulness a fruit of our customs; or the prerogative of the essential character? And what sin, what power of hell itself, can tear away this seal of eternity from our souls?[25]

The crucial point in this passage is that members of the clergy have the fundamental right to be respected by lay people, apart from their moral qualities. It was a sermon with zero reform-minded or enlightened ideas. A completely different position was taken by Tschick two years later in a sermon delivered in Preßburg (today's Bratislava) in honor of St. John of Matha on February 8, 1775. At this time and since 1774, he was exercising his priestly activity outside the Dominican context as the military chaplain to the Grand Ducal Toscana Dragoon Regiment. One can only speculate about the reasons for assuming this position, but this sermon could serve as an indication that he had doubts about the usefulness of a ministry within the Order, which was similar to other adherents of the Catholic Enlightenment. In the sermon, he was very critical of religious and members of the clergy who were negligent in fulfilling their obligations, but demanded respect from people because of their status.

> For, my listeners, to leave the world and what is theirs, only to tear oneself away from the hustle and bustle of laborious business, and to consume the fruits of other people's labor in a leisurely indolence? This would be the base intention of a good-for-nothing, who deserves disgust among people who are bound to the sweat of their brow after their fall, and according to the expressions of the apostle he should not eat, because he does not work [In 2 Thess. 3]. To leave the world and its own, in order to make for oneself, in a venerable garment, a lofty precedence, founded by reverence and confidence in the sanctity of status; in order to place oneself, at least according to one's dress, in a higher place, since one makes no effort to tear oneself away from the rabble according to one's thinking and one's manners: this is done only by the insolence of an impudent man, who disgraces the most venerable of religion, and is a desecrator of the altar.[26]

Tschick now obviously shared the opinion of many supporters of the Enlightenment that the monasteries and clergy were also obliged to contribute to the welfare of its population since they enjoyed various privileges from the state. One of the commonplaces of the Catholic Enlight-

25. Tschick, *Lobrede auf den hl. Petrus*, 12–13.

26. Albert Tschick, *Lobrede auf den heiligen Johann von Matha, Stifter des Ordens der allerheiligsten Dreyfaltigkeit von Erlösung gefangener Christen […]* (Preßburg, [1775?]), 7–8.

enment was to view obligations to the state and the general public as religious obligations. Quite clear are Tschick's words about Providence, by which God "gives to mankind the great and enlightened spirits, who do honor to mankind, and as teachers of people, are their excellent benefactors."[27] St. John of Matha was depicted as one such enlightened spirit. In the sermon Tschick preached in 1783 on the occasion of Emperor Joseph II's name day to his regiment in the Dominican church in Sopron (Ödenburg in the sources, the German name of the town), Hungary,[28] he praised the reforms of the monarch, and among them he also spoke approvingly of the abolition of "monasteries that do nothing for the common good."[29] Tschick explicitly glorified Joseph II as the one who would bring the morning of the Enlightenment, which had dawned under Maria Theresa, to its brightest noon.[30] The published sermon received a very positive review in the journal *Wöchentliche Wahrheiten für und über die Prediger in Wien*: "Few preachers among us have thought and spoken as honestly for his monarch and as zealously for the best of the Enlightenment as this man."[31] However, the reviewer also mentioned both approving and disapproving reactions that immediately followed the sermon in the church.[32]

Franz Poschinger was born on August 4, 1745 in Friesach,[33] a town in Carinthia. As the feast of St. Dominic, the founder of the Order of Preachers, was celebrated on that day, one could say it was providential. About a month later, he was baptized with the name Dominicus Vinzenz.[34] Poschinger was able to get to know the Order directly in his birthplace, where a convent had been located since 1220. He made his religious profession as *filius nativus* of the convent in Friesach on October

27. Tschick, *Lobrede auf den heiligen Johann von Matha*, 11.

28. Albert Tschick, *Joseph der Zweyte für den Geist und die Herzen seiner Nationen […]* (Wien, 1783).

29. Ibid., 23.

30. Ibid., 12: "[Maria Theresia] nahm mit einer mütterlichen Gnadenhande, das zu schwer drükkende Joch von den tief gebeugten Nakken des Landvolkes, (auflebende Freiheit ist das Frühlingsalter zur Aufklärung). . . . Diesen Morgen anbrechender Aufklärung wird uns die Wohlbegierde Josephs für sein Volk zum hellen Mittage fortschaffen."

31. L[eopold] A[loys] Hoffmann, ed., *Wöchentliche Wahrheiten für und über die Prediger in Wien*, 9 vols. (Vienna, 1782–84, here 1783), V, 245–54, here 245.

32. Hoffmann, *Wöchentliche Wahrheiten*, V, 253–54.

33. *Regestum provinciae Hungariae sub provincialatu P. Fr. Antonini Thuille*, fol. 80r.

34. *Tauf-Buch bey der Stift- und Stadtpfarrkirche st. Bartlmae zu Friesach vom Jahre 1652 bis 1758,* vol. 1, stored in Klagenfurt, Gurk Diocesan Archives, Friesach Parish Archives, Geburtsbuch 1652–1758, p. 341, on September 4, 1745, available online: https://data.matricula-online.eu/de/oesterreich/gurk/friesach/F11_001-1/?pg=347.

24, 1763.[35] At the *studium generale* in Vienna, he studied philosophy (1763–65) and then theology for three years.[36] After his ordination to the priesthood on August 10, 1768,[37] Poschinger was appointed by his superiors to continue his studies, which he completed on December 29, 1769 with a lectorate exam: the corresponding entry in the register book of the *studium generale* praises his tireless zeal and great talent.[38] Already a few days earlier, on December 23, he had passed the first exam *pro cura animarum*.[39] His superiors designated him for tasks in pastoral care and preaching at the Dominican church in Vienna. He was also appointed assistant librarian of the Gschwind Library, a public library existing at the Dominican convent.[40] They must have been very pleased with him, since the Austro-Hungarian Provincial had applied to the Master of the Order for Poschinger's transfiliation to the convent of Vienna, which was granted on July 18, 1772.[41] From this formal assignment one can read the intention of his superiors to let Poschinger work in Vienna for a longer period of time.

In Franz Poschinger's oldest known sermon, delivered in Vienna in 1773, one finds a reminder that the interests of the state may well be in conflict with the interests of religion; what seems beneficial to the society

35. *Regestum provinciae Hungariae sub provincialatu P. Fr. Antonini Thuille*, fol. 80r.

In an obituary of Poschinger, published in *Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung vom Jahre 1796*, no. 87, July 9, 731–32, it is written that he made his profession in 1763 in the Dominican convent of Neukloster (Novi Klošter in present-day Slovenia). This is possible. It does not exclude the fact that he was accepted for the convent of Friesach. This article's author has not been able to verify the information through the archival sources that he is aware of. It should be noted that the obituary gives an incorrect date of Poschinger's birth (September 4).

36. *Regestum studii generalis Viennensis Ordinis Praedicatorum erectum anno Domini MDCLXXXVII*, stored in Vienna, DCA, Bücher Nr. 34, fols. 208v [p. 410], 214v [p. 422], 226v [p. 426]. This manuscript contains two different paginations, one continuous and the other not, but both are incorrect. The author notes here the foliation; however, for the sake of clarity when checking the citations, the continuous page numbering contained in the manuscript is given in the brackets.

37. *Regestum studii generalis*, stored in Vienna, DCA, Bücher Nr. 34, fol. 227r [p. 447].

38. Ibid., fol. 230r [p. 453].

39. Ibid., fol. 230r [p. 453].

40. *Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung vom Jahre 1796*, no. 87, July 9, 731. Unfortunately, the author has not found a source for this appointment in the archives of the Vienna convent. On the library, see Walburga Oppeker, "Zur wechselvollen Geschichte der Bibliotheca Windhagiana," *Studien zur Wiener Geschichte. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, 69/70/71 (2013/2014/2015), 159–309, here 187–88.

41. *Regestum literarum patentium 1768–1809*, stored in Rome, Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum (hereafter referred to as AGOP), IV.240, Prov. Hungariae, p. 5.

may be highly detrimental to the faith.[42] In the sermon on St. Boniface in 1775, Poschinger complained about the sciences that were forming free spirits out of the Christians of his century.[43] When he preached a sermon on the patron saints of the county of Tyrol in 1778, he addressed the "strong spirits" of his century with sharp words, accusing them of putting their proud reason above the Gospel.[44] Of course, these are not formulations in which a trace of Enlightenment can be found. It is different, however, with the sermon on St. John of Nepomuk that Poschinger delivered in Trieste in 1778, in which he clearly distinguished the piety of the saint from raptures and superstition. He said:

> There is a false zeal which, under the pretense of goodness, plunges us into a thousand errors, which sometimes become ridiculous to the reasonable, and at other times annoying. Certain devotions of the rabble give evidence of this, where one omits the essential without conscience, and instead idolizes freaks of God's service, which either a pious self-interest or a never excusable stupidity has hatched. This false zeal, even if it seems to be holy, is always a rejected zeal: because God is the truth, and only in the truth wants to be worshipped.[45]

On April 7, 1778, at the request of the Provincial,[46] the Master of the Order granted Poschinger the title *praedicator generalis*,[47] a title that expressed formal recognition of his preaching activity and was associated with various prerogatives in the Order. The list of Poschinger's merits, which was presented to the Master of the Order when the application was made, also states that he had preached an Advent sermon in the Court

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42. Franz Poschinger, *Lobrede auf den heiligen Domitian Erzherzogen in Kärnten […]* (Vienna, [1773?]), sigs. A4v–B1r.

43. Franz Poschinger, *Lobrede auf den heiligen Bonifacius Erzbischof zu Maynz und Martyrer […]* (Vienna, [1775?]), sigs. A4v–B1r: "Kaum hat er [= Boniface] sich die Vollkommenheiten des Ordens eigen gemacht, so fängt er mit grossen Schritten die glänzende Laufbahne der Wissenschaften an. Sind es vielleicht jene schöne Wissenschaften gewesen, die unsern Jahrhunderte einen ewigen Schandfleck versetzen, die aus den christlichsten Herzen ganz langsam die ausgelassenste Freygeister bilden? Nein! Der Himmel hat ihn vor dieser Seuche bewahret."

44. Franz Poschinger, *Lobrede auf die Schutzheiligen der gefürsteten Graffschaft Tyrol […]* (Vienna, 1778), 12.

45. Franz Poschinger, *Lobrede auf den heiligen Blutzeugen Joannes von Nepomuk […]* (Trieste, 1777), 10.

46. See the letters of the Provincial Hyacinth Dauderlau to the Master of the Order from December 22, 1777 and February 26, 1778, stored in Rome, AGOP, XIII.79414 (Prov. Hungariae).

47. *Regestum literarum patentium 1768–1809*, stored in Rome, AGOP, IV.240, Prov. Hungariae, p. 7.

Chapel that very much pleased the Empress. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the Italian Dominican Pietro Maria Gazzaniga, who had held the Thomistic chair at the Theological Faculty in Vienna since 1760, was mentioned as a possible witness to what was on the list.[48] It would be interesting to know what opinion Gazzaniga had of Poschinger, especially since he was a Thomist critical of the decayed Scholasticism of the eighteenth century and an advocate of a reform of theological studies.[49]

As in Tschick's sermon on St. John of Matha mentioned earlier, criticism of religious neglecting their duties and being lazy about work can also be found in Poschinger's sermon on St. Ulrich, Bishop of Augsburg, delivered in Vienna in 1779. Typical of an Enlightenment sermon is the emphasis on St. Ulrich as a man who not only practiced asceticism but also faithfully fulfilled his duties, as well as the bold assertion that "a pious idler on earth is as much as a damned man in hell."[50] Especially remarkable is the praise of the saint as an exemplary citizen, loyal to the ruler and the state; in this way Ulrich followed the example of Jesus, "who for thirty years, so to speak, forgot his divinity, so that he would be occupied only with the observation of the duties of the common best."[51]

Poschinger's fame and career continued to grow in the 1780s. After Emperor Joseph II had introduced an institute for the poor in Vienna and Lower Austria on June 2, 1783, under the name *Vereinigung aus Liebe des Nächsten* [Association for the Love of Neighbor],[52] Poschinger advertised it in several sermons. He presented the support of poor fellow citizens as a

48. *Merita R.P. Fr. Francisci Poschinger*, stored in Rome, AGOP, XIII.80530 (Prov. Hungariae), Personalia aa. 1716–1781. The document was an annex to the Provincial's request of December 22, 1777 (see above footnote 46).

49. Thomas M. Wehofer, "Der Dominikaner und Wiener Universitätsprofessor Petrus Gazzaniga über den pädagogischen Wert der scholastischen Methode des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte,* 8 (1898), 191–97. For a biography of Gazzaniga, see Agostino Selva, "Padre Pietro Maria Gazzaniga, O.P. (1722–1799), grande teologo bergamasco, accademico eccitato," *Atti dell'Ateneo di Scienze Lettere ed Arti di Bergamo*, 43 (1982–83), 259–84. For more on Gazzaniga's activities in Vienna, see Peter Hersche, *Der Spätjansenismus in Österreich,* [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichte Österreichs, 7], (Vienna, 1977), 109–18.

50. Franz Poschinger, *Rede auf den heiligen Udalrich, Bischof von Augsburg […]* (Vienna, [1779?]), sigs. B2v–C1v.

51. Poschinger, *Rede auf den heiligen Udalrich*, sig. C3v.

52. Martin Scheutz, "Demand and Charitable Supply: Poverty and Poor Relief in Austria in 18th and 19th Centuries," in: *Health Care and Poor Relief in 18th and 19th Century Southern Europe*, eds. Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham, and Bernd Roeck (London, 2017), 52–95, here 64.

contribution to universal happiness, whereby the individual ultimately does the best for himself.[53] Poschinger gained special recognition in enlightened Catholic circles through his sermons characterized by sober rhetoric and aimed essentially at improving the morals of Christians in society. An example of positive reviews is found in the journal *Wöchentliche Wahrheiten*. In the issue of September 18, 1783, it was said that Poschinger could increasingly be compared to Socrates, who drew philosophy down from the unearthly heights to the people.[54] In November 1783, his superiors assigned him the office of *professor eloquentiae,*[55] and thus also the responsibility of the rhetorical training of the friars in the convent. His good reputation, and presumably Emperor Joseph II's own experience of him, finally led the emperor to appoint Poschinger as his Court Preacher in November 1783, which he retained until his retirement in 1795.[56] In the satirical *Oesterreichische Biedermannschronik*, published anonymously in 1784, this appointment was presented as an acknowledgment of Poschinger, who was not appreciated by ecclesiastical superiors.[57]

The World of Vienna Freemasonry

When Tschick and Poschinger became affiliated with Freemasonry[58] in 1783, the brotherhood already had a tradition of more than forty years in

53. Hoffmann, *Wöchentliche Wahrheiten* (here 1783), VI, 91–98, here 92.

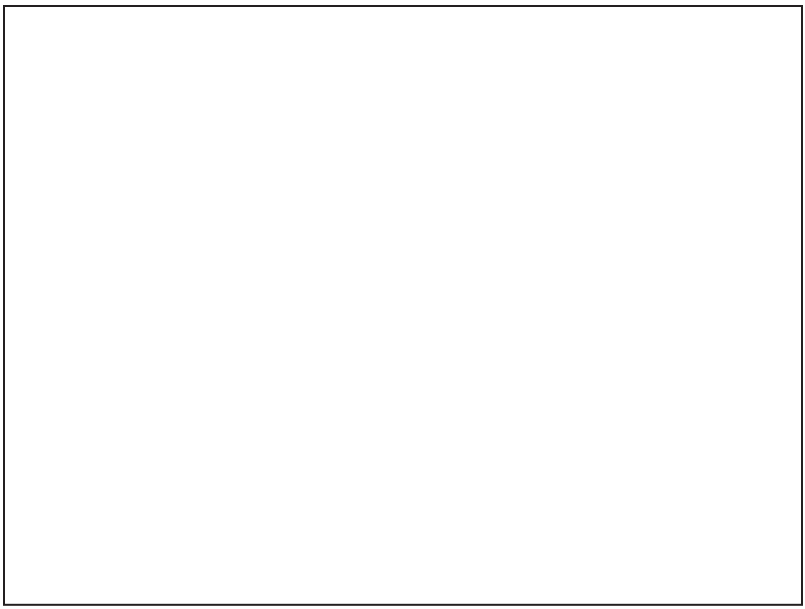
54. Hoffmann, *Wöchentliche Wahrheiten* (here 1783), VII, 77–81, here 77.

55. *Liber consiliorum conventus Viennensis 1773–1815*, stored in Vienna, DCA, Bücher Nr. 47, p. 54, entry on November 4, 1783; *Rerum gestarum gubernante almam provinciam Hungariae sacri ordinis Praedicatorum admodum reverendo ac eximio ss. theologiae magistro P. Fr. Hyacintho Dauderlau, priore provinciali dignissimo, series ab anno 1775*, stored in DCA, Bücher Nr. 57, fol. 202v.

56. Cölestin Wolfsgruber, *Die k. u. k. Hofburgkapelle und die k. u. k. Geistliche Hofkapelle* (Vienna, 1905), 312 and 336–37.—As part of his church reforms, when the emperor planned to establish a general seminary in the Dominican convent, it was allegedly Poschinger who dissuaded him from this plan. Sebastian Brunner, *Der Prediger-Orden in Wien und Oesterreich […]* (Vienna, 1867), 16–17n25. It is uncertain whether the report that Brunner knew from only oral tradition corresponds to reality. When Joseph II visited the convent on January 17, 1783 to inspect the facilities, Poschinger did not yet have his position at court. The emperor's visit is documented in *Regestum studii generalis* stored in Vienna, DCA, Bücher Nr. 34, fol. 257v [p. 508].

57. *Oesterreichische Biedermanns-Chronik. Ein Gegenstück zum Fantasten- und Prediger-Almanach* (Freiheitsburg [i.e., Vienna], 1784), 162–63. However, in the sources from the Vienna Dominican Convent Archives there is no indication that Poschinger would have been elected prior of the convent, nor would his superiors not have confirmed the election.

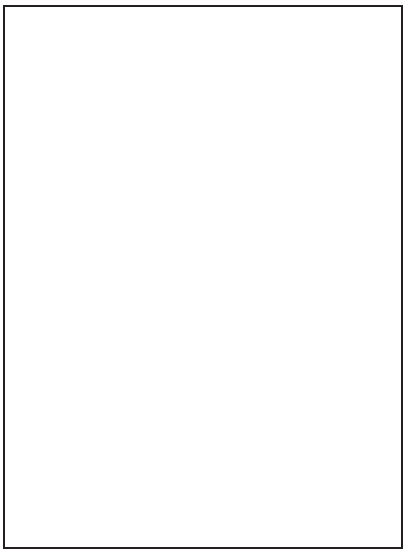
58. A significant moment in the history of international Freemasonry was the formal founding of the Grand Lodge in London, dated by traditional historiography to 1717. However, according to recent research by Andrew Prescott and Susan M. Sommers, it only occurred in 1721. For the argument that James Anderson's account of the founding of the



Ignaz Unterberger, *Initiation ceremony in Viennese Masonic Lodge, during reign of Joseph II,* 1789, oil painting. Currently stored in the Vienna Museum at Karlsplatz, with a copy hanging in the Austrian Museum of Freemasonry in Schloss Rosenau (Waldviertel). Painting is in the public domain.

Vienna. The first lodge in the capital of the Habsburg Empire, *Aux Trois Canons*, was founded on September 17, 1742 at the suggestion of the canon and later bishop of Breslau, Philipp Gotthard von Schaffgotsch (1716–95), himself a Freemason. It happened four years after the 1738 condemnation by the Bull *In Eminenti*, which had not been published in Austria because of the lack of the Sovereign's *placet*. Presumably, behind the scenes of this non-action was Duke Francis Stephen of Lorraine, who since 1736 was Maria Theresa's husband and the son-in-law of the reigning Emperor Charles VI (1711–40), as well as himself a member of Masonry. Nonetheless, the lodge *Aux Trois Canons* only had a short duration because it was closed by order of Maria Theresa (1740–80) in March 1743. The force

lodge in 1717 is an invention, see Andrew Prescott and Susan M. Sommers, "En busca del Apple Tree: una revisión de los primeros años de la masonería inglesa," *Revista de Estudios Históricos de la Masonería Latinoamericana y Caribeña*, 9, no. 2 (2017), 22–49. See also their paper "1717 and All That." Retrieved on June 13, 2023, from https://www.quatuorcoronati.com//wp-content/uploads/2018/01/1717-And-All-That-Prescott-Sommers.pdf.



Clement XII, *In eminenti apostolatus specula* (Vatican, April 28, 1738), 1.

behind the intervention was the Papal Nuncio Camillo Paolucci. He also instructed preachers in Vienna to make known the Bull *In Eminenti* and to preach against the Masons during Lent of 1743. According to the nuncio, there was no longer any reason for the Freemasons to base their excuses on an alleged ignorance of the papal condemnation.[59] Also, the anti-Masonic Bull of Benedict XIV, *Providus* of 1751, did not receive a *placet* in Austria. However, this did not mean that the circumstances were favorable to the Masons. Nonetheless, despite difficult conditions in the 1750s and 1760s, the activity of the Masons persisted in becoming even more intensive in the 1770s, even though it was illegal. As a result, in 1780 there were six lodges in Vienna with about two hundred members.[60]

59. José A. Ferrer Benimeli, "Rom und die Verfolgung der Freimaurer in Österreich," in: *Beförderer der Aufklärung in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Freimaurer, Gesellschaften, Clubs*, eds. Éva H. Balász, Ludwig Hammermayer, Hans Wagner and Jerzy Wojtowicz (Berlin, 1979), 87–102, here 87–95; Helmut Reinalter, *Aufklärung, Humanität und Tolleranz. Die Geschichte der österreischichen Freimaurerei im 18. Jahrhundert*, [Quellen und Darstellungen zur europäischen Freimaurerei, 18] (Innsbruck, 2017), 43–45.

60. Reinalter, *Aufklärung*, 102–03. There were the following lodges: *Zur gekrönten Hoffnung* [Crowned Hope], *Zu den drei Adlern* [Three Eagles], *Zum Palmbaum* [Palm Tree], *Zum heiligen Joseph* [Holy Joseph], Provincial Lodge of Austria, and *Zur Beständigkeit* [Steadfastness]. See Eugen Lennhoff, Oskar Posner and Dieter A. Binder, *Internationales Freimaurerlexikon*, 5th ed. (Munich, 2006), 904.

The Holy Roman Emperor Francis Stephen (1745–65) originally protected the Freemasons. Elevated to co-regent with Maria Theresa after his father's death, Joseph II used his influence in favor of the Masons.[61] Once he took over the sole reign of the government in 1780, a period of greater flourishing for the lodges in Vienna began. Still, the meetings of the lodges remained formally illegal until the issuance of the imperial *handbillet* (*Freimaurerpatent*) on December 11, 1785. Only by this document were the meetings legally permitted. Paradoxically, this recognition that Joseph justified due to the positive contributions Freemasonry made to society, also meant putting them under state control and restricting the activities of the lodges to the provincial capitals of the monarchy. Although some Masons took a positive stance on the *Freimaurerpatent* in publications, there were numerous critical reactions. Among the most challenging provisions of the *handbillet* was the order to submit directories of the brethren to state authorities on a regular basis. Apparently, the fear of many that their affiliation with Freemasonry would become public led them to leave the lodge. However, several Viennese brethren decided to leave due to the tensions and conflicts that arose among them due to the transformations in Freemasonry caused by the Josephine document.[62]

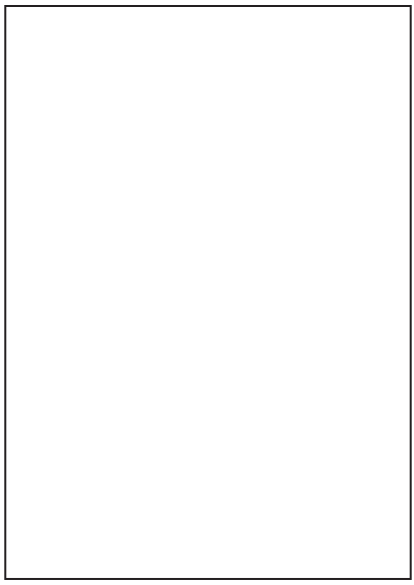
Regarding the character of the Viennese lodges, it can be said that they were a kind of gentleman's club because they attracted numerous men, both noble as well as non-noble, of various professions. The members met to discuss intellectual, social, and religious topics, to hold common meals, and, last but not least, to carry out charitable activities (collections for the needy).[63] With regard to Christianity, they emphasized its practical aspects, "useful morals," while they were little interested in speculative questions. In general, they were not declared opponents of the Church. Thus, one understands that reform-minded clerics who were interested in interacting with educated, like-minded men subjectively saw no obstacle in joining Masonry.[64] There is

61. Concerning a statement of 1777, in which Joseph II objected to the proposal of the State Chancellor Wenzel Anton Kaunitz about prohibition of Masonic activities in the Austrian Netherlands, see Derek Beales, *Joseph II*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1987–2009, here 1987), I, 486.

62. Reinalter, *Aufklärung*, 178–94. On Joseph's relationship to Freemasonry, see also, e.g., Beales, *Joseph II*, II, 526–43.

63. Beales, *Joseph II*, II, 532–33.

64. Franz Wehrl, "Der 'Neue Geist' Eine Untersuchung der Geistesrichtungen des Klerus in Wien von 1750–1790," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 20 (1967), 36–114, here 73–81. In the conclusion, on p. 107, the author states: "Freemasonry was until the time 1785–87 a primarily social element in Vienna. Therefore, if a clergyman was a member of the lodge, this did not have to be the criterion of his lack of orthodoxy or even of his anti-faith attitude, as was evident from the relevant chapters and biographical notes."



Anton von Maron, *Portrait of Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor*, 1775, oil painting, 95.3 × 67.9″ (242 × 172.5 cm). Currently located in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, accession no. GG_6200.

even an example of what amounts to a self-defense by the former Jesuit Karl Josef Michaeler, in *Beruhigung eines Katholiken über die päpstlichen Bullen wider die Freymäurerey von Bruder M**** (Kosmopolis 5782 [Nürnberg, 1782?]).[65] Active in Innsbruck until 1782 and then in Vienna, he argued against the reasons given in the Bull *Providus* for prohibiting the participation of Catholics in Masonic activities. Nonetheless, those who joined Masonry had to be aware that their conservative fellow priests, and in particular their superiors, would disapprove of them. Reinhard Taute cited several examples of priests in the Archdiocese of Vienna who were reproved for membership in Freemasonry by Archbishop Cardinal Anton Christoph Migazzi.[66]

Among the lodges that existed in Vienna in the 1780s, the best information comes from the sources about *Zur wahren Eintracht* [True Concord],

65. Wehrl, "Der 'Neue Geist,'" 84–85; Reinalter, *Aufklärung*, 46–49 and 195–96.

66. Reinhard Taute, *Die katholische Geistlichkeit und die Freimaurerei: Ein kulturgeschichtlicher Rückblick*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig 1895), e.g. 26 (Melchior Blarer), 76–77 (Andreas Schwarzenbach).

founded on March 12, 1781.[67] In this case, it has been clearly established that a strong anticlerical spirit prevailed in the lodge. Furthermore, many of the brethren belonging to it also departed from the orthodox Christian faith.[68] Ideas that strongly relativized Christianity as the religion of truth and salvation found their way into the lodge, especially through brethren who also belonged to the Illuminati Order founded in 1776. Among them was Ignaz von Born, who worked as the Master of *Zur wahren Eintracht* 1783–85.[69] Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire drew attention to a high dynamism that distinguished this lodge, especially in the frequency of meetings, pointing out the difference on average of eight meetings per month in *Zur wahren Eintracht* and a very good average of ten times per year in French lodges.[70] The members of the lodge had a very high self-imposed educational demand evidenced by founding a lodge library, organizing lectures, and publishing. The training lodges initiated by von Born in 1782 had great success and shaped the reputation of *Zur wahren Eintracht* as an academic lodge. In these lodges the brethren were to give lectures on learned topics (theological controversies and state-political issues were explicitly excluded). These lectures were published in the *Journal für Freymaurer* issued from 1784–87.[71]

An antipole to *Zur wahren Eintracht* was represented in Viennese Freemasonry by *Zur Beständigkeit*, founded in 1779.[72] Unfortunately,

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67. Ludwig Abafi, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Österreich-Ungarn*, 5 vols. (Budapest, 1890–99, here 1893), IV, presented the history of the lodge from 1781 to 1785 on pp. 278–318, for the date of foundation see 279. A comprehensive picture of the activity of the lodge is offered by the edition of the minutes of the meetings by Hans-Josef Irmen, ed., *Die Protokolle der Wiener Freimaurerloge "Zur wahren Eintracht" (1781–1785)*, [Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Forschungsstelle "Demokratische Bewegungen in Mitteleuropa 1770–1850," 15)], (Frankfurt am Main, 1994). In the introduction, on p. 8, 1782 is erroneously given as the year of foundation.

68. See the chapter on religious views in the lodge in Wilgert Te Lindert, *Aufklärung und Heilserwartung: philosophische und religiöse Ideen Wiener Freimaurer (1780–1795)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998), 72–100, here 72.

69. Irmen, *Protokolle*, 15; Helmut Reinalter, "Ignaz Edler von Born und die Illuminaten in Österreich," in: *Der Illuminatenorden: (1776–1785/87): Ein politischer Geheimbund der Aufklärungszeit*, ed. Helmut Reinalter, [Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Forschungsstelle "Demokratische Bewegungen in Mitteleuropa 1770–1850," 24], (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), 351–91.

70. Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, *L'Europe des francs-maçons (XVIII^e–XXI^e siècle)*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 2018), 239.

71. Irmen, *Protokolle*, 16–18. For more about the training lodges and the *Journal* see Markus Meumann, "Logenreden und Übungslogen. Zur Praxis des Sprechens und Schreibens über vorgegebene Themen in der Freimaurerei des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Aufklärung*, 28 (2016), 239–74, here 260–70.

72. Abafi, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, IV, 318–27.

much less is known about their activities than those of their sister lodge. However, in the book *Briefe eines Biedermanns an einen Biedermann*, published anonymously in 1786 by Leopold Aloys Hoffmann, himself a Freemason, one finds a description of several Viennese lodges, including these two. *Zur wahren Eintracht*, according to Hoffman, was a group of very wise and worthy men who promoted the work of Masonry primarily through their scholarship.[73] He did not have a great opinion of *Zur Beständigkeit*, because the lodge was too pious and its members spoke strongly of Christ. According to Hoffmann, *Zur Beständigkeit* lacked the true spirit of the Masonry. It had numerous enemies among members of other lodges who spoke ill of its work.[74] At the conclusion of his fictional letter to a friend who might wish to become a Mason, the author gave a recommendation:

> But if you love the company of scholars, or if you want to expand your knowledge in whatever subject, and finally, in view of your knowledge, attain the high grace of being stretched to the yoke of service, then I advise you to apply to the *Eintracht* for admission. If, finally, you wish to become quite pious, or if you have other attacks of hypochondria, then I know of no better advice to give you than to let yourself be accepted the sooner the better at the *Beständigkeit im Orient*; only do not imagine that you (you may be accepted wherever) are a true mason because of this.[75]

Also, according to another contemporary testimony, *Zur Beständigkeit* was hardly respected by other lodges of Vienna because of "its bigotries."[76]

Deserving of attention is Eva Huber's research on the social structure of the Viennese Freemasons, especially on confessional affiliation and the proportion of clergy in the total number of members. Between 1780 and 1790, she identified a total of fifty-six members of the clergy among the brethren of the Vienna lodges: among these were fifty-three Catholic priests,[77] two Lutheran ministers, and one Reformed pastor. The increase

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73. *Briefe eines Biedermanns an einen Biedermann* (Munich, 1786), 39–40.

74. Ibid., 39–42.

75. Ibid., 43–44.

76. Ignaz Aurelius Fessler, *Fessler's sämmtliche Schriften über Freymaurerey: Wirklich als Manuscript für Brüder*, 2nd ed. (Freiberg, 1805), 289–90.

77. Huber thus specified the figure of "about 50" (Catholic) clerics found in Wehrl, "Der 'Neue Geist,'" 56. However, Wehrl drew attention to the fact that the figure, which had been estimated much higher by earlier authors, can hardly be definitively established. Only the persons mentioned in the surviving lists and minutes of the lodges are for certain to be considered members.

in the percentage of clerics within this period reached its peak in 1787, when they represented 5.9% of all brethren. After that, the percentage decreased to 4% in 1790.[78] Probably, this drop related to the crisis of Masonry after the *Freimaurerpatent*. One wonders, however, how to interpret the percentage increase immediately after the publication of the document in 1785. Although *Zur wahren Eintracht* was mostly Catholic (75 percent in 1781, about 85 percent in 1785), there were also Lutherans and Reformed Christians among the members.[79] On the other hand, Huber found from the information available that all the brethren of *Zur Beständigkeit* had exclusively belonged to the Catholic Church.[80] As far as the number of clergymen is concerned, *Zur wahren Eintracht* had the highest number among all Viennese lodges, 7.3 percent. It was followed by *Zur Beständigkeit* with 6.7 percent. To a religious order belonged 2.5 percent of the members of *Zur wahren Eintracht* and 1.1 percent of the members of *Zur Beständigkeit*. *Zur wahren Eintracht* was the only lodge before the Josephine Freemasonry Reform of 1785 in which non-Catholic clergy were also present.[81]

Tschick and Poschinger among the Masonic brethren

Tschick and Poschinger joined these two lodges situated on different poles of Viennese Masonry. Tschick opted for *Zur wahren Eintracht*.[82] Franz Wehrl, who studied the presence of the Viennese clergy among the Freemasons, wrote that "it is hardly to be expected that we will come across personal statements by clergymen, confessions in which they justify their participation in Masonry."[83] From this perspective, Albert Tschick is a fortunate find. On August 5, 1783, he wrote a letter to Joseph Ludwig Freiherr von Born,[84] Captain of the Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt, the brother of Ignaz von Born, the Master of *Zur wahren Eintracht*, and also a member of the same lodge. Tschick explained that through good acquaintances during his service in the military, as well as through his reading, an interest in the Freemasons had been awakened in him. He confessed what he had recognized to be their purpose:

78. Eva Huber, *Sozialstruktur der Wiener Freimaurer: 1780–1790*, 5 vols. (Phil. Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1991), I, 613–15.
79. Ibid., 299.
80. Ibid., 284.
81. Ibid., 613–17.
82. Irmen, *Protokolle*, 8–20; Abafi, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, IV, 278–318.
83. Wehrl, "Der 'Neue Geist,'" 77.
84. For a brief biographical note, see Irmen, *Protokolle*, 322.

> In a certain equality situation of human beings, otherwise so confused outside, but here so amiably harmonized, to make them so happy even among themselves, that just by this, through this intimately united brotherly love, they become, according to their gifts of happiness and spirit, the happiness of their fellow human beings.

Therefore, Tschick asked Captain von Born, whom he knew personally, for help in becoming a member.[85] This goal of the brotherhood, mentioned by Tschick, can certainly be described as Christian in character. As Jeffrey D. Burson wrote in his book on Abbé Yvon, Catholic clergy might have their good reasons for considering "their roles as Freemasons to be generally compatible with their clerical vocation."[86]

After a favorable vote was taken on him at the meeting of *Zur wahren Eintracht* on August 24, 1783,[87] Albert (Franz Xaver) Tschick was admitted to the lodge on August 29.[88] In a letter written on October 8, 1783, in Sopron (Ödenburg), Hungary, where his regiment was stationed, Tschick asked the Lodge Master for admission to higher degrees. Tschick hoped that his request could already be fulfilled at the end of October, when he should be in Vienna. Tschick admitted that his request for a double promotion was somewhat audacious, but he hinted at a possible transfer in the future, which might make it more difficult to get to Vienna from a more distant location.[89] In fact, on October 31, Tschick was promoted from the first degree of Entered Apprentice to the second degree of Fellow of the Craft.[90] In an undated letter to the Master and members of the lodge, he thanked them for granting him the second degree and asked for admission to the third degree. At the same time, he apologized for not always being able to be present at the meetings due to "profane circumstances."[91] This expression, which denoted all non-Masonic activities,[92] is remarkable,

85. Albert Tschick, *Letter to Joseph Ludwig Freiherr von Born*, stored in Vienna, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Kabinetsarchiv (hereafter referred to as ÖStA, HHStA, KA), Vertrauliche Akten 68-3-155, fols. 369 and 372.

86. Burson, *The Culture of Enlightening*, 128.

87. Irmen, *Protokolle*, no. 203, pp. 156–57.

88. Irmen, *Protokolle*, no. 205, p. 157.

89. Albert Tschick, *Letter to the Lodge Master of Zur wahren Eintracht from October 8, 5783 [= 1783]*, stored in Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 65/1-1-43, fols. 258-59.

90. Irmen, *Protokolle*, no. 222 and 223, pp. 167–68.

91. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 68-3-284, fols. 633 and 635.

92. After passing through the initiation ritual, which was understood as a separation from the profane world, the brethren saw themselves as belonging to the sacred space of the lodge. Kenneth Loiselle, *Brotherly Love: Freemasonry and Male Friendship in Enlightenment France* (Ithaca, NY, 2014), 53–60.

because obviously Tschick counted his duties as a military chaplain among the "profane" ones as well. Eventually, he reached the third degree of Master Mason on November 14, 1783.[93]

However, even before this promotion, Tschick himself played the role of a mediator in the admission of a new member of the lodge. In the above-mentioned letter of October 8, he informed the Master of the Lodge about a conversation with Baron Sigismund von Enzenberg,[94] a senior lieutenant of the same regiment where Tschick served as chaplain. Once, when Tschick found von Enzenberg reading the Masonic book *Der flammende Stern*,[95] he asked von Enzenberg if he was a Freemason. The Senior Lieutenant's response was that he was not but would like to be. However, he did not know anyone who could help him. Tschick interrupted the conversation at this point without letting himself be recognized as a Mason. Now Tschick asked the Master of the Lodge in his letter how to act in this case, pointing out that von Enzenberg was "not a miracle according to his head, but his heart is one of the best," which sounded like a recommendation.[96] The following October 13, von Enzenberg wrote Tschick a letter. After addressing Tschick as "Dearest friend!" von Enzenberg continued, "I certainly hope to be that in your heart—a true sincere friend! In mine, you are it, in the most genuine sense." He praised the priest's helpfulness and philanthropy, well-known in the regiment. He confessed that he suspected Tschick was a Freemason, but he was not certain. In case Tschick were, von Enzendorf asked him to help him to "the happiness of being associated with the most worthy people."[97] The letter is an interesting testimony of the good reputation that Tschick enjoyed among the members of the regiment, and of his personal charisma that the young nobleman positively perceived. Further, it reveals von Enzenberg's longing for friendship, a motivation for men to join Masonry that should not be underestimated.[98] At the same time, one notes that great importance was given to secrecy concerning the membership of the lodge. According to the minutes of the

93. Irmen, *Protokolle*, no. 227 and 228, pp. 171–72.

94. For a brief biographical note, see Irmen, *Protokolle*, 323–24.

95. The book *L'étoile flamboyante, ou La société des francs-maçons, considéré sous tous les aspects* by Louis Théodore-Henri de Tschoudy, published in Frankfurt and Paris in 1766, 2 vols., was subsequently published in German in 1779 in Berlin under the title *Der flammende Stern: Oder die Gesellschaft der Freymäurer von allen Seiten betrachtet*, 2 vols., trans. Johann Wilhelm Bernhard von Hymmen.

96. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 65/1-1-43, fols. 258–59.

97. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 68-3-64, fols. 165–66.

98. Kenneth Loiselle, devoted himself to this topic, in the context of French Masonry, in his study *Brotherly Love: Freemasonry and Male Friendship in Enlightenment France*.

lodge *Zur wahren Eintracht*, twenty-seven-year-old Sigismung von Enzenberg was accepted as Entered Apprentice on November 7, 1783.[99]

At this occasion, Tschick gave a speech, *Über die Denkart der Maurer* [On the masons' way of thinking], the handwritten original of which has been handed down.[100] Basically, it praises Freemasons as tireless disciples of wisdom, seekers of truth, and disinterested benefactors of humanity, and such as, the opposite of "priests [who] have profiteered with sacrifices of religion." Tschick accused the churchmen, "who let themselves be solemnly anointed as heralds, teachers, and guardians of the truth," of having prevented the spread of enlightenment and of having pushed the rising people back into ignorance.

> This they did, these often purple, often miter-wearing stranglers of reason, these sworn enemies against nature and human feeling, who, under the most unreasonable prejudices, forgot what thinking is, and what men feel through their benevolent mother nature, have laid up with unholy oaths. It was they, through whose most colorful religious teachings people lost the charming image of the greatest Master Builder, this loving Father of all his works; and instead received the horror image of a tyrant, who, armed with a vengeful cudgel, should be able to laugh at the eternal howling and chattering of his children's teeth. They were the ones who, with a foolish moral system, gathered us humans into a mass of sins, and dreamed up a general material of vice, in order to put us, from the first human being on, through all ranks of generations, into the most possible mischief by means of syllogisms.[101]

Tschick did not spare sharp expressions in the series of accusations that continued. Afterwards, however, he came back to the Freemasons:

> In our holy halls, my dear brothers, truth in light, beauty in actions, true merit, and proper dignity of man are covered against all darkness of prejudices, against all intrigues of hypocrisy and malice.—Ages of the world, revolutions, malice, and violence are not able to scare away existing truth and virtue from our temple, where prudence and discretion are the guards, brotherly love with the most intimate union of mind and heart is the supporting staff in our progress, wisdom, beauty, and strength are the guide of our stride.[102]

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99. Irmen, *Protokolle*, no. 226, pp. 170–71.

100. Albert Tschick, *Über die Denkart der Maurer*, stored in Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 69-3-6-13, fols. 19–20. See the mention of the speech in Irmen, *Protokolle*, no. 226, p. 171.

101. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 69-3-6-13, Tschick, *Über die Denkart der Maurer*, fol. 19rv.

102. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 69-3-6-13, Tschick, *Über die Denkart der Maurer*, fol. 20r.

In the cited sources, discretion was mentioned as a characteristic of the Freemasons. It should be remembered that this speech was not intended for the public.[103] According to the minutes, Tschick delivered this speech to forty men present. Presumably, he would have never used such harsh words about members of the clergy and church hierarchy outside a closed circle of people. However, the question arises, what led him to such a judgment? Was it simply a representation of an image that circulated among Enlightenment thinkers and Freemasons, or did Tschick speak out of deep conviction based on his own experience? An answer cannot be given. However, it is worth remembering his sermon of 1773, in which he defended the priestly dignity of weak clerics. What a difference in speaking about priests!

From the minutes of the lodge one learns that Tschick frequently attended the meetings in 1784. On October 4, he again acted as a "proposer" for a "seeker" from his regiment, Lieutenant Hannig.[104] At the meeting on October 18, the brothers present dealt with an incident that could have had unpleasant consequences for Tschick. It was about the fact that a member of the lodge *Zur Beständigkeit*, Leopold Federl, who was a priest and a professor of poetics at the University of Vienna,[105] performed a cantata, composed by a Freemason, in the Dominican convent. When a Dominican noticed the origin of the cantata, he threw the sheet away—whereupon Federl confessed to being a Freemason and said that there were several Freemasons also among the Dominicans, mentioning Tschick by name. The brothers of the lodge decided to report Federl to the district lodge because his indiscretion could get Tschick into possible trouble.[106] What reactions there were in the Dominican convent afterwards, it is not known.

Poschinger's ascent up the ladder of degrees in *Zur Beständigkeit*[107] cannot be followed in the same way as Tschick's. It is known only from two letters of the then-member and representing secretary Johann Baptist von Cronberg to the secretary of *Zur wahren Eintracht* David Heinrich Gottfried von Pilgram that Poschinger was to be proposed for membership on

103. As stated above, some of the speeches delivered in the Lodge were published in the *Journal für Freymaurer*, issued from 1784 to 1787. The intended audience was Freemason brethren, although it had to be expected that the publications would also reach people outside the Masonic circles. In any case, Tschick's speech was not among the published contributions.

104. Irmen, *Protokolle*, no. 315, pp. 224–25.

105. The minutes of the meeting, according to the custom, mention only his surname. For the identification see Abafi, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, IV, 319 and Wehrl, "Der 'Neue Geist,'" 59 (here the spelling Föderl).

106. Irmen, *Protokolle*, no. 318, pp. 226–28, here 227.

107. Abafi, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei*, IV, 318–27.

September 26, 1783,[108] and was apparently admitted to the lodge on October 1 after a positive vote.[109] In the meeting records of the lodge *Zur wahren Eintracht*, there are not only entries about Tschick's participation in meetings of his own lodge, but also entries about Poschinger's participation as a visiting brother.[110]

A noteworthy testimony about Albert Tschick and Franz Poschinger as figures of the Viennese Freemasonry is the diary of the Lutheran theologian, church historian, and Freemason Friederich Münter from Copenhagen, who stayed in Vienna from August 30 to October 20, 1784.[111] His repeated presence in the Dominican convent[112] and the hospitality shown to him by the two friars says something about their awareness of belonging to the "universal republic of Freemasons."[113] In Münter's estimation, Tschick and Poschinger were "very bright, and enlightened minds."[114] He must have been particularly impressed to find works read by Poschinger by authors such as Georg Joachim Zollikofer, Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Jerusalem, and Johann Lorenz von Mosheim, famous Protestant authors of the Enlightenment period. Regarding his conversations with the Dominicans, he noted:

> We talked about the current Enlightenment. They both said that the Catholic clergy would soon get further in the Enlightenment than we would, because they had been brooding under pressure for a long time

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108. Johann Baptist von Cronberg, *Letter to David Heinrich Gottfried von Pilgram from September 16, 5783 [= 1783]*, stored in Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 69-3-1, fol. 55. See also Irmen, *Protokolle*, no. 211, p. 160–61. For a biogram of von Pilgram, see ibid., 333.

109. Johann Baptist von Cronberg, *Letter to David Heinrich Gottfried von Pilgram from September 28, 5783 [= 1783]*, stored in Vienna Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 69-3-1, fol. 53.

110. Irmen, *Protokolle*, passim on p. 157–282 (Tschick), passim on pp. 228–312 (Poschinger).

111. Øjvind Andreasen (ed.), *Aus den Tagebüchern Friedrich Münters: Wander- und Lehrjahre eines dänischen Gelehrten*, 3 vols. (Kopenhagen, 1937), I, 55–124. For a biography of Münter, see Viktoria Strohbach-Hanko, "Münter, Friedrich Christian Carl Heinrich," *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, 6 (1993), 323–29.

112. At one point Münter made an amusing remark about how, while smoking in the cloister, he memorized a piece of one of Luther's sermons: "perhaps the first of Luther's sermons of which a piece was memorized in a Dominican convent." Andreasen, *Aus den Tagebüchern Friedrich Münters*, 72.

113. On this feature of Masonry see Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, "La république universellè des francs-maçons entre «culture de la mobilité» et basculement national (XVIII^{e}–XIX^{e} siècle)," *Revue de synthèse*, 123 (2002), 37–64.

114. Andreasen, *Aus den Tagebüchern Friedrich Münters*, 60.

> and would now suddenly break loose. They would also no longer be bound to any symbol, and thus would be free of compulsion. We talked a lot about the eternity of hell's punishments, whether one should leave the idea to the people, about the finiteness or infinity of sins, etc.[115]

According to Münter, actually, Poschinger and Tschick were "the only two Dominicans of head and ability in Vienna"[116] who were among numerous members of the Masonic circle whom he encountered during conversations, meals, and so forth. The Lutheran theologian, however, especially appreciated Poschinger, even if Poschinger's monkish appearance was not congenial to him: "One sees immediately that he is a monk. Even his bright look is set in an enormous monk's face, which admittedly has much that is noble and firm." But at the same time, from Münter's perspective, he could hardly have found a better compliment for the Dominican: "I believe that Luther in his first male age looked like him."[117] In Tschick, Münter missed Poschinger's maturity as well as his "true and practical view." He did, however, acknowledge Tschick's potential to "accomplish much" on the condition that "he would become quiet in his village parish, and work."[118] Here, Münter referred to the parish in Burgschleinitz, which Tschick was to take over just in that period, after having left the military chaplain office.[119]

After Joseph II had decreed a reorganization of Freemasonry in his hereditary lands with the *handbillet* of December 11, 1785, the activity of the lodges *Zur wahren Eintracht* and *Zur Beständigkeit* was terminated. On January 6, 1786, the *Zur Wahrheit* [Truth] was solemnly opened, uniting in itself the lodges *Zur wahren Eintracht*, *Zu den drei Adlern*, and *Zum Palmbaum*.[120] However, some members of other former lodges also joined

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115. Ibid., 60–61.

116. Ibid., 65. At this point, Münter adds regarding Poschinger that "the Very Reverend Cardinal Archbishop [i.e., Christoph Anton von Migazzi] teased him not a little."

117. Ibid., 117.

118. Ibid., 120. Also, in a letter to Münter from Maria von Born, daughter of Ignaz von Born, Master of *Zur wahren Eintracht*, one finds a short mention of Tschick, which suggests the presence of Tschick in the circle of von Born's family and his sympathies for Münter. Helmut W. Flügel, *Maria von Born (1766–1830). Biographie einer emanzipierten Österreicherin in einer Übergangszeit* (Berlin, 2013), 26.

119. *Presentation letter for Fr. Albert Tschick's appointment as pastor in Burgschleinitz from October 21, 1784, St. Pölten*, stored in Diocesan Archives (hereafter referred to as DA), Pfarr- und Klosterakten, Burgschleinitz 1. This parish, which had originally belonged to the diocese of Passau, became part of the new diocese of St. Pölten established by Emperor Joseph II in 1784–85.

120. Irmen, *Protokolle*, 19–20. The only other lodge that existed in Vienna after the reform was called *Zur neugekrönten Hoffnung* [New-Crowned Hope]. Helmut Reinalter,

the lodge *Zur Wahrheit*, like Franz Poschinger, whose name can be found in the list of those present at the inaugural assembly.[121] Poschinger, as well as his confrere, Albert Tschick, attended the meeting on January 20.[122] Poschinger's habit of visiting Masons is also attested by the Hungarian writer and Freemason Ferenc Kazinczy, who in 1786, during his stay in Vienna, met the Dominican in the house of the famous writer, Aloys Blumauer,[123] on the occasion of a reading circle held there.[124] Regarding the religious practice of the Freemasons, it is worth noting what Kazinczy noted about Poschinger in another place, namely that he had once heard Blumauer's confession when the latter had been lying ill.[125]

In the attendance records of *Zur Wahrheit* kept from 1786–87, Poschinger's name figures more frequently than Tschick's; both appear for the last time in the list of May 29, 1787.[126] On June 5, 1787, Poschinger informed Johann Baptist von Puthon, the Deputy Master of *Zur Wahrheit*, that "profane business" no longer allowed him to attend meetings and "urgent causes" moved him to leave the lodge.[127] Could it be that

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"Ignaz von Born als Freimaurer und Illuminat," in: *Die Aufklärung in Österreich: Ignaz von Born und seine Zeit*, ed. Helmut Reinalter, [Schriftenreihe der Internationalen Forschungsstelle "Demokratische Bewegungen in Mitteleuropa 1770–1850," 4] (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 33-67, here 57.

121. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 77-1, fol. 1r. See also, the "List of Selected Members," dated January 5, 1786, stored in ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 65/1-2-17-7, for Poschinger fol. 227v.

122. Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 77-1, fol. 2r.

123. Elisabeth Rosenstrauch-Königsberg, *Freimaurer im Josephinischen Wien: Aloys Blumauers Weg vom Jesuiten zum Jakobiner* (Vienna, 1975).

124. Ferenc Kazinczy, *Pályám emlékezete* [Memories of My Career], ed. László Orbán, [Kazinczy Ferenc Művei: Első osztály: Eredeti művek: Kritikai kiadás (Works of Ferenc Kazinczy: First Class: Original Works: Critical Edition)], (Debrecen, 2009), 598 and 767. For the chronological classification of the encounter, see ibid., 994. The editor is apparently unaware that *Zur wahren Eintracht* no longer existed in 1786.

125. Kazinczy, *Pályám emlékezete*, 74.

126. *Attendance register of the lodge Zur Wahrheit*, stored in Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 77-1, fol. 16r. Surprisingly, Poschinger's name is missing in several membership directories in which Tschick, under his baptismal name Franz Xaver, appears: *Membership directory of the lodge Zur Wahrheit (1786)*, stored in ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 72-7-4, fols. 16-31; *Membership directory of the lodge Zur Wahrheit (1786)*, 73-1-1, fols. 1–20; and *Membership directory of the lodge Zur Wahrheit (1786)*, 73-1-30, fols. 241–59. However, there is a directory of the lodge members in which both are listed: Poschinger as a priest of the Dominican Order and court preacher, Tschick as a parish priest in Burgschleinitz: *Membership directory of the lodge Zur Wahrheit (1787?)*, 72-7-7, fols. 49–122: Poschinger at fol. 76v, Tschick (spelled Tschük) at fol. 85v.

127. Franz Poschinger, *Letter to Johann Baptist von Puthon from June 5, 5787 [= 1787]*, stored in Vienna, ÖStA, HHStA, KA, Vertrauliche Akten, 70-2-50, fols. 385–86.

at this point the Dominican recognized membership in the lodge as incompatible with his religious and clerical state? Was this decision related to his role as Court Preacher? Unfortunately, Poschinger did not leave any further explanations. At that time, it is certain, however, that Viennese Masonry was in crisis. Several important members had already left the lodge *Zur Wahrheit*, which was definitely dissolved in 1789.[128] There also is no further information available about the Masonic activities of Albert (Franz Xaver) Tschick.

Both Dominicans continued their official ministry. Poschinger was Court Preacher, even under Joseph II's successors Leopold II and Francis II, until 1795, when he retired for health reasons.[129] He died in his convent on January 24, 1796.[130] Tschick remained a pastor in Burgschleinitz and, in addition, he was appointed vicar forane of the Eggenburg district in September 1787.[131] He held these two offices until his death in 1802.[132] Tschick thus never returned to a convent, although formally he never ceased to belong to the Order of Preachers.

Concluding Remarks

The relationship between the Dominicans in Vienna and the Catholic Enlightenment has not gone unnoticed by researchers, but its study has been limited to noting an affinity between the philo-Jansenist reform circles and the Order, with attention mainly devoted to Pietro Maria Gazzaniga, who held a chair at the university from 1760 to 1780.[133] The present study broad-

128. Reinalter, "Ignaz von Born als Freimaurer," 60-64.

129. Wolfsgruber, *Die k. u. k. Hofburgkapelle*, 336-37.

130. *Intelligenzblatt der Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung vom Jahre 1796*, no. 87, July 9, 731–32; Brunner, *Der Prediger-Orden*, 13.

131. *Protocollum expeditorum*, stored in St. Pölten, DA, Konsistorialkanzlei, Protokolle 1787, fol. 68v.

132. The exact date of death is uncertain. According to one source Tschick died on February 21; see *Series parochorum in Burgschleinitz. Composita a Wilhelmo Bielsky Can. Regulari S. Augustini in Herzogenburg*, stored in St. Pölten, DA, Pfarr- und Klosterakten, Burgschleinitz 1. Another source cites 10 April; *Rerum gestarum gubernante almam provinciam Hungariae [...],* stored in Vienna, DCA, Bücher Nr. 57, fol. 228r.

133. Hersche, *Der Spätjansenismus in Österreich*, 109-18; Adam Seigfried, "Die Dogmatik im 18. Jahrhundert unter dem Einfluss von Aufklärung und Jansenismus," in: *Katholische Aufklärung und Josephinismus*, ed. Elisabeth Kovács (Vienna, 1979), 241–65, here 257–63; Klueting, "The Catholic Enlightenment in Austria," 135–36 and 151; Lydia Bendel-Maidl, "Reflexionen über das Gebet in theologischen Lehrbüchern der Aufklärung," in: *Katholische Aufklärung und Josephinismus. Rezeptionsformen in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa*, ed. Rainer Bendel and Norbert Spannenberg, [Forschungen und Quellen zur Kirchen- und Kultur-

ens the view of this relationship by devoting attention to two friars, Albert Tschick and Franz Poschinger, whose sympathies for the Enlightenment eventually led them to join Freemasonry. Strictly speaking, only Poschinger belonged to the Viennese Dominican convent. Therefore, Tschick leads to possible expanded research on the attitude of the Dominicans of the Order's province in Austria and Hungary to the Enlightenment and Freemasonry. The research into the history of the Dominican *studium generale* and the academic-intellectual activities of the friars in the capital of the Habsburg monarchy in the eighteenth century, which the author of this article is currently carrying out, probably will shed more light on the relationship between the Order and Catholic Enlightenment as well. One would like to know more about the religious and academic milieu in which Poschinger was formed and from which he never distanced himself. Of course, the same question of religious and intellectual formation exists regarding Tschick, but in his case one would have to deal with another *studium generale* of the Dominican Province *Hungaria*, namely the one in Graz.

The stories of Tschick and Poschinger confirm what the historians Burson and Loiselle (and others) stated regarding the conviction of many in the eighteenth century about the possible compatibility between a clerical vocation and Masonic activity. Anyway, among a broader group of Masonic clergy in Vienna in the 1780s, they were the only Dominicans. Although the reason for joining is explicitly documented in the sources only in Tchick's case, it seems to be fundamentally true for both of them that they wanted to have active fellowship with others—that is, also with other priests—who shared Enlightenment ideals, and to promote these ideals with them. As far as it can be judged, their decision for their respective lodges seems to correspond to the character and intensity of their Enlightenment attitude, preserved in the important testimony of their sermons.

Most notable is the evolution of Tschick's attitude, whose deeply clerical St. Peter's sermon of 1773 contrasts sharply with the anticlerical speech he delivered in 1783 at his lodge, *Zur wahren Eintracht*. The fact that he lived outside of a religious community exercising the priestly ministry from 1774 until his death in 1802 also raises the question of a possible connection between personal dissatisfaction with the religious way of life and his criticism of ecclesiastical authorities. His human character seems to have had positive aspects according to the testimony of a member of his

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geschichte Ostdeutschlands] (Cologne, 2015), 185–98, here 186–90. Gazzaniga, however, belonged to the Dominican Province of Lombardy and returned to his province in 1781. Selva, "Pietro Maria Gazzaniga," 270.

regiment, Baron von Enzenberg, although the scholar Münter noted Tschick's lack of maturity and balance. A complex personality!

In terms of their Enlightenment attitudes, Münter noted higher personal qualities in Poschinger, even if he observed similarities between Tschick and Poschinger. Perhaps Münter's observation that Poschinger had a "practical view" refers to the fact that Poschinger strove for a middle ground between tradition and reform by not taking too radical a stance, and so could make a greater contribution in advancing the Enlightenment reforms. There are indications that Poschinger was interested in a middle course and was able to take it: his sermons; joining the lodge *Zur Beständigkeit*, which—according to Leopold A. Hoffmann—was too pious and in which the members spoke strongly about Christ; keeping his office of the Court Preacher under the Reform Emperor Joseph II and his two successors Leopold II and Francis II; and living in his religious community until the end of his life.

Most likely Tschick and Poschinger were aware of the papal bulls condemning the association. However, in the specific state-church context of the Habsburg monarchy, in which the bulls were not officially published, they may not have felt obliged to be bound by them. One should not forget that their contemporary, canonist Joseph Valentin Eybl, provided various arguments against absolute papal power in his writings since the 1770s.[134] Little is known about the position of the Viennese (Austrian) Dominicans on Regalism. However, it is just as highly probable that Tschick and Poschinger were aware of possible inconveniences in their ecclesiastical and religious milieu, as indicated in the above-mentioned cantata event in the Dominican convent concerning Tschick. However, they do not seem to have feared the *Freimaurerpatent*'s order to submit lists of lodge members to the state authorities. They did not react to the reorganization of the association by quitting immediately, as several other members of the lodges did. What finally led to their separation from the brotherhood remains open, as does the role the ideals of the Catholic Enlightenment played in the rest of their lives.

134. For Eybl, see David Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment. Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton, NJ, 2008), 215–59.

Questions about the Priestly and Missionary Vocation and the Ordination of John Nepomucene Neumann

Rudolf Svoboda*

Several publications are devoted to John Nepomucene Neumann (1811–60), bishop of Philadelphia and the first American male saint. The emphasis in these texts is mainly on his time in the United States since 1836. On the contrary, the time of his youth and maturation in Europe, in Bohemia, is somewhat neglected. However, his decision to pursue the priesthood, becoming a missionary, and going to the United States before receiving holy orders were the most significant events preceding everything else which followed in the young man´s life. In the hagiographic and professional literature, these decisions are mentioned in various contexts and often contradict each other. Based on research from contemporary sources stored in European and American archives, this study shows the accurate chronology of Neumann's decisions, as well as their demonstrable causes, based not only on his decisions but also on the specific situation in his native Diocese of Budweis, and also complicated relations between the Catholic Church and the state.

Keywords: John Nepomucene Neumann, missionary, priesthood, vocation, ordination

Introduction to the Topic

Presenting in more detail the life of John Nepomucene Neumann (1811–60) is not so much needed in the Catholic environment. A native of Prachatice in South Bohemia (today's Czech Republic, at the time part of the Austrian Empire), a missionary and later a bishop of Philadelphia, he has a firm place in the history of the nineteenth-century Church.

After studying at the gymnasium and philosophical lyceum in Budweis (1823–31, today České Budějovice), he first began his local theological stud-

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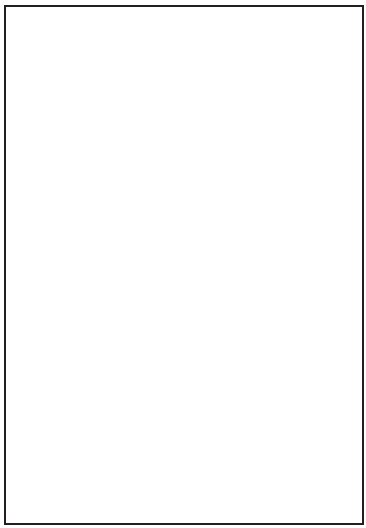

John Neumann, photograph, c. 1860, photographer unknown. Printed with permission of the Redemptorist Archives, Philadelphia.

ies (1831–33), which he then completed in Prague (1833–35). He arrived in the United States in the spring of 1836. He was ordained a priest in New York, and was sent to serve in Williamsville near Niagara Falls. Among other things, he was in charge of local German-speaking immigrant communities. In 1840 he joined the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer (Redemptorists) in Pittsburgh. In 1847 he became head of the Redemptorist province and served in Baltimore. In 1852, he became bishop of Philadelphia, in which position he remained until his sudden death in 1860.

As early as 1886, the diocesan part of the process leading to his canonization, which took place in 1977, began in Philadelphia and Budweis, making him the first male American saint. His legacy is still alive, especially in the American, Czech, Austrian, and German environments. Due to his Czech-German origins, Neumann became, among other things, a bridge for understanding and reconciliation between Czechs and the Germans who were expelled from the territory of former Czechoslovakia after World War II. He is considered one of the chief architects of American Catholic education. Many educational institutions around the world carry his name.

Many authors, mainly from the Redemptorist congregation, have so far devoted themselves to Neumann's life and spiritual legacy. Rather hagiographic works predominate, but we can also find purely academic

studies. In these professional studies, attention was paid mainly to his priestly and episcopal work, i.e., from his arrival on missions to the United States of America in 1836 until he died in 1860.[1] However, there are significant gaps in the knowledge of the previous stages of his life, i.e., his childhood years, studies, and decision-making for the profession of priest and missionary.[2] One of the reasons was the practical impossibility of examining some sources in the former Czechoslovakia (today's Czech Republic), which was behind the Iron Curtain from 1948 to 1989. It was in these years when Neumann was beatified (1963) and subsequently canonized (1977) that academic interest in Neumann's figure was at its peak worldwide. The totalitarian communist regime persecuted the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia; Catholic Church historiography practically did not exist at that time, let alone address the figure of Neumann.[3]

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1. Almost complete older inventories of the Neumann bibliography can be found in the journal *Spicilegium Historicum Cogregationis SSmi Redemptoris* (hereinafter referred to as *SHCSR).* See Andreas Sampers, "Bibliographia Neumanniana, 1860–1962," *SHCSR*, 11, no. 1 (1963), 261–72; Andreas Sampers, "Bibliographia Neumanniana, 1963–1976," *SHCSR*, 24, no. 2 (1976), 512–20.

For the latest updated list, see Adam Owczarski, *Joannes Nepomuc Neumann (1811–1860)* (2022), 50 pp., manuscript, stored in the Archivium Generale Historicum Redemptoristarum, Roma (hereinafter AGHR Roma).

It should be mentioned that the golden period of the professional study of the character and work of John Nepomucene Neumann was the '50s to '80s of the last century, i.e., a time closely linked to his beatification and canonization. Among the key authors of this period who built their work on source research are Michael J. Curley, Nicola Ferrante, André Sampers, and Alfred C. Rush—all Redemptorists. Their professional work is still appreciated. Newer authors mainly focus on Neumann's theological and spiritual legacy. See, for example, Richard Andrew Boever, *The Spirituality of St. John Neumann, C.Ss.R., Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia* (unpublished PhD diss., St. Louis University, 1983); Richard Andrew Boever, "A Pressing Need of the German Immigrants: the Proposed German Seminary to Train Men for Ministry in America," *Redemptorist North American Historical Bulletin,* 37 (2010), 2–5; Richard Andrew Boever, "St. John Neumann´s Spirituality," *SHCSR*, 59 (2011), 35–66; Joseph F. Chorpenning, *He Spared Himself in Nothing: Essays on the Life and Thought of St. John Nepomucene Neumann, C.Ss.R.* (Philadelphia, 2003); Mary Teresa Tenbusch, *Saint John Nepomucene Neumann and Divine Providence* (Michigan, 2010); Gilbert A. Enderle, "St. John Nepomucene Neumann (1811–1860)—A Brief Memorial Biography of the Redemptorist Missionary Priest and Bishop, Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of His Birth and the 150th Anniversary of His Death," *SHCSR*, 59 (2011), 3–34.

2. A study by Rudolf Svoboda deals with the current state of research in this period. See Rudolf Svoboda, "John Nepomucene Neumann and Europe. Actual State and New Perspectives of Research Issue," *Theologos,* 23, no. 2 (2021), 61–69.

3. Texts by Czech authors, which were nevertheless written in Czechoslovakia before 1989, were published in samizdat and were distributed illegally. Others were written by Czech emigrants and published abroad. In general, however, it can be said that Czech Catholic historiography at that time was outside the mainstream of the world academic debate about Neumann.

The consequence, however, is that the circumstances of the very key moments of Neumann's life that make his character what he is are not entirely clear in the available literature: his decision for the priesthood, his decision for the missionary vocation, and finally his departure to the United States of America before he received the higher ordinations, i.e., subdeacon, deacon, and priestly ordinations. These fundamental decisions of Neumann's life are usually placed in various contexts but without the factual background given by the clear language of the sources. This lack of facts causes the authors to provide only basic or partial information; moreover, upon comparison, the data they provide contradict each other.[4]

This study, based on research from the sources, will try to clearly show Neumann's path to the priesthood and missionary vocation, and clarify the circumstances directly related to his departure to the United States. It will present these fundamental decisions of Neumann not only in the right chronological context, but also their demonstrable causes, which were determined not only by his desires and decisions but especially by the external circumstances of the relationship between the Catholic Church and the state, as well as the specific situation in his native Diocese of Budweis. Hence, the results of current historical research devoted to the history of the Diocese of Budweis[5] and Neumann's figure[6] are essential sources for this article.

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4. The collection of studies dedicated to Neumann, according to the available lists that are practically complete and constantly updated, can be found in the archives and library of the Istituto Storico Redentorista, Roma.

Since it would not make sense to cite several hundred publications of all kinds for this study, this paper will limit itself to the general statement that until about the 1950s, all authors draw data for the topic from Neumann's first biography, written by his nephew Johann Berger. See Johann Berger, *Leben und Wirken des hochseligen Johannes Nep. Neumann, aus der Kongregation des allerheiligsten Erlösers, Bischofs von Philadelphia* (New York, 1883); Johann Berger, *Life of Right Rev. John N. Neumann, D. D., of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia* (New York, 1884). From the 1950s onwards, the authors often refer to a high-quality monograph by Michael J. Curley, later to the book by the postulator general Neumann's beatification and canonization, Nicola Ferrante, and the published Neumann autobiography. See Michael J. Curley, *Bishop John Neumann, C. SS. R. Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia 1952; or under the name *Ven. John Neumann*, Washington, 1952); Nicola Ferrante, *Il beato Giovanni Nepomuceno Neumann, Vescovo di Filadelfia* (Rome, 1963); *S. Giovanni Neumann CSsR, Pioniere del Vangelo, Vescovo di Filadelfia,* 2nd ed. (Roma, 1977).

5. In recent years, fundamental monographs have been published on the history of the Diocese of Budweis, which deal with the topic in a broader European context. Among other things, they work with a wide range of professional studies dealing with the cultural and social environment of the time, of which there is not space to mention in this text. See Miroslav Novotný et al., *Die Diözese Budweis in den Jahren 1851–1907: Das Aschenputtel unter den Diözesen II* (Berlin, 2021); Miroslav Novotný, Rudolf Svoboda, Lenka Martínková, Tomáš Veber,

The Beginning of Neumann's Path to the Priestly Vocation

Many authors have tried to show in their texts that it was Neumann's piety that he brought from his father's house which led him to the priestly career directly from childhood. This leads to the impression that Neumann's childhood and youth were the definitive factors in the trajectory of his spiritual life, when in fact they were only one part of his road to holiness;[7] indeed, his autobiography, written just before the episcopal ordination (1852),[8] and his spiritual journal, which he kept during and shortly

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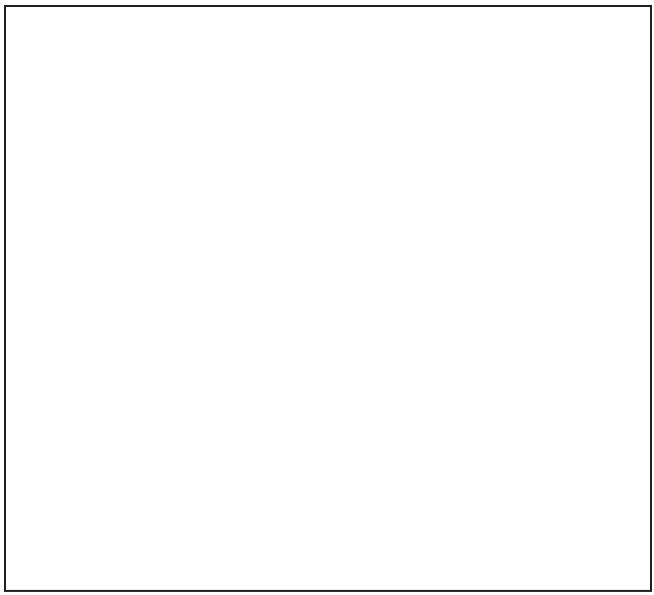
and Marie Ryantová, *Die Diözese Budweis in den Jahren 1785–1850: Das Aschenputtel unter den Diözesen* (Berlin, 2018); Rudolf Svoboda, *Počátky českobudějovické diecéze* (Prague, 2014).

These monographs are devoted to the figures of the bishops of Budweis, who, with their episcopates, are connected with Neumann's life. See Rudolf Svoboda, *Jan Valerián Jirsík: In the service of God, Church and Country* (Berlin, 2019); Rudolf Svoboda, *Nebroušený diamant: Třetí českobudějovický biskup Josef Ondřej Lindauer* (Prague, 2015); Rudolf Svoboda, *Johann Prokop Schaffgotsch: Das Leben eines böhmischen Prälaten in der Zeit des Josephinismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 2015); Rudolf Svoboda, *Arnošt Konstantin Růžička: Josefinista na českobudějovickém biskupském stolci* (Budweis, 2011).

6. This is regarding mainly studies devoted to the period of Neumann's study in Budweis in the years 1823–33 and Neumann's study of theology in Prague in the years 1833-35. See Rudolf Svoboda, "John Nepomucene Neumann in Budweis 1823–1833: Study at Gymnasium, Institute of Philosophy and Episcopal Priestly Seminary," *SHCSR*, 71, no 1 (2023), 67–117; Kurt Augustin Huber, "John N. Neumann's Student Years in Prague, 1833–1835," *Records of the American Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 89, nos. 1–4 (1978) 3–32; the same study was published in German as Kurt Augustin Huber, "Johann Nepomuk Neumanns Prager Studienzeit (1833–1835)," in: *Katholische Kirche und Kultur in Böhmen: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen,* eds. Joachim Bahlcke and Rudolf Grulich, [Religions- und Kulturgeschichte in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa, 5] (Münster, 2005), 555–86.

7. See, for example, Emanuel Kovář, *Ctihodný sluha božť Jan Nepom: Neumann, biskup Filadelfijský v Americe* (Brno, 1910), 28–31; John F. Magnier, *Short life of the venerable servant of God John Nepomucene Neumann, C. SS. R, Bishop of Philadelphia* (St. Louis, 1897), 10–12; Josef Alois Krebs, *Lebensgeschichte des ehrw: Dieners Gottes Johann Nep. Neumann, aus der Kongregation des allerheilligsten Erlösers, Bischofs von Philadelphia* (Winterberg, 1899), 7–8; James J. Galvin, *Blessed John Neumann, Bishop of Philadelphia* (Baltimore, 1964), 11; Brother Flavius, *The House on Logan Square: A story of Blessed John Neumann* (Indiana, 1967), 25–30; Elizabeth Odell Sheehan, *John Neumann: The Children´s Bishop* (New York, 1965), 11; Jane F. Hindman, *An Ordinary Saint John Neumann* (New York, 1977), 8–15.

8. Ioannes Nepomecenus Neumann, "Kurze Lebensbeschreibung (Baltimore, 27. März 1852)," ed. Andreas Sampers, *SHCSR,* 11, no. 1 (1963), 83–104; Alfred C. Rush, trans. and ed., *The Autobiography of St. John Neumann, C.SS.R.* (Boston, 1977) (hereinafter *The Autobiography*). Neumann's autobiography was translated into Czech by the Czech Redemptorist Rudolf Chytil (1910–2004). At the time of communist totalitarianism, it came out in samizdat together with specimens of selected letters by Neumann, and letters from his classmates and family members. See Rudolf Chytil, *Neumanniana* (Nové Zámky, 1978), 7–27.
Thanks to the publication of Neumann's autobiography in English, most authors already describe Neumann's path to the priesthood accurately.



Patrick J. Hayes, *Neumann House,* June 2023, photograph. Printed with permission of the photographer.

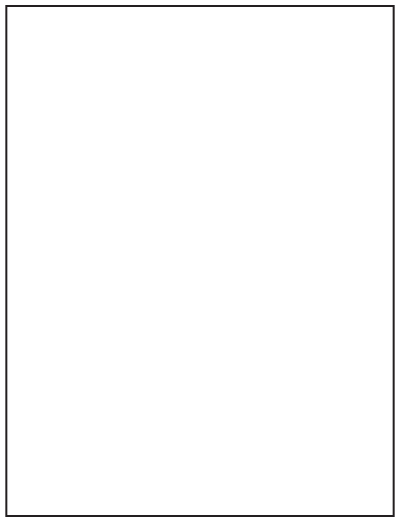
after theological studies (1835–1839),[9] testify that the path was not so clear-cut.

In his spiritual journal, he confessed that during his studies in philosophy (1829–31), his affection for Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller, Johann Gottfried Herder, and other poets distracted him from the priestly vocation.[10] Only at the end of philosophical studies did he try to decide between medicine, law and theology. He speaks of it this way:

> When the time came, at the end of the philosophy course, for me to decide either for theology, or law or medicine, I felt more of an attraction for the

9. William Nayden, ed and trans., "John Nepomucene Neumann's Spiritual Journal," *SHCSR,* 25, no. 2 (1977), 321–418; *SHCSR*, 26, no. 1 (1978), 9–74; *SHCSR*, 26, no. 2 (1978), 291–352; *SHCSR*, 27, no. 1 (1979), 81–152. However, it should be emphasized that the whole of Neumann's Spiritual Journal was not published in this way, but only its French part; the German part was not published in its entirety. Neumann's Spiritual Journal is found in the Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province in Philadelphia (hereinafter RABP), a copy in the AGHR Roma. This study will only refer to the *Journal* with the relevant enrollment date Neumann made in it.

10. Curley, *Bishop John Neumann,* 17; *Journal*, April 9, 1835.



Neumann as a ten year old boy, c. 1821, daguerreotype. Photographer unknown. Printed with permission of the Redemptorist Archives, Philadelphia.

> latter. This was all the more so because out of eighty or ninety applicants for theology, only twenty were to be accepted. For this, along with the best scholastic transcript, recommendations were also required, and I wanted to have nothing to do with them. In this uncertainty about the choice of a profession, I came home in the autumn vacation of 1831 and found that my father was not against letting me study medicine in Prague, even though the expenses involved were great. My mother was not too happy with this. Even though I pointed out to her that I did not know anyone who would back my request for admission into the institute for the study of theology (everyone studied there without paying tuition), nevertheless she thought that I should give it a try. I then wrote a letter of application and sent it to Budweis by a special messenger to the bishop's consistory and shortly after that I received the letter of acceptance into the Budweis Theological Seminary. From that moment on I never gave another thought to medicine and I also practically gave up completely the study of physics and astronomy on which I preferred to spend time, and this without any great difficulty.[11]

This description of the circumstances that led Neumann to study theology and the priestly vocation is very convincing. On a more general level, we can say that the family, and indeed priestly role models from Prachatice

11. *The Autobiography*, 26.

Painting of Prachatice, 1670, painting, stored in the Prachatice town museum.

and Budweis, played their part, as well as the kind spiritual formation from the Piarist and Cistercian fathers, whom he met almost daily at the gymnasium and philosophical lyceum in the years 1823–31. He was also very well prepared to study theology regarding knowledge and skills.[12]

The Decision to Go on a Mission

In determining the exact time when Neumann decided to go on a mission to the United States, one finds only moderately accurate information in the Neumann literature: most authors limit themselves to a brief statement that this decision was made while studying theology; however, some authors differ in both the precise timing and Neumann's motives.[13]

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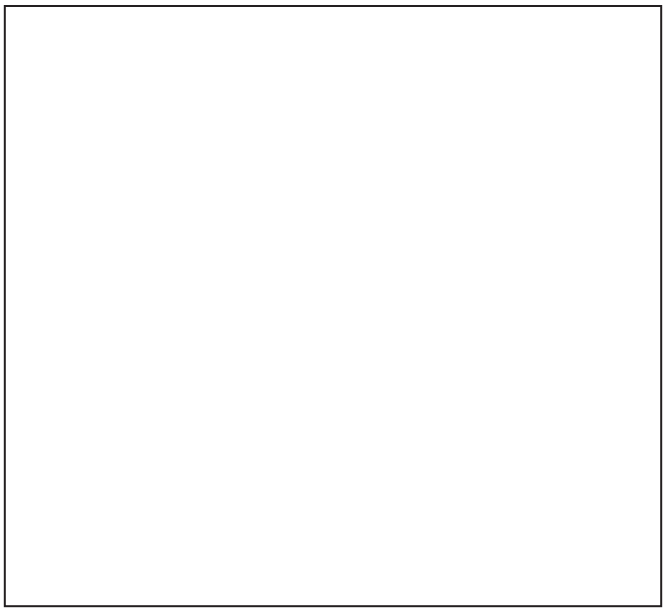
12. Neumann's study years and his spiritual formation are discussed in detail in the already-mentioned study: Rudolf Svoboda, "John Nepomucene Neumann in Budweis 1823–1833."

13. The information already mentioned by Curley, Ferrante, Rush, and Sampers is quite correct; most other authors are based on Neumann's autobiography.

Relatively common—but inaccurate—is the association of Neumann's decision for missions with the period of his study in Prague or even with the very period of the end of his theological studies. See *De vita Ven. Joannis Nep. Neumann, Episcopi Philalelphiensis Comentatoriolum ex annalibus provinciae americanae desumptum, Ilchestriae* (Ilchester, MD, 1911), 9–11;



Patrick J. Hayes, *České Budějovice—Neumann lodged here across from theologate,* June 2023, photograph. Printed with permission of the photographer.

Neumann mentions the period of this decision and its circumstances both in his letters and his autobiography. In a letter to his parents on February 11, 1836, written shortly after his definitive departure from home, he spoke of a goal for which, despite ". . . obstacles, I had been preparing for three years: for the ease with which I acquired the necessary knowledge for my future work and many other circumstances, I was convinced that it was the call of God who urged me to sacrifice myself for the salvation of the ignorant, even though this thing seems difficult to me."[14]

Tom Langan, *John Neumann: harvester of souls* (Huntington, 1976), 7–8; Sheehan, *John Neumann: The Children's Bishop*, 32-33. Sometimes—again inaccurately—too many priests in Neumann's native diocese were cited as the main reason for Neumann's decision to go on missions, but this was—as will be shown below—one of the reasons why his priestly ordination was postponed at the end of his theological studies. See Magnier, *Short life of the venerable servant of God John Nepomucene Neumann,* 14–15.

14. Ibidem, Letter from John Nepomucene Neumann to his parents, February 11, 1836.

The vast majority of Neumann's letters have not been preserved in the originals, but in copies made for the purpose of the canonization process. Unless otherwise stated, these copies are found in RABP, St. John Neumann Collection, Neumann Letters, 1823–1860, Box 1 and 2; also in AGHR Roma, Neumanniana, Box 1; and last but not least in Státní oblastní archiv

It is therefore easy to count that the decision had to be made in the second year of studying theology, i.e., in the school year 1832/33, when he was in Budweis. He also confirms this in his autobiography (1852) and states that in the second year of theological studies, he began to read the reports of the Leopoldine Foundation,[15] especially the letters of Frederic Baraga (1797–1868) and other missionaries working in North America.[16] Baraga was an inspiring personality. Originally a Slovenian priest, he signed up for missions to the United States in 1830, where he began his service there in 1831. He sent letters to Europe, which Neumann then read.[17]

Further details were given by his classmates when they testified about him, either in the 1870s for his nephew Berger's forthcoming book or in the following decade as part of the aforementioned diocesan process with Neumann:

His classmate Jan Šavel testifies that Neumann and another classmate Vojtěch Schmid decided to go on a mission to North America after being

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Třeboň (National Regional Archive Třeboň, hereinafter referred to as SOA Třeboň), Biskupský archiv České Budějovice (Episcopal Archive České Budějovice, hereinafter referred to as BA ČB) Procesní akta k blahořečení a svatořečení filadelfského biskupa J. N. Neumanna [Procedural Acts on the Beatification and Blessing of J. N. Neumann, Bishop of Philadelphia], card. 947.

15. *Leopoldinenstiftung für das Kaiserreich Österreich zur Unterstützung der amerikanischen Missionen* (also *Leopoldinen-Missionsverein* or *Leopoldinen-Stiftung,* also *Leopoldine Society* or *Leopoldine Foundation*) was a missionary association that collected financial and material support for the Catholic Church in North America. The association was founded by Emperor Francis I in Vienna on May 13, 1829. The association was named after his recently deceased daughter, Archduchess Leopoldina (1797–1826), who was also the Empress of Brazil. Since 1831, the association published written reports about its activities four times a year, under the title *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung im Kaiserthume Oesterreich, zur Unterstützung der katholischen Missionen in Amerika*.

The Leopoldine Foundation began operating in the Diocese of Budweis shortly after its founding thanks to the priest Hermann Dichtl. It was Dichtl who was a great inspiration for Neumann. See Kurt Augustin Huber, "Hermann Dichtl (1802–1877)," in: *Katholische Kirche und Kultur in Böhmen*, 493–553.

16. *The Autobiography*, 27.

17. Baraga, like Neumann, eventually became a bishop. First, in 1853, he became the titular bishop in Michigan; finally, in 1857, he became the first bishop of the diocese of Sault Sainte Marie (Michigan), known since 1865 as Sault Sainte Marie-Marquette, today the diocese of Marquette.

Baraga was not the only missionary or supporter of missions who sent letters back to Europe in the early 1830s. The Leopoldine Foundation published the letters in printed reports. As well as Baraga, the letters were written by, for example, Simon Senderl, Franz X. Haetscher, Francis P. Kenrick, and Friedrich Résé (Frederick Reese). Curley lists the letters published between 1831 and 1832. See Curley, *Bishop John Neuann,* 22, 406–07.

ordained priests while walking along the Vltava river.[18] They informed a few of their classmates of their intention but they did not want to join them, even though they allegedly admired the plan. Another classmate, Antonín Laad, also links this decision to Neumann's intensive New Testament study, specifically 2 Corinthians, chapter 11. The New Testament was part of the study in the second year of theology, i.e., in the school year 1832/33, which confirms the time of Neumann's decision.[19] Leonard Žďárský talks about the fact that he started preparing for his mission by studying languages and also by doing physical exercises.[20] Another classmate, Karel Krbeček, also clearly links Neumann's decision to studying at Budweis and reading reports from the Leopoldine Foundation.[21]

At this time, he decided with Vojtěch Schmid to ask the bishop of Budweis Arnošt Konstantin Růžička (1816–45) to send them to study in Prague. They hoped to learn French and English there. The bishop had the opportunity to send several of his seminarians to the Prague archbishop's seminary, which also meant continuing his theology studies at the university. In this case, he complied with Neumann's request so that with the next school year, he could continue his studies in theology in Prague and prepare for his future mission.[22] However, he did not send Vojtěch Schmid with him, but rather the already mentioned Antonín Laad.[23] Neumann spent the third and fourth years of theological studies in Prague, where he began to write his spiritual journal, clearly showing his persistent desire to become a priest and missionary.[24]

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18. Testimony of Vojtěch Schmid from April 4, 1872, sent to Johann Berger. See Curley, *Bishop John Neumann,* 23, 407; Svoboda, *Jan Valerián Jirsík,* 152–54, 174–75; *The Autobiography*, 27.

19. Testimony of Antonín Laad from April 11, 1872, sent to Johann Berger. See Chytil, *Neumanniana,* 139–40; Berger, *Leben und Wirken*, 42; Curley, *Bishop John Neumann,* 23.

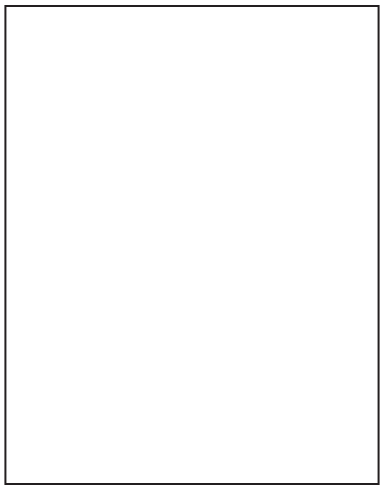
20. Testimony of Leonard Žďárský from February 27, 1872, sent to Johann Berger. See Chytil, *Neumanniana,* 146; Curley, *Bishop John Neumann,* 23 and 407.

21. Neumann's classmate Karel Krbeček writes about it in two testimonies. The first was sent to Berger in 1872 and is stored at the RABP in Philadelphia; see RABP, St. John Neumann Collection, Berger Papers, Box 47. Curley describes it as "Krbecek Notizen." See Curley, *Bishop John Neumann,* 13 and 405. Krbeček gave further testimony on November 3, 1886 during an interrogation in the diocesan process leading to the canonization of Neumann. The content differs from the original testimony only in formulations or other emphases. See SOA Třeboň, BA ČB, Procesní akta k blahořečení a svatořečení filadelfského biskupa J. N. Neumanna, sign. I-A-1, card. 947.

22. *The Autobiography*, 27–28.

23. Antonín Laad writes that at that time, in the archbishop's seminary in Prague, two places became available for theologians of Budweis. Bishop Růžička sent Neumann and Laad to Prague on the recommendation of the rector of the seminary, Jan Körner. See Chytil, *Neumanniana,* 141.

24. See Huber, "John N. Neumann's Student Years in Prague, 1833–1835."



Portrait of Arnošt Konstantin Růžička, c. 1816–1845, painting. Painter unknown. Currently stored in the gallery of Bishops of Budweis in the bishop's residence.

Departure to the United States of America Without Higher Ordinations, and the Dimissorial Letter of the Bishop of Budweis

In almost all the texts devoted to Neumann, there is a fairly simple explanation of why he was ordained a priest after arriving in the United States: there was an abundance of priests and priesthood candidates in Neumann's native Diocese of Budweis, so there was no place for him. The illness of Bishop Růžička is also sometimes mentioned.[25] A closer and more comprehensive explanation is missing here. [26]

25. The vast majority of authors visibly draw from Berger's book and Neumann's autobiography. However, both sources do not provide more information.

Only a few authors cite—incorrectly—Růžička's illness as the only reason for Neumann's non-ordination. See Flavius, *The House on Logan Square,* 7–8; Paschal Turbet, *The Little Bishop: Episodes in the Life of St. John Neumann, CSsR* (Boston, 1977), 36–37; Sheehan, *John Neumann: The Children´s Bishop*, 40; Josef Koláček, *Der Heilige der Neuen Welt Johannes Nepomuk Neumann* (Stein am Rhein, 1979), 43; René Buggenhout, *Trekker voor God, Mgr. Jan Nepomuceen Neumann, Redemptorist, Vierde Bisschop van Filadelfia* (Leuven, 1963), 17.

26. With references to Neumann's Spiritual Journal and correspondence, Michael J. Curley best describes this topic in his monograph on Neumann and Alfred C. Rush in a precisely executed note-taking apparatus on the English translation of Neumann's autobiography. Augustin Reimann also describes the topic in some detail. See Augustin Reimann, *Böhmerwaldsohn und Bischof von Philadelphia*, *Johann Nepomuk Neumann CssR 1811–1860* (Königstein, 1960; Czech samizdat version *Syn Šumavy a biskup ve Filadelfii, O životě Jana Nepomuka Neumanna*), 22–26. However, none of these authors give an overall picture to us.

Several questions could help clarify the whole matter: Why was he admitted to study and formation when there was no place for him in his native diocese? Why did Bishop Růžička send him to study in Prague when Růžička would not be interested in his priestly ministry? Was his situation quite specific, or did it also apply to other priesthood candidates who completed their theology studies in 1835? Was his ordination only postponed, or should he not have been ordained at all? Was the postponement of the ordination the immediate reason for his departure overseas? Was it common at the time to go on missions—and not be a priest?

The circumstances of Neumann's departure from his native diocese caught the attention of *promotor fidei*, the so-called devil's advocate, Gustavo Persiani, when, in 1896, he examined documents from ordinary diocesan processes with Neumann, which took place in Budweis and Philadelphia in 1886–88. Among other things, he came across in his written documents that Neumann did not have a so-called *litterae dimissoriae*—a dimissorial letter confirming that he met all the conditions for receiving higher ordinations and that he was duly released from the diocese. He, therefore, asked for clarification on this matter before the apostolic process began.[27] Therefore, we can ask another question: Why was he not properly released by his bishop when he left the diocese?

An explanation of why Neumann and his classmates, who graduated in theology in the 1834/35 school year, did not receive higher ordination shortly after completing theology, as was common at the time, i.e., in June or July 1835, is to be found in the connecting together of different causes: in general, the specific relationship between the Catholic Church and the state, i.e., the Habsburg monarchy or later Austrian Empire, and also some specific circumstances concerning the Diocese of Budweis and its bishop, Arnošt Konstantin Růžička.

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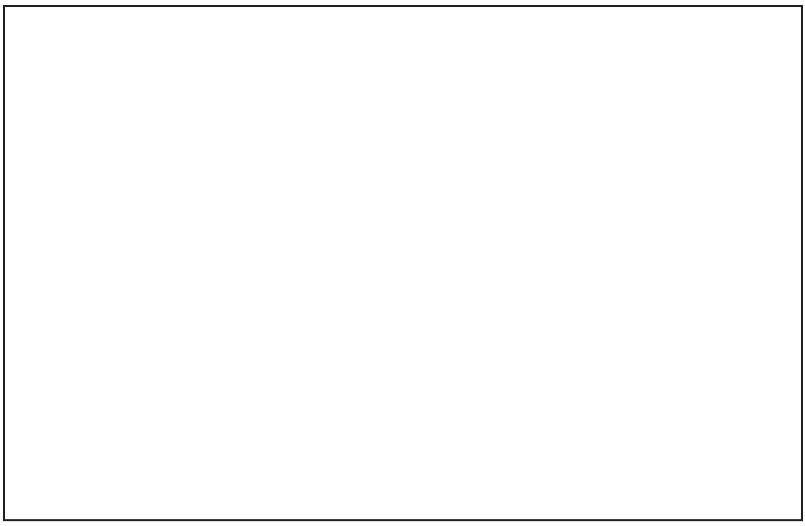
27. See Nicola Ferrante, "La causa di beatificazione e canonizzazione di S. Giovanni Nepomuceno Neumann, 1886–1976," *SHCSR*, 24 (1976), 485–511. It was also published in *Studia Neumaniana: Sancto Joanni Nepomuceno Neumann in solemni canonizatione obsequii fratrum munus,* [Bibl. Hist., 6] (Roma, 1977), 348–74.

For an English version of the article, see Nicola Ferrante, "The Cause of Beatification and Canonization of St. John Nepomucene Neuman, C.ss.R (1886–1976)," *The Province Story, A Redemptorist Historical Review,* 3, no. 2 (1977), 33–66. See *Philadelphien. seu Budicen. Beatificationis et canonisationes Servi Dei Ioannis Nepomuceni Neumann e Congregatione Sanctissimi Redemptoris, Episcopipi Philadelphiensis. Animadversiones R. P. D. Promotois Fisedi Super Dubio, Roma 1896,* in: *Philadelph. seu Budvice. Ser. Dei Joann. Nepom. Neumann. Positio Super Introductione Causae*, AGHR Roma, Neumanniana, Book SN1, pp. 1–71.



Confirmation of lower ordinations of February 11, 1836, signed by Arnošt Konstantin Růžička, Bishop of Budweis, stored in the Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province, St. John Neumann Collection, Box 1, Early education. Printed with permission of the Redemptorist Archives, Philadelphia.

Since the reign of Empress Maria Theresa (1740–80) and her sons Joseph II (1780–90) and Leopold II (1790–92), there had been a church-political system in the Habsburg monarchy called Josephinism, after Joseph II. Within it, the Catholic Church, on the one hand, was in a privileged position in the state, so in addition to the Church administration and pastoral care, it was also in charge of supervising trivial (i.e., elementary/primary) schools, which was a very broad and important competence given compulsory schooling. At the same time, however, the state used the Church in order to govern more effectively, and, because of that, it did not hesitate to intervene directly in the internal affairs of the Church. The state often exercised its influence, among other things, on the education of priests and, last but not least, on individual priestly careers. Since the reign of Joseph II, priests who were not financially secure received a salary from the state from the so-called Religious Fund. It was a state-controlled fund that originated primarily from the assets of Church institutions abolished during the reign of Emperor Joseph II.

On the one hand, of course, it helped the Church because the livelihoods of the priests in this way were well ensured and they were no longer

pauperized. On the other hand, in poorer dioceses, this caused considerable dependence on the state because the bishops had to prove to the state authorities that the adepts of higher ordinations had the so-called *titulus mensae*, that is, they were financially secure. If this was not the case, the bishop had to apply for funding from the state Religious Fund.[28] Such a request could be rejected for various reasons. Although the bishop could theoretically ordain a new priest, the financially-insecure priests would then have to live "at the bishop's expense," and relations with the state authorities could also deteriorate. Therefore, something like this was out of the question. After all, episcopal nominations were also in the hands of the state and, therefore, the emperor, so the bishops' manifestations of "disloyalty" were rare.

The Diocese of Budweis, founded only in 1785, owned almost no property. Not only all the priests but also the bishops, the members of the cathedral chapter, and all the officials of the episcopal consistory received a salary from the state.[29] It was a relatively large number. To look more closely, in 1834, the Diocese of Budweis numbered 841,329 people and was almost homogeneously religious—with the exception of a few hundred Jews and several dozen people professing the Lutheran and Calvinist denominations, nearly the entire population was Catholic.[30] They were cared for by 876 priests, of whom 777 were secular and 99 were religious. The diocese had a total of 424 places of official church administration.[31] In the first half of the nineteenth century, a sufficient number of priesthood

28. This financial security originally consisted of a commitment to secure financially a cleric who was taken on by cities, nobility, corporations, monasteries, or private individuals.

29. On the establishment of the diocese and its financial provision, see Novotný, Svoboda, Martínková, Veber, and Ryantová, *Die Diözese Budweis in den Jahren 1785–1850.*

30. "Přehled duchovenstva království Českého roku 1834" [Overview of the Clergy of the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1834], *Časopis pro katolické duchovenstvo* [Journal for Catholic Clergy], 9, no. 1 (1836), 182; Svoboda, *Arnošt Konstantin Růžička*, 116.

31. See C*atalogus Universi Cleri tum Saecularis tum Raegularis Episcopalis Dioeceseos Bohemo-Budvicensis sub glorioso Regimine Reverendissimi ac Illustrissimi Domini Domini Ernesti Constantini Ružiczka Dei Gratia Episcopi Bohemo-Budvicensis Musei Regni Bohemiae—Societatis Philharmonicae ad promovendam artem musicam quoad sacra, nec non Societatis ad promovendam industriam, et ad prospiciendum caecis de sustentatione Membri Activi. Anno MDCCCXXXV. Budvicii—Bohemorum. Typis viduae defuncti typographi Martini Zdarssa,* dirigente Joanne Seeger (Budweis, 1835).

The data given in this catalogue of the clergy correspond to the data in the Overview of the Clergy of the Kingdom of Bohemia in 1834, issued by the provincial authorities. It states, among other things, that all parishes and other places of Church administration are fully occupied by priests. See "Přehled duchovenstva království Českého roku 1834," 182; Svoboda, *Arnošt Konstantin Růžička*, 116–17.

candidates were provided by a priestly seminary in Budweis, where 100 to 120 theologians studied for four years.[32]

The specific numbers of theology students and ordained priests in the twenties and thirties were as follows:[33]

School Year	Number of Theology Students in Budweis	Year of Priest Ordination	Number of Ordained Priests—Secular/Orders
1820/1821	90	1821	23/2
1821/1822	101	1822	18/2
1822/1823	102	1823	14/0
1823/1824	110	1824	23/0
1824/1825	118	1825	33/1
1825/1826	129	1826	19/2
1826/1827	158	1827	14/3
1827/1828	180	1828	20/0
1828/1829	201	1829	29/0
1829/1830	208	1830	31/2
1830/1831	192	1831	26/6
1831/1832	180	1832	33/1
1832/1833	143	1833	30/3
1833/1834	125	1834	10/1
1834/1835	***118***	***1835***	***13/3***
1835/1836	***120***	***1836***	***40/6***
1836/1837	124	1837	13/3
1837/1838	120	1838	14/6
1838/1839	126	1839	22/2
1839/1840	133	1840	18/3

32. The situation of the episcopal priestly seminary in Budweis was very specific. The episcopal priestly seminary practically overlapped with the diocesan Institute of Theology, i.e., there was an expected combination of formation and education. It was the same building where the seminarians could live and study. The seminary with theological institute was founded by an imperial decree of April 7, 1803. Studies began at the theological institute on November 4, 1804. From the beginning, however, only thirty young people lived in a one-storey seminary building in today's Kněžská Street, which also applied to the time studied by John Nepomucene Neumann. There was no place for other seminarians, so although they had the status of a seminarian, they had their private accommodation around the city and attended seminars regularly.

Their formation was quite complicated. The thirty places mentioned above were reserved mainly for poor students of the final two years. Neumann himself lived outside the seminary building for the first two years of his studies. He can therefore be described as a "seminarian" because he was admitted to a seminary that was housed in the same building as the Institute of Theology. However, he could begin to prepare more freely for his missionary vocation precisely because he did not have to live in the seminary building.

Data on the number of theology students and ordained priests do not correlate absolutely. On the one hand, even theology graduates could go to another diocese without higher ordination (as was the case with Neumann). On the other hand, among the newly ordained candidates for the priesthood, there could be a "late-finisher" from previous years or a graduate of theology from elsewhere (again, this could be in Neumann's case because he was returning from studies in Prague). However, graduates of theological studies in Budweis still made up the vast majority of future priests.

It should not be overlooked that from about the school year 1825/26 onwards, there was a substantial increase in the number of theology students for several years, as well as fluctuations in the number of ordained priests. The reason was the order of the state entitled *Court Study Commission* of March 31, 1825, according to which all priesthood adepts with effect from the following school year (i.e., 1825/26) had to be educated at the theological school (institute or faculty) of their home diocese.[34] This order caused a large problem for the Diocese of Budweis because, until then, many young men were going to seminaries in the surrounding dioceses. The most probable reason was the desire for better financial security in the future, which they could not achieve in the poor Diocese of Budweis. In any case, the regulation meant an immediate increase in the number of students in all senior years (second, third and fourth) of theological studies in Budweis and an increase in the number of applicants for theology (in other words, admission to the seminary). It is not without interest that twenty-five students were admitted for the school year 1824/25 and then a

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The standardized system of studying theology at this time allowed the diocesan Institute of Theology students to go easily to university to study theology—as happened in Neumann's case. Eventually, after completing basic theological studies, he could seek a doctorate. For more details, see Svoboda, "John Nepomucene Neumann in Budweis 1823–1833. Study at Gymnasium, Institute of Philosophy and Episcopal Priestly Seminary."

33. For information on the numbers of theology students in each school year, see Tomáš Veber, *Českobudějovický biskupský kněžský seminář a diecézní teologických institut v letech 1803–1850* (master thesis, Faculty of Theology, University of South Bohemia, Budweis, 2003), annex 4; for the numbers of ordained priests, see SOA Třeboň, BA ČB, *Matrika biskupských prací—Matrica seu Liber functionum episcopalium, 1786–1852,* Inv. No. 17, Book 17 (hereinafter *Matrica*, Book 17); SOA Třeboň, BA ČB, *Matrika biskupských prací—Matrica seu Liber functionum episcopalium (Matrica Functionum Episcopalium ab initio Episcopatus Bohemo-Budvicensis Pro Archivii Reverendissimi Episcopalis Officii adornata), 1786–1852,* Inv. No. 18, Book 18 (hereinafter *Matrica*, Book 18); Svoboda, *Arnošt Konstantin Růžička*, 121–22, 149.

34. See Miroslav Novotný et al., *Dějiny vyššího školství a vzdělanosti na jihu Čech od středověkých počátků do současnosti* (Budweis, 2006), 115.

year later, for the school year 1825/26, there were forty-four students.[35] At the time when Neumann was to be ordained, i.e., at the end of the school year 1834/35, the number of theologians at the Institute of Theology in Budweis was declining by degree. This was due both to the incremental departure of crowded years and to the tightening of the selection of candidates. We can therefore say that the numbers of theology students, i.e., seminarians, approximately ten years after the issuance of the above-mentioned state regulation, had stabilized again at approximately the level before 1825. For the diocese, this meant returning to the optimal number of theology students and newly ordained priests.

However, Neumann and his classmates were affected by all the above circumstances: the excessive number of newly ordained priests in the Diocese of Budweis in recent years meant that all the priestly posts the state was willing to fund were filled.[36] Therefore, the diocese leadership decided not to grant higher ordination to theologians who completed their studies in the school year 1834/35 until further notice.

Neumann, finishing his studies in Prague, learned of his unexpected situation at the beginning of the calendar year 1835—and, of course, this threw him into considerable uncertainty.[37] In a letter to his parents on May 16, 1835, he wrote:

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35. Svoboda, *Arnošt Konstantin Růžička*, 149.

36. Of course, they could go to another diocese if they had a place in it, and the bishop released them. However, the majority did not choose this path.

37. In the letters from the seminary to the parents of January 1 and April 3, it is clear that there were doubts as to whether this would happen:

"In case we are not ordained, it is just possible that I should undertake a journey into the kingdom [Bavaria—to visit uncle Philipp Janson] during the coming holiday, if only other circumstances will permit it. At least it would be my wish to spend this time travelling; however, most likely nothing will come of it, as we heard lately that many stations in the diocese of Budweis have become vacant. Around Easter I believe, we shall find out from the Rector of Budweis [Seminary, John Körner], how matters stand with us; we are going to stay in Prague only months more. This time, I hope, will pass rather quickly, because we have very much to do, and we have scarcely enough to be able to do all that."

"In your last letter, you wanted to know if I did know anything more certain about the ordinations. We receive very dissimilar reports in different ways. Some, namely, believe that we shall be ordained, others think not.

The Rector of Budweis has written us nothing at all about it, most likely, because they have not yet settled in the Consistory. On account of this uncertainty, I also could not write as yet to Munich and Obernburg [to invite relatives to ordination]. If the theologian, Zdiarsky, who most likely often comes to the Rev. Cathedral-provost, has written anything certain to Prachatice, I ask that you inform me with the next letter."

See AGHR Roma, Neumanniana, Misc. Neumann Items, card 1; see also the testimony of Antonín Laad from April 11, 1872, sent to Johann Berger, Chytil, *Neumanniana*, 140.

Grade Report, Theology in Budweis and Prague, 1835, stored in the Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province, St. John Neumann Collection, Box 1, Early education. Printed with permission of the Redemptorist Archives, Philadelphia.

> In regards to the ordination, we hope to learn something definite soon, because the Rector of Budweis, to whom we sent congratulations for his Saint-day, will answer us very soon. As we heard, the Bishop of Budweis is already well. In case we are ordained, we shall have our examinations earlier, and come home also for some days. On the 13th of this month, all those who were left over from last year were ordained, and we cherish the most certain hope that we shall also be, as soon as we come to Budweis.[38]

38. Letter of John Nepomucene Neumann to his parents, Prague, May 16, 1835 (this cited letter was not preserved in its original, and its copies are stored in above mentioned archives, see note 14 for archival information).

However, time passed, and the good news from Budweis did not come.[39] But he was still determined for his mission.[40] He finished all the exams in Prague, and in July he went home to Prachatice.[41] There he also told his mother and sisters about his intention to go on missions, and then he also told his father.[42]

Probably in August or September, Neumann and Vojtěch Schmid were briefed by their priestly mentor, Hermann Dichtl, cathedral vicar of Budweis, that he had received good news from the director of the seminary in Strasbourg, Andreas Räss, which could resolve their situation.[43] Räss announced that Bishop Francis Kenrick had empowered him to admit German-speaking priests or students of theology to the Diocese of Philadelphia. For Neumann and Schmid, this seemed like a good solution to their situation: they could go on missions soon, even without ordination.

With Dichtl's support, they approached the Leopoldine Foundation for travel money. The foundation refused, arguing that the bishop of Philadelphia, and not they, should apply for a financial contribution. With another request, they turned to Bishop Růžička and the Budweis cathedral chapter (in other words, to the episcopal consistory, because the canons were part of the diocesan leadership), saying that they would like to leave the diocese as soon as possible.[44] However, they were clearly refused.[45] The rejection was most likely due to financial reasons. It did not mean a rejec-

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39. We can read the uncertainty and worries in his Spiritual Journal: "It's doubtlessly because I am afraid it won't really come to pass . . . the whole business of my ordination may simply fall through!" (*Journal*, May 22, 1835); "I heard also today that our Bishop is not any worse. Still my hopes for ordination are slim; my expectations regarding my own improvement are so weak I hardly even want to be a priest right now" (*Journal*, June 18, 1835); "Concerning our ordination, today we heard from Fr. Prinz that in the seminary at Budweis they doubt that we shall be ordained. In the letter we received regarding minor orders nothing at all was mentioned about it." (*Journal*, June 28, 1835).

40. *Journal*, June 24 and 25, 1835.

41. The final canonical examinations for the priesthood were taken at the end of the studies he completed in Prague, not in Budweis, as some authors write. He then left Prague on July 8 and arrived in Prachatice on July 10. See *Journal*, July 7, 19 and 23, 1835. On the contrary, inaccurate information can be found in *The Autobiography*, 28, where Neumann claims to have arrived home at the end of August.

42. He told his mother and sisters of his decision on July 24 and his father on July 26, 1835. See *Journal*, July 25 and 29, 1835.

43. Neumann mentions in his Spiritual Journal that Hermann Dichtl visited France in June and July. Along the way, he probably met Räss. See *Journal*, June 24, 1835.

44. Bishop Růžička was apparently acquainted with the intention of Neumann and Schmid to go on missions. See *Journal*, August 8 and September 11, 1835.

45. *Journal*, November 4, 1835.

tion of their intention as such. This is shown by the fact that the bishop, at Dichtl's request, permitted the organization of a collection among the diocesan priests for both young missionaries. In the end, enough money was collected for only one—and Neumann was chosen. It could not be a complete rejection of Neumann's plan by the diocesan leadership, as the consistory sought his father's written consent for his departure,[46] and Neumann's passport, which he received in mid-December 1835, was processed through the episcopal consistory's office.[47] In the meantime, he was still preparing to leave—he continued studying languages and thought about what his departure would mean for his family.[48]

In his autobiography, Neumann writes that Růžička was so ill at the time of his arrival from Prague to southern Bohemia in August 1835 that it seemed that he would not be able to carry out ordinations for five to six months.[49] So far, it has not been possible to prove precisely when Bishop Růžička was ill; however, references in the literature devoted to the history of the Diocese of Budweis generally mention the years 1834–35 as the years of Ružička´s illness. A partial answer can be found in the already quoted *Register of Episcopal Works* (*Matrica seu Liber functionum episcopalium*). Here it is quite clear from the records that in 1834, Bishop Růžička did not carry out any acts connected with blessing or consecration (e.g., bells, churches, altars, etc.) and did not do any subdeacon or deacon ordinations. He limited himself to a few priestly ordinations in the chapel of his episcopal residence, which he usually did not do. Thus, it can be said that he limited his episcopal activities at this time, perhaps because of illness.[50] However, when the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand I and his wife

46. His father gave John written consent to go on a mission on August 9, 1835. He also received a recommendation from the dean of Prachatice, Enders. See *Journal*, August 8, 21 and 29, 1835.

47. *Journal*, December 11 and 13, 1835.

48. Karel Krbeček—who was in the same situation as Neumann—testifies to this on November 3, 1886 as follows:

"After the theological studies he had done, no ordination took place in Budweis that year, and therefore not even a Servant of God was ordained here. This was because many [priestly candidates], almost the whole of the previous year, did not find a placement or a job. The bishop at the time said that it would be better to wait at home without ordination than to be idle at home as priests. The Servant of God, however, was not idle at home but preparing to travel to America. I say all this from my own experience." Krbeček also talks about Neumann's intention to go on missions before the ordination and to be ordained where there is a lack of priests. See SOA Třeboň, BA ČB, Procesní akta k blahořečení a svatořečení filadelfského biskupa J. N. Neumanna, sign. I-A-1, card. 947.

49. *The Autobiography*, 29.

50. See *Matrica*, Book 17 and 18; Svoboda, *Arnošt Konstantin Růžička*, 178.

Anna visited Budweis between September 2 and 5, 1835, Růžička was already in such good physical condition—which Neumann himself speaks of in his letter and diary—that he not only welcomed them personally but also he brought them to his residence, where the imperial couple found accommodation. After the visit, he travelled to Prague with them.[51] It can therefore be said with great certainty that it was not the bishop's illness that hindered Neumann's ordination. There can be no doubt that Bishop Růžička expected to consecrate Neumann and his classmates (whether they had completed their studies in Prague or Budweis) sooner or later. After all, Neumann's classmates were ordained priests on March 25, 1836, when Neumann was already travelling overseas.[52]

Regarding the circumstances of the departure itself, it must be said that Neumann finally left home without saying goodbye on February 8, 1836. He arrived in Budweis, from where he wrote to his parents—but he also visited the bishop and asked him to issue the necessary documents. His visit to the episcopal consistory is evidenced by the confirmation of lower ordinations of February 11, 1836, signed by Bishop Růžička and the episcopal notary and secretary Johann Schreglich but also by a written certificate dated the same day of the completion of his theological studies, and his good morals and piety. However, Bishop Růžička did not sign this certificate—it bears just the signature of Johann Geith, the provost of the cathedral chapter and the chancellor of the consistory.[53] Of course, Neu-

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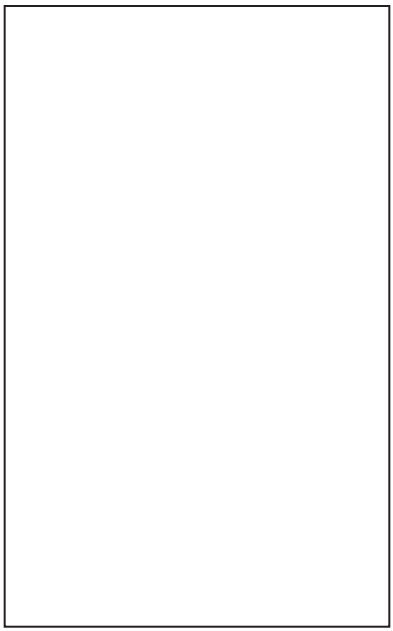
The historiographers of the Diocese of Budweis, Franz Mardetschläger and Kurt Augustin Huber, also write that the appointment of a coadjutor began to be seriously considered at this time. Cf. Franz Mardetschläger, *Kurz gefasste Geschichte des Bistums und der Diöcese Budweis zur Jubiläumsfeier ihres hundertjährigen Bestehens* (Budweis, 1885) 24–25; Kurt Augustin Huber, "Ein josephinischer Pfarrer," *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte von Böhmen-Mähren-Schlesien,* 14 (1997), 93–109, here 98–99. However, this was not confirmed in either the Czech or Austrian archives. See, for example, SOA Třeboň, BA ČB, *Arnošt Konstantin Růžička, Styk s vídeňským papežským nunciem a vídeňským arcibiskupem v náboženských a církevních otázkách, 1732–1744,* sign. II/2/b/5, card. 13. It was not until 1841 that in a personal letter Růžička asked the bishop of Linz (a neighbouring diocese), Gregor Ziegler (1827-52), to ordain to the priesthood nineteen alumni because of his illness. See Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv Linz, Diözesanarchiv Linz, Briefregister—Brief Nr. 1158 from July 15, 1841.

51. See Svoboda, *Arnošt Konstantin Růžička*, 174.

52. See the testimony of Antonín Laad, Chytil, *Neumanniana*, 144.

53. Confirmation that Neumann received the tonsure and four lower ordinations on July 21, 1832, as well as confirmation of Neumann's good manners and piety, can be found in Neumann's estate in Philadelphia. Both certificates are from February 11, 1836, and the signatures and seals are authentic. See RABP, St. John Neumann Collection, Box 1, Early education.

Records in the *Journal* of February 17 and March 2, 1836 indicate that he took all the documents and recommendations with him for the bishop.



Confirmation of Neumann's good manners and piety from February 11, 1836, signed by Johann Geith, the provost of the Budweis cathedral chapter and the chancellor of the consistory, Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province St. John Neumann Collection, Box 1, Early education. Printed with permission of the Redemptorist Archives, Philadelphia.

mann had to have other documents with him, especially the testimonials from his studies. However, he did not receive the most important documents, the so-called dimissorial letters, i.e., documents in which the bishop confirmed that Neumann had fulfilled all the conditions for receiving higher ordinations and dismissed him as a cleric from his diocese in order to serve in another diocese (so-called exeat).[54] When Neumann visited the bishop on February 12, he received only his blessing.[55] He then left Budweis on February 15.[56] Růžička's reason why he did not issue dimissorial

54. Confirmation of fulfilment of all conditions for higher ordination and release from the diocese could be found in a single document.

55. Letter of John Nepomucene Neumann to his parents, Budweis, February 11, 1836.

56. This date is evident from a letter from John Nepomucene Neumann to his parents in Strasbourg, dated February 28, 1836. It states that on the day after his departure, on February 16, he arrived in Linz, which corresponds in time to the distance between the two cities. On the contrary, in his autobiography from 1852, he mentions February 13 as the day of

letters to Neumann is unknown. However, he probably wanted a written confirmation of admission to the new diocese first. Neumann had no such confirmation.

So Neumann left without higher ordinations and a dimissorial letter, but with the legitimate hope of being accepted by Bishop Kenrick into the Diocese of Philadelphia. He travelled through Linz to Munich, where this hope was dashed because he learned that Bishop Kenrick had revoked the authorization given to Räss, so he would not accept him into his diocese. When Neumann arrived in Strasbourg at the end of February, Räss confirmed this bad news—but at the same time promised to write to Bishop Dubois in New York if he would accept Neumann into his diocese.[57]

Neumann's ship sailed from Le Havre, France on April 20, 1836.[58] He saw New York on May 28. After the necessary quarantine days, he could go to the mainland and visit Bishop Dubois on June 2.[59] He received a warm welcome, which he describes in a letter to the dean of Prachatice, Enders, on June 27, 1836:

> In an hour I was then at the Cathedral, next to the episcopal residence. At my ringing a short copper-red servant came, who led me first to Rev. Reffeiner, for whom Rev. Canon Räss in Strasbourg had given me some books to take along. He was greatly delighted at my arrival and told me that the former had written on my account to the Most Rev. Bishop and already three weeks ago a letter had been sent to Europe, informing him of my reception into the Diocese of New York.[60]

Reffeiner then introduced him to Bishop Dubois. Neumann showed him his documents, and the bishop confirmed that he wanted to accept him into his diocese and that he had to ordain him immediately:

> When I represented to him, that it could not be done, as I had no written dimissorials from his Excellency, even if I left with his knowledge and consent—that I wished to be able to prepare myself for some months for

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departure from Budweis, but he was probably wrong here—after all, many years had passed since then. See *The Autobiography*, 30; *Journal*, February 17, 1836.

57. *The Autobiography*, 31; in a *Journal* entry dated March 31, 1836, he claims that Räss had already written to Bishop Dubois.

58. Letter of John Nepomucene Neumann to his parents, Le Havre, April 11, 1836.

59. Alfred C. Rush gives a detailed time analysis of Neumann's arrival. See *The Autobiography*, 96.

60. Letter of John Nepomucene Neumann to the Dean of Prachatice Philip Enders, New York, July 27, 1836 (this cited letter was not preserved in its original, and its copies are stored in above mentioned archives, see note 14 for archival information).

> the reception of the Holy Orders, he answered that he could and must ordain me as soon as he returned from the visitation already scheduled, which in spite of his age of 80 years he conducts every year without interruptions. As there is here no Religious Fund nor Benefices, I was ordained Subdeacon on the 19th of this month, Deacon on the 24th, and Priest on the 25th on the title of the American Mission.[61]

Bishop Dubois sent the said letter, announcing the admission of Neumann to his diocese to Canon Räss. Neumann's autobiography mentions that he even determined the place of his future priestly work.[62] Räss forwarded a letter from Dubois to the episcopal consistory in Budweis, where Bishop Růžička signed a letter of release on June 28, 1836, in which he also agreed to Neumann's ordination—and sent it to New York.[63] However, as we know, John Nepomucene Neumann had already been a priest for three days by then.

When, in 1896, the bishop of Budweis Martin Josef Říha answered questions from the promoter of faith with the participation of witnesses, he was able to confirm that John Nepomucene Neumann had been duly released by Bishop Růžička from his home diocese, referring to the specific minutes of the episcopal consortium from June 1836.[64] The devil's advocate had already been satisfied with this answer, and this question was never asked again during the canonization process. [65]

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61. Ibid.

62. *The Autobiography*, 34.

63. The dimissorial letter itself has not been preserved. Evidence that it was sent can be found in Vojtěch Schmid's letter to Václav Neumann on July 20, 1836. Schmid hoped that by mid-August, it could be in New York so that John Neumann could be ordained at the end of August. See Letter from Vojtěch Schmid to Václav Neumann, July 20, 1836, Chytil, *Neumanniana*, 170.

64. See the document of June 5, 1892, signed by the bishop of Budweis Říha and witnesses. SOA Třeboň, BA ČB, Procesní akta k blahořečení a svatořečení filadelfského biskupa J. N. Neumanna, fol. 379–84; the original of the letter sent to Rome can be found in AGHR Roma, Neumanniana, S. Neumann—Miscelanea.

65. In a decree of Cardinal Cajetan Alois-Masella, the Prefect of the Congregation of Rites, of December 15, 1896, announcing the settlement of doubts about the life and virtues of John Nepomucene Neumann, the departure for the United States by Neumann is mentioned in this way: ". . . *a proprio Episcopo Budvicensi rite dimissus. . . ,*" i.e., that he was duly released from his home diocese. See *Decretum Philadelphien. seu Budvicen. Beatificatonis et canonizationis Ven. Servi Dei Ioannis Nepomuceni Neumann e Congregatione Sanctissimi Redemptoris Episcopi Philadelphiensis*, AGHR Roma, Neumanniana, Book SN1. On the same day, Pope Leo XIII issued the *Decretum introducendae causae*, officially launching the apostolic process with Neumann.

Neumann's words shed light on and justify Bishop Růžička's decision when he left the Diocese of Budweis.[66] By no means can he be criticized for refusing to release Neumann from his diocese for legal reasons in order to be ordained elsewhere when he did not know where he was going. In addition, the later revocation of Bishop Kenrick's authorization given to Räss to receive theologians and priests for his diocese also vindicates Ružička's circumspective decision. The exeat had no chance of arriving in New York in time, i.e., before Neumann's ordination. Neumann himself had sailed across the sea for forty days, and it is also known from other testimonies that the delivery of a letter between Europe and the United States took about a month and a half, sometimes two months, and could be lost for various reasons.[67] In any case, we can confirm that the release letter existed, but it is impossible to confirm that it arrived in New York. Nevertheless, for Neumann, it no longer mattered.

Conclusion

The young John Nepomucene Neumann decided to start his journey to the priesthood only during the holidays of 1831 when he stayed home in Prachatice after graduating from the philosophical lyceum in Budweis. He decided to become a missionary only during his second year of study of theology in Budweis, and from that moment on he began to prepare for his mission. The postponement of the higher ordinations of Neumann and his classmates ending their theological studies in the school year 1834/35 was directly caused by the excessive number of ordained priests in recent years. However, this situation arose not only as a result of a specific state intervention in the education of future priests but also due to the financial dependence of the poor Diocese of Budweis on the state Religious Fund. Neumann eventually chose not to wait for priestly ordination in his native diocese, but preferred instead to go on missions to the United States without receiving higher ordinations, without official release by the bishop from the diocese, and in relative uncertainty about his future. However, his decision can be considered a rather logical outcome of his vocation to missionary work.

66. Until recently, he had a very bad reputation as a Josephinist and a Febronian who had poorly taken care of his diocese. This erroneous view was clearly refuted in the monograph Svoboda, *Arnošt Konstantin Růžička*. This bishop was very kind, especially caring for priestly vocations, the seminary, and the seminarians. See esp. 110, 138–50.

67. See Letter from Vojtěch Schmid to Václav Neumann, July 20, 1836, Chytil, *Neumanniana*, 170–71.

Indigenous Globalism: Confraternity and Connectivity in Colonial Cuzco

Frank Lacopo*

This article places colonial Cuzco's Nombre de Jesús confraternity within early modern global history. The Nombre de Jesús served as a focal point for collaboration between Indigenous elites and Jesuit proselytizers in the old Inca capital. An ambiguous archive and forgeries related to the confraternity have led to sensationalist narratives about the confraternity. While compelling from the perspective of archival and forgery studies, this discussion ultimately distracts from a more thoroughly-grounded history of a mixed European and Indigenous institution. This article draws on evidence outside the forgeries to show how Indigenous mission history was globally connective and collaborative rather than European-dominated.

Keywords: Jesuits, Missions, Peru, Ethnohistory, Atlantic History

Introduction

In the Jesuit Order's central archive in Rome is a two-volume manuscript chronicle of the Society's history in Peru, dating to 1600.[1] About

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1. The anonymous 1600 chronicle spans two volumes that are accessible in Rome at the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [hereafter ARSI] in the Provincia Peruana series [hereafter "Peru"], Peru 25 and 26. The manuscripts have been studied and fully transcribed by Francisco Mateos. For Mateos' critical description and discussion of the volumes, see Francisco Mateos, ed., *Historia General de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Perú*: *cronica anonima de 1600 que trata del establecimiento y misiones de la Compañia de Jesus en los paises de habla española en la America Meridional*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1944), I, 79–107. While historians may never have a full understanding of the chronicle's authorship, it was certainly written in Peru and almost definitely had multiple authors. As Mateos suggests, Antonio de Vega may have been involved in writing at least part of the chronicle's Cuzco section, since Vega wrote a more focused history of the Cuzco mission in the same year. It is possible that the 1600 anonymous chronicle is in part a condensation of many provincial histories written in Peru at the end of the sixteenth century on the order of Superior General Claudio Acquaviva.

It should be noted that ARSI also holds a second copy of the chronicle in a different hand, but with no significant scribal differences in the sections relevant to this article. The call

halfway down the page numbered "20" begins a detailed description of "the confraternity of the Nombre de Jesús, of the Indians," which had been established in Cuzco. By most measures, this was a typical sodality, the likes of which existed across the early modern Catholic world.[2] The confraternity provided means of mutual aid and Christian burial for its members, organized events on feast days, and established a presence in one of the city's important churches. In the Jesuit church where the confraternity met and for which they provided a significant amount of the decoration, the group

> [had] their spiritual discussions every Wednesday and Friday of the year, their memorials [for] holy weeks, [and] their communions [for] many feast days. Here every day of earthly time [*del mundo*] the blind and poor pray the Christian doctrine and sing, with other devout couplets and motets. This is something that has caused and continues to cause much admiration and edification. Others among them are skillful in music, without having learned except by ear. And being sightless they take from memory the responses and hymns to sing on feast days, and at the masses that they celebrate here for their dead.[3]

Additionally, the confraternity organized and participated in processions with priests to visit, console, and maintain the living spaces of the sick.[4]

But these were not the Nombre de Jesús' only significant characteristics. The confraternity was also a cultural and religious mediator between

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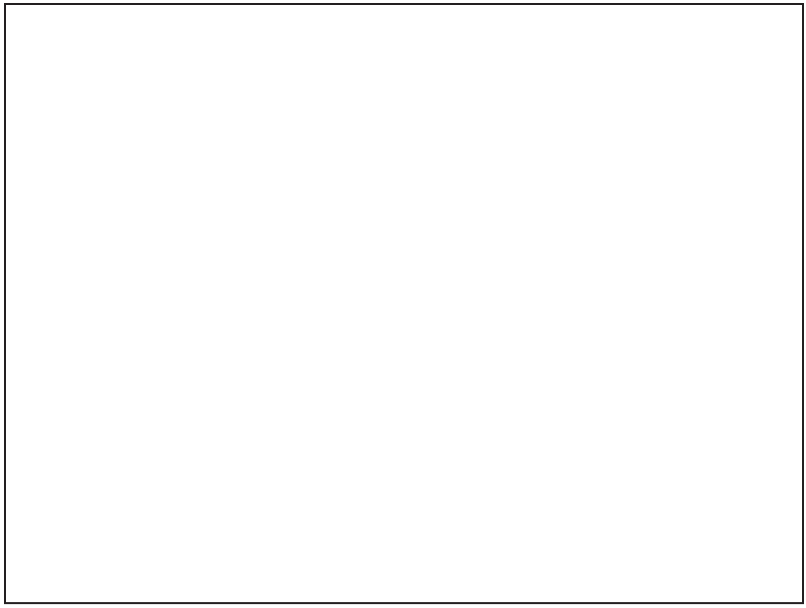
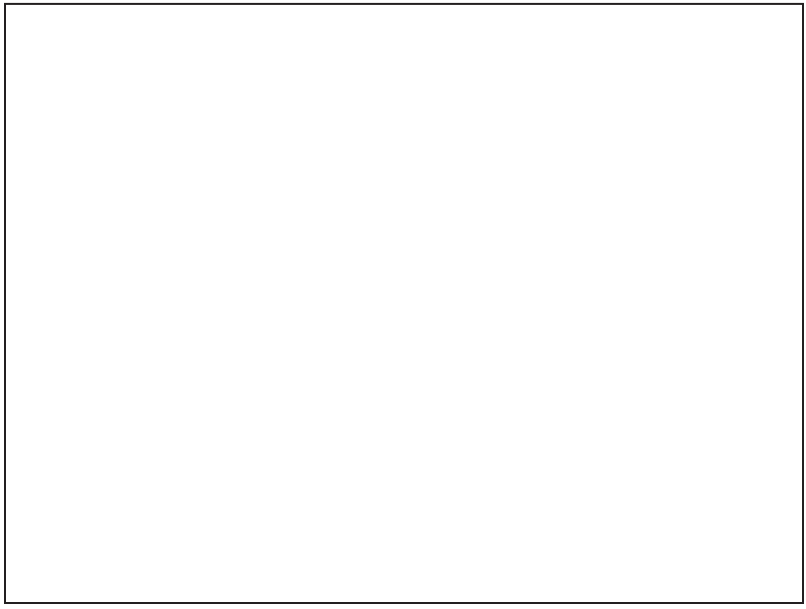
numbers for the second copies are ARSI, Peru 23–24. Comparison between the volumes might raise new and important questions for manuscript studies and knowledge transmission, but these matters lie outside the scope of this article.

2. See Christopher Black and Pamela Gravestock, eds., *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas*: *International and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Aldershot, UK, 2006), on the global confraternity phenomenon.

3. ARSI, Peru 26, p. 21: Mateos, ed., *Historia general de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Perú*, II, 36. Since Mateos' transcription is more accessible and preserves the original folio numbering, spelling, and abbreviations, this article cites from Mateos rather than the manuscript throughout the article. Mateos made very few errors in his transcription. Any that appear in a quoted passage are noted. "Aqui tienen sus pláticas sp[i]r[it]uales todos los miércoles y viernes de año, sus monumentos las semanas sanctas, sus comuniones muchas fiestas; aquí todos los días del mundo rezan la doctrina xpna. y la cantan, con otras coplas deuotas y motetes, los ciegos y pobres, cosa que ha causado y causa mucha admiración y edificación, y algunos de ellos son diestros en la música, sin poder auer aprendido más que de oydas, y por no tener ojos toman de memoria los responsos y himnos para cantar en sus fiestas, y en las misas que dizen aquí por sus difuntos." Author's own translation. Mateos corrects "cielos," "heavens," to "ciegos," "the blind," finding a likely scribal error. Mateos also retains "admiracion," although the scribe seems to have crossed out this word in the manuscript.

4. Mateos, ed., *Historia general de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Perú*, II, 37.





Cover and pages 20–21 from the anonymous chronicle (Peru, 1600), stored in ARSI, Peru 26. © Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu

Jesuits and Indigenous cuzqueños, and a means for expressing Indigenous prestige on the public stage.[5] The sodality hosted elections and served as a vehicle for the expression of status through patronage of the arts:

> The said confraternity has their cabildos and elections of their leader prioste and mayordomos and aldermen. There are in [the church] two chapels, the first belongs to the Yanakunas of the college, who are assistants and servants of whom we will speak when discussing temporal matters, and the other is of the same confraternity in which the father in charge of the sodality says Mass every day to the Indians. It has a very opulent image of Our Lady and a well-adorned sacristy and altar. Every day there it is augmented because a rich and very virtuous Indian, one of the first founders of the confraternity, Diego Cucho, wishes to endow it sufficiently, and already has it for his internment.[6]

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5. Throughout this article, I use the term "Indigenous" to refer to those descended from the Andes' pre-Spanish inhabitants, as this is both more illustrative and less pejorative than the historical "Indio/a" or "Indian" in modern usage. I use the term "Indian" only when quoting directly from primary sources, as this preserves the sense that colonial people had when writing and thinking about Indigenous people. As David Garrett points out, the city of Cuzco and its surroundings are exceptional as the geographical home of the precolonial Inca elite, who ruled the empire of Tawantinsuyu before the Spanish invasion. I have chosen the broader term "Indigenous" to describe members of the Nombre de Jesús confraternity owing to the dearth of information on specific individuals associated with the sodality. See Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*: *The Indian Nobility of Cusco*, *1750–1825* (Cambridge, 2005), 11, for a discussion on categorizing Indigenous people in colonial Cuzco.

6. Mateos, ed., *Historia general de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Perú*, II, 35. "Ylustra mucho nra. yglesia la cofradía del N[ombre] de Jesús, de los yndios que en ella está fundada, y en la yglesia de los mesmos yndios de que ya queda hecha relación, donde los cofrades de la dha. cofradía hazen sus cauildos y elections de su prioste y mayordomos y demás officiales o veintiquatros. [H]ay en ella dos capillas, la una es de los yanaconas deste collegio, que es lo mismo que ayudantes y criados, de quien se hablará después quando se trate de lo tenporal; la otra de la mesma cofradía en que se dize cada día missa a los yndios por el P[adre] que tiene a su cargo dha. cofradía. Tiene una muy rica ymagen de N[uestra] S[eñora], buen adorno de sacristía y altar, y cada día va en más augm[ento] porque la quiere dotar suficiente[mente] vn yndio rico y muy virtuoso, de los primeros fundadores de esta cofradía de Jesús, llamado Diego Cucho, y la tiene ya para su entierro." Author's own translation. Diego Cucho's name was corrected from another name that began with a "P," but the correction is too heavy in the manuscript to make out the original. This passage in particular is highly suggestive that the 1600 chronicle's section on the Nombre de Jesús is either drawn from or helped to generate Vega's history of the same year, as the relevant section in Vega's history opens almost identically: "Ilustra mucho nuestra iglesia la cofradía del Nombre de Jesús, que en ella está fundada, en la iglesia de los indios, donde los cofradres tienen sus cabildos y elecciones de su prioste y mayordomos. . . ." See Antonio de Vega, "Historia o enarración de las cosas sucedidas en este colegio del Cuzco destos Reynos del Perú desde su Fundación hasta hoy Primero de Noviembre Día de Todos Santos año de 1600," in: *Historia del Colegio y Universidad de San Ignacio de Loyola de la Ciudad del Cuzco*, ed. Ruben Vargas Ugarte (Lima, 1948), 42. The identification of the term "veintiquatros" with confraternal aldermen is not

The 1600 chronicle therefore provides a window into Indigenous interactions with the new colonial order and religion in Cuzco.

A straightforward study of the confraternity is valuable, but must acknowledge the sodality's complex historiographical position. In 1996, a corpus of documents hitherto unknown or ignored by most of the academic community appeared. Known collectively as the "Naples Documents," these sources seemed to rewrite basic understandings of the history of the colonial Andes.[7] The Nombre de Jesús became a somewhat unlikely part of the ensuing controversies. One of the publications about the documents implicated the confraternity, and particularly its European Jesuit allies, in an effort by the *mestizo* Jesuit Blas Valera to fake his death after an English attack on Cádiz and to return to Peru to advocate for a new, utopian, and Christian Inca Empire.[8] If verified, this finding would heavily revise basic knowledge about Latin American history.

As is the fate of many sensational discoveries, the crucial source within the Naples Documents which locates the Nombre de Jesús within the alleged Inca revivalist effort has been shown to be a forgery.[9] This article is an effort to move beyond sensationalist narratives and to center instead what can be known about the important confraternity. By directing attention toward more reliable documents, a new comparative and connective chapter on the global nature of Indigenous confraternities in the colonial Americas emerges.[10] Through examinations of sometimes-ambiguous but

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immediately obvious to a modern reader, although it was a common usage. A short discussion of this documentary problem is in Paul Charney, "A Sense of Belonging: Colonial Indian Cofradīas and Ethnicity in the Valley of Lima, Peru," *The Americas,* 54, no. 2 (1998), 385–86.

7. A study of the intrigue surrounding the Naples Documents is worth a monograph-length study on its own, and this author has therefore chosen to forego extensive discussion of them. For an accessible introduction to the documents' meaning and significance, see Kenneth Andrien, "The Virtual and the Real: The Case of the Mysterious Documents from Naples," *History Compass*, 6, no. 5 (2008), 1304–06.

8. Laura Laurencich Minelli, "El manuscrito *De las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Pirú*: un enfoque nuevo sobre su historia y autoría," *Anuac*, 3, no. 2 (2015), 3n3. For details surrounding Valera's accusation, imprisonment, and death, see Hyland, *Jesuit and the Incas*: *The Extraordinary Life of Padre Blas Valera, S.J.* (Ann Arbor, 2003), 1-2.

9. Erika Valdivieso, "Dissecting a Forgery: Petronius, Dante, and the Incas," *American Journal of Philology*, 142, no. 3 (2021), 493–533.

10. In its use of the term "connective," this paper generally follows Sanjay Subrahmanyam's discussions of "connected history," which simply insists that the early modern world was characterized, in part, by a marked increase in interregional connectivity, human movement, and flow of ideas across great geographical distances. As this article shows, some of the most crucial chapters in the seemingly locally-oriented Nombre de Jesús' history were

unforged sources, Indigenous-dependent missionary strategies, and the Jesuits Diego de Torres Bollo and Blas Valera, this article demonstrates that the Nombre de Jesús was a locus of complex collaboration between Indigenous and non-Indigenous actors in Cuzco. The Nombre de Jesús fits into the global history of missionary Catholicism, and is an especially illustrative example of how Indigenous actors could creatively resist colonial repression as they modified European organizational and devotional forms to serve their needs.

A Confraternity in Cuzco: Global Patterns and Local Strategies

Confraternities were voluntary associations whose principal purpose was to provide "social assistance as insurance and assurance" to members.[11] Despite the masculine inflection of the word "confraternity" (cognate with Spanish *cofradía*, Italian *confraternita*, and Latin *confraternitas*, meaning "brotherhood"), women and children could be members. Some institutions, including the Nombre de Jesús, were thoroughly mixed.[12] When functioning properly, most early modern confraternities made sure that their members received adequate care if sick and proper burial upon death. On both sides of the Atlantic, confraternities also extended positive incentives for joining, as they were major participants in public religious events and processions. They therefore served as centers of social association and as vehicles to enter important political networks.[13] The 1600 chronicle estimates the confraternity's membership at as many as five hundred, meaning that the institution's capacity to provide this wide variety of social resources was significant.[14]

The Nombre de Jesús provides an example of how a European form of lay social and religious organization and display spread across the Atlantic

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connective. Essential reading in the broad discussion of connected history begins with Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies,* 31, no. 3 (1997), 735–62, here 737.

11. Laura Dierksmeyer, *Charity for and by the Poor: Franciscan-Indigenous Confraternities in Mexico, 1527–1700* (Norman, OK, 2020), 35. During the period of Indigenous demographic crisis in the Andes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the resources that the confraternity could provide would have been crucial to its Indigenous members. For discussion of that topic, see Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*, 46–47.

12. Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, UK, 1989), 35–38; Dierksmeyer, *Charity for and by the Poor*, 113–16.

13. Black and Gravestock, eds., *Early Modern Confraternities in Europe and the Americas*, passim.; Dierksmeyer, *Charity for and by the Poor*, 72; Nicholas Terpstra, *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge, UK, 1999), 74.

14. Mateos, ed., *Historia general de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Perú*, II, 37.

as part of broader colonial processes, and specifically how Jesuit strategies for promoting charity and public piety could be transplanted from their original European, and particularly Roman, context and could adapt to colonial circumstances.[15] The confraternity's participation in Christian procession events is highly illustrative. During these processions, the anonymous chronicle reports that the confraternity members—men and women—went dressed in their ancestral garb, processing with candles and the "arms of the Nombre de Jesús."[16] Furthermore, the "prioste," or leader of processions, was to be a "principal Inca" *("Ynga principal")*. He carried a banner emblazoned with the emblems of the confraternity.[17] In subtle and sometimes not-subtle ways, Indigenous confrères appropriated the Nombre de Jesús to express and maintain their status in Cuzco after colonization. The confraternity was a locus of complex negotiation between the colonial state, the hierarchical Church, and Indigenous cuzqueños who needed a place of prestige in the colonial order.

The spread of Jesuit confraternities and the Society itself in the 1560s constituted part of what historians, including Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs, have identified as the "second evangelization" of the Andes.[18] This

15. Some discussion exists in English on the ways in which the Roman model of Jesuit confraternity spread in Italy, but more research is necessary into the spread of this devotional and organizational form. For a good starting point, see Lance Lazar, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy* (Toronto, 2005), 125–52. An expansive and longstanding literature exists on the establishment and variable functions of confraternities in Peru and colonial Latin America more generally. Classic introductions and case studies include, but are certainly not limited to, Olinda Celestino and Albert Meyers, *Las cofradías en el Perú: región central* (Frankfurt, 1981); Alicia Barzarte Martinez, *Las cofradías de españoles en la ciudad de México (1526–1860)* (Mexico City, 1989); Tetsuya Amino, "Las lágrimas de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana: Un milagro de la imagen de María y los Indios en diáspora de Lima en 1591," *Journal of Department of Arts and Sciences of University of Tokyo,* 22 (1990), 35–65. Dagmar Bechtloff, "La formación de una sociedad intercultural: las cofradías en el Michoacán colonial," *Historia Mexicana,* 43, no. 2 (1993), 251–63.

16. Mateos, ed., *Historia general de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Perú*, II, 37.

17. Ibid. The description of these processions evokes a similar scene discussed in the opening of Jose Carlos de la Puente Luna's *Andean Cosmopolitans: Seeking Justice and Reward at the Spanish Royal Court* (Austin, TX, 2018), 1. Here, Puente Luna recalls a 1610 Indigenous procession celebrating the canonization of Ignatius of Loyola. During the procession, the participants "carried gentlemen of royal Inca descent in litters" to the principal Jesuit church in the city. While Puente Luna does not identify the participants as members of the Nombre de Jesús, it is not inconceivable that they had a presence in this procession, given their Jesuit ties.

18. For a brief discission, see Juan Fernando Cobo Betancourt, "Colonialism in the Periphery: Spanish Linguistic Policy in New Granada, c. 1574–1625," *Colonial Latin American Review*, 23, no. 2 (2014), 127–28.

stage of proselytization developed during the establishment of a stronger monarchical state in Peru and campaigns to create new and largely artificial Indigenous communities known as "reductions," which aimed to Christianize and control colonized populations.[19] This was also a period (starting with, among other watersheds, the *Cédula magna* of 1574) when the colonial state began to implement aggressive policies to enforce the use of "general languages," typically pre-colonial imperial languages like Quechua and Nahuatl, at the expense of other Indigenous languages.[20] As missionaries existing on the boundaries between European and Indigenous cultures, the Jesuits acted as agents of these imperial projects. Indeed, Jesuits themselves occasionally saw the great diversity of languages spoken in Indigenous America as a diabolic trick to hinder evangelization.[21] As a confraternity in the heart of Quechua-speaking Cuzco, the Nombre de Jesús benefitted rather than suffered from the implementation of general language policies. The elites of Cuzco were, in this particular respect, in a relatively advantageous position to maintain their status through a confraternity under new colonial pressures, and could even co-opt the confraternity for their own goals.[22]

As José Carlos de la Puente Luna has discussed, colonized Andean people drew on a variety of strategies to prove their conversion and to certify their Christianization to colonial authorities.[23] The appearance of early, genuine, and total conversion to Catholicism was crucial for Indigenous

19. As Garrett notes, these reductions were not only often founded for the purpose of language policy and Christianization, but were modeled, at least in theory, on Castilian municipalities. Garrett, *Shadow of Empire*, 26.

20. For the relationship between "general languages," Spanish colonialism, and broader intellectual history in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see esp. Juan Carlos Estenssoro's "Las vías indígenas de la occidentalización: Lenguas generales y lenguas maternas en el ámbito colonial Americano (1492–1650)," in: *Langues indiennes et empire dans l'Amérique du Sud coloniale,* dirs. Juan Estenssoro and Cesar Itier, [Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez, Nouvelle série, 45 (1)], (Madrid, 2015), 15–36. The introduction of "general languages" in colonial Latin America has been the subject of a longstanding historiography, and is still politically- and socially-charged inside and outside strictly academic conversations. See Betancourt, "Colonialism in the Periphery," 119, 124.

21. See, for example, Akira Saito, "'Fighting Against a Hydra,' Jesuit Language Policy in Moxos," in: *Beyond Borders*: *A Global Perspective of Jesuit Mission History,* eds. Shinzo Kawamura and Cyril Veliath (Tokyo, 2009), 350–63, here 352. See also Sabine MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time*: *Rome*, *The Incas*, *Spain*, *and Peru* (Princeton, 2007), 174–75.

22. Although, as some have noted, the version of Quechua that eventually became accepted as a "general language" may have been largely an artificial colonial construct, the campaigns to promote the general language had to start with speakers of the language. For references and discussion on this debate, see Betancourt, "Colonialism in the Periphery," 138.

23. Puente Luna, *Andean Cosmopolitans*, 168.

elites who sought to maintain their status as *caciques* in the Spanish Empire. Inca and other Indigenous elites had to avoid the "stain of neophyte status" at all costs, since a "New Christian," whether in Iberia or across the Atlantic, was implicitly an imperfectly-integrated subject of the king.[24] In Cuzco, participation in a Jesuit confraternity would have functioned to demonstrate—if only publicly and officially—Indigenous elites' Christianization. It is therefore unsurprising that the confraternity also assisted in catechizing Indigenous people. Overall, the Nombre de Jesús represents a discreet aspect of colonial Peruvian history that can be located in local, regional, and global patterns.

Catechization, Adaptation, and Linguistic Politics in the Nombre de Jesús' World

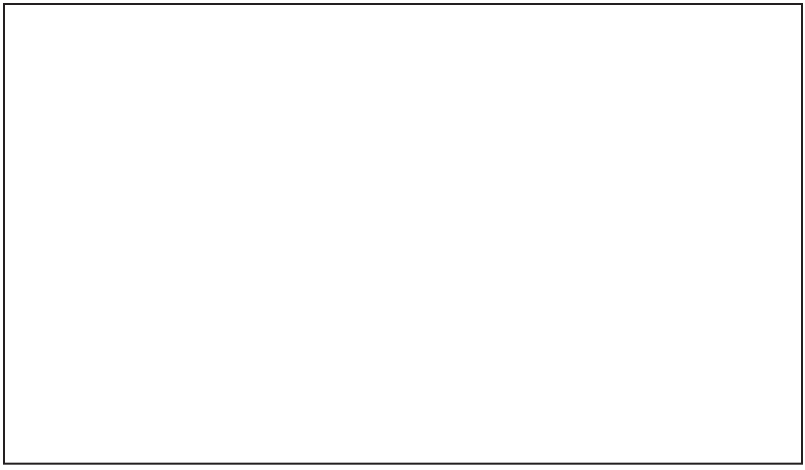
Indigenous Peruvian elites found themselves in a precarious position toward the end of the sixteenth century. Royal authorities demanded—at least in theory—absolute adherence to Catholic doctrine beyond that expected of a "New Christian" as a precondition for cacical authority and elite subjecthood. Yet the Third Council of Lima allowed mestizo ordination only under very restrictive circumstances, making elite families' direct participation in Christian religion exceedingly difficult.[25] Even after the Spanish crown reversed the ruling in 1588, the Jesuit hierarchy remained opposed to mestizo and Indigenous participation in the priesthood.[26] The Nombre de Jesús found alternative ways to participate in colonial religion, proselytization, and public life.

In addition to satisfying material needs, the confraternity served as a crucial point of intersection for Jesuit missionary activity and continuing expression of Indigenous identity and ritual display. Processions were a major element to Indigenous elites' strategies of maintaining status in Cuzco's urban space. The anonymous chronicle of 1600 recounts that "in [the confraternity's] processions and feasts, they go with candles glowing with the arms of the Nombre de Jesús, and the Indians go dressed in white shirts, colored [*y*]*acollas* or *mantas*, some of scarlet and others of crimson

24. Puente Luna, *Andean Cosmopolitans*, 167.

25. For a useful discussion of the Third Lima Council's objective to create a "stable missionary and pastoral regime," see Alan Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*: *The History of Christian Translation in Colonial Peru*, *1550–1650* (Notre Dame, IN, 2007), 28–29.

26. Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 88; Sabine Hyland, "Illegitimacy and Racial Hierarchy in the Peruvian Priesthood: A Seventeenth-Century Dispute," *Catholic Historical Review*, 84, no. 3 (1998), 439.



The Cuzco School, *Marriage of Martin de Loyola to Princess Dona Beatriz and Don Juan Borja to Lorenza (Ana María Lorenza de Loyola y Coya, daughter of Martin and Beatriz),* 1718, oil on canvas. Currently stored in the Museo Pedro de Osma. Painting is in the public domain. The painting depicts the bride wearing a women's *manta (lliclla),* albeit one with Europeanized elements.

damask."[27] In the same processions, the women are described as wearing *llicllas* and "*yacsas*," the latter perhaps an alternative spelling of "aqsus," an Indigenous women's dress that wraps around the wearer. These are all ref-

27. Mateos, ed., *Historia general de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Perú*, II, 37. "en sus processions y fiestas van con cirios encendidos con armas del N[ombre] [de] Jesús, y ban vestidos los yndios con camisetas blancas y acollas o mantas coloradas vnos de grana y otros de damasco carmesí; y las yndias con lliquillas y yacsas que son sus mantas y sayas o vasquiñas de las mesmas colores. . . ." Author's own translation. The scribe originally wrote "las armas del niño Jesus," but crossed out "niño" and corrected it to "nombre," recycling the "n" in the word. Another possible reading of "y acollas" is "and *ancallos*," which refers to festive garb and is defined in Diego Holguín's colonial dictionary as an "ancient" and "very precious" article of women's clothing. While this reading makes sense grammatically, the gendered inflection of the passage makes it less likely. See Diego González Holguín, *Vocabulario dela lengua general de todo el Peru llamada lengua Qquichua*, *o del Inca* (Lima, 1608), 17. For a discussion of *mantas*, see Julia K. McHugh, "Cloth Making and Meaning in the Viceregal Americas," in: *Painted Cloth*: *Fashion and Ritual in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Rosario I. Granados (Austin, TX, 2022), esp. 34–36. The author extends his deepest thanks to Kyle Marini, Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Art History at The Pennsylvania State University, for helping him to sort out these specialized questions regarding Indigenous textiles and clothing. It must also be noted that the distinction "scarlet" and "crimson" in the chronicle could be read as a juxtaposition between kermes and cochineal dye, although the source does not provide enough context to reveal the author's intent.

erences to Indigenous clothing within the context of the confraternal procession. A *manta*, or "mantle," is a square cape worn around the shoulders and is commonly fastened at the front with a pin. Specific delineations exist between women's and men's mantas, *lliclla*s for women and *yacollas* for men. In some of their forms, Indigenous women's *mantas* are also used to carry children. The Nombre de Jesús thus served as a vehicle for outward and multi-gendered Indigenous participation in the most important public rituals and festivities.

Particularly important was the feast of Corpus Christi. As Carolyn Dean has discussed, Corpus Christi events in Cuzco were opportunities when Indigenous elites "strategically occupied cultural interstices" not in merely nostalgic ways, but in a manner that allowed them to construct "new selves" in the colonial order.[28] During Corpus Christi events, Indigenous cuzqueños performed submission to the colonizer's religion and its central tenet of transubstantiation, but also expressed their own identities and insisted upon Indigenous culture's relevant and ongoing presence in community life.[29] The Nombre de Jesús' male and female members had a central place in the city's Corpus Christi festivities and, according to the 1600 chronicle, may have drawn as many as five hundred members to Corpus Christi and other similar events.[30] While these numbers are unreliable for precise demographic study, they convey a sense of the group that understood itself as descendants of the Inca elite and were attracted to the confraternity's events.

Perhaps even more significant than the confraternity's place in processions was their role in proselytization. The Nombre de Jesús' efforts on this front must be understood within the history of ordination. Peruvian Jesuit rhetoric called for top-down proselytization of Indigenous people by peninsular missionaries. Starting with campaigns aimed at purity within the ranks in the 1560s and solidified at Third Lima Council of 1582–83, Jesuit policy attempted to bar mestizos and Indigenous people from joining the Society, disqualifying the very people whose linguistic and cultural knowledge was crucial for the mission to Indigenous people.[31]

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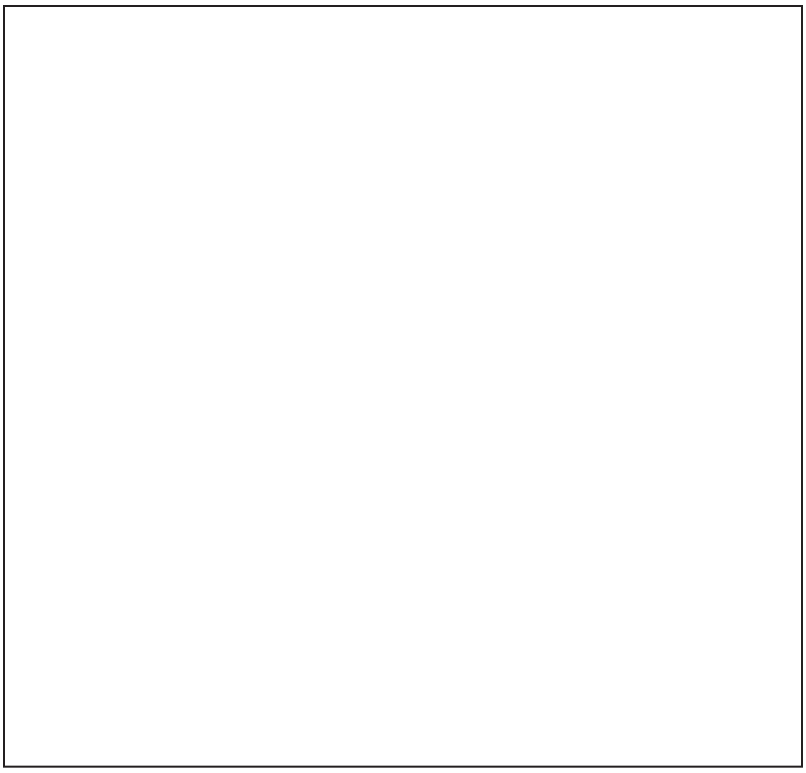
28. Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*: *Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco*, *Peru* (Durham, 1999), 3.

29. Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 2.

30. Mateos, ed., *Historia general de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Perú*, II, 37.

31. Sabine Hyland, "Illegitimacy and Racial Hierarchy," 431–54.



Parish of San Sebastián (detail), in the Procession of Corpus Christi series, c. 1680, oil on canvas. Artists unknown. Currently stored in Museo del Arzobispado, Cuzco, Peru. Painting is in the public domain.

This knowledge gap formed a central part of the Jesuits' theological and political dialogue. Immediately after the Third Lima Council (1582–83), which was called in part to establish a stable pastoral program for Peru, José de Acosta argued that European missionaries needed to take control of conversion in colonial lands.[32] He called Jesuits to catechize on their own terms, even if it involved learning the necessary languages with minimal Indigenous assistance. Such a project could be centered in Lima, Spain, and Rome rather than in the mission field, the latter corrupted by paganism as it was. In his 1588 *De procuranda Indorum salute*, Acosta asserted, "experience has shown that the greater part of [mestizos] prevent

32. For the objectives of the Third Lima Council, see Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 28.

[sound missionization] with their corrupt customs that do not improve on account of their skill in language."[33] Yet a single person with proficiency in Indigenous languages was "more valuable than a hundred vulgar catechists, for they can do more in a single sermon than many others can do in a hundred years."[34] Indigenous language was invaluable, but Indigenous people who learned those languages as children were to be cut out of the missionary process.

Linguists and anthropologists have investigated colonial Catholicism's attempts to appropriate Indigenous languages. Alan Durston, for example, documents the gradual absorption of Quechua into Peruvian catechetical literatures. This brand of appropriation was largely a matter of removing words, phrases, and modes of expression that obviously reflected specifically Indigenous religious worldviews. Usually, it was assumed that Latinate words and ideas could stand in as corrective replacements.[35] As Durston has revealed, Quechua (or at least the forms of Quechua that developed for Spanish speakers and practicing Christians) transformed into a semiotic system that could express Christian ideas by the end of the sixteenth century. An Andean process of mutual understanding developed much faster than the analogous transition that James Lockhart identified in the Nahua heartland, where significant cross-linguistic comprehension took more than a century to develop.[36] Thus, the Nombre de Jesús fit into its colonial world uneasily. Opportunities for collaboration and for resistance were clear.

Surviving sources provide specific information on how the Nombre de Jesús participated in proselytization. The confraternity hosted "spiritual discussions every Wednesday and Friday of the year" which, as Sabine Hyland suggests, were possibly overseen for a time by the mestizo Jesuit Valera when he was based in Cuzco.[37] In addition to the regular spiritual discus-

33. José de Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute*, in: *Obras del P. Jose de Acosta de la Compañía de Jesus* (Madrid, 1954), 518. Acosta's fears were not entirely baseless. Kenneth Mills formulates the idea of Andean "self-Christianization" as a shorthand for the autonomous Indigenous religious thinking and behavior that Peninsulars feared. Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies*: *Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation*, *1640–1750* (Princeton, 1997), 262–63. See also Charles, *Allies at Odds*, 100.

34. Acosta, *De procuranda*, 516.

35. Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 308–14.

36. James Lockhart, *The Nahuas after the Conquest*: *A Social and Cultural History of the Indians of Central Mexico*, *Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford, CA, 1992), 441.

37. This suggestion is in Sabine Hyland, *Gods of the Andes*: *An Early Jesuit Account of Inca Religion and Andean Christianity* (University Park, 2011), 21.

sions, the Nombre de Jesús appears to have assisted by providing music and perhaps ceremonial appointments while "foreign Indians" came to Cuzco to receive catechization, some of them likely in Quechua. The confraternity conducted this role as they participated in processions around the city to visit the sick, assisted Jesuit priests in ministering to the infirm, and provided food to the imprisoned. As the chronicler reports, the confraternity attended to various ministries and spiritual discussions and, in their work, an "infinity of Indians go" with the confrères.[38] Context clues imply that the confrères provided linguistic assistance during these ministries.

Status-seeking indigenous confrères' most obvious resource was their proficiency in speaking Quechua or "runasimi," the "words of the people." While proselytization in Quechua was key, it remained a fact that the language was difficult for adult European missionaries to acquire. By 1583, only thirteen of 136 Jesuit "subjects," or about ten percent, were listed specifically as capable of ministering to "Indians" and at least presumably having special language skills.[39] More frequently, Jesuits could operate in Latin and Spanish, and were therefore mostly effective at preaching to Spanish-speakers.[40] But Quechua was crucial for ministry to those who did not understand Spanish. The catechetical and conversionary work in which the confraternity participated was therefore important for the proselytization of native Quechua speakers as well as the promotion of Quechua as a general language among the "foreign" Indigenous people who came from outside of Cuzco to "confess and receive the Christian doctrine."[41] In this respect, the Nombre de Jesús fit into broader trends, as Quechua became

38. Mateos, ed., *Historia general de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Perú,* II, 37. As Betancourt has already discussed in the context of New Granada, tracing the details of linguistic collaboration among peninsular missionaries and Indigenous people is often impossible to characterize precisely. Nevertheless, reading sources for implied collaboration is highly productive. See Betancourt, "Colonialism in the Periphery," 120.

39. Peru 4I-II, fols. 8r–14v, stored in Rome, ARSI. In her study of Jesuit missions in Peru, Aliocha Maldavsky finds the same number. In her methodology, she selects only those who are listed as ministering to "Indians." It must be noted that there is one other Jesuit in these records, a Joan Serrano, who is listed as having skill in "Lengua," which could be a reference to Indigenous language proficiency. Although Serrano may not have had a formal ministry in which he used his skills, he should be noted. See Maldavsky, *Vocaciones inciertas. misión y misioneros en la provincia Jesuita del Perú en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid and Lima, 2012), 217.

40. While David Garrett notes that the later colonial Inca nobility of Cuzco was one of the most Hispanicized Indigenous groups in the Americas, the sixteenth century was a time flux and less-complete Hispanicization even among Cuzco's elite. See Garrett, *Shadows of Empire*, 60.

41. Mateos, ed., *Historia general de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Perú,* II, 36.

as common, if not more common, in catechetical instruction than Spanish around the start of the seventeenth century.[42]

While an expansive literature exists on Quechua catechetical texts and Indigenous processions in the period 1550–1650, less research explores Indigenous-sponsored institutions in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Cuzco that assisted missionization.[43] Historians have long cited the Jesuits' ability to forge alliances with local elites across the world as one of the keys to their success. But Cuzco hosted more than a mere alliance. By collaborating with the Society of Jesus in its ministries in Cuzco, the Nombre de Jesús participated in resistance, intentionally or not, against a colonial ecclesiastical hierarchy that increasingly sought to marginalize Indigenous participants. As is visible in Jesuit documents, an alliance between Indigenous people and their languages for proselytization became viable in Cuzco can be traced to as early as 1576 or 1577. In this fleeting period, Valera was present in the Cuzco mission and possibly served as the spiritual advisor of the Nombre de Jesús.[44]

While no complete list of the confraternity's lay members has been forthcoming from the archives, evidence on Valera can act as a proxy for at least some confrères' views regarding proselytization and Indigenous language. On Quechua's positionality in regard to Latin and Spanish, Valera had clear opinions.[45] Valera's support for Quechua not only as a noble language equal to Latin, but as a general language, is cited in Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's work:

> When they [non-native Quechua speakers] return to their lands with the new and more noble language that they learned, they appear more noble, more decorated, and more competent in their intellects . . . as is the Latin language for us . . . and so the Puquinas, Collas, Urus, Yuncas, and other rude and rough nations that speak even their own languages poorly seem to throw off their roughness and rudeness when they learn the Language of Cuzco, and their politics, courtesies, and wits aim to higher things. At

42. MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time*, 176.

43. Among the important works that touch on this topic are John Charles, *Allies at Odds*: *The Andean Church and Its Indigenous Agents*, *1583–1671* (Albuquerque, 2010) and Maldavsky, *Vocaciones inciertas*.

44. Hyland, *Gods of the Andes*, 21.

45. Valera had had precursors in these beliefs. The peninsular Domingo de Santo Tomás, author of a very important 1560 Quechua grammar and lexicon, made similar arguments for Quechua's parity with Latin, even claiming that Quechua could be "regulated and enclosed under the same rules as Latin." Quoted in MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time*, 177.

> last they are made more capable and sufficient to receive the doctrine of the Catholic Faith. . . .[46]

Even after the Jesuit Order mandated Valera's departure from Cuzco in 1576, a decision which the Indigenous community in Cuzco protested, the space that the confraternity made for Indigenous religious dialogue remained intact at least until the 1600 chronicle's composition.[47]

As Sabine Hyland and others have shown, the road toward the exclusion of Indigenous and mestizo people in Peruvian proselytization was long and complicated. Although negative attitudes toward ethnic diversity in the Peruvian Jesuit ranks made their way into policy in the first decades of Jesuit presence in Peru, the Second Lima Council of 1567–68 and following provincial congregations, like the one in Cuzco in 1576, called for the composition of texts in Quechua and Aymara. This policy development shows how colonial authorities recognized the indispensability of Indigenous language and, whether or not authorities like Acosta would admit it, the native speakers who assisted in ministry and catechesis.[48] By 1603—likely in response to an additional and more urgent call for grammars and catechetical materials from the Third Council of Lima—the Italian Jesuit Ludovico Bertonio had produced several such grammars.[49] In one of his small grammars published in Rome and likely intended for students to

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46. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Primera parte de los Commentarios Reales* (Madrid, 1723), 225–26. ". . . quando se buelven à tus Tierras, con el nuevo, y mas noble Lenguage que aprendieron, parescen mas Nobles, mas adornados, y mas capaces en sus Entendimientos . . . como à nosotros la Lengua Latina. . . . Y asi los Indios Puquinas, Collas, Vrus, Yuncas, y otras Nasciones, que son rudos, y torpes, y por su rudeça, aun sus proprias Lenguas las hablan mal; quando alcançan à saber la Lengua del Cozco, paresce que echan de sì la rudeça, y torpeça que tenian, y que aspiran à cosas Politicas, y Cortesanas, y sus Ingenios pretenden subir à cosas mas altas: finalmente se hacen mas capaces, y susicientes para recebir la Doctrina de la Fè Catholica. . . ." Author's own translation. Also quoted and translated in part from another edition of de la Vega in Hyland, *Gods of the Andes*, 30.

47. Acosta described the protests to Superior General Mercurian in the February 15, 1577 annual letter. ARSI, Peru 12, fol. 26v. See also de Egaña and Fernandez, *Monumenta Peruana*, II, 269–270. Hyland, *The Jesuit and the Incas*, 55 discusses this document.

48. de Egaña and Fernandez, *Monumenta Peruana*, II, 202. As Aliocha Maldavsky has discussed, Álvarez de Paz, rector at Cuzco, was an opponent of Indigenous-language missionization. Thus, the Nombre de Jesús and others like them had powerful opponents in Cuzco. For de Paz and his debate with the pro-Indigenous language Nicolás Mastrilli Durán, see Maldavsky, *Vocaciones inciertas*, 261–67.

49. See, for example, Ludovico Bertonio, *Arte grammatica muy copiosa dela lengua Aymara* (Rome, 1603), and idem., *Arte breve dela lengua Aymara* (Rome, 1603). As early as 1583, multilingual doctrinal material was already appearing in Lima. See Betancourt, "Colonialism in the Periphery," 125.

carry when they launched into their missions, Bertonio's stated purpose was not to help readers "apprehend perfectly the Aymara language," but rather to provide knowledge for rough-and-ready, working preaching and catechization.[50] Thus, after the Third Council of Lima, the Society of Jesus and the broader European Church hierarchy had taken steps to take full control of the missionization process. Yet they remained reliant on Indigenous speakers and other local allies.

Transcultural Jesuits in the Nombre de Jesús' World: Diego de Torres Bollo and Blas Valera

It is possible to profile some members and allies of the Nombre de Jesús who brought Cuzco's model to broader audiences. The first of these is the well-known transatlantic figure Diego de Torres Bollo. Born near Villalpando, near Burgos, in 1551, Bollo can be found listed among Valera and other important missionaries in the 1583 Jesuit catalogs. He is placed in the relatively humble forty-seventh spot in that catalog. Later, he can be observed rising in the ranks to become rector in Cuzco in the late 1580s, when the Nombre de Jesús was active. By the mid-1590s he had moved on to be rector in Quito and, ultimately, he helped to found the first missions in Paraguay.[51]

He is documented in Rome in 1603, where he approved the Roman printing of *Doctrina christiana y catecismo*, a Spanish-Quechua catechism approved by the Third Lima Council.[52] While in Rome, Bollo served as a procurator of the Jesuit Order.[53] Torres Bollo's role in translation during his stint as procurator is highly feasible, as the antiquarian Pedro Lozano attributes to him eloquent Quechua speaking ability.[54] Indeed, Bollo

50. Bertonio, *Arte breve dela lengua Aymara*, 3–4. "Aunque esta arte breue no seruirà [sic] de aprender perfectamente la lengua Aymara, pues su breuedad no da lugar de explicar los precettos como fuera necessario. . . ." Author's own translation.

51. See de Egaña and Fernandez, *Monumenta Peruana* IV, 513, for a reference to Bollo in Cuzco; ARSI, Peru 4I-II, fol. 43r for Bollo's entry in the 1595 Quito catalogs. For a general history of the missions in Paraguay, see Guillermo Wilde, "The Missions of Paraguay: Rise, Expansion, and Fall," in: *A Companion to the Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*, ed. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Leiden, 2018), 73–101.

52. Durston, *Pastoral Quechua*, 103. Durston notes that Torres Bollo is not to be confused with Diego de Torres Rubio, a linguist who also composed catechetical materials in Quechua.

53. On the developing field of study on Jesuit procurators, see José Gabriel Martínez-Serna, "Procurators and the Making of the Jesuits' Atlantic Network," in: *Soundings in Atlantic History*: *Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents*, *1500–1830*, eds. Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault (Cambridge, MA, 2009), 181–209.

54. Lozano, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Paraguay*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1754), I, 587.

showed little humility on this matter: he claimed to have learned Quechua quickly in his *Relatione Breve*.[55]

When he arrived back in Europe after his mission, Bollo gained personal association with Superior General Claudio Acquaviva thanks to his work on behalf of the Society of Jesus against *encomenderos* and their abuses against Indigenous populations in Paraguay.[56] For this work, Bollo received accolades from the bishops of Cuzco, Propoyan, Quito, and Lima, which were conveyed through a letter written by Joaquín de Aldana to King Philip III.[57] Bollo's career as a transatlantic Indigenous ally climaxed when he was in Europe overseeing the publication of the Third Lima Council's catechism. In the earliest years of the seventeenth century, he was involved in securing the confraternity's papal privileges from his position in Rome, an activity which is attested in the form of a papal bull.[58] In these activities, Bollo shows how an Indigenous confraternity could reach across the world and leverage their influence against Spanish colonial authorities working to marginalize non-European people in the mission.[59]

Bollo's rise from regional colonial notable to favored personality in Rome played a key role in his successful publication of his Italian-language *Relatione Breve*. This source offers substantial insight into a peninsular

55. On this matter, see Franco Pierno, "À la lisière de l'«autre monde» Le Pérou dans la *Relatione breve* de Diego de Torres Bollo (1603)," *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, 34, nos. 1–2 (2011), 61–96, here 69.

56. For details surrounding this controversy, whose repercussions reached across the Atlantic and to Rome, see Giuseppe Piras, "P. Diego de Torres Bollo, il potere coloniale spagnolo e la 'salvación y liberdad de los indios," *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, 135 (2005), 83–94.

57. Piras, "P. Diego de Torres Bollo, il potere coloniale spagnolo e la 'salvación y liberdad de los indios," 85; de Egaña and Fernandez, *Monumenta Peruana* VII, 347.

58. The fruit of Bollo's labor seems to have been a bilingual Latin-Quechua papal bull, housed at the Vatican Apostolic Archive. For a short analysis and transcription of the Latin version of the bull, see Maurizio Gnerre, "Una Bula Pontificia de 1603 en Quechua," in: *Sublevando el Virreinato*, eds. Minelli and Numhauser, 339–50. There is no reason that this bull could not have been created given Bollo's location in Rome in 1603 and his relationship with high-ranking churchmen, including Claudio Acquaviva. However, it must be noted that the author's efforts to locate the bull in the Vatican Archives were unsuccessful, and that Gnerre's publication on the bull appears in a collection edited by Minelli, an early proponent of the Naples Documents. Whether or not the bull was translated into Quechua, the Latin (whose presence is attested in sources before the Naples Documents controversy and which Gnerre duly cites) remains a testament to the Nombre de Jesús' visibility across the Atlantic.

59. For a broader discussion of those traveling from the Andes and the challenges they faced gaining audiences in Europe owing to their frequent classification as inferior subjects or unworthy interlocutors with authorities, see Puente Luna, *Andean Cosmopolitans*, 10–11.

Jesuit's experience with Indigenous institutions in Peru such as the Nombre de Jesús, and has been recognized for decades both as one of the earliest narrative sources on the South American missions and as one of the first texts within the Jesuit *relation* genre. Much has been written on this central text, which levies an argument against Spanish abuses in South America and even goes so far as to label the Spanish as "foreigners" on the continent.[60]

Bollo's ideas about Indigenous people come out in his writing. But the fine details of his interactions and relationships in Cuzco are murky compared to his later work in Europe. Recent scholarship draws oblique connections between the transatlantic figure of Bollo and the Nombre de Jesús.[61] This caution may not be attributable to meaningful omission as much as documentary problems and naming similarities between the Society of Jesus, the name of the physical Jesuit church in Cuzco, and the confraternity.[62] Despite the occasional lack of clarity, it is likely that Bollo returned to Europe after associating with the confraternity, where he advocated for the Nombre de Jesús and the causes that it stood for before the Jesuit hierarchy, the pope, and Europe's reading population.

Bollo's case involves research into the career of a well-documented European Jesuit. Blas Valera's relationship with the confraternity's mission is clearer. As Hyland has convincingly suggested, Valera became the spiritual advisor to the Indigenous members of the Nombre de Jesús confraternity almost immediately upon his arrival in Cuzco.[63] This conclusion is supported in the 1600 chronicle, which mentions Valera as one of several Jesuits involved with the confraternity's activities.[64] In this role, the mestizo Jesuit adopted "radical" views, such as one holding that Christianity and Andean religions held profound similarities, and that syncretism was a more appropriate missionary approach than Andean religions' replacement with Catholicism.[65]

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60. Piras, "P. Diego de Torres Bollo, il potere coloniale spagnolo e la 'salvación y liberdad de los indios," 85. See esp. Pierno, "À la lisière de l'"autre monde'" for broader recent work on Torres Bollo's *Relatione Breve*.

61. An exception is Piras, "P. Diego de Torres Bollo, il potere coloniale spagnolo e la 'salvación y liberdad de los indios," 91, n. 11, which finds correspondence linking the two. Of the key documents cited here, see esp. de Egaña and Fernandez, *Monumenta Peruana* VII, 219–22, which claims to connect Bollo to some high-ranking Indigenous members of the confraternity.

62. As Puente Luna shows, relations between colonial travelers and European authorities are especially ephemeral in the record. See Puente Luna, *Andean Cosmopolitans*, 10–11.

63. Hyland, *Jesuit and the Incas*, 54.

64. Mateos, ed., *Historia general de la Compañia de Jesus en la provincia del Perú*, II, 38.

65. Hyland, *Jesuit and the Incas*, 54.

According to a visitation record held at ARSI containing a catalog of "subjects that are in the college of Cuzco" from 1576, Valera was a reader of Latin and ministered in Indigenous languages.[66] In this same document, Andrés López and Francisco de Medina are listed as peninsulars who know Indigenous languages. Pedro Añasco is recorded as another mestizo who knows Quechua, while Martín Piçarro is listed as a Quechua-proficient *criollo*.[67] Out of sixteen "subjects" listed in this 1576 catalog, six had some Indigenous language proficiency, and they are listed as responsible for administering sacraments to Indigenous people and teaching languages, namely Spanish and Latin. Like Valera and Bollo, these missionaries were possibly associated with the Society of Jesus and the Nombre de Jesús at the same time. The lack of a confraternity member list prevents a firmer assertion on this matter. What is likely, though, is that Jesuits from Iberia and others with parents from two continents came together in Cuzco under Valera, the spiritual advisor of the Nombre de Jesús, in their proselytizing mission.

Like much in the early years of missionary work and transatlantic contact in the Andes, hierarchy and relationships between colonizers, colonized, and religion were in flux. In Valera's case and for his Indigenous missionary charges, the old Inca linguistic hierarchy remained relevant. Old languages persisted even as colonial authorities such as Acosta and Francisco de Toledo attempted to replace Andean spirituality with European Catholicism. Pre-Spanish invasion hierarchies remained so relevant that they served as the basis for Spanish efforts to create a general language for Indigenous populations.[68] From this perspective, the Nombre de Jesús was a locus of resistance in its retention of catechetical roles, but a collaborator in its perpetuation of the "general" Indigenous language. The confraternity was a colonial institution which claimed legitimacy both from Spanish ecclesiastical authority and from a not-so-distant past of Quechua linguistic supremacy. Thus, the confraternity, its Jesuit supporters, and its lay benefactors fit into the broader history of early Jesuit missionaries at the intersection between Catholic colonizers and non-European populations.

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66. ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, shelfmark 1488/2/2, fol. 13v. Valera is mentioned as being a "lecturer" in Latin, and immediately afterward mention is made of his superior linguistic skills. For an accessible published version of the document, see de Egaña and Fernandez, *Monumenta Peruana,* II, 140–41. This reference also appears in Hyland, *Jesuit and the Incas*, 54, where she also suggests names of possible Indigenous members of the confraternity.

67. de Egaña and Fernandez, *Monumenta Peruana,* II, 140–41.

68. Aliocha Maldavsky, "The Andes," in: *Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*, 41–72, here 58.

Coda: Placing an Indigenous Confraternity in Global History

The Nombre de Jesús was part of the early Jesuit missionary infrastructure, which featured some basic characteristics.[69] Regional variations sprang from the idiosyncrasies of preexisting hierarchies and varying demands of language acquisition.[70] One of the Jesuits' first ministries involved the foundation and operation of Italian missionary institutions known as *case dei catecumeni* (houses of the catechumens). The first of these institutions was established in 1543 in a building adjacent to the church of San Giovanni di Mercatello in Rome, and was administered by the confraternity of San Giuseppe dei Catecumeni.[71] In the same years as the Jesuits' first forays into Peru, the Jesuits appropriated Hebrew for sermons and catechetical instruction at this catechumen house. The travel narrative of the English Catholic Gregory Martin gives testimony to two former Jews who preached in the Roman casa every Saturday, sometimes in Hebrew, to Jewish catechumens.[72] At the Roman house were at least three other converts with speaking and writing knowledge of Hebrew, as well as possibly some Arabic—a Dominican, a Jesuit, and "Reader of the Hebrew in *Sapientia*, that is the universitie."[73]

A broader view of the early modern Jesuit missionary project further contextualizes the picture in Peru. Matteo Ricci and Francis Xavier offer examples of syncretic missionizing approaches.[74] Indeed, Ricci not only assimilated significant parts of Confucian thought into his conversionary

69. For a discussion of Roman Jesuit missionary institutions and the ways these institutions were copied across the world, see Thomas Lucas, *Landmarking*: *City*, *Church*, *and Jesuit Urban Strategy* (Chicago, 1997).

70. The following analysis has a precursor in Hyland's comparison of Peruvian Jesuit practice with Matteo Ricci and Roberto di Nobili. Hyland, *Gods of the Andes*, 12–13.

71. Lazar, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord*. For similar Italian houses, see E. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire*: *Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca, NY, 2011); Matteo Al-Kalak, *Un'altra fede*. *Le Case dei Catecumeni nei Territori Estensi* (*1583–1938*) (Florence, 2013); Samuela Marconcini, *Per amor del cielo*: *farsi christiani a Firenze tra Seicento e Settecento* (Florence, 2016).

72. Martin, *Roma Sancta* (Rome, 1969), 78. Martin's original text was composed 1580–1581 in Reims.

73. Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 78. For broader discussion of conversionary sermons in Rome, see Emily Michelson, *Catholic Spectacle and Rome's Jews*: *Early Modern Conversion and Resistance* (Princeton and Oxford, 2022).

74. See Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*: *Matteo Ricci 1552–1610* (Oxford, 2010) for the most up-to-date treatment of Ricci's thought and career. For an older but still useful exploration of Ricci's syncretism, see Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York, 1983).

treatise *The True Meaning of the Lord in Heaven*.[75] He also adopted the accoutrements and behavioral norms shared among the sages of the Ming empire. Likewise, during the first major overseas Jesuit mission, Xavier immediately recognized the need to meet skeptical non-Christians with cultural markers that they could understand and in which they recognized legitimacy. Xavier met an initial reaction of confusion and cold reception in Yamaguchi, Japan, as his strange dress and language made him appear as a Buddhist missionary from India, not an uncommon sight during Japan's Warring States period (1467–1615).[76] Xavier and his companions met with more luck when they adopted Portuguese emissaries' dress and language that, while still foreign, Japanese political and clerical elites could recognize and understand.[77] Regional language and customs were therefore crucial to Jesuit proselytization across the early modern world. The Nombre de Jesús fit into global patterns even as it functioned to reinforce local and regional Indigenous elites' continuing status.

At the same time, any attempt to use Ricci and Xavier as points of comparison with the Peruvian experience must come with a heavy dose of caution. The Jesuits in Peru and elsewhere in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Latin America had to navigate a strong colonial government that knew and sometimes actively worked against Jesuit agendas formulated in Rome. Additionally, the principle of *limpieza de sangre* was not a strong force in the far-flung and predominantly Italian missions in Asia. Conversely, the Spanish state's interests and *limpieza de sangre* ideology rested heavily on Latin American ecclesiastical activities, including the Third Lima Council's decision to suspend mestizo ordination and to make pariah the status of "neophyte" and "New Christian."

Historians of colonial Latin America and the Atlantic World must reconcile missionary disorganization on the local level with the ideals that missionaries shared across the Atlantic. Jesuit and other Catholic attempts to appropriate language across the Americas and elsewhere, while a broad topic, is still only one facet of the enormous Catholic effort to proselytize peoples and cultures across the early modern world. Cuzco's lesson is daunting: in each area where they laid foundations, Catholic missionaries

75. Ricci's *The True Meaning of the Lord in Heaven* has been reproduced in *Matteo Ricci and the Catholic Mission to China, 1583–1610: A Short History with Documents*, ed. Ronnie Pochia Hsia (Indianapolis, 2016), 99–100.

76. Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's Encounter with Christianity: The Catholic Mission in Pre-Modern Japan* (New York, 1991), 25.

77. C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (Berkeley, 1951), 27.

encountered unique sets of contingencies that challenged their efforts in idiosyncratic ways, and which created unique documentary challenges. While the presence of mestizo Jesuits and their use of language in the missionary process is all but certain, the level and nature of lay Indigenous participation in ministry remains mysterious, perhaps until more archival discoveries occur. In the meantime, historians of Catholicism will only formulate realistic understandings of the early modern world by recognizing and grappling with the tensions between global missionary ideals and local challenges to them.

Forum Review Essay

American Catholicism Transformed: From the Cold War Through the Council. By Joseph P. Chinnici. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021. Pp. xvi, 461. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-19-757300-6).

Introduction

Joseph M. White (Independent Scholar, *Bowie, MD*)

In this landmark work, Joseph P. Chinnici examines the complex history of American Catholicism from 1945 to 1965 to explain its many transformations. In three parts, (1) significant post-World War II developments in Church life are interpreted, thereby providing background for (2) the detailed narrative of Americans' participation and influence at Vatican Council II (1962–1965) and (3) the Epilogue: Spirit and Letter, which addresses the Council's long-term meaning. Adopting the approach of his late historian friend, Christopher J. Kauffman, that "context is everything" for historical understanding, the author explored the abundant sources related to the many issues examined. This exhaustive research is revealed in 119 pages of sources listing 1,328 endnotes.

In Part I, "From the Cold War to Civil Rights," four chapters (102 pages) address U.S. Catholics' thought and action from World War II, through the Cold War, to the appropriation of the Civil Rights movement by the 1960s. During this period the World and Cold Wars unified Catholics. The public Church in the U.S. in its presentation to a wider world framed its identity by allegiance to the papal understanding of the Church's role in a global world and its own program of social reconstruction. On the international scene, Catholics supported the leadership of Pope Pius XII and U.S. bishops in opposing totalitarian systems. The "tight" relationship between law and morality reinforced a strong public linkage between divine, natural, and positive law. These became the outward sign of a "truly moral order, the sacramental heart of the Church's mission of social reconstruction in society." Moving from the Church's longstanding "ambivalence" about democracy, the Pope aimed for an alliance with the western powers to oppose the Soviet Union's system. The

papal ideal promoted a stable social order protecting the family, its property and freedom, as society's basic unit. Catholicism's identity with the Cold War pointed to the shared values and idealism ordering family life along with treating war and nuclear arms. In their discourse, the U.S. bishops linked the Christian understanding of the person endowed with rights and the nation's founding documents. Moreover, Church leaders challenged a world increasingly turning from God, that is, secularism. In that context, the Cold War convergence of religion and the American way of life led to a religious revival marked by institutional growth. This trend uniting doctrine and life, religion, and national identity, underlay renewal movements. These often involved networking beyond national boundaries so that national Catholic organizations of women, families, universities, the lay apostolate, pastoral liturgy, workers, and others met at international conventions to learn and share ideas on the Church's role. The Liturgical Movement advanced a better theological understanding of the Liturgy. Unity did not always prevail as Catholic Right and Catholic Left movements emerged. The Civil Rights movement brought about Catholics' engaging with Christians of other faith traditions to advance racial equality. These efforts modeled direct action and organizational activities for Catholics.

Part II, on "The Second Vatican Council," in five chapters (200 pages) examines American participants' record in this global event, beginning with the preparatory phase, then the Council's four annual fall sessions (1962–1965), plus related activities between them. Drawing from public and/or private views of participants, commentators, and historians, along with texts of documents, the author greatly expands on previous interpretations of Americans' record of participation.

In the Preparatory Phases, 1959–1962, the suggestions that the world's bishops were asked to submit for the Council to consider describe what 85.4%, or 136 respondents among the U.S. bishops, were thinking. Their responses reveal divisions marking the postwar Church. Next, the theological commissions' work of drafting *schemata* for the Council to consider yielded tensions between the Holy See's new Ecumenical secretariat and views of the Roman Curia's older departments. Controversies also marked Liturgical questions, the priesthood of the faithful, and other issues that presaged challenges facing the Council.

Once the Council began in 1962, the narrative through four chapters addresses the fascinating activities of the U.S. bishops and their theologians with frequent quotations from their public and private views. The

U.S. bishops got a "political education," having arrived as individuals and then coming together for group action. Their role is treated on several major issues: the Liturgy, "Two Sources" of tradition, the Church as the People of God, Laity, episcopal collegiality and role of national conferences, Mary in the Church, Ecumenism, and common worship. For the Americans, their role with leading theologian, John Courtney Murray, S.J., in producing the *Declaration on Religious Freedom* despite formidable opposition is described. The *Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, Constitution on Divine Revelation* is addressed along with *The Church in the Modern World* and family and peace issues. The Council thereby brought a new awareness to the riches of Judaism and the presence of God in other religions, new understandings for how the Church and the world interpenetrated each other, and perspectives on how the people of God were ordered.

The Epilogue: Spirit and Letter (8 pages) on the Council's reception offers "orientations," not conclusions. For the latter the author modestly acknowledges more scholarship from "knowledgeable" people is required. But five areas are proposed as needing examination to evaluate the history of the Council's reception: (1) levels of experience and commitment, (2) importance of the U.S. Church for the universal Church, (3) new institutional structures, (4) the challenge of secularism, and (5) the intense debates of Church issues emerging as part of the reception process. To cite from the volume's preface, the author had wisely proclaimed, *Historia Magistra Veritatis.*

REVIEWS

R. Scott Appleby (University of Notre Dame)

For those of us who came of age in the wake of Vatican II, Joseph Chinnici's exhaustively researched, theologically astute history of the conciliar sessions and the social, cultural, and political contexts in which they unfolded, evokes the personal memory of a mix of emotions felt at the time: wonder, curiosity, hope and, most of all, excitement. At least it did in this reader, a boy at the time of the four sessions, dimly aware of the details, but who, as a young adult growing up Catholic in a Protestant majority town in the South, reaped the benefits of the Church's new openness and contagious confidence. "The work of the Second Vatican Council enters into the culture first on the level of experience, imagination and affective commitment," Chinnici notes (313), and so it was with me. Indeed, the Council was the ecclesial context within which I decided to

become a church historian. That choice led me, later in life, to interact with lionhearted champions of ecumenism, religious freedom, and meaningful lay participation in the life of the Church. I was delighted, for example, to see the attention given in the narrative to the irrepressible Thomas Stransky, C.S.P. and the fervent but gentle Canadian theologian, Gregory Baum, O.S.A.

American Catholicism Transformed conveys innumerable insights into the evolution of the postwar, conciliar Church. Here I focus on the one I found to be the interpretive key to the whole story, namely the centrality of the ecumenical movement to the American contributions to Vatican II. The presence of the "separated brethren" at the sessions made vivid for the Council Fathers the puzzle facing American Catholics, who were a minority, however hefty, in the world's emerging, majority Protestant democratic superpower: how best to "relate" to the non-Catholic Christians with whom millions of Catholics went to public school, lived and worked alongside, and, increasingly, married and raised a family.

Stransky's recording, reporting, and advocacy (initially, as the appointed assistant to Augustin Cardinal Bea, the leader of the highly influential Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity [SPC]), amounts to one sustained argument, with which historian Chinnici resoundingly agrees: the emergence of a "global ecumenism" was a decisive "sign of the times" which grounded, informed, and authorized, as it were, Vatican II's transformative deliberations and decrees on: religious freedom; the liturgy, and the inclusive understanding of the Church as Sacrament," the role of the laity, and "the priesthood of the faithful"; Jewish-Catholic relations; inter-religious dialogue; and, not least, "the Church in the world."

Chinnici, who excels at unearthing the revealing quote, captures the bold, inspired ambitions of the "progressive" ecumenists on the SPC by citing the comments of Gustave Weigel, S.J., the American pioneer of ecumenism, to the Preparatory Commission. A proponent of dialogue with Protestants, Weigel's argument signaled a shift away from conversion as the primary aim of engagement with "others." Those who urge conversion, Weigel points out, presuppose superiority, whereas "ecumenical action" presupposes equality among the participants in the dialogue. (This is not, he hastens to add, an "objective and ontological" equality, of course, but a "subjective and psychological" one.) Dialogue of this kind, Weigel avers, is "an exercise in genuine Christian virtue" whose purpose is manifold—"to give testimony to the Gospel and give a reason for the faith you believe; to exercise catholicity that Christians want to adhere to good things, [and] to

build up the Church as the mystical body of Christ; to manifest charity to the neighbor that is not feigned . . . to have good conversations and fellowship between churches, to hope that such closeness may be the union of all in one" (quoted on 124–25).

When this approach triumphed in various ways at the Council, and the general outlook eventually filtered down to the grassroots level, my twelve-year-old self was pleased to inform my best friend in school that, as a Presbyterian, he was no longer automatically doomed to burn in hell when he died.

Chinnici's largely sympathetic and at times celebratory account of the Council sessions, decrees, and resulting fruits (including new, vital lay and religious movement of dialogue, witness and evangelization through example) is not naïve; the author warns us, along the way, that persistent tensions and divisions in American society, sown in part during the Cold War and mirrored within the hierarchy, will resurface, often with a vengeance, after a decade or so of postconciliar ebullience. The path from those heady days to John Paul II's historic convening of world religious leaders at Assisi in 1986, and Pope Francis's theology of encounter, is marked, sadly, with sidetracks, setbacks and a turning inward.

In the Epilogue, our guide tries to make sense of those divergences and contradictions. He offers some useful conceptual frameworks—the "system of the sacred" fostered in some quarters of American Catholicism, whereby a kind of religious logic, grounded in the intertwined themes of the Council, "would guide some people's choices" (313); the process of rapid globalization that would accelerate the conscious internationalization of the Church via a series of synods, transnational networks and local-global interactions; and, the Church's decisive choice "to enter into a politics of history no longer tied to Christendom" (314).

Less successful is his attempt to account for the eventual near-abandonment of the "pastoral" mode adopted by the Council, in favor of a more openly contentious brand of both ecclesial and secular politics—tied, in the American case, to the cultural turmoil surrounding severely contested issues such as the (failed) campaign for an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) for women and the (failed) campaign for women's ordination. To be fair, however, the divisions in church and society that marked the 1980s and beyond, complicating the legacy of the Council, is not the proper subject of American Catholicism Transformed. But, one hopes, it will be the subject of this gifted author's next major project.

William Dinges (The Catholic University of America, *Emeritus*)

Analysis of the meaning and intent of the Second Vatican Council, not to mention its myriad consequences, remains an academic growth industry. Consider Joseph Chinnici's *American Catholicism Transformed,* a masterful current contribution. The book is a meticulously-told, deep-bore analysis of the historical shaping of the current "cleavages" of the Church in America. The avalanche of footnotes, along with assumptions about a reader's acquaintance with pre-Vatican II Catholic culture, ecclesiology and theology suggests it is not a read for the academic faint of heart. The narrative is dense, the analysis penetrating, and the tale is one of interwoven and sometimes conflicting national and international interests—not to mention the occasional episcopal intrigues within the Council itself.

The trophy element of *American Catholicism Transformed* is how Chinnici opens a new perspective on both Vatican II and Catholicism's current malaise. In the latter case, he links aspects of the council's deliberations with global post-WWII developments and with American Catholic contours at the time. So doing reveals how the tradition navigates change and exposes root sources of its current polarization. Few if any scholars of post-WWII Catholicism, Vatican II, and the postconciliar era have written as insightfully within this "context is everything" framework, one that also works as a sociology of knowledge scaffolding that brings attention to preconciliar "fault lines" that arose out of the growing ideal/real "gaps" between official church teachings and human life experiences; lay and clerical relations; and Catholicism's general "entanglement" with the American way of life. Chinnici's meticulous study also offers rich insight for comparative analysis with what unfolded in the Protestant and Jewish traditions in their equally conflicted engagement with modernity. The "people of God" would do well to pay heed.

Although not a shortcoming, considering the comprehensive nature of the author's research on American Catholics published elsewhere, additional factors relevant to Catholicism's contemporary "sorting" might warrant deeper attention than what is alluded to in the book. One is the Second World War.

Chinnici's time frame is "since" World War II. A closer look at the impact of the war, itself, might be more heavily weighted. Mass mobilization, population dispersion (de-ghettoizing), and the national imperative for war-time unity animating the government push for a "Tri-Faith" religious consciousness, significantly impacted American Catholic life and culture.

Other factors such as Catholic assimilation via rising levels of educational attainment, social mobility, affluence, and greater acceptance, also warrant further attention—as does the impact on American Catholics of postwar cultural shifts in the meaning and locale of "the sacred," the psychological and spiritual prioritizing of "authenticity," and the postwar impact on religion of what Philip Rieff dubbed the "triumph of the therapeutic."

Chinnici recognizes how the ideological fragmentation he has tracked ("sort[ing]") has blurred Catholic identity, notably in relation to mainline Protestantism. *American Catholicism Transformed* tells how and why this "mutation" evolved. The epilogue leaves open the question as to where all this might go especially, as Chinnici notes, regarding the council where one of the problems now is not so much rejection of it, but reading it "backward" in a manner divorced from the intentions of its participants such that it can be picked apart to affirm one contemporary position of another.

The root challenge highlighted in *American Catholicism Transformed* is an old one: engaging and legitimating change while preserving the continuity of tradition. Chinnici points to a contemporary Church with a "fractured inheritance of pluriformity." The inherent difficulties of identity coherence (and effective evangelization?) in such a model, especially where traditional authority structures have lost plausibility—have been further compounded by the ongoing travails of the sexual abuse/hierarchical malfeasance crisis, the covid tsunami, the internet/social media revolution, the Church's neuralgic liturgical wars, and tensions over Pope Francis's papacy. Nor does our rapidly secularizing culture, the accelerated opting out of organized religion, and the transformation of religious orientations into polarized political ones auger well.

Where goes "pluriformity," considering the above? *American Catholicism Transformed* is a capstone project of a brilliant scholar of the American Catholic experience(s). Consider it required reading for anyone seriously concerned with the interplay of religion and culture, the future of the Church in America and, one might add, the current possibilities of synodality.

Mark Massa, S.J. (Boston College)

Joseph Chinnici has written an extraordinarily important work of revisionist scholarship. He has convincingly resituated the current wars raging within the North American Catholic Church over the "meaning of Vatican II" within debates and ecclesiological fissures that had emerged decades

before that Council was even called, but which that Council abetted. And he has accomplished this by pursuing rigorous, archive-based research in personal letters, Vatican II "day books," and even early drafts of ecclesial documents that never made it to the light of day. Chinnici's book is now required reading for anyone seeking to understand the massive theological and cultural transformations that have taken place within U.S. Catholicism since the end of World War II.

Chinnici's larger historiographic point is simple but profound: the reception of Vatican II in the United States hardly occurred in a vacuum. The fissures within the North American church pre-conditioned both the interpretation and the implementation of the Council. Thus, to understand the U.S. perception of what really happened at Vatican II, Chinnici argues that one has to begin well before the first gathering of bishops in the great nave of St. Peter's in 1963. Considerably before that opening session, two "sides" or parties had already staked out distinct social imaginaries that would profoundly shape how conciliar documents would be received. Those who were inclined to stress the similarities of ideology that existed between the Catholic tradition as it emerged from the "long nineteenth century" and the dominant strands of Cold War Catholicism would receive the Council one way: for them, the Council helped inaugurate a revolutionary period of secularization and the concomitant dissolution of a once united community. On the other "side" stood those who understood that U.S. Catholicism had already started making accommodations with the powerful forces of social, cultural, and religious change in the post-war world: for them, the Council inaugurated a period of freedom in which the American Catholic Church could begin to carve out a long-overdue presence at the table of modernity. "In either case, the key to understanding the historical process [of receiving the Council] is seeing the landscape of ambivalence that marked the post-World War II period" (5). For Chinnici, that landscape of ambivalence defined the pre-Council American church in ways that predetermined the conflicted reception of the Council's "meaning."

Read in that revisionist light, many of the divisions that emerged at Vatican II—and to some extent defined the post-Vatican II American church—were not "caused" by the Council or its documents. Those divisions date from what the author terms the "religious 1950s," when an awareness emerged within the Catholic community itself that the inherited understandings of "the faith" entered a prolonged period of transition. Thus, for the author, Vatican II hardly ushered in the "end of Christendom" or the secularization of a once-united immigrant ghetto mini-state (as so many of the Council's interpreters have argued); rather, the post-

conciliar era marked a "concerted effort toward . . . moving religion out of the contained categories of the Cold War into the new public categories of a changing society. Patterns of development which were latent in the pre-conciliar era now entered the public speech of the [Catholic] community to shape new institutional pathways and rituals of behavior" (28).

Chinnici thus situates the meaning of Vatican II in a much older debate going on in the U.S. church: one of the earliest instances of that debate was the dueling reviews of John Courtney Murray and Joseph Fenton over Emmanuel Cardinal Suhard's 1948 book *Growth or Decline? The Church Today*. Suhard's book, written just three years after the end of World War II, raised the central question that came to dominate post-conciliar debates in the United States: "Shall the Church remain *rigid* in order to safeguard all, or shall she *permeate* all in order to win all?" (59). Murray, already emerging as the most respected voice of what would become the progressive wing of U.S. Catholic intellectuals, argued strenuously that the very rigidity of post-Tridentine Catholicism was a stance that had to be abandoned for another model of Christ and culture. Fenton, a professor of theology at the Catholic University of America and one of the most visible voices of anti-modernist dogmatism, more than implied that Suhard's book reeked of heretical modernism, which he described as the conglomeration of all errors.

In the heady days of receiving the Council's documents which sponsored dramatic changes in how Catholics worshiped, organized local parish communities, and understood the relation of the ordained to lay Catholics "in the pews," it seemed like the Council had unleashed massive forces of theological and sociological change for the American Catholic community. And it had. But those massive forces of change were not received in a vacuum: fissures and cracks in what many (incorrectly) perceived to be the united American Catholic identity had emerged well before the Council's documents arrived. The Council's documents provided the church-approved language for debating differences of style and substance that had produced those fissures in the first place.This is a brilliant book, and students of American Catholic thought and practice need to read it.

Leslie Woodcock Tentler (The Catholic University of America)

Chinnici has written a remarkable book, both in terms of scholarly depth and interpretive acuity. The opening section, which traces the evolution of American Catholicism from the imposed conformities of the deep Cold War to the stirrings of dissent and renewal that emerged in the later

1950s, is a model of subtle argumentation. "The religious 1950s are a period of transition," the author explains, with lay-led movements for reform—some, like the Christian Family Movement, with an international constituency—forming a crucial bridge to the post-conciliar world. It is something of a truism among historians today that the roots of the Second Vatican Council lie deep in the 1950s. But Chinnici shows us with thoughtful specifics just what this means and how it worked. Those same reform movements also bridged, or at least began to bridge, the gulf between an eroding but still-extant Catholic subculture and a pluriform American nation itself increasingly stirred by reformist energies. As Chinnici rightly argues, both ordinary Catholics and many of the Council fathers were deeply affected by the various crusades for social justice that emerged in the early 1960s, especially the civil rights movement.

Not every Catholic nor indeed every Council father responded to those movements in the same way. The civil rights movement in particular became a powerful source of Catholic conflict, especially around the issue of open housing, as Chinnici duly notes. But more could be said on this score, given the bitterness bred by the issue in numerous American cities. (Perhaps the most indelibly "Catholic" image of period civil rights activism was generated by a Catholic mob who hurled insults and even stones at priests and sisters on an open housing march in Chicago's Marquette Park neighborhood in 1966.) More might usefully be said as well about the relative size and composition of the Catholic reform movements whose agendas foreshadowed any number of conciliar reforms. Only a small minority of Catholics, after all, participated in such movements, and those who did were apt to be both relatively affluent and well-educated. For the great majority of American Catholics, especially but not exclusively the less educated, the Council's reforms very likely appeared to come more or less out of the blue. Not that the Council's reforms were necessarily unwelcome; the vernacular Mass, a signature reform, was indisputably popular. But how many Catholics, one wonders, experienced those reforms as mandated from above, not just by the distant Council fathers but also by an activist laity notable for its articulateness, public poise, and facility with abstractions? Might the Church in such circumstances not become for some just one more institution in which one's voice was ignored and one's view of the world discounted or even reviled? How easy it might then be to simply drift away from Catholicism, first in terms of regular practice and then—very likely in the next generation—from any church connections at all.

The heart of Chinnici's book is his detailed account of the American bishops' experience at the Second Vatican Council. Perhaps surprisingly,

this is the stuff of exhilarating drama as men who arrived as discrete and generally cautious individuals forged a new collective identity, repudiated old leaders and elevated new ones, and were increasingly caught up in the Council's progressive tide. Men known for their reform commitments, such as Detroit's John Dearden and Chicago's Albert Meyer, play major roles, but so do individuals who loom less large in historical memory, like Manchester's Ernest Primeau. (Primeau, a vigorous advocate of an enhanced lay role in the Church, proposed to his Council confreres that each US diocese establish a mechanism "by which the laity, especially the more educated laity, could communicate with the bishops and pastors" [181]—a proposal that speaks, if inadvertently, to the question raised above.) Chinnici's narrative is sufficiently compelling to dispel the presentist concerns that most readers, especially most Catholic readers, are apt to bring to a book on the Council. Thus we encounter the Council in its full integrity as an historical event—one characterized both by what Chinnici calls a "progressive dynamism" and by a determination to maintain equilibrium between an acknowledged need for reform and continuity with the Catholic past.

Ultimately, of course, the Council can hardly be separated from what came next, as Chinnici obliquely acknowledges in his brief epilogue, where he lays out "orientations" for analyzing the now almost sixty intervening years of change rather than conclusions. But I, for one, would like more. What can account for the speed of change in the immediate post-Council years—the direction of change is more readily explicable—and especially for the demoralization that so quickly afflicted priests and women religious and had such deleterious impact on Catholic institutional life? His demurrals notwithstanding, Chinnici is among the most knowledgeable of historians when it comes to the period in question. In lieu of an expanded epilogue—probably impractical, as the book is already long—I would settle happily for a second volume.

RESPONSE

Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M. (Franciscan School of Theology at the University of San Diego, *Emeritus*)

Introduction

Gratitude extends in all directions for the summary and then reviews of *American Catholicism Transformed*. For many years I have admired and learned so much from the work of these fine scholars, so much so that it is an honor to be included in their company and once again to profit from

their comments. Each has picked up several different themes that I have tried to elucidate in the work: Joseph White has well accomplished no small feat in summarizing a rather long book; Scott Appleby, by means of his own personal experience, relates the centrality of ecumenism to the changing relationship between the Church and the "other"; William Dinges brings his sociological expertise to the endeavor and considerably expands the factors that influenced the transformation of American Catholicism; Mark Massa takes a wide lens on the pre-conciliar era and points to the intellectual debates that preceded the Council; Leslie Tentler has identified some of the disparities and tensions embedded in the conciliar reform. She notes that "more could be said" in several areas, an expansion with which I agree. Notably enough, theology, history, sociology, and experience meet in these comments. In addition, I am grateful for the laudatory comments and careful reading of a difficult book. The comments add substantially to the story. I thank you for your time and the effort put into this review. Let me single out the following elements as making a contribution to our historiography of the period. Perhaps these areas will address some of the questions posed by the reviewers.

The ambivalence of the pre-conciliar period

Massa speaks about the "landscape of ambivalence" and singles out the telling example of the reception of Cardinal Suhard's *Growth or Decline?*. Dinges refers to the wide gap that opens up between the presentation of the Church's teaching and the experience of the people in the pre-conciliar world; Tentler correctly identifies the forces of renewal and their relatively smaller size compared to the larger Catholic populace, while Appleby points to the "persistent tensions and divisions in American society." In identifying the ambivalent structure of 1950s American Catholicism, the reviewers make a significant point.

This ambivalence is partially referred to in White's summary, but the duality, even pluralism, the book identifies as marking the post-war world is central both to the immediate perception of the Council as "revolutionary" (See Dolan, Greeley, Ahlstrom, and others) and to the long-term institutionalized splits that will emerge in the community after 1978. Picturing the 1950s Catholic populace as coherent and without public dissent—as if the immigrant Church paradigm were still alive—forms the backdrop for those who entertain notions of the "secularization" of the 1960s. Although this view may provide an ideal for judging developments during and after the Council, it will not carry the historical freight of reality. Disagreements and alternatives cut through the post-war world but

were confined largely to the private sphere. An ideal public national mosaic of obedience, hierarchy, doctrinal coherence, and devotional consistency held sway, even as more local and international expressions of Catholic identity presaged change. Dinges has rightfully listed many of the elements of this change inaugurated by the War. His suggestions might have been a better place to start. I simply began with the first phase of the Cold War.

As I tried to describe it, the era from 1945 to 1962, shaped by divergent responses to communism, saw distinct organizational and moral languages emerging in the fields of social engagement, sexuality, liturgical practice, and the role of the laity in the Church (Massa, Tentler, McGreevy, and O'Toole have indicated the same issue in numerous writings). The process of change before the Council could be described as two tectonic plates, one larger, the other smaller, moving toward each other, then publicly colliding in the immediate pre-conciliar era as the threat of communism declined. As Massa astutely picks up, "the reception of Vatican II in the United States" did not occur in a vacuum. Seen in this fashion, the Council gave institutional, linguistic, and practical expression to a new religious landscape within American Catholic public life.

It seems to me that, imaged in this way, as a process rather than a finished product, the issue of the largeness or smallness of the movements that Tentler raises become slightly less telling. Analyses of the stages of social movements and historical theologians who have studied reform (e.g. most notably Yves Congar, Jean Leclercq) indicate that change in the Church, whether "progressive" or "conservative," occurs when peripheral configurations of ecclesial life move toward the power centers of a corporate life. The final catalyst for overall change is leadership and institutionalization. The book points this out with respect to the reforms of Specialized Catholic Action, the Lay Congresses, and the liturgical movement. All of this is tied to the geo-political and theological stance of the papacy, again shaped by divergent responses to totalitarianism, from Pius XII through John XXIII, Paul VI, and John Paul II. The Council occurs during the period of détente; the consolidation of reactions to its reforms in the post-conciliar world surface with public power during the second phase of the Cold War, 1978–1989. This is not a return to the Cold War Catholicism of the early 1950s, but there are similarities in emphases. Taken as a whole, the book tries to argue for an appropriate periodization, particularly with respect to the post-conciliar world. The Council's interpretation becomes historiographically defined by how one periodizes and then prejudges these pre- and post-conciliar developments.

The Interpretation of the Council

Interestingly enough, Appleby describes my account of the Council as "sympathetic and at times celebratory" while Tentler notes that the narrative "is sufficiently compelling to dispel the presentist concerns" that many bring to its interpretation. I hope both are correct. It is true that as a young seminarian at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, I welcomed the ecumenical and social changes that marked the 1960s. The Council did capture my imagination and conviction. But the stimulus for writing this book was not my love for conciliar teaching, but rather an attempt to break through the interpretations which remove the Council from its own history. It seems to me that commentators, episcopal leaders, and various interest groups often search for a systematic consistency based on unarticulated presuppositions. Attempts at equilibrium between tradition and reform have been mutilated by writers on both the left and the right. Reform" or "rupture" now enter into our language as abstractions from the process of history. As a Franciscan and historian I inherit a vision of reform which is more dramatic than synthetic. In short, Catholicism is a community of faith composed of people living within a system of contraries that refuse to become contradictories: freedom and obedience, the national and the international, the local and the universal, the communal and the hierarchical, for examples. At one of the book sessions a participant asked if *American Catholicism Transformed* was "a personal interpretation." Well, of course it is, but perhaps not as the participant implied. The book has a rather large number of footnotes, as the summary and reviewers note. It is these data that must be engaged—argue with the notes, not the historian. Why? Simply because it is time we engaged the data of history and give historians, of which the commentators here would be superb examples, a place at the ecclesial table of synodality. History studies how people interact in time. It dissolves the absolutes that govern our ecclesial wars and have dominated our evaluations since the beginning of the culture wars. I believe that part of the present problem in American Catholicism is its escape from history and retreat into a virtual reality of competing ideas.

Politics and the Pastoral

The reviewers all point in some way to the post-conciliar period. Appleby ponders the question: Why was the pastoral mode of the Council abandoned? Dinges ends his essay: "Whence goes 'pluriformity'?" Massa views the work in a revisionist light that helps address the fissures in today's Church. Tentler in her usual generous and gentle style would like another

volume. They all seem to pick up something that occasioned the work. Its initial research base was the archival papers of prominent leaders in the national Church. The papers I examined were not so much personal as institutional, i.e. they held significant reports and analyses from a variety of organizations, theologians, lawyers, sisters, priests, laity, and Roman Curia officials. I found there a long arc of internationality that had shaped American Catholicism since World War II. Archbishop Jean Jadot, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, captured the heart of the change in the stature of the Church in the United States as early as 1973:

> They [the Pope and Roman Curia] are anxious to receive accurate information about the United States because they are convinced of the importance of your country and of your communities in the present history of the world and of the Church. Whatever happens here will, sooner or later, have repercussions on other parts of the world. The influence of the United States is not a myth. I refer not only to your economic and technical might with its political consequences. I am thinking primarily of the American way of life, of the cultural patterns which you set and of the public morality which is accepted by many of your fellow citizens.

Also present in the archives were the conflicts that marked various ministries on either side of the culture divide: pressure groups arguing for the ordination of women coupled with apocalyptic rejections of the same by lay and clerical correspondents; failed attempts to establish a middle road on the part of leaders; the changing membership of the American hierarchy, the papacy, and the Roman Curia that influenced developments in the 1980s, to name some examples. Much of the institutional discomfort of the Church in the United States symbolically culminated in the "Seattle case" (1978–1988); the different interpretations of the "Ratzinger Report" (1984–85); and the meeting of the archbishops in Rome on March 8–11, 1989. Rippling in all directions, a flood of discord spawned divergent theological organizations, media presentations, visions of family life, arguments over sexual morality, and oppositional views of the role of women in the Church, religious life, and the priesthood. At the center of the debate within the Catholic community lay the interpretation and implementation of the Council. As an historian, I asked myself the question: How did all this develop and how did the Americans experience the actual conciliar event? I tried to discover what one historian has called the "point of inception." *American Catholicism Transformed* is partially structured to identify the long history behind the public explosion of the 1980s. Initially, I had envisioned two volumes, one covering the post-war world through the Council, and the second covering the period from 1965 to 1989. I do appreciate Tentler's suggestion at the end of her remarks. A couple of

essays have been written for Volume II; the rest remains in file cabinets. Here let me call attention to just two particular issues that may shed some light on the very fine openings identified by my colleagues:

The Politics of History

The Church internally and externally has always been shaped by the "politics of history," whether that be its accommodations to the Constantinian settlement, its alliances with absolute monarchies, the battles over jurisdictionalism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or the reaction to the French Revolution. But it has never before in its history grappled with the politics of a participative government and a social arrangement of religious freedom within the context of Church-state separation. The new crossover between the American political settlement and the Body of Christ began to gather steam with the focus on human rights in the Cold War era, the development of civil rights, and the move from the immigrant Church to the ecclesial communities of the suburban world. When the Council provided a new language for the faith (e.g. "the people of God," "active participation," a "share in the priestly, prophetic and kingly dimensions of Christ," "collegiality") and encouraged new structures (e,g. national conferences, parish councils, diocesan and national pastoral councils, international synods) political presuppositions, ecclesial language, structures, and experience embraced. A "constitutive moment" and new pathways of relationship immediately surfaced (for an analogous process, see Paul Starr, *The Creation of the Media)*. Organizations "for" and "against" immediately began to surface. Not all of these movements across the spectrum can be examined here, but perhaps looking at a couple of examples will help address Tentler's question about the "speed of change."

For example, Frances Bodeen, the founder of Parents for Orthodoxy in Parochial Education (first newsletter November 1967) writes in her memoir:

> The time came before the Ecumenical Council, when I beheld the infection spreading into the Catholic Church. I withdrew myself to the spiritual realm and gave myself over to working within the Church to help salvage what we could. I continued to inform myself as to the "nature of the beast," namely Communism. It was then I began a serious study of Fatima, for it seemed our only hope for a true peace. With the help of others, we organized "cells" or study groups to combat the errors within the Church.

Bodeen corresponded with James J. Kerley, Jr. of Cheverly, Maryland, a member of the Catholic Family Foundation. She treasured his 1968

speech "The Catholic Layman and the Great American Schism." This suburban housewife, opposed to open housing and sex education in Catholic schools, later went national in alliance with the Wanderer. Their vision was reinforced by Catholics United for the Faith, founded in September 1968. This well-networked and petition-driven initiative aligned itself with significant departments of the Roman Curia. A movement shaped by anti-communism and Cold War Catholicism had begun at the grass roots, networked itself over time, entered into affinity relationships with those in positional power, and took on the profile of interest group advocacy within the Church.

An opposite example was culturally shaped by the new politics of civil rights, participative governance, and community organization. One author describes a general "movement" composed of a younger generation reacting to the constraints of the 1950s, accompanied by an "almost mystical devotion to activism and a distrust of theory," marked by an "underground-resistance psychology based on a polarized view of society." The parallel crossover of this type of "politics of history" into the Church can be seen in several examples. Here I want to address the more perduring and influential ones. In the Dearden archives, one correspondent has written to the President of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops on April 6, 1967. He refers to the formation of the Association of Chicago Priests, set up in the Summer–Fall of 1966. A similar process was taking place in Detroit, Newark, Pittsburgh, North Dakota, and elsewhere. "Priests analogize that they are persons to the spiritual, business, institutional, and juridical functions of the Church as persons are to the economic enterprises. . . ." In May 1968, the National Federation of Priests' Councils was formed; three years later, in preparation for the Synod of 1971 on Justice and the Priesthood, the NFPC, no longer focused simply on local priestly affairs, advocated for "shared responsibility" with the bishops," "an official ministry for women," "administrative tribunals and due process at every level of the Church," and a change in the "present law of mandatory celibacy."

All of this was happening while the Conference of Major Superiors of Women developed "Vatican II and Religious Women," a 1966–67 study document that outlined the following as major themes: the "personal dignity of every individual; the biblical and liturgical sources of Christian life, collegiality, openness to the world, ecumenical attitudes and actions." In 1971, the Executive Board of the National Federation of Priests' Councils expressed "solidarity" with the sisters' study paper. Seven years later, in May 1978, the Leadership Conference of Women Religious published "Patterns in Authority and Obedience." Among the "new understandings"

was the following: "A strong affirmation of the basic human right of women to define themselves and to have access to the decisions that shape their lives arising from the insights of liberation theologies, the Church's own statements on justice, and world-wide movements to assure the full development and participation of women." While it would be premature to forge direct conscious links between these various cultural movements and internal Church relations, the analogizing crossover merits consideration. What is happening within five years of the Council is something that will grow exponentially in the following decades: the bleeding over into ecclesial life of direct action, identity politics, and interest group advocacy. Eventually, after 1978, with a change in the geo-politics of the papacy and the full institutionalization of the various convictions, the careful middle positions that the Council tried to make foundational will be hollowed out. Full scale ecclesial "culture wars" begin.

The Demise of the Pastoral

Lastly, the "loss of the pastoral" to which Appleby refers cannot but be effected by these developments. Divisions first occur along a spectrum, moving from those privileging objective norms at one end to those privileging subjective experience on the other end. The Council's position as indicated in *American Catholicism Transformed* developed over time but attempted to balance the equation by placing the objective and subjective elements in the same relational field of interaction. The Council's vision of the "pastoral" in media held sway for the first period of conciliar reform and with the first generation of conciliar reformers; resistance was there but, other than in the media, represented a minor institutional dimension. This struggle for the "pastoral" touched the community most directly on the practical level. It represented an attempt at a new configuration of Catholicism within American culture. The archives testify to extensive discussions in areas of birth control, catechetical changes, first communion/first confession sequencing, communion in the hand, clerical celibacy, abortion, sterilization, public disagreement from the positions of authority, acceptance or rejection of the Equal Rights Amendment, ministry to gays, general absolution, inclusive language, the recipe for altar breads, intercommunion, women in ministry, and priestly identity. Interest group politics begin to shape the conversations—the immediate and long lasting crossover with American political life.

During the initial stages, the various positions began to make alliances with favored organizations, take advantage of strategically placed people in key secretarial positions and sensitive to particular pastoral positions, learn

adroit use of media exposure, organize petitions of concerned "ecclesial citizens," and utilize monied resources to shape institutional life. The second stage witnessed significant signs of the more mature development of very distinct organizational approaches to the post-conciliar Church. To some extent this development was manifest at the Council in the positions of John Dearden and John Wright. One clear example may be seen in the establishment of the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars (1977) as an academic body countering the older and more progressive Catholic Theological Society of America (1946). The presenting issue was human sexuality. The same pattern is evident in the movement from the first Women's Ordination Conference (1975) to the second Conference (1978). The latter would be followed by the formation of women's advocacy organizations publicly pushing for institutional change. These organizations reflected the elite professional class now disagreeing amongst themselves. Critical differences reached a combustion point both when the second phase of the Cold War emerged and positional authority in the Church began to change.

The development of positions on women in society and Church is another key indicator of the explosive nature of the "pastoral" in a political climate of religious pluralism and human rights. This can be seen in the initial consideration by the episcopal committee examining the Equal Rights Amendment (from 1972) and then its final rejection because of its possible opening to abortion (1978). The ERA was an issue that would not go away for another decade. Similarly, opposition to the legalization of abortion took different tactical forms, some seeing it as a single legal issue, others trying to discover how best to oppose it within a context of religious freedom. The Leadership Conference of Women Religious published Choose Life in 1977, but this was severely critiqued by the episcopal committee asked to examine the document's compatibility with Church teaching. The differences within the community culminated in the 1984 controversy over the New York Times ad supporting free choice. As a second example, the increasing tension and disappearance of a conciliar pastoral approach can be illustrated by examining the discussions and reactions to Archbishop Border's Task Force on Women (1974–1976), Archbishop Weakland's 1981–82 Task Force on Women, and the very strident reaction to Weakland's 1990 listening sessions on women's experience of abortion. What is happening? Similar to the differing cultural forces in society at large, the Council in the United States is being received on national and local levels in a progressively contentious way. The "politics of history" turned out to be a new and dramatic communal process embedded in the society at large. Given the teaching of the Council and its opening to the American proposition, how could Catholic teaching arrive at a coherent

public stance respectful of the pastoral zone of moral decision making? Reading various positions backwards from the present, using labels to dismiss opinions, violates the historicity of the participants. There were many victims at all levels of the Church in the course of this polarization. One of them was the Council itself.

Such is the situation on which *American Catholicism Transformed* tried to shed some light. "Where goes pluriformity?" Dinges asks. Historians have a difficult time prognosticating. But one historian of theology and spirituality might speculate. The papacy of Francis attempts to bridge the divides so well entrenched by this "politics of history." Fixed disagreements are apparent in the reaction to Chapter VIII of *Amoris Latitiae,* which calls for a "pastoral approach" to marriage and family life, and in the acceptance/reluctance surrounding the listening process of synodality. Currently, transgenderism is the flash point of discord. The patchwork quilt of American Catholicism seems here to stay. Perhaps the Church as a whole needs to return to the Council in a new way, listen to its participants, analyze the theological "signs of the times," and through the hard work of sub-commissions of bishops, theologians, priests, religious, and laity, conversation with the "other," and deliberations guided by the Holy Spirit, respond from its internal resources to people's quest for a Gospel life of peace, justice, and mutual love. This is the hope that *American Catholicism Transformed* attempted in its limited way to place before the community. But historically speaking, the global reception of the Council is only in its infancy.

Book Reviews

General

Intimate Strangers: A History of Jews and Catholics in the City of Rome. By Fredric Brandfon. (Philadelphia and Lincoln: Jewish Publication Society, University of Nebraska Press. 2023. Pp. xiii, 366. $36.95. ISBN: 978-0-8276-1557-1.)

Years ago, I used the term "tense intimacy" to describe the state of early modern Roman Jewry. Thomas Cohen spoke of "intimate outsiders," and the late Lynn Gunzberg called them "Strangers at Home." Now, Frederic Brandfon has called them "Intimate Strangers." The eclecticism should be obvious, alongside the question: what else did Brandfon borrow. The answer is everything, but not well; the book contains no original research. It truly pains me to write the following review. I have written reviews filled with superlatives, others with criticisms, one unmasking cynicism, and some pointing out ignorance, but never once where I feel the author has jumped into deep water before learning to swim. This may be a lesson that writing history is a discipline, a skill, and one bounded by unspoken, yet firm rules.

Brandfon's book surveys (select episodes in) the history of the Jews in Rome from ancient times to, literally, our days. Admittedly, nobody has done this for Rome itself. But to do so requires preparation. Let me begin with note 60 on page 301. There, Brandfon refers to document 486 in volume 1 of Stow's *Jews in Rome*, recording that, in 1540, Jewish lenders agreed to set aside an annual sum for the poor. But then he says this may have been to blunt the force of the *Monte di pietà*. What Jews went to the *Monte di pietà?* In the event, in Rome, the institution was not authorized, let alone up and working until 1539. That is, however many books and articles he refers to in the index, which are very many, Brandfon lacks knowledge of the institutions he intends to analyze; few Italian works are cited, and recent Italian studies, especially those on modern Jewish Rome, go unmentioned.

There is some question whether Brandfon properly digests what he has read. In the case of one Shem Tov Soporto, Brandfon says that the young man wanted out of his marriage. Stow's essay devoted to this case explains that the problem was Shem Tov's impotence and the way the Jewish authorities dealt with it. The documents contain no suggestion of seeking an annulment. There is more. Brandfon cites Stow's essay a few pages before discussing the episode, but only to discuss Rome Jewry's unique marriage rituals. In discussing Shem Tov directly, Brandfon refers to the original documentation, never to Stow's essay, even though Brandfon's explanation follows Stow up to the point of misrepresenting the resolution. One

imagines Brandfon found the original documentation, too, from reading the essay. This essay also contains a balanced discussion about whether young girls, often four or five years old, who experienced vaginal bleeding were the victims of violence or were simply being protected. Brandfon unreflectively calls it violence (pp. 129–31).

Stow's *Theater of Acculturation* is the backbone of Brandfon's chapter six. But nowhere is this work cited in the chapter's notes. The expositions, in any case, are muddled. Brandfon correctly understands that Jews equated being ghettoized with being "divorced," receiving a bill of divorce, a *get*—and since when do divorced wives count themselves as strangers—but he then confuses *get* with *serraglio*, the term he says Jews mockingly use to refer to the ghetto (p. 105). However, this term—or, more formally, *claustrum*—is found in papal texts, not Jewish ones, even after "ghetto" crept in decades later. This blunder is matched by Brandfon's characterization of the *get* given by *neofiti* as "streamlined," an interpretation suggesting a lack of knowledge about a *get's* normal contents; the truth is that Roman Jews introduced a mild change, in fact, not a novel one, that pulled the wool over papal eyes. Brandfon also writes that Jews lived in the *ghettarello*. Spizzichino, the authority on the subject, says, correctly, that nobody did.

On many occasions, Brandfon argues as though the interpretations are his, with references to the originators/authors only in the backnotes. I have brought examples from my area of expertise, but difficulties are evident throughout. In addition, to build ancient Jewish history in Rome by comparisons of ancient texts—without, as is the case, examining their treatment by secondary authors—is amiss. Equally wrong is to give the same weight to secondary treatments from the early twentieth century as to recent ones.

Treating the unique papal inaugural procession—during which Jews present a Torah scroll to the pope, only to have the scroll rejected, sometimes violently—as a matter of gift culture, with no investigation of the theological aspects that dominate here, substitutes imagination for reasoned historical conclusion. Canon law and *ius commune* as factors are nearly absent throughout the book. There is also a measure of thoughtlessness. In the final chapter surveying the remains of the ghetto, without wondering what current Roman Jews think of its fortunes, he speaks of the moving brass markers set in the sidewalks memorializing Holocaust victims; and he reproduces photographically that of Antonio Roazzi (p. 269). Roazzi would have been appropriate when discussing the massacre at the Fosse Ardeatine—the victims were victims regardless of identity—but not in recalling the Shoah. Roazzi, as is easily ascertained under "*Fosse Ardeatine vittime*," was a Catholic. Brandfon's understanding of the doctrinal significance of *Nostra aetate* and similar documents also lacks sophistication. I do not believe the charge of deicide was itself ever doctrine, as is said repeatedly.

The book's title: Lynn Gunzberg's "strangers" are the grotesque characters in satiric plays, the *giudiate* ,and other untoward literary references. Brandfon uses "strangers" globally. Yet how can people who, unlike other European Jews, cannot

be qualified as immigrants, who have lived in Rome for more than two millennia, prior to many, if not most, of its current inhabitants, be called "strangers?" Outsiders, possibly, in a limited sense. I prefer "tense intimacy." Jews and Christians in Rome share, and have shared. too much: language, foods, customs, other behavior; rabbinic notaries in the sixteenth century, using Hebrew words, were really writing in Italian, purposely imitating Capitoline Notaries, and saying so. It is this very closeness without being identical that has caused frictions. Scholars will discard this book; lay readers will be misled. I do not understand how the book was recommended for publication.

University of Haifa (Emeritus) KENNETH STOW

Women in the Mission of the Church: Their Opportunities and Obstacles throughout Christian History. By Leanne M. Dzubinski and Anneke H. Stasson. (Grand Rapids, Michigan. Baker Academic. 2021. Pp. 213. $25. ISBN: 978-1-540-96072-6.)

The inspiration behind this highly accessible and informative survey is a practical one, demonstrating to a lay audience that women have always been "crucial to God's work on earth" (p. ix). No feminist fad or modern heresy, female leadership goes back centuries, as the authors explain, to the very beginning of the history of Christianity and on into the present. The volume grew from the hands-on experience of one of the co-authors, Leanne Dzubinski, as she taught classes on women in church leadership, first to students at Philadelphia Biblical University, and then to female missionaries and executives in missionary organizations. When the need for a book became apparent, she engaged a seasoned professional historian, Anneke Stasson, who also had a keen interest in helping laywomen—and laypeople more generally—reclaim the long history of women in church leadership.

The moderately-sized volume covers the gamut of Christian history, from the time of Christ to the present, focusing primarily but not exclusively on highly visible women in highly visible roles. Two opening chapters deal with the early church—patrons, missionaries, apostles, widows, and martyrs, as well as virgins, scholars, desert mothers, and deacons. Part 2 takes on "late antiquity," specifically the work of nuns, beguines, and mystics, as well as empresses and queens. The third and final section of the book focuses on American Christianity and the role of African and Asian women in the spread of global Christianity. The emphasis is again on leadership, particularly preaching, evangelizing, and founding new congregations. Perhaps because of the focus on spoken word and entrepreneurial success, the volume is focused primarily on Protestantism, and more the evangelical variety than mainline Protestantism or Catholicism.

Throughout, the authors avoid a triumphal approach. While they celebrate the achievements of unusual women—everyone from early Christian martyrs like Thecla and Perpetua to more recent figures like Dora Yu and Abiodun Akinsowon—they make sure readers understand the obstacles as well as the opportuni-

ties women have faced. More than once a step forward has resulted in two more backward, a loss of control to male leadership or direct constraints due to outright gender prejudice. The authors strive throughout to provide a nuanced and balanced historical narrative.

In doing so, they are able to draw from a wide and sophisticated body of scholarship. The volume is a testimony to the flourishing of women's history in the larger framework of Christian history, and to the authors' ability to summarize and select telling examples of exemplary and influential women. This is not a new synthesis or a book of cutting-edge scholarship on gender and Christianity—and it is not meant to be. It is one of those rare volumes, written for laypeople without condescension or cant, free of axes to grind or villains to be exposed and condemned. While far from comprehensive, it is a clear and thoughtful introduction to a complicated and all too often controversial subject. It ably introduces lay audiences to the gratifying depth and breadth of all we have come to know about the many ways women have shaped and directed Christian witness.

Melrose, Massachusetts Margaret Bendroth

The Years of Jesuit Suppression, 1773–1814: Survival, Setbacks, and Transformation. By Paul Shore. (Boston: Brill. 2020. Pp. 117. $94.00. ISBN: 9789004421080.)

Those who have researched the history of the Suppression of the Society of Jesus will know just how difficult a task this has long been. The very process of Suppression brought with it the destruction of a mode of often meticulous record-keeping both at the international level, through the archives of the Society at its headquarters in Rome, and, more locally, in individual Jesuit province and institutional archives.

The documentary evidence to uncover and analyze what actually happened in any particular province around the time of the Suppression and during its aftermath is often scattered between what survives, often fragmentarily, among contemporary Jesuit province or central records in Rome, or else has to be unearthed from other sources, including those of the individual agencies in each country which implemented the actual suppression process.

Securing an overview of what happened internationally during the Suppression period has long proven to be an even more difficult task. Though the edition and publication in 2001 by Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín María Domínguez Martín of the four-volume *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: biográfico-temático* at last provided up-to-date accounts of the history and historiography of the Suppression in individual Jesuit provinces, a succinct synoptic analysis of the entire suppression process was still lacking.

That long-standing *lacuna* has now happily been filled by the admirable work of Paul Shore here under review: sadly, however, it has proven to be among the last of his writings prior to his sudden and untimely death on February 27, 2023.

Despite its title, apparently restricting the scope of the study to the years of the universal suppression of the Society of Jesus, from 1773 to 1814, Paul Shore's survey and analysis helpfully embrace the full scope of the suppression process, beginning in Portugal and its empire in 1759, tracking the expulsions of the Jesuits from France in 1762, and then from the Spanish empire, including Naples and Parma, and also from Malta, in 1767.

Through careful analysis, drawing upon an immense international historiography contained in the bibliography, the author not only looks back to the Suppression, but also forward to the future, delineating in his *Conclusion* an exciting range of research opportunities that await scholars. Taken together, this elegant study will long remain both a useful research guide for the future and a worthy monument to one aspect of Paul Shore's scholarship and erudition across a vast field of Jesuit studies.

Venerable English College, Rome MAURICE WHITEHEAD

The Bible and the Crisis of Modernism: Catholic Criticism in the Twentieth Century. By Tomáš Petráček. Translated by David Livingstone and Addison Hart. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2022. Pp. vii, 421. $125.00. ISBN: 978-0-268-20289-7.)

The period of Roman Catholic Modernism (1890–1914) constituted a watershed in the development of Catholic reception of historical-critical method. Of the six periods of that reception identified by Petráček, the two central ones coincide with the modernist crisis. The first period, 1840–70, saw preoccupation with the relation between the Bible and the natural sciences, while the 1880s were marked by the perception of Catholic exegesis in relation to Protestant and rationalist exegesis, to the detriment of the first. These periods are passed over lightly in favor of the attempts to address the challenges posed by historical-critical methods, a fifth period of relative stagnation (1914–43), and a final period beginning with the encyclical *Divino afflante spiritu* in 1943 and culminating with developments at the time of Vatican Council II and after.

Accounts of the struggles over Catholic biblical scholarship over this time typically–and understandably–center on Francophone scholars and their interactions with those who opposed using critical methods, while acknowledging contributions by German and English scholars. A secondary aim of this study, and one of its merits, is to expand horizons to include Czech contributors. In addition to tracking the work of the more familiar figures of Marie-Joseph Lagrange, Alfred Loisy, and Franz von Hummelauer, Petráček showcases the careers of Vincent Zapatel, Alois Musil, Jan Nepomuk Hejčl, and Vojtěch Šanda, following them through and beyond the modernist period. Attention to Czech responses continues with examining the significance and reception of *Dei Verbum*.

The larger aim of the book encompasses examination of "conservative response and reasons for it" (p. 1). As a counterpart to practitioners of critical methods, notable figures who were in opposition and their motives are explored. Another

strength of this study is its attention to institutional sites of biblical interpretation: the École Biblique in Jerusalem, the Pontifical Biblical Commission, and the Pontifical Biblical Institute. The survey of the decisions of the Biblical Commission, their authority, and their e

"Intellectual" Modernism (it also had its social-political aspects) may be resolved into major questions: a biblical question, an apologetic question, and a dogmatic question. With regard to the first, the "biblical question" was centrally one of inspiration and its corollary inerrancy. An important substantive thread that appears in Petráček's account, therefore, is discussion of influential theories of inspiration as a way of further bringing out contrasts between historical critics and their Scholastic opponents. Indeed, near the conclusion of the book Petráček states, "Full acceptance of the historical critical method . . . was only made possible because the Catholic Church changed its concept of inspiration" (p. 290).

As subsidiary aims Petráček nuances enduring stereotypes: intellectually gifted biblical critics who faced intellectually limited Curialists, and modernists who were lacking in faith contrasted with antimodernists possessed a living religious faith.

The book will expand the horizons of those whose primary interest resides in the chapters on Modernism. In its tracing of the fortunes of Catholic exegesis and exegetes into the years beyond the modernist crisis it informs us regarding the motives that fueled opposition to historical criticism and induced stagnation in Catholic scholarship. It not only follows the trajectory of familiar figures such as Loisy and Lagrange, but also expands its circle to include lesser known scholars. Perhaps its greatest contribution is that the author takes a story that has largely been told in more piecemeal fashion, or in more summary ways, and explores it with both range and depth.

The translation reads well and has been closely proofread. A few small caveats: H. Delehaye's name is misspelled on pp. 119 and 337n. (but correctly on p. 249). While Jesuits are vowed religious, they are not appropriately designated as monks (p. 169) or as "monastic" (p. 166).

University of Saint Thomas Charles J. T. Talar

Santa Sede e Cattolici nel Mondo Postbellico, 1918-1922: Raccolta di Studi nel Centenario della conclusione della Prima Guerra Mondiale. Edited by Marc Agostino. (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2020. Pp. 677. E35.00. ISBN: 978-88-266-0466-4.)

The pontificate of Benedict XV(1914–1922) was short—only seven years and five months. Yet during it, the Pope, the Catholic Church, and the Catholic laity faced unprecedented challenges. Virtually the whole period was one of widespread, bloody violence in Europe and Ireland—the First World War itself and, after the last shot had been fired in November, 1918, a succession of territorial conflicts between warring national and ethnic groups, civil wars between established elites

and communist/socialist revolutionaries, and other social upheavals. As Robert Gerwarth has put it, the First World War "failed to end."[1]

This collection of essays given at a conference in November, 2018, attempts to analyze the responses of the papacy and Catholics to these challenges, all of which deeply affected the Church. They ranged from those deriving from the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian, German, and Russian empires, the Bolshevik threat to Europe engendered by the Russian Revolution of October, 1917, and the problems thrown up by the territorial dimension of the Versailles Peace Settlement of 1919. Though international and national politics—in the latter case, devising a Catholic political strategy with which to operate within newly democratic "successor states"—often seem to have monopolized the energies of the "diplomat" pope and his Secretary of State, Cardinal Pietro Gasparri—the collection also addresses more clearly ecclesiastical and spiritual matters that engaged the attention of the Holy See in the post-war period, like the "new" missionary policy of Benedict and the prefect of Propaganda Fide, Cardinal Willem Marinus Van Rossum, and the underlying strategy of the beatifications and canonizations that took place during Benedict's pontificate.

The essay of Professor Roberto Regoli, which analyzes the sessions of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs (Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari), in which responses to some of the most serious challenges facing the Church were deliberated, provides the key to the decision-making process overall. He demonstrates that the cardinals of the Congregation adopted a pragmatic approach to the post-war situation in which the Holy See found itself, and that they realized that this situation even offered positive opportunities, particularly in the diplomatic sphere where Benedict XV's humanitarian and peace policies during the war had greatly enhanced the international standing of the Holy See.

In the final essay, "Conclusioni," Andras Fejerdy points out that scholars from ten countries participated in the conference, but it is puzzling that none were from Germany, the United Kingdom or the United States. In terms of content, some omissions are also a trifle puzzling. While it would be impossible, even in a volume of this size, to comprehensively cover the whole gamut of relevant subjects, why, for instance, is there an essay on the establishment of diplomatic relations between Latvia and Estonia and the Holy See but not on the neighboring Baltic state, Lithuania, with which the papacy would have a troubled relationship throughout the 1920s?

Many of the subjects covered by individual essays have, of course, already been dealt with elsewhere and inevitably, in some cases, in more detail. But these essays almost always have something new to say and for that reason they add much to our understanding of the policies of the Holy See in Benedict XV's final years.

University of Cambridge JOHN POLLARD

1. Robert Gerwarth, *The Vanquished. Why the First World War failed to end, 1917–1923* (London: Penguin, 2017).

Die Sorge der Päpste um den Frieden: Eine ethische Analyse der Botschaften zum Weltfriedenstag. By Patrick Körbs (Berlin/Münster: LIT Verlag. 2021. Pp. 522. $65.43. ISBN: 978-3-643-14879-7.)

With a programmatic message, Paul VI founded the Catholic tradition of the World Day of Peace on December 8, 1967. Since January 1, 1968, the Catholic Church has been celebrating a Day of Peace at the beginning of the year. The programmatic leadership has been reserved for the popes. Every year, the popes published a message for the Catholic World Day of Peace. Over half a century, a text corpus of papal peace reflection has thus emerged that combines fundamental considerations with current references. However, this text corpus does not play a prominent role in scholarly reflection on the peace ethics of the popes. The dissertation presented at the University of the Federal Armed Forces by Patrick Körbs, a priest of the Archdiocese of Munich and since 2021 studying Canon Law at the Gregoriana and training for the Diplomatic Service of the Holy See, analyzes the entire corpus up to 2021 in order to change this. The plea for greater attention to the messages is justified.

Körbs is able to show, using a Korff-oriented analytical grid of individual, social, and environmental ethics, how multilayered the popes develop their peace-ethical impulses in the rather short, sometimes concise texts. From individual peace education to issues of social justice and disarmament to respect for creation, the popes take up contemporary issues and try to integrate them into the Christian vision of a just peace.

Even if the doctrine of just war is not abandoned, the papal messages reflect the hope for the possibility of a just world peace. John XXIII's *Pacem in Terris* and the optimism of the Second Vatican Council were foundational for this new orientation.

While Paul VI was still dominated by individual ethical issues, in the long pontificate of John Paul II social ethical issues came to the fore, which for the first time were also accompanied by environmental ethical approaches. John Paul II's pontificate also marked the supposed end of the East-West conflict and the advent of a global world order. While Benedict XVI continued to develop this agenda to a large extent, Francis further sharpened the social and environmental ethical demands. Francis also took up the violence of globalization with his speech about the Third World War, which is being waged on a small scale.

With a skeptical view of the Pax Americana, Körbs emphasizes that the popes did not focus on the implementation of a global world order, nor did they pay homage to an idealistic pacifism. The papal messages do not contain a comprehensive doctrine on how world peace could be established. They do, however, fulfill their claim to point to the chance of peace in a concrete form in the respective courses of time.

In his dissertation, Körbs thus does not follow the trend sometimes found in Catholic peace ethics to equate appeals for peace with the hope for world peace or even to demand such a view from the popes. On the contrary, he emphasizes the

rather fragmentary and flexible character of the messages in a world of conflict. Perhaps, however, the analysis of the papal messages could have been more critical. From the perspective of a Christian realism, the popes have ventured sometimes far in their messages of peace in the hope of a world peace that the world probably cannot give.

University of Passau MARIANO BARBATO

MEDIEVAL

Il patriarcato di Aquileia: Identità, liturgia e arte (secoli (V-XV). Edited by Zuleika Murat and Paolo Vedovetto. (Rome. Viella. 2021. Pp. 432. €70,00. ISBN: 9788833138022.)

The patriarchate of Aquileia, an episcopal see allegedly founded by Saint Mark the Evangelist, ranked among the most powerful metropolitans of the medieval Catholic Church, encompassing the Italian provinces of Friuli, the Alto Adige, and Veneto, Croatia, Slovenia, and Austria. Aligned with the German emperors, Aquileia was the source of Venice's ecclesiastical lineage but also its chief rival until Venice seized control in 1465.

The editors of the present volume theorize cultural identity as entailing shared linguistic, religious, and devotional values, communal customs, and origins. In the case of Aquileia, the apostolic foundation justified its church's metropolitan authority and fostered distinctive liturgical rites and jurisdictional ties that unified otherwise disparate ethnicities, languages, and customs under the patriarch's rule. As Andrea Tilatti's historiographical essay shows, the focus on the greatness of the medieval patriarchate was central to nationalist narratives in writings by scholars within Friuli and the Veneto. Subsequent contributions underline the juridical and political roles of the patriarchate. Although Mark's Aquileian mission is first recorded in the late eighth century, Giuseppe Cuscito ties this tradition to the schism over the Three Chapters, which led Aquileia, the leading dissident opposed to the papal position, to claim metropolitan authority over the Upper Adriatic churches a century earlier. Emanuela Colombini shows how the *Passiones* of Istrian saints share phraseology and narrative structures with Aquileian *Passiones* of Mark and Hermagoras, Felix and Fortunatus, thereby reinforcing identity of the Istrian diocese with Aquileia. Essays by Maria Clara Rossi and Silvia Musetti consider how the patriarch of Aquileia's jurisdiction over the canons of Verona exempted them from episcopal authority, resulting in a physical and jurisdictional separation of the canons from the bishop, as well as distinct ritual roles. Katja Piazza assesses archival sources in Udine that provide the basis for understanding the division of territories subject to the Aquileian patriarch within the German Empire.

A distinctive Aquileian religious identity is considered in three essays. Alessio Peršič argues that one can detect an emphasis on certain symbolic elements in Early Christian commentaries on liturgy from Aquileia and Pannonia, including a ritual

washing of the feet at baptism, the emphasis on Christ's descent into hell on Holy Saturday, and the emphasis on the blood of Christ as a purificatory force in the mission of the apostles. Sandro Puissi and Alessio Peršič further suggest that Aquileian patristic sources informed the theology of Paolinus II, Patriarch of Aquileia in the late eighth century. By contrast, Antonio Lovato's analysis of the order of extreme unction in Aquileian printed sources discounts the hypothesis of a "patriarchal rite" distinct from the Roman rite.

Art's role in shaping identity is highlighted in nine essays. Three explore lesser-known aspects of the patriarchal basilica of Aquileia. Paolo Vedovetto summarizes evidence of carved reliefs from liturgical furnishings dating from the sixth to eleventh centuries, offering reconstructions of the choir screen and ciboria, while Maurizio Buora argues that eleventh-century liturgical furnishings under Poppo, including the patriarchal throne, highlighted a rivalry with Venice and Grado. Zuleika Murat demonstrates how the tombs and frescoes in the Della Torre chapel, dedicated to the Milanese Saint Ambrose, reinforced the status of a ruling dynasty that originated in Lombardy and dominated the patriarchal o
key social roles in the patriarchate between the 1270s and 1330s. Magdalena Skobar and Sunčica Mustač argue that that sculpted reliefs of the enthroned Saint Peter and orant Ecclesia, from Vodnjan near Pola, draw on Ottonian imperial iconography to stress Church unity under the leadership of Aquileia. Four essays discuss Udine Cathedral, as rebuilt under Patriarch Bertrand (1334-50) as his principal seat outside Aquileia. Sara Turk documents the fragmentary evidence of narrative and iconic frescoes in the choir chapels of Saint Nicholas and the Corpus Christi, which she dates to the 1330s; Fabio Massaccesi draws on neglected drawings and documents to reconstruct the architecture, liturgical space, and fresco decoration by Vitale da Bologna under the patronage of Patriarch Bertrand; Margherita Zibordi shows how the illuminated initials of the Gradual of Udine Cathedral draw on Bolognese Trecento art and connects them with the workshop of Vitale da Bologna. Davide Tramarin reconstructs the appearance of the convent of Santa Chiara in Udine and demonstrates the patriarchate's patronage of the Franciscan order in Friuli.

As is often the case in such collections, the coverage of the broader topic is uneven. Not all authors explicitly address a distinctive "Aquileian" identity, and some even undercut the idea (e.g., Lovato, Zibordi); at the same time, crucial monuments of patriarchal authority—e.g., San Giusto,Trieste, and the crypt of Aquileia Cathedral—are absent. The value of the collection is that it introduces neglected examples and offers interpretations based on significant yet undervalued or unknown documentary sources and archaeological finds, thus laying a foundation for a more comprehensive understanding of the Aquiliean patriarchate and its culture.

University of Wisconsin-Madison Thomas Dale

The Cartulary-Chronicle of St-Pierre of Bèze. Edited by Constance Brittain Bouchard. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2019. Pp. xii, 448. $103.00. ISBN: 9781487506155.)

Constance Brittain Bouchard is well known for her path-breaking work on medieval French monasteries and their estates. Over thirty years ago, her monograph *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy* (Cornell, 1991) helped transform our view of monks as economic agents. The raw material for her study was monastic cartularies, which record the minute details of transactions out of which economic and social history can be written. Now Bouchard has produced a very welcome edition of the cartulary chronicle of St. Pierre of Bèze, a Benedictine house in Burgundy not far from the renowned St. Bénigne of Dijon, which has previously been little known by historians. Thanks to Bouchard, we have a rich new source that will help illuminate not just the history of this monastery but the social life of its surrounding community.

In a succinct introduction, Bouchard describes the distinctive format of the cartulary, which, as the title would suggest, incorporates significant passages of narrative history into a largely chronological series of documents. The bulk of the narrative concerns the foundation of Bèze in the seventh century and its refoundation in the tenth after a series of vicissitudes visited upon the house by enemies both foreign and domestic. Bouchard expertly disentangles what is probably the compiler's self-serving guesswork (he gives the monastery an origin in 600, just a shade earlier than the neighboring–and rival–monastery of Flavigny) from plausible reconstruction (she concludes that the monastery has a genuine mid-seventh-century origin). Indeed, she rescues most of the earliest documents in the text from the charge of outright forgery and argues instead that the twelfth-century chronicler was trying sincerely to make sense of texts he did not fully understand himself.

The compiler did not compose most of the narrative passages *de novo*. Rather, he borrowed liberally from the chronicle of St. Bénigne, which provides a national perspective on events in what would later become France and Burgundy, as the "spine" of his account. This makes sense, since St. Bénigne and Bèze were closely connected and had at one time even been ruled by the same abbot, but Bouchard points out the places in which the compiler has deftly cut and pasted in parts of the text that are relevant to his house alone; for example, he omits portions of the chronicle in which the Dijon chronicler details gifts to his own house but retains mentions of gifts to Bèze. These narrative passages are particularly important in the early history of the abbey, but the narrative context is also essential in some cases for understanding the documents the compiler provides. For example, he reproduces a passage that describes the reform of the papacy under Henry III and the accession of Pope Leo IX, whose vigorous defense of church rights extends to protecting St. Pierre of Bèze from having to pay tithes to another church, on the grounds that no church dedicated to St. Peter should be obligated to do so. The compiler thus deftly ties his house to the main current of church reform.

Previous editions of the text, all of which are based on a seventeenth-century antiquarian work, had picked apart the chronicle and the cartulary, but Bouchard follows the recent scholarly trend of representing the contents of a medieval manuscript as they were intended to be read by their author, namely, with narrative passages and documents deliberately intertwined. It is thus possible to follow exactly how the compiler wished those documents to be understood in the context of the history of his house. Bouchard concedes, though, "that this edition will be consulted primarily for the documents in it" (p. 17), so she helpfully numbers them. It would have been an additional welcome step if she had differentiated the narrative passages from the documents graphically; while it is usually easy to tell where the compiler's own contributions end and the documents (whether reproduced verbatim or summarized) begin, a visual reminder would be helpful.

The cartulary chronicle does indeed contain a treasure trove of material. Historians can exploit the many recorded instances of local people making agreements with the monastery before departing for Jerusalem, in some cases, surely on crusade. They can also learn much about the social relations among the people with whom the abbey had dealings. This is very much the world of unruly lords that we see in Thomas Bisson's *Crisis of the Twelfth Century* (Princeton, 2008). For example, document 187, dated to May 31,1076, records an agreement that Fulk of Beaumont and his son Geoffrey will "cease their violent activities at Noiron." Document 311, dated c. 1142, records the complicated case of an abusive provost who was persuaded to step down, but whose heirs repeatedly pressed claims for his office until a final settlement was reached, doubtless after many resources had been expended on both sides. This case provides a glimpse of the struggles that monasteries endured in administering their estates via unreliable agents, so memorably described in Robert Berkhofer's *Day of Reckoning* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

Bouchard is, unsurprisingly, a careful editor who has rectified many deficiencies in the seventeenth-century edition. She has made available a rich new source for the history of medieval Burgundy, and scholars for years to come will be in her debt.

The Catholic University of America Jennifer Paxton

Embodying the Soul. Medicine and Religion in Carolingian Europe. By Meg Leja. (Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Press. 2022. Pp. 378. $ 89.95. ISBN: 9780812253894.)

A lot has been written in the past decades about Carolingian culture and religion. Through the works of Rosamond McKitterick, Jinty Nelson, Regine Le Jan, and others, the study of the Carolingian period has been revitalized and the efforts in the realms of politics, culture, and religion of the dynasty founded by Pippin's grab for power in 751 have received ample attention. The astounding book reviewed here adds a whole new layer to Carolingian studies by concentrating on ideas of the body and soul, looking specifically at the ways in which Carolingians thought about these topics and bringing the field of the study of medicine into the discussion. Early medieval medicine has long been regarded as a cultural backwater

where no progress was made in thinking about health and in treatment of the body. This book succeeds in a wonderful way to redress such outdated assessments that were often informed by simplistic ideas of progress and scientific evolution.

The book consist of three main parts. The first discusses the intricate connections between body, soul, and self. In the period discussed there was not one overriding interpretation of these connections, but Leja reveals different ideas on these topics by looking, for example, at theories about the connection between body, materiality, and soul entertained by scholars such as Alcuin, his pupil Candidus, Gottschalck of Orbais, and Ratramnus of Corbie. Where earlier scholars often assumed that Alcuin's *De ratione animae* was the last word on this topic, this study reveals a rich tapestry of diverse perspectives and a lack of consensus. Advisory texts written for lay magnates in the Carolingian period also reveal different attitudes. Whereas Paulinus of Aquilea saw body and soul as antagonistic constituents and held that the body needed to be controlled by the soul, Dhuoda stressed the close connection between the two and favored cooperation between body and soul that would lead to salvation. Views on the relation between bodily and spiritual health were also quite diverse. A sick body could be a sign of spiritual health, especially in the case of ascetic ideals, but it could also be a sign of sin, though more on a communal than on an individual level. In general, Leja observes a moderate stance with regard to asceticism and bodily afflictions: obedience and fulfilling a role in society were more important than ascetic prowess as the commentaries on the Rule of Benedict written by Smaragdus of St. Mihiel and Hildemar of Civate (or Corbie) reveal.

In the second part of the book Leja discusses the respectability of the discipline of medicine in the Carolingian age. That respectability was not self-evident because the study of medicine and healing methods were tainted by connotations of paganism, superstition, and sorcery. Christian scribes and compilers of medical manuscripts devised different ways to make medical texts acceptable for a Christian audience, excising pagan elements from medical texts, replacing pagan invocations with Christian ones, or enriching the manuscript with Christian symbols. Should the body be healed even when the affliction stems from sin? This pressing question demanded careful consideration, but medical texts stated that one should make such an effort because medicine was also a gift of God, and ultimately it was, of course, God who restored physical and spiritual health. Medicine was not part of the educational program of the seven liberal arts, but in Carolingian times it became more and more accepted as a scholarly endeavor. It is not very clear who the practitioners of medicine were. They were certainly male, but could be lay, clerical, or monastic. Medical treatises emphasize the moral standing of the doctor. Whereas Christ and priests were designated as doctors of the soul, practitioners of medicine were associated with proper Christian behavior so as to assist the divine healer to the best of his abilities.

The third part of the book discusses the place of medicine within a wider spectrum of knowledge. In Carolingian manuscripts we find medical treatises often accompanied with astronomical and prognostic texts. Augustine had censured such ways of foretelling the future, but in the Carolingian era they were tolerated if exe-

cuted by the proper persons for proper ends. So we find *lunaria* and an enumeration of the Egyptian days alongside medical texts and alongside liturgical texts for the sick and the dying. Yet there was also a clear acknowledgment of the fact that although regularity of the heavenly bodies and their connection with the microcosmos of life on earth was God's creation, he could also intervene directly in this world whenever that was needed. As a parallel, humans could neglect ecclesiastical rules whenever *necessitas* required it. The attention paid to astronomy was in a certain way linked to humoral theories. These were important in another respect too, that of food. It was understood that the consumption of particular kinds of food had an effect on the humors of the body, and thus on its physical health, but also on the moral state of health, not only of the individual but also on the level of the Christian people. The collective fasts ordered by Charlemagne demonstrate such a connection. This way of thinking fostered thinking about the Christian realm in terms of a body that could become polluted, as became obvious during the reign of Louis the Pious when fear of pollution and the need for penitential redress became so central.

From the brief summary of the contents of this book, it becomes clear that we are dealing with a rich and rewarding study of a neglected topic in Carolingian and early medieval history. The book deals with an impressive array of sources, from late antique texts found in Carolingian manuscripts to the famous plan of the monastery of St. Gall, to an analysis of individual manuscripts in all their details. Medical theories are fruitfully related to other branches of knowledge available in Carolingian times and connected to larger issues of Carolingian history. As such, Leja is able to show that medicine was not a small niche that was only available to a few monks, as the denigrating term *Mönchsmedizin* implies, but that Carolingian elites acknowledged the importance of medicine in a number of ways. It related not only to the body, but also to the self, the soul, and the body politic as this admirable study convincingly argues.

Utrecht University Rob Meens

Das Alexandrinische Schisma: In Briefen und Ideenwelt des Arnulf von Lisieux und Johannes von Salisbury. By Isabel Blumenroth. (Cologne. Böhlau. 2021. Pp. 847. €89.99. ISBN: 9783412522070.)

In early September, 1159, the conclave to elect a successor to Pope Hadrian IV (1154–59) elevated two different candidates to the see of St. Peter. A numerical majority of the cardinals appears to have settled on the late pope's chancellor, the canonist Rolando Bandinelli, who became Alexander III, but a smaller faction, arguing that they nonetheless constituted the *maior et sanior pars* (greater and sounder part) of the body, elevated Ottavio di Montecelli, who took the name Victor IV. Both candidates were formally invested by their supporters and declared to be the true pope. Each party immediately launched a fierce propaganda war to delegitimize the opposing pope and secure the support of Europe's ecclesiastical and secular leaders. The so-called Alexandrine Schism roiled the Roman church for nearly two decades (1159–77) but has often been framed as a struggle primarily between Alexander and the German emperor Frederick Barbarossa (1151–90) over

the place of the Roman church (and its pope) in Frederick's ambitious vision of German-Roman imperial renewal. Relatively less attention has been paid to how the schism played out in other parts of Europe, however.[1] Isabel Blumenroth aims to close one of these lacunae with her monumental (nearly 800-page) study of responses to the schism in the Anglo-Norman church and the kingdom of England, viewed principally through the letter collections of two great churchmen and writers of the period, John of Salisbury and Arnulf of Lisieux.

Blumenroth brings both writers' extensive engagement with the schism into sharper focus while placing it within the context of the other major ecclesio-political crisis of their day, namely, the bitter feud between Henry II and Archbishop Thomas Becket. Arnulf and John both supported Alexander, but at the same time their positions were complicated, albeit in different ways, by the Becket controversy. Arnulf, for example, had led the charge that persuaded Henry II to formally recognize Alexander as pope in 1161, but also took Henry's side in the Becket affair, much to the dismay of John of Salisbury. John, on the other hand, was a staunch ally of both Alexander and Becket and came to see both conflicts as profoundly interrelated, going to the very heart of the principles of the liberty of the Church and legitimate kingship he had elucidated in his *Policraticus*.

This is certainly the most significant, but by no means only, contribution the book makes. In a detailed exegesis of dozens of letters and other writings from each author, Blumenroth illuminates the extensive personal, political, and institutional networks that shaped them–and which they in turn hoped to influence through their correspondence. Methodologically, she is less interested in the letters as sources for a historical reconstruction of specific events, than in what they reveal about Arnulf's and John's *Wahrnehmungs- und Deutungsmuster*–the perceptual and interpretive frameworks of their positions and arguments (pp. 33–36). Along the way, Blumenroth builds upon the substantial body of scholarly literature on these subjects, as well as on the two authors individually, while also offering a number of important insights that connect aspects of their thought previously isolated behind the thematic and disciplinary boundaries of earlier scholarship. This study will be an essential resource to anyone working on the Alexandrine schism, the Becket controversy, twelfth-century epistolary literature, or the political thought and ecclesiology of either John of Salisbury or Arnulf of Lisieux. For those without the time to work through the denser and more detailed analytical sections of the book, which also include extensive excerpts of (mostly untranslated) Latin from her sources, Blumenroth provides an excellent twenty-eight-page precis at the end (pp. 747–72) summarizing the key arguments, accompanied by a register of the most significant letters from each writer examined in the study.

Hamilton College JOHN ELDEVIK

1. One of the few earlier studies to take a broader, transregional view of the schism, with a focus on the Anglo-Norman sources, was the unpublished Oxford dissertation of Timothy Reuter, "The Papal Schism, the Empire and the West, 1159–69" (1975).

Courting Sanctity: Holy Women and the Capetians. By Sean Field. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2019. Pp. 288. $43.95. ISBN: 978-1-501-73619-3.)

In *Courting Sanctity*, Sean Field sets out to demonstrate that "holy women were central to the rise of the Capetian self-presentation as uniquely favored by God" (p. 5). For most of the thirteenth century, the royal family's support of the new holy women, beguines and mystics, enhanced their reputation for sanctity. By the later thirteenth century, Philip III and Philip IV distanced themselves from this type of holy woman, who were drawn into court politics and then seen as part of the forces of evil attacking the royal court. Field's goal is to correct the established narrative that focuses on the Capetian men–Louis IX's piety, efforts to promote his swift canonization, and Philip IV's goal to centralize sacred power into his own hands–and to draw attention to new models of French royal holiness during the long thirteenth century. The book is organized in three chronological sections. The first section focuses on the reign of Louis IX, particularly his sister Isabelle of France and Douceline of Digne, godmother of Charles of Anjou. The second section examines Elizabeth of Spaalbeek whose prophecies were a central element of the conspiracies swirling within Philip III's court in the 1270s. The third section analyzes Philip IV and his treatment of Paupertas of Metz, Margueronne of Belleville, and Marguerite Porete. These women were imprisoned, threatened, and tortured so that "they could be forced to admit that they were nefarious agents of the king's enemies, satanically inspired poisoners, or sorceresses" (p. 11). Thus, while women's holiness promoted Capetian claims to divine favor in the 1250s and 1260s, by the early fourteenth century, these women were perceived as enemies of the most Christian kings of France.

Field does a good job of discussing these holy women and their relationship to the Capetian kings and their court. He clearly and succinctly explains the politics of each reign and the roles that these women played in the court intrigues and concerns. Field also contextualizes how the initial enthusiasm of some for the thirteenth-century beguines and mystics was always a double-edged sword in the pursuit of associating sanctity and divine favor with the royal family. The most frustrating aspect of this book is that Field does not develop the connections between the established male-dominated narrative of the Capetians as the "most Christian kings" with the women of renowned piety. Chapter 4, "Writing Holy Women, 1282–1285," begins this process but loses the thread of the argument as Field shifts his focus to the depiction of these women in the sources without tying them explicitly into broader process of royal representation. So we see the refashioning of the presentation of these women, but not how it contributed to the project of portraying the Capetians as uniquely favored by God. Nor does he demonstrate how the success of this portrayal of Capetian's divine favor obviated the need to cultivate saintly individuals. For example, Field begins his discussion of Philip IV noting that he believed and royal chroniclers described him as ruling "in the knowledge that he was God's chosen agent . . . certain that his personal enemies were God's enemies" (p. 147). Field does not show how the earlier associations with saintly women and the works of the 1280s helped to create this belief and

characterization, although he implicitly shows that it is the key element of Philip's response to the perceived threat of these un-cloistered women's prophecies. *Courting Sanctity* offers a very good introduction to these six holy women and to the scandals and challenges of the later Capetian kings. It offers a thought-provoking but ultimately unproven thesis about the role of these holy women in the formation of the Capetians' reputation as divinely favored above all others.

The Ohio State University HEATHER J. TANNER

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

Megan Cassidy-Welch has assembled an excellent and incredibly 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 re-created 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 of 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 dis-

cussed 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 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 the Second World War 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

Intellectual Dynamism of the High Middle Ages. Edited by Clare Monagle. (Amsterdam. Amsterdam University Press. 2021. Pp. 344. €118.99. ISBN: 9789048537174.)

This collection of essays contains studies on subjects that fall within the research interests of its dedicatee, Constant J. Mews. The fifteen contributions have been grouped chronologically within four sections ("Twelfth-century Learning,"

"Sanctity and Material Culture," "Theological Transmissions: Intellectual Culture after 1200," and "Gender, Power, and Virtue in Early Modernity"). While these groupings may initially appear simply expedient, they offer the reader useful access points to the collection, and encourage one to seek links between the contributions, however varied their topics and periods.

A number of common themes emerge as guiding threads throughout the collection, as illustrated by the following selected contributions. One such theme is an emphasis on the embeddedness of texts within the social and intellectual contexts–"communities of learning"—that produced them. The studies of Juanita Feros Ruys (examining Abelard's concept of empathy and its Stoic and Christian forebears) and Marcia Colish (on the influence of John Cassian on Bernard of Clairvaux's theology of free will) both remind the reader of the complexity of the textual corpora inherited by medieval scholars. John Crossley, in turn, points to the radical potential that calculations based on newly introduced Hindu-Arabic numerals held for scholars, evaluating how the medieval encyclopaedist Jacobus capably expanded on Boethian musical theory in his *Speculum musicae*. Meanwhile, Janice Pinder's contribution, which offers a close reading of French and Latin texts of Guiard of Laon's Eucharist sermon, examines the influence of the movement to establish the feast of Corpus Christi on the composition of the French version, ably situating it within vernacular devotional traditions.

Another theme is the character of scholarly life. Earl Jeffrey Richards considers the spatial context within which Jean de Meun wrote the *Roman de la Rose*, considering how the circulation of ideas within the tight geographic space of the Latin Quarter in Paris may have influenced Jean's tongue-in-cheek references to relics as testicles in the famous debate between Raison and Amant. Sylvain Piron examines various texts from fourteenth-century Italy concerning the propriety of marriage of scholars and provides a number of lively vignettes of medieval family life. Meanwhile, Riccardo Saccenti reconstructs theological studies in Paris in the 1240s through the manuscript evidence of two commentaries on the *Sentences*, pointing to the textual fluidity of *reportationes* in comparison to published version of sermons and demonstrating how they can reveal details about the structure and training of masters at the University.

Finally, the collection brings to the fore sensory aspects of medieval and early modern sources. Carol Williams closely analyzes the structure of the musical setting of Abelard's *planctus* 6, in order to convey the auditory experience of listening to it and its ultimate emotional impact. Karen Bollermann and Cary Nederman, meanwhile, investigate the transmission and reception of stories concerning the hair garments worn for mortification by Thomas Becket, including skin-crawling descriptions from biographies of the saint which describe how these itchy garments were riddled with lice. In the final contribution to the collection, Tracy Adams describes how royal mistresses were integrated into theatrical tableaux and pageants within the performative space of the sixteenth-century French court, with their (controlled) visibility underscoring their powerful role.

As the preceding summary of selected contributions suggests, this volume does justice to the heterogeneity of interests of its dedicatee, Constant Mews. Clare Monagle comments in her thoughtful introduction that "it takes meaningful communities to produce meaningful scholarship." This well-produced volume is certainly an able manifestation of the quality and character of the scholarly community that has been inspired by Mews's intellectual energy and wide-ranging research.

Leiden Univesity IRENE O'DALY

The Great Western Schism, 1378–1417: Performing Legitimacy, Performing Unity. By Joëlle Rollo-Koster (Cambridge, U.K. Cambridge University Press, 2022. Pp. 420. $125.00. ISBN: 978 1107168947.)

Anyone who undertakes to read this long and demanding book will need to be determined. Its difficulty arises first from the fact that Rollo-Koster is a native French woman who sometimes has not entirely mastered the English language or else does not employ it smoothly. Thus she writes "the pope's evasion precipitated the end of the Subtraction," when I think she means his flight; that "the crisis processed," when I think she means proceeded. She tells of how Gregory XI "concretized" a move, and of how Urban VI was declared illegitimate by "vice of procedure." When she refers to "somewhat mitigated agency" (p. 7), I do not understand how agency can be "mitigated." Nor do I understand how one can "perform" legitimacy or unity.

Clumsy sociological and anthropological jargon abound: "the languaging [. . .] about the crisis" (p. 6); "modes of transactional communication" (p. 35); "conceptualization and performance of papacy" (p. 69). One example out of many of the challenges that the author poses is: "a certain Nardo (spicer), one of the banderesi, was closely enmeshed with Prignano" (p. 33). (My Italian dictionary defines "nardo" as "nard" or "spikenard", so I became no wiser; "bandereso" is not in my Italian dictionary; "spicer" is not in my English dictionary; and for "enmeshed" I suppose the author means allied".) We also have "pacify rancor" (p. 5) and "Clement's camerlengos controlled assignations" (p. 36).

Rollo-Koster eschews the goal of writing institutional history. (In this regard we already have the clear, lively, and jargon-free accounts of the Great Schism by Howard Kaminsky.) Instead she wants to view the Schism "through the prism of social drama." The stages of this drama are "Breach," "Crisis," "Redressive Action," and "Reintegration." She finds that social and cultural anthropology will best inform her work (p. 10), regarding which she is guided primarily by the writings of the social anthropologist Victor Turner. Rollo-Koster offers some lively and imaginative sections, as, for example, "Music and the Virgin" and "The Apocalypse Tapestry of Angers" (which she aptly calls "a wool masterpiece"). But in sum I found that this book was, well, "languaging" instead of communicating lucidly.

Northwestern University ROBERT E. LERNER

Peter de Rivo on Chronology and the Calendar. Edited by Matthew S. Champion, Serena Masolini, and C. Philipp E. Nothaft. [De Wulf-Mansion Centre. Series I, 57.1.] (Leuven. Leuven University Press. 2020. Pp. cxxxvi, 154. 1 Figure. €85.00. ISBN: 978 94 6270 244 8).

Peter de Rivo (in the vernacular, Pieter vander Beke, born in the early 1420s) is well known to scholars of late medieval philosophy. As a charismatic professor in turn of rhetoric, philosophy, and theology in Leuven from 1443 until his death in 1499, Peter first rose to wider prominence in 1465 by provoking a controversy concerning future contingents that caused the involvement of the theological faculties of Paris and Cologne as well as the Roman Curia and ended with Peter first being condemned by Rome in 1474 and then, after having attempted to reargue his position, being forced to sign a new retraction in 1476. Nonetheless, in the following year he was re-elected as rector of the University of Leuven and continued his career at the university. He remained a major figure in the community for another two decades, but, as far as we know, he never taught any courses on astronomy or related subjects. Thus, the two texts edited in the volume under review were the result of private interest rather than any professional obligation, reflecting rather the interests of a lively, curious mind.

The first and by far the larger of the texts is the dialogue *De temporibus Christi*, completed in 1471, in which Peter tried to fix the dates of Christ's birth, death, and resurrection. The second, the *Reformacio kalendarii Romani*, Peter wrote in 1488. In between, he engaged in a controversy on the chronology of Christ's life with the famous Paul of Middelburg, himself an alumnus of Leuven. The result of the controversy were two works that, unlike the two texts edited in the book under review, found their way into print and were the only writings of Peter on chronology that had any circulation beyond the area around Leuven. The first was the *Opus responsivum*, written in 1488 and printed the following year. The second was the *Tercius tractatus* (the *Opus responsivum* was divided into two parts) written and printed in 1492 in response to Paul of Middleburg's refutation of the *Opus responsivum*.

Peter's *Dyalogus de temporibus Christi* and *Reformacio kalendarii Romani* both survive in *codici unici*; the former in Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library in a miscellaneous manuscript of different hands (Peter's *Dyalogus* carries a scribal colophon dated 1471), the latter in Cambridge University Library, bound with the printed editions of Peter's two works against Paul of Middelburg. Of the three editors, Serena Masolini was responsible for the biographical and codicological parts of the volume. Matthew Champion contributed a chapter on the wider cultural and geographical context of Peter's chronological and other writings. Philipp Nothaft did the heavy lifting, analyzing in three chapters Peter's chronological writings and his controversy with Paul of Middelburg.

Establishing the correct date for the celebration of Easter has been an issue for Christians since patristic times, and even though in the sixth century Dionysius

Exiguus had fixed the date of the Incarnation as 1 AD, the chronology of Christ's life and death became a bone of contention in the Middle Ages. Harmonizing the Jewish nineteen-year lunar cyle with the Julian solar calendar, with the inconsistent chronological indications of the Gospels, and with the exigencies of various Church traditions, called forth a variety of solutions from the eleventh to the sixteenth century. Painfully apparent to all was the growing divergence between the date of the true solar spring equinox and its supposed date in the Julian calendar, upon which the date of Easter in any given year depended, as the former retrograded back from the latter approximately one day every 134 years. Peter's solution was to make a series of ingenious assumptions and work back from them. The first of these assumptions concerned how and when the Julian calendar was instituted, for which Peter relied especially on Macrobius' description in his *Saturnalia* of the reform of the calendar that Julius Caesar carried out with the help of his secretary M. Flavianus in 46/45 BC. Servius's mention in his *Georgics* commentary of a solar eclipse on March 14 in the year of Caesar's assassination also played a role in Peter's calculations. A second major assumption was that the rules of the Jewish lunar calendar on postponing Passover in the time of Jesus's crucifixion were not identical to those in the time of the Council of Nicaea in the fourth century, when the rules for the observing the date of Easter were established. With the help of the Carmelite Oliver Godelof, who supplied him with computational data, Peter developed a sophisticated astronomical-historical argument proving that truly, just as Church tradition holds, Christ died on Friday, March 25, 15 Nisan in the Jewish calendar, in the year 34 AD, in his thirty-fourth year, having been born in the forty-first year of Caesar Augustus' reign.

Peter's arguments exercised no influence on the debate leading up to the Gregorian Reform of 1582 since, as been said, the two works edited in this volume remained unknown. But these works, as well as his controversy with Paul of Middelburg, stand as witnesses to Peter's far-ranging mind and the intellectual culture of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century. We may note in closing that one part of Peter's reform of the calendar was to drop ten days from the calendar in March, 1501. The Gregorian calendar came to the same solution, dropping the ten days, however, in October, 1582.

My only criticism of this splendid, informative volume is that despite its overt purpose of making available in a critical edition two works of Peter de Rivo, the Latin texts are paradoxically set in a smaller and therefore less easy to read font than the rest of the volume.

The University at Albany, State University of New York John Monfasani

EARLY MODERN EUROPEAN

L'Inquisizione romana a Imola. Processi, Vols. I–II: *(1551–1592).* Edited by Giacomo Mariani, con prefazione di Adriano Prosperi e postfazione di Mons. Alejandro Cifres. (Imola: Il Nuovo Diario Messaggero. 2021. Pp. 650. €47.00. ISBN: 978-88-32256-30-7.)

The Roman Inquisition was among the institutions that most influenced the religious, social, and cultural history of early modern Italy. Since the second half of the twentieth century, historians have increasingly devoted their attention to the ecclesiastical court, but this book represents a considerable novelty compared to the historiographical framework. Mariani offers the complete and preciously annotated edition of the first two volumes in which the trials of the Imola Inquisition are collected. This edition constitutes a fundamental work that will mark this field of research, as stated also by Adriano Prosperi (pp. 9–11) and Alejandro Cifres (p. 617). No similar editions are available according to the sources of the papal Holy Office: the documents consulted and rearranged (with a great effort) by the author allow us to follow (despite some temporal gaps) the activity of the tribunal between 1551 and 1592, an essential period for the institution, which in those years evolved from a court of doctrinal orthodoxy to an institution stably in charge of protecting morality. It is hoped that the later volumes of this collection will also be published, to follow the Imola Inquisition as it evolved (or not) in historical and intellectual perspective.

Mariani did meticulous research for the notes and introductions in each volume and for each trial. The reader can appreciate a historical narrative dense with people and places, learning about events that very often go beyond the inquisitorial inquiries. Following the same individuals between different trials and cross-referencing, this information with that reported by Mariani in the bibliography, gives us a more accurate insight into the lives of those men and women, of all ages, social classes, and intellectual interests. The trials analyzed confirm the already studied progressive decrease (after 1570s) of cases of formal heresy and the increase of those for heretical propositions, blasphemy, anticlericalism, or clergy indiscipline. The sampler proposed is of a truly unique richness and variety: a barber who reveals to his customers what he confessed in the Holy Office (p. 201); an anticlerical soldier who did not baptize his five children (p. 375); an overly diligent man abusing the inquisitorial authority (p. 415); a pilgrim from Lyon in possession of the German version of Erasmus' "Adagia" (p. 469); secular guards denounced along with those they were supposed to arrest for eating capons after Saturday vespers (p. 549). A colorful context emerges, where various forms of religious dissent persisted for a long time against the homologation wished by the Inquisition. Moreover, Mariani's work testifies to the various strategies adopted by many people to escape the ecclesiastical tribunal, but also to take advantage of any possible benefits offered by the court, such as revenge (p. 450). Others, however, did not let their affections soften them, especially if they were members of the powerful brotherhoods linked to the Inquisition (the companies of the Holy Cross), going so far as to denounce their husbands or sons (p. 595).

It is thanks to these works that scholars will look with renewed interest at different sources such as the inquisitorial trials, documents too often appreciated only based on whether or not they testify the presence of the Protestant Reformation in Italy. The trials remain a valuable source even for the following decades and centuries when, once the harshest phase of the Counter-Reformation had passed, the everyday life of early modern Italy seems to emerge with greater clarity.

Polish Academy of Science, Warsaw Dennj Solera

British and Irish Religious Orders in Europe, 1560–1800: Conventuals, Mendicants, and Monastics in Motion. Edited by Cormac Begadon and James E. Kelly. (Durham: Durham University IMEMS Press. 2022. Pp. xii, 288. $115.00. ISBN: 9781914967009).

This volume, the product of a conference held not long before we were all forced into enclosure, avowedly promotes a shift in the center of gravity of early modern Catholic scholarship, away from the Elizabethan period and the Jesuit Mission. Resisting the magnetic appeal of Edmund Campion, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Spanish Armada, we are invited to consider the lives, witness, and dynamics of other religious orders scattered from Ireland to Erfurt. The expansion of recent Jesuit-centred scholarship is given its due, but the focus here is on the Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites. Irish, Scots, and English are given equal attention, and most of the action takes place in the seventeenth century.

All this is as it should be. The reader is warned, however, that the collection does not aspire to comprehensiveness. It is a miscellany of specialist studies to which the editors have given some thematic structuring. The strength of the volume is that it introduces a number of leading figures who deserve to be better known: Luke (Francis) Wadding (1588–1657), an Irish Franciscan who founded St. Isidore, the Irish college in Rome; Mary Percy (c.1570–1642) and Mary Knatchbull (1610–1696), abbesses of Benedictine convents in Brussels and Ghent; Nicholas Anthony O'Kenny, a maverick Irish Dominican in Paris; Charles Walmesley (1722–97), author of a sensational (and reactionary) *General History of the Christian Church* (1771); and Ildephonse Kennedy (1722–1804), secretary of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. It is a pity that so few portraits are reproduced, apart from the cover image of Walmesley and two frescos from St. Isidore. Maps would have been welcome, too, showing the location and distribution of the various religious houses mentioned in the text.

Ironically, the Jesuits remain a lurking presence, if only by contrast. Augustine Baker (1575–1641) adopted a distinctive, Benedictine approach to mission, keeping a balance between monastic and missionary deployment so as to maintain the centrality of the contemplative life. The frescos at St. Isidore, Rome, commissioned by Luke Wadding, celebrated the settled Catholic identity of Ireland and the legend that Duns Scotus, O.F.M., came from County Down, whereas the martyr frescos at the (Jesuit) English College in Rome spurred seminarians to combative

missionary endeavor. In the seventeenth century, the relationship between the Irish episcopacy and the regular orders was generally harmonious, unlike the embattled state of the Jesuits in England following the archpriest controversy at the turn of the century.

Thanks to recent archival development, the contributors provide well-researched glimpses of monastic and conventual life, many of which register the displacement of Catholic energies: mystical experience in unexpected spaces, survival through tough and enduring leadership, a lively Irish presence in Paris, attachment to homeland identity, devotion to the Stuarts. In the eighteenth century, engagement with continental movements increased: monastery gardens reflected new trends in landscaping, and the Enlightenment elicited diverse responses. By extending the chronological scope of the volume well beyond the early modern period, Kelly and Begadon have demonstrated that British and Irish Catholic history is on the move.

University of the Free State VICTOR HOULISTON
Bloemfontein, South Africa

Giannettino Doria: Cardinale della Corona Spagnola (1573–1642). By Fabrizio D'Avenia. (Roma: Viella. 2021. Pp. 352. €32. ISBN: 9788833138091.)

Cardinals of the Post-Tridentine era have recently received a good deal of attention for their political, religious, and cultural achievements that contributed to the resurgence of the Roman Catholic Church in the seventeenth century. This body of literature is best exemplified by the collection of essays in Brill's *Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal* (2020), edited by Mary Hollingsworth, Miles Pattenden, and Arnold Witte. Fabrizio D'Avenia adds to the growing studies of early modern cardinals with this biography of Giannettino Doria, a Genoese cardinal and archbishop of Palermo. Grounded in a stunning mastery of archival materials from the Vatican, Rome, Genoa, Palermo, and Madrid, D'Avenia emphasizes Doria's many roles: cardinal protector of the Spanish crown, promoter of his family's aggrandizement, and dutiful pastor to his diocese in Sicily.

The first three chapters of D'Avenia's biography outlines Doria's background as a scion of the powerful Doria family of Genoa, his formal education in Spain, and his promotion as cardinal with the support of Philip II. As faithful ally of the Spanish kings, Doria would later serve as the cardinal protector of Spain and, several times in his life, as the interim Viceroy of Sicily. Of particular interest is the attention D'Avenia gives to the influence of Doria's mother, Zenobia Del Corretto, over his education and religious upbringing. The next four chapters not only cover the vicissitudes of his career of as pro-Spanish cardinal, but also his role as archbishop of Palermo. Here, D'Avenia places Doria in the context of the post-Tridentine church's institutional and pastoral history. In these chapters Doria is seen as taking his responsibilities to his parishioners seriously, whether organizing efforts against the plague of the early 1620s or his promotion of the Cult of Saint Rosalia,

a local saint from the twelfth century whose body was discovered in 1624. In chapter six, D'Avenia details the jurisdictional battles Doria fought with the far-reaching arm of the Spanish Inquisition in Sicily. Despite his commitment to Spain, Doria worked tirelessly for the spiritual needs of his diocese and in the defense of his episcopal authority.

The last two chapters chronicle Doria's navigation of growing tensions between Genoa and Spain in the 1630s, his death in 1642, and his neglected legacy. During this time the close relationship that Doria's family had with the Spanish were severely strained, demonstrating the political and diplomatic effects of the Thirty Years' War on his career For D'Avenia, Doria was a political and religious mediator between the often divergent interests of the papacy and the Spanish crown as well as those of his native Genoa. Doria inhabited several worlds as a nobleman, cardinal, archbishop, and partisan of Spain, and had to navigate these different worlds with care.

With this study, D'Avenia provides much more than a biography of an important power broker of the early modern church—in writing the life of Doria he tells the greater story of geopolitical relations between three great powers of the Mediterranean and the institutional history of the post-Tridentine Church. His study should interest scholars of political and church history and acknowledges the important role that cardinals played in early modern politics.

Utah Valley University John M. Hunt

Instruktionen und Ordnungen der Stiftsherrschaft Klosterneuburg: Quellen zur Verwaltung sowie zur Land- und Forstwirtschaft einer geistlichen Grundherrschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit. Edited by Josef Löffler. (Vienna: Böhlau, 2021. Pp. 873. €120. ISBN: 9783205213031).

Josef Löffler's edition of the instructions and regulations for the officials of Stift Klosterneuburg found in 28 boxes in the archive of the prominent Austrian monastery of Augustinian canons begins with a comprehensive examination of late medieval monastic structure and economy. This necessarily includes an introduction to the many officials of the monastery, their titles, and their competencies. He uses the titles to trace the developments and changes of the monastery's economic structures through the centuries, giving an overview of the role played by the monastery within Austrian society as well as its integration into government through its close relationship to the ruling House of Habsburg. This complex relationship is illustrated by the section concerning the election of the highest position in the monastery, the provost. The election required the confirmation of the emperor, something which was not a foregone conclusion. The second superior also receives special attention, as does the "Oberkellerer", the official who functioned as the bursar. Löffler provides organigrams to help the reader follow the developments and order the names correctly, and to demonstrate not simply the changing monastic economy, but the integral role of the monastery within the changing Habsburg

imperial structure. These introductory comments are followed by the description of the sources and documents used as well as the rules governing the edition. The documents themselves are presented chronologically according to office, for example, the "Hofmeisteramt" or the "Oberkammer," in descending order of importance. The last chapter focuses on the "Kanzleiordnung" in the eighteenth century, as the monasteries served a notarial function in the imperial structure. Löffler furnishes extensive indices, including historical measures and a glossary of terms.

Löffler's edition is a *tour de force* and a major contribution to various fields of history, including legal, economic, and monastic history. The documents transcribed and presented give insight into the inner workings of the monastery, the functions carried out by its officials, as well as the approach of individual provosts to the various offices. It also reveals the breadth and complexity of monastic economy over a long period. The interdependence of the ecclesiastical and civil world is illustrated in writings which had daily application in a "real world" setting. For example, the "Spittelmeister," responsible for the monastery hospice, was originally a canon of the monastery. Already in 1551, the office is held by a layman, probably married; later still a woman. It is the accessibility of such details in the documents which makes Löffler's edition compelling reading. Because they depict concrete historical situations dealing with every aspect of everyday economic life of Stift Klosterneuburg, they are by nature interdisciplinary documents. The chapter on the "Küchenamt" reveals not merely kitchen expenses and instructions, but also culinary details.

The sheer size of the undertaking in this edition is both its strength and its weakness. It is a massive work, daunting in its scope. It can leave the reader bewildered by the sheer number of different titles and offices, especially as they changed through time. Because the concentration is on instructions and ordinances, it touches on the religious elements of the Stift only in passing, giving a lopsided view of the monastery's inner life.

Stift Klosterneuburg CLEMENS TIMOTHY GALBAN, CAN. REG.

Ein Fürstenleben zwischen Alltag und Aufruhr: Die französische Korrespondenz (1772–1801) des letzten Salzburger Fürsterbischofs Hieronymus Colloredo mit seinem Bruder Gundaker. By Elisabeth Lobenwein. (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag. 2022. Pp. 1200. €150,00. ISBN: 9783205214625.)

One of the continuing debates about the late Holy Roman Empire concerns the viability of its ecclesiastical territories. At the time, some decried them as anachronisms and looked forward to their dissolution, and this contemporary criticism still informs the scholarly debate. Was there such a thing as an enlightened prince-bishopric? Was the dissolution of the sixty-nine territories of the imperial church in 1804 the inevitable consequence of their obsolescence? Elisabeth Lobenwein's excellent edition of the letters from the last prince-archbishop of Salzburg, Hieronymus Count Colloredo, to his elder brother Gundaker illuminate the government of Salzburg and the fate of the territory in the period 1789–1804.

Colloredo was in many ways typical of the empire's leading German Catholic prelates. He was the fifth of eighteen children of a member of the Austrian high nobility, who served as Imperial Vice-Chancellor 1745–88 and was created a prince in 1763. He took his ecclesiastical vocation seriously and was ambitious from the outset to achieve high office. His election at Salzburg in 1772 owed much to the contacts of his family in the empire, in Vienna, and in Rome, though his defeat of strong and favoured 'local' candidates left a legacy of popular ambivalence toward him.

The years from 1772 to 1789 were characterized by ambitious and wide-ranging reforms including improved poor relief, a pension system, better medical services and the introduction of inoculation, improvement of the education system according to the principles of Johann Ignaz Felbiger, and a more liberal censorship regime which limited the oversight of the consistory. Significant changes were also made in financial management, taxation, and economic policy. In 1782 Colloredo announced the abolition of twenty of the ninety-five regular feast days and his intention to limit the extravagance of church ceremonies. This earned him plaudits among commentators outside Salzburg but generated resentment at home. Some noted that the archbishop did not exercise similar restraint in his hunting or entertainment at court.

At the same time, Colloredo was constantly preoccupied with fending o Bavarian and Austrian moves to limit the extent of his archbishopric. This was much larger than the territory that he ruled as prince and extended into lands ruled by the Wittelsbachs and Habsburgs.

Everything changed in 1789. Anticipated revolutionary unrest failed to materialize, though the archbishop's removal of valuables to Vienna and, increasingly, the costs arising from troop movements through Salzburg territory and troop billeting generated growing discontent and resistance. The focus of the letters of these years was rather di
1794 generated the idea that German secular princes who lost land to France should be compensated by the grant of the lands in the remaining empire held by the ecclesiastical territories, the Imperial Cities, and the Imperial Knights and Counts. Gundaker von Colloredo had inherited his father's position as Imperial Vice-Chancellor in 1789, but he could do nothing to help his brother. In 1797 Austria recognised the French annexation of the left bank of the Rhine and accepted the principle that the secular rulers should be compensated with the lands of their ecclesiastical counterparts. The principality of Salzburg formally ceased to exist in 1804. Colloredo had already fled to Vienna in 1801 and abdicated in 1803. He died there, still archbishop of Salzburg but no longer a prince, in 1812.

As these letters so clearly show, he could have done nothing to avert this outcome. Even an enlightened, reforming prince-archbishop was powerless in the face of the disaster triggered by the French wars, which ultimately destroyed the empire itself in 1806.

Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge Joachim Whaley

Gibbon's Christianity: Religion, Reason, and the Fall of Rome. By Hugh Liebert (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2022. Pp. viii, 204. $104.95. ISBN: 9780271092355).

All religions are interested in those who have lost faith. They may be deemed heretics, pagans, ripe for proselytism, or simply part of the outside; but as intellectual and cultural challenges and perspectives, these individuals have significance. And so, more particularly, if they comment on, indeed criticise, the religions in question. Historians as commentators are of particular note for religions that have an historical justification, pedigree and purpose, notably Christianity and Islam. And so for Edward Gibbon who sought to understand and explain both. To this historian, these religions were of world-historical importance, and notably so for their role, he argued, in the fall of first the Western (476) and then the Eastern (1453) Roman Empires.

This important book by Liebert addresses Christianity, more particular Catholicism, but it is important to note that Gibbon's engagement with religion was far from limited. Indeed, he wrote:

> "The Arabs or Saracens, who spread their conquests from India to Spain, had languished in poverty and contempt till Mahomet breathed into those savage bodies that soul of enthusiasm."

Liebert, Professor of American Politics at West Point, rejects the idea of Gibbon as anti-Christian and, instead, moves beyond his quips about some aspects of practice. We see Gibbon as able to contextualise Christianity in terms of the pagan inheritance of Rome, and also understanding that this continuity made Christianity different from Islam. Indeed, there is a fundamental difference in Gibbon's work between Christianity which transforms the Roman world from within and Islam which assaults it as one of what is presented as a series of "barbarian assaults." As in his treatment of the "Caledonians," Gibbon can present a positive view of "barbarians" as displaying a primitive virtue of innate heroism, but he is more sympathetic to the Christian world that is assaulted by Islam.

More generally, Gibbon's history was an exemplary tale with an Enlightenment moral, as the customary diatribes against excess and corruption were given depth, direction, complexity and contentiousness by Gibbon's critique of the impact of monotheism and specifically Christianity. This enabled him to give more breadth to his discussion of Antiquity than other writers and to consider empires of the mind, offering, as a result, an ideological dimension of and to power.

Liebert repeatedly emphasises Gibbon's ability to hold several ideas in his head and prose at once, and asks the reader to do likewise. Thus, for Gibbon, bishops are lovers of power but also able to lead and achieve. Popes are praised but also criticised for an interest n territorial aggrandisement that aided Islamic expansion. Liebert also underlines the extent to which the triumph of Christianity was as

indispensable to the genesis of modern politics as the polite paganism of the Antonine Emperors of Rome. Moreover, Catholicism provided a suprapolitical unity that was important to European culture. An important work that packs a lot in, but is expensive. Deserves attention.

University of Exeter Jeremy Martin Black

Late Modern European

Pajzs és kard. Bangha Béla élete és eszmeisége [Shield and Sword: The Life and Idealism of Béla Bangha]. By Tibor Klestenitz. [Hungaria Æterna.] (Budpest: Századvég Könyvkiadó. 2020. Pp. 432. HUF 2.790. ISBN: 978-6-155-16463-7.)

Tibor Klestenitz's's monograph[1] on Béla Bangha (1880–1940), a Jesuit priest who had a significant impact on Hungarian Christian society and Catholic public life, and who was one of the prominent personalities of last century's Hungarian Catholicism, examines both his personality and idealism. The volume outlines church, press, and intellectual history based on sources related to Bangha. Striving to be as realistic as possible, readers can learn about the opinions of the preacher and publicist on various social and political issues. His way of thinking shows both constants and changes. For his book, Klestenitz conducted research on press history, examining both the Hungarian and the foreign press.

The title of the volume, "Shield and Sword" [Pajzs és kard], refers to the column written by Bangha in the pages of *Magyar Kultúra* [Hungarian Culture] and alludes to the priest's self-perception. As the author of the column, Bangha discussed current social issues and sought to convince the intelligentsia that the Church can provide answers to contemporary problems. In the introduction, the author reviews the literature that has been published so far about Bangha's life and work, with particular attention to the significance of Zoltán Nyisztor's book, which was subjective in nature. Klestenitz examines this book objectively later in the volume. The historian strives to create a more realistic image of Bangha, in contrast to previous work.

The author outlines the chronological life path of Bangha. He joined the Society of Jesus at the young age of fifteen in 1895. The first part, titled "In peacetime (1880–1914)" [A békeidőkben (1880–1914)] refers to the era of Emperor Francis Joseph I, during which Bangha grew up and which greatly influenced his worldview. His family background was particularly important, especially his father István Bangha, who was a lawyer committed to the interests of the Hungarian nation and engaged in political and civic activities in which his faith always played an impor-

1. The review was prepared at the Doctoral School of Historical Sciences at Pázmány Péter Catholic University with the support of the ELKH-PPKE-PTE Vilmos Fraknói Vatican Historical Research Group.

tant role. He urged Catholics to voice their arguments and show that they are an integral part of Hungarian society. István Bangha was also involved in the establishment of the Catholic Circle in Nyitra (now Nitra, in Slovakia).

If Bangha was physically weak, he was mentally sharp, and his attraction to the press was already evident in his student years. Klestenitz provides a description of his studies, including his time in the novitiate and at university, and also provides insights into the development of his personality. Bangha's oratorical skills were also evident at an early age. In 1910, he arrived in Budapest and worked there with short interruptions until his death. His organizational skills were also evident as he sought to organize the distribution of the Catholic press with the goal of developing the Church press. He continued the style of conference speeches popularized by Bishop Ottokár Prohászka, recognizing that delivering lectures could effectively win over the male intelligentsia for the cause of defending the faith. Bangha was committed to establishing a modern Hungarian press that could provide a clear Catholic response to the challenges of the time. This commitment was reflected in the founding of the scientific and public affairs journal *Magyar Kultúra* in 1913, which he edited until his death.

The next part is titled "Turbulent Times: The Great War, Revolutions, Counterrevolution, and 'Roman Exile' (1914–1926)" [Felfordult világ: nagy háború, forradalmak, ellenforradalom, ‹‹római száműzetés›› (1914–1926)]. This section begins with Bangha's third probation in Great Britain and closes with his activities in Rome. His first assignment abroad was cut short due to the outbreak of World War I. The section portrays Bangha's views on the war and his efforts to provide for the spiritual needs of soldiers fighting on the front lines. During the political turmoil that followed the Great War, Bangha was pushed into the background, and he had to leave the country during the Hungarian Soviet Republic. After the restoration of the monarchy, he represented his legitimist convictions.

Klestenitz provides an account of Bangha's role in the establishment and leadership of the Central Press Company Ltd. He analyzes the orientation of the Ltd. newspapers and the role of the Catholic press, as well as its relationship with the archbishops of Esztergom. His superiors decided to send him to Rome in 1923. He was the organizer of the International Secretariat of Congregations of Mary and involved in the founding of the International Catholic Press Union.

In "The Last Era (1926–1940)" [Az utolsó korszak (1926–1940)], a central role is given to passages dealing with Protestants and, understandably, the Jewish community. Throughout the book, there is a recurring theme of Bangha's views on Jews. At the end of his life, he advocated Christian unity. Of course, his vision of the actual unity of Christianity should be interpreted from the perspective prevalent before the Second Vatican Council. His understanding of ecumenism in today's sense cannot be equated with Bangha's views.

Despite his leukemia (since 1935), Bangha remained active in various projects and events until his death. He edited the *Katolikus Lexikon* [Catholic Lexicon] and

was main organizer of the International Eucharistic Congress in Budapest in 1938, for which he wrote the hymn *Győzelemről énekeljen* [Sing of Triumph]. This same was used at the world event in 2021. Bangha also played a role in organizing Hungarian Actio Catholica, becoming the vice-president of the movement, which was established in Hungary in 1932.

The book is able to present a more nuanced and comprehensive portrayal of Bangha. It shows why Bangha was the "apostle of the press" in Hungary. The book is well-structured and provides valuable insights into Bangha's life, work, and views.

ELKH-PPKE-PTE *Vilmos Fraknói Vatican Historical Research Group* György Sági

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 esthetic 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 o
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

Katholische Milieubildung im Oberschlesischen Industriegebiet. [Formation of the Catholic milieu in the Upper Silesian Industrial Region] By Andreas Gayda. (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2021. Pp. 612. €58. ISBN: 9783402101865.)

In 1872, Catholics of Beuthen (today's Bytom, Poland) desperately needed an additional church. 600 year-old St. Mary's served so many communicants–22,427—that just getting in and out, reported a local official, was "life-threatening." (p. 234) That danger was worse on Sundays, when 30–50,000 newcomers, employed in Upper Silesia's mines and steel mills, surged into town, pushing inside before local parishioners arrived. After urgent fund-raising, work on a second church was beginning—when Berlin intervened. Parish plans called for a neo-Gothic structure; the Crown's architectural counselor demanded Romanesque. The parish stood its ground: *their* building would be Gothic. Berlin remained adamant. Faced with the prospect of the state's taking over the church's funds to administer itself, the parish stopped work on this unquestionably urgent project.

What was going on? In the imagination of Prussian officialdom, Romanesque, the architectural style common among churches of the empire's Protestant majority, signaled "German," hence loyalty to the state, while Gothic meant "French," hence Catholic—hence divided loyalties. Beuthen's standoff reflected a fault line

that ran through every aspect of life in the German Empire (1871–1914), exacerbated by Bismarck's efforts to subordinate the Catholic Church to the state—efforts his liberal allies arrogantly dubbed a Battle for Culture (*Kulturkampf*). That battle would rage for two decades, with enduring consequences, and nowhere more bitterly than in Prussia's southeastern corner, Upper Silesia. Here the Church, its bishop declared in 1873, was "persecuted, hated, robbed, and slandered," urged on by a press that "never tires [. . .]." (p. 130)

The "Catholic milieu," whose formation in Upper Silesia is the subject of Andreas Gayda's impressive study, refers not (as I had supposed) to a "universe" of confraternities, sodalities, workers' associations, and clubs—the "*Vereinskosmos*" Josef Mooser found so characteristic of Catholic Germany's northwest. For Gayda, "milieu" denotes not organizations, but solidarity, expressing a cohesive collective identity. In a region overwhelmingly Catholic, such an identity might seem automatic. But *cohesion* was hardly a given, as breakneck industrialization was pouring a tsunami of impoverished immigrants into the region's mines, mills, and its four urban agglomerations: Beuthen/Bytom, Gleiwitz/Gliwice, Kattowitz/Katowice, and Königshütte/Chorzów. Catholic, these people certainly were, but strangers to each other. And they didn't have long to get acquainted. Thanks to the sulphur and nitrates that industry was releasing into their water, air, and soil, life expectancy was forty-three years: a challenging environment to organize.

The Kulturkampf kept them aware of their Catholic identity, but it was the privileges of "Old Catholics"—burghers who had left the "Roman" church over papal infallibility in hopes of founding a German "national" church—that "catalyzed" it. (p. 362) For example: in 1873 the mayor of Gleiwitz highhandedly bestowed a Catholic church on these influential apostates, declaring *them* "the actual co-religionists" (p. 442) of the building's donor (in 1409!)—without consulting the city council, much less Gleiwitz's Catholic majority. Their pastor—having believed that he and the mayor were friends—suffered a nervous breakdown, leaving his successor to ward off a violent response from outraged Catholics at the occupation by apostates of *their* sacred space.

Religious conflicts were compounded by "nationality" ones, especially after Berlin's demand, in this Polish-speaking region, that *German* be made the language of instruction. Parents *wanted* their children to learn German, the route to upward mobility, but insisted that *religious* instruction be taught in their mother tongue. Instead, the poor six-year-olds (often having arrived with no breakfast and late from doing chores) "learned"—in classes of 120–200 children—by rote the catechism in German and to parrot it back. A Zentrum MP quoted a teacher: "Every day I face a room full of little idiots, staring at me with open eyes and open mouths [. . .], but understanding me as little as I understand them." When a child answered questions poorly, the exhausted educator would "help it along with a stick. Who counts the blue welts on the backs of schoolchildren?" the deputy asked; "And why are the poor children getting so many blows? Because of the German language—as if they had wronged it." (p. 190)

But a cohesive collective Catholic identity was also fostered by working together. To enhance Deutsch Piekar and St. Annaberg, Upper Silesia's two pilgrimage sites, miners donated their skills and labor; craftsmen and builders, their materials—fixing paths and adding chapels, without pay. Railway personnel harassed the pilgrims, not allowing time for everyone to disembark and relegating those who succeeded to cattle cars on their trip home. On flimsy pretexts, district officials forbade pilgrimages and imposed fines. As the pilgrims were too poor to pay, the authorities got mine-owners to deduct them from the men's wages.

Priests are the heroes of Gayda's poignant story, and Ch. 5 offers moving portraits of all nine pastors. Intelligent, efficient, bi-lingual (Bishop Förster required certification in Polish for every priest who aspired to a pastoral position), often charismatic and always courageous—yet powerless against (mostly non-Catholic) mine-owners and city fathers—they labored to the breaking point at the impossible task of providing pastoral care for so many impoverished parishioners. The latter were grateful; the graves of two of them still appear cared for; one with fresh flowers.

This "lightly revised" dissertation is the work of thirty years—during which its author was employed full-time as an educator in a German *Gymnasium.* It is based on prodigious research in parish, diocesan, and Polish state archives; on the press, parliamentary debates, and published document collections; on correspondence, address books, prayer books, hymnals—and sixty-one pages of secondary literature in three languages. Gayda's investigation puts paid to a truism born of the secularization thesis and classic modernization theory: that industrialization goes hand in hand with religious decline. If that truism has been battered somewhat by historians in recent years, it remains commonplace in many general accounts of "modernity." Yet in Upper Silesia, one of the most industrialized regions in Europe, religious life, by every measure, was thriving.

University of California–emerita MARGARET LAVINIA ANDERSON

Political Exile in the Global Twentieth Century: Catholic Christian Democrats in Europe and the Americas. Edited by Wolfram Kaiser and Piotr H. Kosicki. (Leuven: Leuven University Press. 2021. Pp. 320. €69.50. ISBN: 9789462703070.)

This deeply researched volume explores the phenomenon of progressive Catholic political exiles who fled fascist or authoritarian regimes in Europe and South America between 1918 and 1989 and sought shelter abroad in Britain, Western Europe, and the United States. The eleven chapters explore four geographical zones from which exiles fled; part one considers two well-known antifascist Catholic exiles from Mussolini's Italy (Luigi Sturzo) and occupied France (Jacques Maritain) who sought refuge in the Atlantic democracies until the end of World War II; part two examines Spanish, Basque, and Catalan exiles who left Spain following Franco's victory in the Spanish Civil War; part three follows exiles from Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary who left East-Central Europe to escape Communist repression between 1944 and the end of the Cold War; part four

expands the geographical scope of the volume to include the Americas, with two chapters on Christian Democratic exiles from Chile following the establishment of Pinochet's military dictatorship. The authors explore who these Christian Democrats were and why they went into exile, how the exiles interacted with their host countries, how they organized themselves politically while abroad, and what impact their plans for postwar or post-dictatorship democratic transitions ultimately had.

Editors Wolfram Kaiser and Piotr H. Kosicki, both authors of extensive research on Christian Democracy as well as Catholic political thought, group these Catholic exiles under the political-ideological categorization of "Christian democrats." This umbrella term underscores the exiles' shared opposition to fascism and authoritarianism of both the far right and far left, despite considerable differences among these figures on how, exactly, to reconcile Catholicism with democracy. Some, like Maritain, even rejected the appellation of "Christian democrat," despite his well-acknowledged influence within the movement. Nevertheless, a strength of the volume is in teasing out the transnational exchanges and networks in which Christian Democratic ideas evolved; for example, the experience of exile in the 1940s facilitated greater appreciation for the British and American political models among continental Christian Democrats, while Chilean Christian Democrats cultivated renewed ties with Chilean socialists as a result of their shared exile in western Europe, contacts which in turn aided Chile's democratic transition.

The exiles shared an uncomfortable position on the left-wing margins of the Catholic Church, out-of-step with the majority of Catholics in their home countries and even, at times, the Vatican. This was especially the case for Catholic exiles from western Europe and the Iberian Peninsula, who fled clerical, fascist, or authoritarian regimes that had the tacit or explicit backing of the Vatican and popular support from most Catholics. They were, thus, doubly marginalized. A final, somewhat depressing commonality binds these men together: with a couple of exceptions, their political labors on behalf of their native countries resulted in few tangible gains. Socially isolated in their host countries and cut off from influence at home, the exiles found themselves sidelined when they tried to enact their plans. In most cases, dissidents who either joined the local resistance or went into internal exile enjoyed much greater influence in democratic reconstructions; in other cases, younger generations simply supplanted the exiles with their own political agenda. This is in many ways a story of failure, of men (alas, women feature only marginally in these accounts, despite their crucial support of exiles' work and livelihoods as discussed in the opening chapters) whose very decision for exile undermined their ability to fight for the political dreams they sacrificed much to defend. Yet they were nevertheless part of the global shift toward democracy and, especially, the broader transformation of the Catholic Church into an institution tolerant of, if not always favorable towards, democracy, secular politics, and socio-cultural change. More might have been said on the ways that the work of these exiles, however marginal, intersected with these transformative developments.

University of Groningen Rachel M. Johnston-White

Soldiers of God in a Secular World: Catholic Theology and Twentieth-Century French Politics. By Sarah Shortall. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2021. Pp. 352. $49.95. ISBN: 9780674980105.)

Sarah Shortall's outstanding book argues that "the separation of Church and state had a productive rather than a destructive effect on Catholic theology, inspiring new approaches to the problem of political theology and opening up new avenues for Catholic engagement in public life" (p. 2). Her main protagonists—the Dominican friars Marie-Dominique Chenu and Yves Congar and the Jesuit fathers Henri de Lubac, Gaston Fessard, Yves de Montcheuil, and Pierre Chaillet—shared a desire to make theology speak compellingly to temporal realties. At times, they disagreed about what constituted the way forward in this project, sometimes strongly and often based on a tension between Dominican and Jesuit approaches. Still, Shortall shows, they ultimately enabled the musty old discipline of theology to count for something in the modern secular public square, in France and well beyond it. In doing so, these theologians would exercise an outsized influence.

As her argument suggests, the twentieth-century renewal in Catholic theology that these men helped to birth was rooted in an irony: anticlerical laws closed down French Catholic seminaries, which sent Shortall's young protagonists into sheltered enclaves on the British island of Jersey and in rural Belgium where they reflected on the political situation of France from a remove. Shortall explores how, dreaming of home, they searched for creative ways of speaking about the challenges of everyday life without appearing to be political. Another irony, this one more well known: They helped to make theology speak a contemporary language substantially by engaging in historical research and by "returning to the sources" of ancient theologians whose vision had been long since eclipsed. By the 1930s and 1940s, as fascism overtook Western Europe, it became clear that this work prepared them to nurture a subtle "spiritual resistance," honing a language and approach that would allow them to speak to the political situation while evading censorship and sharpening a Catholic political position that was both anti-fascist and anti-liberal—at once opposed to the dynamic of the nationalist state/totalitarian collectivism and that of the capitalist system/liberal individualism.

Shortall shrewdly illuminates a paradox at the heart of their theological contribution: that it was by "remaining detached from politics proper and bearing witness to its eternal mission that the Church could engage most effectively in temporal affairs" (p. 107). In time, this insight would be wide-ranging in its influence, finding fresh articulations in the theological-political vision of the Second Vatican Council and in the later work of liberation theologians, led by Gustavo Guttierrez, and the Radical Orthodoxy movement, led by John Milbank. In the light of a recent upsurge of contemporary interest in Catholic integralism and in the confessional state (see legal scholars Patrick Deneen and Adrian Vermeuel) against which these *nouveaux theologians* positioned themselves a century ago, the story of these men is particularly worthy of revisiting now.

Shortall's accomplishment in telling this important story, so carefully considered and so deeply grounded in the archives, is simply remarkable.

Fordham University James P. McCartin

American

The Shattered Cross: French Catholic Missionaries on the Mississippi River, 1698–1725. By Linda Carol Jones. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2020. Pp. xiv, 297. $50.00 ISBN: 978-0-8071-7356-5.)

In *The Shattered Cross* author Linda Carol Jones shines a light on the missionary work of the Séminaire de Québec in the Mississippi River Valley at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Between 1698 and 1725 five seminary priests embarked on missions among the people of the Taensas, Tamarois, Tunica, Natchez and Quapaw nations. These missions resulted in little in the way of conversion to Christianity. While conversions were few Jones argues that some of the priests managed to find a degree of cultural understanding, approaching a middle ground, with their Indigenous hosts. *The Shattered Cross* is a well written and important addition to our understanding of Christian missions in New France.

Jones' primary source materials are archives located in France, Canada, and Italy, with a focus on the archives of the Séminaire de Québec. These include private letters between the priests and their leadership, supply lists, discussions of administrative matters and frank depictions of the conditions of the missions that together provide unique insight into the motivations of the priests and the challenges they faced as they descended the Mississippi. The missions were not well planned or adequately funded. Fathers Antoine Davion, François de Montigny, Jean-François Buisson de Saint-Cosme, Nicolas Foucault and Marc Bergier struggled with logistical difficulties, isolation, a climate for which they were not equipped, and their inability to speak the languages of their Indigenous interlocutors. In the case of the Tamarois they were also in direct competition with the Jesuits. Fathers Foucault and Saint-Cosme were killed in the field, Father de Montigny left for France after twelve months, and Bergier succumbed to disease in a few short years. Father Davion alone remained along the Mississippi for 25 years before returning to France.

While Jones uses the archives to excellent effect in the retelling of the main events of these missions the book is not able to paint as full a picture of the Indigenous peoples the missionaries lived among. As she notes, "we know very little about the interactions that took place between Seminary missionaries and Native peoples along the Mississippi during the early part of the eighteenth century" (p. 228). Jones relies on the work of historians, anthropologists and other secondary sources to frame the cultural contexts in which the priests found themselves. This is a large task. Jones also draws on Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 1991) with its concept of the middle ground to characterize the accommodations she suggests occurred between some of the priests and their Indigenous hosts. This is where the book is least convincing. White used the middle ground to characterize what happens when "diverse peoples adjust their differences through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings" (White, p. xii). Not all accommodations to the 'customs of the country' amount to a middle ground. That aside, Jones's emphasis on the transformative potential of attempts to bridge cultural differences in contact zones is an important theme throughout her analysis of these missions and enhances the contribution of this book.

University of British Columbia CAROLE BLACKBURN

Justifying Revolution: The American Clergy's Argument for Political Resistance, 1750–1776. By Gary L. Steward. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2021. Pp. 221. $74.00. ISBN: 9780197565353 [hardback].)

With this book Gary Steward joins Barry Shain, Daniel Dreisbach, Mark David Hall, and other historians who contend that the colonial American clergy came to oppose British "tyranny" primarily for reasons rooted in long-standing Protestant political theology based primarily on careful exegesis of Romans chapter 13 (the "higher powers" are indeed "ordained of God," but they sacrifice their right to rule and should be resisted when they become "a terror to good works"). Against them stand historians beginning with Bernard Bailyn and including John Wilsey, James Byrd, Gregg Frazier, myself, and others who acknowledge some influence from those older Protestant sources but view the colonial clergy's justification for revolution arising mostly from the Whig, anti-Tory, anti-High Church, Dissenting ideology sparked in the 1680s by resistance to the Catholic James II and then expanding in the first half of the eighteenth century as British "country" voices railed in apocalyptic terms against what they viewed as the corrupt, conspiratorial, and power-mad "court" then dominating English political life. To this debate, Steward makes a genuine contribution with very wide reading in sermons by colonists, along with English Dissenting clergy, to show that Protestant themes of resistance to unjust rulers going back to the era of Calvin and Luther remained prominent in eighteenth-century clerical political assessments. The weakness of this approach, however, is a studied disregard of evidence, which is abundant, qualifying his argument.

The first chapter of the book is its weakest. It concerns Jonathan Mayhew, the theologically liberal Boston clergyman who in January, 1749/50, preached a celebratory sermon to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the execution of King Charles I. Mayhew, whom Bailyn had singled out as the clearest early colonial exponent of radical Whig ideology (*Pamphlets of the American Revolution* [1965], *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* [1968]), did in fact repeat a standard Protestant interpretation of Romans 13. But he also filled his sermon with themes, vocabulary, and assumptions that had become standard in English opposition literature, including an obsession with "the slavish doctrine of passive obedi-

ence and non-resistance," examples of tyranny taken from classical Roman history, an axiomatic link between "civil and ecclesiastical tyranny," and the contrast endlessly reiterated by "country" spokesmen between "Liberty, the BIBLE and Common Sense, in opposition to Tyranny, Priest-Craft and Non-Sense."[1] Steward acknowledges that in this sermon Mayhew was channeling much from the theologically latitudinarian Bishop Benjamin Hoadly, who earlier in the century had become famous for describing English Tories and High-Church Anglicans as crypto-Papist enablers of the "court's" corrupt managers. More significantly, Steward does not address the link that Jonathan C. D. Clark has thoroughly documented between Unitarian-leaning ministers like Hoadly and Mayhew and their commitment to a modern view of politics focused on rights, personal liberty, the fear of conspiracy: "The more unnecessary the doctrine of atonement, the more it could be presumed that man was inherently benevolent; it followed that he was corrupted, or enslaved, only by outside forces (that is, by other people)."[2] In other words, Mayhew is far from a good example to show that classically Protestant views dominated the colonial clergy's resistance to British "tyranny."

The rest of the book is stronger. Steward shows insightfully that much colonial clerical opposition to Parliament's Stamp Tax (1765) simply reiterated earlier clerical opposition to the short-lived Dominion of New England (1686–89), when radical Whig ideology had not yet taken root. He makes the plausible suggestion that colonials read John Locke as extending rather than replacing traditional Reformed perspectives on government. He is also persuasive in pointing out that colonial clerical appeals to the right of self-defense enjoyed a long heritage in Protestant thought, though he weakens this argument when he supports it by publications like one from John Allen of Rhode Island. It included Allen's comical use of two obscure passages from the Old Testament (Micah 7:3, 2 Chronicles 28:18–22) for a radical Whig defense of "the liberties of the people" against "the arbitrary power of the wicked king."[3]

Steward also offers a careful account of the arguments used in John Witherspoon's noteworthy sermon, *The Dominion of Providence over the Passions of Men*, that he preached in Princeton shortly before leaving for Philadelphia to sign the Declaration of Independence. The account is especially helpful in detailing Witherspoon's objections to the Deism that peeped through Tom Paine's celebrated call to arms, *Common Sense*, published in early 1776. It also makes good use of Gideon Mailer's revisionary *John Witherspoon's American Revolution* (2017) that details the substantial core of traditional Protestant theology in the sermon, though it would have been good for Steward to follow Mailer as he quotes the latter to conclude that

1. Jonathan Mayhew, *A Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission and Non-Resistance to the Higher Powers* (Boston, 1750), pp. [v], 13, 53, [vi].

2. Jonathan C. D. Clark, *The Language of Liberty, 1660–1832* (Cambridge, 1994), 38–39.

3. John Allen, *An Oration on the Beauties of Liberty* (1773), in: *Political Sermons of the Founding Era, 1730-1805*, ed. Ellis Sandoz (Indianapolis, 1990), 315.

"a certain degree of ambiguity" still attends the question of Witherspoon's theological orthodoxy in relation to his political views (quoted p. 182, n. 67).

In a chapter on English Dissenters who opposed Parliament during the Revolution, Steward cites James Bradley's excellent *Religion, Revolution, and English Dissenters* (1990) to confirm that some of the many Dissenting English clergy who opposed Parliament were theological conservatives who relied on classical Protestant reasoning, but not that Bradley identifies other English Dissenters as theological liberals whose opposition drew heavily from the playbook of the radical Whigs. In sum, *Justifying Revolution* administers a healthy corrective to historians like myself who have been too willing to ignore the classical Protestant roots of clerical resistance to Parliament. It would have been an even stronger book if Steward had recognized that a corrective is not a replacement.

University of Notre Dame (Emeritus) MARK A. NOLL

John Moore: Catholic Pastoral Leadership During Florida's First Boom, 1877–1901. By Michael J. McNally. (St. Augustine, FL: Diocese of St. Augustine, 2020. Pp. xx, 456. $29.99. ISBN: 9781647646424).

Michael McNally has set himself a difficult task here in describing the life and work of Florida bishop John Moore whose "priests called him 'Silent John'" (p.350). Irish immigrant Moore was indeed discrete and left no journal nor diary, nor much correspondence to help us understand him and his contribution to the Catholic Church in Florida. Nonetheless, McNally has made a valiant effort to dig out any and all extant letters from Moore to various correspondents and many where others discussed Moore. We get a decent picture then of the life of a cleric who spent his religious career in a "mission" area of the United States.

Born in County Westmeath, Ireland, in 1835, the young John Moore arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, with his family in 1848, toward the end of the Great Irish Famine. He must have shown some intellectual and spiritual talent as by aged fifteen he was enrolled in the local Catholic seminary. When the seminary closed for financial reasons, the bishop sent him to Europe to complete his studies, and later his priestly formation. He achieved his Doctor of Divinity from the Urban College in Rome and was ordained a priest for the diocese in April 1860. His first assignment back home was to work at the Cathedral in Charleston, but almost immediately the city was plunged into the Civil War. We are fortunate in the fact that as a graduate of the Urban College "Moore was obliged to write an annual letter to the Congregation of the Propagation for the Faith, explaining his [current] ministry" (p. 35). These letters provide great insight into the difficulties of serving a church in a city under siege, while also recovering from an (unrelated) major December, 1861, fire which destroyed a number of Catholic institutions including the Cathedral. The absence of Moore's bishop, Patrick N. Lynch, on a Confederate diplomatic mission from late 1864 to the war's end only exacerbated matters. By February, 1865, Moore had gained his first pastorate, leading his home parish of St. Patrick's, a predomi-

nantly Irish church in the city. Bishop Lynch eventually made it back in late 1865 but then spent of a lot of his time on begging missions in the North, looking for funds to rebuild his war-devastated diocese. Moore resented these absences because Lynch lost focus on running his diocese properly. Uncharacteristically for "Silent John," he shared these concerns with close confidantes.

It was with his old Rome connections that he could be the most candid. Despite his dislike of Lynch's modus operandi, Lynch made him vicar general of the diocese. This leadership experience, and his links to the Urban College, landed him the episcopacy at St. Augustine, Florida, in 1877. Responsible for the whole state as it was undergoing massive economic and demographic changes gave the new bishop some serious challenges. He did an admirable job under the circumstances, recruiting numerous congregations of religious to cater to the spiritual and educational needs of his widespread and growing flock. As an almost native white southerner, he was not a progressive on racial matters, but he paid significant attention to the needs of African American Catholics. When he died in 1901, Moore left the diocese in a stronger position than he had found it. Rome always remained attractive to him, however, and he made a number of journeys there on behalf of the broader American church and, on occasion, friends. As a close comrade of Fr. Edward McGlynn, who he knew from his Urban College days, Moore became embroiled in the controversy over McGlynn's public espousal of Henry George and the "Single Tax." Moore took McGlynn's side against the bishop who had suspended the outspoken priest for his political prominence. The Florida bishop used his influence in Rome to help end the controversy. McNally is right in his view that Moore's quiet diplomacy could be quite effective.

The difficulty in understanding fully Moore's effectiveness in Florida or Rome, however, is that this book needed more serious editing. Published privately through the diocese of St. Augustine, its haphazard organization leads to lots of repetition and long tangential asides. Though Moore was friends with Henry Flagler, for example, there is an overly long description of the developer's career. The mix of present and past tenses when describing historic correspondence can also be confusing. This lack of a strong editorial hand before publication is a pity, as McNally has done some excellent research here. His extensive notes and bibliography thus give scholars an opportunity to follow the trail of this interesting bishop, a Roman-trained cleric who had a Catholic experience far removed from the Eternal City he loved.

Northumbria University David T. Gleeson

Faith and Science at Notre Dame: John Zahm, Evolution, and the Catholic Church. By John P. Slattery. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2019. Pp. xv, 292. $27.00. ISBN: 9780268106096.)

The storied and somewhat tragic career of Ohio-born John A. Zahm (1851–1921) began with his acceptance of Father Edward Sorin's invitation, in 1867, to study for the priesthood at the fledgling University of Notre Dame in South Bend,

Indiana, where he was ordained and promoted to professor of chemistry and physics eight years later. Intellectually gifted and ambitious, Zahm helped build two new Catholic institutions on the American scene: Notre Dame (est. 1842) and the Congregation of Holy Cross (founded in France in 1837). After a fire gutted the university's buildings in 1879, Zahm raised the funds to build a new science museum and the first electric power plant for the campus. Not long thereafter, he began a study of acoustics and musical harmonics in relationship to physics, eventually published as the book *Sound and Music* (1892), which established his national reputation as a scientist with popular appeal.

In 1883 Zahm offered his first public remarks on what was to become his major scholarly preoccupation for the next fifteen years, namely, the advance of modern science in the light of faith. A series of public lectures and publications in the early 1890s, culminating in his masterwork, *Evolution and Dogma* (1896), argued that evolution, including that of the human body, was scientifically sound and, properly understood, posed no threat to Catholic teaching. The general theory of evolution, the intentionally audacious Zahm insisted, was a "nobler" conceptualization of God's creative act than the traditional doctrine of special creation (the immediate and simultaneous creation of each distinct species in its current form), which he discounted as a theory based on assumptions unsupported by empirical evidence. This assertion alone would have been sufficient to agitate Zahm's ecclesial detractors in the United States and Europe—those theologians and metaphysicians, especially among the Jesuits, who had embraced Pope Pius IX's condemnations of modernity and Pope Leo XIII"s elevation of a certain reading of St. Thomas Aquinas (i.e., "Neo-Scholasticism"). But Zahm's further claim, that St. Augustine and St. Thomas himself, properly understood, held positions congenial to "theistic evolution," sent them into a red-hot rage.

Zahm's alliance with the so-called Americanists did not help his cause in the Vatican, which viewed Americanism as a "liberal" movement dedicated to loosening the bonds between the Church and the modern democratic state and promoting so-called American virtues such as individualism and freedom in matters of religion. In September, 1898, the Vatican's Sacred Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books included *Evolution and Dogma* on a list of texts to be placed on the Index, but did not publish the decree against Zahm, providing him the opportunity to submit to the ruling and withdraw the book (in its English, Italian, and French editions) from publication. Henceforth, Zahm would not publish on the topic of evolution. For the remaining twenty-three years of his life, he spent his time traveling the world and authoring books on science and the natural world (including one on women in science).

This story is recounted clearly and compellingly by John P. Slattery (not to be confused with Zahm's contemporary, John R. Slattery, the Americanist priest and supporter of theistic evolution), whose book is really about its subtitle: *John Zahm, Evolution, and the Catholic Church*. Slattery, drawing on his own archival investigations and translations of key texts, and on recent secondary studies based on mate-

rial from the Archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith opened by then-Cardinal Ratzinger in 1998, makes two important contributions to the story of Zahm and, more broadly, the conflict between Catholicism and modern science in the late nineteenth century. First, Slattery focuses more than previous historians on the reasoning of Zahm's accusers before the Congregation of the Index—which statements found in *Evolution and Dogma* they found most objectionable, and why. In doing so he provides brief but illuminating profiles of the major Neo-Scholastics who had it in for Zahm, especially the Swiss theologian Otto Zardetti, whose time in the United States as professor at St. Francis Seminary in Milwaukee and, later, as first bishop of St. Cloud, Minnesota imbued him with a love for America and a disdain for American*ism*. Slattery, in an appendix, provides a revealing translation of Zardetti's scalding letter to the Congregation condemning Zahm.

Second, Slattery emphasizes the pervasive anti-modernism that nurtured late nineteenth-century Neo-Scholasticism (read: late nineteenth-century Catholic orthodoxy). Pius IX's notorious Syllabus of Errors (also given a new translation in an appendix) set the stage for the feverish assault on any form of science not framed and governed by traditional Catholic metaphysics. Tellingly, Slattery rightly concludes, Zahm was defeated not because he was a mediocre scientist, but because he was a mediocre theologian. "Zahm the empirical scientist increasing saw the probability of the evolutionary hypothesis, while Zahm the theologian consistently argued for the consonance of evolution and faith," he writes. "But Zahm the theologian could not and did not fully account for the problematic theological and philosophical ideas that followed his evolutionary study to Rome. In the end, while Zahm the scientist could have stood toe-to-toe with any cleric in the Vatican, Zahm the theologian was no match for the depth and power of the Neo-Scholastic minds at the end of the nineteenth century" (p. 161).

University of Notre Dame R. Scott Appleby

A Religious History of the American GI in World War II. By Guenter Kurt Piehler. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2021. Pp. xv, 393. $65.00. ISBN: 9781496226839.)

Until recent years, the religious dimensions of World War II have often been absent from standard histories and presentations of the war as well as in academic literature. Though each of the military services produced histories of their respective chaplaincy endeavor during the war, it was not until the 1990s and beyond that academic studies on religion and the war emerged. This has been especially true with respect to the American GI. Using a host of primary and secondary sources, G. Kurt Piehler's volume adds to the rich literature of recent years.

The religious demographics of the American GI in World War II were as diverse as the American population. Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism were the three prominent faith traditions in the United States and within

each of those traditions there was diversity of belief. Fifteen million women and men served in the military and with religion as a core value for many of them, there were enormous efforts made to meet their religious needs.

Viewing the religious lives of those in uniform and the policies espoused by the government to encourage religion in the ranks, Piehler presents an informative and readable history that emphasizes the story of the promotion of the nation as a "tri-faith" nation within the military and the ramifications of it in furthering civil religion and religious pluralism. Religious values and rhetoric were used by the government to inspire those fighting as well as those on the home front and Piehler presents the actions clearly.

Thousands of Roman Catholic priests, Protestant clergy, and rabbis were recruited as part of the mobilization efforts and their service in the U.S. Army and U.S. Navy changed and broadened the chaplaincy services though there was more religious diversity in the Army than the Navy.

Comprised of twelve chapters and a conclusion, enhanced with photographs, thorough notes, and a good bibliography and index, Piehler offers readers a volume that enhances historical discussion of religion in the military and uniquely presents religion with respect to civilian leadership of the military from President Roosevelt down through the government bureaucracy.

Especially noteworthy for this reviewer is his chapter "The Question of Race and Religion," in which he provides extensive information on segregation and religion in the U.S. armed forces. Conscription made the armed forces one of the most diverse institutions in the nation but with enormous challenges including racism and segregation. Similarly, his chapter "Patriarchy and the Religious Life of Military Women" provides information rarely seen in studies of religion in the military during the war. Excellent overviews of ministry to the wounded (Chapter 13) and the dead (Chapter 14), including enemy combatants show the many facets of providing religious care in the midst and aftermath of combat and trauma.

Although the war ended in the European Theater of Operations in May, 1945, and in the Pacific Theater of Operations in August, 1945, troops remained in both theaters. Piehler's Chapter 15, "Religion and Reconciliation with Enemies," discusses unique and different religious challenges faced by those serving and ministering in post-war Europe and post-war Asia.

Piehlier's volume is a welcome addition to the literature and readers will find much in it to consider with respect to religious pluralism in America from World War II onward to the present. It is an insightful and helpful work that is well worth reading.

U.S. Naval War College TIMOTHY J. DEMY

Undocumented Saints: The Politics of Migrating Devotions. By William A. Calvo-Quirós (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022. Pp. xix, 368. $35. ISBN: 9780197630235).

Undocumented Saints: The Politics of Migrating Devotions by William Calvo-Quirós is a thought-provoking book that explores the religious experiences of undocumented migrants and their impact on Catholic devotion in the United States. Calvo-Quirós draws on a variety of sources, including interviews, ethnographic observations, and archival research to provide a rich and nuanced analysis of the ways in which migration and religion intersect in the lives of undocumented migrants.

The book commences by situating the experiences of undocumented migrants within the broader context of the U.S. immigration complex and the Catholic Church's response to it. Calvo-Quirós argues that the Church's support for immigrants has often been limited to a narrow set of issues, such as access to education and healthcare, while neglecting the spiritual needs of migrants. In response, he proposes a new approach that centers on the devotional practices of undocumented migrants themselves.

The crux of the book is a series of case studies that illustrate the diversity of Catholic-derived vernacular devotion among undocumented migrants. Calvo-Quirós focuses on a range of practices, including the veneration of vernacular saints and one Catholic saint, the celebration of feast days, and the creation of homemade altars. He shows how these practices not only provide a source of comfort and community for migrants but also challenge traditional understandings of Catholicism and its relationship to power. One of the strengths of the book is its focus on the voices of undocumented migrants themselves. Calvo-Quirós includes numerous quotes and anecdotes from his interviews with migrants, which help to humanize and give voice to a group that is often treated as a political or economic problem rather than as individuals with their own hopes, fears, and spiritual beliefs. By doing so, he sheds light on the complex ways in which migration, religion, and identity intersect in the lives of undocumented migrants.

Another strength of the book is its interdisciplinary approach. Calvo-Quirós draws on insights from anthropology, sociology, and religious studies to provide a comprehensive analysis of his subject matter. He also engages with a variety of theoretical frameworks, including postcolonial theory and feminist theory, to challenge traditional understandings of Catholicism and to illuminate the ways in which power operates within religious communities. One area where the book could have been strengthened is in its treatment of the role of the Church in relation to undocumented migrants. While Calvo-Quirós is critical of the Church's limited response to the needs of migrants, he does not fully flesh out the reasons for this. For example, he briefly mentions the political pressures faced by the Church in the United States, but he could have gone into more detail about the ways in which the Church's relationship to power shapes its response to social issues.

Overall, *Undocumented Saints* is an insightful and engaging book that illuminates previously neglected aspects of the religious lives of undocumented migrants. It makes a valuable contribution to the fields of religious studies, migration studies, and anthropology, and it will be of interest to scholars and students working in these areas. The book is also accessible to a broader audience, and its focus on the experiences of migrants themselves makes it a compelling read for anyone interested in the intersection of religion, migration, and identity in the United States.

Virginia Commonwealth University R. ANDREW CHESNUT

LATIN AMERICAN

La disputa del pasado: España, México y la Leyenda Negra. Edited by By Emilio Lamo de Espinosa. (Madrid: Turner Publicaciones. 2021. Pp. 248. €21.90 ISBN: 978-84-18428-43-2.)

La disputa del pasado: España, México y la Leyenda Negra considers the enduring impact of the Black Legend, a negative characterization of Spain, the Spanish Catholic Church, and the Spanish conquest of Latin America that was first promulgated by non-Spanish historians and survives—both in the Anglophone world and in Latin America—to the present day. This is partially the fault of professional historians, the authors argue, for

> "we have not known how to transmit new interpretations of the Conquest to a broader public, and, in consequence, society has not overcome the nationalistic, simplistic, Manichean, and victimized vision forged in the middle decades of the last century" (p. 56).

The book also grapples with the broader task of confronting past atrocities, encouraging readers to confront the sins of the past directly, without either idealizing history or resorting to cancel culture, political correctness, or presentism.

La disputa del pasado is edited by Emilio Lamo de Espinosa, a Spanish sociologist, and contains essays by Spanish and Mexican scholars. The book is divided into two sections, entitled "La realidad. De la Conquista al Virreinato y a América Latina," and ". . . y su representación. ¿Una renacida leyenda negra?" In the first part, Martín F. Ríos Soloma presents a historiographical evaluation of Spanish and English studies of the conquest, describing how Revolutionary nationalism in twentieth-century Mexico shaped historical narratives about the Conquest. Next, Tomás Pérez Vejo examines the colonial period, asserting that New Spain should perhaps not even be considered a colony, proposing instead that historians conceive of the cities of Mexico, Lima, or Manila as metropoles of a multinuclear empire. In the third essay, Lamo de Espinosa argues that during the colonial period, Latin American territory served as a bridge between the Pacific and the Atlantic economies and culture, and asserts that the region might play this role again today.

The second part of the book, which I will review in somewhat greater detail here, opens with an essay by Luis Francisco Martínez Morales, who challenges hegemonic perceptions by U.S.-based scholars who focus on the atrocities of the past without also acknowledging other aspects of Latin American history. He cites Hungarian colonial scholar Pál Kelemen, who stated that: "it should be realized that literary, humanistic, and scientific life of a high order existed in the Spanish-American colonies. This was a living, thinking continent, cognizant of European thought but by no means always provincially dependent on it" (p. 133).

José Maria Ortega Sánchez also takes on Anglo-Saxon views on the Hispanic world. His essay, one of the most polemical in the collection and a must-read, begins with a critique of Marie Arana's books *Bolívar: American Liberator* and *Silver, Sword and Stone: The Story of Latin America in Three Extraordinary Lives*. For Ortega Sánchez, these texts provide a clear example of the promotion of the Black Legend of the Spanish Conquest within the U.S, since they reaffirm Anti-Spanish and Hispanic prejudice and reflect the views of the majority of academic and non-academic Anglo-Saxon readers. Subsequently, Ortega Sánchez discusses other forms of media that, he argues, reinforce the Black Legend; in particular, John Leguizamo's Netflix movie *Latin History for Morons*, which may be the most widely viewed history class about Latin America within and outside the U.S.

María Elvira Roca Barea's essay, which closes the second section, analyzes the complex topic of historical memory along the U.S.-Mexico frontier, particularly in California. Roca Barea questions the *damnatio memoriae* of the Hispanic past in California, and urges a reevaluation of mainstream history of the state to better include its Spanish colonial past. To do so, she argues, could help Californians of Mexican origin to understand that they are not foreigners in their native land.

The book concludes with an epilogue by the renowned Mexican historian Guadalupe Jiménez Codinach, who argues that the Black Legend is still widespread in historical research as well as in popular opinion, particularly in the United States and England. Ignorance of the history of Latin America in the United States, she posits, is related to the way U.S. citizens designate their homeland as 'America' and maintain the other peoples of the Americas in a kind of limbo. For U.S. readers in particular, this epilogue is fundamentally important, particularly as they adjust to the demographic realities of Latin American immigration to the United States.

This book is a provocative intervention that both describes and challenges ongoing Black Legend narratives in scholarship, public discourse, and the media. *La disputa del pasado* will therefore be of great interest not only to scholars of Latin America, Mexico, and the United States, but also to graduate and undergraduate students on both sides of the border.

Prepa Ibero Yves Bernardo Roger Solis Nicot

Bedlam in the New World: A Mexican Madhouse in the Age of Enlightenment. By Christina Ramos. (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press. 2022. Pp. 266. $34.95. ISBN: 978-1-469-66657-0.)

Bedlam in the New World shows how much we can learn from an institutional study. Examining Mexico City's Hospital de San Hipólito from its foundation by a penitent conquistador in 1567 through its heyday in the late eighteenth century, Christina Ramos gives us much more than a history of a mental hospital. By placing it in a larger context, she sheds light on such issues as the nature of the Spanish Enlightenment, the medicalization of insanity, and the role of the Church in promoting modern science. In addition, fascinating vignettes of several disturbed individuals expand our understanding of daily life in the colony.

The book draws on a variety of sources. Building on Cristina Sacristán's pioneering works about the treatment of the mentally ill and deviant during the colonial period, Ramos adds the focus on San Hipólito. She supplements its records with files from religious and secular courts that detail the judges' deliberations about whether individuals should be punished as criminals or heretics, confined because of mental illness, or exonerated. These judicial cases—with their rich testimony by patients, their families and friends, legal experts, clergymen and, increasingly, doctors—form the crux of the book. Perhaps because of the limitations of the hospital records (which do not appear to include inmate population counts, for example) Ramos concentrates more on the process of determining eligibility for internment than on the inner workings of the institution. She centers her analysis on the late eighteenth century, when the documentation is most abundant.

Ramos shows that New Spain did not experience the Great Confinement posited by Michel Foucault for seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe, where asylums separated masses of undesirable people from mainstream society and disciplined its deviant members. San Hipólito remained small despite serving the entire viceroyalty and it experienced several extended periods of decline. After initially taking in a broad array of paupers it specialized in housing demented men, especially the *locos furiosos* who were deemed a danger to society. The institution oscillated between benevolence and coercion. Staffed by male nurses who were members of the Order of San Hipólito, it never lost its emphasis on traditional Christian charity and spiritual healing. Far from holding a representative group of Mexicans, it largely catered to inmates of Spanish descent who were considered most worthy of assistance.

A major contribution of the book is to challenge the widespread narrative that pits a secular Enlightenment against a retrograde Church and locates the birth of psychiatry in France or England. Ramos confirms that the Hispanic world experienced what some scholars have termed a Catholic Enlightenment where religious figures, instead of opposing science, were at the forefront of introducing new ideas. Although it is a stretch to call San Hipólito a "laboratory" of knowledge production (p. 12) simply because authorities occasionally asked nurses to report on patients'

progress, Ramos is persuasive in proposing an alternative history of psychiatry that places colonial Mexico and enlightened churchmen at the center, rather than the margins, of this process.

This study also challenges the Black Legend view of the Inquisition by showing how it participated in modernizing trends and helped advance the medical understanding of madness. Yet Ramos avoids painting too rosy a picture. While inquisitors took great care to determine whether individuals were in their right mind and often treated mad criminals with surprising leniency, the long investigations could drive sane people mad, since they were often imprisoned for months and had their goods confiscated. And as an arm of the state, the Inquisition increasingly censored texts and prosecuted people for questioning traditional authority. This is one example where Ramos judiciously notes that the developments she traces were often contradictory.

Bedlam in the New World has the added virtue of being beautifully written, albeit sometimes repetitive. It will be welcomed by scholars interested in colonial Latin America and also in the history of science and Catholicism more generally.

Brandeis University Silvia Arrom

Catholic Women and Mexican Politics, 1750–1940. By Margaret Chowning. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 2023. Pp. xiii, 362. $45.00. ISBN: 978-0-691-17724-3.)

At the height of Mexico's church-state conflict, President Plutarco Elías Calles (1924–28) once tried to emasculate his opponents by dismissing the Catholic Church as a "henhouse" rife with "women and elderly persons." Dr. Margaret Chowning's new book turns this caricature on its head and demonstrates that such attempts to "diminish the church by feminizing it" (p. 12) actually speak to women's achievement of real power by virtue of their membership in lay associations known as *cofradías*, or confraternities.

These laywomen's groups functioned as vehicles for public outreach, community building, and cooperation with male clergy. They enabled women to mobilize at the parish level and organize formidable national campaigns despite regional variations and laywomen's class and racial differences. In times of war and peace—and for nearly two centuries before obtaining the right to vote—Mexican Catholic women exerted themselves in the public sphere by exercising a considerable, if not unparalleled amount of influence within the Church. Laywomen acted socially *and* politically, working "behind the scenes" (p. 1) so that the Church could survive the passage of two aggressively secular Constitutions (1857 and 1917), and a handful of violent conflicts pitting Mexico's Catholic hierarchy against liberal reformers and anticlerical revolutionaries.

These are the guiding premises of Chowning's monograph, which delivers a comprehensive history of laywomen's mobilization during Mexico's tumultuous

nineteenth century. Chowning's emphasis on women's political activism ushers in a new turn in Catholic Mexican historiography, which has, at times, over-centered the early twentieth century as the focal point of the nation's church-state conflict and perhaps fallen short of questioning the veracity of official Church documents to the point of (a) dismissing laywomen as apolitical and (b) drawing hard distinctions between more partisan (read masculine) politics and women's cultural, religious, and social projects.

Instead, Chowning frames Mexico's church-state conflict as a series of "culture wars" spanning back to the Enlightenment. Furthermore, *Catholic Women* offers an important critique of scholars' tendency to prioritize male politics, and thereby to reinforce laywomen's dual erasure from historical narratives of both Mexican Catholic and political history. In these instances, women's activism is not only deemed apolitical on account of its religiosity, but also omitted from the story because of laywomen's limited access to the partisan arena.

Starting with the first chapter, the author's interventions are bolstered by her use of new primary sources. Whereas scholars had previously relied on legal documents to reinforce perceptions of male-dominated confraternities, Chowning uses administrative records to uncover the presence of female majorities across class and regional lines. Chapter 2 then examines confraternities' spiritual and economic crises during and after Mexico's War of Independence. Chowning challenges gendered perceptions of "feminized religion" and historicizes laywomen's growing majorities in the face of declining membership totals. She argues that, amid the perceived rise of secularism and so-called impiety, the prospect of socializing children into local Catholic communities drew women closer to *cofradías*. At the same time, masculine understandings of republicanism relegated women to the private sphere—a "derogatory" imagined space they came to share with the Church, and which liberals deemed incompatible with secular modernity (p. 55).

The rest of the book examines how laywomen's petition campaigns influenced Mexican politics directly. The author argues that changes in women's relationship to the Church had a real effect on their engagement with national politics. The book's structure reflects this two-fold argument: chapters 3, 5, and 7 explore women's relations with the clergy; while chapters 4, 6, and 8 document laywomen's foray into politics, their dismissal by liberal elites, and conservative men's anxieties over their politicization.

Notably, Chowning reveals that, in response to the Mexican Congress's implementation of anti-religious legislation between the 1850s and 1870s, laywomen's petition campaigns encouraged women to think for themselves and express their political opinions "against the will of their husbands and fathers" (p. 121). At the same time, the author demonstrates that *cofradías* were integral to processes of Romanization, and that women comprised the backbone of parish-level modernization efforts despite the Church's emphasis on masculine priest-centered leadership. Finally, the book ends with an epilogue that briefly outlines the

trajectory of laywomen's twentieth-century activism. Chowning argues that *cofradías* were foundational to the establishment of more recent national organizations and remained central to Catholic women's political mobilization.

Overall, Chowning's pathbreaking study offers a comprehensive portrait of living institutions shaped by women's grassroots activism and everyday decision-making. It will appeal to specialists in the field and scholars of gender and religion in Catholic Europe and the Americas.

Baylor University Ricardo Álvarez-Pimentel

Abandoning Their Beloved Land: The Politics of Bracero Migration in Mexico. By Alberto García. (Oakland: University of California Press. 2023. Pp. 243. $29.95. ISBN: 978-0-520-39023-2.)

Despite layers of international and domestic power, the bracero program—a series of bilateral agreements that brought temporary workers from Mexico to the United States between 1942 and 1964—was actually deeply shaped by local municipal politics. With this argument, historian Alberto García brings readers greater understanding of mid-century Mexico and foundational aspects of power, labor, and migration in that era. *Abandoning Their Beloved Land* reveals how municipal officials—influenced by local political opposition and religious conflict—played the most important role in distributing bracero work cards.

Logically organized, García's book begins with an overview of the initial federal control of departures. He shows how the relationship between governors and presidents influenced braceros' experiences, and how the bracero program, in turn, influenced the interactions between governors and presidents. The relationship became increasingly complicated after federal authorities botched early distributions of bracero permissions and departures out of Mexico City and had to rely on states.

In chapter 2, readers learn how state governors distributed bracero work permissions based on flexible considerations of municipal politics, unions, legislative districts, areas of natural disaster, or other contingent categories. Governors passed out work cards to wider constituencies, but municipal leaders selected individuals for participation. This made the process subject to profiteering, favoritism, and patron/client relationships.

García pauses his telescoping approach in chapters 3 and 4 to explain the regional issues that drove bracero permission demand. Chapter 3 explores how religious and political tensions resulted in conflict over land—at first with former Cristeros and later with Sinarquistas—often with the losers of those conflicts requesting bracero cards. Chapter 4 examines how agrarian reform and land redistribution failed to deal with issues of poor land quality, competing land claims, and population growth on ejidal land. These failures created opportunities for the Catholic-leaning PAN, clergy, and Sinarquistas (right-wing Catholic activists)—at times

operating together—to generate public protests and political challenges. Together, these chapters explain why the Greater Bajio area of Aguascalientes, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacan, and Zacatecas generated such a high percentage of braceros.

Chapter 5 moves to the municipal level, and gets into specific stories about how cards were passed out. The author demonstrates that the systems for work permission distribution were varied. Politicians gave out cards to diffuse opposition, mend fences with political rivals, or solidify their influence with rural workers. For example, some local leaders used permissions to get troublesome Sinarquistas out of the community, while others used the permissions as rewards to mollify Sinarquistas. The chapter briefly touches on how undocumented or false documentation migration grew out of the fraud involved in the local permission process. García also delves into financial issues beyond bracero remittances, examining how the sale of bracero cards financed rural infrastructure in the absence of state and federal support.

The author has constructed a streamlined, clearly communicated work that supplements the scholarship of Mireya Loza, Deborah Cohen, and Jorge Durand. In its ability to explain how the Mexican state functioned on the ground, the work is also a fine companion to Paul Gillingham's examinations of mid-century power. *Abandoning Our Beloved Land* is not a radical shift in what we know about braceros, but it is a necessary work to understand the Mexican political context and the importance of local stories.

Specialists and graduate students of Mexican politics, labor, and migration, as well as scholars who examine braceros in the United States should read this work. Because some insider knowledge of Mexican national history does make the text more effective, the book will work well in undergraduate courses that offer supportive context before student engagement.

Central Washington University JASON DORMADY

A Christian Revolution: Dialogues on Social Justice and Democracy Between Europe and the Americas (1945–1965). Edited by Marta Busani and Paolo Valvo. (Rome: Edizioni Studium. 2023. Pp. 292. ISBN: 978-88-382-5327-0.)

A Christian Revolution describes how Catholic intellectuals in Europe, the United States, and Latin America sought to develop new ways to engage with politics and the state between the immediate post-war period until Vatican II.

In the wake of the definitive collapse of totalitarian Nazi and fascist regimes in Europe, it seemed clear to many Catholics that this was a pivotal moment to regroup, to rethink, and, perhaps, to create something new. Most urgently, Catholics sought to develop a response to the rising appeal of socialism, communism, and Marxism. Yet most of the protagonists of this book believed that Communism was spreading for a reason—generally, because of fundamental injustices and inequalities that were driving people towards it. At the same time, they argued that capitalism seemed not

to do enough to respond to these injustices and inequalities, or for that matter, to human dignity itself. The Catholic response, then, should be to first understand these ideologies on the left, and then to propose an alternative—a Christian Revolution, inspired by Catholic Social Teaching and by Pius XII's concept of the "third way"—that would transform the world through Christianity.

A Christian Revolution, then, offers a kaleidoscopic view of the many different "revolutions" or "third ways" proposed by influential Catholics during this period. In chapter 1, Maria Bocci describes how intellectuals at the seemingly conservative Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore sought to reintroduce Christian principles to the corporate state. Simon Unger-Alvi, in chapter 2, describes how, in Germany, Catholic leaders hoped to revive the vitality of the Catholic Church by developing Christian trade unions. In chapter 3, Susanna De Stradis tells the somewhat surprising story of the Catholic Corporative Project in Cold War America, in which Catholic sociologists found an audience at least temporarily open to serious conversations about corporativism. In chapter 4, Rafael Escobedo Romero looks at the uncomfortable relationship between US Catholics and Franco's Spain, describing how American Catholics had to try to reconcile their admiration for the Catholic state with their beliefs in freedom and liberty, religious freedom and church-state separation.

In chapter 5, Lorena García Mourelle examines the French movement Economy and Humanism in South America, a strain of Christian humanist thought that put the human being at the center of economic development. Yves Solís Nicot then examines, in chapter 6, the fascinating work of Alberto Siri, a neo-Thomist philosopher in El Salvador who tied to develop a third way for Latin America through his writing.

In Chapter 7, Paolo Valvo looks into the case of the magazine "Latinoamerica," published in Mexico and then transferred to Cuba until April 1959, describing how the magazine's Jesuit editors tried to generate a pan-Latin American readership and vision, becoming a showcase for ideas about the social question. Marta Busani, in Chapter 8, examines the history of the Juventude Estudantil Católica and Juventude Universitária Católica, two groups that grew out of Catholic Action movements of earlier decades, but increasingly radicalized in the 1960s after the Cuban Revolution.

The final two chapters of the book take us to Mexico. In Chapter 9, Laura Alarcón Menchaca. narrates the story of Efraín González Morfín, a Catholic intellectual and politician who opposed the dominant PRI party. Finally, in Chapter 10, Tania Hernández Vicencio discusses Cuernavaca bishop Sergio Mendez Arceo and his contributions to Vatican II.

As this compelling book progresses chronologically, we can see hints of deepening ideological divides to come, particularly in Latin America with its deep and abiding inequality that facilitated the rise of liberation theology. Yet, by examining

the various ideas developed and promoted by Catholics in Europe, Latin America, and the United States, *A Christian Revolution* showcases a surprising—and at times, inspiring—period of open-mindedness and dialogue within and between Catholic intellectuals and communities.

The Catholic University of America JULIA G. YOUNG

Martyrs of Hope: Seven U.S. Missioners in Central America. By Donna Whitson Brett and Edward T. Brett. (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books. 2018. Pp. xxvi, 336. $25.00 ISBN: 978-1-626-98293-2.)

In their preface for *Martyrs of Hope: Seven U.S. Missioners in Central America*, Donna Whitson Brett and Edward T. Brett state that when writing this book, their original intention was to "revise and update" their 1988 volume *Murdered in Central America: The Stories of Eleven Missionaries*, a foundational text for understanding the intricate and tragic overlap of Catholic activism, Central America's civil wars, and U.S. foreign policy during the 1980s. As Brett and Brett note, in the years since the publication of *Murdered in Central America*, Guatemala and El Salvador's civil wars—and the Cold War itself—ended, the Catholic Church elected its first Latin American pope, and a wealth of primary sources and new scholarship emerged. As a result, *Martyrs of Hope* instead offers readers a new, more comprehensive understanding of its titular martyrs, their lives, work, and deaths along detailed analyses of postwar political and socioeconomic conditions in both countries.

Two aspects of *Martyrs of Hope* are especially notable. First, the book's impressive wealth of diary passages, personal letters, and recorded interviews is one of its greatest strengths. These sources, many of them unavailable during the writing of *Murdered in Central America*, offer readers a greater understanding of this book's titular subjects—Blessed Father Stanley Rother, Brother James Miller, Sisters Maura Clarke, Ita Ford, Dorothy Kazel, and Carol Piette, and lay missioner Jean Donovan—as people and martyrs in equal measure. Rother's correspondence from Guatemala in 1980 and 1981, for example, provides a vivid snapshot of the unfathomable violence that plagued the country and killed Rother in 1981. Relatedly, a May 1980 letter from Piette to her friend Becky Quinn lamented El Salvador's brutal reality, noting that she heard "shots in the night" while reading one of Quinn's letters and, in a moment of tragic prescience, wrote "If you knew how the soldiers search us and treat us you'd worry." (Piette drowned just three months later, while Salvadoran soldiers raped and murdered Clarke, Ford, Kazel, and Donovan in December of that year.) In both cases, these letters offer glimpse of ordinary life amid Central America's extraordinary violence during the early 1980s.

Second, *Martyrs of Hope* utilizes Congressional testimonies, United Nations reports, and contemporaneous press accounts, among other sources, to analyze major historical moments and prevailing political and socioeconomic moments in postwar Guatemala and El Salvador beginning in the 1990s. These include Guatemalan presidents Jorge Serrano and Otto Pérez Molina's exits from office in disgrace (Serrano

launched a failed coup in 1993 and Pérez Molina was convicted of corruption charges in 2015) as well as the failures that both the far-right ARENA and far-left FMLN parties encountered while governing postwar El Salvador. Additionally, Brett and Brett analyze the burdensome toll that transnational drug cartels, organized crime syndicates, and street gangs have taken on both countries over the last thirty years.

Ultimately, Brett and Brett's original assertion is correct. *Martyrs of Hope* is much more than a revised, updated edition of *Murdered in Central America*. It artfully interweaves comprehensive assessments of the Guatemalan and Salvadoran civil wars and their complex legacies with richly detailed biographical sketches that help personalize the book's subjects. It is essential reading for scholars of Catholic activism, Central American history, and U.S. policy approaches toward the region during some of its bloodiest years.

Bowling Green State University Michael J. Cangemi

Asian

Global Entanglements of a Man Who Never Traveled: A Seventeenth-Century Chinese Christian and His Conflicted Worlds. By Dominic Sachsenmaier. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2018. Pp. 280. $26.00. ISBN: 9780231187534.)

Until recently, the history of Christianity in China in the early modern period followed the principal narrative lines laid down by missionaries in their own writings. Missionary sources, rather than external or even Chinese ones, provided the framework for understanding proselytizing methods and for evaluating their success. It has been only in the past few decades that scholars have begun to integrate Chinese language sources into studies of missionary-era Christianity, trying to respond to the looming question: what understanding did early modern Chinese Christians have of their adopted (or later inherited) religion? Answers to that question skew in favor of Christians from elite social strata, a natural outcome of the missionary strategy to promote the "Teaching of Heaven" in educated social strata via the printed word. Over the past two decades, scholars have increasingly tried to integrate such Chinese voices into accounts of the missionary church, greatly enhancing our understanding of the reception of Christianity from those who became—or resisted—proselytization. Dominic Sachsenmaier's new study of Zhu Zongyuan (c. 1616–c. 1660), a high-status Christian from the port city of Ningbo, is an excellent example of the promise of this recent trend.

The Global Entanglements of a Man who Never Traveled attempts a world history in reverse. It examines the varied contexts that marked the life of an individual who remained in his specific cultural, linguistic, intellectual, and political milieu, yet who nevertheless was affected by global currents of intellectual and commercial exchange. Rather than focusing on the work of world-travelers, this study considers how the processes set in motion during what may be called the "first era of globalization" were understood by those on the receiving end, in this case of a religious

message. Crucially for Sachsenmaier's story, Zhu Zongyuan wrote major works on Christian themes aimed at other Chinese readers. These two books and a handful of other fragments comprise the admittedly restricted corpus of his writings, but they are sufficient for Sachsenmaier to demonstrate its protagonist's links to and appreciation of the wider world. The book's five chapters address different contexts of Zhu's biography and writings, situating him within Chinese philosophical and social traditions, as well as missionary networks, mercantile flows, and the political struggles of the Ming-Qing dynastic transition.

Sachsenmaier's book fits into a debate over the nature of Chinese Christianity in the seventeenth century. In 1982, Jacques Gernet responded to decades of pro-mission studies with the polemical assertion in his *Chine et Christianisme* that the Jesuits' high-status converts could not have been truly Christians owing to the gulf in philosophical understanding between Confucian and Aristotelian traditions. Nicolas Standaert parried in 1988 with his study of one such figure, Yang Tingyun, subtitling his work *Confucian and Christian in Late Ming China*. Erik Zürcher's late work, especially his 2007 study and translation called *Koudou Richao: Li Jiubiao's Diary of Oral Admonitions*, gave further evidence of how thoroughly Chinese Christians understood the religious teachings that had been transmitted to them by European missionaries. Dominic Sachsenmaier builds on these foundations, arguing for the depth of Zhu Zongyuan's religious commitment, while also demonstrating how this particular Christian author framed his apologetics in line with Confucian philosophy and Chinese cultural norms. Discarding the tired notions of Chinese xenophobia and insularity, Sachsenmaier shows that this otherwise stationary figure was an active participant in receiving, processing, and accepting information borne from long-distant sources.

The business of global history is a difficult one, as those of us who have tried our hand at world-spanning microhistories or biography will readily confess. It is difficult to master all sides of stories such as Zhu's; the identification of the various contexts of lives such as his should be accounted as a benefit to present and future scholars. Sachsenmaier's treatment of the Chinese contexts of Zhu's life are the most richly textured and insightful sections of this book. There is no question of the mastery of this presentation of the social, intellectual, and political setting of coastal Zhejiang province in the mid-seventeenth century. The discussion of the European side of this story, unfortunately, lacks the same precision. Readers familiar with the history of the Jesuits, Roman Catholicism, or Christianity in China will chafe at the repeated invocation of the unquestioned (or successfully transmitted) mandates of "the Catholic Church" or of a unitary "accomodation method." The political, economic, and religious rivalries of the various European empires in Asia are treated in similar monolithic fashion, despite Sachsenmaier's extensive bibliography on those subjects. The primarily lessons of *Global Entanglements* will be best received, it is hoped, by scholars of China, whose field has grown increasingly receptive to such globe-spanning perspectives.

Michigan State University LIAM MATTHEW BROCKEY

Developing Mission: Photography, Filmmaking, and American Missionaries in Modern China. By Joseph W. Ho. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 2022. Pp. x, 304. $29.95 paper [includes a free public access visual repository hosted by the University of Michigan Library: https://dx.doi.org/10.7302/1259; selections accentuate Protestant images but no Catholic images]. ISBN: 978 1501761850, hardcover $125.00, ebook $19.95.)

The importance of cameras in the hands of American missionaries to China during the first half of the twentieth century refocuses understanding on how their efforts to proselytize increasingly utilized visual technology. Dr. Ho asserts: "Almost no histories of American missionary activity in China (and other places in East Asia during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) examine the role of widespread photographic practices in missionary and Chinese experience" (p. 10).

Dr. Ho anchors each chapter of *Developing Mission* by providing a strong narrative on missionary history. At the same time, he expands on this foundation by writing about how his archival research in China and in the United States was graced by personal encounters with those who saved past photographs and movie films as if they were sacred relics. This pedagogical approach is enhanced by his excellent writing on religious themes as well as camera technology. This book will be welcomed by professors for the classroom, graduates and undergraduates to expand their interdisciplinary inquiry, and all academic and public libraries that wish to bolster their cross-cultural and general science collection.

The following excerpts from each chapter reveal the quality of this book. Chapter 1, "New Lives, New Optics: Missionary Modernity and Visual Practices in Interwar Republican China," includes: "The photographer would have appeared to be bowing to the subject of his or her image, simultaneously presenting a nonthreatening physical profile and avoiding direct gaze. These viewfinders and the worldviews of missionaries behind them combined to create specifically modern visualizations of China" (pp. 35–36). Dr. Ho, in this instance, understands the camera as possible symbol that became common in negotiating cross-cultural relationships.

Chapter 2, "Converting Visions: Photographic Mediations of Catholic Identity in West Hunan, 1921–1929," concentrates on articles penned by American Passionists and published in *Sign* Magazine to describe their mission. *Sign* editors "had the power to reinterpret and reshape visual material sent from China, for better or worse in ways that the missionaries could not. . . . When it came to the *Sign*, the missionaries could not fully control their transnational media identity" (p. 86). As curator of the Passionist China Collection, I witnessed how Dr. Ho's respect for the archive had a direct impact on his incisive analysis. This led me to assign this chapter to my undergraduate Modern China class with positive results.

Chapter 3, "The Movie Camera and the Mission: Vernacular Filmmaking as China-US Bridge, 1931–1936," explains cameras as historical artifacts. When used

by Jesse Mae Henke it served to highlight "how women served as interlocutors and image-makers in ways that challenged maleness of filmmaking culture" (p. 109). Dr. Ho handles multiple interdisciplinary themes skillfully.

Chapter 4, "Chaos in Three Frames: Fragmented Imaging and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1945," revealed how: "As witnesses to war, some missionaries became documentarians in the eyes of an international mass public, catapulted to circuits of global visual transmission not envisioned before the conflict" (p. 143). Consequently, when China was ravaged by war, Dr. Ho suggests missionaries used cameras with creativity, reverence and compassion. Fast forward to the contemporary era, and this chapter might serve as a precursor to understand the legacy as to why some governments, unfortunately, might sometimes be suspicious of religious actors' relationship with and use of diverse media platforms.

Chapter 5, "Memento Mori: Loss, Nostalgia, and the Future in Postwar Missionary Visuality," stresses the cinematic projects undertaken by Protestant missionary Harold Henke as well as American Jesuits William Klement and Bernard J. Hubbard—the "Glacier Priest." Dr. Ho suggests that their efforts still teach us. "The films and photographs, products of experiences from a now ended period, remained as visual-material traces of possibilities and losses just as meaningful for their makers as they were for their subjects." Arguably, this was a seminal moment: as missionaries were "leaving" China, the China many had encountered "was leaving them" (p. 227).

Epilogue: "Latent Images." In China, American missionaries with cameras revealed "transnational confluences between global Christian missions, Chinese Christianity, and national histories, US power and cultural influences in East Asia, and modern visual practices" (p. 230).

Joseph W. Ho's personal archival research, presentation of scholarship, and lucid analysis contributes to his making *Developing Mission* enjoyable, relevant, and challenging. The book will likely become an invaluable standard source for a wide range of audiences' who wish background as to how American Protestant and Catholic missionaries helped create, shape, and engage in fluid international cross-cultural visual representations with China that will long endure.

The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History
Boston College
ROBERT E. CARBONNEAU, C.P.

Notes and Comments

Association News

On Saturday evening, July 29, 2023, Msgr. Robert Frederick Trisco suddenly died. He had faithfully and expertly served the Association for almost a half-century as its Executive Secretary (1961–2006, 2007–09) and its Treasurer (1983–2006, 2007–09). In recognition of his service, the Association conferred on him its Centennial Award at its meeting in his native Chicago in 2019. For more information on his remarkable life, please see his autobiographical essay at the beginning of this issue. May the good Lord richly reward this faithful servant and grant him joy forever in His presence

Cause of Saints

On May 20, 2023, Pope Francis recognized the heroic virtue of Brazil's "Surfer Angel" Guido Schäffer (1974–2009), giving him the status of "venerable" in a decree issued by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. As a medical doctor and delayed vocation to the seminary, Schäffer dedicated himself to working with the poor and gathered around him others who helped in this ministry. He died suddenly from an accident while surfing. For more information on this remarkable man, see the article of Courtney Mares https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/254385/a-surfing-saint-pope-francis-recognizes-the-heroic-virtue-of-guido-schaffer.

At a June 15, 2023, meeting of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops' (USCCB) Committee on Canonical Affairs and Church Governance, the bishops present by a voice vote affirmed their support for the advancement of the cause of beatification and canonization on the diocesan level of five French-born priests who died days apart caring for the sick during a yellow fever epidemic in Louisiana in 1873. The priests were Fathers Jean Pierre (1831–73), Jean Marie Biler (1839–73), François Le Vézouët (1833–73), Isidore Quémerais (1847–73), and Louis Marie Gergaud (1832–73), referred to by the local population as the "Shreveport Martyrs."

On May 20, 2023, the simple wooden coffin containing the unembalmed body of Sister Wilhelmina Lancaster, OSB (1924–2019), the African-American foundress of the Benedictine Sisters of Mary, Queen of the Apostles, was exhumed from her earthen grave in Gower, Missouri. Her corpse was found to be incorrupted. It was then moved to the chapel of the sisters' monastery, encased in glass, and placed near the altar of St. Joseph. It has become the object of veneration of hundreds of pilgrims. While an intact, incorrupt body is often seen as a sign of a holy life, church authorities have not ruled on the case of Sr. Wilhelmina nor has a process been begun for her eventual canonization.

CONFERENCES

On June 26, 2023, a roundtable discussion was held at the École Française de Rome at its Piazza Navona 62 address in Rome and online on the theme "Una storia millenaria nel mondo digitale: Gli studi sul papato e la curia romana e le Digital Humanites." About thirty historians and archivists from various European countries, Mexico, the United States, and Israel discussed how digitization has affected the study of papal history. For more information on the conference, please contact Benedetta Albani (Max Planck Institute for Legal History and Legal Theory, Frankfurt), albani@lhlt.mpg.de or Dr. Laura Pettinaroli (École Française de Rome, Roma), dirmod@efrome.it.

On October 18–21, 2023, the Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum, together with the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, will sponsor an international symposium with the title "Religion und Ökonomie in der Frühen Neuzeit" in Augsburg. For details on the speakers and the themes of their talks, see www.corpus-catholicorum.de.

On October 26–27, 2023, a conference on "The Apostolic Ministry: History, Theology, and Ecumenism" will take place in New Haven, CT, that will explore the historical and theological significance of apostolicity in the contemporary church, as well as its relevance for modern ecumenism. Papers on a wide range of topics, including historical studies, systematics, church history, canon law, and ecumenism are welcomed. The deadline for submissions was Friday July 14, 2023. For more information on the conference, see: https://sites.google.com/yale.edu/apostolicministry2023, or contact Dr. Matthew Reese (Yale & Johns Hopkins Universities) US: +1 (240) 463-7338, matthew.reese@yale.edu.

On April 18–19, 2024, an international conference will be held at the Pontifical Gregorian University on the theme of "Vatican Diplomacy and the Shaping of the West (1939–1958)." Taking advantage of the opening of the Vatican Archives for the pontificate of Pius XII who advocated for the adoption of Christian values, the conference organizers encourage scholars to explore its documents relative to the following topics: the fostering of Euro-Atlantic relations; relations with States and Christian communities in the Eastern bloc; the facilitation of the development of a unified European bloc; the role of the Holy See in multilateral diplomacy; the Holy See's policy towards Latin American countries, between the pushes for continental integration and the dynamics of the Cold War; the Holy See's relations with Francoist Spain and the Portuguese Estado Novo; the role played by Vatican diplomacy in facilitating the processes of decolonization, particularly in the African continent; its presence in the tensions that characterized the Middle East and the emergence of the State of Israel; the role envisaged for the Mediterranean Sea as a fundamental crossroads for the political-religious dynamics and international tensions that characterize the global context in this period; and papal diplomacy and missions: priorities, directives for action, bilateral agreements. The deadline for submitting proposals (abstract of a maximun of 2000 characters, short CV, and list

of publications) to occidentespiusxii@gmail.com was July 31, 2023. Successful proposers will be notified on October 15, 2023. Travel and accommodation expenses will be borne by the participants. The presentations may be either in English, Italian, French, or Spanish. More articulated articles based upon the presentations will be published at a later date.

Fellowships/Workshops

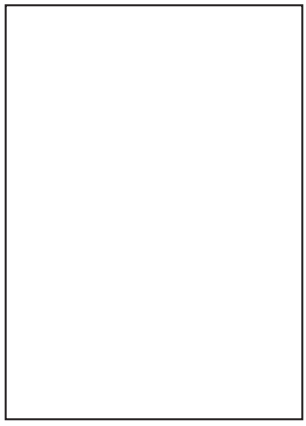
The Center for Research on Global Catholicism (CRGC) at Saint Louis University supports scholarship at the nexus of Catholicism and culture, providing robust programming that promotes interdisciplinary research, collaboration, and methodological innovation. It studies how Catholicism migrated across time and space to become a global religion, entangled with imperial ambitions, in excess of official intentions, mobilized by material objects, affective relationships, politics, theologies, epidemics, and more. It seeks to support scholars working in the field of global Catholicism by facilitating connections between local archives of women religious and research scholars and providing resources, community, and opportunities for collaboration. For more information on the Center, please contact its executive director, Dr. Mary Dunn, at mary.dunn@slu.edu.

The Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG) will award eight to ten fellowships for doctoral students in European history, the history of religion, and other historical disciplines from the early modern period to contemporary history. It is particularly interested in projects that involve a comparative or cross-border approach, that deal with European history in its relation to the wider world, or with topics of intellectual and religious history. Fellowship winners will work for six to twelve months at the Institute in Mainz. For information on how to apply, please contact Ms. Joke Kabbert: fellowship@ieg-mainz.de.

On October 25–27, 2023 at the Sangalli Institute in Florence a workshop will be dedicated to the following topic: "Empires and Religions: how religious factors has innervated, justified, and contributed to rises and falls (1450–1850)." Young Italian and foreign researchers (PhD students and postdocs) will have the possibility of receiving ten 250-euro worth mini scholarships. The deadline for applying was July 20, 2023. For more information, visit: https://www.istitutosangalli.it/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Call-atelier-2023_eng.pdf, or contact Dr. Sonia Ariani at segreteria@istitutosangalli.it.

The German Historical Institute of Paris has announced the placing online of *Gallia Pontificia*, a publication of the Max Weber Foundation. The series provides critical editions of the pontifical acts and registers regarding the French church up to the beginning of the pontificate of Innocent III (1198–1216). As a first installment, the papal registers for the archbishopric of Reims were placed online consisting of 1162 texts in all. They make available the complete documentation regarding the relations between the papal curia and one of the most important French archdioceses of the Middle Ages.

Obituaries



The Reverend Ian Ker
(1942–2022)

Father Ian Ker died on November 5, 2022. He was a priest of the Archdiocese of Birmingham. For thirty years, he was parish priest of the Church of SS. Thomas More and John Fisher at Burford, near Oxford and a member of the Faculty of Theology in the University.

Ker is, of course, best known for his magisterial biography of John Henry Newman (*John Henry Newman: A Biography* [Oxford, 1998]) and many other works on Newman, as well as a very well received biography of Gilbert K. Chesterton (*G.K. Chesterton: A Biography* [Oxford, 2012]) and a wonderful book of literary criticism, *The Catholic Revival in English Literature, 1854–1861: Newman, Hopkins, Belloc, Chesterton, Greene, Waugh* (Notre Dame, 2003). He was a promoter of Newman's cause, and instrumental in Newman's eventual canonization, having issued a call during an interview on EWTN for "ordinary Catholics" to pray for Newman's intercession, which two listeners did with the result of miraculous cures.

Ker was born in an Indian hill station to a member of the Indian Civil Service and his wife in the last days of the British Raj but returned in 1947 at age five to a cold and dreary post-war Britain after Indian Independence. His family was conventionally Anglican, but not devout, and although he reported being fascinated by occasional forays into Catholic churches, in his youth he thought of Catholics as "disloyal quasi-foreigners." He attended Shrewsbury and then Balliol College, Oxford, where he read classics and philosophy. It was at Oxford that he converted

to Catholicism, influenced, as he claimed, by Clive S. Lewis' *Mere Christianity* (and eventually wrote his own response to Lewis, *Mere Catholicism* [Steubenville, Ohio, 2006]). He then moved to Cambridge to study English literature, but his doctoral thesis on religious dimensions in the writing of George Eliot was rejected by his agnostic dissertation adviser, so he left without a degree.

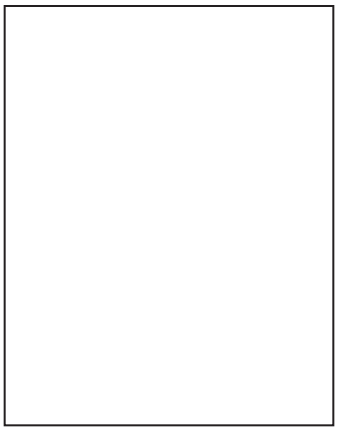
Despite not having his advanced degree, Ker was able to get a position teaching classics and English literature at the University of York and it was during his time there that he made the decision to study for the priesthood. He tried a vocation at Newman's own Oratory in Birmingham, which did not work out, and completed his theological studies at the English College in Rome. It was also at this time that he conceived his interest in Newman, accepting an invitation to edit *The Idea of a University* and began a long association with the great Newman scholar and editor of his letters and diaries, Fr. Charles Stephen Dessain.

Ker was offered a chair teaching philosophy and theology at the University of St. Thomas in St. Paul, Minnesota, a situation that he surprisingly enjoyed, until he returned to England to care for his aged parents. After a brief stint as Catholic chaplain at Oxford, he took up his parish responsibilities in Burford, where he shepherded a diverse flock ranging from Oxford dons to local farmers, and renowned scholar and wit though he was, had the reputation of a caring and compassionate priest. At the same time, he continued to work with theology students at Oxford.

Ker was a literary critic rather than a historian. His biography of Newman is more a close reading and analysis of Newman's texts, with extensive quotation, than it was setting Newman in historical context. Indeed, when he encountered the work of a historian who did try to put Newman, especially the young Newman on his way to conversion (Frank M. Turner in his *John Henry Newman: The Challenge to Evangelical Religion* [New Haven, 2002]) in historical perspective, and not always in the most positive light, Ker responded with one of the more savage reviews that one could find of one scholar's work by another (*Times Literary Supplement*, January 3, 2003).

Ker was something of a traditionalist in his ecclesiology, and would refer to a liberal bishop as "that wretched man" and mark the retirement of such with a celebratory dinner with friends (and looked forward to doing the same for Pope Francis!). Toward the end of his life, he became associated with the Neo-Catechumenate, probably as much to annoy a local bishop who banned them than for any other reasons.

Boston College School of Theology and Ministry JEFFERY P. VON ARX, S.J.



Jay P. Dolan
(1936–2023)

Jay P. Dolan, professor emeritus of history at the University of Notre Dame, died on May 7, 2023. The field of American Catholic history has lost one of its giants. In the preface to *The American Catholic Experience*, Dolan noted that each generation of historians asks new questions of the past. Jay's questions developed out of his experience of the Second Vatican Council on the Catholic side and his scholarly encounter with the new social history. In Dolan's telling, the stars of the story were not bishops and clergy, but the "people of God," the ordinary Catholics who sat in the pews. He wrote about how they transplanted a European church to American soil—and in the process changed the story of U.S. immigration, politics, education and social reform.

Born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, on March 17, 1936, Dolan graduated from Fairfield Preparatory School and earned his bachelor's degree from St. John's Seminary. He was sent to Rome, where he was ordained a priest in 1961 and received a licentiate in sacred theology from the Pontifical Gregorian University in 1962. In 1966 Dolan enrolled as a doctoral student at the University of Chicago Divinity School, studying under the renowned scholar of religion, Martin E. Marty. He earned a Ph.D. in history in 1970 and taught theology at the University of San Francisco before joining Notre Dame's faculty as an assistant professor of history in 1971. He left the priesthood and soon married historian Patricia McNeal. In 1975, Dolan launched the American Catholic Studies Newsletter, and persuaded the University of Notre Dame to establish a Center for the Study of American Catholicism. In 1977 he was named the Center's inaugural director, equipped—as he often liked to reminisce—with an annual operating budget of $500 a year. Through the Center, which was renamed in honor of Charles and Margaret Hall Cushwa in 1981, Dolan hosted conferences and lectures, sponsored travel and research grants and postdoctoral fellowships, and guided a number of scholarly

projects. Dolan stepped down as Cushwa's director in 1993 and retired from Notre Dame's faculty in 2003.

Dolan was the author or editor of sixteen books, including *The Immigrant Church: New York Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Johns Hopkins, 1975), winner of the John Gilmary Shea Prize in 1976; *Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience, 1830-1900* (Notre Dame, 1978); *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Doubleday, 1985); and *The Irish Americans: A History* (Bloomsbury, 2008). He edited a two-volume project, *The American Catholic Parish: A History from 1850 to the Present* (Paulist, 1987) and three-volumes on the history of Hispanic Catholics.

As prolific as he was, Jay never lost sight of the hard work and patience that good scholarship required. I still have an email he sent me in the late 1990s, at a point when I was struggling to write my dissertation. He shared that he, too, was disheartened with the pace of progress on his latest book, but that he had an insight while heating up some soup on the stove for lunch. Writing was a lot like making soup, he said. We all get impatient and often wanted to rush things. But there were times when it was important to let your ideas simmer, just like soup, to improve the quality and flavor. Like many of Jay's lessons, this metaphor has stayed with me for twenty-five years.

The most renowned scholars are not always the most dedicated teachers—but Jay was both. As a doctoral student in the mid-1990s, I served as his teaching assistant for his epic course, "The Irish American Experience." Jay could capture an audience of undergraduates like no other, imparting knowledge, always with an Irish joke or two at the ready. By then he was long past the point where he could have rested easily on his pedagogical laurels, but he never stopped trying to be a better teacher. In the summer of '94, for example, I helped him transfer his course content to an online prototype of contemporary learning management systems. His deep care for generations of students and their learning manifested itself in this and in countless other ways.

Jay's influence as the founding director of Cushwa Center is incalculable. Making it possible for other scholars to do better work—by building networks, convening conversations, funding research, and initiating projects—requires a certain kind of generosity that Jay possessed in abundance. Scott Appleby, Tim Matovina, and I were privileged to stand on his massive shoulders.

Dolan was an avid golfer and an enthusiastic community volunteer, donating his time to the Center for the Homeless in South Bend, Indiana, and to several organizations in Vero Beach, Florida. He is survived by two sons, Patrick J. Dolan (Ingrid) of Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Mark M. Dolan (Jaque) of Salem, Oregon, and two grandchildren. His wife Patricia McNeal preceded him in death in 2018.

University of Notre Dame KATHLEEN SPROWS CUMMINGS

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