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## Rigorism and Clericalism in the Vocational Discernment Culture of the Nineteenth-Century Catholic Revival

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*Seventeenth-century reformers had developed rigorist approaches to vocational discernment and the choice of a state of life (marriage, religion, or the priesthood) that endured in western Catholic religious culture. The author argues that, during the nineteenth-century Catholic revival, clerical leaders adapted this tradition in a manner that strengthened the culture of clericalism. While maintaining the principle that one's salvation depended on choosing the state of life to which one was called, they downplayed the concept of lay vocation, since the revival of Catholic institutions demanded that large numbers of youth voluntarily enter religious life and the priesthood. This strengthened the perception, in the pre-Vatican-II era, that vocation was not a concept relevant to the laity.*

*Keywords:* Vocation; Clericalism; Rigorism; Laity; Catholic Revival; Transnational

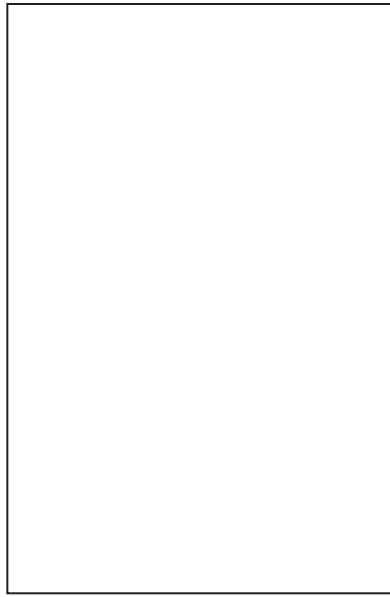
### Introduction

In 1844, Amédée Vignolo, a priest who served youth in the diocese of Marseille, published his own French translation of an Italian translation of a work originally published in French in 1667 under the title *Le bon choix, ou instruction pour bien choisir un estat de vie*.<sup>1</sup> Vignolo had sought in vain

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1. Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation, ou instructions propres à diriger une âme dans le choix d'un état*, trans. Amédée Vignolo (Lyon, 1844); Emanuel de la Croix, *Le bon choix, ou instruction pour bien choisir un état de vie* (Lyon, 1667). Vignolo worked from an Italian



Emanuel de la Croix, *Le bon chois, ou instruction pour bien choisir un estat de vie* (Lyon, 1667), cover page.

the original French and never discovered significant identifying information about the author, who was almost certainly the Discalced Carmelite Emmanuel of the Cross (1611–71).<sup>2</sup> This work had been a guidebook for Vignolo’s own youthful discernment, and he earnestly wished to make it available again in French.<sup>3</sup> He proclaimed it to be superior to all other vocational discernment guides in its clarity and concision, its completeness and order, and its firm grounding in scripture and Catholic tradition. In

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translation by “C. G. G.,” a Barnabite, and he was likely unaware of a 1669 Italian translation by “priore Eugenio Nesciotti.” See Emanuel de la Croix, *La buona elezione, o sia istruzione per ben eleggere uno stato di vita*, trans. C. G. G. (Milan, 1718); Emmanuele della Croce, *La buona elezione, ovvero, istruzione per eleggere uno stato di vita*, trans. Eugenio Nesciotti (Bologna, 1669). Spellings and capitalizations of the author’s name are as they appear in the respective editions. Translations of this text are the present author’s own from the 1844 edition.

2. Amédée Vignolo, trans., “Préface du traducteur,” in: Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation* (1844), xi–xix, here xi–xii. On this identification, see Christopher J. Lane, *Callings and Consequences: The Making of Catholic Vocational Culture in Early Modern France* (Montreal, 2021), 131n28.

3. Amédée Vignolo, “À l’Oeuvre de la Jeunesse de Marseille,” in: Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation* (1844), v–ix, here ix.

short, he believed, it was the best tool for teaching young Catholics how to hear and respond to God's call.<sup>4</sup>

As Vignolo noted, many other works on vocational discernment were available in his nineteenth-century era of Catholic revival in Europe and of Catholic expansion globally. Previously, seventeenth-century reformers like Emmanuel of the Cross had sought to build a culture of vocation, a world wherein all young Catholics would hear and respond to God's call to a state of life—the lay or married state, the religious state (of those in religious vows), or the clerical state (restricted to men). This early modern vocational culture had been marked by four characteristics: first, a sense of urgency that can be called “vocational rigorism” (the claim that one's happiness on earth and salvation in heaven depended on accepting one's call from God); second, inclusiveness (the claim that all, including lay people, were called by God, and that discerning a vocation from God was necessary even to enter into marriage); third, method (the claim that systematic discernment practices were necessary for choosing rightly); and, fourth, liberty (the insistence that this choice must be free from coercion, especially by parents). This message had been addressed to both men and women, through sermons, catechesis, devotional treatises, and spiritual direction.

These ideas developed in the context of the “rigorist turn” in seventeenth-century France, a tendency related to the Jansenist movement but not reducible to it. Many of the supposedly “lax” Jesuits—usually opponents of the Jansenists—were leading advocates of this vocational rigorism. While they drew some of their ideas from various older sources, Jesuits and their fellow travelers—including Emmanuel of the Cross, whose brother was the controversial Jesuit Louis Cellot—especially rooted themselves in the vocational discernment principles of St. Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, refracted through a rigorist lens. Proponents of vocational rigorism included many others, however, including diocesan priests, female religious, Sorbonne theologians, French Oratorians, and Jansenist-friendly bishops.<sup>5</sup>

Nineteenth-century Catholic clerical leaders adopted this tradition of vocational discernment as a component of their own instruction of the faithful, and they adapted and propagated it to various national, regional, and linguistic audiences. They made seventeenth-century vocational culture a prominent feature of the shared “repertoire” of transnational

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4. Vignolo, “Préface,” xii–xiv, xvi–xix.

5. These last two paragraphs summarize extensive material from Lane, *Callings and Consequences*.

Catholic revival.<sup>6</sup> And yet, with the demise of the European Old Regime and with the post-revolutionary need to mobilize voluntary participation in traditional religion, recruitment of clerical and religious personnel for domestic and overseas purposes was a higher priority than ever before. This led Catholic leaders to downplay the role of lay vocation inherited from the seventeenth century. The resulting vocational culture was more clericalist, characterized by a stronger urgency regarding clerical and religious vocations but a weaker inclusiveness regarding lay callings. This helps explain why, even though ideas about lay vocation had a long tradition, many twentieth-century Catholic commentators treated it as new or as long-forgotten. In service of these claims, this article will analyze evidence from vocational discernment advice texts in French and English, either composed or republished during the nineteenth century.

### **Nineteenth-Century Catholic Revival: Texts, Personnel, and a Shared Transnational Repertoire**

Scholars have long questioned depicting the nineteenth century as an era of “linear dechristianization” in religion.<sup>7</sup> Although the Church’s wounds from eighteenth-century anticlericalism, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic era were deep and numerous, there was a marked Catholic resurgence across most of Europe. The chronology of peaks, reversals, and further revivals differed according to national and local circumstances, not to mention demographic distinctions such as gender, class, and age.<sup>8</sup> This revival was not anti-modern so much as it was a sign that “Catholic modernity” is simply part of modernity or, alternatively, one of many “modernities.”<sup>9</sup>

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6. Henrietta Harrison, *The Missionary’s Curse and Other Tales from a Chinese Catholic Village* (Berkeley, 2013), 207.

7. Ralph Gibson, *A Social History of French Catholicism, 1789–1914* (London, 1989), 227.

8. Works exploring various aspects of this Catholic revival and renewal include Edward Norman, *The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1984); Jonathan Sperber, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton, 1984); Gibson, *Social History*; Mary Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1995); Margaret Lavinia Anderson, “The Limits of Secularization: On the Problem of the Catholic Revival in Nineteenth-Century Germany,” *The Historical Journal*, 38 (1995), 647–70; Vincent Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See from Gregory XVI to Pius IX (1831–1859)* (Leuven, 2001); Carol E. Harrison, *Romantic Catholics: France’s Postrevolutionary Generation in Search of a Modern Faith* (Ithaca, 2014); Roger Price, *Religious Renewal in France, 1789–1870: The Roman Catholic Church between Catastrophe and Triumph* (Cham, Switzerland, 2018).

9. See Charles Taylor, “A Catholic Modernity?,” in: *A Catholic Modernity?*, ed. James M. Heft (New York, 1999), 13–37; Christian Smith and Brandon Vaidyanathan, “Multiple Modernities and Religion,” in: *The Oxford Handbook of Religious Diversity*, ed. Chad Meister (Oxford, 2010), 250–65.

Two foundational elements of this revival were the recruitment of personnel and the production of texts. Especially where government policy had recently been highly anticlerical or anti-Catholic, the church hierarchy needed to rebuild public Catholic life, and the relative lack of clergy and religious was a formidable challenge. Most French priests, for instance, survived the Revolution's most radical phases, but many—whether due to exile, execution, or abandonment of clerical status—never returned to active ministry following either the 1801 Concordat or the 1814–15 Bourbon Restoration. By 1814, more than 40% of French diocesan priests were over sixty years old. Yet by 1847, only about 6% were over sixty—a remarkable sign of successful recruitment.<sup>10</sup> A similar resurgence occurred in the numbers of male and female religious, both those firmly rooted in France and those whose orders were transnational in character.<sup>11</sup>

The success of the Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Britain similarly entailed extensive clerical recruitment. Catholic Emancipation in 1829 enabled the Church to become a much more public institution after longstanding missionary status and irregular relations with the state. Revival in Britain was complex and challenging, but there was clear growth over the century in priestly ordinations, professions of religious vows, churches built, and schools established over the course of the century.<sup>12</sup> In the optimistic words of Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle to his friend Charles de Montalembert in 1840, “Catholicity in England is proceeding at a *railroad pace*”—a pace that demanded clerical and religious personnel in great numbers.<sup>13</sup>

Concurrent with—and partially enabled by—the increase in personnel was a proliferation of texts, as Catholics participated in a print culture explosion in Europe. Several decades of technological innovations, culminating in the 1840s, enabled vastly higher volumes of print at lower cost, and accelerating demand linked with ever-expanding literacy was both a cause and an effect of this production boom.<sup>14</sup> Socioeconomic status also

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10. Price, *Religious Renewal*, 21; Gibson, *Social History*, 63–64, 67–68.

11. Price, *Religious Renewal*, 40–47; for the related revival of regulars in Belgium, see Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See*, 171–78.

12. Norman, *English Catholic Church*, especially chapters 1–2.

13. Louis Allen, “Letters of Phillipps de Lisle to Montalembert,” *Dublin Review*, 228, no. 463 (1954), 53–64, here 57; Norman, *English Catholic Church*, 201.

14. Price, *Religious Renewal in France*, 134–38; Gibson, *Social History of French Catholicism*, 233–35; R. Howard Bloch, *God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne* (Chicago, 1994), 113–19; Norman, *English Catholic Church*, 289–90; Jennifer J. Popiel, *Heroic Hearts: Sentiment, Saints, and Authority in Modern France* (Lincoln, NE, 2021), 66.

became less determinative of habits of religious reading. Seventeenth-century texts which had been the spiritual food of wealthy or high-born *dévots* achieved a wider readership.<sup>15</sup> Texts by or rooted in the gentle, laity-affirming spirituality of Francis de Sales, for instance, found a surge in editions, for audiences across national and linguistic barriers.<sup>16</sup> The mediation of clergy and religious was essential to the diffusion of religious texts. Parish priests often became unofficial agents of Catholic publishers, and parish libraries proliferated. Visiting missionaries within Europe promoted pious books, to form the faithful long after the mission ended. French Jesuit preacher Adrien Nampon, in his *Manuel du missionnaire*, especially emphasized early modern texts when he advised fellow missionaries to distribute pamphlet extracts from great spiritual works and to keep lists of recommended books for different spiritual needs.<sup>17</sup> Clergy and professed religious were also leading players in Catholic publishing, as is evident in examples such as Jacques-Paul Migne, Henry Benedict Mackey, and the Visitation sisters at Annecy.<sup>18</sup> The Catholic book press, then, was just one of many contexts in which the surge of clerical and religious personnel was integral to Catholic revival.

None of this is to deny that members of the lay faithful were also agents of revival, and Charles Taylor's concept of "mobilization" helps explain the experiences of both laity and clergy alike. Taylor contrasted "ancien régime" forms of life and religion—marked by pre-existing social structures to which individuals belonged (usually by birth) and could not easily change—with those forms based in "mobilization," wherein "people have to be induced, or forced, or organized to take their parts in the new structure" and "have to be recruited into the creation of the new structures."<sup>19</sup> Mobilization per se was not new in the nineteenth century, and the term applies to any major movement—such as that of Catholic reformers in seventeenth-century France—that seeks that people "adopt new structures" and "alter their social imaginaries, and sense of legitimacy, as well as their sense of what is

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15. Philippe Martin, *Une religion des livres (1640–1850)* (Paris, 2003), 447–62, 569; Popiel, *Heroic Hearts*, 42–43.

16. Martin, *Religion des livres*, 460–61; Wendy M. Wright, *Heart Speaks to Heart: The Salesian Tradition* (Maryknoll, NY, 2004), 157–63; Viviane Mellinshoff-Bourgerie, "Four Centuries of Editions of the *Introduction to the Devout Life*: Bibliographical Lessons," in: *Encountering Anew the Familiar: Francis de Sales's Introduction to the Devout Life at 400 Years*, ed. Joseph F. Chorprenning (Rome, 2012), 1–22, here esp. 2–7.

17. Martin, *Religion des livres*, 447–62, 478–87.

18. Bloch, *God's Plagiarist*; Wendy Wright, *Heart Speaks to Heart*, 157–60; Mellinshoff-Bourgerie, "Four Centuries of Editions," 7.

19. Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), 459–60.

crucially important in their lives or society.”<sup>20</sup> But the postrevolutionary era, in Taylor’s view, was the beginning of an “*Age of Mobilization*,” because the Old Regime’s “wider social context, that of Kingdom and Church”—a seemingly “unchanging and unchangeable backdrop of all legitimacy”—had lost much of its political and cultural power.<sup>21</sup> The “new structures” into which people were mobilized included schools, youth groups, sports clubs, sodalities, confraternities, and laborers’ organizations.<sup>22</sup> These voluntary communal structures were often directed and staffed by clergy and religious, even if lay leadership was paramount in some instances.

Furthermore, this key role of clergy and religious in Catholic revival was intertwined with the development of an increasingly international religious culture. The “global salvific Catholicism” of the early modern period, based in a desire to save souls throughout the world, served as a foundation for nineteenth-century global Catholicism.<sup>23</sup> In the latter period, internationalism was expressed not only in overseas missions but also within Europe. Collaboration, via “an international network of voluntary organizations that mediate[d] the presence of the Church in civil society,” was connected to the Holy See but not directed by it.<sup>24</sup> Fundamental to this transnational network were religious congregations, starting with the old orders re-founded or revitalized during the postrevolutionary era. New congregations also flourished, especially in France and Belgium, and many of these became transnational enterprises.<sup>25</sup> Importantly, two-thirds of the 500,000 professed religious in Europe around 1900 were women, who thus provided much of the labor force and leadership behind Catholic revival. Religious life overseas was also burgeoning, with about 100,000 religious in North America, for example, at the end of the nineteenth century. Anticlerical decrees and resultant exile often strengthened these transnational networks, as congregations were forced not to base their organizing principles on any one government’s favor.<sup>26</sup>

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20. Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 445.

21. Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 445 (emphasis added).

22. *Ibid.*, 460, 471–72.

23. Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge, UK, 2008), 9–10, 248–57; Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington, DC, 1999), 11–12, 147–49, 174, 204–06.

24. Vincent Viaene, “Nineteenth-Century Catholic Internationalism and Its Predecessors,” in: *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750*, eds. Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (New York, 2012), 82–110, here 83.

25. Viaene, “Catholic Internationalism,” 90; Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See*, 170.

26. Viaene, “Catholic Internationalism,” 91–92; Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See*, 171–74.

Internationalism was not limited, however, to the religious orders, and many diocesan clergy and lay faithful developed a global vision and served as points in the Catholic matrix. Bishops, though often frustrated by their limited control over the activities of religious orders, also facilitated the latter's influence by promoting their presence in parish missions and entrusting seminaries to their care.<sup>27</sup> Most clergy were still diocesan (in 1845 Belgium, three-quarters of all the ordained), and Vincent Viaene has argued that these were key agents of revival: "A mission was in fact useless without the active cooperation of the local clergy. It was the parish priest who prepared the ground; it was he who ensured the follow-up in Sunday schools and confraternities, hundreds of which were founded in the wake of the missions."<sup>28</sup> Catholic periodicals also increasingly connected clergy and faithful to one another and to the papacy.<sup>29</sup> The papacy itself took on a greater mediating and promotional role among diocesan bishops, various competing religious congregations, and lay organizations such as the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.<sup>30</sup> The latter, though a lay organization, exemplifies these transnational networks insofar as it cooperated locally with parish priests and internationally with Jesuits and Redemptorists.<sup>31</sup>

The transnational nature of Catholic revival thus led to converging mentalities. In the words of Henrietta Harrison: "Catholics share in a vast and intensely debated repertoire of ideas and practices."<sup>32</sup> The sharing of "ideas and practices," not only within the West but across the globe, has come in large part through the sharing of texts, personnel, and institutions. Anne O'Connor has noted that texts circulated in translation, such as those considered in this article, helped "to create links to a global religious community" while also aligning national identity more strongly with Catholicism.<sup>33</sup> This shared repertoire did not stem from high-level imposition from the Holy See. Rather, transnational networks encouraged national and local communities to draw upon one another's texts and practices, in

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27. Gibson, *Social History*, 82, 250–51; Price, *Religious Renewal*, 142; Joseph M. White, "Perspectives on the Nineteenth-Century Diocesan Seminary in the United States," *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 19, no. 1 (2001), 21–35, here 25; Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See*, 172–73.

28. Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See*, 178–79.

29. Gibson, *Social History*, 59; Norman, *English Catholic Church*, 289–90, 304–05; Price, *Religious Renewal*, 34, 100, 135.

30. Viaene, "Catholic Internationalism," 98.

31. Viaene, *Belgium and the Holy See*, 181.

32. Harrison, *Missionary's Curse*, 207.

33. Anne O'Connor, "Popular Print, Translation and Religious Identity," *Religion*, 49, no. 3 (2019), 439–57, here 439.



ways conformable to their existing Catholic cultures.<sup>34</sup> In this context, vocational discernment culture became a major component of the nineteenth-century shared repertoire of Catholic revival, a component that suited the increasingly voluntary nature of Catholic mobilization and the need to recruit priests and religious.

### Vocational Rigorism: The Urgency of Choosing Rightly

Many agents of nineteenth-century Catholic revival embraced vocational rigorism, the principle that right discernment of God's call—and the resultant good choice of a state of life—was essential for the young Catholics of their day. This conviction led Amédée Vignolo, for instance, to publish his translation of *Le bon choix* by Emmanuel of the Cross. Evidence from vocational discernment advice texts demonstrates the vitality of vocational rigorism, even as other forms of Catholic rigorism were on the decline.<sup>35</sup> Unless otherwise noted, quotations and translations are taken from nineteenth-century French-language and English-language editions, to highlight the transnational currency of these texts.

The core of this vocational rigorism, a sense of urgency, is expressed starkly in the first chapter of Vignolo's back-translation of Emmanuel's book. Emmanuel declared that "the greatest and most infallible" means of saving one's soul was choosing rightly a state of life, for "the conduct of life depends almost always on the state one embraces; on the manner in which one has lived depends the death which one will make, and on the moment of death depends eternity."<sup>36</sup> He went on: "This one will save himself more or less easily in such-and-such state, and perhaps never in some other one; . . . that one will be miserably lost in that way [of life], as much as in this other one, he would happily arrive in harbor."<sup>37</sup> While one's natural dispositions would affect one's fitness for a state of life, above all it was a question

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34. Mary Heimann, "Catholic Revivalism in Worship and Devotion," in: *World Christianities, c. 1815–c.1914*, eds. Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge, UK, 2006), 70–83, here 74–75, 79–83.

35. Ralph Gibson, "Hellfire and Damnation in Nineteenth-Century France," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 74, no. 3 (1988), 383–402.

36. "De tous ces moyens, le plus grand et le plus infallible c'est le choix d'un état: car . . . la conduite de la vie depend presque toujours de l'état qu'on embrasse; de la manière don't on aura vécu depend la mort que l'on fera, et du moment de la mort depend l'éternité." Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation*, 2.

37. "Celui-ci se sauvera plus ou moins facilement dans tel ou tel état, et peut-être jamais dans tel autre; . . . celui-là se perdra misérablement par cette voie, tandis que par cette autre il serait heureusement arrivé jusqu'au port." Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation*, 3.

of supernatural graces, “which [God] never will have granted to those rash ones who commit themselves to a state of their own choosing against the will of God.”<sup>38</sup> One who was “faithful to his call” would receive “powerful graces, which would preserve him from all evil in the midst of dangers.”<sup>39</sup> One who had taken up a state to which he or she was not called would have only “ordinary means,” which were in themselves “sufficient to reach Heaven.”<sup>40</sup> Yet such “sufficient” means were often quite insufficient, since, without extraordinary graces, “all will become for him an occasion of sin”:

[His soul] will walk in a dark night; it will harden itself. . . . It will enter into the moment of death in the greatest of frights, and torn by remorse, it will infallibly descend to the depths of hell, if God does not work a miracle to save it at the last hour.<sup>41</sup>

“Hence,” he concludes, “after the grace of Baptism, . . . and that of a good death, . . . the grace of vocation is the most important of all, that which most directly influences each of our actions, that which unites the first grace to the final grace, and which makes us arrive happily in harbour.”<sup>42</sup> “Vocation,” he wrote, “is to our salvation like the keystone of an arch.”<sup>43</sup> Emmanuel’s vocational rigorism, it should be noted, did not stem from alliances with Jansenist-leaning contemporaries, as both the text itself and the priest behind it were quite Jesuit-friendly.

A much more widely diffused text expressing the same principles was Charles Gobinet’s 1655 treatise, *Instruction de la jeunesse en la piété chrestienne*.<sup>44</sup> Gobinet, a priest and doctor of the Sorbonne and rector of a collège

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38. “Et qu’il n’accordera jamais à ces téméraires qui s’y engageront d’eux-mêmes et contre sa volonté.” Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation*, 3.

39. “Grâces puissantes, qui le préserveront de tout mal au milieu des dangers.” Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation*, 4–5.

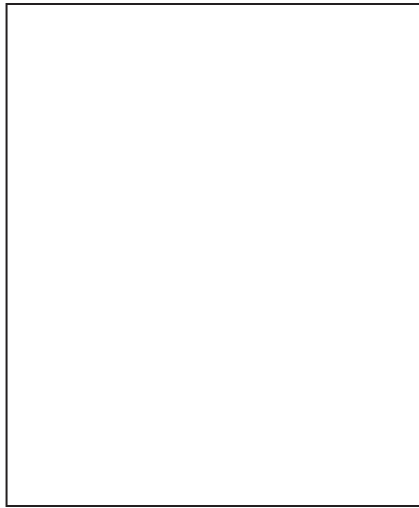
40. “Des moyens ordinaires, suffisants pour arriver au Ciel.” Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation*, 5.

41. “Tout viendra pour lui occasion de péché.” “Elle marchera dans une nuit obscure; elle s’endurcira; . . . elle entrera au moment de la mort dans de grandes frayeurs, et déchirée par ses remords, elle descendra infailliblement dans le fond des enfers, si Dieu ne fait pas un miracle pour la sauver à cette dernière heure.” Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation*, 5, 7.

42. “De là cette conséquence: après la grâce du Baptême, qui est la première de toutes les grâces que le Ciel nous accorde, et celle d’une bonne mort, qui en est comme le complément, la grâce de la vocation est la plus importante de toutes, celle qui exerce l’influence la plus directe sur chacune de nos actions, celle qui unit la première à la dernière grâce, et qui nous fait arriver heureusement au port.” Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation*, 7–8.

43. “La vocation est à notre salut ce qu’est à une voûte la clef qui la soutient.” Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation*, 8.

44. Charles Gobinet, *Instruction de la jeunesse en la piété chrestienne* (Paris, 1655).



Gerard Edelinck, *Portrait of Charles Gobinet*, 1691, engraving, plate edge 15 × 11.5” (379 mm × 292 mm), after a painting by Nicolas de Largillière, stored in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, object no. RP-P-BI-7517. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portret\\_van\\_Charles\\_Gobinet,\\_RP-P-BI-7517.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portret_van_Charles_Gobinet,_RP-P-BI-7517.jpg). Image is in the public domain.

in Paris, dedicated a large part of this text to the choice of a state of life, as the culmination of youth. The work was frequently reprinted and was available in at least seven languages by 1768.<sup>45</sup> During the nineteenth-century Catholic revival, Gobinet’s *Instruction* was promoted at French parish missions, recommended by the bishops of Philadelphia and Boston, used by an English Catholic schoolmaster in Bristol, cheaply printed by James Duffy in Dublin, and published in Arabic by Franciscans in Jerusalem.<sup>46</sup> Continually republished in several languages and on at least three continents, it serves as a striking example of transnational Catholic print culture.

Like Emmanuel of the Cross, Gobinet espoused vocational rigorism without having Jansenist leanings. His voting record as a *sorbonniste* was

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45. Lane, *Callings and Consequences*, 153n68, 153n1.

46. Martin, *Une religion des livres*, 461–62; Charles Gobinet, *The Instruction of Youth in Christian Piety*, trans. Anonymous (Boston, [1850?]), 2; Kenneth Miles Wardle Hankins, “The Contention of Power’: The Role of the Jesuits in the Catholic Life of Bristol, 1700–1830” (PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 1998), 170–71; O’Connor, “Popular print,” 443–44, 447; Edward J. Quigley, “Dr. Murray of Maynooth (III),” *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Fifth Series, XVI, no. 2 (1920), 94–99, here 97–98; Lane, *Callings and Consequences*, 153n1.

consistently anti-Jansenist, and his approach was indebted to the gentle Francis de Sales.<sup>47</sup> He wrote:

God endows men with different inclinations, and various natural abilities . . . ; he also distributes amongst them his graces diversely, as according with the several necessities of the respective states to which he calls them. . . . This choice is of such consequence, that on it depends all the good of man, both for this life and the next.<sup>48</sup>

The lack of a “vocation from God” would “occasion an infinite number of sins, which would not have happened in another state,” and make one’s ultimate salvation much more doubtful.<sup>49</sup> The consequences were also communal, in that individual wrong choices of state gave rise to “the disorders reigning in every state” of life.<sup>50</sup> Gobinet here implied a core theme of the Catholic Reformation, that institutional Church reform was impossible without the widespread inculcation of individual holiness, but he added the specific principle that vocational reform was the condition of all other reform. And, even if the work is largely forgotten today, it was a tool for forming young Catholics for over two centuries, used by diocesan clergy, professed religious of various orders and congregations, and laymen alike.

Nineteenth-century Catholic reformers did not merely republish older texts; they also wrote new texts rooted in seventeenth-century principles. In 1860, Jean-Baptiste Malou (1809–64), the bishop of Bruges, published his *Règles pour le choix d'un état de vie*, which came out in German in 1863 and in English in 1874.<sup>51</sup> Malou’s vocational rigorism was even more exacting than that of Emmanuel of the Cross and of Charles Gobinet.

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47. See Lane, *Callings and Consequences*, 130n19.

48. Gobinet, *Instruction of Youth*, 200–01. “Il donne aux hommes des inclinations différentes, tants de corps que de l’esprit; et il leur distribue aussi diversement ses graces, selon les différentes nécessités des états auxquels il les appelle. . . . Ce choix est de telle consequence, que tout le bien d’un homme en depend, tant pour cette vie que pour le salut éternel.” Charles Gobinet, *Instruction de la jeunesse en la piété chrétienne*, édition retouchée, ed. [Meneret], (Paris, 1804), 354–55.

49. Gobinet, *Instruction of Youth*, 201. “Vocation de Dieu. . . . Il commetra un nombre infini de péchés qu’il n’aurait point fait dans un autre état.” Gobinet, *Instruction de la jeunesse* (1804), 355–56.

50. Gobinet, *Instruction of Youth*, 201. “Des désordres que nous voyons en chacun des états.” Gobinet, *Instruction de la jeunesse* (1804), 356.

51. Jean-Baptiste Malou, *Règles pour le choix d'un état de vie* (Brussels, 1860); Jean-Baptiste Malou, *Regeln für die Wahl eines Lebensstandes*, trans. J. B. Jungmann (Mainz, 1863); Jean-Baptiste Malou, *On the Choice of a State of Life*, trans. Aloysius Del Vittorio [Louis Charles Casartelli] (London, 1874). (Casartelli, born in Manchester to Italian parents, translated this work under the pseudonym Aloysius del Vittorio)

Some of the language is familiar: “The good or bad behaviour of men depends almost entirely upon the state they have embraced. . . . If . . . they embrace, through outward attraction, passion or thoughtlessness, a state to which God does not call them, or which he forbids them, their behaviour will be blameworthy and evil.”<sup>52</sup> While this resembles what had come two centuries earlier, other passages in Malou reflect greater systematization and theological sophistication in discussions of vocation from more recent times. Malou defined vocation as “a disposition of Divine Providence, preparing, inviting, and sometimes even obliging a Christian soul to embrace one state of life in preference to another.”<sup>53</sup> Vocation was sometimes a “precept” (a strictly obligatory command from God), rather than a “counsel” (a divine invitation that could be declined without sin), and in such cases disobedience would be gravely sinful.<sup>54</sup> He noted that “certain souls . . . cannot save themselves in the world,” but “they can find in the priesthood or in the religious state sure and plentiful means of salvation.”<sup>55</sup> Malou’s vocational rigorism was also not a product of friendliness with Jansenists. He wrote with great approval of Jesuits (who had been responsible for much of his education) and of the papal condemnation of a rigorist proposition from the Jansenist-leaning of Pistoia.<sup>56</sup>

The incongruity of finding vocational rigorism promoted by otherwise anti-rigorist figures comes into greater focus when we consider the influence of St. Alphonsus de Liguori (1696–1787). His moral theology, positions on sacramental discipline (such as frequent communion), and affective spirituality undermined the rigorist milieu, in his own day and still more during the nineteenth century. On vocation, however, he was as much of a rigorist as the seventeenth-century anti-Jansenists this article

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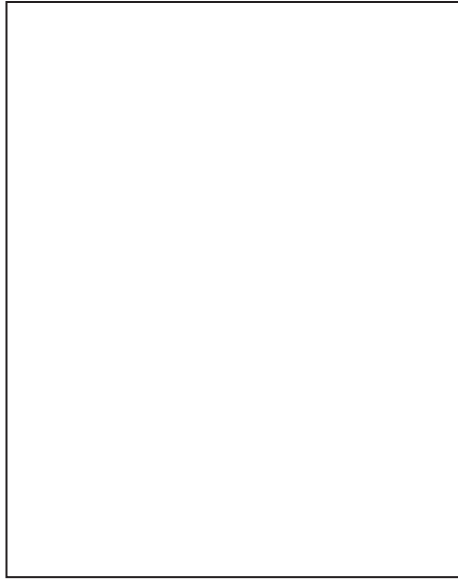
52. Malou, *On the Choice*, xl. “La conduite bonne ou mauvaise des hommes, dépend presque toujours de l’état qu’ils ont embrassé. . . . S’ils embrassent . . . par entraînement, par passion, ou par irréflexion un état auquel Dieu ne les appelle point ou qu’il leur interdit, leur conduite sera reprehensible, mauvaise.” Jean-Baptiste Malou, *Règles pour le choix d’un état de vie*, 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1865), ii. French quotations in these notes are drawn from this second edition.

53. Malou, *On the Choice*, 14. “Une disposition de la divine providence qui prépare, invite, et quelquefois oblige moralement une âme chrétienne à embrasser un état de vie de préférence à un autre.” Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 21–22.

54. Malou, *On the Choice*, 17–18; Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 25–26.

55. Malou, *On the Choice*, 19. “Certaines âmes . . . ne puissent se sauver dans le monde; tandis qu’elles trouvent dans le sacerdoce ou dans l’état religieux des moyens sûrs et abondants de salut.” Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 27.

56. Aloysius del Vittorio, “Sketch of the Life of Mgr. Malou, Bishop of Bruges,” in: Malou, *On the Choice*, xxxiii–xxxvii, here xxxiii. Malou, *On the Choice*, 67. Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 82.



Joseph Nauwens, *Malou, Jean-Baptist (1809–1864); bisschop*, 1864, lithograph, 300 × 230 mm, stored in FelixArchief (municipal archives of Antwerp, Belgium), acc. no. 12 # 12870, [http://zoeken.felixarchief.be/zHome/Home.aspx?id\\_isad=331966](http://zoeken.felixarchief.be/zHome/Home.aspx?id_isad=331966). This file is made available under the Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication.

has considered. The opening lines of his “Instructions on the Religious State” were often printed and quoted during the nineteenth century:

Our eternal salvation principally depends on our choice of a state of life. Father Louis of Granada calls it ‘the main-spring of life.’ In a watch, if the main-spring is out of order, the whole is injured; so, as regards our salvation, if we fail in following our vocation, our whole life, . . . will be disorderly and wretched.<sup>57</sup>

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57. St. Alphonsus Liguori, *Instructions & Considerations on the Religious State*, trans. by an anonymous priest of the Order of Charity (London, 1848), 7. A French translation from an edition of Liguori’s complete works: “Notre salut dépend principalement du choix d’un état. Le père Louis de Grenade appelait le choix d’un état *la maîtresse roue de la vie*. Ainsi, de même que, dans une horloge, la maîtresse roue étant endommagée, toute l’horloge est dérangée, de même dans l’ordre de notre salut, la vocation étant manquée, toute la vie est manquée aussi. . . .” St. Alphonsus Liguori, “Avis sur la vocation religieuse,” in: *Oeuvres complètes du bienheureux A.-M. de Liguori*, ed. Octavien-Adolphe Vidal et al., 31 vols. (Paris, 1834–45, here 1835), IX, 247–83, here 247.

His doctrine here is fundamentally derivative of seventeenth-century vocational rigorism, often from Jesuit sources.<sup>58</sup> He recounted in his text an old Jesuit story of a promising young man at the Roman College whose rejection of his calling led to a dissolute student life in Macerata. One night, the young man was attacked and killed by a rival, just after leaving the home of a disreputable woman.<sup>59</sup> The Jesuits had taken an interest in such vocational cautionary tales from the earliest decades of their history.<sup>60</sup> Beginning around 1815, Liguori's own Redemptorist congregation underwent significant reorganization and expansion across the Continent, in the United Kingdom, and in overseas missions.<sup>61</sup> The order helped to ensure that Liguori's works were published in multiple languages, especially beginning in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>62</sup> And wherever those works were spread, vocational rigorism was further strengthened.

Jesuits and Redemptorists were not the only standard-bearers of Liguori's vocational rigorism during the era of Catholic revival. St. John Bosco (1815–88), in preaching notes for a spiritual retreat he conducted in 1869 for early Salesians, drew extensively on Liguori's "Instructions on the Religious State" and specifically mentioned the old Jesuit cautionary tale.<sup>63</sup> A work published in 1876 by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, entitled *Quelques conseils sur le choix d'une carrière*, likewise quoted at length from Liguori's text.<sup>64</sup> *Quelques conseils* was later itself highlighted across the Atlantic as an "excellent little work" for the for-

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58. John Sharp, "The Influence of St Alphonsus Liguori in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *The Downside Review*, 101, no. 342 (1983), 60–76, here 62.

59. Liguori, *Instructions & Considerations*, 12. Liguori, "Avis sur la vocation religieuse," 250. For the original story, see Mikołaj Łęczycki, *Nicolai Lancicii e Societate Iesu Opusculorum Spiritualium*, 2 vols. (Antwerp, 1650), I, 5–6. On Łęczycki, see Massimo Leone, *Saints and Signs: A Semiotic Reading of Conversion in Early Modern Catholicism* (Berlin, 2010), 77–78, 77n145.

60. Thomas J. Santa Maria, "Pedro de Ribadeneyra and the First Ex-Jesuits: Jesuit Anxiety about Familial Interference to Vocational Perseverance," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 109, no. 1 (2023), 51–76.

61. See Francesco Chiovaro, Joseph Robert Fenili, and Otto Weiss, eds., *The History of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer*, trans. Joseph Robert Fenili, 2 vols. (Liguori, MO, 2010–22, here 2022), vol. II, book I.

62. Gibson, *Social History*, 260–65; John Sharp, "The Alphonsian Mission in Britain and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century," *Spiegelium Historicum Congregationis S. S. Redemptoris*, 45 (1997), 291–307, here 305–06; John Sharp, "The Influence of St Alphonsus Liguori in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *The Downside Review*, 101, no. 342 (1983), 60–76, here 67–68; O'Connor, "Popular Print," 446–47, 451, 453.

63. Aldo Giraudo, "Gli esercizi spirituali predicati da Don Bosco a Trofarello nel 1869," *Ricerche Storiche Salesiane*, 32, no. 60 (2013), 97–149, here 146.

64. *Quelques conseils sur le choix d'une carrière* (Paris 1876), 6–7.

mation of youth, in a Canadian book promoting the Brothers of the Christian Schools.<sup>65</sup> Vocational rigorists of the seventeenth-century had thus established in the Catholic repertoire rhetorically powerful tropes about the consequences of failing to enter the state of life to which one was called by God, and their work had been carried on through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

### Clericalism and the Partial Eclipse of Lay Vocation

Perhaps surprisingly, seventeenth-century vocational rigorists had developed a clear concept of lay vocation, though this concept was marked by ambivalence. Their texts often affirmed that God called men and women to remain in the world and, typically, to enter marriage. When combined with vocational rigorism, however, this meant the gravest dangers to salvation came to those who embraced life in the world without being called by God to do so. Rather than elevating the laity to equal spiritual status with clergy and religious, this form of vocational rigorism emphasized that extraordinary graces—graces that only came with God's call—were needed to fight the temptations inherent in marriage and in the world.<sup>66</sup> Such ambivalence was replicated during the nineteenth century, whenever seventeenth-century vocational advice was republished. Post-revolutionary Catholic revivalists, however, tended to downplay even this ambivalent place for lay vocation. The recruitment needs of nineteenth-century church leaders led them to strengthen the association of the concept of vocation with the clerical and religious states. Although the idea of lay vocation did not disappear, it lost some of the limited Catholic cultural currency that seventeenth-century reformers had given it.

Texts by Emmanuel of the Cross and by Jesuit preacher Louis Bourdaloue (1632–1704) exemplify some of the republished seventeenth-century works' ambivalent approach to lay vocation. Emmanuel noted that God called most men and women to live in the world, but he went on to state that “compared to the infinite number of those who lose themselves in the world, *the number of the elect is, alas!, very small.*”<sup>67</sup> At the end of a long discourse about the dangers of the world, he urged readers to “bless” God and to “confess to him your thanks,” if they are called to flee the world and enter “a more

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65. Joseph-Camille Caisse, *L'Institut des frères des écoles chrétiennes: son origine, son but et ses oeuvres* (Montreal, 1883), 296.

66. See Lane, *Callings and Consequences*, chapter 3.

67. “Comparé au nombre infini de ceux qui se perdent dans le monde, *le nombre des élus est, hélas! bien petit.*” Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation*, 62, 63–64 (emphasis original).



sure state of life.<sup>68</sup> By contrast, the religious life was “the most sure, the easiest, the shortest road to pass from this land of exile to the heavenly Jerusalem” and the state that “offers the greatest helps for . . . assuring one’s eternal salvation.”<sup>69</sup> Although Emmanuel affirmed that entering religion without a vocation would also be dangerous, his rhetoric emphasized the much greater likelihood of salvation for those in religious life as a general rule. Louis Bourdaloue’s “Instructions on the Choice of a State of Life” opened with an argument for the fundamental principle that “there is nothing on which salvation depends more than on the choice of a state of life.”<sup>70</sup> Among the discernment methods he proposed was one drawn from St. Ignatius of Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises*, imagining the state of life one would “wish to have chosen at the hour of death.”<sup>71</sup> Just after explaining that exercise, he ended the text with an exhortation in favor of the religious state, quoting St. Paul’s praises of virginity.<sup>72</sup> Structurally, therefore, this text culminated its extended argument with a careful but powerful recruitment pitch for religious vows.

Newly written nineteenth-century vocational advice often exhibited still stronger clericalist tendencies and still less interest in lay callings. Malou stressed the Church’s present needs:

God has need of able and devoted pastors, men according to His own heart, for the service of the Church; wherefore He has the right to call them and to make use of them according to His plans. To resist Him when one is called to a mission both sublime and necessary is to offend Him, to fail in an undoubted duty.<sup>73</sup>

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68. “Si . . . Dieu . . . vous invite . . . pour entrer dans un état plus sûr, bénissez-le, témoignez-lui votre reconnaissance.” Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation*, 72.

69. “Le chemin le plus sûr, le plus facile, le plus court pour passer de cette terre d’exil à la Jérusalem céleste. . . . C’est de tous les états celui qui offre les secours les plus grandes pour . . . assurer son salut éternel.” Emmanuel de La Croix, *La Vocation*, 122.

70. Louis Bourdaloue, “Instructions on the Choice of a State of Life,” in: *Instructions on the Holy Communion; On the Choice of a State of Life; and On Death*, trans. by an anonymous Catholic priest (Dublin, 1874), 95–115, here 96. “Il n’y a rien don’t le salut dépend davantage que de bien choisir l’état où l’on doit vivre.” Louis Bourdaloue, “Instruction IX. Sur le choix d’un état de vie (1),” in: *Collection intégrale et universelle des orateurs sacrés*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 99 vols. (Paris, 1844–66, here 1845), XVI, 395–402, here 396.

71. Bourdaloue, “Instructions on the Choice,” 112–13. “Entre ces différents états lequel voudrais-je avoir pris, lorsque je serai à l’article de la mort?” Bourdaloue, “Instruction IX,” 401.

72. 1 Cor. 7:34, quoted in Bourdaloue, “Instructions on the Choice,” 115; Bourdaloue, “Instruction IX,” 401.

73. Malou, *On the Choice*, 19. “Dieu ait besoin, pour le service de son Église, de pasteurs capables et dévoués, d’hommes selon son coeur: dès lors il a droit de les appeler et de les employer selon ses vues. Lui résister, lorsqu’on est appelé à une mission sublime, nécessaire, c’est l’offenser, c’est manquer à un devoir certain.” Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 27.

He spilled much ink on “the sublimity and advantages of the priesthood,” which was “a great honour and a great happiness” and “the most noble and the greatest” of all the states in life.<sup>74</sup> “Vocation to the ecclesiastical state,” he further writes, is “a great benefit, whether we consider the grace with which the elect is loaded, or the consolations he obtains, or the merits he acquires.”<sup>75</sup> Not that the priesthood was open to all, for he also warned against taking the cloth for worldly motives.<sup>76</sup> Although the Church was “stripped of her honours and goods” and “the clergy are almost everywhere rejected and persecuted,” she was still well-off enough to tempt a man of “vulgar ambition.”<sup>77</sup> Even in a time of need for clerical personnel in great numbers, each worldly priest without a true vocation did more harm than good.

Despite such concerns, Malou still strongly promoted the celibate, “perfect” callings throughout the book. What he called the “common vocation” of marriage and of lay life in the world merited only passing commentary, rather than any dedicated chapters. Instead, he devoted an entire chapter to “signs of Non-Vocation to the Ecclesiastical State.”<sup>78</sup> The religious state, for its part, was closed to only a few, open to virtually all, and commanded as the particular calling of many.<sup>79</sup> Despite rare mentions that marriage was a vocation to be discerned, he also labelled it “common” and made it seem like a mere “non-vocation.” By contrast, the seventeenth-century treatises by Gobinet and Emannuel of the Cross each included extensive sections on the vocation to marriage as such. Malou’s near silence on marriage undermines the supposed comprehensiveness of his vocational discernment manual.

The ongoing Catholic revival gave Malou ample reason to privilege discussion of clergy and religious. After briefly praising contemplative monasticism as “sovereignly useful to the Church,” Malou expressed his priorities

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74. Malou, *On the Choice*, 41, 53. “La sublimité et les avantages du sacerdoce.” “Un grand honneur et un grand bonheur.” “Le plus noble et le plus grand.” Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 53, 66.

75. Malou, *On the Choice*, 57. “La vocation à l’état ecclésiastique est donc . . . un grand bienfait, soit que l’on considère les grâces don’t l’élu est comblé, soit que l’on considère les consolations qu’il obtient, soit que l’on considère les mérites qu’il acquiert.” Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 71.

76. Malou, *On the Choice*, 20, 47; Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 28, 60.

77. Malou, *On the Choice*, 87–88. “Dépouillé de ses honneurs et ses biens. . . . Le clergé est presque partout repoussée et persécuté.” “Ambitions vulgaires.” Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 106–07.

78. Malou, *On the Choice*, 20, 76. “La vocation commune.” “Des signes de non-vocation à l’état ecclésiastique.” Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 28, 94.

79. Malou, *On the Choice*, 153. Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 186.

via extensive attention to the active life.<sup>80</sup> Even the contemplative Benedictines, he notes, had always engaged in the active life through study, teaching, and preaching.<sup>81</sup> But, in a brief history of the religious state, Malou highlighted the thirteenth-century rise of the mendicants and the multiplication of active orders in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, dedicated variously to preaching, education, poor relief, medical care, and the like. The Jesuits were—rightly in his view—the most celebrated. A mention of the Redemptorists rounded out his history, from which he concluded that “the religious state, always the same in its essence, . . . has always adapted itself to the wants of the Church and the necessities of the times.”<sup>82</sup>

Following on this last principle, Malou dedicated a large final section of his treatise to the vocation to foreign missions. He had no doubt that the recent explosion of foreign mission vocations was God’s will, even though Europe’s Church continued to struggle. Indeed, it was a sign of God’s providence that he could raise up so many missionaries in such straitened circumstances. Moreover, missionary vocations greatly benefited the faithful at home, and Belgium’s illustrious role in foreign missions helped to demonstrate this.<sup>83</sup>

Malou’s treatise sparked interest in the anglophone world, where its content was adapted for significantly different circumstances. The original French edition was the subject of a notice in an early issue of *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, in 1864. The editors of this publication (primarily by and for Irish diocesan priests) felt it “a kind of duty to bring it under the notice of the clergy of this country” and noted that “the prelate who wrote it expressed to us his earnest desire that it might be translated for the use of the Catholics of Ireland, for whom he ever professed warm esteem and admiration.”<sup>84</sup> They stated that, due to an abundance of vocations, almost every Irish priest sometimes felt “the want of some help to enable him to

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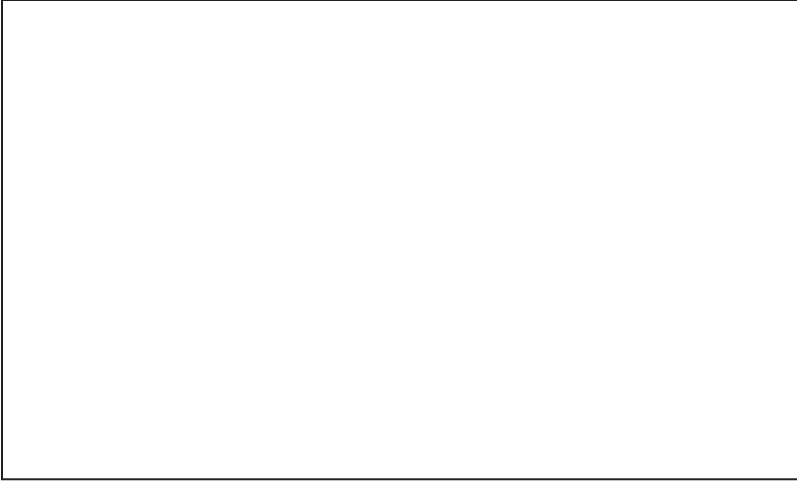
80. Malou, *On the Choice*, 148–50, 152. “Souverainement utile à l’Eglise.” Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 180–82, 184.

81. Malou, *On the Choice*, 146; Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 177.

82. Malou, *On the Choice*, 146–48, quotation at 148. “L’état religieux, toujours le même quant à l’essence, . . . s’est toujours plié aux besoins de l’Eglise et à la nécessité des temps.” Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 178–79, quotation at 179.

83. The reference to Belgium is omitted from the English translation and replaced with praise of England’s recent entry into the foreign mission field, through the founding of the Mill Hill Missionaries (193). Malou, *On the Choice*, 191–93. Malou, *Règles pour le choix* (1865), 229–32.

84. Jean-Baptiste Malou, “Review of *Regles Pour Le Choix d’un Etat de Vie*,” *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1 (1865), 151–52, here 151.



Tomb of Herbert Cardinal Vaughan in Westminster Cathedral, June 2008, photograph by Gryffindor (user). Image is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license.

determine with confidence the state of life to which some youthful member of his flock may have been called.”<sup>85</sup> Among books on vocations, they claimed that this one was to be singled out for its “accuracy of doctrine, clearness of style, unction of Catholic spirit.”<sup>86</sup>

The book was eventually published in English in 1874, in London rather than Dublin, with a preface that spoke especially to the concerns of English Catholic diocesan clergy. This preface, by Herbert Alfred Vaughan (1832–1903), bishop of Salford and later Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster, echoed key principles of the main text; for example: “When a youth makes his final choice of a state of life, he knows that he is staking his happiness in this world and the next upon that act.”<sup>87</sup> Vaughan soon moved from these principles to his own national ecclesiastical context. Concerned

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85. Malou, “Review of *Regles Pour Le Choix*,” 151.

86. *Ibid.*, 152.

87. Herbert Alfred Vaughan, “Preface,” in: Malou, *On the Choice*, vii–xxx, here viii. Not coincidentally, the translator Louis Charles Casartelli (who would himself later become Bishop of Salford) reiterated this in his own short preface, declaring that this choice was “indeed the crisis, the Rubicon of a lifetime: a person’s happiness for this world and the next is hanging in the scales.” Aloysius Del Vittorio [Louis Charles Casartelli], “Preface [of the Translator],” in: Malou, *On the Choice*, xxxi–xxxii, here xxxi. On Vaughan, see Norman, *English Catholic Church*, ch. 8.

about recruitment competition from the religious orders, he spent a good bit of space defending the excellence of the diocesan clergy and the fittingness of barring them from leaving their state to enter religious orders. Many English seminarians of Pontifical Colleges had long been forbidden under oath from subsequently taking religious vows, regardless of any interior desire to do so. This legislation was based on the need for diocesan priests who would contribute to “the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls.”<sup>88</sup> Quoting an 1871 instruction of the Holy See, Vaughan noted that it was fitting that such men stay true to one path and “swear to give themselves up for life to labour in the mission to which they have been . . . appointed.”<sup>89</sup> The bishop also cited a Jesuit theologian, who had written that such oaths were protections of “the public good” of the faithful, since “society . . . is more benefited by him who, after the example of the apostles, devotes himself wholly to the salvation of his fellow men, than by him who shuts himself up in certain enclosures to attend to himself alone and his own salvation.”<sup>90</sup> Vaughan further argued that diocesan priests could live lives of preeminent charity, expressed by means of the evangelical counsels of poverty, chastity, and obedience, which were “not the exclusive property of religious orders.”<sup>91</sup> Diocesan priests were already bound by oath to chastity and obedience, and, he added, they would “find a thousand opportunities at his hand in daily life” for voluntary poverty.<sup>92</sup>

If Vaughan’s position as a diocesan bishop in quasi-mission territory were not enough to explain his defense of the secular priesthood, then his personal history certainly sheds further light. The secular priesthood, though largely consisting of normal diocesan priests, also included communities of clerics who worked and often lived together without taking religious vows. Such communities were often directly under the authority of the diocesan bishop. As a young priest, Vaughan had been on the ground floor of one such priestly society, the Oblates of St. Charles Borromeo.<sup>93</sup> In 1866, he had founded the Mill Hill Missionaries, also a society of secular priests. His desire to recruit men for the secular priesthood was

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88. Vaughan, “Preface,” xvii.

89. Vaughan, “Preface,” xvii.

90. Vaughan, “Preface,” xvi. The Jesuit is called “Father Cordara” in the text, presumably Giulio Cesare Cordara (1704–85).

91. Vaughan, “Preface,” xx. See also xxii–xxiv for mentions of lay men and women living the counsels, including the evangelical counsels, esp. in England, as another swipe against the special status of religious.

92. Vaughan, “Preface,” xxiv–xxvi; quotation at xxvii.

93. See Vincent Alan McClelland, “*O Felix Roma!*: Henry Manning, Cutts Robinson and Sacerdotal Formation 1862–1872,” *Recusant History*, 21, no. 2 (1992), 180–217.

based not only on his “self-interest” as a bishop, and he did not reject the value of religious vows. He did, however, fear that many fervent young men would seek religious vows as the only way to holiness.<sup>94</sup> Ultimately, he asserted, he needed to dwell so long on the role of the evangelical counsels among diocesan priests precisely “because this little volume is destined to fall into the hands of many persons who have no vocation to the religious state.”<sup>95</sup> His contemporary St. John Henry Newman had similar concerns. He also admired the transnational religious orders but defended the distinct place of seculars, including his own Oratorians (priests in community without religious vows). He urged young men discerning a vocation clearly to distinguish the priestly from the religious calling, as the latter option often confused the question.<sup>96</sup>

## Conclusion

Evidence from vocational culture brings further nuance to our picture of nineteenth-century Catholicism. Despite a Liguorian, post-Jansenist decline in rigorist pastoral care generally, vocational rigorism endured and grew. This emphasis on obedience to God may at first seem simply to echo the drumbeat from the post-revolutionary Church on obedience and authority.<sup>97</sup> Vocational matters, however, sometimes entailed disobedience to both parents and governments, especially governments seeking to restrict clergy and transnational religious orders. Pious disobedience had already been enjoined by seventeenth-century writers, but it was still more possible after the demise of the Old Regime society of orders. And despite an apparent siege mentality and dim view of “the world” in nineteenth-century Catholic culture—an attitude reflected in the claim that the clerical and religious states were “safer” from the world’s dangers than was the lay state—vocational culture also exhibited a confidence about renewal. This confidence was at least partly validated by quantitative growth in clerical and religious recruitment and closer approximation of qualitative ideals, such as that of “the good priest.”<sup>98</sup> Changing emphases in vocational culture over time show us how this post-revolutionary age of mobilization and revival differed from the early modern Catholic Reformation. Facing

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94. Vaughan, “Preface,” xviii–xix.

95. Vaughan, “Preface,” xxix.

96. Peter C. Wilcox, *John Henry Newman: Spiritual Director, 1845–1890* (Eugene, OR, 2013), 213, 215–17, 222–23, 226.

97. See Michael J. Schuck, *That They Be One: The Social Teaching of the Papal Encyclicals, 1740–1989* (Washington, DC, 1991), 32.

98. See Price, *Religious Renewal*, 215–17; Marcel Launay, *Le bon prêtre: le clergé rural au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1986).

Catholic populations better-educated and more socially free, nineteenth-century Catholic leaders chose to spread their vocational doctrines more frequently beyond elite circles than had their seventeenth-century forbears. And precisely because so much post-revolutionary rebuilding was needed, nineteenth-century Catholic vocational culture was both more activist (with a downplaying of contemplative life) and more clericalist (with a downplaying of lay vocation) than that of the past.

“Clericalism” is often a term of abuse, variously defined. That said, a culture of clericalism (here inclusive of women religious) was an important—even necessary—aspect of nineteenth-century Catholic revival. This revival exemplifies the intersection of a more voluntary “age of mobilization” with the bureaucratizing tendencies of modernity. Catholic rebuilding in the post-revolutionary era demanded strong institutions with massive numbers of full-time professionals. Centuries of experience, ecclesiastical law, and theological conviction made it clear that those institutional roles would be filled by celibates rather than married laity. On the practical measures of mobility, single-mindedness, and expense, a growing lay activism could never match the potential of (educated, professionalized, and celibate) clergy and religious to staff church institutions. Lifelong promises of obedience facilitated the success of collective, centralized efforts, within hierarchical structures of dioceses and religious congregations. State-sponsored anticlericalism, beginning in the eighteenth century, included attacks on institutions of religious and clerical celibates, especially those which transcended national borders. Significant numbers of individual celibates had abandoned their commitments, especially during the height of the French Revolution. These losses took their toll not only on morale but on the practical operation of almost all ecclesiastical life, and any recovery thus had to focus on reversing these trends.

It would be reductionist to claim that the seventeenth-century concept of lay vocation was abandoned during the nineteenth century for merely instrumental reasons, as if practical personnel needs trumped all considerations. For starters, lay vocation was never entirely abandoned, and the concept was promulgated especially in some of the reprinted seventeenth-century works. Furthermore, theological claims about the greater dignity of clergy and religious were of much older vintage.<sup>99</sup> Aspects of these theo-

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99. One support of clericalism was a deeply held and nuanced ambivalence about the married state, an ambivalence that reached back to the New Testament. This ambivalence continued to be encouraged throughout the nineteenth century in works aimed at a youthful audience; for example, see Popiel, *Heroic Hearts*, 37–39, 41, 45–50.

logical claims might be emphasized loudly or quietly, and with greater or lesser nuance, by various parties in various ages, but they remained matters of sincere conviction. Moreover, although aspects of pastoral care could be performed by non-ordained persons, the parish priest's core duties of sacramental administration could not be delegated, hence the ongoing anxiety of bishops over recruitment of diocesans.<sup>100</sup> Ultimately, it should be no surprise that nineteenth-century Catholic reformers emphasized concepts that fit the church's situation on the ground. As noted above, Malou commented that the religious state had "always adapted itself to the wants of the Church and the necessities of the times," and Vaughan noted that canon law defenses of the diocesan clergy (against excessive recruitment by religious orders) in England were for the "public good" of the church.<sup>101</sup> The practical recruitment needs of Catholic revival were part of divine providence, to be integrated into pastoral care of the young. A renewed culture of vocational discernment, with a strong emphasis on clergy and religious, therefore, served as one of the ways to bring young men and women to the point of choosing to dedicate their lives in service.<sup>102</sup>

That said, this partial eclipse of lay vocation was real, and it profoundly influenced an increasingly transnational Catholic culture. This eclipse strengthened a clericalist social imaginary in which the lay state and marriage were thought to be "non-vocations."<sup>103</sup> Much pre-Vatican-II reflection saw in this clericalism a disorder that demanded bold new thinking on the laity as such. According to an American priest and seminary professor, writing in 1942, ordinary Catholics had the false "impression that vocation is something reserved for priests or nuns, and that it has nothing to do with a man or woman in the world."<sup>104</sup> Dominican theologian Yves Congar, writing in 1953, noted a sign of hope: in recent decades there had been a "rediscovery . . . that lay people are fully 'of the Church.'"<sup>105</sup> New approaches to lay vocation, seeing some of their fullest expression in the

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100. See, for example, Félix Dupanloup, "Lettre au clergé sur la rareté des vocations sacerdotales," in: *Oeuvres choisies de Mgr. Dupanloup*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1862), III, 562–90.

101. See notes 82 and 90, above.

102. Although the same core principles of vocational doctrine (especially the obligation to obey God's call) were taught to both men and women, more research might reveal distinctions of emphasis and of modes of dissemination, depending on the genders of various historical actors (preacher, writer, schoolboy, novice mistress in a convent, etc).

103. See note 78, above.

104. William R. O'Connor, *The Layman's Call* (New York, 1942), 2.

105. Yves M.-J. Congar, *Lay People in the Church: A Study for a Theology of the Laity*, trans. Donald Attwater (Westminster, MD, 1959), xxviii. "Redécouverte . . . : les laïcs sont pleinement d'Église." Yves M.-J. Congar, *Jalons pour une théologie du laïc* (Paris, 1953), 8.



An illustration from a Catholic children's catechism shows a boy and a girl discerning their vocations. On the left, a boy discerning a vocation to the priesthood tells his parents "See the stole I'll wear some day!" On the right, a girl discerning a vocation to the religious life tells her teacher "Some day I'll be a sister like you and teach." The center panel shows Christ telling his disciples "The harvest indeed is abundant, but the laborers are few," a reference to the need for religious vocations. Louis La Ravoire Morrow, *My Catholic Faith* (1949), illustration.

Vatican II documents *Lumen Gentium* and *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, did not draw strongly from the models of vocational discernment so prevalent during the nineteenth century. The renaissance of lay vocation during the twentieth century was not simply a return to the somewhat more inclusive seventeenth-century models of choosing a state of life. Seeing the clericalism to which early modern developments had led, writers like Congar sought to rethink the entire framework regarding vocation and the states of life that held sway in the Church. He and other luminaries of Vatican II asked different questions about lay vocation than those that had preoccupied early modern writers.

Despite the council documents' repeated use of words such as "vocation" and "calling," they said little to nothing about how to choose one state of life or another, and thus the seventeenth- to nineteenth-century tradition of vocational discernment has continued to fulfill that need. A subset of Catholics still seek religious clarity in these life choices. From the

institutional side, dioceses and religious congregations need new blood in order to survive, and older approaches to vocational discernment remain a key tool for engaging with potential new members. Even if “vocations ministry has now moved from recruitment to discernment,” “offices of vocation,” for example, tend to serve primarily those interested in the priesthood or the religious life.<sup>106</sup> This institutional structure may serve important pastoral needs of the faithful, as there must be some formalized way to connect with potential candidates. Yet this structure also suggests that seventeenth- to nineteenth-century approaches to vocation persist and that those approaches subtly reinforce the idea that “vocation is something reserved for priests or nuns.”<sup>107</sup> Vocational discernment, clericalism, lay vocation—whatever their present manifestations, all of these aspects of Catholic modernity have histories, and those histories were integral to the Catholic Reformation in the seventeenth century and the Catholic revival in the nineteenth.

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106. Christopher Jamison, “Introduction,” in: *The Disciples’ Call: Theologies of Vocation from Scripture to the Present Day*, ed. Christopher Jamison (London, 2013), 1–5, here 5; see also Christopher Jamison, “A Culture of Vocation,” in: *The Disciples’ Call*, 225–39.

107. See note 104, above.

# Was Rolf Hochhuth's Play, *The Deputy*, the Result of a KGB Plot? Assessing the Merits of a Decades-old Conspiracy Theory

MARK EDWARD RUFF\*

*Abstract: This article seeks to debunk a conspiracy theory regarding the origins of the German playwright Rolf Hochhuth's incendiary play from 1963, The Deputy, which denounced Pope Pius XII for his alleged silence about German crimes in the Holocaust. According to these conspiracy theories, this play's success was the result of a master-stroke by Soviet intelligence, which had infiltrated the Vatican and stolen documents from the Vatican archives. By examining letters and correspondence pertaining to the play's origins, including its original drafts, this article argues that this conspiracy theory is chronologically implausible. Hochhuth's own account of the play's origins remains more or less correct, some inaccurate details notwithstanding.*

*Keywords:* conspiracy, Rolf Hochhuth, Ion Mihai Pacepa, The Deputy, Pius XII

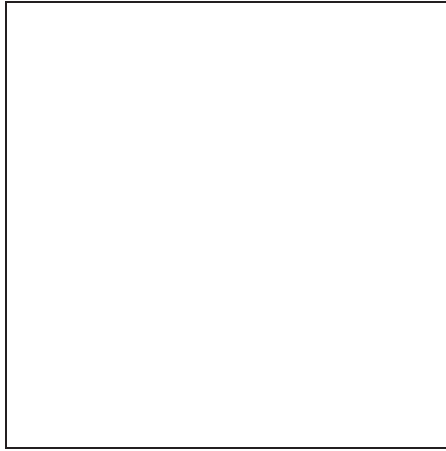
## Introduction

This article seeks to debunk a conspiracy theory regarding the origins of the German playwright Rolf Hochhuth's play, *The Deputy*.<sup>1</sup> This incendiary play was premiered at the Free People's Theater in West Berlin on February

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1. Rolf Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter. Schauspiel. Mit einem Vorwort von Erwin Piscator* (Reinbek, 1963). A later edition from 1998 contained a number of alterations. Rolf Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter, Mit einem Vorwort von Erwin Piscator und Essays von Karl Jaspers, Muschg, Piscator und Golo Mann*, (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1963, 1998). In the following citations, the author is indicating the use of the editions as follows. Rolf Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1963) and Rolf Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998).



BlackIceNRW (user), *Rolf Hochhuth after a reading of his book "McKinsey is Coming" in Duisburg, 2005*, photograph (modified from original by provider), April 25, 2005, accessed October 31, 2023, from <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=12307815>. Photo is used with permission of the copyright holder.

20, 1963 and directed by Erwin Piscator, a renowned director from the Weimar era and former Communist who had spent part of the wartime years in Moscow. *The Deputy's* run at the peak of the Cold War between 1963 and 1966 on stages in more than a dozen Western nations from Switzerland to the United States and from 1966 onward in Eastern Europe left a trail of public controversies—and a papal reputation in tatters.<sup>2</sup> Accusing Pope Pius XII of refusing to issue a ringing public denunciation of Nazi genocide against Jews, Hochhuth's play, more than any previous criticism, fundamentally altered public perceptions of the recently deceased pontiff, changing his moniker from the "Pope of Peace" to the "Pope that was silent."<sup>3</sup>

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2. Nadine Ritzer, *Alles nur Theater? Zur Rezeption von Rolf Hochhuths "Der Stellvertreter" in der Schweiz, 1963/1964* (Fribourg, 2006), 61–85; Newspaper Clipping, "Italiens Linke gegen den Papst. 'Der Stellvertreter' und ein Bombenanschlag in Rom," *Der Tagesspiegel*, February 23, 1965, and "Hochhuths Papstdrama in Rom verboten," *Frankenpost*, February 18, 1965, and "Schauspieler legte Bombe am Vatikan: Volonte spielt in Hochhuths 'Stellvertreter' mit," *Westdeutsche Rundschau*, Wuppertal, February 20, 1965, Rowohlt Theater Archive (hereafter referred to as RTA), Reinbek bei Hamburg. Mark Edward Ruff, *The Battle for the Catholic Past in Germany, 1945–1980* (New York, 2017).

3. See Mark Edward Ruff, "Die Auseinandersetzungen über Rolf Hochhuths 'Stellvertreter': Ein Historisierungsversuch," in: *Eugenio Pacelli als Nuntius in Deutschland. Forschungsperspektiven und Ansätze zu einem internationalen Vergleich*, ed. Hubert Wolf (Paderborn, 2012), 111–25.

His career launched by the success and notoriety of *The Deputy*, Rolf Hochhuth (1931–2020) went on to gain fame and notoriety as both a public intellectual and a conspiracy theorist who accused Winston Churchill of engineering the death of the Polish resistance leader, Władysław Eugeniusz Sikorski, in an airplane crash.<sup>4</sup> In a remarkable irony, decades later, *The Deputy* was alleged to have been the poisonous fruit of a nefarious conspiracy. The allegations came from another inveterate conspiracy theorist, the former high-ranking Romanian intelligence agent and high-profile defector to the United States in 1978, Lieutenant General Ion Mihai Pacepa (1928–2021), who had gained prominence for claiming that the KGB stood behind the assassination of John F. Kennedy.<sup>5</sup>

In January 2007, Pacepa published an article, “Moscow’s Assault on the Vatican,” in the conservative American newsmagazine, *The National Review*.<sup>6</sup> Pacepa alleged that Hochhuth’s surprising success was actually a masterstroke by Soviet intelligence, which had infiltrated the Vatican. According to his account, in February 1960 Nikita Khrushchev signed off on “a super-secret plan for destroying the Vatican’s moral authority in Western Europe.” The deceased Pacelli was to be “the main target” in a mission that had been given the code name “Seat-12.” A Vatican representative allegedly working for the KGB, Agostino Casaroli, allegedly gave Pacepa access to the Vatican archives, and “hundreds of documents connected in any way with Pope Pius XII” were smuggled out of the Vatican Archives and the Apostolic Library.<sup>7</sup> At some point in 1963 after the operation had been wrapped up (Pacepa did not give the precise date), he was told in Bucharest by General Ivan Agayants, the “famous chief of the KGB’s disinformation department,” that these efforts “had materialized into a powerful play attacking Pope Pius XII.” Agayants, Pacepa wrote, “took credit for the outline of the play.” *The Deputy*’s print edition also contained an unconventional extensive historical appendix entitled “Sidelights

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4. Rolf Hochhuth, *Soldaten: Nekrolog auf Genf* (Reinbek, 1967).

5. Obituaries duly noted how both men were engulfed in conspiracy theories. See Willi Winkler, “Der Lautsprecher,” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, May 14, 2020, retrieved on October 29, 2023, <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/kultur/rolf-hochhuth-gestorben-tot-nachruf-1.4907526>; Clay Risen, “Ion Mihai Pacepa, Key Cold War Defector, Dies at 92,” *New York Times*, March 16, 2021, retrieved on October 29, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/16/obituaries/ion-mihai-pacepa-dead-covid.html>; Ion Mihai Pacepa, *Programmed to Kill: Lee Harvey Oswald, the Soviet KGB, and the Kennedy Assassination* (Lanham, 2007).

6. Ion Pacepa, “Moscow’s Assault on the Vatican,” *The National Review*, January 25, 2007, retrieved on October 26, 2023, <https://www.nationalreview.com/2007/01/moscows-assault-vatican-ion-mihai-pacepa/>

7. *Ibid.*

on History.” This extended historical essay provided an exegesis of the documentary material—the memoirs, trial proceedings, letters, diary entries, documentary editions, press reports—from which the play was derived.<sup>8</sup> These appendices, Pacepa claimed, had been “put together by his experts with help from the documents we had purloined from the Vatican.” The director, he added, was Erwin Piscator, a “devoted Communist who had a longstanding relationship with Moscow.”

Generating headlines in leading international newspapers and news-magazines, Pacepa’s revelations became grist for the culture wars over Pius XII that had first broken out in 1963 as a result of Hochhuth’s play and had resumed in the late 1990s in part over the question of whether Pope Pius XII should be canonized.<sup>9</sup> Not surprisingly, opinion quickly divided. Thomas Brechenmacher, a well-known German scholar of the Vatican, expressed deep skepticism about the merits of Pacepa’s claims.<sup>10</sup> They nonetheless made the rounds on a number of Roman Catholic websites, which embraced them as part of their larger defense of the beleaguered pontiff.<sup>11</sup> Without having read Pacepa’s article, the CDU delegate, Norbert Geis, immediately proclaimed that “if only half of these allegations turn out to be true, this would be one of the greatest scandals of postwar history.”<sup>12</sup> The German historian, Michael Feldkamp, offered vocal support for Pacepa’s claims, labeling them “wholly credible.”<sup>13</sup>

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8. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 381–469.

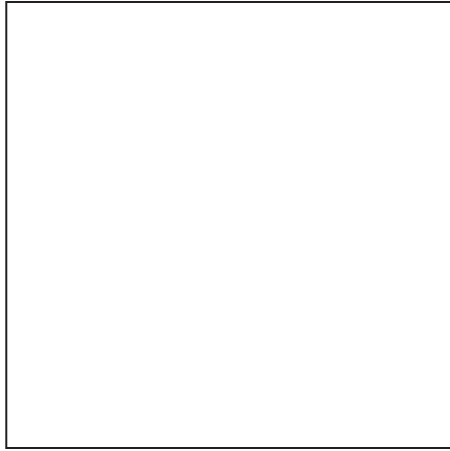
9. For examples of the headlines generated, see Matthias Matussek and Alexander Slotczyk, “Ein Satanischer Feigling: Rolf Hochhuth über die neuen Kontroversen zu seinem Papst-Stück ‘Der Stellvertreter’ und Pius XII,” *Der Spiegel*, May 26, 2007. See “Die Stellvertreter: Die Debatte um Pius XII. im Licht eines Geheimdienstgeständnisses,” *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, February 24, 2007. See also “Der Stellvertreter Krieg. Von Strohmännern, Strohütten und Strohfeuern: War Rolf Hochhuth ein Werkzeug des KGB, als er sein Drama über Papst Pius XII schrieb?” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, March 14, 2007.

10. Thomas Brechenmacher, “Hochhuths Quellen. War ‘Der Stellvertreter’ vom KGB inspiriert?” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, April 26, 2007.

11. See e.g. George Ryan, “Unmasking the Cold War Communist Conspiracy to Undermine the Vatican,” *Catholic*, May 9, 2023, retrieved on October 29, 2023, <https://ucatholic.com/blog/unmasking-the-cold-war-communist-conspiracy-to-undermine-the-vatican/>. See also the support of the distinguished scholar, George Weigel, for Pacepa’s claims in “The KGB campaign against Pius XII,” *Denver Catholic*, February 14, 2007, retrieved on October 29, 2023, <https://denvercatholic.org/kgb-campaign-pius-xii/>.

12. Adelheid Wedel, “Die ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung’ beschreibt...,” *Deutschlandfunk Kultur*, March 13, 2007, retrieved on October 26, 2023 from <https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/von-adelheid-wedel-1070.html>.

13. See William Oddie, “A Securitite General says that Hochhuth’s play was part of a KGB plot against Pius XII’s reputation: The National Catholic Register attempts to discredit this: but serious historians believe it,” *Catholic Herald*, February 13, 2014, retrieved on



Anghel Pasat / Agerpres Arhiva, *Ion Mihai Pacepa, Seful Serviciilor Secrete din România—1975* [Ion Mihai Pacepa, Head of the Secret Services of Romania—1975], photograph, 1975, accessed November 6, 2023, from [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ion\\_Mihai\\_Pacepa\\_1975cr.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ion_Mihai_Pacepa_1975cr.jpg). Image is in the public domain.

But it was the American legal scholar and University of Mississippi law professor, Ronald Rychlak, who most ardently embraced the former Romanian intelligence officer's claims.<sup>14</sup> Initially skeptical, he ultimately found them so persuasive that he incorporated them into two books. The first was a revised edition from 2010 of his 2000 original, *Hitler, The War and the Pope*; the second, *Disinformation*, was a work co-authored with Pacepa in 2013.<sup>15</sup> Bearing a laudatory forward from R. James Woolsey, the CIA director from 1993 through 1995, *Disinformation* expanded on

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October 24, 2023, <https://catholicherald.co.uk/a-securitate-general-says-that-hochhuths-play-was-part-of-a-kgb-plot-against-pius-xiis-reputation-the-national-catholic-register-attempts-to-discredit-this-but-serious-historians-b/>.

14. See Ronald Rychlak, "Lt. Gen. Io Mihai Pacepa and the Plot against the Pope," August 17, 2012, retrieved on October 26, 2023, from <http://www.ncregister.com/blog/edward-pentin/the-framing-of-pius-xii-from-skepticism-to-belief>

15. Ronald Rychlak, *Hitler, the War and the Pope, Revised Edition* (Huntington, IN, 2010); Ion Mihai Pacepa and Ronald J. Rychlak, *Disinformation: Former Spy Chief Reveals Secret Strategies for Undermining Freedom, Attacking Religion and Promoting Terrorism* (Washington, DC, 2013), 110–82. For a controversy aroused by this work, see the review by Victor Gaetan, "Disinformation' and a Dubious Source," and the rebuttal by Father Peter Gumpel, in the National Catholic Register, *National Catholic Register*, August 10, 2013, retrieved on October 26, 2023, from <http://www.ncregister.com/daily-news/disinformation-and-a-dubious-source>.

Pacepa's allegations from 2007 in roughly 70 of its 438 pages. Dismissing Hochhuth's account of his play's origins, Rychlak and Pacepa drew extensively on revelations about *The Deputy's* origins and production run that had come to light in public controversies about the incendiary play in Germany, the United States, and Switzerland in the 1960s and early 1970s. They used these to argue that *The Deputy* was likely "produced by the KGB's framing experts."<sup>16</sup> Since its publishers (the Rowohlt Verlag and the Grove Press), director (Erwin Piscator), its stage (the Free People's Theater in West Berlin), its American producer (Herman Shumlin), many of its translators (Jorge Semprún, for one), and champions around the world (*Ramparts* magazine) had Communist ties or pasts, the play, they held, must have been the result of a KGB-led "disinformation" campaign.<sup>17</sup> In this conspiratorial retelling, Erwin Piscator played a much more central role than before.

Is there substance to Pacepa's and Rychlak's claims? Determining whether their claims are more than hearsay and circumstantial is the central task of this article. Rychlak's and Pacepa's accounts draw almost exclusively on English-language literature, most from the 1960s and 1970s, and the latter's recollections. Neither made use of the original German-language sources, including Hochhuth's extensive personal and working papers housed at the Swiss Literature Archive in Bern, the holdings of the Free People's Theater (*Freie Volksbühne*) housed in the Archiv der Künste in Berlin, and documents from Hochhuth's publisher found at the Rowohlt Theater Archive in Reinbek. This analysis draws on these collections, including the original sketchbooks and manuscripts of *The Deputy*, Hochhuth's correspondence with the historians, librarians, and literati who assisted him, and interviews with Hochhuth's co-workers and first wife, Marianne Heinemann.<sup>18</sup>

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16. Pacepa and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 131. For his dismissal of Hochhuth's account, see 180–82. It is difficult for the reader to determine decisively which pages were written by Pacepa and which by Rychlak in this double-authored account.

17. Rychlak, "Lt. Gen. Io Mihai Pacepa and the Plot against the Pope." Rychlak also wrote: "Today, however, a closer examination of *The Deputy* through the magnifying lens supplied by Wolff's revelation and by documents and first-hand testimonies leads to the inescapable conclusion that *The Deputy* was a product of *dezinformatsiya*." Pacepa and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 175.

18. This analysis is rooted in research into seventy-seven archives in six countries over eleven years. It draws on findings from the author's recent monograph, *The Battle for the Catholic Past in Germany, 1945–1980* (Cambridge, 2017). It makes extensive use of Rolf Hochhuth's personal papers which are housed in the Schweizerisches Literaturarchiv in Bern, Switzerland. This collection has been re-organized and re-catalogued since the author first



Analyzing the merits of Pacepa's allegations might nonetheless seem to be an impossible task without access to the archives of the KGB and the DIE, the Romanian foreign intelligence service for which Pacepa had worked. To their credit, both Rychlak and Pacepa acknowledge this: "No smoking gun has yet been found to prove the Kremlin's hand in this new war against the Judeo-Christian world, because the KGB archives are still, unfortunately, sealed."<sup>19</sup> But there are fortunately other methods to gauge the accuracy of Pacepa's and Rychlak's claims. The first is to examine the controversies of the mid-1960s over Hochhuth's use of sources. The second is to scour Pacepa's accounts for inconsistencies, omissions and inaccuracies by comparing it with archival evidence that he did not use. The third is to analyze the source material appearing in Hochhuth's "Sidelights on History," which informed the text of his play.

This strategy is admittedly not foolproof. Most sensible recipients of papers smuggled out of church archives in Rome would have destroyed any evidence of relationships to intelligence agents. Hochhuth's own private and public accounts of how he constructed *The Deputy*, moreover, contain inconsistencies. But as we shall see, the archival discoveries belie Pacepa's claims. The errors, omissions, and chronologically impossible claims in Pacepa's and Rychlak's accounts far outweigh any small inconsistencies in Hochhuth's telling of the tale and alone render their central claims highly improbable at best.

### Controversies in the 1960s about Hochhuth's Sources

It is no surprise that Hochhuth found himself facing tough questions about sources amid the explosive controversies set off by productions of *The Deputy* between 1963 and 1966. The young playwright, born in the eastern Hessian town of Eschwege in 1931, was a historical autodidact. In a formal interview with *Der Spiegel*, Germany's leading newsmagazine, he admitted that he was "no historian."<sup>20</sup> He had not received an Abitur, the degree granted after completing the course of study at an academic high school (*Gymnasium*). He lacked a formal university education, although he

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used it in 2007 and 2008. Not only do the documents bear different folder numbers (Signaturen); many additional letters, newspaper clippings and correspondence have been added to it. Unless indicated by the phrase, "New Record Number," the author is providing the original folder and box numbers, using the SLA's designation for box, "Schachtel."

19. Pacepa and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 202.

20. "Mein Pius ist keine Karikatur: Spiegel-Gespräch mit Dramatiker Rolf Hochhuth," *Der Spiegel*, no. 17, April 24, 1963, p. 90.

had audited courses in Munich and Heidelberg. Instead, he had pursued a career as a bookseller. Only in 1955 did he become a house editor for the Rütten und Loening publishing company, a subsidiary of Bertelsmann.<sup>21</sup>

That an unknown young playwright with no formal historical training could have carried out the audacious research necessary to put together this work stretched the imagination. What were his sources, the press sought to know:<sup>22</sup> Already in 1963, rumors flew that Hochhuth “had gotten his material in East Berlin.”<sup>23</sup> The young author subsequently told the press that though he had not had any access to archives in the Vatican, he had interviewed Vatican dignitaries during a three-month sojourn to Rome in the fall of 1959 and had even been received in the Secretariat of State of the Vatican.<sup>24</sup> But to protect these officials from recrimination, he refused to divulge their names.<sup>25</sup> The press speculated about the identities and motives of his informants—and whether the playwright had actually spoken with any such officials.<sup>26</sup> These officials turned out to be the Aus-

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21. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to die Redaktion, *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, n.d. but most likely April 4, 1963, Schweizerisches Literaturarchiv (hereafter SLA), Nachlass Rolf Hochhuth (hereafter NL), Schachtel 269.

22. “Mein Pius ist keine Karikatur: Spiegel-Gespräch mit Dramatiker Rolf Hochhuth,” 90. See also: Newspaper Clipping, “Ein absurdes Bühnenwerk gegen das Friedenswerk Pius XII,” April 1, 1963, Archiv der Katholischen Nachrichten Agentur (hereafter KNA Archive), Dokumentation Rolf Hochhuth. This archive, however, no longer exists; some of its contents became part of the archival collections of the Kommission für Zeitgeschichte in Bonn. See the critical comments raised in a public discussion that were aired by the Sender Freie Berlin (hereafter SFB). See SFB, *Das Thema*, April 3, 1963, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv DRA Pressearchiv (hereafter DRA), Potsdam, Personalia Hochhuth, St. R.K., Abteilung Information, SFB.

23. Herman Nickel, *The Hochhuth Controversy*, October 11, 1963 (recd. October 14, 1963), ADK, Piscator-Center 182, 5. Alan Nickel, *The Hochhuth Controversy*, October 11, 1963 (recd. October 14, 1963), Archiv der Akademie der Künste (hereafter AAK), Berlin, Piscator 5.

24. “Mein Pius ist keine Karikatur: Spiegel-Gespräch mit Dramatiker Rolf Hochhuth,” 90; Newspaper Clipping, Aktueller Dienst Kultur, “Vatikan: Hochhuth nicht bekannt,” no. 37, February 22, 1961, Archiv der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte (AKZG), Bonn, Nachlass Walter Adolph, WA 16D1. Please note that Adolph’s papers are now located in the Diözesanarchiv Berlin.

25. Helmut Koischenreuther, “NRZ-Gespräch mit Bühnen-Autor Rolf Hochhuth, ‘Ich hasse Papst Pius XII. nicht,’” *Neue Rheinzeitung*, March 9, 1963, Historisches Archiv des Erzbistums Köln (hereafter, HAEK), Cologne, Gen II 22.13, 35.

26. Koischenreuther, “NRZ-Gespräch mit Bühnen-Autor Rolf Hochhuth, ‘Ich hasse Papst Pius XII. nicht,’” “Mein Pius ist keine Karikatur: Spiegel-Gespräch mit Dramatiker Rolf Hochhuth,” 91–92. For attempts by the KNA, the Catholic wire services agency, to discern their identities, see “Presse-und Informationsamt der Bundesregierung,” *Spiegel der Katholischen Kirchenpresse*, March 30, 1963, p. 5, HAEK, Gen II 22, 13, 34.

trian bishop and Nazi sympathizer, Alois Hudal, and Monsignor Bruno Wüstenberg, both of whom, it seems, had been nurturing grudges against Pope Pius XII.<sup>27</sup> Hudal, who died on May 13, 1963, was outed as one of his two informants later that year.<sup>28</sup> Hochhuth kept Wüstenberg's identity concealed for years, however.

Just as many eyebrows were raised by the seventy-page documentary appendix. Its first edition lacked formal citations.<sup>29</sup> Subsequent editions added barebones footnotes, but even these were few in number.<sup>30</sup> Responding to criticisms from a peer-reviewed report on his play, Hochhuth justified these omissions to the head of his publisher, the Rowohlt Verlag, by noting that citing every detail would result in an appendix longer than the text of the play itself.<sup>31</sup> In his appendix's epilogue, he accordingly noted that he was naming only "a few" of his sources.<sup>32</sup> The press nonetheless reported that Hochhuth had corresponded and conversed with the Jewish pioneer of research into anti-Semitism, Léon Poliakov, the English historian of the Final Solution, Gerald Reitlinger, and the Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History) in Munich. Hochhuth had indeed used quotations from their works to corroborate his papal portrait.<sup>33</sup>

In sum, the controversies engulfing the play enshrouded both author and his brainchild in mystery, one mostly but never fully uncovered during that time. It was not in the interest of either the press, the author, or the director to do so. Mystery heightened sales.

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27. For speculation about Hudal's motives, see Hans-Jakob Stehle, "Der Historiker Hansjakob Stehle antwortet auf die Kritik des 'Stellvertreter'-Autors Rolf Hochhuth," *Fokus*, 35 (1998), retrieved on October 26, 2023, from [https://www.focus.de/wissen/mensch/geschichte/warum-pius-xii-schwieg-zeitgeschichte\\_id\\_1906945.html](https://www.focus.de/wissen/mensch/geschichte/warum-pius-xii-schwieg-zeitgeschichte_id_1906945.html).

28. "Ein Kampf mit Rom," *Der Spiegel*, no. 17, April 24, 1963.

29. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1963).

30. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1963). Only two of the 140 footnotes were annotated, and even these annotations were pithy. The English version, published in paperback form in 1997, numbered only seventy-eight footnotes. See Rolf Hochhuth, *The Deputy*, with a Preface by Albert Schweitzer, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (Baltimore, 1997). The hardback version had been published in 1964.

31. Letter from Hochhuth to Heinrich-Maria Ledig-Rowohlt, January 8, 1963, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth. Hochhuth was responding to the *Gutachten* of Frau Dr. Wild.

32. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 463.

33. "Ein Kampf mit Rom," 83; "Mein Pius ist keine Karikatur: Spiegel-Gespräch mit Dramatiker Rolf Hochhuth," 92. See also Newspaper Clipping, "Hochhuth weist 'Rufmord' zurück: Kontroverse zwischen Katholischer Nachrichtenagentur und dem Autor des 'Stellvertreter,'" *Abendzeitung*, February 25, 1963, RTA. See Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945* (Elstree, 1953).

### Problems with Pacea's Allegations from 2007

Arriving more than forty years after the controversy had ebbed, Pacea's allegations from 2007 were seemingly out of the blue. The controversies over *The Deputy* had ebbed, although not in the way that Pacea claimed. The former intelligence agent insisted that "toward the mid 1970s, *The Deputy* started running out of steam." The play, in fact, had ceased generating headlines and controversies already in early 1966 following a controversial run in Brussels, although occasional performances did continue throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Pacea's claims arose decades later in the 2000s after Pope Pius XII's conduct during the wartime years had come under renewed fire. Dozens of books, articles, and reviewers contributed to the so-called Pius Wars starting in the late 1990s, and Pacea's claims might well be understood as a reaction against charges of papal collusion, antisemitism, and cowardice.<sup>34</sup>

The problems with Pacea's allegations are fundamental. Pacea erroneously asserted that *The Deputy's* central thesis was that "Pius XII had supported Hitler and encouraged him to go ahead with the Jewish Holocaust." Hochhuth, in fact, said no such thing. Instead, the central thesis of *The Deputy* was that Pius XII chose to remain silent in the face of the Jewish genocide. Or, as Hochhuth put it in the appendix of his play: "Perhaps never before in history have so many human beings paid with their lives for the passivity of a single statesman."<sup>35</sup> Though Hochhuth's rendition of Pius presented him as welcoming Hitler's war against Bolshevism, he had not directly "supported" Hitler nor encouraged him to go ahead with the Holocaust, which by the time of the play's climactic scene in October, 1943 had been underway for more than two years. Hochhuth, moreover, took pains to point out Pius's efforts to rescue individual Jews in Rome. In the immediate aftermath of *The Deputy's* premiere, he responded angrily to accusations that placed the "major" responsibility for the murder of six million Jews on the shoulders of Pius XII.<sup>36</sup> In a statement that the Rowohl

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34. For examples of this literature, see: John Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pope Pius XII* (New York, 1999); Susan Zuccotti, *Under his very Windows: The Vatican and the Holocaust in Italy* (New Haven, 2000); Michael Phayer, *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930–1965* (Bloomington, 2000); Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *A Moral Reckoning: The Role of the Church in the Holocaust and Its Unfulfilled Duty of Repair* (New York, 2002); Joseph Bottum and David G. Dalin, *The Pius War: Response to the Critics of Pius XII* (Lanham, MD, 2004).

35. Hochhuth, *The Deputy* (1998), 402.

36. Newspaper clipping, "Hochhuth und Rowohl weisen Vorwürfe zurück," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 24 February 1963. Press clipping, "Rowohl verteidigt Hochhuth," *Telegraf*, February 24, 1963, AKZG, NL Walter Adolph, WA16D1.

Verlag submitted to the Deutsche Presse Agentur, a leading German wire services agency, Hochhuth alleged that such accusations amounted to “character assassination.”<sup>37</sup> Of course, one could construe Pius’s silence as an indirect mechanism of support, but this is a philosophical issue concerning the relationship between bystanders and perpetrators that does not represent the thrust of Pacea’s article.

In addition to misunderstanding the very premise of *The Deputy*, Pacea based his claims on hearsay. Pacea described meeting Agostino Casaroli, “an influential member of the diplomatic corps,” who gave him “access to the Vatican archives” on the spot.<sup>38</sup> Yet Pacea then noted that it was not he but “three young DIE undercover officers posing as Romanian priests” who were digging in the “papal archives” and sending the “hundreds of documents connected in any way with Pope Pius XII” back to the KGB via special courier during “1960–62.”<sup>39</sup> Seemingly contradicting his earlier boast of having received facile access to the archives, Pacea noted that he and his fellow agents “encountered almost insurmountable difficulties in penetrating the Vatican secret archives, even though they had airtight cover as priests.”<sup>40</sup> But it was not Pacea but Ivan Agayants who subsequently boasted “in 1963” of the KGB’s propaganda coup that allegedly had steered these documents to Rolf Hochhuth. Nowhere did Pacea recount meeting Hochhuth personally. Nowhere did Pacea mention that he personally witnessed these documents make their way directly into the background documents “put together by his experts with help from the documents we had purloined from the Vatican.”<sup>41</sup>

Was, then, Agayants a reliable informant? Pacea clearly thought so. He cited Agayants’ apparent success in two previous disinformation missions. In 1943, Agayants allegedly infiltrated Franklin Roosevelt’s headquarters at the Tehran Conference of 1943 and fabricated a manuscript in 1962 purporting to have come from Maxim Litvinov, the former

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37. Ibid.

38. On Casaroli, see George Weigel, *The End and the Beginning: Pope John Paul II—The Victory of Freedom, The Last Years, the Legacy* (New York, 2010). See also George Weigel, “The Ostpolitik Failed: Get over it,” *First Things*, July 20, 2016. Weigel too noted that the Vatican’s Ostpolitik led to the infiltration of the Vatican by Communist intelligence agencies. Because of his willingness to work with Communist regimes, Casaroli was a direct target.

39. Pacea, “Moscow’s Assault on the Vatican.” Pacea’s chronology does not entirely work here, since Casaroli did not become the Undersecretary of the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs until February, 1961 and its Secretary until 1967.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

Soviet commissar for foreign affairs. But it would be fallacious to conclude that Agayants' claims about the apparent success of the Seat-12 mission were therefore accurate. In spite of Agayants' boasts, Pacepa himself concluded that its intelligence gathering operations in the Vatican were failures. "In actual fact," he wrote, "no incriminating material against the pontiff ever turned up in all those secretly photographed documents. Mostly they were copies of personal letters and transcripts of meetings and speeches, all couched in the routine kind of diplomatic language one would expect to find."<sup>42</sup> Why would a general in the KGB have taken credit for a work in which the documents allegedly smuggled out amounted to routine correspondence and trivia? This stunning admission of failure leaves one to consider whether Agayants' braggadocio before his DIE operatives may have been little more than grandstanding or an attempt to save face.

Agayant's account, as reported by Pacepa, also contains troublesome omissions. How would Romanian thieves have even known where to find salient materials in the Vatican? Since Pius XII had just died in 1958, it is exceptionally unlikely that the materials from his pontificate would have been sorted through, separated into binders, inventoried, and cataloged in a boon to Romanian kleptomaniacs. Pacepa also seems to be conflating the "Vatican Archives and the Apostolic Library" with the Secret Vatican Archives. But the materials from Pius XII's pontificate regarding matters of state and diplomacy were still being held in the separate archive of the Secretariat of State in 1960.<sup>43</sup> Casaroli worked from 1950 to 1961 as a Minutant in the Secretariat of State, a fact which at first glance might seem to give credence to Pacepa's account.<sup>44</sup> But there is no evidence that Hochhuth met Casaroli or even went to the Archive of the Secretariat of State. How would a layman like Hochhuth have known about the distinction between the different archives and to seek out Casaroli there?<sup>45</sup> Hochhuth's command of foreign languages in general, including English, Italian, and French, was poor. It was certainly not at the level of the schol-

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42. *Ibid.*

43. This is a point also raised by Thomas Brechenmacher. See Brechenmacher, "Hochhuths Quellen. War 'Der Stellvertreter' vom KGB inspiriert?"

44. Brechenmacher, "Hochhuths Quellen. War 'Der Stellvertreter' vom KGB inspiriert?"

45. For an example of Hochhuth's mediocre command of Italian, see the document from Eitel Friedrich Moellhausen (presumably from the Wilhelmstrasse trials), in which German translations were written above the Italian words. These translations do not appear to be in Hochhuth's handwriting, however. *Bombe sul Vaticano*, Exhibit. No, Weizsäcker Doc. No. 147, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, no Schachtel number.

ars working in the field.<sup>46</sup> How could he have incorporated “hundreds of documents,” many, if not most, presumably written in languages other than German, into his play given the tremendous demands already put on his time by his job as a house editor? It stretches the boundaries of plausibility to assume that the Romanian DIE agents were instructed to seek out only German-language documents. Were these agents, moreover, well versed in all of the languages necessary for such a task, including Latin, German, Italian, French and English? Did they provide him with German-language translations?

As a result, Hochhuth himself was almost entirely reliant on German-speaking contacts in the Vatican. He himself admitted this. On July 10, 1959, approximately two months before he left for Rome, he wrote to Dieter Sattler, an official in the Culture Division of the German Foreign Office asking for help not only in finding a room in Rome but in locating German speakers in Rome with contacts to eyewitnesses from the early 1940s. “. . . I know of no other way,” he wrote, “to reach my goal, since I have no connections to any persons or officials in Rome.”<sup>47</sup> For the same reasons, he wrote Prelate Josef Höfer in Rome after a Catholic official in Gütersloh where Hochhuth worked had given him Höfer’s contact information.<sup>48</sup> He misleadingly told Höfer that he had been working for some time on a “novel” describing the doings of the Nazis in Rome and the sacrificial efforts of the Salvatorians and other church organizations to help the besieged.

It was no surprise that it was German speakers who forged his connections to Bishop Alois Hudal and Monsignor Bruno Wüstenberg. Hochhuth sought out Dr. Gerd Kloeters, a fellowship recipient of the Görres-Gesellschaft, a society formed in the nineteenth century to support Catholic academics. Hochhuth had apparently known Kloeters in Germany.<sup>49</sup> Kloeters lived together in Rome with Ludwig Hammermayer, now an emeritus professor at the university in Munich, and Bruno

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46. See Birgitt Lahann, *Rolf Hochhuth—der Störenfried* (Bonn, 2016). Author interview with Marianne Heinemann-Sideri, Basel, June 2009, transcript in the Archive of St. Louis University.

47. Letter from Hochhuth to die Kulturabteilung des Auswärtigen Amtes, z.Hd. Herrn Staatssekretär, Dr Dieter Sattler, Gütersloh, July 10, 1959, SLA, NL Hochhuth (New Record Number), B-04-a STELL-03-d, Recherchen, Rom.

48. Letter from Hochhuth to den Botschaftsrat, Herr Prälat Professor, Dr. Josef Höfer, Eschwege, July 17, 1959, SLA, NL Hochhuth, (New Record Number), B-04-a STELL-03-d, Recherchen, Rom.

49. Telephone interview between the author and Ludwig Hammermayer, Eichstätt, 2007—transcript in the Archive of St. Louis University.



Wüstenberg. Kloeters helped arrange for Hochhuth to provide Wüstenberg with a list of four questions in advance of an interview with the monsignor.<sup>50</sup> The correspondence between Hochhuth and Hammermeyer makes it clear that his German-speaking contacts were unaware of the extent of Hochhuth's ambitions.<sup>51</sup> No one in Hochhuth's position would have dared jeopardizing such potentially valuable contacts by revealing plans to place the deceased pontiff in an unflattering light center-stage. Hochhuth told them instead that he was writing a literary work whose central protagonist was a young priest who was following the example of the Berlin prelate, Bernard Lichtenberg, who in Hochhuth's words, was planning "to let himself be deported to Poland to share the fate of the Jews," headed for the gas chambers in Auschwitz.<sup>52</sup> Decades later, Hochhuth admitted to regret at having misled Wüstenberg whom he described as a "nice man."<sup>53</sup>

Tellingly, both Rychlak and Pacepa discounted Hochhuth's claims to have interviewed Vatican officials. It was almost impossible, Pacepa asserted, to get a "talkative bishop" to speak. As Rychlak wrote:

Both my coauthor and I have visited the Vatican many times, armed with impressive official credentials, but neither of us has been able to push a bishop into a corner and persuade him to reveal secret Vatican documents. Maybe Hochhuth got lucky. Maybe he made the story up (his reputation for veracity is not good), or maybe he referred to the Vatican documents obtained by the three DIE agents involved in "Seat-12."<sup>54</sup>

None of these assertions are sustainable. Hochhuth not only interviewed both Hudal and Wüstenberg, but also left behind detailed proto-

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50. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Bruno Wüstenberg, October 23, 1959, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5. For the protocol of Hochhuth's interview, see the letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Marianne (Hochhuth), October 26, 1959, SLA, Schachtel 5. The latter document is a letter to his wife, which contains his protocol for the interview.

51. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Ludwig Hammermeier (sic), March 12, 1960, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 269. This letter, which showed off Hochhuth's wit and charm, consisted mostly of pleasantries. Hochhuth did ask Hammermeyer "how a young priest would have addressed a general in his order—and vice-versa."

52. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Bruno Wüstenberg, October 23, 1959, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5.

53. Lahann, *Hochhuth: Der Störenfried*, 44–45.

54. Pacepa and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 130. For a similar skeptical case, see Ion Pacepa, "Moscow's Assault on the Vatican." Pacepa wrote: "In interviews he claimed that in 1959 he took a leave of absence from his job and went to Rome, where he spent three months talking to people and then writing the first draft of the play, and where he 'posed a series of questions' to one bishop whose name he refused to reveal. Hardly likely!"



cols of both interviews.<sup>55</sup> Contrary to Rychlak's and Pacepa's claim that Hochhuth never identified the "chatty "bishop" at the Vatican, Hochhuth did out his source publicly as Hudal.<sup>56</sup> But neither Hudal nor Wüstenberg, both of whom were comparatively low in the Vatican hierarchy, furnished Hochhuth with "secret Vatican documents." They merely corroborated Hochhuth's suspicion that Pius XII had not issued a ringing public protest against the deportation and murder of Jews. Nowhere did Hochhuth use "Vatican documents obtained by the three DIE agents." As we shall see, his play did not depend on the use of any such documents.

Besides failing to explain how Hochhuth made his contacts in the Vatican, Pacepa's story does not account for how the KGB allegedly discovered, vetted, recruited, and "handled" this relatively unknown young German playwright. By any measure, Hochhuth would have been a most unlikely and improbable agent. He was not active in any of the left-wing circles in the labor movement or in the universities that might have comprised fertile recruiting grounds for Communist agents. He was not a student. He was not a Communist. It is unclear whether there exists a Stasi file on him. He was known not as an author (he had not yet published any original work) but as the editor of the collected works of the nineteenth-century German satirist and caricaturist, Wilhelm Busch.<sup>57</sup> Most significantly, Hochhuth himself was no orthodox and doctrinaire left-winger. As much as he identified as a socialist, his own world-view was also shaped by the German liberal heritage in which he grew up as the son of a factory-owner in Eschwege.<sup>58</sup> He was an admirer of Bismarck, maintaining a devotion that no card-carrying socialist would have entertained. He condemned both Adenauer and Walter Ulbricht, the East German leader, as "ideologues" and "high traitors" for their role in dividing Germany.<sup>59</sup> After becoming spectacularly wealthy from book

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55. For the protocol of the interview with Wüstenberg and Hudal, see the letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Marianne (Hochhuth), October 26, 1959, and Protokoll des Gesprächs mit Hudal Schachtel, SLA, NL Hochhuth, Schachtel 5, Ausstellungsdokumente, Ringhefte.

56. Pacepa and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 130, 179; Rolf Hochhuth, "Der "Stellvertreter" und seine Kronzeugen. Die wahren Quellen des kirchenkritischen Klassikers," *Focus*, 6, no. 31, July 27, 1998.

57. Rolf Hochhuth, ed., *Wilhelm Busch, Sämtliche Werke in zwei Bänden* (Gütersloh, 1959).

58. For the reference to his "socialist heart," see the letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Erwin Piscator, 18 October 1963, ADK, Freie Volksbühne (hereafter, FVB), 186.

59. Rolf Hochhuth, "Friedhöfe und Eiserner Vorhang," in: *Eschwege: Ein Lesebuch*, eds. York-Egbert König and Karl Kollmann (Husum, 1996), 97–116, 112.

and play royalties, he moved to Switzerland to avoid paying burdensome taxes in Germany.<sup>60</sup>

Worse yet: he became a longstanding friend of the notorious right-wing British historian and Holocaust denier, David Irving. As a teenager, Hochhuth had been outraged by Allied bombings of German cities, and since the late 1950s, Irving had been chronicling the destruction of German cities like Dresden at the hands of the Allies. Rychlak and Pacepa themselves seized on Hochhuth's friendship with Irving in a series of ad hominem attacks against the playwright as evidence of Hochhuth's dubious character.<sup>61</sup> These attacks, in turns out, echo similar criticisms of Hochhuth in the press when Irving faced charges by Austrian authorities for his Holocaust denialism.<sup>62</sup> "It is not easy to pin down where Hochhuth stands on anything," Rychlak and Pacepa concluded.<sup>63</sup> If so, why would someone so ideologically unreliable have been recruited or chosen by East-ern-bloc intelligence officials?

Adding to his unreliability was the fact that Hochhuth was choleric and querulous. He confronted, quarreled, and excoriated, privately and publicly. In a pattern dating back to his youth, he left a trail of broken friendships, failed marriages (he was married four times), and severed working relationships, including with Hermann Shumlin.<sup>64</sup> He repeatedly

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60. On the tax advantages of Switzerland, see: Kreuzfeuer mit Herrn Hochhuth am 15.6.65, Historisches Archiv des Westdeutschen Rundfunkes (hierafter, HAWDR), Cologne #05790. He initially sought to establish his residence in the canton of Uri because its taxes were amongst the lowest in Switzerland. Receiving residency, however, required an affirmative vote from the canton citizens. The voters in this heavily Catholic canton did not vote for Hochhuth, and he opted to reside in the more heavily Protestant city of Basel. Intelligence officials sometimes target those in financial hardship as potential agents, but Hochhuth himself came from a comfortable upper-middle-class and bourgeois (*gut bürgerlich*) Protestant household (his father ran Eschwege's oldest grocery and seed company) but had struggled to establish a career as a writer in the 1950s.

61. Pacepa and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 163–65, 170–73. Hochhuth's friendship with Irving originated in several shared interests. Hochhuth despised the British and American officials for having bombed German cities; Irving first gained his reputation for chronicling the devastation of Allied bombing raids. Hochhuth also relied on Irving's support when researching *Soldiers*, his play accusing Churchill of having engineered Sikorski's plane crash.

62. Joachim Güntner, "Streit um neues Hochhuth-Buch," *Deutschlandfunk*, March 23, 2005, retrieved on October 24, 2023, <https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/streit-um-neues-hochhuth-buch-100.html>

63. Pacepa and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 173.

64. Hochhuth quarreled with Piscator, Shumlin, Reinhard Mohn, and Joseph Wulf. Tellingly, his first wife, Marianne Hochhuth-Sideri, whose tumultuous marriage to the

found himself threatening or being faced with legal action. Against the wishes of those promoting *The Deputy* in New York City because of his lack of understanding of the American legal system, he launched a lawsuit against the Austro-Hungarian born film director, Otto Preminger, who had publicly called him a “Nazi.”<sup>65</sup> Would not a person so obviously unstable and facing public interrogation and disclosure have posed a risk to intelligence officials seeking to keep their operation under wraps?

There is an additional problem with Pacea and Rychlak’s account. Hochhuth was convinced that *The Deputy*’s premiere would be a failure. His escort driving him to the premiere, Winfried Ziemann, spent the entire day trying to talk him out of these fears.<sup>66</sup> Why would Eastern-bloc intelligence officials have sponsored a work likely to fail? Or, did they not share the author’s bleak assessment? To be sure, these objections do not “disprove” Pacea’s claims—but they certainly render them less plausible.

### Chronological Problems with Pacea’s Allegations

More damning is that Pacea got the story wrong about how Hochhuth came up with the idea for the play. Pacea’s account is chronologically improbable, if not outright impossible. As we have seen, Agayants took credit for the outline of Hochhuth’s play. For this to have been the case, he would have had to have met with the playwright at some point before July, 1959. Hochhuth’s papers, however, indicate that he came up with the idea for the play on his own in the late 1950s, and most likely in late 1958 directly following the death of Pius XII in October, 1958. In early 1958, Hochhuth met a cabinetmaker in Southern Germany who while serving in the German army had been given an assignment in Auschwitz as punishment.<sup>67</sup> Keenly interested in the mass murder of the Jews, Hochhuth had discovered a most unusual report about the gas chambers in a documentary volume from 1955 about the extermination of the

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playwright ended in divorce and who had every reason to be vengeful, scoffed at accusations that the play bore the thumbprint of the KGB, regarding them as “nonsense.” Author interview with Marianne Sideri, Basel, June 2009—transcript in the Archive of St. Louis University.

65. Letter from Sanford Jerome Greenberger to Klaus Juncker, Rowohlt Verlag, October 28, 1964, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 269.

66. Email from Benjamin Ziemann (son of Winfried Ziemann) to the author, June 20, 2019—transcript in the Archive of St. Louis University.

67. “Die Frage wurde dem Papst 1943 gestellt,” *Werra-Rundschau*, March 23, 1963. Rychlak also cites an interview with Hochhuth in which he discussed meeting in 1956 an Austrian who had helped with gassing in Auschwitz. Rychlak noted critically that Hochhuth never identified this man. Pacea and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 179.

Jews. It had been compiled by Leon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, two Jewish pioneers of research into the Holocaust and anti-Semitism.<sup>68</sup> This report was from Kurt Gerstein, a Protestant opponent of National Socialism who joined the SS to sabotage the Nazi war effort and unsuccessfully attempted to blow up the gas chambers in Birkenau. Mesmerized by this find, Hochhuth attempted to write a novella about Gerstein but quickly realized that Gerstein was far better suited for the stage than a short story.<sup>69</sup> After the death of Pope Pius XII on October 9, 1958, he delved into further historical texts.<sup>70</sup> His edited editions of Wilhelm Busch's work had proven so successful that his boss, Reinhard Mohn, granted him a reward in the form of a three month sabbatical in the fall of 1959 devoted solely to his own literary output.<sup>71</sup> By July, 1959, Hochhuth began contacting libraries, publishing companies, and archives for access to the documentary material he planned to incorporate—books, photos, and the proceedings of the Wilhelmstrasse and Nuremberg trials.<sup>72</sup> He spent approximately six weeks in Rome in September and October, 1959, taking in the scenery of the Vatican in order to describe the setting of Act IV and its climactic papal scene.<sup>73</sup> During this sojourn, Hochhuth began penning the first version of his play in a small bound notebook which is preserved in the Swiss Literature Archives.<sup>74</sup>

The problem with Pacea's account, then, is fundamental. According to Agayants, Khrushchev issued his directive to initiate the disinformation campaign only in February 1960. Pacea and Rychlak also suggested that the decision to make Pope Pius XII the chief subject "was made not by

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68. Léon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, "Augenzeugenbericht über Massenveragungen," in: *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden* (Berlin, 1955), 101–15. For Hochhuth's discovery of this, see the following press dispatch. From: Paul Moor, Berlin stringer, filing through Bonn Bureau, February 19, 1963, ADK, Erwin-Piscator Center, 182, F66.

69. Interview mit Hochhuth, aus Grümmer, Magisterarbeit, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, No Schachtel Number.

70. Rolf Hochhuth, *Lebenslauf* (no date), SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 396.

71. On the successful sales, see letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Reinhard Mohn, June 9, 1959, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 396.

72. Letter from Frau Dr. S. Noller, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, to Rolf Hochhuth, July 9, 1959, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5; letter from Rolf Hochhuth to den Verlag Volk and Welt, June 16, 1959, Schachtel 296; letter from Rolf Hochhuth to das Bayrische Staatsarchiv z.Hd. Herrn Prof. Memmsen, August 24, 1959, Schachtel 296; letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Elfriede Gerstein, August 26, 1959, Schachtel 296.

73. For evidence, see the library cards he was issued in Rome. Biglietto di Libero Ingresso ai Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, September 26, 1959, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 296.

74. Ringbuch mit Recherchenmaterial, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel Ausstellung.

Hochhuth, but by the play's first producer, KGB influence agent Erwin Piscator.<sup>75</sup> Hochhuth, however, did not even meet Piscator until the spring of 1962; the first version of the play already featured Pope Pius XII as its chief protagonist. A photograph of the playwright from his sojourn in Rome in the fall of 1959 shows him wearing a papal cap.<sup>76</sup>

Are Pacepa's accounts devoid of a factual basis? There are several ways that those wishing to hold on to conspiracy theories might still be able to reconcile Pacepa's accounts with what we know about *The Deputy's* origins. On February 18, 1960, Hochhuth wrote to Bruno Wüstenberg and informed him that his literary work was proceeding slowly. Not only was it taking on greater dimensions than he had first envisioned, but his full-time work as an editor left little time available to write.<sup>77</sup> Is this, then, the smoking gun, proof that the KGB had just decided to take Hochhuth under its wings and supply him in the coming months and years with purloined documents? Once again, no. How could Agayants, or more likely his underlings, have discovered, vetted and recruited Hochhuth within just days—or at most seventeen days—after Khrushchev's directive? This also assumes, of course, that Khrushchev issued his directive in the first half of February and not the second half. Pacepa provided no specific date.

At some point between the fall of 1959 and February of 1961, Hochhuth made what was possibly the most significant addition to his play. He worked out the climax of Act 4, where Pius washes his hands after smudging them in ink while writing a feeble, watered-down statement that pointed out that the pope “knows no limits, neither of nationality, nor of religion nor of race.” The first drafts and sketches do not include this obvious allusion to Pontius Pilate. That this scene was added later is made clear by the fact that he added the following instructions in bright-blue ink to the first draft preserved in the small bound notebook: “The Pilate scene—perhaps—a wash basin, which will be brought to him, because he will have dirtied his hands while signing his (illegible word) statement. . . . Hand-washing.”<sup>78</sup>

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75. Pacepa and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 180.

76. Lahann, *Hochhuth: Der Störenfried*.

77. Letter from Hochhuth to Prälat Bruno Wüstenberg, February 18, 1960, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5.

78. Ringbuch mit Recherchenmaterial, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel Ausstellung. The original draft reads: “Die Pilatusszene: vielleicht—ein Waschbecken, das ihm gebracht wird, weil er sich beim Unterschreiben seine (illegible word) die Finger bekleckert hat’ und ‘Hände waschen.”

An image from the play showing Pius XII washing his hands. Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library, “The Deputy (Hochhuth),” 1964, in the New York Public Library Digital Collections, Image ID: TH-08051, accessed October 31, 2023. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47de-c337-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>.

In his play’s epilogue, Hochhuth stated that this scene was inspired not by the publication in France of the memoirs of the papal physician, Galeazzo-Lisi, who noted Pacelli’s extreme obsession with personal hygiene and hand-washing and his germophobia.<sup>79</sup> Hochhuth observed that this idea had “forced itself” upon him after he read the papal address of June 2, 1945, in which Pacelli extolled the church’s resistance against the Nazi onslaught and praised the Reichskonkordat as a shrewd defensive measure. For Hochhuth, this was an obvious act of self-exculpation on the part of Pius.<sup>80</sup> But it is also possible that this scene was inspired by the work of the anti-clerical French journalist, Edmond Paris, *Le Vatican contre Europe*, from 1958. The book was translated from French into English and published in 1961 by Macmillan in London. A promotional flyer for the English-language book, which is preserved in Hochhuth’s papers and was probably printed in 1960, contained the following sentences:

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79. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1963), 273.

80. Ibid. For the text of this address, see *Akten deutscher Bischöfe über die Lage der Kirche, 1933–1945, VI, 1943–1945*, ed. Ludwig Volk, (Mainz, 1985), 884–93. This address had been available in many other documentary editions already in the late 1940s.

Chapter II—Genocide. The official figure—25 million dead in the concentration camps. An interview with the Holy Father: why was he silent in the face of so many atrocities? ‘We were never informed. . .’—Washing of hands after the manner of Pontius Pilate, or the deaf man who does not wish to hear.<sup>81</sup>

In other words, it is extremely doubtful that Agayants stood behind the structure of the play.

Rendering Pacepa’s account even less plausible is the fact that Hochhuth completed his draft in February, 1961.<sup>82</sup> He submitted it and sixty pages of documentation to the Rütten and Loening Verlag on May 23, 1961.<sup>83</sup> But he continued to carry out research, as he made additions and alterations to both the text of the play itself and the historical commentary.<sup>84</sup> By August, he had signed a contract and by November, he had made corrections to the page-proofs.<sup>85</sup> At this point, the work was intended to appear in book form only; on account of the high production costs involved, no provisions were made for a stage production.<sup>86</sup>

At the end of December 1961, Hochhuth’s superior at Bertelsmann, Reinhard Mohn, abruptly broke the contract after the advance copies had been printed.<sup>87</sup> He justified this measure with the argument that forty-seven percent of the readership of the Bertelsmann Book Club consisted of

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81. Edmond Paris, *The Vatican Against Europe* (P.R. Macmillan Limited, London, Geneva, 1960), SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 269.

82. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Professor Dr. Eric Bentley, December 5, 1964, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 352.

83. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Herrn Leonhardt, May 23, 1961, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 6. These dates for completing and printing the manuscript proofs do not correspond to those provided by Birgit Lahann, who puts them at 1959 and 1960 respectively. Lahann’s account is based on interviews with the playwright; this is based on the written correspondence from Hochhuth’s papers. Lahann, *Hochhuth: Der Störenfried*, 56.

84. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Léon Poliakov, May 24, 1961, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5.

85. August was the date that he gave to Friedrich Herr. See the letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Friedrich Herr, January 23, 1962, Österreichisches Literaturarchiv der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Wien (hereafter, ÖLA), NL Friedrich Herr, ohne Signatur; letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Eric Bentley, December 5, 1964, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 352.

86. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Willy Haas, *Die Welt*, January 1, 1962, SLA, NL Hochhuth, (New Record Number) B-04-a-STELL-01-U bis W, Der Stellvertreter, Korrespondenz U bis W.

87. On the breaking of the contract, see the letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Friedrich Herr, January 21, 1962, ÖLA, NL Friedrich Herr.

Catholics, who would be none too happy to encounter a work sharply critical of the deceased pope. Hochhuth was furious with Mohn but unwilling to speak out against his boss who had granted him a sabbatical and generously financed his research stay in Rome.<sup>88</sup>

As Hochhuth began frantically writing literary figures and agents for help, Hochhuth's champion at Rütten & Loening, Karl Ludwig Leonhardt, surreptitiously submitted these page proofs, apparently even without Hochhuth's prior knowledge, to the left-leaning publishing company, Rowohlt.<sup>89</sup> Having put together the contract for *The Deputy*, Leonhardt was angered at the shabby treatment Hochhuth had just received.<sup>90</sup> Like Hochhuth, he was convinced that the crimes of National Socialism were being suppressed and needed to be brought to light.<sup>91</sup>

The readers at Rowohlt's Theater Publishers (Rowohlt Theaterverlag), however, initially expressed reservations. The work, they noted, suffered from stylistic deficiencies and would have difficulty finding a stage because of its seemingly insurmountable technical difficulties. They nonetheless praised its rich historical documentation and considered publishing it as a documentary.<sup>92</sup> In spite of these weaknesses, the head of Rowohlt, Heinrich Maria Ledig-Rowohlt, passed it to Erwin Piscator on February 26, 1962 for his verdict, noting that he alone would have the requisite courage to pull off a production.<sup>93</sup> After deliberating for less than twelve hours, Piscator, who

88. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Willy Haas, Die Welt, January 1, 1962, SLA, NL Hochhuth, (New Record Number) B-04-a-STELL-01-U bis W, Der Stellvertreter Korrespondenz U bis W.

89. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Herrn Pfarrer Hans-Jürgen Ehlers, July 29, 2007, Private Collection, Margaret Osthus. The author would like to thank her for sending him a copy of this letter.

90. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Willy Haas, Die Welt, January 1, 1962, SLA, NL Hochhuth, (New Record Number) B-04-a-STELL-01-U bis W, Der Stellvertreter Korrespondenz U bis W.

91. Author's Telephone Interview with Margaret Osthus, August 2007—transcript in the Archive of St. Louis University.

92. On the reservations, see the letter on Rowohlt Verlag letterhead with no name given (but probably Heinrich M. Ledig Rowohlt to Karl Ludwig Leonhardt), February 26, 1962, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 396. See also the letter from Heinrich M. Ledig Rowohlt to Erwin Piscator, February 26, 1962, ADK, FVB, Schnellhefter, Vorkorrespondenz, Der Stellvertreter.

93. Letter on Rowohlt Verlag letterhead with no name given (but probably Heinrich M. Ledig Rowohlt to Karl Ludwig Leonhardt), February 26, 1962, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 396. Letter from Hochhuth to Herrn Ledig Rowohlt, March 3, 1962, ADK, FVB, Schnellhefter, Vorkorrespondenz, Der Stellvertreter. For a fuller version of these events, see Ruff, *The Battle for the Catholic Past in Germany*, 166–69.



was about to take over the direction at the Free People's Theater in West Berlin, chose to take on the new work.<sup>94</sup> The stage was set for the play to premiere in West Berlin and be published as a paperback on the same day.<sup>95</sup>

Once again, this brief chronological overview renders Pacea's account extremely implausible, if not downright impossible. How would documents smuggled out of the Vatican as late as mid-to-late-1962 have found their way into a manuscript that had been set for print in November, 1961 and whose first draft had been completed already in February, 1961? There are, however, two possible escape routes for those who would believe Pacea's claims to be credible. Firstly, one could point the finger at Erwin Piscator and credit him with receiving smuggled documents. As Pacea rightly points out, Piscator had been a Communist who was in exile in Moscow between 1933 and 1936 before departing for Paris in 1936 and New York in 1939.

In fact, Rychlak and Pacea go so far as to imply that Piscator was a secret author and arbiter of *The Deputy*. They quote from Piscator's introduction to *The Deputy* from November 1962: "In any event, I have agreed with the Rowohlt publishing house that the book will reach the public at the same time as the initial Berlin production, as necessary underpinning supplement."<sup>96</sup> They conclude: "Note that Piscator promised that *he* would have the book ready for the public at the play's opening, apparently including the 'documentary supplement.' . . ." They then claim that "as he had promised, Piscator delivered the script—including the Sidelights—to the Rowohlt publishing house in time for the book to be released together with the play's opening."<sup>97</sup> They subsequently refer to *The Deputy* as "Piscator's play," and credit him—or rather "his play"—with introducing "an allegorical figure, a nameless doctor (likened by some to Josef Mengele) who played an important role in the dramatic action."<sup>98</sup>

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94. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Eric Bentley, December 5, 1964, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 352.

95. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to H.M. Ledig Rowohlt, March 8, 1961, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 269.

96. Pacea and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 181, as quoting from Erwin Piscator, "How the play got produced: Introduction to Deputy," in: *The Storm over the Deputy*, ed. Eric Bentley (New York, 1964), 15. The German original reads: "Jedenfalls habe ich mit dem Rowohlt Verlag vereinbart, daß gleichzeitig mit der Berliner Uraufführung die Buchausgabe an die Öffentlichkeit gelangt als notwendige Unterstützung und Ergänzung." Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 15.

97. Pacea and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 181.

98. Pacea and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 182.

These claims rest on a fundamental misunderstanding of Piscator's statement. Piscator was referring to his long-standing desire to have the book release take place on the same day as the premiere in Berlin in a bid to increase publicity and heighten sales.<sup>99</sup> But as Piscator's use of passive voice—"the book will reach the public"—makes clear, it was Hochhuth—and not Piscator—who as the author delivered the script to the Rowohlt publishing house. Piscator, moreover, did not "introduce" the character of the Doctor: in fact, he sought to cut the character from the stage version of the play as much as possible. Piscator even wrote that Hochhuth "stubbornly" insisted on retaining "the false, fatal and somewhat romantic Doctor."<sup>100</sup> Piscator, moreover, did not alter the printed text of Hochhuth's play, the version scheduled to appear in print as a paperback on the same day as the premiere. He insisted on altering the *stage version* of the play. When staged in its entirety, Hochhuth's original play ran for between seven and eight hours. Unless directors opted to run the play over two evenings, every production required massive cuts. Hochhuth, in turn, struggled ferociously with Piscator over these—and later with the New York director, Hermann Shumlin.<sup>101</sup> For literary reasons, Piscator insisted on cutting out almost in its entirety the fifth act, which featured a confrontation in Auschwitz between three main characters: Kurt Gerstein (a real-life opponent of National Socialism who joined the SS in order to sabotage National Socialism), Riccardo Fontana, S.J. (the fictional hero of the play), and the Doctor.<sup>102</sup> Piscator forced Hochhuth to rework and rewrite the third scene of the third act and substitute it for the original fifth act.<sup>103</sup>

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99. Letter from Erwin Piscator to Rolf Hochhuth, August 3, 1962, ADK, FVB, Schnellhefter, Vorkorrespondenz, Der Stellvertreter. Piscator also wanted the book release to take place simultaneously with the premiere, since the staged version would contain significant cuts: the book publication would allow readers to have access to the full text of the play.

100. Notizen von Herrn Piscator für Herrn Hochhuth vom 16.12.62. ADK, FVB, Schnellhefter, Vorkorrespondenz, Der Stellvertreter.

101. The Deputy . . . Content . . . Notes, SLA, NL Hochhuth (New Record Number), A-1-a-02-b, Umarbeiten fuer New York.

102. Piscator had objected to the reappearance of Jacobsen, a Jew whom Fontana had unsuccessfully attempted to rescue earlier in the play by providing him with this soutane. Piscator apparently also insisted that Gerstein should be allowed to free Jacobsen. Hochhuth objected strenuously, arguing that it would be absurd to allow the one Jew with whom the audience had developed a sense of trust to be freed from a camp where 2.5 million Jews had been murdered. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Eric Bentley, December 5, 1964, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 352.

103. For the altered version of the fifth act used during its premiere, see Hochhuth, "Eine Variante zum fünften Akt," in: *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 471–92. For Hochhuth's description of how these changes were forced upon him, see letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Eric Bentley, December 5, 1964, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 352. For Hochhuth's

In the midst of these disagreements, less than ten days before opening night, Hochhuth grabbed a telephone out of the hands of Piscator's secretary and smashed it to the ground, leaving it in smithereens.<sup>104</sup>

These changes were prompted above all by Piscator's desire to maintain the classical rules of drama and address what he perceived to be literary weaknesses in the original.<sup>105</sup> Piscator in no way altered the documentary appendix or the scenes for which historical research into church history or the ecclesia was necessary. In other words, it is nearly impossible that Piscator could have been the conduit through which stolen documents from the Vatican informed either the printed paperback text of the play or the version staged at the premiere in Berlin.

The second possibility is that KGB documents arrived late in 1962. Hochhuth continued updating and making revisions to the appendix from the time the work was formally accepted for publication in March, 1962 through at least October, 1962, but possibly as late as November 20, when Hochhuth was requested to submit the final page proofs.<sup>106</sup> But once again, almost all of these changes pertained to the fifth act in Auschwitz, in which the Pope does not appear.<sup>107</sup> There is one exception, however. Hochhuth also appended an epilogue to the appendix in late 1962, even after the page proofs for the main text and appendix had been completed.<sup>108</sup> But even here, the changes were minor.

### Hochhuth's Use of Historical Documents

But let us, for the moment, suppose that Pacea's account is correct and that the KGB did hand over documents, however banal and non-germane, to the young playwright, who used them to construct his historical

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agreement to these changes, see the letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Erwin Piscator, January 24, 1963, ADK, FVB, Schnellhefter, Vorkorrespondenz, Der Stellvertreter, Aktennotiz, Zur Kenntnis f. Herrn Piscator.

104. "Die Frage wurde dem Papst 1943 gestellt," *Werra-Rundschau*, March 22, 1963.

105. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Eric Bentley, December 5, 1964, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 352.

106. Letter from Rowohlt Verlag to Rolf Hochhuth, 9 November 1962, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 2. These may have come in as late as the end of November, or the beginning of December. See the letter from H.M. Ledig/Rowohlt to Rolf Hochhuth, November 27, 1962, ADK, FVB, Schnellhefter, Vorkorrespondenz, Der Stellvertreter.

107. Letter from Erwin Piscator to Klaus Juncker, September 24, 1962, ADK, FVB, Schnellhefter, Vorkorrespondenz, Der Stellvertreter.

108. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1963), 270–73.

appendix. The next question is unavoidable: which specific documents did he use and where? Both Pacea and Rychlak never indicated which stolen documents Hochhuth allegedly used. At first glance, these questions are superfluous. Hochhuth's appendix contains no references whatsoever to any official Vatican documents, except for those like the addresses of Pope Pius XII already available in published form.<sup>109</sup> This is hardly surprising. As Hochhuth was quick to point out, the Vatican Archives had not released any materials from the pontificate of Pius XII. And hence, Hochhuth asserted in a press statement from 1963 that he had not "found documents in the Vatican that he had been the first to work through."<sup>110</sup> Two years later in an interview with Friedrich Luft in 1965, Hochhuth reiterated this assertion: "I must say that I worked through almost no new documents in my play. The archives in Göttingen, in München, in Nuremberg, in London, in Paris as well, in the Institute for Contemporary History had long made these documents available for viewing. They appeared in book form already long before *The Deputy*."<sup>111</sup>

Hochhuth's claim that he had drawn on almost no new documents is indeed borne out by the evidence. He drew on a mixture of published memoirs, documentary anthologies, and historical works, including journal articles, monographs, and magazine articles. He duly corresponded with scholars, librarians, archivists, and historical chroniclers who gave him additional tips on sources. As we have seen, he carried out interviews with Alois Hudal and Bruno Wüstenberg while in Rome.

Before we examine each of these source-bodies in greater depth, it is necessary to point out that Hochhuth's task was not as daunting as it might seem today. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, research into the Holocaust and the Roman Catholic Church during the Nazi era was only just beginning. Scholarly bibliographies amounted only to several pages. It is thus incorrect to assume that an ambitious autodidact and amateur historian with a full-time day-job would have been incapable of carrying out research for as monumental a work as *The Deputy*. Hochhuth possessed the ability to digest information and write with astounding rapidity. How he interpreted these sources and gauged their credibility is a different matter altogether, one that has been the subject of extensive critical commentary.

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109. For one example, see the following book, *Aperçu sur L'Œuvre du Bureau d'Informations Vatican, 1939–1946* (Tip. Vat, 1948), as cited in Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 422.

110. Press clipping, "Rowohlt verteidigt Hochhuth," *Telegraf*, February 24, 1963.

111. Interview with Rolf Hochhuth, Fernsehen I Pr. 21.34 h, March 21, 1965, DRA Pressearchiv, Personalien, Hochhuth.

To come to the first body of sources to which he turned: Which historical works did Hochhuth exploit? Since his work also implicated German big business in the Holocaust, Hochhuth sought documents that exposed the role of firms like Krupp.<sup>112</sup> Let us put aside those sections of his historical sidelights, since Vatican documents could not have come into play there. Hochhuth exploited memoirs and diaries. He drew extensively on the diaries of Joseph Goebbels, which were available already in 1948, and on Hitler's Table Talks.<sup>113</sup> He turned to the published diaries and memoirs of the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, the ambassador of the Polish government in exile in Washington, Jan Ciechanowski, Lucius Clay, Ulrich von Hassell, Ernst Jünger (the heir of a family of East Prussian diplomats), Ursula von Kardorff, Harry Graf von Kessler, Franz von Papen, Rudolf von Rahn, Walter Schellenberg, and the Staatssekretär of the Foreign Office and the German ambassador to the Vatican, Ernst von Weizsäcker.<sup>114</sup> Some of these memoirs, like those of Ciano, von Papen, Schellenberger, and von Weizsäcker, were notoriously self-serving. They arose out of the need for exculpation or personal rehabilitation following their prosecution by war crimes tribunals between 1945 and 1949.

More than any other source, Hochhuth relied on published documents. He devoured the relevant volumes of the Nuremberg Military Tribunals, particularly the documentation of the Wilhelmstrasse trials of German diplomats, in which Ernst von Weizsäcker found himself on the side of the accused.<sup>115</sup> Aside from the main trial of the major war criminals,

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112. For one example, see the declaration under oath of Karl Firsch, a Krupp employee. Copy of Document, Mr. Mik, 10543, Office of U.S. Chief of Counsel for War Crimes, Erklärung unter Eid, Karl Firsch, SLA, NL Hochhuth, (New Record Number), A-01-a-04-d bis e, Folder, V. Akt, Typoskripte und Manuskripte, Dokumentation.

113. Louis P. Lochner and Joseph Goebbels, *Joseph Goebbels, Tagebücher aus den Jahren 1942–42. Mit anderen Dokumenten* (Zürich, 1948). For Hochhuth's use of these, see Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 401, 403, 412. On the table talks, Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 410, 412.

114. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998). For Ciano, see 405, 439; for Ciechanowski, 415, 418, 439; for Clay, 447; for von Hassell, 441, Jünger, 413; for Ursula von Kardorff, 417; for von Kessler, 392, 467; for Rahn, 429; for von Schellenberger, 410; for von Weizsäcker, 404, 423, 425–27, 434.

115. *Trials of War Criminals before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals, October 1946–April 1949*, 11 vols. (Washington, 1949–1953, here 1950), IX, as cited in Hochhuth (1998), 447–452. On Hochhuth's interest in the Wilhelmstrasse trials, see the following letters by Hochhuth: letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Frau. Dr. S. Noller, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, July 9, 1959 SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5; letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Herrn Prof. Mommsen, Bayerisches Staatsarchiv, August 24, 1959, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 269. For his used library card for the Institut für Zeitgeschichte, see SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 396.

the Wilhelmstrasse trials were the only trials whose transcripts had been translated into German and published in book-form by the late 1950s.<sup>116</sup> Other documents came from the Foreign Relations of the United States series and the *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, the notable historical journal launched in 1953 and published by the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich.<sup>117</sup> Several of these documents, like the report by Kurt Gerstein published in Poliakov and Wulf's volume from 1955, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, served as the play's inspiration and premise.<sup>118</sup> Portions of the Gerstein report appear almost verbatim in the play's text itself with only slight changes to accommodate the play's free verse.<sup>119</sup> The following year, Poliakov and Wulf published a follow-up volume on the Third Reich containing a set of seven remarkable documents focusing on the role of Pius XII and the Ernst von Weizsäcker.<sup>120</sup> These documents from the German Foreign Office featured telegrams between Berlin and Rome and the translation of an article from October 25–26 from the Vatican newspaper, *Osservatore Romano*, in which the Pope declared that his mercy and charity knew “no boundaries of nationality, religion or race.”<sup>121</sup> Hochhuth not only devoted more than seven pages in his appendix to an exegesis of these documents. He also allowed this statement to set up the climax of Act IV. In the process of writing this statement, the pope smudged his hands with ink from his fountain pen, forcing him to wash his hands in an unmistakable allusion to Pontius Pilate.<sup>122</sup> Just prior to the curtain-fall, the

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116. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Dr. (Robert) Kemper [sic], June 14, 1963, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 269. The letter should have been addressed to Dr. Robert Kempner.

117. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 412, 438.

118. Poliakov and Wulf, “Augenzeugenbericht über Massenveragungen,” 101–15.

119. For two examples: the Gerstein report contains the lines: “Dan setzt sich der Zug in Bewegung. Voran ein bildhübsches junges Mädchen, so gehen sie die Allee entlang, alle nackt, Männer, Frauen, Kinder, ohne Prothesen.” Hochhuth wrote: “Und die Kinderleichen. Ein junges Mädchen ging dem Zug voran, nackt wie alle. Mütter, alle nackt.” The report contains the lines: “Wie Basaltsäulen stehen die Toten aufrecht aneinander gepreßt in den Kammern. Es wäre auch kein Platz hinzufallen oder auch nur sich vorüber zu neigen. Selbst im Tode noch kennt man die Familien. Sie drücken sich, im Tode verkrampft, noch die Hände, so daß man Mühe hat, sie auseinander reißen, um die Kammern für die nächste Charge freizumachen.” Hochhuth wrote: “Wie Basaltsäulen stehn die nackten Leichen da, im Tode noch erkennt man die Familien. Sie haben sich umarmt, verkrampft—mit Haken reißt man auseinander.” Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 37, 38. Poliakov and Wulf, “Augenzeugenbericht über Massenveragungen,” 101–15.

120. Léon Poliakov and Josef Wulf, *Das Dritte Reich und seine Diener: Dokumente* (Berlin, 1956), 79–86.

121. *Ibid.*, 86.

122. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 425–33, 282–86.

playwright arranged for a “well-bred elder statesman” to read Weizsäcker’s statement from his telegram of October 28, 1943 noting that Pope “has not allowed himself to be carried away into making any demonstrative statements against the deportation of the Jews.”<sup>123</sup>

Hochhuth also directly incorporated into his play an expose on the Vatican’s finances that appeared in 1958 in *Der Spiegel*, West Germany’s leading news-magazine that was becoming increasingly critical of the Roman Catholic Church. Its details about the Vatican’s stock-holdings, factories, and the Jesuit ownership of four American airplane factories made their way directly into dialogue between Fontana, the cardinal, and the pope at the opening of Act IV.<sup>124</sup> In the epilogue to the original edition of *The Deputy*, Hochhuth even mentioned *Der Spiegel* by name as the source of this information.<sup>125</sup> A former confidante of Pius XII and ardent defender of the deceased pontiff, Robert Leiber, S.J., pointed out that Hochhuth had uncritically appropriated these claims from *Der Spiegel* and that some of the magazine’s claims were factually incorrect.<sup>126</sup> In a later edition, then, Hochhuth excised a remark noting that the Vatican had never disputed one of *Der Spiegel’s* assertions. The newsmagazine had maintained that three nephews of Pacelli, who did not hail from a wealthy family, had in their possession assets estimated at more than 120 million German marks.<sup>127</sup> Hochhuth also gleaned from *Der Spiegel* eyewitness accounts of the Warsaw ghetto that became the subject of additional analysis in his appendix.<sup>128</sup>

For information on the Vatican during the wartime years and in the present, Hochhuth turned to a number of books on the Vatican, some critical.<sup>129</sup>

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123. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 378–79.

124. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 260–61.

125. *Ibid.*, 465.

126. Certified copy of a letter (Begl. Abschrift) from Robert Leiber, S.J., to Frau Dr. Schaub, June 4, 1963, SLA, NL Hochhuth (New Records Number) B-4-a-STELL-01-R bis T-Korrespondenz, Stellvertreter, R-T.

127. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1963), 273. For the changed version, see Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 465.

128. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 421.

129. Alberto Giovanetti, *Der Vatikan und der Krieg* (Cologne, 1960), as cited in Hochhuth *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 390, 395, 400, 439; Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (Hamburg, 1950), as cited on 400; Domenico Kardinal Tardini, *Pius XII: Als Oberhirte, Priester und Mensch* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1961), 34, as cited on 436 and 454; Bernard Wall, *Der Vatikan: Reich ohne Grenzen* (Stuttgart, 1957) as cited on 422; Hubert Tichy, *Auf einem Hügel der Ewigen Stadt . . . Erlebter Vatikan* (Vienna, 197), as cited on 423; Corrado Pallenberg, *Hinter den Türen des Vatikan* (Munich, 1961), as cited on 462.



Hochhuth also made use of an attention-grabbing article by Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, who in the Catholic journal, *Hochland*, pointed out the support given by prominent German Catholics to the Nazi party in 1933.<sup>130</sup> Though these did not pertain to the Vatican, he drew on works by Fritz Hesse, Eugen Kogon, Alexander Mitscherlich, and Hugh Trevor-Roper.<sup>131</sup> But as he himself admitted, the most significant work was the German translation of Gerald Reitlinger's *The Final Solution*, the first major historical narrative of the Holocaust in the German language.<sup>132</sup> Informing several pages in the appendix, its depiction of religious opposition to the deportation of the Jews in Italy and Hungary allowed Hochhuth to assert that "the Vatican, the German bishops and the nuncios represented" the only authorities left that Hitler respected after the entry of the United States.<sup>133</sup>

One book did not appear in Hochhuth's appendix. This was Avro Manhattan's, *The Vatican in World Politics*.<sup>134</sup> Manhattan was a professional anti-Catholic who published this compendium of conspiracy theories in 1949 in English. It was translated into German and published by an East German publisher, Volk and Welt, in 1958 as part of a propaganda offensive against the Roman Catholic Church towards the height of the Berlin crisis.<sup>135</sup> Hochhuth wrote twice to the East German publishers in the summer of 1959 to ask for a copy. "I can only congratulate you that you have been the first German publisher to bring up the courage to

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130. Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde, "Der deutsche Katholizismus im Jahre 1933," *Hochland*, 53 (1960–1), 215–39, as cited in Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 394.

131. Fritz Hesse, *Das Spiel um Deutschland* (Munich, 1953), as cited in Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 396, 403; Eugen Kogon, *Der SS-Staat. Das System der deutschen Konzentrationslager* (Munich, 1946), as cited, 410; Alexander Mitscherlich and Fred Mielke, *Wissenschaft ohne Menschlichkeit: Medizinische und eugenische Irrwege unter Diktator, Bürokratie und Krieg* (Heidelberg, 1949), as cited on 406; Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Hitlers letzte Tage* (Zürich, 1948), as cited on 409.

132. Gerald Reitlinger, *Die Endlösung: Hitlers Versuch der Ausrottung der Juden Europas, 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1956). This was a work more than six hundred pages long. For its citations, see Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 389, but above all, 396–99. Hochhuth's relatively weak command of English may help explain why he never drew on Raul Hilberg's landmark volume, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, which was published in 1961.

133. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 398–99.

134. Avro Manhattan, *The Vatican in World Politics* (London, 1949).

135. On this offensive, see the following commentary, Grundsätzliches Gespräch über die Religionspolitik in der DDR, April 6, 1961, Archiv des Zentralkomitee der deutschen Katholiken (ZDK), Bad Godesberg, 4231/1. For an account of the SED's Kirchenpolitik, see Bernd Schaefer, *The East German State and the Catholic Church, 1945–1989* (New York, 2010), 64–84.



publish this book.”<sup>136</sup> After reading it, however, he inquired about the author’s address, finding a number of points “that did not quite square away with the protocol of the Nuremberg trials against Ernst von Weizsäcker and comrades.”<sup>137</sup> It is not clear whether Hochhuth actually wrote to Manhattan, but it is almost certain that he appropriated nothing from this book: nothing in the text or verbiage of this book has a counterpart in *The Deputy*. A radio commentary from 1963 even discussed the fact that Hochhuth had read this controversial book but correctly noted that he “disregarded it as a source.”<sup>138</sup> One can discern only one commonality between Manhattan’s and Hochhuth’s respective works: a tendency to ascribe heightened power to the Vatican as a “diplomatic and political center.” Manhattan wrote that its diplomatic influence and power increases in wartime, since, as a neutral power, it receives information and services from both sides.<sup>139</sup>

Hochhuth certainly shared this conviction which informed the premise of his play. But Manhattan’s East German publishers saw it differently. In their forward to Manhattan’s book, they criticized the author for overestimating the might of the Vatican in the past. Imperialism—and not the Roman Catholic Church—was “the worst enemy of mankind.” Their position was consistent with that taken in the past by Communist regimes, which ascribed power and might not to moral authorities but to armies on the battlefield: “How many divisions does the Vatican have?” Stalin had famously quipped. These observations raise additional questions: if Pacea’s account is correct, did Khrushchev’s Seat-12 plan represent a fundamental shift in the Kremlin’s attitudes and stance towards the Roman Catholic Church?

As this example makes clear, Hochhuth had no qualms about contacting the authors of the books he deemed most salient. He wrote the former ambassador of the Polish government in exile to the United States, Jan

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136. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to den Verlag Volk und Welt, Gütersloh, June 16, 1959; letter from Verlag Volk und Welt to Rolf Hochhuth, August 6, 1959, SLA, NL Hochhuth, Schachtel 269. “Ich kann Sie nur beglückwünschen, daß Sie als erster deutscher Verlag den Mut aufgebracht haben, dieses Buch zu veröffentlichen.

137. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to den Verlag Volk und Welt, z.Hd. Herrn Rych, September 1, 1959, SLA, NL Hochhuth, Schachtel 269. The original quote reads: “verschiedene Punkte fand, die nicht ganz übereinstimmen mit dem Protokoll des Nürnberger Prozesses gegen Ernst von Weizsäcker und Genossen.”

138. Radio Commentary, Herman Nickel, *The Hochhuth Controversy*, October 11, 1963 (recd. October 14, 1963), 5, AAK, Piscator-Center 182.

139. Avro Manhattan, *Der Vatikan und das XX. Jahrhundert* (East Berlin, 1958), 18.

Ciechanowski, to determine whether the ambassador had forwarded a report by Jan Karski about the ongoing mass murders to the Vatican. Ciechanowski told him that he had kept representatives of the American government and the American Catholic church constantly informed about the extermination of Polish Jews, a statement that made its way into the appendix in a mildly edited form.<sup>140</sup>

Hochhuth carried on an extensive correspondence with Léon Poliakov, who played an active role in the *Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine*, a documentary center in Paris founded in 1943 which by the 1950s had become a nexus for research into the Shoah. Poliakov supplied Hochhuth with additional leads, contacts, and source-material, including the quotation from François Mauriac which gilds the opening pages to the paperback version of *The Deputy*.<sup>141</sup> Poliakov made Hochhuth aware of a crucial article in the Jesuit magazine, *Stimmen der Zeit*, from 1961.<sup>142</sup> A close confidante and adviser of Pius XII, Robert Leiber, S.J., penned this essay in response to the publication in 1960 of one of the first German-language documentaries on the Holocaust, *Der Gelbe Stern*.<sup>143</sup> This work not

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140. Letter from Jan Ciechanowski to Rolf Hochhuth, December 18, 1961, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5. Ciechanowski had authored a book, which had been translated into German: Jan Ciechanowski, *Vergeblicher Sieg* (Zurich, 1948). Ciechanowski wrote: "From March 1941, when I took over the duties as Ambassador of Poland to the United States, until July 5th 1945, when I resigned, I took full advantage of every opportunity to keep the President, the Vice President, the Department of State, the United States Congress, the American Press, the Cardinals, the Bishops, the Apostolic Delegate and the American Universities constantly informed about the unprecedented acts of barbarity of Hitler's Nazi oppressors in Poland, particularly of their treatment and extermination of the Jewish population." Hochhuth wrote: "Der ehemalige polnische Botschafter in Washington antwortete . . . daß er nicht nur dem apostolischen Delegaten in Washington (dem heutigen Kardinalstaatssekretär Cicognani), sondern auch dem amerikanischen Kongreß, Bischöfen und Universitäten diese Nachrichten über die Ausrottung der Jugend zugeleitet habe—und zwar hat er bis zu seiner Abberufung am 5. Juli immer und immer wieder diese und neue Informationen aus Polen an die Erwähnten gegeben." For its appearance in the appendix, see Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 416. Hochhuth informed the reader that he had raised this information in a letter from Ciechanowski.

141. See Letter from Léon Poliakov to Hochhuth, April 27, 1961, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5. In this letter, Poliakov gave him the address of J. Czapski, who had been during the war a contact man in the Polish government in exile. Letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, May 26, 1961. For the quote by Mauriac, see Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1963), 6.

142. Robert Leiber, "Pius XII und die Juden in Rom, 1943–1944," *Stimmen der Zeit*, 167 (1960–1961) 428–36, as cited on 427, 429, 433, 435, 436.

143. Gerhard Schoenberner, *Der gelbe Stern* (Rütten & Loening, 1960). For Schoenberner's response to Leiber's article, see Gerhard Schoenberner, "Fälschung der Geschichte?" *Die Zeit*, March 15, 1963. Hochhuth himself was well aware of the fact that Schoenberner's

only featured dozens of graphic black and white photos, some covering an entire page. It also juxtaposed the statement of protest against Jewish deportations from the Dutch Catholics from July, 1942 with Ernst von Weizsäcker's telegram to Berlin from October 28, 1943. Hochhuth had befriended the author, Gerhard Schoenberner, and had helped him put together this documentary edition for Rütten & Loening.<sup>144</sup> Describing Poliakov's individual act of assistance as "priceless," Hochhuth devoted pages in his appendix to refuting Leiber's account.<sup>145</sup> These amounted to some of the most substantial revisions that Hochhuth made in his appendix between April and November, 1961, when the manuscript was typeset. These additions were not triggered by the sudden arrival of new documentary material smuggled out of the Vatican.

It is not difficult to discern Poliakov's motives for helping a German Protestant author. Poliakov was an individual of impeccable integrity. Born in Russia in 1910, he was a French Jew who, after escaping as a prisoner of war, worked to rescue Jews in south-central France together with the Protestant pastor, André Trocmé, from the village of Le Chambon.<sup>146</sup> Poliakov too had wrestled with the Pope's unwillingness to issue a ringing public protest against the murder of European Jewry, although both his public and private musings on the topic consistently exhibited a more cautious tone.<sup>147</sup> He was also hoping that Hochhuth, from his perch at Rütten

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documentation had served as the trigger for Leiber's response in *Stimmen der Zeit*. See Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Gerhard Schoenberner, n.d., SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5.

144. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Robert Kemper (sic), June 14, 1963, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 269. In this letter, Hochhuth noted that he had given assistance to Schoenberner. How much assistance Hochhuth actually gave is open to some question, since he was not thanked by name in the acknowledgements.

145. Hochhuth to Poliakov, May 24, 1961, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5. For the relevant pages in the appendix, see Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 427–36.

146. The rescue efforts launched at Le Chambon have been the subject of numerous books. See Philip Hailie, *Lest Innocent Blood be Shed* (New York, 1979); Caroline Moorhead, *Village of Secrets: Defying the Nazis in Vichy France* (New York, 2015).

147. This became the theme of several books. See Léon Poliakov, *Harvest of Hate: The Nazi Program for the Destruction of the Jews of Europe* (Westport, CT, 1954), 296–305. This was a translation of Léon Poliakov, *Bréviaire de la Haine* (Paris, 1951). For examples of this correspondence, see the letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, October 27, 1960, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5; letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, December 28, 1960, Schachtel 257; letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, December 16, 1960, Schachtel 257; letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, November 12, 1960, Schachtel 257; letter from Hochhuth to Poliakov, April 10, 1961, Schachtel 5; letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, April 15, 1961, Schachtel 5; letter from Hochhuth to Poliakov, April 19, 1961, Schachtel 269; letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, April 27, 1961, Schachtel 5; letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, May 12, 1961, Schachtel 5; letter from Hochhuth to Poliakov, May 24, 1961, Schachtel 5; letter from

and Loening, would be able to help him secure a German language translation and publication of his recent work, *Histoire de L'antisemitisme*.<sup>148</sup> His assistance, however, was most certainly not part of a quid pro quo, for their correspondence continued for more than two years after Rütten and Loening rejected his manuscript in 1961.<sup>149</sup>

Not least, Hochhuth carried out research at the Wiener Library in London, the first and oldest archive and institution devoted to the study of the Holocaust. He bombarded a German-speaking archivist, Ilse Wolff, herself a Jewish refugee who had fled Nazi Germany in 1933, with question after question, requests to borrow books via the 1960s equivalent of Interlibrary Loan, and apologies for those that were overdue.<sup>150</sup> Thanking her profusely for her assistance in the spring of 1961, he even offered to make a modest annual financial contribution to the library, a promise he fulfilled. "I have such a guilty conscience," he wrote her, "for constantly relying on your help but I don't know to whom else to turn."<sup>151</sup>

Acknowledging these published sources allows us to rule out vast portions of the appendix and the text of the play itself where purloined documents might have been thought to have been decisive in their creation. But what about the places where Hochhuth failed to provide citations for his sources or provided inadequate documentation? Were these sites where the young playwright might have brought to bear documents stolen originally by the DIE and forwarded to the KGB? Let us go through three of the most salient sites in detail. As we shall see, these sites were often those

Poliakov to Hochhuth, May 26, 1961, Schachtel 5; letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, December 4, 1961, Schachtel 5; letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, January 9, 1962, Schachtel 5. These letters represent only part of the correspondence; not all of the letters have been preserved. In addition, Poliakov and Hochhuth had at least one telephone correspondence, which is referred to in the letter from December 16, 1960.

148. Letter from Hochhuth to Poliakov, May 24, 1961, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5.

149. Letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, May 26, 1961, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5. For additional correspondence, see the letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, December 4, 1961, Schachtel 5; letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, January 9, 1962, Schachtel 5; letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, February 9, 1963, Schachtel 271; letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, April 8, 1963, Schachtel 271; letter from Poliakov to Hochhuth, May 16, 1963, Schachtel 269.

150. Letter from Hochhuth to Ilse R. Wolff, The Wiener Library, London, April 8, 1961, SLA, NL Hochhuth (New Record Number), B-04-a-STELL-01-U bis W: Stellvertreter Korrespondenz U bis W.

151. Letter from Hochhuth to Ilse R. Wolff, The Wiener Library, London, June 13, 1961 (New Record Number), B-04-a-STELL-01-U bis W: Stellvertreter Korrespondenz U bis W.

where Hochhuth incorporated comments stemming from his interviews with Hudal and Wüstenberg.

In what would become a bone of contention in the subsequent controversies over his play, Hochhuth took issue with arguments that had been raised by the German diplomat, Albrecht von Kessel, in the Wilhelmstrasse trials. Kessel claimed that the pope feared that Hitler might directly occupy the Vatican and take him prisoner, had the pontiff spoken out forcefully against Nazi mass murder. Hochhuth labeled this argument the height of folly. He asserted that he had repeatedly been told at the Vatican that no one would have considered Hitler possible of such an act of “stupidity.”<sup>152</sup> He, however, did not disclose which Vatican officials had told him this. We now know that Hochhuth drew almost verbatim from the formulations given to him by Hudal and Wüstenberg. On October 22, 1959, Hudal had told Hochhuth that Hitler “wasn’t that stupid.”<sup>153</sup> On October 26, 1959, Wüstenberg told Hochhuth that von Kessel’s testimony was ridiculous, as “no one in the Vatican for a minute expected a German occupation.”<sup>154</sup> In the same breath, Wüstenberg told Hochhuth that “someone had told the Pope to go to South America, but it (this suggestion) was not at all discussed.”<sup>155</sup> Hochhuth subsequently wrote in his

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152. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 428. See the original: “Es war nicht so, daß der Vatikan sich noch ernstlich vor Hitler hätte fürchten müssen. Dem Verfasser ist im Vatikan wiederholt bestätigt worden, daß dort niemand ernsthaft Hitler die Dummheit zuge-  
traut hat, den Vatikan zu besetzen und etwa Pius XII in eine Avignonische Gefangenschaft zu  
entführen, so viele Gerüchte dieser Art damals auch einige harmlose Gemüter erhitzt haben.”

153. Protokoll des Gesprächs mit Hudal, SLA NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel, Ausstellungsdokumente, Ringhefte. The text from Hochhuth’s protocol reads as follows. “Eine etwas unbestimmte Formulierung, aber seine Zustimmung ermunterte mich, weiter zu fragen: “Hat man im Vatikan je ernsthaft gefürchtet, daß Hitler ihn besetzen oder den papst entführen wurde?“ “A—mi, nae, so dumm war der Hitler nit, a solche Weltmacht gegen ihn aufzubringen. . .—ist—. . . die Westfalen und so viele Katholiken waren doch mit seine besten Soldaten.”

154. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Marianne (Hochhuth), October 26, 1959, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5. This letter contained the protocol of Hochhuth’s conversation with Wüstenberg. Hochhuth wrote: “Wüstenberg ging sofort auf meine 3. Frage ein, und sagte, Kessels Aussage sei lächerlich, man habe im Vatikan nicht eine Minute eine Besetzung durch die Deutschen erwartet, im Gegenteil.” Hochhuth had posed the following question to him: “Halten Sie v. Kessels Argumentation für stichhaltig: der Papst habe fürchten müssen, daß bei einem Protest die SS den Vatikan besetzt und sich der Person des Papstes bemächtigt habe?“ Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Bruno Wüstenberg, October 23, 1959, SLA, NL Hochhuth, Schachtel 5.

155. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Marianne (Hochhuth), October 26, 1959, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5. The original reads: “Irgendwer habe ihm empfohlen, nach Südamerika zu gehen—es sei gar nicht diskutiert worden.”

appendix: “not for fifteen minutes did the Vatican seriously discuss a proposal that the Curia move to South America for the duration of the occupation of Rome.”<sup>156</sup> Six paragraphs later, Hochhuth wrote that “it is said in the Vatican nowadays that (von Kessel) was the only unequivocal and resolute anti-Nazi in the German embassy.”<sup>157</sup> This assertion also stemmed directly from Wüstenberg, who apparently thought highly of von Kessel and whom he knew well.<sup>158</sup>

Statements from Hochhuth’s protocol of Hudal’s first conversations also found their way directly into the main text of the play. Hochhuth noted that “. . . the bishop is still rather infected by the Nazi ideology. . . . He still regrets today that National Socialism and Christianity didn’t work together and cites a phrase of Molotov from around 1934, according to which Communism is finished if National Socialism and Christianity come to terms with each other. The decision lies in Germany. Hitler, however, didn’t grasp that.”<sup>159</sup> Hochhuth inserted part of this commentary almost verbatim into the mouth of the papal nuncio in Berlin, Cesare Orsenigo. In Act I, Hochhuth had Orsenigo opine: “Mr. Molotov grasped in 1934 that if the church in Germany should strike up an accord with the Hitler folks . . . then Communism in Europe would be finished.”<sup>160</sup> Once again, there was no need for Hochhuth to turn to smuggled documents.

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156. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 428. The original reads: “Ein Angebot, die Kurie solle für die Dauer der Besatzung Roms nach Südamerika emigrieren, ist im Vatikan keine Viertelstunde ernstlich diskutiert worden.”

157. Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 431. The original reads: “Man sagt heute im Vatikan, er (von Kessel) sei der eindeutige scharfe Anti-Nazi in der deutschen Botschaft gewesen.”

158. Letter from Rolf Hochhuth to Marianne (Hochhuth), October 26, 1959, SLA, NL Rolf Hochhuth, Schachtel 5. The original reads: “Und er erzählte sehr ausführlich von Kessel, den er schätze und gut kenne: Kessel sei die einzige Nicht-Nazi in der Botschaft Weizsäckers gewesen, im Gegensatz zur Darstellung in Weizsäckers Memoiren.”

159. *Aperçu sur L’Œuvre du Bureau d’Informations Vatican, 1939–1946* (Tip. Vat, 1948). See also Protokoll des Gesprächs mit Hudal, SLA, NL Hochhuth, Schachtel, Ausstellungsdokumente, Ringhefte. The original reads: “Im übrigen ist der Bischof eher noch von der NS-Ideologie infiziert. . . . Er bedauert auch heute noch, dass Nationalsozialismus und Christentum nicht zusammengingen und zitiert ein Wort Molotovs aus etwa 1934, der Kommunismus sei erledigt, wenn Nationalsozialismus und Christentum sich verständigten. Die Entscheidung fällt in Deutschland. Hitler habe das aber nicht begriffen. . . .”

160. The original reads: “Herr Molotov hat’s längst begriffen: er hat ihm im Jahre vierunddreißig eingestanden, wenn es in Deutschland zur Verschmelzung der Kirche mit den Hitler-Leuten komme—und damals sah es ja so aus, es war ein segensreicher Anfang—dann sei der Kommunismus erledigt in Europa.” Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (1998), 32.

## Conclusions

As they themselves admit, Pacea's and Rychlak's claims are based on circumstantial evidence.<sup>161</sup> Hochhuth identified with the left. Piscator was a former Communist. Fritz Raddatz, who helped oversee the public relations campaign at Rowohlt, had spent much of the 1950s in Communist East Germany as a literary editor. But to conclude on the basis that all three therefore received KGB assistance and that *The Deputy* was the result of a "disinformation" campaign is not borne out whatsoever by the written records about the play's origins, evidence that Pacea and Rychlak did not use.

On the contrary, a careful analysis of both supports the original version of the tale: Hochhuth was a lone wolf who came up with the idea for *The Deputy* on his own, carried out his own research based on published books and published documentary evidence, and integrated this research both into the play itself and into the appendix. In the process of researching, writing, and editing, he did receive assistance and historical tips—but from librarians, archivists, scholars, and contemporaries, not intelligence agents.

Tellingly, much of this account of *The Deputy's* origins (with the exception of the internal deliberations at Rowohlt) had come to light in the torrent of news-coverage between 1963 and 1965.<sup>162</sup> An extensive cover-page story in *Der Spiegel* from April 24, 1963, for instance, retraced most of these steps.<sup>163</sup> Normally quick to respond to what he saw as unjustified attacks on his work, Hochhuth never denied this account.<sup>164</sup>

As the available evidence suggests, the allegations put forward by Pacea that documents purloined from the Vatican found their way into Hochhuth's play and that a KGB disinformation campaign was responsible for *The Deputy's* success appear to have no merit. There is nothing in the

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161. Pacea and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 131, 177.

162. For one example, see Newspaper Clipping, "Gespräch mit einem jungen Bühnenautor," *Telegraf*, February 17, 1963, DRA, Inszenierung, der Stellvertreter, #333.

163. "Ein Kampf mit Rom," *Der Spiegel*, no. 17, April 24, 1963.

164. After *Der Spiegel* devoted its cover story on Rolf Hochhuth, the young playwright wrote a letter to the editor, which *Spiegel* published two weeks later, on May 8, 1963. Hochhuth discussed the role of Ernst von Weizsäcker and also introduced a quote from the Catholic historian and musicologist, Dr. Hans Kühner-Wolfskehl. But nowhere in this three-paragraph letter did he dispute the accuracy of *Spiegel's* profile of him and his work, which, in fact, offered a critical commentary and was not a glowing tribute. There exists, of course, the possibility that *Spiegel* might have chosen not to print such an article, but no copy of such a letter exists in Hochhuth's personal papers, a letter that he would no doubt have saved.



archival record or in the text of *The Deputy* that would corroborate his claims. On the other hand, there is no evidence that would indicate that the Seat-12 mission did not exist or that Romanian intelligence agents disguised as priests did not attempt to gain access to the Vatican Archives. As George Weigel has shown, the KGB and other Eastern European intelligence agencies had remarkable success in infiltrating the Vatican.<sup>165</sup> But their efforts postdated the premiere of Hochhuth's play. Pacepa may simply have been fed a bunch of falsehoods that originated in a macho culture of intelligence gathering where bragging rights were a passport to success.

The challenge for scholars wrestling with conspiracy theories such as those raised by Hochhuth, Pacepa, and Rychlak is that their claims not only cannot be conclusively proven: they also cannot be disproven. One sentence in *Disinformation* exposes this method of argumentation. On the subject of whether Pacelli and the liberal Protestant theologian, Adolf von Harnack might have met in Berlin, the authors opine: "Whether factually verifiable or not, it is entirely plausible that the two religious leaders might have met. . . ."<sup>166</sup> By their very nature, conspiracy theories constantly mutate and evolve. If one plank of a conspiracy theory is disproven or called into question, another claim arises to take its place.

Crucially, there will never be a shortage of historical raw material from which to erect new and ever more elaborate conspiratorial edifices. This is particularly true for *The Deputy* for several reasons. For one, the literati associated with its creation and production in dozens of countries tended to be outspoken public intellectuals on the left, many with a penchant for inflammatory and embarrassingly naïve public utterances. For another, *The Deputy's* improbable success was made possible by a vast network anchored in Germany but with an international reach. Based out of Rowohlt publishing house, it arranged for copyrights, theater stages, directors, public relations, ticket sales, and publicity internationally. These editors, publicists, and directors were ultimately responsible for transforming an unknown work by an obscure German playwright into an international sensation staged in dozens of nations on both sides of the Iron Curtain by 1966.

For Rychlak and Pacepa, the existence of this left-wing network explains why a conspiracy had to be behind *The Deputy* and why they partially shifted the focus of their theories from Hochhuth to Piscator between 2007 and 2013. They duly noted the prominent role played by

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165. Weigel, *The End and the Beginning*, 99–109.

166. Pacepa and Rychlak, *Disinformation*, 177.



left-wingers and Communists like Piscator who were involved in nearly every stage of the production process for the premiere in Berlin in February, 1963. The existence of these networks, however, predated and postdated Hochhuth. They would have existed regardless of whether Karl Ludwig Leonhardt had surreptitiously sent a copy of Hochhuth's discarded page proofs to Rowohlt. As it turns out, Piscator played no role in subsequent performances of *The Deputy* following its premiere in Berlin. Different directors were found.

To cite the old adage: correlation does not mean causation. Rychlak and Pacepa have yet to provide evidence to establish causation. The only way to prove their claims is to provide conclusive written evidence from the intelligence archives of the former Eastern bloc. Until Rychlak can do so, his claims cannot be substantiated. In light of the massive evidence to the contrary, they have to be regarded as improbable, and, in some cases, chronologically impossible.

Drawing on the papers of Hochhuth, Piscator, and the papers of Rowohlt Verlag and the Free People's Theater, this article has provided a more "innocent" explanation for the origins of *The Deputy*, one in keeping with the version already brought to light between 1963 and 1966. For it to be supplanted by a conspiratorial retelling, dozens of individuals in multiple countries would have had to be employed as intelligence operatives in libraries and archives, in publishing venues from Bertelsmann to Rowohlt, and in countries from Germany to Israel to the United Kingdom. Even worse: tens of thousands of pages of historical records and correspondence from multiple business, state, and literary archives would need to be shown to be falsifications or deliberate plants that were meticulously prepared over years with the intent of misleading historians sixty years later. The original handwritten drafts and typed manuscripts of Hochhuth's play might have to be shown as forgeries, Piscator or multilingual Eastern bloc intelligence agents having served as the "true" author. The dates on these manuscripts would have to be shown to be falsified. Since those promoting these conspiracy theories have not examined these relevant archival records which require a versatility in multiple languages, their judgments about the origins of *The Deputy* must be regarded as speculation and wishful thinking until new evidence comes to light.

# Searching for Ecclesial Compromise: The Role of Juan Landázuri Ricketts, Archbishop of Lima (Peru), during the Preparatory Phase of Vatican II (1961–1962)

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*This article studies the participation of Juan Landázuri Ricketts, archbishop of Lima (Peru), in the Preparatory phase of Vatican II, as a member of the Central Preparatory Commission (CPC). It argues that Landázuri's involvement at the CPC exemplifies how an archbishop from the Catholic periphery positioned himself with his own interpretation of the Church and her necessity for doctrinal and pastoral renewal. Landázuri was a Father in search of compromises in his interventions at CPC sessions, and pursued a balance between the necessity of Church renewal and the importance of gradually implementing any reform to avoid doctrinal abuses and giving scandal to the faithful. The article seeks to contribute to the history of Vatican II through the knowledge of Landázuri's participation in the conciliar preparatory phase.*

Keywords: Juan Landázuri Ricketts; Preparatory Phase; Council Vatican II; Peru; Catholic Church

## Introduction

The research up to this point on the preparatory phase mainly studies the Central Preparatory Commission and the other preparatory commissions.<sup>1</sup> These studies share an approach to the Vatican II historiography,

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1. Antonino Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo: Il dibattito nella Commissione centrale preparatoria del Vaticano II* (Genoa, 1992); Giuseppe Alberigo and Alberto Melloni, eds., *Verso il concilio Vaticano II (1960–1962)* (Genoa, 1993); Riccardo Buringana, Maria Paiano, Giovanni Turbanti, and Mauro Velati, "La messa a punto dei testi: le commissioni nella fase preparatoria del Vaticano II," in: *Vaticano II commence... Approches francophones*, ed. Étienne Fouilloux (Leuven, 1993), 28–53; Alexandra Von Teuffenbach, "La

which is interpreted by the hermeneutics of the majority and minority theological and juridical positions during the conciliar period. They also focus for the most part on the notable protagonists of the debates. Even the preparatory phase is analyzed from these approaches.

As its title announces, the impressive work of Antonino Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo* (1992), also focuses on the leading two positions taking place in the Central Preparatory Commission (CPC). On one side were the defenders of the juridical and disciplinary orientation of the schemas. These were mainly members of the Roman Curia. On the other side were the supporters of a more pastoral and theological re-elaboration of the schemas. Therefore, Indelicato aims his attention at the well-known actors of the CPC, like Cardinals Augustin Bea, Alfredo Ottaviani, Léon-Joseph Suenens, or Monsignor Marcel Lefebvre. An analogous outline is also shared by Joseph Komonchak's chapter on the preparatory phase in the first volume of *History of Vatican II*, edited by Giuseppe Alberigo.<sup>2</sup>

Although this dualistic outline is valid—with some nuances—in understanding the historical development of Vatican II, it neglects the participation of the majority of Fathers, whose stances were complex and reflected their own interpretation of the Church and its necessity for doctrinal and pastoral renewal. Hence, this study of the participation of Juan Landázuri, the archbishop of Lima, Peru, at the CPC sheds light on his understanding of the Catholic Church and her need for doctrinal and pastoral renewal.

From a prudent approach, Landázuri believed that the Church should renew herself, but gradually, in order to avoid affecting the faithful's sense of piety and ecclesial belonging. However, Landázuri favored a new theological and doctrinal understanding of the Church because of the increasing ecclesial collaboration of laypeople. Hence, in his intervention in the CPC and his pastoral position in Lima, he always remarked on the necessity of reform. Far from resisting the changes, even the theological ones, Landázuri favored adapting the Church to the new times to foster her

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Commissione Teologica preparatoria (Concilio Vaticano II),” *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, 21 (2012), 219–43.

2. Joseph Komonchak, “La lucha por el concilio durante la preparación,” in: *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II*, vol. I, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca, 1999), 155–330. The chapter title in English is “The Struggle for the Council during the Preparation of Vatican II (1960–1962).”

presence in society. Although there are studies on the archbishop's role during the council, they do not analyze the preparatory period.<sup>3</sup>

The article begins with a profile of Monsignor Juan Landázuri Ricketts from his formation up to the submission of his *vota* to the Council in 1959. The second part analyzes Landázuri's intervention and theological-canonical positioning during the CPC meetings. Focusing mainly on his participation during the fifth and sixth sessions, this paper examines the archbishop's understanding of ecclesial renewal and the necessity of a doctrinal, theological, and pastoral adaptation of the Church. His positioning illustrates the theological and pastoral complexity of a prelate from a peripheric Church in contact with the doctrinal trends in the context of the preparation of a council. Likewise, through examining Landázuri's stances, this paper draws a broader picture of the history of the preparatory phase of Vatican II in order to make this history more global and Catholic. Hence, the article concludes with illustrating the importance of focusing on non-European actors to obtain a more global approach to theological-historical studies of Vatican II.

### **A Profile of a Franciscan Archbishop: Who was Juan Landázuri Ricketts?**

Juan Landázuri Ricketts was born in Arequipa, in southern Peru, on December 19, 1913. His birth name was Guillermo Eduardo Landázuri Ricketts. He was a member of a very traditional and well-known Catholic family in Arequipa. His uncle Alberto Ricketts Murga and his cousin Alfredo Barreda Landázuri were doctors and members of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul. The pair were very well known for attending to ill poor people for free as a form of their lay apostolate in Arequipa.<sup>4</sup> After being rejected from the Navy, he had as a spiritual director the Spanish Franciscan and priest Francisco Cabré, who was the advisor of the Catholic Circle of Workers in Arequipa and a diffuser of Social Catholicism in the city through public talks and the newspaper *La Colmena*. Cabré was a moderate thinker who criticized the social and economic inequalities, even

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3. Serapio Ríos Juárez, "El cardenal Landázuri y el Concilio Vaticano II" (master's thesis, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2013); Massimo Zorzin, *Il cardinale Juan Landázuri Ricketts: La Chiesa Peruviana e Latinoamericana nel periodo del Concilio Vaticano II* (Roma, 2018). Ríos Juárez's thesis does not study the preparatory phase, while Zorzin devotes only seven pages to a descriptive analysis of the CPC.

4. Rolando Iberico Ruiz, "El cardenal Juan Landázuri Ricketts, arzobispo de Lima: pastor de la recepción conciliar y de la unidad (1955–1989)," in: *Obispos de la Patria Grande: Pastores, Profetas y Mártires*, ed. Ana María Bidegaín (Bogotá, 2018), 103–30, here 104.

considering strikes as necessary under certain circumstances, such as preserving social order.<sup>5</sup> The Spaniard Franciscan was an example of the third way of Social Catholicism that criticized social inequality and fostered social reforms in order to reach social harmony.

Landázuri joined the Order of Friars Minors of the Franciscan Province of San Francisco Solano in 1932. After joining the order, he took Juan as his religious name. The same year, he began his one-year philosophical and four-year theological training in the Convent of Ocopa in the central highlands (Junín, Perú).<sup>6</sup> On April 16, 1939, Landázuri was ordained a priest in the Convent of Ocopa, where he was assigned to teach liturgy and canon law.<sup>7</sup>

During the Second World War, in 1943, the Minister General of the Franciscan Order named a General Definitor for the South American provinces in Lima. Juan Landázuri was named as his advisory member. After being part of the government of his Order, Landázuri's ecclesiastical career took off. In 1946, he participated in the World Congress of Pax Romana and remained in Rome to study canon law in the Pontifical Athenaeum Antonianum. There, he obtained the doctorate *summa cum laude* in canon law in 1949.<sup>8</sup> In 1950, Landázuri was named Master of Studies at Ocopa and professor of canon law. However, very soon after, Landázuri was elected Provincial of the Province of San Francisco Solano and gained the right to participate in the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order in Assisi in 1951. During the Chapter, Landázuri was elected as the General Definitor of the Order for Latin America.<sup>9</sup> As a new member of the Franciscan Curia, he remained in Rome and was invited to teach canon law at the Antonianum.<sup>10</sup>

However, Landázuri's governmental mandate was short-lived. In March 1952, the Holy See elected him as auxiliary bishop of Lima, and in

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5. Iberico Ruiz, "El cardenal Juan Landázuri," 104–05. In 1918, Cabré criticized the "heartless Capitalism" that destroyed the life of the workers and their families. See: Francisco Cabré, *La unión de la clase obrera: Conferencia dada en el "Círculo de Obreros Católicos" en el cine Arequipa, el día 27 de enero de 1918* (Arequipa, 1918), 15–16.

6. Zorzín, *Il cardinale*, 100–01. The Convent of Ocopa was at that moment the Provincial House of Higher Studies.

7. Ríos Juárez, "El cardenal Landázuri," 32.

8. Ríos Juárez, "El cardenal Landázuri," 33. In 1950, his doctoral thesis "De alienatione bonorum temporalium religiosorum" was published in Rome by Desclée de Brouwer.

9. Ríos Juárez, "El cardenal Landázuri," 33.

10. Ríos Juárez, "El cardenal Landázuri," 33.

April, as coadjutor bishop of the archbishop of Lima, Cardinal Juan Gualberto Guevara y Cuba. In August 1952, the Franciscan friar was consecrated bishop in the Cathedral of Lima.<sup>11</sup> The newly ordained bishop faced the conflict between the archbishop of Lima, Cardinal Guevara, and the Apostolic nuncio Giovanni Panico, regarding the organization of the Eucharist Congress. After resolving the conflict, Landázuri reached a conclusion that led his episcopal ministry: the importance of the search for “unity inside and outside the Church.”<sup>12</sup> In May 1955, after the death of Cardinal Guevara, Pius XII appointed Landázuri as archbishop of Lima. He was put in charge of a large territory of more than 34,000 kilometers squared, with a population of 1,420,000 inhabitants and a total of 527 priests (121 diocesan priests and 406 religious priests).<sup>13</sup>

At the beginning of Landázuri’s episcopal ministry, the archdiocese of Lima had the pastoral and social challenge of the growing slums. In his first pastoral letter of June 1955, he expressed his awareness of the socio-political and economic changes in the country and the physical transformation of the territory due to the expansion of the cities, while requesting the Catholics to remain faithful to God and the Holy Church.<sup>14</sup> The same year, as archbishop of Lima, Landázuri participated in the First General Conference of the Latin American Episcopate in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The Conference identified the four main problems of the region: 1) the scarcity of clergy; 2) the religious education of the faithful; 3) the socio-economic inequalities; and 4) the situation of indigenous people.<sup>15</sup>

The pastoral visits to rural and urban parishes were crucial for Landázuri’s position in favor of a social pastoral committed to the underprivileged realities of the archdiocese. He asserted that by visiting slum parishes, he “touched the reality.”<sup>16</sup> To answer the pastoral challenge of

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11. Serapio Ríos, “Juan Landázuri Ricketts. Apuntes biográficos,” in: *Caminando en el amor: El pastor de una Iglesia viva Homenaje al cardenal Juan Landázuri Ricketts en el centenario de su nacimiento*, ed. Carlos Castillo (Lima, 2014), 55–72, here 61–62.

12. Juan Landázuri Ricketts, *Recuerdos de un Pastor al servicio de su pueblo* (Lima, 1994), 48.

13. Armando Nieto Vélez, “La obra memorable de un pastoral ejemplar,” in: *Caminando en el amor: El pastor de una Iglesia viva: Homenaje al cardenal Juan Landázuri Ricketts en el centenario de su nacimiento*, ed. Carlos Castillo (Lima, 2014), 27–33, here 27–28.

14. *El amigo del clero*, no. 1562 (July, 1955), 213–14.

15. *I Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano: Río de Janeiro—Brasil, 1955* (Rio de Janeiro, 1955), 5–8, retrieved on September 10, 2023 from [https://www.celam.org/documentos/Documento\\_Conclusivo\\_Rio.pdf](https://www.celam.org/documentos/Documento_Conclusivo_Rio.pdf).

16. Landázuri, *Recuerdos de un Pastor*, 59.



The first Maundy Thursday of Juan Landázuri Ricketts as Archbishop of Lima in 1956. Photograph from the Historical Archive of El Comercio, Lima, Peru.

shanty towns, the archbishop founded the Mission for Lima (“La Misión de Lima”) in May 1957 to attend to 120,000 Lima inhabitants.<sup>17</sup> The Mission for Lima gathered a group of male and female religious, parish laypeople, Catholic school students, and Catholic Action members under the direction of the laywoman Maria Rosario Araújo, a school teacher. She described the Mission as “the fulfillment of social justice in the slums through the dignification of the human person and the attainment of common good.”<sup>18</sup>

The archbishop’s pastoral approach included the development of neighborhoods through the promotion of health and education services. Thus, pastoral work was understood not only as the expansion of the Church’s presence, but the improvement of the faithful’s living conditions.<sup>19</sup> As a consequence of this pastoral approach, Landázuri organized, together with the Episcopal Assembly, the First Social Week in

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17. Jeffrey Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú: Su historia social desde la independencia*, 2nd ed. (Lima, 1988), 347.

18. Maria Rosario Araoz, *La Misión de Lima* (Lima, 1967), 19.

19. Iberico Ruiz, “El cardenal Juan Landázuri,” 108.

1959. Under the title “The Social Exigences of Catholicism in Peru,” Landázuri’s closing speech asserted that the Church was “the strongest advocate of social justice,” promoting that “the current socio-economic order must be reformed and improved.”<sup>20</sup>

Between November 16 and 18, 1959, Landázuri convened the Eighteenth Archdiocesan Synod to renew the canonical, liturgical, and pastoral aspects in the archdiocese of Lima. Following the spirit of renewal of the convocation to the council, Landázuri’s call to the synod also shared the “desire of renewal, of general improvement, or adequate preparation to the new times.”<sup>21</sup> The archbishop, facing the pastoral challenges, considered that “the ecclesial conditions have changed and there are new necessities regarding the cult, discipline, organization, so on, [ . . . ] it is mandatory to adjust the ecclesial legislation.”<sup>22</sup> Landázuri’s idea of renewal to face pastoral challenges involved introducing legislative changes in the ecclesiastical organization. This was a hallmark of his canonical training.

### **The *Votum* to the Council Prepared by Archbishop Juan Landázuri Ricketts and His Auxiliary Bishops**

Despite the first steps taken by Landázuri on the social dimension of pastoral work and his awareness of the necessity of an ecclesial renewal, his proposition or *votum*—prepared along with his auxiliary bishops Fidel Tubino and José Dammert—for the Antepreparatory Commission for the Ecumenical Council was mainly a doctrinal and canonical proposal. Landázuri and his auxiliary bishops never mentioned the rural and urban contexts of Lima, but the proposals advocate for renewals to improve the sense of religious belonging of the faithful. Moreover, the proposal sought to improve pastoral work and care from a canonical perspective similar to aims of the Eighteenth Archdiocesan Synod. The *votum* had a canonical and doctrinal focus, but its background was pastoral.

Thus, one proposition recommended the reform of canon law to extend the time granted to a priest to confess in a different diocese than his own without renewing it every three days. The bishops also asked for a more precise doctrine on penitence in the cases in which people remained

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20. Juan Landázuri Ricketts, “Discurso de clausura en nombre del Episcopado del Perú,” in: *Primera Semana Social: Exigencias sociales del catolicismo en el Perú* (Lima, 1959), 245–55, here 248.

21. *El amigo del clero*, no. 1615 (Dec., 1959), 380.

22. *Ibid.*, 381.



for a long time without the benefit of the sacrament because many rural communities only received a priest once a year.<sup>23</sup>

Another canonical and doctrinal proposal was related to the sustained increase of population and the lack of clergy. A first solution was the restoration of the minor orders for “honest and well-educated laypeople.” A second proposition was the elimination of celibacy for sub-deacons and deacons. Both ordained ministers could be in charge of catechesis, the administration of baptism and the Eucharist, and the administration of the temporal goods of the Church. Presumably, the reality of the unattended slums and rural parishes was the background of the penitential issue and the restoration of sub-deacons and deacons.<sup>24</sup>

A more socio-doctrinal proposition recommended as penitence that people should abstain from “unnecessary pleasures” and share their income with poor people. Landázuri and his auxiliary bishops also proposed that employees whose jobs require no physical effort may donate part of their incomes to poor people and workers. These two proposals clearly referred to the spirit of solidarity and social conscience regarding the reality of slum and rural parishes of the archdiocese of Lima.<sup>25</sup>

Landázuri and his two auxiliary bishops also included three recommendations for improving the Church’s management and presence in Latin America. The first was the creation of a Roman congregation with layman experts who could advise about the conditions of life on the continent or the increase of faculties of the Pontifical Commission for Latin America. The second was the creation of regional offices for the service of the community, such as universities for the clergy and the laity, and Catholic mass media via the press, cinema, radio, and other areas. The third was the elaboration of new norms for the collaboration between secular and religious clergy, laws to engage secular and religious clergy to promote the common good, and the partnership between both clergies.<sup>26</sup>

Compared with other Peruvian *vota*, Landázuri’s *voluntum* shared the primary concern of the necessity of ecclesial renewal to face the pastoral

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23. *Acta et documenta concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando: Serie I (Antepreparatoria): Volumen II Consilia et vota Episcoporum et praelatorum: Pars VII America meridionalis—Oceania* (Vatican City, 1961), 505, 507. (Hereafter AD I: II: VII.) All translations from Latin were done by the author.

24. *Ibid.*, 506.

25. *Ibid.*, 507.

26. *Ibid.*, 506.

challenges. Jeffrey Klaiber considered the Peruvian *vota* as a whole as proposals for the preparation for the Council of Trent; however, his analysis does not recover the complexity and particularity of the Peruvian *vota* to the council.<sup>27</sup> The recovery of these diverse and complex pastoral concerns means acknowledging the different backgrounds of the mindsets and positions of the prelates. For some Peruvian Fathers, behind the ecclesial-pastoral concern, there were theological reasons, apologetic reasons, and canonical reasons. Despite the different reasons, the Peruvian episcopate desired the renovation of the Church to face the ecclesial challenges, which were mainly the socio-political crisis, the spread of Protestantism, and the fear of Communism.<sup>28</sup>

In sum, for the *votum*, Landázuri and his auxiliary bishops proposed mainly canonical and disciplinary reforms. Although there is no mention of the social context, they provided evidence of the need for reforms to adapt the Church to the new pastoral care situation. Hence, the proposals emphasized the reform of canon law to improve pastoral care according to context and the need of local churches. This feature of the *votum* is plausibly connected with the fact that the three bishops were canonists. Additionally, it is in contrast to the theology of church renewal at that time, which separated theological reflection on the Church from the social context. This lack of attention to the historical roots of every theology and church model was a predominant idea at the time. This idea of theology

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27. Jeffrey Klaiber, "Perú," in: *Cristianismo e Iglesias de América Latina en vísperas del Vaticano II*, ed. José Oscar Beozzo (San José, 1992), 153–64, here 162. Klaiber's conclusion is consistent with the analysis of the *vota* presented by Étienne Fouilloux's chapter, "La fase antepreparatoria (1959–1960): El lento camino para salir de la inercia," in: *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II*, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova, 5 vols. (Leuven and Salamanca, 1999–2008, here 1999), I, 63–154. In this chapter, Fouilloux classified the Hispanic American *vota* within the intransigent block because they paid little attention to John XXIII's objectives of the ecclesial renewal. This conclusion needs to be revised, respecting the complexity and diversity of episcopal understanding of theology, canon law, and ecclesial reality. For a new approach to the studies of the *vota*, see Rolando Iberico Ruiz, "The *Vota* of the Episcopate of the Andean Region on Ecclesiology and Laity," in: *Vatican II After Sixty Years: Developments and Expectations Prior to the Council*, eds. Mathijs Lamberigts, Antonia Pizzey, and Karim Schelkens (Turnhout, 2023), 131–54.

28. For instance, there were fifteen requests for the vernacular for different reasons. Thus, the introduction of vernacular was proposed for theological reasons, such as by Antonio Kühner, prelate of Tarma, who wanted a more active involvement of the faithful in the liturgy. There were also apologetic reasons, such as offered by Martín Elorza, prelate of Moyobamba, who exposed his concerns about the spread of Protestantism. There were practical reasons, as well, such as the use of vernacular in the Mass because Latin was an unknown language, expressed by Federico Pérez, archbishop of Trujillo. See: AD I: II: VII, 515, 519, 521.

and church renewal was in Landázuri's mind when he was named a member of the Central Preparatory Commission in 1961.

### **The Pontifical Central Preparatory Commission and the Nomination of Monsignor Juan Landázuri Ricketts, Archbishop of Lima (Peru)**

On June 5, 1960, on the occasion of the Feast of Pentecost, Pope John XXIII issued the motu proprio *Superno Dei nutu*, which marked the end of the ante-preparatory phase and the beginning of the preparatory period of the council. *Superno Dei nutu* recalled the image of a "new Pentecost" because, for John XXIII, the council should be a new phase in the Church's life with a renewal coming directly from the Holy Spirit.<sup>29</sup> It should promote the "restoration and renewal of the Universal Church."<sup>30</sup> Through *Superno Dei nutu*, the Pope created ten commissions which corresponded to the Roman Congregations, except for the Preparatory Commission for the Lay Apostolate. John XXIII also established three secretariats: the Secretariat for the Unity of Christians, the Secretariat for Press and Media, and the Administrative Secretariat.<sup>31</sup>

The motu proprio also erected a Pontifical Central Preparatory Commission for Vatican II (CPC) presided over by the Pope. Its secretary was Pericle Felici, a member of the Roman Curia since 1947. The principal tasks of the CPC were to coordinate the work of the preparatory commissions, analyze and evaluate their results, and prepare a rule for the council.<sup>32</sup> Finally, according to the pope's desire, *Superno Dei nutu* involved bishops and prelates of different countries in these preparatory efforts. For him, it was a clear sign of the catholicity of the Church.<sup>33</sup> The Holy See invited the archbishop of Lima, Juan Landázuri Ricketts as a member of the Central Preparatory Commission.

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29. Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 5–6.

30. Quoted in Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio," 158.

31. Alberto Melloni, ed., *Vatican II: The Complete History* (New York, 2015), 58–59. The correspondence between the preparatory commissions and curial offices produced power plays. Each commission sought to elaborate a draft that confirms the doctrinal definitions declared before 1959. Hence, as Melloni asserts, "seventy drafts and documents were produced that claimed to standardize all the material with which the Roman Curia had been engaged over the years."

32. Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio," 159.

33. Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 4. The distinction among the members and consultors who lived in Rome and outside the city was problematic. Even Felici spoke of the members and consultors from outside Rome as "honorary members" (*membra honoraria*). See Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio," 163.

On July 5, 1960, the archbishop of Lima, Juan Landázuri Ricketts, was named a Central Preparatory Commission member.<sup>34</sup> However, the Central Preparatory Commission (CPC) only began its work in June 1961. The CPC held seven sessions in Rome between June 1961 and June 1962.<sup>35</sup> A group of CPC members complained that the commission's work was unclear. The reasons for their criticism were various. The first was that the meetings dealt with particular canonical and disciplinary issues instead of theological themes. A second reason was that the members discussed similar or identical problems two or three times because the schemas came from different commissions without coordination. According to the plenary, a third issue was that many topics were not appropriate for a council, but rather for a canon law revision.<sup>36</sup> From the beginning, many CPC members considered that the council should renew the Church in canonical and theological terms.

Despite the lack of clear orientation of the CPC's work, the commission was a preparatory laboratory of the theological debates which would appear during the first session of Vatican II.<sup>37</sup> The debates in the CPC meetings displayed in advance the different theological positions at Vatican II. Some of the future council Fathers were very critical of many schemas prepared by the preparatory commissions. Among them were Cardinals Bernardus Johannes Alfrink, Julius Döpfner, Josef Frings, Franz König, Paul-Émile Léger, Achille Liénart, Giovanni Battista Montini, Léon-Joseph Suenens, Patriarch Maximus IV Saigh, and Archbishop Denis Hurley. They were the pillars of the so-called majority during the conciliar years. On the other side, among the main supporters of the schemas, who had a more Roman mindset, were Cardinals Michael Browne, Alfredo Ottaviani, Ernesto Ruffini, Giuseppe Siri, and Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre.

In the middle of the two defined groups were the majority of the members of the CPC, whose theological and canonical positions were expressed in brief or long observations or *animadversiones* during the

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34. Letter, Landázuri accusa ricevimento della nomina a membro della Commissione Centrale, Lima, July 21, 1960, stored in Vatican City, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (AAV), buste 396, fasc. 18, fol. 175.

35. The sessions were held on June 12–19, 1961; November 7–17, 1961; January 15–23, 1962; February 20–27, 1962; March 26–April 3, 1962; May 3–12, 1962; and June 12–20, 1962.

36. Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio," 162–63. During the preparatory phase, there was not a clear orientation about what to expect from the revision of canon law. Possibly for this reason, many schemas included canonical items.

37. Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 334–39.



Meeting of authorities at the Pontifical Catholic University of Lima (PUCP) in 1960. From left to right: Monsignor Fidel Tubino, auxiliary bishop of Lima and rector of the PUCP; an unknown priest; Juan Landázuri Ricketts, archbishop of Lima; and Alfredo Silva Santiago, archbishop of Concepción and rector of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. Landázuri and Silva were also members of the CPC. Photograph from the PUCP Archives, Lima, Peru.

debate. Komonchak affirmed that the alliances of this majority with one of the two main positions depended on the topics covered during each session.<sup>38</sup> The archbishop of Lima, Juan Landázuri Ricketts, tended to vote in favor of the critical position regarding the schemas. However, he also supported views in favor of the schemas to create a balanced perspective regarding the schemata.

Landázuri was involved in the first, second, fifth, and sixth sessions of the CPC. The archbishop submitted his response for the first session because he could not attend. Nevertheless, he participated in the congregations of the second, fifth, and sixth sessions. After the discussion, the members of the CPC submitted their *animadversiones*, where they displayed their canonical and theological stances regarding the schemas. In

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38. Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio," 284–85.

his *animadversiones*, Landázuri delineated his theological and canonical standpoint defending a gradual renewal of the Church and her structures.

### **Renewal and Adapting the Church with the Episcopal Conferences: Landázuri's Intervention in the First, Second and Fifth Sessions of the CPC**

Archbishop Landázuri had minor interventions for the first and second sessions. For the first session, Landázuri sent a *votum* answering a seven-item questionnaire prepared by Pericle Felici, secretary of the CPC. The questionnaire had canonical inquiries on different issues, such as who had the right to participate in the council, the voting system, the council's language, and other topics.<sup>39</sup> Landázuri's proposition was coherent with the Code of Canon Law of 1917. However, on the question regarding the procedure of discussions and voting, Landázuri considered it crucial that the minority position should be expressed and pondered.<sup>40</sup>

Landázuri attended the second session. The questions on the non-Catholic observers and the new formula for the profession of faith were the critical issues at stake. On the first topic, Landázuri supported Cardinals Augustin Bea's and Amleto Cicognani's views on non-Catholic observers without making a distinction between both positions. He also recommended pondering Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani's observation, who considered that the issue was not ready to be solved.<sup>41</sup> On the issue of the new formula, Landázuri did not include any observation and only suggested sending the formula back to the Theological Commission, which should assess the entire *animadversiones*.<sup>42</sup>

The second session was a moment of recognition and training for Landázuri. He experienced the diversity of the Church. According to his own pastoral and theological position, he tried to gather different opinions in his observations. However, considering the need for a change in doctrinal and pastoral terms, Landázuri supported the critical stances of many

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39. *Acta et documenta concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando: Serie II (Praeparatoria): Volumen II Acta pontificiae commissionis centralis praeparatoriae concilii oecumenici Vaticani II: Pars I: Sessio prima—sessio secunda* (Vatican City, 1965), 21–22. (Hereafter AD II: II: I.)

40. *Ibid.*, 394.

41. *Ibid.*, 490–91; Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 62–63. Cicognani's position displayed a traditional view on the problem of Christian unity as the reconciliation with the Catholic Church under the papal authority.

42. *Ibid.*, 521. On the debate on the formula, see: Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 67–77.

members of the CPC. For him, the only limit for any renewal was its speed. Therefore, he believed a gradual renovation was needed to avoid bringing scandal to the faithful and damage to the Church's image. Landázuri's interventions in the fifth and sixth sessions illustrate his theological and canonical position regarding his expectations for a reform council.

In March 1962, Juan Landázuri arrived at the fifth session<sup>43</sup> as a cardinal, created by John XXIII. During the fifth session, two themes were relevant to the discussion: the schema *De sacra liturgia*, and the seven schemas prepared by the Commission *De missionibus*. The schema *De sacra liturgia* was discussed in five congregations.<sup>44</sup> Landázuri's votes were for each section of the schema *placet iuxta modum*, that is to say, "in favor but with reservations." During the debates on *De sacra liturgia*, the Peruvian archbishop endorsed various CPC members' observations.

For the discussion of the preface and chapter one, the Peruvian cardinal endorsed the observations of Cardinals Browne, Giuseppe Ferretto, and Ernesto Ruffini (Palermo).<sup>45</sup> Ferretto showed skepticism regarding the liturgical change because the "innovations on sacred rites" could be against the ecclesiastical traditions and canon law. For him, the schema clashed with canons 2 and 1257 of the Code, which kept its mandatory force over any attempt to reform the liturgy. Ferretto also remarked that the desire to foster Bible reading could collide with the faithful's religious culture.<sup>46</sup>

Ruffini was critical in many details, such as the use of the term "progress," which he thought should be changed for "adaptation" or "recognition." Without quoting canon 1257, he also warned about the risk of granting the authority to the episcopate to adjust the liturgy.<sup>47</sup> On the other side, Browne positively assessed the schema. For him, the schema

43. The fifth session gathered between March 26 to April 3, 1962.

44. The order of discussion of the schema *De Sacra Liturgia* was as follows: *Proemium* and chapter one, *De principiis generalibus ad S. Liturgiam instaurandam atque fovendam* (first congregation); *Proemium* and chapter two, *De Sacrosancto Eucharistia mysterio* (second congregation); chapter three, *De Sacramentis et Sacramentalibus* (fourth congregation); chapters four, *De officio divino*, and five, *De anno liturgico* (seventh congregation); and chapters six, *De sacra suppellectile*, seven, *De musica sacra*, and eight, *De arte sacra* (twelfth congregation).

45. *Acta et documenta concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando: Serie II (Praeparatoria): Volumen II Acta pontificiae commissionis centralis praeparatoriae concilii oecumenici Vaticani II: Pars III: Sessio quinta—sessio sexta* (Vatican City, 1968), 94. (Hereafter, AD II: II: III.)

46. *Ibid.*, 64–5. Canon 2 asserts that the Code did not include provisions on rites, ceremonies, and liturgical books. Canon 1257 clearly expressed that the Holy See had exclusive authority on the approval of liturgical books and the regulation of the liturgy.

47. *Ibid.*, 68–69. Ferretto was also concerned about the term *progressus*.

“clearly appears useful for the renovation of liturgical life.”<sup>48</sup> As a canonist, Landázuri supported Ferreto’s and Ruffini’s observations because they emphasized the canonical limitation for any liturgical renewal. However, he acknowledged the importance of renewing the liturgy. For Landázuri, this apparent entrapment between the limitation of the Code and the need for reform was progressively unraveling during his participation in the CPC sessions.

During the second congregation, Landázuri’s observations revealed his ideas of church renewal and the importance of the pastoral context in his ecclesiology. For Landázuri, the renewal came from the hierarchy and the institution towards the faithful; in other words, it came from reforming structures and laws to foster pastoral care. This juridical and hierarchical vision of the Church was commonplace for most Catholic prelates then. Hence, for Landázuri, the ecclesial and pastoral renewal should indeed be done, but carefully and gradually, because they could scandalize and confuse the faithful.

For the debate of chapter two, Landázuri highlighted that the schema was “praiseworthy” because it was concise, insightful, and prudent. It was also “related to this day’s liturgical longings.”<sup>49</sup> However, he noticed a discrepancy between chapter two and canon 1248. While the chapter emphasized the “active participation” of the whole assembly, the priest and the faithful as a whole, canon 1248 highlighted the dimension of the “passive listening” of the faithful.<sup>50</sup> Landázuri agreed with the new liturgical terminology “active participation.” Therefore, according to the Peruvian prelate, to preserve coherence, the schema’s approval should lead to reforming the canon law and other general Church laws.<sup>51</sup> The consequences of this liturgical renewal were that more faithful would have a more active, conscientious, and pious participation in the sacrifice of the Mass.

In chapter three, Landázuri posed an objection. The archbishop recognized that the schema responded to the desire for reform expressed by many bishops and liturgists because the secular conditions had changed the people’s pastoral needs. However, he was afraid that the proposals for

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48. Ibid., 77.

49. Ibid., 124.

50. Canon 1248 referred to the obligation to listen to the Mass on certain prescribed days. Landázuri commented on the first sentence: *Festis de praecepto diebus Missa audienda est*. The faithful were invited to listen to the Mass.

51. AD II: II: III: 124–25.



reforming the Roman Rite for the Latin Church could harm some people's and regions' pastoral conditions and customs. Hence, he believed that the Council should only propose general criteria on this topic. Furthermore, he believed that the Council should let the episcopal conferences reform the Roman Rite according to the local situations and send them to the Holy See for approval.<sup>52</sup> Although Landázuri feared a general reform of the rite, he supported the key idea that the episcopal conferences might have the authority to propose locally-adapted reforms for the liturgy.

Landázuri's stance in favor of the episcopal conference indirectly acknowledged local churches' identity and traditions. During the debate of the last three chapters of *De sacra liturgia*, Landázuri again supported the positions in favor of a significant role of episcopal conferences in the liturgical renovation. Endorsing Cardinals Paul-Émile Léger's and William Godfrey's *animadversiones*, Landázuri defended the idea that the episcopal conferences could adapt the liturgical vestments and objects.<sup>53</sup> For Landázuri, the defense of a more active function of the episcopal conference probably was associated with his role as president of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference. As president, he favored collegial declarations of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference on key issues related to the socio-political situation of the country.<sup>54</sup>

Another issue was the use of Latin. The fourth chapter, *De officio divino*, kept Latin as the official language of the divine office, but proposed that the episcopal conferences could suggest the use of vernacular language.<sup>55</sup> On one side, Alfrink stood for translating the divine office into the vernacular, not as a desire for novelty but to fill it with more attention and devotion. On the other side, Cardinals André-Damien-Ferdinand Jullien, Godfrey, and Ottaviani supported Latin as the official language of the Church.<sup>56</sup> Like many CPC members, Landázuri desired a new, shorter version of the divine office, considering the demands of priests' pastoral work in contemporary times. In his observation, he

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52. *Ibid.*, 305.

53. *Ibid.*, 490. Godfrey proposed that the episcopal conference avoid bishops' "individual peculiarities" regarding liturgical reforms. See also *ibid.*, 481–82.

54. For instance, the Peruvian Episcopal Conference prepared three statements on the socio-political crisis in Peru in 1958, 1961, and 1963. The three statements are found in Documentos del Episcopado Peruano, stored in the Repositorio Institucional PUCP, Departamento Académico de Teología, Voces peruanas del Vaticano II, retrieved on December 27, 2022, from <https://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/124161>.

55. AD II: II: III, 317–23.

56. Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 196 n. 49.

endorsed Cardinal Jullien's "wise opinion."<sup>57</sup> Jullien favored the reform of the divine office but disagreed with the possibility of vernacular language. He wondered: "do not the new priests learn other vernacular languages other than their own? Why do they not learn Latin?"<sup>58</sup> Landázuri endorsed a prudent renovation of divine office: reducing it but keeping the Latin, as the bulwark of Tradition.

During the fifth session, the Commission for the Missions also submitted schemas. Regarding the implementation of reforms, Landázuri agreed with the importance of the role of episcopal conferences for an adapted renewal of ministry, discipline, and pastoral approach. The missionary schema *De disciplina cleri* proposed the permanent diaconate, even for married men, and a more active involvement of lay people in missionary jurisdictions. The schema also proposed that on these issues the episcopal conferences should have authority.<sup>59</sup> The Peruvian cardinal recommended being cautious about the implementation of the diaconate. He believed that the Holy See should undertake it directly, or allow some regional and national episcopal conferences to deal with this topic *ad experimentum*.<sup>60</sup>

A second schema, *De sacramentis ac de Sacra Liturgia*, in accord with the Commission for the Sacred Liturgy, proposed the diversity of rites, the use of vernacular, and adaptation to local customs with the approval of the episcopal conferences.<sup>61</sup> Landázuri endorsed the *animadversiones* of Cardinals Francis Spellman (New York), Oswald Gracias (Bombay, India), Ruffini, and Monsignor Marcel Lefebvre. These members emphasized the importance of changing the sacramental discipline to contemporary times.<sup>62</sup> Gracias and Lefebvre remarked on the importance of adapting sacramental practices to local culture in missionary territories. However, Gracias affirmed that adaptations to local cultures should be done as in the early days of Christianity, when pagan symbols were incorporated into the sacraments. At the same time, Lefebvre criticized the authority of the episcopal conferences and proposed, instead, the authority of provincial or regional councils.<sup>63</sup> Although Lefebvre's opinion was against the jurisdiction of the episcopal conference, once again, Landázuri endorsed the opin-

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57. AD II: II: III, 363.

58. Ibid., 354. "Et sane novi sacerdotes nonne discunt linguas vernaculas alias quam suam propiam? Cur non discunt latinam?"

59. Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 201.

60. AD II: II: III, 245.

61. Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 201.

62. AD II: II: III, 380–85.

63. Ibid., 383, 385.

ions in favor of an episcopal body, like provincial or regional councils, to discern the appropriateness of any ecclesial renewal to local circumstances.

### **The Reform as a Compromise: the Participation of Juan Landázuri in the Sixth Session of the CPC (May 3–12, 1962)**

On February 2, 1962, Pope John XXIII issued the motu proprio *Consilium diu*, establishing the opening of the Council on October 11, 1962. The pressure on the preparatory commissions and the CPC increased. As Indelicato mentioned, a tsunami of schemas arrived during the sixth and seventh sessions of the CPC. In addition, many members and consultors were under the impression that the schemas were not pertinent to a council.<sup>64</sup> For the sixth session, a total of nineteen schemas were dropped off by the Commission for Bishops and the Government of Dioceses, the Commission for the Discipline of the Clergy and the Christian People, the Theological Commission, the Commission for Religious, the Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments, and the Commission for the Oriental Churches. This section focuses on Landázuri's position towards the pastoral and doctrinal changes proposed through the schemas prepared by the Commission for Bishops and the Government of Dioceses and the Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments, and the debate on *De Ecclesia*.

The schemas prepared by the Commission for Bishops and the Government of Dioceses contained an implicit ecclesiological and pastoral approach. The first part of the schema, *Praecipuae de animarum cura quaestiones*, developed doctrinal principles and applicable rules for the pastoral office of the bishops.<sup>65</sup> According to Landázuri, the schema was laudable but required some additions like the observations made on the pastoral care of workers, which was a “major question of today's times.”<sup>66</sup> The Peruvian cardinal agreed with Liénart's observations regarding the pastoral work. For the French cardinal, pastoral care for workers was a crucial ecclesial commitment in the cities. The workers were a challenging pastoral target for the Church, hence Liénart recommended organizing workers' communities in parishes.<sup>67</sup>

Landázuri's emphasis on pastoral work expressed his concern regarding the social and economic changes in Lima and Peru. The proposed schema was an opportunity to introduce a local pastoral situation into a

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64. Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 216.

65. *Ibid.*, 220.

66. AD II: II, III, 717.

67. *Ibid.*, 700–01.

larger debate on the bishops' pastoral duty. Based upon his pastoral experience during "The Mission for Lima," Landázuri held the importance of attending to the new social situation as a crucial commitment for the Church in his times. As he affirmed in 1959, the most important and urgent task for the Church was the social situation.<sup>68</sup>

In the same schema, Landázuri also recommended the canonical observations made by Cardinal Francesco Roberti,<sup>69</sup> who defended the existence of the cathedral chapter and the gradual process of adapting this institution to the contemporary situation. Roberti considered that the cathedral canons could have the roles of episcopal advisers, diocesan consultants, and parish priests.<sup>70</sup> Landázuri's agreement with Roberti displayed his notion of renewal of ecclesial structures. For him, it implied a process of updating and simplifying the canonical roles of canons and bishops to fulfill the mission of the Church. The archbishop also rejected the schema *De praevia librorum censura eroumque prohibitionem* dropped by the Commission for the Discipline of the Clergy and the Christian People. This document explained the Church's right and duty to the censorship and interdiction of books and spectacles. Landázuri voted *non placet* with the recommendation to send the schema to the doctrinal commission.<sup>71</sup>

The second section of the same schema contained chapters concerning the pastoral care of marriage, aeronautics, migrants, tourists, and Christian faithful "infected by communism." The debate was intense on the last topic because it dealt with social justice. Cardinal Gian Battista Montini claimed the need for an ecclesial assessment of the motives for the attraction of communism among Christians and non-Christians. For him, the social doctrine of the Church lacked a concrete application. Alfrink also added that the social doctrine needed a substantial commitment of Christians to social justice. Moreover, Catholics who participated in social injustices fostered the attraction towards communism.<sup>72</sup> In line with his episcopal ministry, Landázuri recommended carefully considering Montini's and Alfrink's observations focused on a pastoral care for social justice.<sup>73</sup>

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68. Landázuri, "Discurso de clausura," 249.

69. AD II: II: III, 717.

70. *Ibid.*, 710.

71. *Ibid.*, 860. Other CPC members rejected the schema. For instance, Cardinals Montini and Frings remarked that the task of the Church (*munus Ecclesiae*) was evangelization and that the Church should educate the faithful's conscience. AD II: II: III, 856–58.

72. Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 228.

73. AD II: II: III, 757, 783.

The most relevant debate revolved around *De Ecclesia*. For the sixth session, the Theological Commission sent the first six chapters of the schema.<sup>74</sup> Landázuri did not propose any theological ideas, but his observations referred to other CPC members who were more trained in theology and canon law. Thus, for chapters one and two, Landázuri's vote was *placet iuxta modum*. He urged a careful re-assessment of the observations of Cardinals Julius Döpfner, König, Bea, and Ruffini.<sup>75</sup> The three first prelates wanted an ecumenical perspective for the scheme, mainly when chapter two refers to the non-Catholic baptized people. For instance, Döpfner distinguished between the non-Catholic baptized, and the baptized Catholic. The former were partially members of the Church, while the latter were complete and perfect church members.<sup>76</sup> Bea remarked that the schema should be sent to a mixed commission formed by the Theological Commission and the Secretariat for the Unity of Christians.<sup>77</sup> Ruffini, on his side, pointed to topics regarding the Old Testament images of the Church and the role of the Blessed Virgin Mary as "the most distinguished member of the Mystical Body of Christ, which is the Church."<sup>78</sup>

The debate about chapters three and four referred to episcopal theology. Landázuri's vote was a *placet* for both chapters, but he requested that the new manuscript should ponder and incorporate all the cardinals' observations.<sup>79</sup> Most of the interventions were critical of the subordination of the bishops to the pope. Cardinals Frings, Ruffini, König, Confalonieri, Alfrink, and Maximos IV pointed out the episcopal collegiality as a model for the relationships between the bishops and the pope.<sup>80</sup> This position concurred with Landázuri's stance in favor of a more active role of the episcopal conferences and episcopal bodies.

For chapter six on the laity, Landázuri voted *placet iuxta modum*. Landázuri proposed that a new version of the chapter should consider the opinion of the Commission for the Lay Apostolate. The Peruvian prelate

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74. The chapters discussed were: chapter one, *De ecclesiae militantis natura*; chapter two, *De membris ecclesiae militantis eiusdemque necessitate ad salutem*; chapter three, *De episcopate ut supremo grado sacramenti ordinis et de sacerdotio*; chapter four, *De episcopis residentialibus*; chapter five, *De statibus evangelicae acquirendae perfectionis*; and chapter six, *De laicis*. For a description of the schema *De ecclesia* (chapters 1–6), see Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 242–47.

75. AD II: II: III, 1032.

76. *Ibid.*, 1004–16.

77. *Ibid.*, 1012–16.

78. *Ibid.*, 1000–02.

79. *Ibid.*, 1076.

80. Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 251–53.

also requested a consideration of the *animadversiones* of Cardinals Giuseppe Siri, Giuseppe Pizzardo, Ruffini, Léger, König, and Suenens, and archbishop Franjo Šeper.<sup>81</sup> On one side, Ruffini, Siri, and other prelates criticized the concept of a lay universal priesthood because it could become a parallel priesthood regarding the ministerial priesthood. On the other side, Léger, König, Suenens, and other prelates considered the schema an opportunity to emphasize a positive and ecumenical definition of the laity regarding the question of the “separated brothers.” Hence, it could be the recognition of the ecclesial role of laypeople. Finally, Šeper also affirmed that the Catholic world expected Vatican I to be completed with a new theology of bishops and theology of the laity.<sup>82</sup> Landázuri endorsed all those opinions to indicate his search for a compromise. According to his idea of gradual reform, the contribution of laypeople was undeniable and deserved recognition within the Church. However, recognition was not to call into question the doctrine of the ministerial priesthood.

The sixth session was for Cardinal Landázuri a moment to concur with the other members that the conciliar themes should deal with the doctrinal and theological reforms. Thus, Landázuri joined the opinions in favor of sending many schemas to the commissions for the reform of the code of canon law of the Latin and Oriental Catholic Church.

The Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments sent five schemas concerning marriage. Like many other CPC members, the Peruvian cardinal believed that the schemas were inadequate for a council. For *De impedimentis ad matrimonium* and *De matrimoniis mixtis*, Landázuri believed that the issues of those schemas and other similar ones should be discussed in the Commission for the Reform of the Code of Canon Law.<sup>83</sup> For *De processu matrimoniali*, Landázuri also recommended sending the schema to the same commission for the reform of canon law.<sup>84</sup>

Landázuri had a similar opinion for *De consensu matrimoniali* which contained many canonical issues which he believed were not proper for a council but rather for a commission for the renewal of canon law. He also

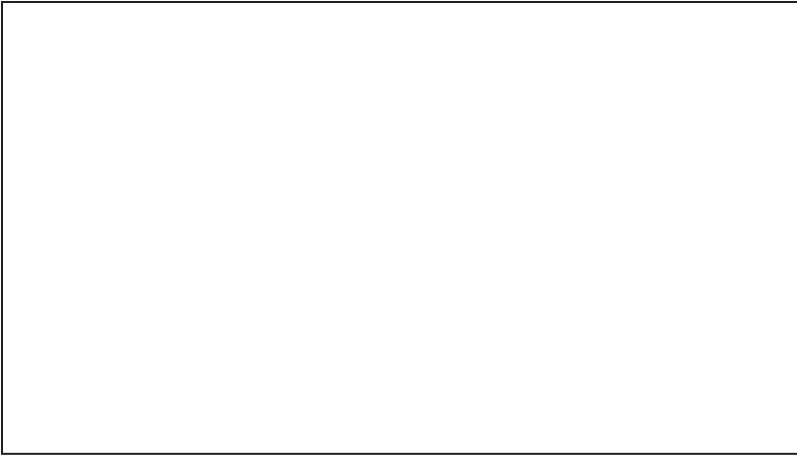
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81. AD II: II: III, 1110.

82. Ibid., 1101, 1104.

83. Ibid., 1213. Pizzardo was concerned that topics such as male impotence would be discussed in the council. Other members advised the sending of the normative part of the schema to the commission for reform of canon law. Bea considered that the ecumenical dimension of mixed marriages should be studied in a mixed commission. See also: Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 258–59 ns. 91 and 93.

84. AD II: II: III, 1276.



Harry Pott, *President van Peru, naast hem zijn echtgenote* [President of Peru, his wife beside him], March 9, 1960, photograph. Stored in Dutch National Archives, The Hague, Fotocollectie Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (ANeFo), 1945–1989, bekijk toegang 2.24.01.05, Bestanddeelnnummer 911-0841. Image is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Netherlands license.

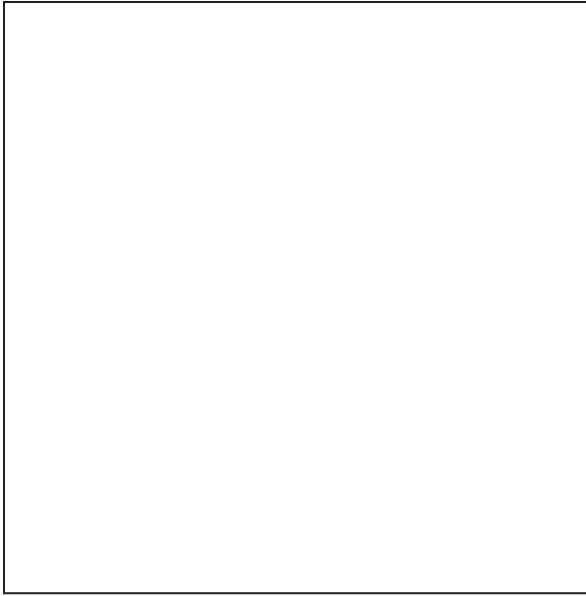
endorsed Cardinal Fernando Cento's and Monsignor Vittorio Bartocetti's recommendation to avoid easy access to the dissolution of marriages. This kind of situation produced a severe scandal among the faithful.<sup>85</sup> Landázuri probably recalled the 1958 scandal in Lima produced by president Manuel Prado Ugarteche, who obtained the dissolution of his marriage from the Holy See. Immediately afterward, he contracted a Catholic marriage presided over by the auxiliary bishop José Dammert. Outside the church, Catholic women dressed in black to protest. Landázuri avoided presiding over the ceremony.<sup>86</sup>

The Commission for the Oriental Churches sent the last three schemas for the sixth session. For Landázuri, the schema *De facultatibus Episcoporum* had many disciplinary topics more suitable for the Commission for the Oriental Canon Law. Hence, Landázuri supported the observations of Browne and Ruffini, who considered that many topics could be

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85. *Ibid.*, 1255–56.

86. Luis Jochamowitz, "Archivo expiatorio de Luis Jochamowitz: retratos biográficos de Manuel Prado," *Cosas*, December 13, 2019, retrieved on October 5, 2023 from <https://cosas.pe/cultura/169647/archivo-expiatorio-de-luis-jochamowitz-retratos-biograficos-de-manuel-prado/>.



Lothar Wolleh, *Second Vatican Council*, ca. 1962–1965 (precise date unknown), photograph. Image is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported license.

part of the renewal of canon law.<sup>87</sup> After the discussion on *De catechismo et catechetica institutione*, Landázuri proposed that it should take into consideration the schema for the *Catechismo universalis pro Ecclesia Latina*.<sup>88</sup> A summary of doctrines was not suitable for a council.

The closing of the sixth session also marked Landázuri's final participation in the preparatory phase. He returned to Rome in October 1962 for the opening of the Second Vatican Council. The Peruvian cardinal showed a doctrinal and juridical understanding of the Church and her renewal without neglecting theology and doctrinal development. He generally supported the tendency for renewal, which he mainly understood as canonical and doctrinal transformation with implications on pastoral care. Therefore, Landázuri's involvement during the preparatory stage expressed an openness to a general renewal of the Church. This frame of mind was crucial during the conciliar period.

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87. AD II: II: III, 1283, 1287.

88. *Ibid.*, 1301.



## Conclusion

In his Pastoral Exhortation of June 21, 1961, archbishop Juan Landázuri developed and explained the main purpose of the council: the renovation of the entire life of the Church.<sup>89</sup> On the renewal of the Church, Landázuri asserted:

The Church is not of the world, but she lives in the world, and she cannot remain impassive in the swaying of the forms that the world is adopting, which are subject to aging and expiration. Renewal and adaptation are therefore necessary: renewal in the vigor of faith and doctrine, renewal in administrative and disciplinary structures, renewal in the religious and liturgical life of ecclesiastics and laity, renewal in the forms of apostolate, renewal, finally, in the consolidation of Christian principles, by which the development of civil, economic, political, and social life is governed.<sup>90</sup>

For the Peruvian archbishop, the renewal of the Church was related to the “swaying forms that the world is adopting.” The renovation, hence, was connected to the reality in which the Church was constituted. This aspect of his idea of church renewal was important because of its impact in pastoral work and the commitment of the Church to the struggle for social justice. However, in his idea of renewal, doctrine could not be reformed. This vision of renewal gradually changed during his involvement in the preparatory phase of Vatican II. Landázuri became acquainted with the new theological and doctrinal stances of the CPC, and therefore he shaped his own position in favor of a prudent and necessary reform of the Church.

At the beginning of his participation, Landázuri held that the renewal of the Church should be a gradual process of changing the administrative

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89. Juan Landázuri Ricketts, “Exhortación Pastoral que el Arzobispo Primado de Lima dirige al Clero y fieles de su Arquidiócesis con motivo del Día del Papa” (Mimeographed manuscript), June 21, 1961, stored in Vatican City, AAV, buste 396, fasc. 18, fol. 178–80. It was Landázuri’s only pastoral exhortation directly referring to the council during these years. The exhortation was reported to the Roman curia by the Nuncio and was published in *El amigo del clero*, nos. 1633–1635 (June, July, and August, 1961), 523–26.

90. Landázuri Ricketts, “Exhortación Pastoral,” stored in Vatican City, AAV, buste 396, fasc. 18, fol. 179. “La Iglesia no es del mundo, pero vive en el mundo, y no puede quedar impassible en el vaivén de las formas que el mundo va adoptando, y que están sujetas a envejecimiento y caducidad. Se impone, pues, la renovación y la adaptación: renovación en el vigor de la fe y de la doctrina, renovación en las estructuras administrativas y disciplinares, renovación en la vida religiosas y litúrgica de los eclesiásticos y de los laicos, renovación en las formas de apostolado, renovación, en fin, en al consolidación de los principios cristianos, por los que se rige el desenvolvimiento de la vida civil, económica, política y social.” The English version above is the author’s translation.

and disciplinary structures. In his idea of the Church, Landázuri held that ecclesial renovation comes from top to bottom, from administrative and disciplinary structures to the faithful. However, during the fifth and sixth sessions, Landázuri began to consider that some parts of doctrine could be reformable. Moreover, the Peruvian cardinal gave the episcopal conferences or bodies a decisive role in a gradual process of ecclesial renewal. They were crucial for the implementation of any reform in a local Church.

During the fifth session, Landázuri endorsed the observations in favor of liturgical adaptation and changes for improving the missions. For instance, during the debate on *De sacra liturgia*, Landázuri followed some conservative observations regarding liturgical adaptation, like the permanence of Latin in the divine office. Because of his formation as a canonist, he also requested the adaptation of canon law in order to avoid contradictions with the liturgical reform. Therefore, while agreeing with the reform, Landázuri preferred a process of gradual change so as not to affect the faithful and the ecclesial doctrine.

It is remarkable how Landázuri appreciated the episcopal bodies, mainly the episcopal conferences. For him, it seemed that the episcopal conference as a national council of bishops was crucial for discerning any ecclesial renewal from a local point of view. The bishops as a whole would be able to introduce more adequate reforms into local church life. This can be seen, for example, in the case of the restoration of the diaconate. Landázuri believed that a radical adjustment of ecclesial ministry should be made by each episcopal conference or body. However, for the Peruvian prelate, all liturgical reform or changes in the discipline ought to be confirmed by the Holy See. The counterbalance to the local episcopal bodies' reforms was the confirmation from the Holy See.

Landázuri's interventions in the sixth session show his interest in reaching a compromise between the theological and doctrinal developments of the CPC and his idea of gradual church renewal. On one side, Landázuri probably found important the many theological developments in *De Ecclesia*. It likely was the case that the term "collegiality" expressed Landázuri's idea of the role of episcopal conferences and bodies in the Catholic Church. Hence, he endorsed the observations favoring episcopal collegiality. On the other hand, the idea of recognizing a universal priesthood for laypeople was not convincing to Landázuri because it threatened the ministerial priesthood. Therefore, the archbishop of Lima favored theological renewal in ecclesiology without threatening, for instance, the traditional theology of the priesthood.

It is commonplace to assign the major roles of Vatican II history to the Central European Fathers. This approach produces an unfortunate oversight of the role of the majority of Fathers. Like many of his peers, Landázuri arrived in Rome with his idea of the Church and what he believed was the proper way of reforming her. Hence, the preparatory phase was an essential moment for Landázuri to measure the state of the Church in anticipation of a council. His participation in the CPC meetings was important in the nuancing of his idea of church renewal from a canonical and disciplinary perspective, but without renouncing his stance in favor of progressive renovation. Landázuri always had an attitude of openness; however, he showed his reserve to some reforms because he felt they could affect the faithful's customs or traditional theology and doctrine. He was open to changing doctrine, without affecting the main doctrinal lines of the priesthood and the faithful's customs.

This attitude of openness and search for compromise was essential during Landázuri's participation in the four sessions of Vatican II, because he was willing to support crucial changes in the Catholic Church in order to foster and improve its doctrinal definitions and pastoral work.<sup>91</sup>

Therefore, the study of "minor" Fathers, like Cardinal Juan Landázuri, sheds light on the complexity of local churches from the periphery of the Catholic Church, and on the ways in which these Fathers theologically and ecclesially experienced the conciliar event. They participated in the preparation of Vatican II with their own ideas of renewal and were able, like Landázuri, to enrich and resist many reform proposals. Like the archbishop of Lima, many Fathers sought documents which supported positions of compromise. Therefore, the history of Vatican II becomes more Catholic by recovering the history of the participation in the CPC of Cardinal Juan Landázuri, archbishop of Lima.

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91. Cardinal Juan Landázuri earned the criticism of prominent prelates because he supported canonical and pastoral changes during the council. Although he was reserved during the preparatory phase at Vatican II, the archbishop defended the restoration of the diaconate for married men. After his defense, the cardinal of New York, Francis Spellman, told Landázuri: "I no longer send priests to Lima." Juan Landázuri Ricketts, *Recuerdos de un Pastor*, 97.

## Miscellany

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### **Homily of Cardinal Timothy Dolan at the Funeral Mass for Msgr. Robert F. Trisco, August 7, 2023, Crypt Chapel, Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception**

**T**hat we could gather for Robert Trisco's funeral Mass in this crypt church of the Basilica of the National Shrine, where he faithfully kept his daily 7:00 a.m. appointment with the Lord in the Eucharist for over sixty years, is most fitting; to assemble on the campus of this university he served so ably and loyally for over a half-dozen decades is appropriate as well; that so many of his colleagues, students, and friends would be here is one more reason that this is an occasion of joy and gratitude, even as we admit our loss.

How could a vocation so enduring, years of scholarship so helpful, all achieved by a thoughtful gentleman of manners and courtesy, lead us to exclaim anything but *Deo gratias*?

Only three weeks ago did I write him. . . . He preferred correspondence; an email or text from Monsignor Trisco was not to be!—following my own reading of the new biography of John Tracy Ellis by Monsignor Thomas Shelley, yes, a former student of Robert's. In this note I renewed my thanks to him for his patient guidance and direction of my own graduate work in American Church history here. I'm glad I had the chance to say that to him one last time. When Monsignor Trisco became the director of my thesis and dissertation, Dr. John Zeender remarked, "Father Dolan, he will drive you crazy with his precision and relentless red-pencil corrections. However, you will thank God you have him, as he will demand thoroughness and substance. Plus, when it's time for your defense you'll fly through, as each of your readers will acknowledge, 'If it is good enough for Robert Trisco, it's good enough for me!'"

Last Friday, we celebrated the Feast of the Cure of Ars, St. John Vianney, patron saint of priests. While revered for his pastoral zeal, humility,

and piety, he was not noted for his scholarly accomplishments, wise though he was. Monsignor Trisco, a priest of the archdiocese of Chicago shined in his scholarly research, showing us that a diocesan priest could also be summoned to serve the Church in the classroom, library, in research, and writing. We need both the Vianneys and the Triscos.

You know that he did his philosophy, theology, and graduate work in ecclesiastical history at the Gregorian University, while a seminarian and a young priest at the North American College in Rome. Daily would he have viewed the motto of that college, from the psalms, *Firmum est cor meum*; My heart is . . . steadfast, loyal, strong, single-minded, as the various renderings of *Firmum est* have it. That's Robert Trisco: steadfast. No novelties; no experiments; no alterations in schedule; no distractions from his duties. Steadfast: hailed in the Bible; perfected by Jesus; modeled by Monsignor Trisco.

Might I propose to you that he was a splendid churchman. There may be those who would not esteem such accolade. While Robert would not claim it, he sure deserves it. For him, "Love for Jesus and His Church" was the passion of his life, as Pope St. John Paul II encouraged in priests. Love for Jesus and His Church. . . .

Monsignor Trisco would believe that God has revealed Himself in history, the history of Israel, the history of the New Israel, the Church. His love for the Church was especially inspirational because, as a celebrated historian, he knew the mystical body of Christ "warts and all." As Dorothy Day, a frequent worshipper in this crypt church, commented, "Ah, yes, the Church I believe to be the spotless bride of Christ; but at times she is the harlot of Babylon." Robert knew both, and loved them both. A man whose natural family had faded away, he claimed the Church as his, determined in his priesthood, his scholarship, his detailed editing of the *Catholic Historical Review*, his writing, his directing, his teaching. This was his passion, his meat and potatoes, his steadfastness. As Jesus asked Martha, "Do you believe this?" Do we believe Monsignor Trisco's life and vocation were worth it, made a difference, served Jesus and His Church significantly? With Martha we reply, "Yes Lord, we do believe." Welcome, please, this devout, dedicated, shy, impeccably courteous and thoughtful gentleman, this teacher and scholar, to his true and eternal home.

Eternal rest. . . .

## Forum Review Essay

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David I. Kertzer, *The Pope at War: The Secret History of Pius XII, Mussolini, and Hitler*. (New York: Random House, 2022. Pp. xxxvii, 621. \$22.00. ISBN 978-0-8129-8994-6).

### INTRODUCTION

**Mark Edward Ruff** (Saint Louis University)

As one of the first scholars to draw on recently released documents from the Vatican Archives, David Kertzer, winner of the Pulitzer Prize for his earlier book, *The Pope and Mussolini*, has provided a panoramic portrait of the wartime pontificate of Pope Pius XII. Kertzer's exploration brings significant new detail to the question that has done more to sully Pius's posthumous reputation than any other: Why did the pontiff remain silent about the crimes of the Fascist powers, the Holocaust in particular?

Pius's silence has been at center stage ever since the premiere in West Berlin in February 1963 of *The Deputy*, the debut work of the young German playwright, Rolf Hochhuth.<sup>1</sup> But as Kertzer's book shows, his public reticence on controversial questions bedeviled the pontiff from the outset of his pontificate. Quoting from the journals of Monsignor Angelo Roncalli, the future Pope John XXIII, Kertzer shows that Pius XII was well-aware of the damage to his reputation from remaining publicly closed-mouthed about Nazi crimes. "He asked me if his silence regarding the Nazis' action is not a mistake," Roncalli wrote in October 1941 following a meeting with the pope (214).

In a gripping work that frequently reads as a detective story, Kertzer's work doggedly traces the silence of Pope Pius XII, large and small, from the days before the start of his pontificate to the close of the war. He begins with the last days of his predecessor, the more bluntly outspoken and even cantankerous Pope Pius XI. In what was to be his final public message, Pius XI had planned to deliver a speech sharply critical of Fascist Italy's embrace of Nazi Germany to more than three hundred Italian bishops assembled to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Lateran Accords of

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1. Rolf Hochhuth, *Der Stellvertreter* (Reinbek, 1963).

1929. He had even ordered the Vatican printing office to print paper copies for the bishops of what likely would have been a ringing denunciation of Fascist excess. Just two days after Pius XI's death, Eugenio Pacelli, in his capacity as Cardinal Secretary of State, bowed to the pressure from Mussolini's government and ordered all copies of the speech destroyed so that "not a comma" remained (17).

This, according to Kertzer, was but one of many examples of deliberate silence on the part of the secretary of state turned pontiff. In spite of pressure from the French ambassador to the Vatican, Pius XII remained silent when confronted with reports of Nazi persecution of the Polish clergy (84). He declined to speak out openly against the Nazi invasions of the Netherlands, Belgium, and France, all nations with either a Catholic majority or substantial Catholic minority. Even after weeping "like a child" after receiving reports of the atrocities the Germans were inflicting in Jews in Ukraine in October 1941, he held both tongue and pen (216). In a notorious example made famous by Hochhuth's play, he said nothing publicly when German authorities rounded up Roman Jews on October 16, 1943 for deportation to Auschwitz in what became known as *la grande razzia*. In the words of the German ambassador to the Vatican, Ernst von Weizsäcker, which concluded Hochhuth's play, ". . . Rome has refrained from making any ostentatious remarks on the deportation of the Jews from Rome" (370). Subsequent arrests and deportations of Roman Jews in the coming months did nothing to alter the papal position.

Only in one instance did Pius XII break from what seemed to be a vow of silence. Following the Allied bombing of Rome on July 19, 1943, he publicly chastised the Allies for the carnage they had inflicted in "the city that is the center of Catholicism" (307). This protest was printed not only on the pages of the Vatican newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, but in multiple Fascist newspapers. The vigorous condemnation of National Socialism and Fascism long sought by those Catholic voices like the French cardinal, Eugène Tisserant, critical of Pius's timorousness, came only on June 2, 1945, just under a month after Nazi surrender. In an address to the papal College of Cardinals, Pius condemned National Socialism as a "satanic ghost" with a vigor that had eluded him for the previous six years.<sup>2</sup> This ringing denunciation contrasts sharply with the obfuscating verbiage that Pius had used during the previous six years to point the finger at Nazi and

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2. For a text of the speech, see: Pius XII, *Discorso di sua Santità Pio XII, "Nell'Accogliere"* (Vatican, June 2, 1945), accessed June 20, 2023 at [https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/it/speeches/1945/documents/hf\\_p-xii\\_spe\\_19450602\\_accogliere.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/it/speeches/1945/documents/hf_p-xii_spe_19450602_accogliere.html).

Fascist crimes and which has been taken by his apologists as a sign of his courage and resolution.

How does Kertzer explain this seemingly all-pervasive papal silence? That these were not one-off instances but deliberate policy was made abundantly clear by a series of meetings that Pope Pius XII held in secret with Nazi Germany through an intermediary. This was Prince Phillip von Hessen, a Nazi aristocrat who also happened to be the son-in-law of King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy and whose wife, Mafalda, would perish tragically in Buchenwald in 1944. In the protocol of a meeting between Pius XII and von Hessen on May 11, 1939, discovered by Kertzer in the Vatican Archives, von Hessen expressed his concern that the new pope might not remain silent about the “racial question,” one of the “biggest issues” needing to be resolved. Seeking agreement and hoping to promote peace, Pius assured his interlocutor that there were no reasons to worry about the church’s involvement in “partisan politics” (67).

But why did Pope Pius XII hold to this position of silence on seemingly all issues likely to provoke the sensitivity of the Fascist and Nazi state? Kertzer reiterates traditional arguments frequently used by defenders of the pontiff. Pius XII, for instance, saw himself as an impartial peacemaker in the vein of his predecessor, Pope Benedict XV. As Catholics fought fellow Catholics in the trenches, central European plains, and Alpine peaks during the First World War, he sought to mediate.

But Pius XII’s hesitancy to speak out against right-wing aggression had deeper roots. As Kertzer repeatedly points out, the pontiff feared for the German church, which was particularly dear to his heart. Fluent in German, he spoke longingly of his time as Nuncio in Bavaria from 1917 to 1925 and in Berlin from 1925 through 1929. Fearing permanent damage to the German church in the form of either widespread persecution or a schism were he to denounce, he sought above all to preserve the institutional church. Here, Kertzer carefully distinguishes between the years 1939–43, when it appeared that the Nazis and Fascists might win the war, and the years 1943–45 when their might, though still formidable, was ebbing. Even during this latter period, Kertzer argues that the pope took pains to “promote the public impression” for both the Allies and the Axis that he was “on their side” (476).

Underlying his fear of offending was Pius’s cautious temperament. The embodiment of an aristocratic diplomat from a century prior, he was by nature aloof, distant, and even fearful, even while in person he could be



charming and warm (48–49). Kertzer's account makes abundantly clear that it was personal weakness rather than any sort of ideological affinity with Nazism or Fascism that undergirded his silence. Pius XII was not motivated by anti-Semitic or anti-Judaic animus, even where distinct and powerful anti-Semitic attitudes were to be found elsewhere in the highest reaches of the Vatican. Drawing on his earlier scholarship on Vatican anti-Semitism, Kertzer certainly provides ample illustration of the anti-Semitic excesses of high-ranking officials like the Jesuit Superior General, Wlodimir Ledóchowski and Pietro Tacchi Venturi, S.J.<sup>3</sup> But Pope Pius was not the “Hitler’s pope,” of John Cornwell’s imagination.<sup>4</sup> He was suspicious of both Nazi Germany and Italian Fascism, the former more so than the latter.

Pius’s cautious temperament, however, does not prevent Kertzer from closing with an unsparing verdict. Kertzer concludes that Pius’s wartime pontificate, as successful as it was in preserving the institution of the Church and even possibly the city of Rome itself from wartime destruction, represented a moral failure. In a passage certain to be quoted by most reviewers and scholars engaging with his work, Kertzer argues that “as a moral leader, Pius XII must be judged a failure.” When seeking to rescue the Jews of Rome from Nazi deportation, Pius XII prioritized those who had been baptized Catholic. Papal intervention led the numbers of those put in cattle cars bound for Auschwitz to drop from 1259 (or 1260) to 1007; of the latter, only 16 survived.

In casting his verdict in explicitly moral terms, Kertzer fits into the line of papal critics dating back to Hochhuth. They too argue that Pius “failed” or that the Church “failed.” Kertzer’s reasons for this verdict nonetheless differ. Unlike Hochhuth who pointed to the pope’s icy aristocratic demeanor, venality, and Vatican financial interests, Kertzer argues that papal cowardice and Fascist intimidation were decisive. And it was ultimately on the question of papal silence that he takes issue with Pius’s defenders and apologists from the 1960s. His biggest criticism is reserved for the four Jesuits—Pierre Blet, Robert Graham, Angelo Martini, and Burkhard Schneider—charged with putting together eleven volumes of documents from Pius XII’s wartime pontificate, *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* (Acts and Documents of the Holy

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3. David Kertzer, *The Popes Against the Jews: The Vatican’s Role in the Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism* (New York, 2001); David Kertzer, *The Pope and Mussolini: The Secret History of Pius XI and the Rise of Fascism in Europe* (New York, 2014).

4. John Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (New York, 1999).

See related to the Second World War).<sup>5</sup> Blet argued that Pius “had given thought to the possibility of public statements” but chose not to, believing that protests harmed the faithful more than they helped the victims of aggression (472–73). For Kertzer, in contrast, such arguments were deeply misleading. How could Hitler’s persecution of Jews have been any worse? Not least, “good Catholics,” some steeped in centuries of Christian anti-Judaism, were well represented in the ranks of perpetrators. Pius, he argued, may well have worried that an unequivocal condemnation of racial laws and Jewish persecution would have led many, both Germans and Italians, to “abandon” the Roman Catholic Church (473). Mussolini’s Italy, he suggests, may reasonably be viewed as “clerico-Fascist” (479).

As this example points out, Kertzer’s account is squarely anchored within the context of Italian history. His focus on the Italian peninsula and Italian Catholicism no doubt reflects the fact that Kertzer’s scholarly interests have long centered on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Italian history. Long before he wrote his prizewinner account of Edgardo Mortara, a six-year old Jewish boy secretly baptized by his family’s serving girl as an infant and wrested from his family, he published widely on the relationships between Catholics and Communists in Bologna and social and family life in central Italy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>6</sup>

Research on Catholicism has increasingly been moving in a global direction.<sup>7</sup> Broadening Kertzer’s chronological and geographical framework will either serve as a corrective or an affirmation of his central claims. By placing the events of the Second World War within in the context of Pius XII’s pontificate as a whole—all the way to his death in 1958—future scholars will be able to draw comparisons and contrasts between Pius’s crusade against Communism and his stance against Italian Fascism and

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5. For an online version, see the following: Pius XII, *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* [Acts and Documents of the Holy See related to the Second World War], 11 vols. (Rome, 1970–1981), accessed June 16, 2023 at [https://www.vatican.va/archive/actes/index\\_fr.htm](https://www.vatican.va/archive/actes/index_fr.htm).

6. David Kertzer, *Comrades and Christians: Religion and Political Struggle in Communist Italy* (New York, 1980); David Kertzer, *Family Life in Central Italy, 1880–1910: Sharecropping, Wage Labor, and Coresidence* (New Brunswick, 1984); David Kertzer and Dennis Hogan, *Family, Political Economy, and Demographic Change: The Transformation of Life in Casalecchio, Italy, 1861–1921* (Madison, 1989).

7. For two examples, see John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism: A Global History from the French Revolution to Pope Francis* (New York, 2022); John T. McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World: How an Embattled Religious Order made Modern Catholicism Global* (Princeton, 2016).

National Socialism. Why was his rhetoric sharper and his actions more decisive against Communism? In the same vein, viewing Pius's pontificate within the context of the global Church will serve as a test of Kertzer's central arguments. Already in the 1940s, Latin America, the Middle East, Asia and Africa were emerging as a locus of struggle between right and left. Proponents and opponents of decolonization were keenly aware of the importance of the so-called "Third World" to this global ideological struggle, in which the Catholic Church was playing a crucial role politically and culturally. Can we regard Pius's entire pontificate as one in which the pope was "at war?"

Filled with detailed footnotes for the scholar and accessible prose for the general reader, Kertzer's critical account will serve as a work with which every scholar of the twentieth-century Vatican and Pope Pius XII will have to engage. Four distinguished commentators will now do precisely that.

#### REVIEWS

**Suzanne Brown-Fleming** (*United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*)<sup>8</sup>

On August 27, 2020, six months after the opening of an estimated sixteen million pages of archival material for the pontificate of Venerable Pius XII (1939–58, hereafter Pius XII), *The Atlantic* published an article by David Kertzer in its Ideas section. For scholars long engaged in the contested topic of the Roman Catholic Church, the Holy See, and the Holocaust, the article, titled "The Pope, the Jews, and the Secrets in the Archives," felt something akin to the "shot heard round the world." The question of the decisions taken by Pius XII, head of the Vatican city-state and Bishop of Rome—the Vicar of Christ, or Christ's representative on earth to millions of faithful—would never be the same again.

Kertzer's article featured new evidence from multiple Vatican archives, including the Vatican Apostolic Archive, the Holy See's Historical Archive of the Section for Relations with States, and the archive of the Dicastery for the Doctrine of the Faith. The majority of the article centered around the case of two young Jewish boys, Robert and Gérard Finaly, who were hidden from their Jewish relatives by a network of Catholic institutions from 1945 until 1953. Evidence uncovered by Kertzer and his collaborator, Roberto Benedetti, revealed regular discussions between the Holy Office (the former name of the Roman Catholic

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8. The views as expressed are the author's alone and do not necessarily represent those of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum or any other organization.

congregation of the curia charged with protecting faith and morals) and the Secretariat of State (analogous to governments' foreign ministry), with the pope himself both fully aware of the details of the case and supportive of resisting returning the children so as to avoid the sin of apostasy (the boys had been secretly baptized).

*The Atlantic* piece also included an episode regarding the response of the Holy See to the on-going deportations of Italian Jews, a prelude to his much deeper study. *The Pope at War: The Secret History of Pius XII, Mussolini and Hitler*, published on June 7, 2022, can be interpreted as the third book in a trilogy, following *The Popes against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Antisemitism* (Knopf, 2001) and *The Pope and Mussolini: The Secret History of Pius XI and the Rise of Fascism in Europe* (Random House, 2014). In *The Pope at War*, Kertzer has a singular guiding question that binds together his vivid writing and compelling narrative: what animated the decisions Pius XII made when faced with two of the world's most infamous dictators?

From colorful prose about Pius XII with his beloved canaries to stark depictions of the pleas from Rome's Jews coming to the pope in the days after the October 16 roundup only a few kilometers from Saint Peter's Square, Kertzer is clear about why the pope decided to protect Vatican City and Rome's ancient treasures above other considerations. One point made clear by Kertzer is Catholics outside of Italy were also sacrificed. Mussolini, an ally of Hitler at the time of the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, immediately flexed his muscles by arresting the Vatican daily newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano's* lead writers. Pinned between Mussolini pressuring the pope not to "remain silent about the German invasion of Poland" (83) and desperate pleas from the Polish ambassador and leading Polish prelates, Pius XII would "say nothing," citing "his desire not to do anything that might worsen the church's situation in Germany" (84).

"It is impossible," writes Kertzer, "to understand the pope's actions without recognizing he had good reason to think the church's future would likely lie in a Europe under the thumb of Hitler and his Italian partner," (139), writes Kertzer. It is in this vein that we should understand the sacrifice of other European countries (Germany and Italy excepted) with major Catholic populations in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Protection of the treasures of the centuries-old seat of Roman Catholicism was the largest driving force in the pope's thinking.

Documents in the recently released archives for the postwar period confirm this. Involved in successful efforts to commute the sentence of Ernst von Weizsäcker (1882–1951), among the reasons cited by Domenico Tardini (future Cardinal Secretary of State, 1958–63, under Saint Pope John XXIII, 1958–63) was the gratitude of the pope for Weizsäcker's interest in obtaining demilitarization of parts of Vatican City and Rome, facilitation of initiatives to save historical, bibliographical, and artistic relics in the Lazio region, and issuance of protection documents to the religious institutes of Rome, the personnel of the Papal Dicasteries, and the members of the Palatine Guard.

The response to *The Atlantic* article and the book has been intense and has echoed far beyond the halls of the academy. Stories appeared in the *New York Times* (August 28, 2020), *Jerusalem Post* (August 30, 2020), *The Washington Post* (July 29, 2022), *La Stampa* (August 17, 2022), to name only some. But the greatest surprise was a full-page rejoinder in *L'Osservatore Romano*, “A response to “The Pope at War: The Secret History of Pius XII, Mussolini, and Hitler” by David I. Kertzer” (July 1, 2022). In a book so full of rich insights documented from the Vatican archives and cross-referenced against over two dozen secular archives in Great Britain, France, Germany, the United States, and Italy, the resistance to some of Kertzer's findings is surprising.

The great hope of *The Pope at War* is that it will herald in a new chapter in discussions about the decisions made by both popes and their powerful officers of the Church between 1922 and 1958. Both Popes Pius XI and Pius XII were criticized for their “silence” in their own time, and the lack of full access to the archival record for this period until March 2020 has meant that conjecture could replace the painstaking work of reading millions of pages of evidence and weighing these new fonds against other available evidence in archives around the world. For Pius XII, and for all popes who came before and since, hard political realities meant making decisions at times barely discernable as decisions made as Christ's representative on earth.

Kertzer's book—carefully researched, thoughtfully written, and based in documentation that is clear when examined in the original—will, I hope, usher scholars into a new phase. The moral role of the pope—explicitly claimed in a way that is different from other heads of state, makes evaluating and assessing and explaining and describing papal decision-making very difficult. Rather than openness to these complexities, discussions and debates have been characterized for decades as either apologetic or excoriating. A

careful, open, and productive exchange across varied interpretations on the historical aspects of the Church during these two troubled papacies has not yet been achieved. Kertzer's book offers us a chance to try again.

**Roy Palmer Domenico** (The University of Scranton)

As David Kertzer's *The Pope at War* shows us, during the Second World War, as the center of the Catholic Church and as his hometown, Rome—and Italy—figured prominently in the story of Pius XII. Eugenio Pacelli was a “*romano romano*,” born across the Tiber from Saint Peter's, just off the Corso Vittorio Emanuele and not far from San Filippo Neri's *Chiesa Nuova*. His family had served the papacy for years and one of his nephews, Carlo, became one of his own closest advisors. Throughout the conflict, Pius never left the city and its environs, and he acquired a political importance in Italy that did not correspond to the German situation. The sorry state of the Fascist regime enhanced that status. That Hitler's power surpassed Mussolini's meant that the *duce* never achieved an authoritarian rule on the level of the Nazis. The *duce* could not completely crush myriad factions in society—the traditionalist peasants, the monarchy, the nobility, the army and navy, industrialists, the sensible middle class (the *buoni borghesi*), the working class, and, especially, the Catholic Church. Except for the monarchy and nobility, all the rest re-emerged in full bloom soon after the Fascist regime expired. Pacelli had a special role to play in all this. During the war years, as Professor Kertzer confirms, “For Italians, (Pius) was the country's only authority independent of the Fascist regime, the lone man whose own charisma rivaled Mussolini's” (xxx). One might add the king to that list; whether he was “independent of the Fascist regime” or not is of course debatable, although in the end Victor Emmanuel was crucial in removing the *duce* from power. Kertzer notes (476) that as the *duce*'s star declined, the pontiff's rose, becoming “the focus of an intense personality cult.” Pius's popularity, furthermore, received a boost, in fact an international boost, when a Catholic film crew in 1942 produced the acclaimed and hagiographic *Pastor Angelicus*. The pontiff's 1942 and 1944 Christmas messages and his actions after the July and August 1943 bombardments of Rome also earned him authentic and widespread praise, although quite a few Italians welcomed those air attacks with a bit of *schadenfreude*—comeuppance for the previously untouched capital. The historian of the anti-Fascist Resistance, Roberto Battaglia, moreover, credited Pius with the peaceful German exit from the city in June of 1944. Struck by what he called “the insurrection that never was” (*la mancata insurrezione*), Battaglia may have been correct when he detected Pope Pius' fine hand at work, a “masterpiece of Vatican politics” (*capolavoro della polit-*

*ica vaticana*).<sup>9</sup> The tag *defensor civitatis* did not fall into Pius' lap—he worked for it.

But the pope was just the tip of the iceberg. One can read his actions in Italy as preparation for a postwar Catholic political revival. Religious fervor and phenomena characterized the war years: the popularity of the *Focolare* movement under Chiara Lubich, for example, or Marian apparitions outside of Naples or Bergamo where 300,000 of the faithful gathered on one day in 1944. Widespread appreciation of Padre Pio and his miracles, furthermore, impressed the British author of *Naples '44*, Norman Lewis, particularly insofar that it extended to the educated bourgeoisie.<sup>10</sup> Within the Vatican the *sostituto* at the Secretariat of State, Giovanni Battista Montini, maintained very close links with leaders of the nascent Christian Democracy, often through the Catholic university federation, the FUCI; and many of those friends would guide the postwar nation. While nobody expected a return to the Papal States and the days of the *papa re*, by 1947 and 1948 Italy witnessed something of the establishment of a clerical regime under the Christian Democracy.

Finally, David Kertzer's *The Pope at War* bears on a lively discussion among historians, that of *Italiani brava gente*, an idea promoted by those who claim that Italians were hardly good people during the war and must be held responsible for their participation with the Germans in acts taken against the Jews and others, particularly the Slovenes. It comes as no surprise that some Fascists like Roberto Farinacci and Giovanni Preziosi embraced Nazi racism and supported German roundups and deportations. On the other hand, Italians of all stripes, but particularly Catholics—lay and clergy—protected Jews, some at the cost of their own lives, and ensured their survival at a rate better than those in most other countries. Cold and silent, Pius XII sat somewhere between the two camps, although, considering the numbers sheltered in church properties including the Vatican and Castel Gandolfo, he certainly leaned toward the better side.

**Martin Menke** (Rivier University)

The narrative of David Kertzer's latest work picks up where his previous study of the relationship between Pope Pius XI and Benito Mussolini left off. While the earlier work also addressed the role of Hitler and German fascism in the Church's development, this study of the war years devotes much

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9. Roberto Battaglia, *Storia della resistenza italiana* (Turin, 1974), 319.

10. Norman Lewis, *Naples '44* (New York, 1978), 151–53.



more attention to the role Hitler and the German fascist state played in the fate of Italy and the Catholic Church. However, the unfavorable judgment of the Church found in the earlier work grows more robust in this volume.

In this detailed narrative, Kertzer confirms several conclusions drawn by other historians of this complex and controversial period. Pius XII was favorably disposed to Germany and abhorred Communism partly because of personal experience while nuncio in Munich, which Kertzer does not mention in this volume. Kertzer confirms the pope's use of abstract and flowery language in his addresses and letters. To Pius, these were the most unambiguous condemnations of the atrocities occurring he dared make. To much of his audience, however, they seemed weak and ineffective. While Kertzer does not address this question explicitly, one wonders what role willing self-deception played in Pius' statements. Furthermore, Pius offered no condemnation of the German invasion of Poland or Mussolini's invasions of Albania and Greece except through confidential diplomatic channels. Because of the importance of these confidential communications in Kertzer's work, the Holy See's oral and written communication with diplomats and other representatives of the Axis and Allied powers played an important role, both at the time and for scholars today.

Perhaps the most revealing point of this new work is evidence suggesting that Pius' inaction and indirect language stemmed from extreme timidity. The pope feared putting Germans in a morally impossible position and feared for the welfare of Catholics in Germany and Italy. He also feared for the integrity of the Vatican State. One wonders why the same concern seems to have carried much less weight where the Catholics and Church institutions of occupied Europe were concerned. Through intermediaries and private audiences with many on both sides of the war, he voiced concern for the continued availability of the sacraments and all these required. Above all, it seems the pope feared any negative repercussions and therefore chose to remain silent. Kertzer might have addressed the many impossible choices facing a man tasked with preserving an institution and its members and insisting on morally correct behavior. A further problem is the common misunderstanding of the Catholic Church's hierarchical control over the faithful. Popes can barely control bishops and bishops their priests, and neither exercises the control over the faithful that critics imagine the hierarchy to possess.

As previous scholars have shown, there were occasions on which Pius XII spoke out quite clearly and emphatically. Also, on several occasions, he traveled to the bombed sites in Rome and blessed the crowds. He made no such effort for others persecuted in Rome. After the war ended, he con-



demned Rome's moral decay under Allied occupation. Kertzer documents several occasions when the Holy See issued official complaints about matters that seem, in retrospect at least, to pale compared with some of the crimes co-occurring and about which the pope remained silent.

While Kertzer labeled many diplomats, politicians, military officers, fascist officials, and church officials as antisemites, he does not label the pope as such. Perhaps Kertzer takes it for granted, or perhaps his research exonerates Pius of that charge by pointing to his fear and his lack of awareness of the effect his choices to speak and be silent, act, and remain inactive had. Additional analysis by Kertzer would have provided additional illumination: was Pius just as antisemitic as he was timid?

One wishes that the publisher had chosen footnotes over endnotes. Given the importance of the newly released records of the Vatican Archives, avoiding constant page flipping would have been helpful.

While this work does not conclusively end the "Pius Wars," it further underscores the pope's human frailties that kept him from being the heroic leader of the Church one wishes he would have been.

**John F. Pollard** (University of Cambridge)

The opening of the papers of Pius XII in the Vatican Archives in 2020 naturally prompted much speculation about where this would take the well-developed historiography on the controversies surrounding the pope's role during World War Two, in particular his response to the Holocaust.<sup>11</sup>

Professor Kertzer's research confirms most of what has been known or surmised about Pius XII's silences in the face of the Holocaust and other fascist genocides, and the reasons for those silences. In particular, the passages relating to the attitudes of Monsignor Giuseppe di Meglio and Angelo dell'Acqua (chapter 27 and page 385) confirm the impression that there were strong anti-Semitic prejudices among elements of the Roman curia, most notoriously demonstrated by the Jesuit periodical, *La Civiltà Cattolica*. Kertzer's study also throws much light on the crucially important role of Msgr. Domenico Tardini. It is surely now time for a new, comprehensive biography of this extremely *furbo* son of the Roman plebs, a pow-

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11. The historiography began with Avro Manhattan, *The Catholic Church against the Twentieth Century* (London, 1947); another notable contribution was John Cornwell's *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* (London, 1999).

erful figure in the Vatican from 1938 onwards, who died in the saddle as Cardinal Secretary of State to Pope John XXIII in 1961.

The most important discovery that Kertzer made in the Archives is the evidence of secret negotiations between Hitler and Pius XII, via Prince Philipp of Hesse, between August 1939 and April 1941 (see especially chapter 6). But this throws into relief the sparse attention which the author devotes, overall, to the relationship between the Nazis and the Catholic Church *in Germany*: by comparison Mussolini's Italy gets the lion's share of his attention.<sup>12</sup> I feel we need more detail on the persecution of the Church in Germany, Poland, and other occupied territories, which included the imprisonment and/or murder of hundreds of priests, and doomed Hesse's negotiations to failure. Relations with the Third Reich reached their nadir in January 1942, after the Vatican rejected the Germans' demand to veto all episcopal appointments in the territories occupied by them.<sup>13</sup>

Kertzer meticulously details the Vatican's shameful failure to protest both the deportation of Roman Jews in October 1943 (chapter 34) and the Germans' executions of innocents in retaliation for the partisans' attack on their troops in March 1944 (413–14). On the other hand, he states that Pius countermanded an order to remove those Jews, anti-fascists, deserters, etc. who had taken shelter in the homes of Vatican prelates (404). The eminent Italian historian Andrea Riccardi relates another case where Pius forbade Jews being shown the door and demonstrates that, despite the threat of retaliation by the German (and Italian) authorities against religious institutions in the city which sheltered thousands of similar fugitives, Pius knew and approved of this situation.<sup>14</sup>

In the winter/spring of 1940, Pius XII agreed to act as a channel between the German generals plotting against Hitler and the British, a totally out-of-character decision for a pope who seemed to be so timid, angst-ridden, and indecisive.<sup>15</sup> That Kertzer does not appear to have found any traces in the Archives of this otherwise well-documented episode

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12. What purpose do the frequent references to Mussolini's torrid and turbulent affair with Clara Petacci, which run through this narrative, serve?

13. See John Pollard, *The Papacy in the Age of Totalitarianism, 1914–1958* (Oxford, 2014), 324–25.

14. Andrea Riccardi, *L'inverno piu lungo 1943–44: Pio XII, gli Ebrei e I Nazisti a Roma* (Roma, 2008), 80, 110, 112, 116, and 280–81.

15. See David J. Alvarez and Robert A. Graham, *Nothing Sacred: Nazi Espionage against the Vatican, 1939–1945* (London, 1997), 25–33.

suggests that Pius was remarkably successful in keeping it secret in a Vatican infested by Italian spies.

In his conclusion, Kertzer ponders whether Pius XI, Pius XII's predecessor, would have been more outspoken in response to the Holocaust. Given Papa Ratti's silence over Italian war crimes in Ethiopia between 1935 and 1936, after his initial public hostility to Mussolini's aggression,<sup>16</sup> that is doubtful. As with Pius XII, Pius XI's concern for the survival of the institutional Church would almost certainly have triumphed over his prophetic role, diplomatic expediency over the papacy's moral primacy.

#### RESPONSE

**David I. Kertzer** (Brown University)

Deep thanks to my colleagues for their thoughtful comments and encouraging words on my recent book. In the space I have available here I can only touch briefly on a handful of the points they raise.

While much attention has understandably focused on the question of Pope Pius XII's failure to denounce the Nazi attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe, and *The Pope at War* is in part an attempt to provide a fuller explanation for that silence, the book, as the title indicates, is more broadly focused on Pius XII and the Second World War. In this context, it is worth mentioning that the book is not only based on thousands of documents newly made available with the opening of the Vatican (and some other ecclesiastical) archives for the war years, but also on the examination of tens of thousands of relevant documents from Italian, German, French, British, and American government archives. Adequate understanding of the pope's actions during the war must take advantage of all these archives to provide a full picture of the dramatic days of the war as lived in the Vatican.

John Pollard notes that my book devotes much more attention to the pope and the Church in the Italian political context than to the question of the Catholic Church in Germany and its relation to the National Socialist regime. This is certainly true, largely because my focus is on the pope and the influential prelates of the Vatican during the war. Not only was the pope very much Italian (and very Roman) but all but one of the members

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16. See Lucia Ceci, "Santa Sede e impero fascista: contrasti, silenzi e fiancheggiamenti," in: *Pius XI: Keywords: International Conference, Milan, 2009*, eds. Alberto Guasco and Rafaella Perin (Berlin and Vienna, 2010), especially 137–39.

of the Curia at the time was Italian and almost all the key nuncios and apostolic delegates were Italian. As for the relations of the German Catholic Church with the Nazi regime, others more expert than I in this field have been offering excellent insight into this fraught history.

I would take issue with Roy Domenico's characterization contrasting a handful of Italian pro-Nazi extremists with what he describes as "Italians of all stripes, but particularly Catholics" who often risked their lives to protect Jews in these years. The systematic persecution of Jews in Italy began two years before Italy entered the war, with the imposition of the draconian racial laws of 1938. The state bureaucracy swung into immediate action enforcing these laws, with little signs of unhappiness, much less risk-taking, among Catholics in Italy. The Jews who were later rounded up by the Germans for deportation to the death camps were in good part identified thanks to Italians, and large numbers of Jews were sent to Italian concentration camps by Italians well before the German occupation of Italy. As for the sheltering of Jews in religious institutions during the German occupation of Italy, this was clearly not a product of anything Pius XII ordered. The recent opening of the Vatican archives offers abundant evidence that many of Rome's religious houses routinely turned away desperate Jews trying to escape deportation, others would only accept those who could pay, and many attempts—not infrequently successful—were made to take advantage of the desperate Jews' plight to convert them. No attempts were made by the pope to shelter Jews in Vatican City, and Jews were not particularly numerous among the large number of Italians who hoped to find a safe haven at Castel Gandolfo. To put the question further in perspective, it should be noted that it was thanks to the sheltering provided by Italian religious institutions that many of Italy's top Fascist government officials found refuge and escape from justice.

I also wonder whether Martin Menke's assertion that "Popes barely control bishops and bishops their priests" is not more applicable to the Church today than it is, particularly in the Italian context, in characterizing the Church in the war years. Both the Italian state archives and the Vatican archives make clear that as soon as the Fascist government complained to the Vatican about a priest or a bishop's politically unacceptable speech or behavior, the Vatican secretariat of state had the prelate warned. Pius XII was certainly intimidated by Mussolini and Hitler, but he was not intimidated by Italy's bishops and would not tolerate disobedience from them.

I agree with Pollard that with the opening of the archives for the papacy of Pius XII it is time for a new biography of Domenico Tardini,

and, I would add, the time has come for new studies of other key figures from the wartime Vatican, including the future Pope Paul VI, Giovanni Battista Montini, then Sostituto, but also others of the secretariat of state office who played important yet relatively little examined roles. Of these, the man Pius XII regarded as his expert on Jewish questions, Angelo Dell'Acqua, future cardinal vicar of Rome, is particularly important. This also points to another aspect of the opportunities now available thanks to the recent Vatican archival opening: examination of the full span of Pius XII's papacy, most of which took place after the war. Dell'Acqua, for instance, would be appointed Sostituto himself in 1953 and continue to play an important role in brokering relations between Pius XII and the Jewish world in the postwar years. Much important work lies ahead.

## Book Reviews

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### GENERAL

*Journeys of the Mind: A Life in History.* By Peter Brown. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023. Pp. xv. 713. \$45.00. ISBN 978-0-691-24228-6.)

In 1977 Peter Brown delivered “Learning and Imagination,” his inaugural lecture as head of the history department at Royal Holloway College (*Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982], 3–21). He encouraged venturing outside one’s field and commended the “imaginative curiosity” that makes us “attempt to project ourselves into the thoughts and feelings of men and women whose claim to our respect was precisely that they were profoundly different from ourselves.” Echoing his foremost mentor, Arnaldo Momigliano, to whom he paid tribute, he held up “wild and wooly” Giambattista Vico as an exemplary historian because he defied “the standards of a well-run history department,” i.e. the Oxford department that had nurtured him for twenty-two years (“Learning,” 3–4).

In *Journeys of the Mind* Brown suggests how he came by imaginative curiosity himself and how, among other things, it led him to reject the entrenched view of the Later Roman Empire summed up in Edward Gibbon’s words, “decline and fall.” Thanks in large part to Brown, we now study a vital and creative society, “Late Antiquity,” not a degraded culture approaching a dead end.

Brown tells how, studying history as an Oxford undergraduate, he grew curious about someone “who was larger and more vivid than any medieval pope or emperor, and whose ideas would echo throughout the Middle Ages” (169–70). Having designated “Saint Augustine and his age” as his special field, he gravitated to historians who challenged Gibbon’s perspective. Preeminent among these was a convert, H.-I. Marrou. Imitating his subject, Marrou appended a “Retractatio” to the 1949 edition of his magisterial *S. Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (1938). There he repudiated his earlier perpetuation of the “decline and fall” narrative; the civilization that produced Augustine was not moribund, but vigorous and still evolving. In his copy the emerging historian wrote “HURRAH! HURRAH!” in a margin.

An undergraduate friend from France put Brown on to another transformative work, Fernand Braudel’s *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II* (1949), “a book that placed a distinctive landscape, with its unchanging, silent restraints and perennial rhythms, at the center of an historian’s imagination” (165).

As a Fellow of All Souls, he neglected his proposed dissertation to write a biography of Augustine. He intended it, not to clarify theological controversies, but

to enter the thoughts and feelings of a man with a profoundly different outlook from his. He wondered why “one of the subtlest minds of all antiquity” came to accept religious coercion; more than a millennium after Augustine’s death an exiled Huguenot would justly single him out as “the Grand Patriarch of persecutors” (244). Brown says he did most of his research out of centuries-old tomes. He listened to Augustine’s voice through the Maurist edition and correlated what he heard with the chronology in Louis Sébastien le Nain de Tillemont’s *Mémoires Écclésiastiques*. Gibbon, he realized, had used Tillemont much the same way to write *The Decline and Fall* (250–51).

In 1967 he produced a literary tour de force that holds the reader’s attention from the vivid evocation of the North African hinterland where Augustine was born to the dramatic scene where, as the approaching Vandals ravaged the nearby countryside, he lay on his deathbed with penitential psalms hanging on the walls where he could see them. Acclaimed as a brilliantly original historical work, *Augustine of Hippo* launched Brown’s illustrious scholarly career, sans Ph.D. *Journeys of the Mind* recounts Brown’s books, positions, and travels in the next two decades as the avid pursuit and assimilation of new perspectives. He dwells on what he gained from, among others, anthropologists Edward Evans-Pritchard and Mary Douglas, philosophers Pierre Hadot and Michel Foucault, and historian Évelyne Patlagean.

What he gained from Braudel shines through his account of travels in Iran in the early seventies. He lovingly explains how Zoroastrian beliefs integrated monumental architecture with the land. He was moved by fervent Islamic worship in a country that was officially secularizing. His mental journey could easily have taken him farther in that direction had it not been for the Islamic Revolution.

At Berkeley, liberated by Michel Foucault “from the notion that sex was a constant through the ages” (583), Brown undertook to account for virginity’s allure to early Christians in *The Body and Society* (1987). The research involved left him with a new perspective on an old friend: “Returning to Augustine after having spent many years with Origen and the Desert Fathers, I felt like a traveler returning to his hometown after a long absence abroad and finding it somehow shrunken. Origen’s sense of constantly expanding horizons was absent” (654).

In an evident *hommage* to the *Confessions*, Brown concludes his life narrative with his mother’s death that same year, 1987. He appends sketches of later works. These include his longest, *Through the Eye of a Needle* (2012), where he listened closely again to Augustine, among others, as they Christianized classical philanthropy to embrace all the poor, not just citizens.

Brown shows how began his journey as a child. Like Augustine, he was born into the governing class and the minority church of a shrinking empire. His Protestant forebears were military officers and colonial administrators. As a toddler, he lived in Sudan, where his father oversaw railroads. His mother took him back with her to neutral Dublin when World War II started. In 1941 she caught him, at six, gleefully throwing pebbles at a cigar box floating in a barrel; he was reenacting the

sinking of the H. M. S. Prince of Wales—from the Japanese point of view (52). “Protestant or Catholic?” defined everyone’s status in Ireland; he always appreciated the social power of religion. A curious outsider stance came naturally: “I was a ‘native’ of Ireland. But I had learned that ‘natives’ were dangerous creatures and prone to ‘risings’” (70).

*Journeys of the Mind* pays tribute to his father, who stretched a meager pension to provide him an education. He found a poignant note in his mother’s diary; on August 8, 1977, the day she and his father saw him off to Berkeley at Dublin airport: “Pets looked well and happy—he had got the job he had always wanted” (533). He says that he wrote for his two aunts, literate women who lacked university education. Brown otherwise tells little about his private life. As to his own religion, we learn only that he resumed attending church as an adult and that he says his prayers.

Writing for aunts was a good idea. Brown remains a captivating storyteller when telling his own.

Louisville, Kentucky

JOSEPH W. TRIGG

*Augustine and Tradition: Influences, Contexts, Legacy.* Edited by David G. Hunter and Jonathan P. Yates. (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. Pp. 501. \$80.00. ISBN: 978-0-802-87699-7.)

*Augustine and Tradition* (hereafter *AT*) is an outstanding collection of essays on Augustine and his “influences, contexts, and legacy,” dedicated to the historical theologian J. Patout Burns. Like Burns’s own wide-ranging work on Augustine, this volume explores Augustine’s writings in relation to the intellectual world in which he matured and from which his thought would continue to shape theological controversy and conversation to the present day. *AT* is organized in four major sections with contributions from leading lights and some rising stars in the field of Augustinian and early Christian studies, as well as historical theology.

In the first and longest section, “Augustine and the North African Tradition,” Michael Cameron, Andrew McGowan, William Tabbernee, Geoffrey D. Dunn, and Alden Bass explore Augustine’s scriptural exegesis, his engagement with the North African lectionary and martyrology, and his relationship to his predecessors, Tertullian of Carthage and Optatus of Milevis. Here, Dunn and Bass do a great service to the North African theological tradition in their depiction of Augustine as a critical and appreciative inheritor of already well-developed perspectives on Christian psychology, sacramental theology, and ecclesiology.

In the second section, “Augustine and the Philosophical and Literary Tradition,” John Peter Kenny and Thomas Clemmons focus on Augustine’s complex negotiation with Platonism in general and Porphyry in particular. Here, Clemmons succeeds admirably in focusing scholarly attention on Porphyry as a major interlocutor throughout Augustine’s career. James Wetzel’s essay stages a dialogue between Augustine and Cicero on grief that expands into a philosophically rich



reflection on the limits of classical ethics and the new pathways Augustine dared to tread. Dennis Trout offers a subtle account of the development of Augustine's assessment of the Latin literary tradition, especially Vergil, while affirming Augustine's enduring, if not uncomplicated, appreciation for it across his body of work.

The third and shortest section addresses "Augustine and the Greek Patristic Tradition." Joseph W. Trigg picks up where section 2 left off, exploring Augustine's relationship to another plenary practitioner of scriptural exegesis indebted to the Platonic philosophical tradition, Origen of Alexandria. His mastery of the secondary literature is impressive, as is his display of surprising points of contact between Augustine's negotiation of a Platonic inheritance and Origen's. Mark DelCogliano explores "Augustine's Anti-Pelagian Reception of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory Nazianzus," revealing, in spite of contrary hopes, that Augustine was not influenced by these two Cappadocian Fathers in any significant way.

In the fourth and final section, "Augustine and His Latin Contemporaries/Successors," the first three essays from Stephen A. Cooper, John C. Cavadini, and Theodore de Bruyn address "Augustine and Marius Victorinus," "Ambrose," and "Ambrosiaster," respectively. These three chapters provide excellent starting points—both bibliographically and conceptually—for the study of Augustine's relationship to three of Augustine's most significant contemporaries. Cavadini, in particular, charts new territory for reconsidering Augustine's "Ambrosian lens" for discerning the essential connection between the doctrine of creation and redemption. Finally, Brian Matz's essay looks forward to Augustine's later reception in the "Ninth-Century Predestination Debate," focusing on uses of Augustine's phrase "predestined to punishment." Here, we catch a glimpse of how one strand of Augustine's thinking on a particular issue came to dominate a theological debate that continues to reverberate to the present day.

*AT*'s major contribution is found in its careful reading and analysis of Augustine's engagement with significant interlocutors in his immediate context. It will be useful not only to scholars of Augustine, but also to those primarily interested in sorting out much later "contexts" and "legacies" in which Augustine features prominently. Readers owe Hunter and Yates a debt of gratitude for compiling these essays, noteworthy for their historical sensitivity, philosophical insight, and theological depth.

*Providence College*

JAMES COLUMCILLE DEVER

*From Ignatius to Francis: The Jesuits in History.* By Michael Walsh. (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2022. \$29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-8146-8491-7.)

With a preface, ten chapters, and an index, this work, by Michael Walsh, a former Jesuit and a resident of the United Kingdom, offers an overview of Jesuit history, from the era of the sixteenth-century founder of the Jesuits, to that of Francis, the Jesuit pope. Seeking to distinguish this attempt at a history of the Soci-

ety of Jesus from many other such efforts, the author states that he will focus less on what Jesuits did than on what they thought.

What Walsh really means by “thought” is not altogether clear, though one might expect a good deal of focus on what Jesuits published over the centuries. There is some of this here, but there are also gaps, as in a substantial chapter on France where a very prolific author such as Jesuit Etienne Binet (1569–1639), the author of some fifty books, is passed over in silence.

Factual errors are not as rare as one would like. The author speaks of King Louis XV as active in the 1660s (125), but that would have to be Louis XIV. For what is surely Urban VIII (103), Walsh has Urban VII. Walsh states that the “pinnacle of Jesuit achievement in Japan” (78) was in the early sixteenth century, but that would in fact be the early seventeenth century. More than once (139, 145), Walsh attributes an entry in the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Jesuits* to the *Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*; on p. 102, note 11, Walsh gives 2008 for the publication date of the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Jesuits*; it is 2017. He has Fr. Pedro Arrupe resigning as Superior General (286) at Jesuit General Congregation 34 (but this took place in 1995, after Arrupe’s death), whereas General Congregation 33 would be correct for Arrupe’s resignation (1983). The most egregious error is on p. 274, note 41, where Walsh claims that no Jesuits were killed in the Spanish Civil War. In fact, several were; see the entry “Sitjar, Tomas, SJ, Bl. (1866–1936) and His Companions,” by Inmaculada Fernández Arrillaga, in the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Jesuits*, 740–41.

To be sure, Walsh may at times be more journalist than scholarly historian. He offers a concise, easily accessible book, and one of modest size compared to the lengthier histories often produced by academics. The secondary sources Walsh uses are often rather dated; the author in some cases appears unaware of the abundance of studies, in many languages, published in recent years. Though his chronology goes up to the present, he gives much more attention to the Society of Jesus in its early centuries than after the restoration of the Jesuits in 1814. Since the 2014 bicentennial of that event, scholarship on Jesuit topics has increasingly turned to the last two centuries, for which an exceptional range of sources is beginning to get serious attention.

I happily share the author’s deep appreciation for cultural historian Peter Burke, with whom I was delighted and privileged to do a doctoral dissertation at Cambridge University. Walsh rightly gives Burke the last word in this book: the Cambridge Professor of Cultural History Emeritus suggests that while the deeply hostile, negative stereotypes of the Jesuits that once were widespread have diminished in recent times, they can yet re-emerge (294–95). Indeed, has not such hostility re-appeared in the past decade, in some of the reactions to Pope Francis, the anomaly that is a Jesuit pope?

*The History of the Congregation of Holy Cross.* By James T. Connelly, C.S.C. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2020. Pp. xxiii, 440. \$49.00. ISBN: 978-0-268-10885-4.)

The Congregation of Holy Cross was founded in response to the spiritual and material needs French Catholics faced in the field of education following the French Revolution. Starting as the Brothers of Saint Joseph in 1820, the community grew from serving primary schools in Le Mans, France, into an international spiritual family of priests, brothers, sisters, and lay collaborators working across five continents. James Connelly, C.S.C., as congregational archivist draws on the collections of the institutions and ministries of his community to present the first general history of the Congregation.

The author does not dwell on individuals except in their relationship to the particular works of the Congregation. This is a history of institutions, with the University of Notre Dame, missions in Bengal, and the Oratory of St. Joseph in Montreal looming large. He outlines nearly two centuries of the community's history in universities and parishes while not dwelling on any one of them in depth. This book is intended as an introduction to the Congregation for general audiences and a starting point for further reading. His ample notes give incredible depth to these modest claims, and it is a great service to scholars of religious history particularly in Europe and North America. The book stops at 1998, leaving it for someone else to add the Congregation's contemporary history.

Connelly admits the potential weaknesses of this book at the outset. It is not *per se* about particular people, nor does it explicitly treat the spirituality and charisma of the Congregation, or systematically chronicle the contribution of female communities in the Holy Cross tradition. That is to say, it is not a comprehensive work that would require volumes. To his credit, anyone familiar with the charisma of religious communities will agree that all these facets permeate the works of a congregation to such an extent that they become two sides of the same coin.

*Our Lady of Victory Church (Washington, DC)*

SEAN P. PHILLIPS

## MEDIEVAL

*The Canons of the Third Lateran Council of 1179: Their Origins and Reception.* By Danica Summerlin. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series.] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Pp. xxiii, 306. \$99.99. ISBN 978-1-107-14582-5.)

*Papal Jurisprudence c. 400: Sources of the Canon Law Tradition.* By David L. d'Avray. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. \$108.00. ISBN 9781108472937.)

*Papal Jurisprudence, 385–1234: Social Origins and Medieval Reception of Canon Law.* By David L. d'Avray. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. Pp. x, 302. \$99.99. ISBN 978-1-108-47300-2.)

The three volumes under review provide innovative studies of the two major sources of canon law in the medieval period, namely conciliar canons and papal decretals. They constitute works of history that pay attention to the particulars of text and textual transmission but utilize the tools of philology, paleography, diplomatics, and/or codicology to help answer larger questions about the social, political, and religious factors at play in the development of the body of canon law and of the papacy. As the subtitles of Summerlin's and d'Avray's publications make clear, they are not simply interested in completed texts and textual content; rather they are interested in issues of origins, of transmission, and of reception. Each one represents a sizable contribution to the history of the papacy as well as to the development of canon law prior to the *Liber Extra* of 1234, the first major papally commissioned and authorized collection of canon law that would remain a significant part of the *Corpus iuris canonici* until the new Code of Canon Law went into effect in the Roman Catholic Church in 1918.

The two works by d'Avray go together as a pair, even though each volume is useful on its own. We begin with the source book of early papal decretals c. 400. After an appropriate introduction, orientation to the most important work done previously (in this case, beginning with Erich Caspar's three-volume *Geschichte des Papsttums* published in 1930 and 1933), and discussion of the texts and manuscripts, d'Avray organizes the book thematically, with each chapter providing a brief introduction to the theme and then containing relevant papal decretals that are both edited in the original Latin and translated into English, section by section. At the end of each section of edited and translated texts, d'Avray notes whether the text was received in ten later canonical collections. While a different scholar may have selected different collections, there is no doubt that d'Avray's selection gives a chronological and geographical spread of early canonical collections up to and including Gratian's *Decretum*, providing a good indication of the breadth of reception of various decretal excerpts. For his selection of texts, d'Avray focuses on "the critical half-century of imperial military breakdown" in the West after the year 378 and covering the pontificates of Siricius to Celestine I (2–3). The pope who looms largest is Innocent I (402–417). Importantly, d'Avray is concerned only with decretals that were included in the earliest Latin canonical collections and were transmitted widely, through copies of these collections, and thus had "a quantitatively significant afterlife in the West" (3). The themes covered in chapters four through thirteen are: rituals and liturgy; status hierarchy; hierarchy of authority; celibacy; bigamy; marriage; monks and the secular clergy; two sections on heretics (Novatians, Bonosians, and Photinians; Pelagius and others "in the shadow of Augustine"); and, finally, penance.

The same themes reappear in the 2022 companion study by d'Avray. That study examines this earlier period of the proliferation of papal decretals (late fourth–early fifth centuries) together with a later period when the same kind of phenomenon occurred, namely a proliferation of inquiries directed to the papacy that prompted rescripts or decretals that then prompted some kind of collecting and categorizing of the law for posterity. D'Avray is acutely attuned to what social, political, and cultural factors might account for these historically parallel phenom-

ena even when, on the face of it, the social, political, and cultural environments of the two time periods seem utterly different (however one wants to frame the “fall” of the Roman Empire, nothing similar was going on in the West in the twelfth century; in fact, political entities were growing more centralized and developing in a direction that would establish stronger kingdoms with more capable systems of administration, finances, and law). Utilizing Pocock’s notion of “reoccurrence,” d’Avray delves into the kinds of conditions that did enable a flurry of papal decretal-making in both periods, above all, “the complexity of multiple and fast-evolving religious systems, together with uncertainty about what was or was not essential to Christianity” (13). And in the midst of uncertainty arising from many social, cultural, economic, and religious changes and no other clear authority to provide guidance or definitive answers, Latin Christians and above all the bishops, who were responsible for the faithful expression and administration of Christian rites and norms at the regional level, turned to the pope. The book offers a much fuller treatment of the earlier period than the later one, but its treatment of the papal reform movement of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries is particularly noteworthy. Not only does it highlight appropriately the importance of the reception of the earlier papal decretal material in the debates of the day, but it also pinpoints precisely the disconnect between those canonical sources and the practices of real life as they had developed in the church and among clerical hierarchies and standards. In short, the old law could not always be aligned with new reality, so what we see are reformers scrambling to compile former law, finding much of use in the forged papal decretals of the ninth century (the pseudo-Isidorian material), and supporting the making of new law through consultations that led to new decretals as well as renewed conciliar activity at the papal and regional levels.

This conciliar activity forms the focus of Summerlin’s study, an in-depth treatment of a council held at the Lateran under Pope Alexander III in 1179 marking the end of a schism. As for d’Avray, so too for Summerlin, what merits attention consists of the conditions on the ground that led eventually to conciliar decrees on various issues and the ways in which the texts were later received, and by whom and when, such that, at the end of the day, the decrees were accepted as part of universally binding canon law. Theory plays less of a role in Summerlin’s analysis than it does for d’Avray; her argument is strong in analyzing manuscript witnesses, piecing together historical accounts of the council and those active at it, and tracing the treatment of issues from Gratian, decretists, and earlier decretals addressing local complaints and inquiries that then were resolved in generalized form at the council. What she illuminates particularly well is the fact that, while Alexander III intended for his decrees to be in effect throughout the church, he and his curia in fact had no concrete means to enforce such enactment. It took years, and efforts of people far from the curia, for the decrees of the council to be accepted and utilized as authoritative.

A few points of synthesis arising from consideration of the three works are worth enumerating. First, there is the issue of historical actors and whether the figure at the top (the pope) is or can be the driver of significant historical change.

As with the much earlier decretals of the early fifth century and newer decretals of the late twelfth century, individual compilers seeking to amass and organize legal norms for teaching and/or administrative use more locally made copies of the texts, from which other copies were made and disseminated, resulting over time in the recognition of the texts as authoritative law. Innocent I could not legislate for the church universal, and neither could Alexander III. And, yet, somehow, through the historical forces at work, the papacy grew in centralized authority and concrete power in the church. Second, there is the issue of authority and the conditions that promote the rise of a particular authority. Both Summerlin and d'Avray are concerned with the papacy but also with particular textual manifestations of that authority, one with conciliar canons and one with decretal letters. The texts themselves hold an authority, but that authority is not just because they emanate from a figure or office that is authoritative but because the way in which they address real problems and offer well-considered solutions provided genuine guidance and assistance. Both d'Avray and Summerlin demonstrate how their sources reveal an authority backed by substance, thereby reinforcing that authority, even if it followed several years later or not simultaneously everywhere. Finally, there is the issue of textual transmission in relationship to tradition. Declarations are meaningless if they do not reach an audience and have longevity. Summerlin and d'Avray contribute to our understanding of how traditions take shape and how, over decades and even across breaks of centuries, texts carry forward ideas, norms, and argumentation that exercise formative influence in how members of a tradition think, act, and govern themselves internally.

All three works are to be commended to historians of the papacy, Catholic institutions and offices (including the hierarchy and bishops, in particular), canon law, and legal and institutional history more broadly. And for historians interested on a more theoretical level with mechanisms of historical development, these books provide a wealth of material for consideration and some salient case studies.

*Saint Louis University*

ATRIA A. LARSON

*Rathier de Vérone. Lecteur, remanieur et centonisateur.* By François Dolbeau, [mediEVI, 29] (Florence: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo. 2021. Pp. viii, 509. \$ 75.42. ISBN: 978-8-892-90073-8.)

As François Dolbeau underlines in his *avant-propos* to this volume, Rathierus, tenth-century monk and abbot at Lobbes and (intermittently) bishop of Verona and Liège, very much enjoyed talking about himself. This was quite unusual for medieval authors, who were sometimes so silent about themselves that we do not even know their names. His troubled life and ecclesiastical career can be reconstructed quite thoroughly by means of the autobiographical remarks he included in his texts, usually as a way to justify his often-controversial choices and respond to his adversaries' criticism. Rathierus's works also distinguish themselves because they (in)famously do not make easy reading. His vocabulary and style of composition were extremely peculiar and probably looked complicated not only to present-

day readers but also to his contemporaries, as the limited circulation of most of his works seems to suggest. And yet, despite RATHERIUS's proclivity for self-disclosure and highly distinct stylistic flourishes, his written production has long been and still is the subject of debate among scholars, mostly focusing on issues of attribution and textual reconstruction. In this volume, the results of a lifetime of research on RATHERIUS and his works by François Dolbeau, one of the greatest medieval philologists of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, are brought together in an outstanding collection.

The eleven contributions included in this volume, covering a chronological span ranging from the early 1980s to the present day, are structured in four subsections. After a couple of introductory chapters providing a detailed and thorough picture of RATHERIUS's life and works, three groups of contributions focus on more specific fields of his intellectual activity. The role and use of Patristic sources in his texts is highlighted in chapters 3 to 5. RATHERIUS as a writer and a rewriter of hagiographical texts is discussed in chapters 6 to 8. Finally, issues of attribution of some collections of sermons to RATHERIUS are addressed in chapters 9 to 11. Two contributions (chapters 8 and 11) are published here for the first time and present editions of texts previously disregarded by editors of RATHERIUS' works. New or revised editions of short texts are also included as appendices to almost all the chapters. This volume will thus become a necessary supplement to the previous collections of RATHERIUS' texts, such as those published by Weigle and Reid, who are sometimes the object of Dolbeau's criticism or philological readjustments.

This book also provides the chance to review some forty years of development in scholarly work on and approaches to RATHERIUS and his production. The transformations that took place in this period in philological methodologies are very clearly reflected—and reflected upon—in Dolbeau's considerations, may look quite obvious, even commonplace, to present-day scholars, but they were in fact revolutionary when they were first voiced. New tools, like the *Thesaurus Ratherii*, have been developed in the meantime and have immediately become parts of the toolkit deployed by Dolbeau—who actually played a key role in their conception and development. The evolution in his ways of thinking about RATHERIUS is one of the most interesting “subplots” of the whole collection. Another one, suggested by the huge amount of information provided on the editorial history of individual texts in early modern and modern times, concerns the scholars who edited RATHERIUS's works, their methodologies, and the cultural contexts in which they operated.

In sum, this book can be appreciated and fruitfully exploited from a wide range of perspectives. It will prove indispensable to all those wishing to work on RATHERIUS and his writings in the future.



*Flodoard of Rheims and the Writing of History in the Tenth Century*. By Edward Roberts. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Pp. xiii, 268. \$99.00. ISBN 978-1-316-51039-1.)

As Edward Roberts (rightly) points out several times throughout his engaging book, the tenth century in medieval Europe has been unjustly maligned and still too often ignored. We know so much more about this period and should treat it as its own *thing*—not just a stopping point between so-called “renaissances” in the ninth and twelfth centuries. He does this by focusing on the whole oeuvre of the canon Flodoard of Rheims.

After a deft introduction that would be useful in any classroom studying the historiography of tenth-century Europe, chapter one sets the scene of Flodoard in Rheims. The early tenth-century city was a highly contested site throughout his life, as Carolingian and Robertian (and Ottonian!) kings jockeyed with powerful magnates and ecclesiastical authorities for control over the city and its archbishopric. In this drama, Flodoard himself played a substantial role moving between many of the affected parties, which in turn shaped how he presented the past. Chapter 2 expands upon this with a close, insightful reading of the *Annals*. We ought to understand that this style of historical writing was a choice that evoked ninth-century texts, but also distinguished itself from those earlier texts by his own authorial presence and opinions in his *Annals*. Roberts argues clearly that Flodoard saw his own age as something somehow worse than what was before.

The next several chapters move to some of Flodoard’s other texts, which all—like the *Annals*—demonstrate a concern for the wider sweep of sacred history, and the place of Rheims within that. As such, they are direct interventions into the ongoing political conversations and activities that Flodoard himself witnessed and in which he, at times, participated. The *History of the Church of Rheims*, for example, was intended to justify the expansiveness of the archbishops of the city as “the church surfaced once more from calamity, this time under the awning of a new Ottonian political order” (144). The next chapter deftly analyzes the poem *The Triumphs of Christ*, forcefully arguing that modern genre distinctions meant nothing to our medieval authors who wrote poetry, history, and hagiography, and to the same didactic ends. In this specific case, the poem aimed to integrate the recent past into the story of sacred history, to show how God was still working in the world. Finally, chapter five continues this line of thought by giving an overview of how the miraculous functioned in Flodoard’s writing, in his sense of tenth-century Europe. Significantly, his outlook changed during the political crisis of the 940s, and he became more assertive of God’s presence as a sign of hope for a better future.

The brief conclusion recaps the book. In his introduction, Roberts is correct in pointing out the discursive scholarly parallels between the falls of empires—fifth-century Rome and late ninth-century Carolingian—and more recent pushes toward a language of “transformation.” He returns to that trend in the conclusion, and as



such, *Flodoard of Rheims* is an effective contribution to that move. But I wonder if the book actually hints at more. In that conclusion, Roberts writes that “the only thing ‘post-Carolingian’ about Flodoard was the fact that he was born after 888” (223). On its face, the statement seems banal, but its implications are tremendously important and call out the sub-periodizations we too often inflict upon ourselves. When he died in 966, Flodoard had never known a world without a Carolingian king. In other words, Roberts reminds us that Flodoard saw clearly both backwards and forwards. He wrote about the past and, at least implicitly, his vision of the future, but he also participated in helping enact that vision in the present. In doing so, this book shows that the tenth century’s horizons of expectation weren’t narrow and provincial—ours too often are.

Virginia Tech

MATTHEW GABRIELE

*Cosmos, Liturgy, and the Arts in the Twelfth Century: Hildegard’s Illuminated “Scivias.”* By Margot E. Fassler. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022. Pp. 392. \$65.00. ISBN: 978-1-512-82307-3.)

In the Acknowledgments section, Margot Fassler describes her own fiery introduction to Hildegard studies after she politely declined to contribute to an upcoming volume because she did not research Hildegard. “You do now,” she was told. Indeed, the surging tide of interest in this complex twelfth-century Benedictine abbess has left many in Fassler’s situation. This book is for them as much as it is for seasoned Hildegard specialists.

Fassler’s study concentrates on one manuscript in particular, Wiesbaden 1, which is the only illustrated source of Hildegard’s first book of visions, *Scivias* (completed 1141–51). The thirty-five illustrations in Wiesbaden 1 accompanying Hildegard’s twenty-six visions elucidate important aspects of the cosmic drama detailed in *Scivias*. Hildegard is unparalleled in the diverse media she melded together to express the sounds and images that the voice of the living Light presented to her. Yet, “Hildegard’s cosmological understandings have not hitherto been studied in the context of her music, poetry, theology, drama, art, and scientific works . . . which were also of her own design” (40). The most important contributions of the volume are Fassler’s identification of the numerous threads Hildegard pulled from Scripture, the liturgy, the Rule of St. Benedict, scholastic authors, and her own novel reflections to expound her visions. Fassler then demonstrates how these threads, woven through and across multiple modes of expression, relate to Hildegard’s single overarching purpose.

The visions, each with their own explanation and commentary, are followed by fourteen original chant texts, a shortened version of her liturgical play entitled *Exhortatio virtutum*, and her commentary on Psalms 148–150. Not only were these sections copied together, Fassler suggests that they were written concurrently in close thematic relationship. Consequently, the eight chapters of *Cosmos, Liturgy, and the Arts* frequently overlap and reference one another.

In chapter 1, Fassler situates Hildegard within a larger theological turn in the first half of the twelfth century that sought to understand the structure and workings of the cosmos in terms of salvation history. Chapter 2 continues the discussion of Hildegard's intellectual influences and analyzes the production of Wiesbaden 1, arguing that Hildegard's secretary, Volmar, was the main scribe. Chapter 3 explores the striking correspondences between themes in *Scivias* and the liturgy for the Feast of All Saints, when Hildegard and the nuns of her community made their monastic professions. Chapters 4–6 concern the drama of redemption as it plays out on the stage of the entire cosmos, including the countervailing winds unleashed at Satan's fall that jostle and vie throughout the material world as well as the human soul. The final two chapters examine the *Ordo virtutum*, the longer sung form of *Exhortatio virtutum*, which expands on this cosmic story from the perspective of the Soul navigating the treacherous journey back to God through virtue.

Fassler's expansive grasp of Hildegard's *oeuvre* and milieu and explanation of Hildegard's central themes, oblique references, and allegorical meanings in accessible language will make this volume foundational reading and a standard point of entry into Hildegard's thought for some time to come. The overall coherence of *Scivias* necessitated copious references to other visions and illustrations throughout the book (presented simply by book and vision, e.g., *Scivias* I.iii), which could encumber the reader. It is best to read these chapters alongside a table of contents or a general schema of *Scivias*, which is not provided. The rich connections Fassler has exposed between the cosmos, liturgy, and the arts open exciting new avenues of exploration across disciplines just as Hildegard challenges us to rethink more holistically how we approach the study of theology and of our world generally.

*Saint Meinrad Archabbey*

JOHN GLASENAPP, O.S.B.

*Dominicus hispanus: Saint Dominique avant la fondation de l'ordre des Prêcheurs.* By Adeline Rucquoi. (Fanjeaux: Centre d'études historiques de Fanjeaux, 2023. Pp. 245. € 26,00. ISBN 978-1-534-88313-0.)

In *Dominicus hispanus: Saint Dominique avant la fondation de l'ordre des Prêcheurs*, Adeline Rucquoi focuses on what she sees as the overlooked Hispanic biography of Saint Dominic as the basis of her comprehensive historical analysis of the founder of the Order of Preachers (the Dominicans). Her extensive research on Dominic's life examines the context of the first thirty-five years of his fifty-year life. Rucquoi especially centers her study on Dominic as a priest, Canon Regular, and sub-prior at the Cathedral of Osma before he crosses the Pyrenees in 1203 to accompany his bishop to the "Marches" (Denmark) by way of Toulouse to find a noble bride for the son of King Alfonso VII. She also demonstrates how a second trip in 1206 with the bishop resulted in Dominic's evangelical mission in Languedoc to return the Cathars to the Church, which eventually led to his establishment of the Order of Preachers there.

Rucquoi's book, which was originally written in French but also features an English translation, is part of the Collection d'histoire religieuse du Languedoc

au Moyen Age produced by the Centre d'études historiques de Fanjeaux. The manuscript contains six chapters and four addenda. Both the introduction and first chapter establish Rucquoi's historical method. The remaining chapters highlight Dominic's social and family context in Castile, Dominic as sub-prior at the Cathedral of Osma, his intellectual formation in Palencia, his travels and experiences especially in Languedoc during his second trip to Denmark with Bishop Diego de Aceves, and his founding of the community of women "converted by the friars" at Prouille in the winter of 1206–1207. The addenda provide four documents that feature artifacts related to the historical environments delineated in the chapters.

The hermeneutical key to Rucquoi's careful historical work rests on her comparative method that analyzes periods and cultures within and beyond Spain, also weighing the importance of the known sources associated particularly with the biographical context of Dominic's early years as both the sub-prior of the Canons Regular at the cathedral at Osma and in light of his education at the *Studium Generale* which subsequently would become Spain's first university at Palencia. In addition, the unique ecclesial context of Dominic's participation in the restored Rule of Saint Augustine among the Canons at Osma and the multicultural and complex religious setting at Palencia both strongly characterize the biographic profile of the thirty-five-year-old priest who eventually ventured out to meet up with the social and religious challenges in Languedoc.

Rucquoi concludes that the Dominic who left Spain with his bishop was an intellectual who had been trained in a lively and varied cultural environment, where rhetoric took precedence over logic, disputes with other religions were common, and study was oriented to holiness. Therefore, Dominic carried into his experience in Languedoc a faithfulness to the writing and books he encountered in Palencia, as well as to the pastoral ministry and the life in common which are proper to the Rule of Saint Augustine. Therefore, in order to truly understand the vision and mission of Saint Dominic and his response to the Cathars of Languedoc, it is necessary to fathom the deep and influential Hispanic context of his life.

*Aquinas Institute of Theology*

MARK E. WEDIG, O.P.

*Between Orders and Heresy: Rethinking Medieval Religious Movements.* Edited by Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane and Anne E. Lester. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022. Pp. xx, 430. \$95. ISBN: 978-1-487-50241-6.)

Nearly nine decades have passed since the publication of Herbert Grundmann's seminal study *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter*, but it seems as if its potential to inspire scholars in searching for new perspectives on the development of medieval religious life is far from exhausted. This collection of eleven essays, which stems from a series of sessions held at the International Medieval Congress of 2015, revisits Grundmann's work and examines its relevance for future research in the field of medieval religiosity.

The Grundmann thesis, which argues that religious orders and heretical movements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries both emanated from the *vita apostolica* movement and should therefore be studied as a whole, has been so influential that J. Van Engen considered it to be a “foundation for the historical study of medieval religious life.” Indeed, Grundmann’s work has led us to move away from essentialist interpretations of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, deconstruct glorifying “order histories,” and appreciate religious groups that were previously regarded as marginal. A question that is (too) rarely asked, however, is whether the binary master narrative of orders and heresies (which Grundmann in a way reinforced) is still an adequate one. As the title suggests, the aim of the present edited volume is to address this issue by exploring medieval religious interactions, experiences, and practices that took place outside the institutional boundaries of orders and heresies—the so-called space “in between.”

Not counting the opening essay, which examines how Grundmann related to the political currents of his time (Letha Böhringer), the focus of the essays is mainly on the thirteenth century, and more specifically on the women’s religious movement. Each essay, in its own right, successfully points out various methodological shortcomings and biases within the current historiography, but there is also a more general lesson to draw, namely that we must recognize the complexity and multidimensionality of the concept of “orthodoxy.” The excessive historiographical focus on religious movements adopting the order model has led us to overlook the possibility that “tolerated” forms of religious experience could exist and flourish beyond the institutional boundaries of orders and the physical confines of convents.

While the transgenerational and family-centered crusader religiosity that emerged after the Fall of Jerusalem (Anne Lester) stands out as an atypical example, the same cannot be said about the many quasi-religious groups of lay people and women that popped up in high and late medieval Europe. When not being targeted by the papacy, these groups successfully claimed legitimacy on the basis of self-identification—such as lay confraternities that expressly emulated the apostolic model of communal life (Neslihan Şenocak)—or definitions of orthodoxy formulated by local (ecclesiastical) elites—such as Margherita Colonna’s (d. 1280) family-supported religious community in Rome (Lezlie Knox) or the Parisian beguines who maintained close ties with the masters of the Sorbonne (Tanya Stabler Miller). Many of these movements were eventually pushed into the mold of the order anyway, but their role in shaping a proper institutional identity should not be ignored (Sean L. Field), and it should be stressed that, before that moment arrived, other criteria of orthodoxy were applied, as the case of the “Grey Sisters” illustrates (Alison More).

Just as we cannot suppose that the papal view of orthodoxy was monolithic and uniform, or that it was the sole authority determining legitimacy in practice, so we cannot suppose that the path to orthodoxy was linear or that recognition was irreversible. This is shown by the example of the “orthodox” beguines of Prague, whose legitimacy was questioned because of their active role in the rise of the Hus-

sites in the early fifteenth century (Jana Grollová), or simply by the accusations of “hypocrisy” with which religious peers constantly attacked each other’s authority (Sita Steckel). Of course, we must always try to look beyond the labels that were assigned by “others”: that women were almost never described as heresiarchs by the papacy or the inquisition, conceals the leading role they could assume in heretical movements (Janine Larmon Peterson). Finally, we must continue to ask ourselves how “orthodox” the reality is that lies behind the emergence of “the Franciscans” as an order (Amanda Power).

*Ghent University*

JOHAN BELAEN

*Dominicans and Franciscans in Medieval Rome: History, Architecture, and Art.* By Joan Barclay Lloyd. (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2022. Pp. 439. €110. ISBN: 978-2-503-57883-5.)

Two familiar representations of the *Dream of Pope Innocent III* grace the cover of this book. On the left, Francesco Traini’s panel painting shows Dominic straining to support the crumbling Lateran Church, while on the right side, Giotto’s fresco from the upper church in Assisi suggests Francis only needed his right arm and shoulder to support the dangerously tilting papal basilica. The two mendicant orders regularly and competitively deployed this shared iconographic theme to emphasize their special connections to the papacy and their service to the thirteenth-century Church. Joan Barclay Lloyd’s rewarding new study extends this metaphor to address how the Dominican and Franciscan orders also renewed the Church spiritually and architecturally through their contributions to Rome’s built environment.

Her book focuses on the seven mendicant foundations listed in the 1320 Catalogue of Turin (effectively, a census of Rome’s religious communities). Part 1 features communities established during the first half of the thirteenth century: S. Sisto (Dominican nuns, c. 1218–1221), S. Sabina (Dominican friars, 1220–1222), S. Francesco a Ripa (Franciscan friars, 1229), and S. Cosimato (Franciscan nuns, 1234). These houses tended to be located on the urban periphery, and readers will appreciate Lloyd’s descriptions of the contemporary city and the mendicants’ architectural renovations as they took over existing monastic spaces. She provides a survey of their foundations and pays particular attention to how these spaces reflected their order’s needs. Enclosure was critical for religious women, even as the friars also required private spaces to prepare for their missions. A strength of the book is her consideration of nunneries as well as friaries, including their different functions in the city and papal support.

Part 2 turns to those houses established in the second half of the century: S. Maria in Aracoeli (Franciscan friars, c. 1248), S. Maria sopra Minerva (Dominican friars, c. 1266), and S. Silvestro in Capite (Franciscan nuns, 1285). The friars’ churches were now more likely to serve as parishes, and they included generous spaces both for preaching needs and to allow private chapters. These chapters also offer reflections on how poverty featured in these churches, with Lloyd concluding

it was more a choice in building materials or architectural details such as lack of vaulting, rather than the size of their complexes. The final chapter considers Dominican penitents, including Catherine of Siena, who traveled to the city in 1378 with the return of the papacy. It is less centered on architecture and art, as most penitents remained in their own homes and did not occupy a particular building or complex.

To an understandable degree, Lloyd synthesizes the work of other scholars for individual communities, but her stance is always critical. Even in building on her own work, for example on S. Cosimato and S. Maria sopra Minerva, she incorporates new studies and archaeological surveys. Moreover, her deep knowledge of Roman and monastic architecture allows her to raise questions about potential models for thirteenth-century renovations and engage with scholarly debates. Details about each church's institutional history sometimes are repeated, but that may aid a reader seeking particular information. Lloyd sometimes presumes anachronistic institutional formation, such as describing Francis's friend Jacopa of Settesoldi as a tertiary over a half century before a lay order existed. Lay patronage receives less attention, which then credits the orders and papacy with building plans and decorating the complexes. These are minor points when compared to detailed evidence presented that Lloyd supplements with photographs and architectural diagrams, as well as literary and archaeological evidence. Scholars interested in Rome and religious architecture broadly speaking will much appreciate this study, as well as mendicant specialists.

*Marquette University*

LEZLIE KNOX

*Thousands and Thousands of Lovers: Sense of Community Among the Nuns of Helfta.* By Anna Harrison. [Cistercian Publications.] (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press. 2022. Pp. xxv, 494. \$49.95. ISBN 978-0-87907-289-6.)

*Gertrude the Great of Helfta, The Memorial of the Abundance of the Divine Sweetness.* Translated and introduced by Alexandra Barratt. [Cistercian Publications.] (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press. 2022. Pp. xiv, 394. \$49.95. ISBN 978-0-87907-138-7.)

Recent scholarship on medieval women's spiritual and visionary writings has prioritized a community of nuns at the monastery of Helfta in Saxony. Thirteenth-century Helfta was the home of four memorable religious figures, Abbess Gertrude of Hackeborn (d. 1292), her sister, Mechtilde of Hackeborn (d. 1298/99), Gertrude of Helfta (also called Gertrude the Great, d. ca. 1302), and Mechtilde of Magdeburg (d. ca. 1282). Both Gertrudes and Mechtilde of Hackeborn were cloistered nuns of the Benedictine tradition. Helfta considered itself a Cistercian house, and followed a Cistercian way of life, although there is no evidence that it was ever formally incorporated into the Cistercian order. (Harrison, xxxi–xxxii). Mechtilde of Magdeburg was a non-cloistered religious woman of the Beguine tradition who, in the face of ecclesiastical opposition, took refuge at Helfta around 1270. The nuns of Helfta sheltered her in the last decade of her life. At Helfta, Mechtilde wrote the final part of her masterpiece, the *Flowing Light of the Divinity* (Harrison, 3).

Abbess Gertrude did not leave behind any written works, but important writings are attributed to both her sister Mechtilde of Hackeborn and the younger nun, Gertrude of Helfta/The Great. Mechtilde is known as the author of the *Book of Special Grace*. Two works, the *Herald of God's Loving Kindness* and the *Spiritual Exercises*, are attributed to Gertrude of Helfta. All of these works are described by Harrison as "a jumble of genres, containing treatises on Mary and John the Evangelist, accounts of visions and ecstasies, discourses on the religious life and related instructions, liturgical commentary, spiritual confessions, deathbed narratives, prayers, and hagiographical accounts of contemporary nuns" (5).

Harrison structures her study in three parts: part 1, "The Nuns," has four chapters that focus on reading and writing at Helfta, the relationships among the nuns, community in illness, death and grief, and liturgy and community. Part 2, "Within and Beyond the Cloister," has two chapters focusing on the relationships of the nuns with the clergy, and on community beyond the monastery. In part 3, "The Living and the Dead," two chapters analyze, very tenderly, Helfta's sense of community with the souls in Purgatory and with Mary and the saints. Thus, Harrison's focus moves outward, from within Helfta, to the world surrounding the monastery, to relationships with the departed and the saints. Of course, as her subtitle suggests, the focus is always on the way the nuns of Helfta created community at each level. Harrison's discussion of the relationships between the nuns, their neighbors, and those who dwell in eternity is solidly placed in the historical context of thirteenth-century Saxony, and skillfully woven from close reading of the works of the nuns Gertrude and Mechtilde, so that her definition of community is mainly derived from the primary sources.

The most striking aspect of community at Helfta is the way it is manifested in the writing of the famous spiritual works of both Mechtildes and the younger Gertrude. For example, Gertrude and/or other nuns probably had a hand in the writing of Mechtilde of Hackeborn's *Book of Special Grace*. The *Herald* was composed by Gertrude working with one or several unknown nuns and probably not finished until after her death. The Beguine Mechtilde of Magdeburg was also assisted by unnamed nuns of Helfta in writing the *Flowing Light of the Godhead* near the end of her life (4–6). It is especially interesting that, unlike other medieval religious women authors such as Hildegard of Bingen, Angela of Foligno and Catherine of Siena, no male amanuensis, not even a priest or confessor, is associated with the writing of these books. Because of this absence of male co-authorship, Harrison says that, unlike Hildegard, Angela, and Catherine, the nuns of Helfta were not "burdened with worries about writing because of their gender" (7). In keeping with this complicated pattern of authorship, Harrison consistently refers to these texts as "the Helfta writings" or "the literature." This insight opens a new perspective on the religious life of medieval women, an approach that will inform scholars for many years.

Except for the *Flowing Light of the Divinity*, which has the distinction of being the first mystical treatise written in Low German, most scholars agree that



the works of Helfta were written in Latin (xxii). They were certainly circulated in Latin, although the reception of each work is quite different. The *Book of Special Grace*, in whole or in part, survives in over a hundred manuscripts, while the *Herald* is only known in seven copies, and the *Spiritual Exercises* can only be traced back to its first printed edition by John Landsberg in 1536, which, oddly, does not identify the manuscripts from which it was edited (xxii). This suggests that the Helfta writings will also be interesting subjects for the burgeoning field of the material culture of medieval texts.

A recognizable version of part of the *Herald of God's Loving Kindness* has recently been discovered as one of the texts in a composite manuscript, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 827 (L), copied at the Benedictine monastery of Pegau, some 70 kilometers from Helfta (xviii), and translated for the Cistercian Press by Alexandra Barratt, who also translated the *Herald* for the Cistercian Fathers series between 1991 and 2018 (Harrison, 440). The manuscript has a paper title in a sixteenth-century hand that attributes the *Memorial of the Abundance of the Divine Sweetness* to Birgitte of Sweden, which is why, Barratt says, "it remained unknown for so long" (xvii). The *Memorial* appears on fols. 25v–148r of the Leipzig manuscript. Barratt compares it in detail to the *Herald* (xxi–xxvi) and surveys the wide range of medieval sources quoted in the *Memorial* (xxxii–xxxiv), which are evident also in the translation. These details will surely help future scholars to place the *Memorial* in the full context of the Helfta literature.

The only problem with the identification of the *Memorial* as an early version of the *Herald* is, indeed, how early it is dated. Barratt tells us, "The section containing the Gertrudian texts has been dated to the early years of the thirteenth century, maybe as early as the first decade" (xvii). Since Gertrude is thought to have been born in 1256, even a very early version of the *Herald* could not possibly have been copied in the first decade of the thirteenth century. The publication of an English translation of this beautiful text will surely help scholars to study it (hopefully alongside a critical edition of the original Latin). It may even be the catalyst for some major reappraisals of the dates and authorship of the Helfta literature.

In the meantime, the almost simultaneous publication of the most significant monograph in English on the nuns of Helfta, and of a text argued to be an early version of a treatise long attributed to Gertrude the Great, will certainly spur further scholarship on this important moment in the history of women in medieval Christianity.

*The University of Pennsylvania*

EDITH ANN MATTER

*The Keys to Bread and Wine: Faith, Nature, and Infrastructure in Late Medieval Valencia.* By Abigail Agresta. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022. Pp. 201. \$56.95. ISBN: 978-1-501-76417-2.)

Until fairly recently, teleological attitudes about technology tended to treat religious responses to environmental crises as backward or superstitious, implying



that society was unable to deal with crises any other way. However, both religious and technological responses have generally co-existed (and continue to co-exist). Abigail Agresta's book, *The Keys to Bread and Wine*, is an excellent example of combining religious, environmental, and technocratic themes. Her work is based in an expansive reading of the available sources from the medieval city of Valencia (full original language is included in the notes with only a few lacunae: 40n9–10; 117n17; or 153). She takes seriously the overlaps, contradictions, and competing religious, political, and environmental forces at play that influence how the city implemented its environmental policies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This combination allows for multiple impressive and surprising observations.

The first half of the book discusses the relationship of the urban leaders in Valencia to their environment, with chapters discussing the reshaping of the irrigation system in the wake of Christian conquest, efforts to expand the Valencian hydrological infrastructure, and the influence of Christian ideologies on Valencian urban planning. The fourth chapter (perhaps the most fascinating) acts as a hinge for the entire book, demonstrating a major shift in the balance of Valencian responses to disasters from more technocratic to more religious methods starting in the 1420s. The second half of the work then dedicates chapters to the responses (both technological and theological) that the urban leaders took to droughts, plagues, floods, and locusts.

Throughout, Agresta demonstrates how urban leaders responded to a competing mix of assumptions and pressures. Clearing swamps was a good idea because it expanded economically productive space, but also made the air healthier (51–61). The council often wanted to close up small urban alleyways (called “azucachs”) to widen streets for commercial traffic, but also because “evil men” hid in such alleys, they encouraged putrefaction and disease, and simply because they were ugly (73–74 and 80–81). Urban repairs were pragmatic, but they also made the city look more Christian, according to the aesthetics of the ruling elite (68–69 and 75–80). The beautification projects undertaken by the city also involved limiting or removing both Muslim and Jewish influence, especially in the wake of the anti-Jewish violence of 1391 (80–86).

Most notably, Agresta charts a significant shift toward a greater use of religious processions starting sometime in the 1420s. The use of rogation ceremonies as a response for drought, famine, plague, and other disasters exploded in the mid-fifteenth century; corresponding efforts at infrastructure (irrigation, drainage, etc.) tapered off. Thus, a society with available technological responses could opt to ignore those options in favor of religious ceremony. Agresta offers several possible explanations, including a greater emphasis on celebrating the Christian identity of the city (facilitated by the successful rebuilding described in the previous chapters), shifts in the make-up of the government itself, a general move towards large civic rituals across Europe, and experiments in public ritual staged by the Valencian church, especially by Bishop Hug de Lluçà (1397–1427). Even with these explanations, I was curious to hear more about what factors might move a society to

make such a notable shift. The sources might only allow guesses (and further examples of other cities seem the next logical step), but even possible observations at this stage would be a welcome contribution. This is especially so given Agresta's notable ability to chart these sorts of changes in attitude, such as chapter 5's description of plague responses shifting from regarding disease as a contamination to a contagion, or the effective speculations even with relatively sparse information about why swarms of locusts might have been viewed as natural, despite the obvious biblical examples of divine plagues (190–96).

Overall, *The Keys to Bread and Wine* is an excellent study across a long expanse of time. The most notable part of the work is how well it combines areas of study that inherently influence each other—especially environmental and religious history. More works of this depth and rigor on new locations would help us better understand how even our own narratives and mythologies about the world around us can shape our interactions with the environment.

*Emerson College*

ADAM FRANKLIN-LYONS

*Pastoral Care and Community in Late Medieval Germany: Albert of Diessen's Mirror of Priests.* By Deena Copeland Klepper. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022. Pp. 197. \$54.95. ISBN: 978-1-501-76616-9.)

*Pastoral Care and Community* is a wonderful book and an absolute joy to read. Deena Copeland Klepper has a thrilling case at her hands: three autograph manuscripts of the pastoral manual *Mirror of Priests* written by the Upper Bavarian Augustinian Canon Albert of Diessen in 1370, 1373, and 1377. Not only is the material something that creates envy in anyone working with late medieval manuscripts, but Klepper addresses her sources with such learning, analytical power, and elegance that one can only admire her achievement.

In recent years, many medieval historians have applied the concept of lived religion in their studies. Sometimes, the reader is left to wonder what the difference actually is between lived religion and the older concept of popular religion, but not in this case. Klepper puts the full analytical power of the concept into use when she explores how Albert of Diessen selected, adapted, and omitted elements of Catholic theology, canon law, and previous pastoral manuals “to fit within his environment and broader community” (6), how Albert revised his work for different audiences, and how the readers responded to it. Klepper paints a convincing picture of Albert's work as a regional, Upper Bavarian project addressing pressing issues in the communities the Augustinian Canons served, but at the same time firmly rooted in the tradition of medieval Catholicism. The *Mirror* was a work written “in an Augustinian convent on a hill overlooking a lake in a small Bavarian market town” (195), as Klepper puts it in her conclusion.

The book has five chapters in addition to an introduction and conclusion. In chapter 1, Klepper recounts the history of pastoral care and guides for priests and

situates Albert's *Mirror* in this tradition. Chapter 2 illustrates the context of the work: the Augustinian convent of Diessen, the market town, the convent's possessions, and other connections to the broader region of Bavaria and Austria. The town's geography and surrounding lands are neatly woven into the analysis of Albert's work: among other things, Klepper demonstrates that there likely was a Jewish community at Diessen in the late fourteenth century, which shows in Albert's choice of topics. Chapters 3 and 4 treat the making of the *Mirror*, its manuscripts, and its text, respectively. While the chapters are somewhat technical, they are entirely justified in this study, as they illustrate Albert's compilation and revision process. Many photos from the manuscripts support Klepper's argumentation, and tables summarize succinctly how Albert reworked his sources to compile his own work.

Chapter 5 discusses three topics through which Albert constructed the Christian community: 1) sorcery, superstition, and the demonic; 2) Christian-Jewish coexistence; and 3) eschatology. In all these topics, Albert resorted to earlier tradition but addressed matters from his brethren's and community's point of view. Albert's attitude to Jews illuminates his approach. According to Klepper, Albert reacted to the anti-Jewish violence during and after the Black Death, emphasizing that killing Jews without due legal process was a sin, and paying attention to regulating the coexistence of Christians and Jews. Personally, I found it particularly interesting that heresy gained so little attention from Albert. Two decades later, in the 1390s, Waldensians were discovered in the diocese of Augsburg, as in many other places of German-speaking Europe. Albert's manual indicates that in his days, he and his Augustinian brethren were unaware of the dissident communities in the region.

To sum up, Klepper's book is obligatory reading for anyone studying lived religion in the Middle Ages, and you will enjoy reading it.

*University of Turku*

REIMA VÄLIMÄKI

*Heresy and Citizenship: Persecution of Heresy in Late Medieval German Cities.* By Eugene Smelyansky. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021. Pp. 166. \$52.95. ISBN: 978-0-367-41527-3.)

This book examines a series of anti-heresy persecutions in several German-speaking cities between 1390 and 1404, which were "unprecedented in central Europe in their intensity and geographic range" (1). The heresy in question was Waldensianism, which, as Smelansky points out, developed in the late twelfth century in an urban milieu (Lyons), but by this time had become a more rural phenomenon. Large numbers of rural Waldensians also suffered persecution in these years, notably in the Mark of Brandenburg and upper Austria, but Smelansky concentrates on cities. He sets the persecutions thoroughly within the context of civic politics, both among lay urban elites and between city governments and the bishops or other powerful religious institutions that also dominated German towns. The cities

examined are Augsburg, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Strasbourg, and (taken together) Bern and Fribourg (Switzerland). For some of these places, Waldensian persecutions have already been studied in great detail; for example, in Strasbourg by Georg Modestin and in Fribourg by Kathrin Utz Tremp. Smelyansky draws diligently on this scholarship, and on that of other Waldensian persecutions across central Europe, but he also establishes his own focus.

While Smelyansky points to some overarching conditions, such as tensions radiating out of the ongoing papal schism, in all cases he explains the identification and persecution of Waldensian communities in terms of local civic politics. Processes and outcomes could, however, be very different. In Augsburg, for example, city leaders locked in a power struggle with the local bishop ultimately administered a “religious” resolution to supposed Waldensians, namely confession, penance, and reintegration into the community. In Strasbourg, trials resulted in what Smelyansky identifies as a more “civic” response: mass expulsions. In Rothenburg, the entirety of anti-Waldensian efforts came to focus on one wealthy citizen who was also the main rival of the city’s mayor. In Fribourg, charges were actually instigated by pressure from the town’s nearby urban rival Bern; and Fribourg itself, while accepting the need to launch investigations, ultimately acquitted every single suspect.

Smelyansky’s central argument is that all these cities were growing in power and trying to assert greater independence, often against previously well-entrenched ecclesiastical authorities. Regardless of how the processes played out differently in practice, they were all generated (at least in large measure) by tensions arising from this new civic assertiveness. Whether they were locked in struggles with ecclesiastical authorities or whether they were just looking to burnish their own authority generally, civic leaders at this time endeavored both to project their own moral virtue and to police with increasing diligence the moral state of their citizenry. The identification and persecution of supposed heretics provided a useful mechanism to achieve these goals. After a brief spate of anti-Waldensian activity, these underlying concerns did not abate; instead, they were refocused, Smelyansky suggests, on Beguines, on the very real threat of Hussitism rising in Bohemia, and on the entirely imaginary threat of heretical witches.

Smelyansky’s arguments align him with scholarship looking forward to the “Reformation in the cities,” and more broadly still to the rise of “godly states” in the early modern period. In fact, he argues that smaller city governments were able to develop along these lines much earlier than larger states (140–41). While much of the material he covers has been studied from several angles already, he adds a useful new framework for understanding the surge of anti-heretical campaigns in the cities of late medieval Central Europe.

*Manuel II Palaiologos (1350–1425): A Byzantine Emperor in a Time of Tumult.* By Siren Çelik. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021. Pp. 388. \$36.99. ISBN: 978-1-108-81262-7.)

This biography of the Palaiologan Byzantine emperor Manuel II (1350–1425) is a welcome monograph that evaluates the complete literary oeuvre of the emperor and casts light on the profound connections between east and west during this time. Manuel II was the sole Byzantine emperor to travel as far west as England and a key figure in the diplomatic, intellectual and theological exchange between east and west in the Renaissance. Çelik reevaluates the literary production of this prolific emperor-auteur and provides vivid portraits of places and intellectuals. Supplementing John W. Barker's seminal work on the emperor which focused on statesmanship, Çelik engages with the whole range of literary texts to illustrate events and personalities. The intricate and extended discussions between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches in the greater context of the political and military framework of the Byzantine empire receives much attention. Çelik is keen to point out instances of divergence between Manuel II's Orthodox position—wherein the emperor was in favor of a union primarily for military reasons in the dire circumstances of ongoing war with the Ottomans—and the “Latinphone” Byzantines who emigrated to western countries. Tellingly, Manuel II was the close confidante of the Unionate Catholic convert and diplomat-intellectual Manuel Chrysoloras, illustrating the complexity of political positions at this time.

In the monograph, Çelik adopts a conciliatory narrative and synthesizes the Orthodox and Catholic positions, providing ample literary evidence for both parties and following Manuel II's political and literary career closely. Late Byzantine imperial politics had been likened to the work of an administrator by Manuel II himself, and Çelik unveils the inner mechanisms of managing the Byzantine state, which was fraught with civil wars and theological disputes. Some of the most striking passages detail Manuel II's travels, and the sections on Paris and London, and on the itinerary of his vassalage with Bayezid I (r. 1389–1402), stand out for their wealth of historical detail. Barker's previous forays into the Byzantine relic and icon diplomacy with western kings and monasteries is taken up by Çelik, who also includes some images of miniatures, coinage, and precious objects. She also offers an extended discussion of the bronze medallion of Manuel II that depicts the emperor as the seminal late antique emperor Heraclius (610–641), which is an original contribution to the debate on Renaissance appropriation of late antique figures. In addition, Çelik engages with the theological writings of Manuel II, who was a devout Orthodox Christian, as well as his classicizing texts, which suggest that this Renaissance emperor-auteur's religious convictions did not deter him from the mimesis of classical authors. Manuel II's relations with the Ottomans and with Bayezid I also receive an extended discussion, and Çelik particularly focuses on Manuel II's “Dialogue with a Persian” to sketch the Byzantine engagement with the other in the late Byzantine period. In conclusion, Çelik's balanced and nuanced treatment of Manuel II's reign is sure to be of great use to scholars working on Byzantium and the Renaissance.

*Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe.* By Verena Krebs. (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021. Pp. 266. \$99.99. ISBN: 978-3-030-64933-3).

In an excellent book which offers fascinating new perspectives on the diplomatic history of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ethiopian state, Verena Krebs's *Medieval Ethiopian Kingship, Craft, and Diplomacy with Latin Europe* convincingly argues that Ethiopian monarchs did not seek and maintain contact with European polities for the sake of military alliances and arms, but rather in pursuit of holy relics, liturgical objects, and skilled craftsmen from the Mediterranean world. More importantly, these diplomatic missions were sent by a monarchy driven by a desire to emulate not those Europeans, but rather the biblical model of monarchy offered by Solomon and David, importing foreign objects and labor from foreign Christian lands to supplement their monumental building projects and thereby "impressing their claims of political and religious supremacy upon their North-East African subjects" (8).

The book stands as an excellent synthesis overall. It begins in chapter 2 with an account of Dawit II's first embassies to Italy in 1402, 1403, and 1404, considering not only European sources, but an Ethiopian homily which discussed the return of Dawit II's envoy to Ethiopia and the Egyptian Coptic *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*. Chapter 3 continues the account by tracing the diplomatic activity of Dawit II's successors, Yəshaq, Täklä Maryam, and Zär'a Ya'əqob, and here Krebs notes that while crusading seemed to be the highest priority of the Solomonid Ethiopians' European interlocutors, the interest in crusading was not shared by Ethiopian monarchs. Chapter 4 deals with the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when Ethiopian contact with Europe slowed precipitously. Three Ethiopian embassies to Europe are detailed; the last before the Solomonid dynasty's war with the Sultanate of 'Adal would drastically change the nature of diplomatic missions to the West. Connecting these three chapters is a thread of argument that is strengthened by a careful consideration of European, and where available, African written and material sources, namely that there was no interest in an exchange of military technology, but rather in objects and craftsmen from the wider Christian world.

But the book's most important chapter is undoubtedly its fifth, "King Solomon's Heirs," which offers a vital intervention in scholarship on the topic. Prior scholarship has focused on an argument that European contact was fueled primarily by a desire to secure military arms and technology. Yet, as Krebs demonstrates, this is hardly reflected in contemporary sources, and formed instead a part of a deliberate program of intergenerational monumental construction, including the acquisition of foreign objects and laborers, based on an emulation of Solomon and David, from whom Ethiopian Solomonid kings claimed direct descent.

Importantly, Krebs is careful to reject any suggestion that the search for foreign decoration was a product of "a passive capitulation to the supposedly greater

achievements of a foreign other” (214). This is certainly vital, as the scholars who long ago made such arguments and whose colonial outlooks and contempt for the subjects of their historical inquiries were hardly well-kept secrets, nevertheless remain frequently cited and well-respected scholars in the field.

This well-researched account of Ethiopian diplomatic activity constitutes an important work which well serves not only historians, art historians, and philologists interested in Solomonid Ethiopia, but also non-Ethiopianists interested in a “global” approach to the Middle Ages, and in particular those who might be interested in comparative studies of Christian monarchical ideology.

*The University of Tennessee, Knoxville*

FELEGE-SELAM SOLOMON YIRGA

*Inquisition and Knowledge 1200–1700*. By Peter Biller and Lucy J. Sackville, eds. [Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages, 10.] (York, UK: York Medieval Press, 2022. Pp. xi, 360. \$99. ISBN: 978-1-914-04903-3.)

Most inquisitorial scholars think of “actions” as opposed to “knowledge” when it comes to the violent, well-oiled mechanism of medieval and early modern inquisitions. It was refreshing to read this volume of essays on the collection, curation, and manipulation of inquisitorial knowledge from 1200 to 1700. Knowledge is defined here as information on heresy, inquisitorial evidence, and empirical historical research, and on how inquisitorial manuals might either define heresy or fabricate it. The volume’s origin was a Doat Project conference, “Inquisition and Knowledge,” held at King’s Manor, University of York, 9–10 April 2018, which commemorated the University’s acquisition of six volumes of thirteenth-century records of inquisitorial interrogations from Languedoc, copied by Jean de Doat, President of Le Parlement et Chambre des comptes de Pau between 1665 and 1670.

The introduction gives far too much detail on each of the thirteen essays. It would have been better to explain the position of individual inquisitions as ecclesiastical institutions maintaining considerable control over society, while the Church’s highly organized administration and network enabled manuals, records of interrogations, texts, and correspondence to be spread widely and easily.

The first nine chapters of the book are headed “medieval.” In Jessalynn Lea Bird’s study of the liturgical sermons of Jean Halgrin d’Abbeville, a thirteenth-century Paris inquisitor, she examines how they were used to transmit pre-mendicant notions of suppressing heresy, executing clerical reform, and justifying the moral, spiritual and religious superiority of the clerical over the lay realm. Moving to other types of written knowledge, Alessandro Sala’s excellent paper questions what defined a heretic in the medieval inquisition. He analyzes the *narratio* section of papal letters, which stated their purpose. Through these letters, the popes (in particular Gregory IX [1227–41]) shaped the Church’s official policy and gradually criminalized medieval heretics and their belief systems. The danger, as Sala points



out, was that “truth” was sacrificed. Papal definitions of heresy were made on the basis of misconceptions, stereotypical prejudices, and accusations.

Jörg Feuchter’s essay turns to a major but unusual work of inquisitorial jurisprudence, the *Liber* (or *Libellus*) *fugitivus* [The escape book] of Nepos of Montauban, a thirteenth-century scholar and law practitioner in Southern France. Surprisingly, this work was created to help suspects nullify inquisitorial prosecution. By studying Nepos’s life and professional activities, Feuchter comes close to identifying the reasons for this treatise.

In a long and slightly repetitive paper, Paweł Kras analyzes the 1332 records of an investigation by the papal Inquisitor and Dominican friar, John of Schwenkenfeld, into sixteen Beguine women, the “Cowled Nuns” (*moniales Capuciatae*) of Świdnica in Lower Silesia, suspected of following the heretical doctrine of the Free Spirit. Kras shows how the testimony of the embittered former sisters enabled Schwenkenfeld to secure the proof he needed.

Chapter 5 shows how the medieval inquisition considered Eastern Christians to be heretics. Irene Bueno analyzes the construction of a universal knowledge of heresy by studying the few encyclopedic works produced in the fourteenth-century papal court in Avignon. These provided ecclesiastics with necessary but limited juridical and theological weapons against heresiography and unorthodox belief particularly among Greeks and Armenians. Reima Välimäki tracks German Waldensian Brethren and their heresies as depicted in different versions of the *De vita et conversatione* inquisitorial manual in the late fourteenth century. She shows that the treatise disseminated accurate knowledge, previously inaccessible, on these heretics’ mores.

Adam Poznański studies the language in *Cum dormirent homines*, the late fourteenth-century anti-heretical treatise of the Inquisitor Petrus Zwicker, which dealt with central European Waldensians. Poznański believes that Zwicker was trying to help the uneducated believers of the sect by explaining how they had been deceived by their Waldensian masters. Richard Kieckhefer rethinks the effect of personal situations on witchcraft testimonies.

The last third of the book (part 2—Early Modern, chapters 9 to 13), turns to the construction and understanding of the medieval inquisition by polemicists, enthusiasts, and scholars from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. There is only one essay, the last of the volume, that discusses the early modern inquisition.

Harald Bollbuck studies how the sixteenth-century Protestant historian, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, used inquisition registers and manuals in his work *Ut ex vetustis membranis cognosco*. Flacius formulated a “counter-church” theory that the Hussite and Waldensian movements were heretical predecessors of the Lutheran doctrine. Luc Racaut also traces this idea of using medieval heresies to historically legitimize Protestantism; he shows how the Cathar movement was used to substantiate both Protestant and Catholic confessional identities.



Catholics argued that Protestants were similar to Cathars, and Protestants that the Cathars were the True Christians.

Shelagh Sneddon describes how Doat's seventeenth-century copies were laid out, highlighting a number of thirteenth-century Languedoc inquisitorial depositions produced in Toulouse and Carcassonne. Unlike the other authors, she does not provide translations of her quotations. Peter Biller then questions how and why Doat chose those particular inquisition registers.

In the last essay Michaela Valente analyzes the image of the Spanish, Roman, and Sicilian Inquisitions from the sixteenth century onwards and how the papal inquisition was seen ethically, religiously, and legally by different bodies. Valente ignores the ferocious Portuguese inquisition and does not discuss whether there was any reaction to the continuing persecution of secret Judaism by these inquisitorial courts.

There are many aspects of Inquisitorial knowledge that I would have liked to see included. Inquisitorial knowledge was not limited to heresy, witchcraft, Greek Orthodoxy, Waldensians, Cathars, Protestantism, or the Albigensian crusade. A large part also related to the investigation and prosecution by the early modern inquisitions of Anabaptism, crypto-Judaism, professing Jews, and Muslims. How was the knowledge collected by the medieval inquisition adapted for the newly established early modern inquisitions? How did inquisitorial knowledge differ from that of secular courts which often prosecuted suspects for the same offences?

The lasting impression of this work is that of "jigsaw pieces, not a whole picture" as the editors forewarned in their introduction (30). But the volume has opened up a new engaging angle on the history of the inquisitions, and I am hopeful that more work will be done on it in the future.

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KATHERINE ARON-BELLER

*Confraternities in Southern Italy: Art, Politics, and Religion (1100–1800)*. Edited by David D'Andrea and Salvatore Marino. (Toronto: Victoria University Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2022. Pp. 579, 101 ill. \$59.95 CAD. ISBN 978-0-772-72220-1.)

Since the publication nearly a century ago of Gennaro Maria Monti's *Le Confraternite Medievali dell'Alta e Media Italia* (1927), historians have been recovering the role of Italian confraternities in shaping sacred and social identities. From the medieval period through the early modern era, these lay religious brotherhoods performed ritual, penitential, and philanthropic acts to ensure public welfare and beseech salvation. They commissioned architecture and art, founding and decorating hospitals, orphanages, chapels, oratories, and churches. Although confraternity studies are now well established, their focus, especially among Anglophone scholars, remains, as in Monti's day, major cities in northern and central Italy. The omis-

sion of the Mezzogiorno—the vast territories encompassing the former Kingdom of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia—can be explained by the region's tumultuous past, the destruction of documentary evidence, and, equally troubling, deeply-rooted prejudice. Yet as this volume compellingly demonstrates, the history of southern Italian confraternities demands integration in the field.

*Confraternities in Southern Italy: Art, Politics, and Religion (1100–1800)* is a milestone in scholarship. The volume—the first on this subject in English—reconstructs the rich history of sodalities in the region's major cities and small towns across seven centuries. It elucidates the innovative approaches that the authors employed, given the loss of documents and monuments. The co-editors' introduction presents a historiography that explains the exclusion of the south from most studies. It establishes the organizational principles, themes, and objectives to which all essays conform. The glossary by Marco Piana defines specialized terms and their etymology. Fifteen essays, eleven fluently translated by Piana, are ordered in three sections. They consider Naples (1–4), the southern Italian mainland (5–12), and the southern Italian islands (13–15). Each includes an introduction with clearly stated objectives, lucid subheadings, and a conclusion with recommendations for future research. Discursive footnotes are complemented by a list of archival and secondary sources. Latin and Italian texts and inscriptions are translated into English. Illustrations, many in color, and in some cases, maps, ground plans, charts, and statistical tables follow each essay. Six of the contributions are co-authored, serving as models of collaboration.

The uniformly high quality and originality of the essays must be underscored. The authors identify the characteristics of each site and reconstruct historical context through ingenious archival research. Essays delineate the devotional practices, charitable activities, and networks of diverse sodalities as well as their interactions with civic authorities and religious orders. Among the distinguished discussions, the quantitative analysis by Valeria Coccozza, who identifies 868 confraternities in 383 towns in Abruzzo and Molise during the first half of the seventeenth century, is especially impressive. Co-editor Salvatore Marino's comparative study of sodalities in Abruzzo presents a micro-history of the *Misericordia* in Penne, noting “how, from a modest collection of documents, one can reconstruct the life and the history of a medieval confraternity” (250).

The book's title foregrounds confraternal art, which is considered from multiple perspectives. In particular, the two art historians offer detailed contextual, iconographic, and stylistic analyses. Stefano D'Ovidio introduces the *staurite* (charitable associations dedicated to the Cross) of medieval Naples that evolved into confraternities and explicates the distinctive images that shaped the city's lay spirituality. Luciana Moccicola reveals the history of the Neapolitan confraternity of Santa Marta and its famous illuminated codex, whose female patron she identifies. As historians Salvatore Bottari and Alessandro Abate note, sodalities in Messina patronized renowned artists, including Antonello da Messina, Antonello Gagini, and Polidoro da Caravaggio. By interweaving religious, political, and art histories,

this exemplary volume demonstrates the richness of southern Italian sacred and visual culture and makes a major contribution to confraternity studies.

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DIANE COLE AHL

## EARLY MODERN

*Abortion in Early Modern Italy.* By John Christopoulos. (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press. 2021. Pp. 360. \$53.00. ISBN 978-0-674-24809-0.)

John Christopoulos' deeply researched study of abortion, clearly written and analyzed, is timely and pertinent, given the current, sometimes vicious, debates and actions on the topic in the USA. Abortion in early modern Italy was faced with ambivalent attitudes at all levels of society and governments on what constituted the crime of abortion, who should be punished, and how severely. Christopoulos has read very extensively in published and manuscript writings from theologians, physicians, jurists, secular authorities, popes, and bishops. These writings come from the Roman period up to the eighteenth century. The range of views from "hard" to "soft" are amply analyzed and quoted. He concludes that abortion was broadly tolerated in practice. A fundamental issue was when the fetus was "animated," that is, had a soul. A few argued that it was at conception, while some wrote that animation did not occur until birth. Many specifically judged it came at about forty days for males, eighty for females (151). If the fetus was animated those responsible might be more severely punished as murderers. Death sentences could be imposed, but Christopoulos concludes from many surviving trials that these were not that common. His most valuable sources are from the Rome Governor's court, and Bologna's Torrone tribunal (which I sampled profitably). Significant Naples and Sicily cases also feature. He quotes extensively—in Italian and Latin in the notes, in English in the main text—to indicate the evidence of the accused and the witnesses, and the views of physicians, apothecaries, experienced midwives, lawyers, and judges.

After each chapter on Women's Bodies, the Church, and the Law, Christopoulos has many pages on an exemplary case to show complexities, ambiguities, tutored confessions, resistance to torture—and inconclusive results. Was the abortion therapeutic to save the mother, as was seemingly common (97)? Can one decide whether herbs and potions were given as abortifacients or medicinal remedies? Midwives and physicians could have trouble "interpreting" the woman's body concerning the age of the fetus, whether abortion or miscarriage had occurred, and whether it was alive or dead at birth. Men were investigated and charged as much, or more than, the pregnant woman, recognizing that they might pressure the woman, force drugs on her, or violently attack her to induce an abortion. Family honor might be at stake through scandal from an illegitimate birth. Identifying and tracing the father was often a problem. Abortion cases essentially concerned the unmarried or scandalously adulterous, with the courts seldom pursuing abortions within marriage. For this reviewer the chapter on "Women's Bodies" is the most fascinating and revealing on what males and females (especially

midwives) knew and debated. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed intense study of women's bodies, (52–55, and n.14). Bologna's 1641 pharmacopeia listed fifty plus compounds for healing the womb—and for killing the fetus (77).

Christopoulos is also extremely helpful in exemplifying the diverse views of writers and testifiers, for example, the theologians and moralists Martin de Azpilcueta and Theatine Antonino Diana (a notable realist, 151–56); physicians Girolamo Mercuriale and Scipione Mercurio; Paolo Zacchia on medical forensics; the prolific and controversial jurist Prospero Farinacci, with jurist Marc'Antonio Savelli treating women's bodies as evidence; Paduan medical professor Bernardino Cristini on women's illnesses using over 400 case studies (55); and Angela Ferranta as expert midwife. Judges are often revealed as showing a degree of compassion, opting for accepting a lesser evil, granting secret local absolution instead of a public Roman one (as Sixtus V demanded), and avoiding the death penalty.

This admirably scholarly book has seventy-nine pages of quotation-filled notes, a twelve-page bibliography of primary sources, but frustratingly not one of secondary sources. Christopoulos shows that “abortion could be a socially and politically sensitive crime . . . also legally contentious, resisting easy categorization” (189).

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CHRISTOPHER F. BLACK

*Early Modern English Catholicism: Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation.*

Edited by James E. Kelly and Susan Royal. (Leiden: Brill. 2018. Pp. xiv, 258. \$164. ISBN: 978-90-04-32566-1.)

As I write, the book under review was published five years ago. Far from losing relevance or appeal in the intervening years, a current reading (or re-reading) affirms its importance for our understanding of early modern English Catholicism. For centuries, students of the topic often (but not always) stunted the field by writing with confessional imperatives in mind. Such work was produced by researchers—on many occasions, great researchers—who were Catholic priests and who belonged to religious orders. By contrast, this volume exemplifies a historiographical turn toward less polemical and apologist stances. Just as importantly, as the editors point out, the book helps underline the welcome trend to move English Catholic history from the margins, a restricted area of Catholic studies, to the center of Tudor-Stuart history.

I'll leave it to the reader to explore all of the book's insights, but it is worth suggesting some themes that make this book essential. As the title implies, there is much here about identity, an important topic because defining who was an English Catholic is not a simple matter. In his chapter, Brad Gregory considers that something akin to an English Catholic community emerges early on in the aftermath of Henry VIII's reign. He also emphasizes how that community was molded in conversation with the strictures imposed by political authorities. English Catholicism emerges as more capacious in this book because of its inclusion of women, mostly nuns. Women have been an important part of the “recusant” story for a long time,

but they have often been left out of the politico-cultural story in its most recent forms. James Kelly, in his wide-ranging essay, places these women as active players within the English Catholic story, while Jaime Goodrich offers a meticulous essay that shows the textual and interpretive traditions within continental convents. Implicitly throughout and explicitly in Susannah Monta's essay concerning the writings of John Austin, this book makes an argument for the importance of English Catholics in a literary context, both by demonstrating their embeddedness in contemporary debates and their relevance to the wider world of literary production. The final major trend evident here regards the move to place English (and occasionally British) Catholicism within a more European framework. Earle Havens and Elizabeth Patton offer a fascinating essay on the distribution networks for foreign books, while William Sheils offers a description of the theological polemic written by Thomas Stapleton, who was based in Louvain.

Perhaps the most delicious treat in this book comes at the end, in a brief epilogue written by John Bossy. In it, he offers a serious critique of the preceding essays—a blast of fresh air, given that such rhetorical exercises tend to be adulatory summaries. Aside from engaging with specific arguments, he questions the thematic logic of the book. While he accepts (I'd say too brashly) that everyone knows what the Counter-Reformation is, he is skeptical about "identity" and "memory." He scoffs at the first as vague and anachronistic, and he snarks about the false equivalence of history and memory, suggesting that "tradition" might be the better word to describe the theme articulated in the book.

The importance of Kelly and Royal's volume cannot be overstated, but some quibbles remain. Occasionally, the odd essay can seem overly descriptive. Moreover, reading from today's perspective, some of the essays seem to state what has become increasingly obvious. But this is only because some of the authors here have expanded their initial work in their own now-canonical books and articles.

There is one theme that the book did not quite cover, even if the editors acknowledge its importance. More attention could have been placed on English Catholics living in Europe (and elsewhere). To an extent, this has been an important interest for a long time, but it has become more crucial in the work of scholars such as Ana Sáez Hidalgo, Deborah Forteza, Liesbeth Corens, and myself, among others. (Katy Gibbons had already published a very important monograph on English Catholics in Paris at the time of this book's publication.) There is a story missing here about how English Catholics penetrated foreign imaginations. I suggest this sheepishly because it might be a case of the reviewer wanting his interests taken up in someone else's book. Moreover, such a critique also implies an unfair expectation that a book should have oracular powers and foresee a veritable "turn" before its time.

Ultimately, for students of early modern Catholicism in all its national and transnational forms, this book is essential reading. One hopes that it will increasingly hold an important place in the study of early modern Catholicism writ large.

*Latomus and Luther: The Debate: Is Every Good Deed a Sin?* By Anna Vind. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019. Pp. 315. \$127. ISBN: 978-3-525-55251-3.)

Anna Vind's revision of her dissertation (Copenhagen, 2002) addresses the "paradoxicality" (265) of the Lutheran doctrine of justification: that consciousness of one's sinfulness is a necessary condition for receiving the promise of salvation. Although Luther's *Against Latomus* (1522) has long been available in English in LW 32, Jacobus Latomus's *Ratio* of 1521 has remained out of reach without even a modern critical edition, although the original edition is available digitally. Latomus (Jacques Masson, 1475–1544), professor at Louvain, composed the *Ratio* in defense of the 1519 condemnation by the Louvain theological faculty. Luther had by then responded to the condemnations from Louvain, Cologne, and Paris and defended himself against Johann Eck and Jerome Emser at Leipzig.

In centering the dispute over the salvific value of works, Vind identifies the point of contrast between the two thinkers as the possibility of merit for works performed. The "sin" of the title is pride in imagining oneself capable of earning any merit toward salvation; the irony of Luther's proposition that good works are sinful in their intent to gain merit was not transparent to those who saw it as a rejection of works altogether.

Contextualizing the dispute within the sequence of official condemnations as well as the tensions between scholastics and humanists, Vind presents Latomus's work as a defense of the university in its official action. Hence, instead of focusing entirely on the doctrinal issues in dispute, Vind offers an account of institutional authority at a time when the scholastic Old Order, on which that authority at least in part arguably rested, was being challenged. Erasmus is a target, albeit obliquely, of Latomus's attack as well. In an effort to meet Luther on his own terms, Latomus invokes the scriptural and patristic traditions by summoning Paul and Augustine in defense of his position. Terms like *peccatum* and *concupiscentia* that are at the crux of the exchange show the extent to which arguments hinged on uncertainty over ancient and later meanings of such words.

A valuable element of Vind's analysis of this dispute is the attention given to epistemology. Whereas parsing the terms for sin and concupiscentia might represent the philological or "humanist" aspect of doctrinal engagement, determining how one can be certain in such matters as culpability for sin called for more searching scrutiny. Vind's discussion sets evangelical anxiety over salvation alongside scholastic theories of truth for her treatment of a difference that would run through polemical literature for at least another century. In this aspect too, Augustine (principally the *De doctrina Christiana*) figures in Latomus's work, although, as Vind states, "Latomus is much more of a rationalist than Augustine" (165).

Vind's discussion of Luther's response pays due attention to the manner of argumentation in order to show how the *Confutation* is a critique of scholastic method as well as a detailed refutation of the *Ratio*. The degree to which both

thinkers interpret scripture, and the value they assign to figurative readings and tropes (and Luther's reading of Quintilian), reveal an aspect that illuminates our knowledge of the development of Reformation hermeneutics. Vind's analysis clarifies the paradoxical proposition that good works are sinful; as she explains, works of the law performed without grace deny the promise disclosed in the gospel. A concluding close reading of Luther on Romans engages a century of interpretive scholarship culminating with the work of the Finnish School and its interlocutors.

*University of Illinois Chicago*

RALPH KEEN

*Del Santo Uffizio in Sicilia e delle sue carceri.* By Giovanna Fiume. (Rome: Viella, 2021. Pp. 360. € 34,00. ISBN: 978-8-833-13812-1.)

When in 1906 the most eminent scholar of folkloric traditions in Sicily, Giuseppe Pitrè, rediscovered the marks left on the walls of a building in Palermo by prisoners of the Holy Office, he did not know that those documents were only part of what would come to light in 2003 during the restoration of Palazzo Chiaromonte (known as Steri), formerly the prison of the island district of the Spanish Inquisition and today the rectory of that city's University. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the so-called "graffiti" in Palermo have attracted the curiosity of many scholars and intellectuals (think of the writer Leonardo Sciascia). But recently it has been Fiume in particular who has dedicated a number of books and contributions to this admirable visual memorial of justice in the early modern age, following in the wake of the lively historiography on prisons and on the testimonies that the walls of cells (but also of hospices, brothels, latrines, asylums, barracks) have fixed in every time and in every part of the world (think of the research by Matthew Champion, Antonio Castillo Gómez, and Charlotte Guichard, to name but a few scholars).

Fiume's exciting book (well written, rich in data, and accompanied by good pictures) is, at the same time, an attempt to reconstruct the number and location of these signs (sentences, poems, drawings, graffiti); their meaning, their authors, their material history (how they were made, how they were preserved); but also an original fresco of the life of prisoners in an inquisitorial prison, from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, and a solid reconstruction of the activity of the Holy Office in Sicily, repeatedly defined as "a borderland," and therefore particularly intriguing. Moreover, those familiar with Fiume's past research are not surprised to find in this book her great sensitivity for the history of slavery and the history of women. As for the Steri, after the publication of this book, Fiume herself promoted the publication of an inventory of the testimonies of the Palermo prison that is also notable for the quality of its images (Rita Foti, *I graffiti delle carceri segrete del Santo Uffizio di Palermo*, Palermo, 2023).

Given the loss of most of the documents of that institution, which were destroyed at various times until the symbolic burning of the trial records that accompanied the abolition of the tribunal (1783), it is above all the *relaciones de*



*causas* conserved in Madrid that record the work of the Holy Office in Sicily, without forgetting the manuscript sources that have survived in Palermo, and the printed texts, often accompanied by images, produced both by judges (such as Luis de Páramo) and their opponents. Drawing on the research of Henry Charles Lea, Carlo A. Garufi, Vito La Mantia, Pietro Burgarella, Francesco Renda, Manuel Rivero Rodríguez, Schlomo Simonsohn, Vittorio Sciuti Russi, Valeria La Motta, and especially Maria S. Messina (who, before her untimely death, had compiled a database listing all the cases dealt with by the Sicilian Inquisition for which documents are available), the first part of the book traces the history of the tribunal from its foundation, after the expulsion of the Jews (1493), to the first years of its activity, in conflict with the local powers and the viceroys; from its slow strengthening to the enormous privileges it granted to the numerous *familiars* who served it from the sixteenth century onwards; from the passage of the island under the rule of the Savoy and Habsburgs, to the suppression of the Holy Office under the Bourbons in the Age of Enlightenment (chapter 1). Regulated by the instructions dictated by the *Suprema* and a series of *concordias*, transformed into a weapon of political control during the seventeenth century, and serving as a jealous guardian of the secrecy of investigations, the court tried more than six thousand defendants, men and women, condemning hundreds to abjuration or the death penalty in 315 *autos-da-fé* that, in some cases, had a spectacular character and were celebrated by chronicles and images fixed on engravings (chapters 2–3).

What made the history of the Inquisition in Sicily peculiar—after the first years, when the target of repression was mainly Jewish converts—was the presence on the island of *moriscos* and Muslims (the renegades and slaves captured in the race war, of which the ports of Sicily were a hub); of Greek-rite communities emigrating from the Ottoman Empire; of merchants and travelers from Protestant Europe and the Mediterranean; not to mention the spread of heretical dissent through the influence of the Reformation and Alumbradism. Moreover, as elsewhere, the tribunal soon extended its sphere of action to moral and sexual crimes such as bigamy, concubinage, *solicitatio* (poorly documented), and, at first, sodomy. The inquisitors' energies were also focused on the control of necromancy and superstition (in Sicily, the belief in the *donne de fora*, who were assimilated to witches, was widespread) and, later, the repression of mysticism and quietism. As Fiume points out, a curious fact is that in Sicily a large number of males were also indicted for crimes of witchcraft. Above all, the court punished anyone who dared obstruct its activities and devoted much attention to controlling speech, striking out blasphemy and *propositiones haereticales*.

It is impossible here to recount the many stories of the women and men who populate the prisons and pages of this book; but one aspect that attracts Fiume's attention, as well as that of his readers, is the spread of original forms of religious syncretism and disbelief, even popular disbelief, which in some cases went far beyond the generic idea that "everyone is saved in his own law." As more recent studies have pointed out, forced and spontaneous conversions, increasing mobility, Mediterranean slavery, and the widening of global horizons, favored the spread of forms of unbelief that from the end of the sixteenth century were also recorded in the documents of



Catholic inquisitorial courts. That is why in the final chapter Fiume dialogues with the historiography on libertinism and the early modern origins of atheism (citing Lucien Febvre, Giorgio Spini, Stuart Schwartz, Mercedes García-Arenal, and other authors) and tells the stories of men like Zosimo Cannata and Gabriel Tudesco. Moreover, in some perhaps somewhat questionable pages, she traces a thread of continuity between the medieval tradition (the legend of the three rings, the presence of Islam in Sicily, the myth of Frederick II's impiety) and the forms of unbelief that Fiume reconstructs thanks to the sources of the early modern Inquisition.

The court was certainly an agency of conversion, as well as of repression (148 ff.); and this explains not only the mild treatment meted out to the renegades, but also the use of prison to break the resistance of the accused—imprisoned for a long time *pro tempore iudicij*—and that of the condemned, who were comforted by members of the local confraternities before they climbed the scaffold. For a few years after the court chose the Steri as its residence (1597), the setting up of the prisons took up the resources and attention of the inquisitors, who allocated a new two-story building for the imprisonment of common defendants, but reserved some spaces in Palazzo Chiaromonte (the *carceri della penitenza*) for high-ranking persons and the *familiars* under investigation, thus reproducing the social distinction of the time in the imprisonment structures (chapter 4). Furthermore, in chapter 5 and in other parts of the book, Fiume describes in great detail the di coexistence of those who lived in those cramped quarters (in which it could happen that the Islamic faithful performed their ritual ablutions); the periodic inspections ordered by the inquisitors on their subordinates; the extortion by the jailers; the function of the spies introduced into the cells; the tragic attempts by some inmates to resist or escape; their moments of leisure; the babel of languages spoken by the prisoners; the food they ate; their ability to communicate with the outside world and, above all, to devise useful defense strategies to cope with interrogation and torture (Fiume speaks of a “prison culture” [101]).

In chapters 6–8, the book describes in detail some of the more than two hundred iconographic subjects and about three hundred inscriptions that survive on the walls of the Steri, created only by male prisoners, trying to speculate who their authors were and what they really wanted to represent. Fiume focuses in particular on the impressive “cycle” of the Death and Resurrection of Christ (including a beautiful crucifixion and an intriguing descent into limbo), a group of poems in the Sicilian language, images of saints, and inscriptions left by an English prisoner. As she observes, by decorating the walls and even the roofs of the cells (an activity tolerated by the tribunal), the prisoners took possession of those spaces, sacralized them, personalized them, expressed their pain and their repentance, but in some cases also insinuated a veiled criticism of the tribunal's procedures that forced them to abjure. It was a tribunal that the book does not hesitate to condemn, without conceding anything to those who have recently tried to play down the violence of the inquisitors and of an institution that not only imprisoned bodies but also bent consciences.

*Mysticism in Early Modern England.* By Liam Peter Temple. [Studies in Modern British Religious History.] (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019. Pp. ix, 236. £75.00/\$115.00. ISBN: 978-1-78327-393-5.)

The early twentieth-century spiritual writer Evelyn Underhill spoke of mysticism as revealing “truths that are timeless.” But though mystical experience itself imparts the sensation of transcending time within ecstatic union with God, it has often had intense temporal repercussions for mystics and their advocates—not least in the centuries after the Reformation. This study’s five chapters each describe a cultural environment where mystical practice elicited fierce debate among Englishmen and -women of the early modern period: the advocates and detractors of English Benedictine mysticism in the first half of the seventeenth century; the radical religionists who thrived within revolutionary England; the mid-seventeenth-century writers who speculated upon the bodily and mental causes of mysticism; the harbingers of the age of reason who distrusted the anti-rational tendencies of mystics; and the Philadelphian Society, a crucible of counter-Enlightenment thought.

As this summary suggests, Liam Temple’s study is highly comprehensive. Given that mysticism flourished in convents inhabited by expatriate Englishwomen and was fomented by such pan-European thinkers as Jakob Böhme, transnational reach comes with the territory. The book’s judicious gender balance is more unexpected and very welcome. Early modern mysticism has benefited so much in recent years from feminist scholars’ attention to women’s spiritual agency, in contexts ranging from the nuns of Cambrai to the Philadelphian prophetess Jane Lead, that there has been a danger of neglecting their male counterparts. Church of England clerics have been particularly out of fashion, given the keen recent interest in Catholics, radical religionists, and others operating outside the established church’s hierarchies. However, Temple gives appropriate platform space to Anglican clergymen of several stripes: Establishment men such as the Latitudinarian Edward Stillingtonfleet, proponent of rational religion and foe of the Benedictine Serenus Cressy, and non-jurors such as Charles Leslie, whose own marginalization did not stop him arguing against religious toleration for Philadelphians.

Finally, Temple’s cross-denominational reach is entirely in keeping with his subject matter. The mystical transports of a Benedictine nun and a devotee of Böhme’s teaching would have been different in theological content, but they often met round the back in the way they affected literary metaphor and personal behavior. This made it relatively easy for a polemicist to draw comparisons between Catholicism and radical religion. Meric Casaubon, for instance, posited that Catholics and sectarians both suffered from religious melancholy: in a direct line of descent from classical religion, as the mocking term “pagano-papism” indicates (18). “Anti-Mysticism in Early Modern England” could have been a viable alternative title for Temple’s book; as he demonstrates, the term was often pejorative in the period he covers, and despite such scholars as Underhill, quoted above, its negative connotations have lasted until relatively recently. Temple’s sensitive,

engaging, non-judgmental monograph shows that writing on the topic has now come of age.

*University College London*

ALISON SHELL

*Callings and Consequences: The Making of Catholic Vocational Culture in Early Modern France.* By Christopher J. Lane. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021. Pp. xvii, 192. \$39.95 (paperback). ISBN: 978-0-228-00855-2.)

“What do you want to be when you grow up?” It is a common question for children today and, according to historian Christopher Lane, a point of significant discussion in the seventeenth-century French Catholic Church. Lane’s *Callings and Consequences* examines the notion of “vocation” in early modern Catholic thinking through the analysis of Catholic prescriptive literature—a body of sources that includes “sermons . . . pious spiritual handbooks, catechisms, and guides for priestly care of the faithful” as well as biographical narratives such as chronicles and obituaries (9). Vocation in these early modern texts entailed a notion of “calling” either to the professional religious life or increasingly, as Lane contends, to life in the secular world.

Lane argues that seventeenth-century reformers “developed an inherited repertoire of medieval and sixteenth-century vocational culture into more coherent, systematic forms that were meant to remake the Church and the kingdom [of France]” (4). Lane’s argument rests primarily on the impact of a reforming movement that promoted what he terms “vocational rigorism.” Vocational rigorism was “the belief that salvation was virtually conditional on choosing the state to which one had been called by God” (39). In Lane’s telling, vocational rigorism was connected to but not synonymous with the “rigorist turn” of the seventeenth century. It was less a product of Jansenism and more an outgrowth of a general reforming attitude that emerged in the wake of the Council of Trent.

In the book’s first chapter, Lane connects vocational rigorism to its sixteenth-century precedents. Seventeenth-century reformers took the ideas of Ignatius Loyola and Francis de Sales, among others, and built upon them. Lane demonstrates how in the rest of the book, analyzing the concepts of urgency, inclusiveness, method, and liberty in seventeenth-century Catholic prescriptive texts. Urgency for reformers entailed the insistence that discerning one’s vocational calling was fundamental for women’s and men’s abilities to access God’s grace, resist sin, and live a happy life. Inclusiveness involved the ways that reformers understood lay life, in addition to clerical careers, as predicated on a “calling” and demanding vocational discernment. This chapter is perhaps the most historiographically significant as it pushes back on long-standing historical assumptions that Protestant reformers were solely responsible for upholding the secular life as worthy of divine “calling.” In chapter 4, Lane uncovers the methods that reformers suggested for discerning one’s vocation—methods that included “prayer, wise counsel, and introspective deliberation” (76). Finally, Lane ends with a chapter on “liberty,” or the manner by

which reformers encouraged Catholic men and women to discern for themselves what God's calling was for their lives while also respecting paternal and royal authority. In all of these thematic examinations, Lane considers writings about both women and men, laypeople and clergy.

Lane's ability to unpack complicated theological texts and relate them to the larger context of early modern Catholicism is impressive. His study is exceptionally well-organized and clear. The book is limited by the sources upon which he chose to focus. As a study of prescriptive literature, *Callings and Consequences* does not examine to a significant extent the practical application of these reforming ideas. One might imagine (and indeed hope for) a companion volume that interrogates diaries, letters, or even court records to uncover the ways that vocational discernment actually occurred in the lives of seventeenth-century French Catholics.

Lane ends his book with a consideration of the "afterlife of early modern Catholic vocational reform" (112). He locates the significance of vocational rigorism in the ways that it formed a part of "Catholic modernity" (106). The conclusion nudges the book in the direction of philosophy, and it appears that one of Lane's primary objectives in studying early modern writings on vocation is to explore the place of Catholics in what he calls "our hyperpluralist present" (117). Nevertheless, Lane's study does add significant richness to the historiographical conversation about the transformative impact of the Council of Trent on the Catholic Church. He shows how Catholic thinking about vocation changed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and how these changes led some Catholic believers to reconsider what it meant to choose one's path in this life and, ultimately, the life beyond.

*Baylor University*

DANIEL WATKINS

*Lodovico Antonio Muratori: Religione e politica nel Settecento.* Edited by Mario Rosa and Matteo Al Kalak. [Biblioteca della Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa.] (Florence: Olschki Editore. 2018. Pp. xii, 137. €23.00. Paperback. ISBN 978-8-822-26545-6.)

This volume, edited by Matteo Al Kalak and the late Mario Rosa, is a welcome addition to the growing body of scholarship on Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), the standard bearer of the Catholic Enlightenment in the Italian Peninsula. Muratori is still awaiting his biographer, and this book does not purport to offer a comprehensive portrayal of Muratori's intellectual trajectory or an exhaustive account of his participation in the eighteenth-century republic of letters. However, the essays collected in this volume shed significant light on several aspects of Muratori's scholarship and thought.

The first two chapters, by Anna Burlini Calapaj and the volume's coeditor Al Kalak, focus on Muratori's reflections on liturgy and Scripture. Burlini argues that while at first Muratori described charity as the only form of devotion required of

good Catholics, with the passage of time he became increasingly convinced of the importance of prayer and the mass as instruments for the faithful to participate in the life of the ecclesial community. Al Kalak details Muratori's advocacy of biblical textual criticism and his support for the translation of Scripture into Italian, which ran counter to the Congregation of the Index's long-standing ban on vernacular bibles. In this case, too, what mattered to Muratori was the ability of the faithful—most of whom did not understand the Latin of the Vulgate—to fully participate in religious functions. While highlighting the importance of the clergy's intermeditation, Muratori maintained that conscious participation and access to sacred texts were the foundation of a faith that rejected superstitious beliefs.

The following two chapters, by Girolamo Imbruglia and Fabio Marri, focus on Muratori's 1743 work on the Jesuit reductions in Paraguay, *Il cristianesimo felice*. While Marri shows that the ongoing edition of Muratori's extensive correspondence casts new light on the work's composition and reception, Imbruglia argues that for Muratori, Jesuit reductions provided evidence of the civilizing nature of Catholic spirituality. A critic of the devotional excesses often encouraged by the Jesuits, Muratori nonetheless believed that even Jesuit spirituality, in a moderate and reasonable form, could serve as the basis for a harmonious community, in which human beings fulfilled their natural inclination toward religion and revived the model—much revered by reform-oriented Catholics across Europe—of the early church.

The three ensuing chapters show Muratori grappling with issues of censorship and religious toleration. Manuela Bragagnolo analyzes Muratori's biography of fellow Modenese and sixteenth-century scholar Lodovico Castelvetro, whom the Inquisition condemned as a heretic, and reveals how Muratori understood erudition and historical scholarship as instrumental to church reform. Corrado Viola unearths young Muratori's unpublished panegyric to Louis XIV, a song of praise to the repeal of the 1598 Edict of Nantes, which granted tolerance to the Huguenots. Muratori's views evolved, though. In an essay focusing on Muratori's relationship with Cardinal Angelo Maria Querini, Ennio Ferraglio shows that Muratori cautiously supported the cardinal's initiatives for Catholic-Protestant dialogue (although he considered them unrealistic).

The last chapter, by Elisabeth Garms-Cornides, focuses on Amalie of Brunswick, wife to Austrian Emperor Joseph I, and on the role her reform-oriented religiosity played in preparing the ground for the reception of Muratori's work north of the Alps.

Garms-Cornides's chapter is a useful reminder that Muratori's influence extended well beyond his native Duchy of Modena, and that a comprehensive reconstruction of his intellectual trajectory and impact is now long overdue. The essays collected in this volume will offer invaluable insights to the historian who should undertake such a project.

*Muratori tra storia e religione. Atti della Giornata di studi muratoriani, Modena, 3 novembre 2020.* Ed. Fabio Marri. [Biblioteca dell'Edizione Nazionale del Carteggio di L. A. Muratori – XV.] (Firenze, L. S. Olschki, 2021. Pp. vi, 254. €32,55. ISBN: 88-222-6778-8; EAN: 13- 978-8-822-26778-8.)

This volume collects twelve essays dedicated to analyzing both Ludovico Antonio Muratori's works on theology and philosophy, as well as a number of his epistolary exchanges with scholars and intellectuals of his time on the same subjects (1672-1750). These essays were presented and discussed in the congress held in Modena on November 3, 2020, and they were collected by Fabio Marri, who is the director of the Centro studi Muratoriani. The majority of the authors are not academic scholars, but teachers and students of the Italian public school *Liceo Muratori*, currently housed in the building which was the *Collegio San Carlo* of the Jesuits, where the young Muratori studied. The introduction of Fabio Marri presents the state of the project of the national edition, intended to produce forty-six edited volumes of Muratori's letters and theological and moral treatises. Started in 1967, the national edition of Muratori's work is now at twenty-four of the forty-six planned volumes. The analysis of the manuscripts offers the opportunity to list the names of the 2054 persons in touch with Muratori and exchanging letters with him. The edition of the treatises has involved various authors in the project, and in 2020 it was also placed side by side with a digital edition of the catalogues of various public libraries of the city of Modena, included the Biblioteca Estense, which keep the manuscripts of the personal Muratori's archive (<https://lodovico.medialibrary.it/home/index.aspx>). The index of the quoted names and the bibliography complete that part of the collection of the Biblioteca dell'Edizione nazionale del carteggio di L.A. Muratori.

The first essay is by the bishop of Modena, Mons. Erio Castellucci, who writes on the treaty dedicated to the Christian charity, *Della carità cristiana*, edited for the first time in 1723, in Modena. Caterina Bonasegla and her students analyze the *Governo della peste*, read by the Italian romancier Alessandro Manzoni (the first edition was printed, by Muratori, in Modena in 1722); Donatella Ghermandi and her students present the theme of superstition based on the analysis of the *Dissertazioni sopra le antichità italiane* (Milan 1751) and the *Della regolata divozion de' Cristiani* (Venice 1747). Marta Soli, with the collaboration of Riccardo Pallotti, offers an analysis of the *De Cognominum origine*, in the third volume of the *Dissertatione XLII* (printed in 1740). Gabriele Burzacchini studies the Latin style adopted by Muratori in the early manuscript *De Graecae Linguae usu et praestantia* (it was printed for the first time by his nephew Giovan Francesco Soli Muratori in 1771), listing Muratori's specific choices in matter of spellings and lexicon, grammar and syntax. In a second article, Burzacchini presents the linguistic characteristics of Muratori as a writer in Greek, a study he undertook as a self-taught scholar when he was less than twenty years old. The short essay of Yi huo Jin compares the Italian translation of four letters written by German missionaries and the Italian translation made by Muratori in his *Il Cristianesimo felice nelle missioni de' padri della Compagnia di Gesù nel Paraguai*.

Corrado Viola examines the status and the progress of the projects advanced by the C.R.E.S. (Centro di ricerca sugli epistolari nel Settecento, Center for research on the eighteenth-century epistolary of the University of Verona), and the Centro studi muratoriano di Modena. One of the most interesting essays is by Angelo Colombo: he reconstructs the dispute over the presumed mortal remains of Saint Augustine, discussed by Giusto Fontanini, Muratori, and other scholars between 1728 and 1730. Francesca Maria Crasta looks at the diverse philosophical aspects of the Christian reflection, presented by the volumes *Forze dell'intendimento umano* and *Forza della fantasia umana*, both printed in 1745, ten years before the *Filosofia morale*. The need for reformation was discussed by Muratori in the context of a strong bond with tradition, making Catholicism a reasonable religion, and stressing its “ragionevolezza.” The exchange of letters between Muratori and Corrado Janning, constituting twenty-five letters written between 1698 and 1707, is studied by Maria Lieber and Valentina Cuomo (it will be printed as the twenty-fifth volume of the edition). Daniela Gianaroli investigates the relation of M. with the Jesuits: with the *De ingeniorum moderatione*, the *vignolese* wounded the pride of the Sicilian Jesuits for their attachment at the “voto sanguinario,” the bloody vow.

The volume has a fresh approach to the Muratori's works and thought: this is its most important positive aspect and the limit of this collection. With few exceptions, most of the essays collected are internal to the analysis of the manuscript and the works of the *vignolese*; only a few of them are aware of the complexity of the research conducted in the last decades by the academic world, i.e., on the subject of superstition. However, the freshness of the volume's approach is a demonstration of the liveliness and importance of Muratori's theology and thought, whose works should be studied and still require scholarly study. The goal of urging adequate funding for the national edition is recalled in the conclusions signed by Marri.

*Humboldt University of Berlin*

MARIA TERESA FATTORI

*Un'illusione di femminile semplicità. Gli Annali delle Orsoline di Bellinzona (1730–1848)*. By Miriam Nicoli and Franca Cleis. [La memoria restituita. Fonti per la storia delle donne, 15.] (Rome: Viella, 2021. Pp. 368. € 30,40. ISBN: 978-8-833-13780-3.)

Recent scholarship has shown that despite the Tridentine Catholic Church's official preference for the enclosed life for religious women, the lived experience of women in religious communities encompassed a diverse array of lifestyles and spirituality. Even within a single community, varied visions of the female consecrated life could come into conflict with one another. This highly learned and useful book offers an incisive analysis, with documents, of one such conflict in eighteenth-century Bellinzona, a small subalpine city in the archdiocese of Milan, now in Switzerland's Ticino canton. The work thus sheds light on Swiss Catholic history of the age as well as on the history of female religiosity.

The Ursuline community of Bellinzona was founded in 1730 by local patri- cians the Molo brothers, one of whom had eight daughters to settle. The founding



documents and rule established that the women of the community would take simple vows, not solemn, and would provide education for girls. Two Ursulines from a neighboring institute were brought in to lead; the house was soon well populated with the daughters of the local patriciate. The sisters enjoyed some liberty: not subject to enclosure nor to a vow of poverty, they had their own rooms, furnishings, and incomes, and could inherit. Collective income came from invested spiritual dowries, pupils' fees, needlework, and making sweets.

Internal conflict came, as it so often did, over enclosure. The conflict brewed during the 1740s, and erupted in 1751 when one faction of women, led by Maria Gertruda Maderni, favored transforming the community into a fully enclosed convent, while another group, led by the daughter of the founder Fulgenzia Maria Molo, wished to remain unenclosed. A conflict over occupancy of a private cell fueled the dispute. Molo and her followers lost their battle and left the community, taking important legal documents with them; a subsequent lawsuit over dowries was ultimately resolved in 1781.

The unedited documents published here support the case and present rich opportunities for researchers. The most substantial of them, the *Annali*, furnishes a fascinating example of the genre of convent chronicle. It merits further study and inclusion in the growing literature on this subgenre of historical writing. Begun in 1751 by the convent's supervising cleric, as part of the effort to control the narrative of the factional conflict, the *Annali* was continued by the sisters and maintained serially until the house dissolved in 1846. Also reproduced are several documents from the 1752 investigation, conducted at the request of the bishop of Como. A whole other book could be written, too, based on the chronicle's account of the women's resistance to forced dissolution during the Napoleonic years, their house's reconstitution, the establishment of the nineteen Swiss cantons in 1803, and their subsequent mandate to teach in a public school. In short, the full range of the Age of Revolutions plays out, as seen from the modest doors of a ladies' pious redoubt.

Querciolo Mazzonis's preface sets the story in the Ursuline context, linking it to the order's origins in nearby Milan in the early 1500s. As Mazzonis notes, the Swiss Ursulines manifested a French-style spirituality where charity and serving others became the primary vehicle of devotion, with little reference to the mystical, physical penance so important to the founder Angela Merici. All in all, the work provides an excellent contextualization for a valuable set of little-known primary sources, of interest to scholars of early modern spirituality, women's history, and the history of historical writing.



## LATE MODERN

*A Guide to John Henry Newman: His Life and Thought*. Edited by Juan R. Vélez. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2022. Pp. xx., 532. \$75.00. ISBN: 978-0-813-23585-1.)

Father Juan R. Vélez, Ph.D., a priest of the Prelature of Opus Dei, is a well-respected John Henry Newman scholar who holds a doctorate in dogmatic theology from the University of Navarre (Spain). His previous works include a traditional biography on Newman titled *Passion for Truth: The Life of John Henry Newman* (TAN Books, 2011) and the more spirituality-focused volume *Holiness in a Secular Age: The Witness of Cardinal Newman* (Scepter, 2017). Both books are valuable resources and endeavor to present the nineteenth-century Englishman anew to a twenty-first-century reader.

In his latest work, *A Guide to John Henry Newman*, editor Vélez has brought together in this collection of essays not only the work of Catholic theologians, but also of professors of literature, historians, philosophers, and classicists to discuss the rich corpus of Newman's thought. Each author shares valuable contributions that examine Newman's approach to such fields as theology, faith and reason, sermons and preaching, morality and spirituality, and even poetry. These essays blend perspectives from bishops, priests, and laymen and women, as well as Protestant converts to Catholicism, in an attempt to provide a comprehensive picture of who Newman was and why he remains influential in the Catholic intellectual tradition.

*A Guide to John Henry Newman* contains twenty-seven essays ranging in scope from Newman's participation in the Oxford Movement and his conversion to the Roman Church to his poetic intimations and his understanding of the term "liberalism." The book is subdivided into two main sections: the first division deals with John Henry Newman the man ("His Life"), while the second concerns itself with Newman and his doctrine ("His Thought"). Both sections are comprehensive treatments that Vélez hopes can be of particular interest to serious Newman scholars, but will also appeal to a more general audience that has some knowledge about Newman but wants to learn more.

For the casual reader, some of the essays will prove denser and more nuanced in their arguments than an introductory volume on John Henry Newman is expected to provide. In this regard, the Newman novice will find that Vélez's work cannot supplant such books as Eamon Duffy's *John Henry Newman: A Very Brief History* (SPCK Publishing, 2019) or Avery Dulles's *John Henry Newman* (Continuum, 2009), let alone the definitive *John Henry Newman: A Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2019) by Ian Ker.

What makes this collection unique, however, is the gathering of different voices and perspectives from the world of Newman scholarship into a single acces-

sible volume, thereby making it a valuable resource for experts and casually interested readers alike.

Vélez asserts that his task as editor was to bring together authors who through their intellectual disciplines offer new insights into Newman's life and work while, at the same time, reinforcing Newman's personal integrity and theological orthodoxy. He also acknowledges in his introductory remarks that this collection of essays is meant to overcome the limitations of a historical-critical evaluation of Newman's works, including what he claims was a hermeneutic of suspicion against Newman's recollection of his contemporary events and controversies.

No matter the reason for the creation of this collection, *A Guide to John Henry Newman* presents a rich complexity of thought and diversity of perspective, not unlike John Henry Newman's own writings that the volume references. Whether the experienced scholar chooses this compilation to focus on one specific topic, or the novice decides to read the text from beginning to end, they will encounter a depth of insight and scholarship that makes this a worthy and valuable contribution to the field of Newman studies.

*The Catholic University of America*

DAVID P. LONG

*The Vatican and Permanent Neutrality*. By Marshall J. Breger and Herbert R. Reginogin. (New York: Lexington Books. 2022. Pp. 322. ISBN 979-1-793-64217-2.)

*The Vatican and Permanent Neutrality* (hereafter *Permanent Neutrality*) describes itself as having arisen "out of a workshop held on February 11, 2020. . . ." The date is important. The book is a collection of scholarly essays broken down in parts: "From the Papal States to the Vatican: 1870–1929"; "The Long Second World War: 1931–1945"; "Into the Cold: 1950–1990"; and "Post-Cold War: 1990–2020." As such the book is a useful academic research tool on the role the Holy See plays and has chosen to play in the community of nations.

There is something encyclopedic to the book and especially to chapters 6 to 13, each of which can stand alone and each of which was written by a different scholar. There is no necessary order in which these chapters must be read. While each article deals with some aspect of the Holy See's action in the international community, each is a self-contained unit. Thus, for example, the chapters on Nuclear Proliferation, Pope Pius XII and the Holocaust, Diplomacy and the Cold War, and Power and Spirituality can be read in isolation with great profit. The focus on the Holy See's neutrality of the earlier chapters and the wider purview of the later ones make this a very valuable resource.

It is no secret that the Holy See, as a unique if not anomalous sovereign state, is a Permanent Observer State at the UN and takes that role quite seriously. One of the first trips outside the Vatican after 1870 was Pope Paul VI's address to the

UN General Assembly on 4 October 1965. Since then, every pope except the short-lived John Paul I has addressed the General Assembly.

All of the above alone validates the need for a study such as *Permanent Neutrality*. However, on 24 February 2022, the year *Permanent Neutrality* was published, Russia invaded Ukraine in blatant violation of the *UN Charter* Article 2,4. Both Russia and Ukraine are intensely religious cultures. The Russian Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church have existed tensely side by side in Ukraine for centuries.

With the outbreak of war between Russia and Ukraine, the Holy See immediately became involved in the hope of mediating a peace. In an extraordinary move, Pope Francis personally visited the Russian Embassy in Rome at the beginning of the conflict. Negotiations (or what are described as negotiations) have been going on between the Holy See and Russia and the Holy See and Ukraine.

With the invasion of Ukraine, *Permanent Neutrality* went from being a significant academic study to being a must-read book on the Holy See's role in the Russia-Ukraine conflict. To those unfamiliar with the Holy See, its peace-making efforts are unusual and may even seem quixotic. Although much of the UN General Assembly has condemned the invasion, the Holy See has not only steadfastly refused to take sides but has until recently refused to mention Russia as the aggressor. This has at times irritated and alienated Ukrainian Catholics.

*Permanent Neutrality*, however, helps the reader understand the unique way the Holy See is attempting to deal with the crisis. The book clearly shows in chapter 7 that permanent neutrality does not constitute moral indifference but rather a practical strategy to maintain negotiations. It is significant to note that the Holy See is sensitive to this possible misunderstanding and prefers "dynamic/active neutrality" to "permanent neutrality."

Whether or not the permanent neutrality of the Holy See is successful in bringing a just and sustainable end to the conflict remains to be seen. Nevertheless, *Permanent Neutrality* allows the reader to make sense of the Holy See's strategy and also to see a possible alternative for negotiations and conflict resolution to the proverbial and traditional "carrot and stick" approach.

*Catholic Near East Welfare Association*

ELIAS D. MALLON

*Las reliquias de Santiago: documentos fundamentales de la reinventio de 1879.* By Antón M. Pazos. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2021. Pp. 413. €28.50. ISBN: 978-8-400-10924-0.)

This elegant book presents full reproductions in Spanish of two documents critical to understanding the *reinventio* of the cult and pilgrimage of Santiago de Compostela in the late nineteenth century. The *reinventio* was set in motion in 1878, when Cardinal Miguel Payá, archbishop of Santiago in Spanish Galicia,

ordered a series of excavations within the town's Romanesque cathedral in search of the lost relic of St. James the Elder. After human remains were discovered, a lengthy evaluation process ensued, involving local clergy, historians, and physicians, and eventually reaching the highest echelons of the Roman Curia. In 1884, Pope Leo XIII issued *Deus Omnipotens*, the bull confirming the authenticity of the relic and granting papal imprimatur to a millennial tradition associating the remote Galician town with the apostle. Leo's proclamation breathed new life into the cult of St. James, precipitating the revival of the medieval pilgrimage, but questions lingered about the authentication process. The documents, originals of which are housed at the Vatican Apostolic Archive, reveal with the greatest available detail the challenges faced by partisans of the relic to gain papal support and how the campaign to convince doubters both in the archdiocese and in Rome developed in the years following the initial excavation.

This edition will be of considerable interest not only to historians interested in the modern revival of the cult of St. James, but also to scholars interested in Catholic archeology and practices of authentication in the nineteenth century. Of the two texts reproduced in this volume, the more substantial one is the *Expediente Canónico* (1879–83), a file of 180 folios compiling the declarations and debates that took place among clergy and lay experts in Spain and Rome. The *Expediente* is not a new discovery; a copy of it housed in the archdiocesan archive formed the basis of major studies by scholars such as Zacarías García Villada, in a foundational work of 1929, and José Guerra Campos, who served as a cathedral canon in the 1950s. Nonetheless, Pazos has done a worthy service by making the full text widely available. The second document is the long-sought *Nova Positio*, revealed here for the first time. Pazos located the sixty-seven-page document after an extensive search through the Vatican archives, and the book presents it both in its original version (a mix of Italian and Latin) and in Spanish translation. Compiled by Cardinal Domenico Bertolini, the *Nova Positio* is an 1884 account of the secret travels of the papal envoy Mons. Agostino Caprara, who examined a Jacobean relic at Pistoia, near Florence, then traveled to various places in Spain to interview people involved with the excavation. Unable to locate the *Nova Positio*, earlier scholars relied on shorter accounts given elsewhere by Bertolini, who served as Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, the body in Rome charged with adjudicating matters of relics and cults. The newly discovered source provides considerable new detail on Caprara's probe, which was more extensive than previously appreciated.

In addition to the texts themselves, Pazos provides a lengthy and valuable introduction that serves two principal functions. First, it offers an authoritative account of a century of historiography on the *reinventio*, and, more broadly, on Catholic archaeology, nineteenth-century medievalism, and modern pilgrimage. Second, Pazos provides an invaluable synopsis of the authentication process, including biographical sketches of its main protagonists and much helpful context for understanding the two documents.

*Gemeinsam gegen Antisemitismus—Die Konferenz von Seelisberg (1947) revisited. Die Entstehung des institutionellen jüdisch-christlichen Dialogs in der Schweiz und in Kontinentaleuropa.* By Jehoschua Ahrens. (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2020. Pp. iii, 280. €49.90. ISBN: 978-3-643-14609-0).

The 1947 conference in Seelisberg, Switzerland, has long been overshadowed by the Second Vatican Council and *Nostra aetate* (the Vatican II document on interreligious relations that repudiated several long-standing anti-Jewish claims), the emergence of post-Holocaust theological and biblical scholarship, and the growth of Jewish-Christian dialogue.

None of these developments, however, would have been possible without the Seelisberg meeting, which was organized by British and U.S. interfaith leaders to address the alarming resurgence of antisemitism in postwar Europe. Sixty-five participants from Europe and North America attended—an international mix of Jews, Protestants, Catholics, and Orthodox Christians. Most were not official representatives of their communities, but clergy, laypeople, and theologians interested in reconciliation. The conference produced a detailed working paper and recommendations for interfaith dialogue, but Seelisberg is best known for its brief report on antisemitism. It began with a blunt acknowledgment by the Christian delegates of the historical and theological Christian underpinnings of this hatred and concluded with the “Ten Points of Seelisberg,” which refuted the most common Christian anti-Jewish tropes. The “Ten Points” is still regarded as the theological foundation for Jewish-Christian dialogue.

Jehoschua Ahrens’s excellent book is the first comprehensive study of the Seelisberg meeting and its legacy. An Orthodox European rabbi who is presently director for Central Europe at the Orthodox Center for Jewish-Christian Understanding and Cooperation (CJCUC), Ahrens gives a rich and often moving account of the road to Seelisberg. His book begins with an examination of different Jewish-Christian encounters in the early twentieth century, the challenges to this work after the Nazi rise to power, and the multiple pressures on Jewish-Christian relations under the tragic burdens of that era: from events in Nazi Germany to the intensifying refugee crisis, the Second World War, and the genocide of European Jews.

The book’s main focus is on the Jewish-Christian circles in Switzerland. As a neutral nation and because of its shared borders with Nazi Germany, by 1939 Switzerland was the operational base for many international organizations, including Jewish and Christian agencies. While much of this work was humanitarian, it fostered deeper relationships. By the end of 1943 there was a formal Jewish-Christian dialogue in Switzerland that included theological exchanges.

These interfaith initiatives gained new urgency after confirmation in 1942 of the genocide of European Jews, leading to a deeper transformation among some Christian participants, who began to rethink theological teachings about Jews and Judaism. Before 1945 most Christians, even those involved in Jewish-Christian

relations, still held supersessionist views and supported the proselytization of Jews. Ahrens traces how these assumptions began to change and discusses the statements and meetings in the early postwar era that preceded the groundbreaking conversations in Seelisberg.

The appendixes include the texts of the relevant declarations of that era, as well as participant rosters from Seelisberg and other major interreligious meetings during the war and immediately afterwards. Ahrens also analyzes Seelisberg's legacy, including the development of formalized Jewish-Christian dialogue, new theological work, and the Catholic-Jewish conversations that led to Vatican II. There is much new information (one of the book's many revelations for me was the scope of Catholic-Protestant interaction in early interfaith conversations).

The Seelisberg conference remains one of the most significant interreligious events in history, and the process by which it came into being is instructive, not only for Jewish-Christian relations, but for broader interreligious questions today. This book is essential reading for anyone interested in interfaith history and Jewish-Christian relations.

*The University of Virginia*

VICTORIA BARNETT

*Il Concilio Vaticano II e i suoi protagonisti alla luce degli archivi.* Edited by Philippe Chenaux and Kiril Plamen Kartaloff. [Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, Atti e Documenti, Vol. 46] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2017. Pp. 583. € 48. ISBN 978-8-826-60005-5.)

The Pontifical Committee for Historical Sciences collaborated with the Pontifical Lateran University's Center for Research and Study of Vatican Council II to hold two international scholarly congresses observing the fiftieth anniversary of the Second Vatican Council. The first congress, in 2012, featured twenty-five papers reporting from different locales on the archives of the Council Fathers' papers, telling of their extent, their inventories, and their accessibility to scholars. Lateran University Press brought out these papers in 2015, edited by Philippe Chenaux, Director of the Lateran's research center, under the title, *Il Concilio Vaticano II alla luce degli archivi dei padri conciliari*. The second congress took place in 2015, with its thirty-four papers being published in 2017 in the volume presented here, under the editorship of Chenaux and Kiril Plamen Kartaloff, Bulgarian member of the Pontifical Committee, who suggest in their title a broader topic, the "protagonists" of Vatican II.

A volume collecting thirty-four congress papers obliges the reviewer to do a good deal of cataloging of contents, often with only brief hints of themes of particular value. Along the way, however, arguments of broader import do emerge, which deserve note. Statements on the hermeneutics of the Council, for instance, come at the beginning and the end of the 2017 volume. The brief opening Preface by the two editors states that their scholarly congress views Vatican II, along with Pope

Benedict XVI, as framed by “a proper and fruitful hermeneutic of reform and continuity” in the Church. Thus, their volume stands in contrast with an erroneous “hermeneutic of discontinuity and rupture.” The latter approach, treating Vatican II as an “event” which brings about an “epoch-making transition” in the Church, disseminates confusion, which they see sown by the five-volume *History of Vatican Council II*, published from 1995 to 2006, directed by Giuseppe Alberigo (1926–2007) and edited in English by Joseph A. Komonchak. The 2015 congress practiced fairness by giving place to a paper now in the resulting volume by Alberigo’s disciple, Alberto Melloni, which formulates a spirited apologia for the other approach, on which this review will report below.

The hermeneutical theme was taken up early in our volume by John O’Malley, S.J. (1927–2022), who deconstructs the cliché by which Vatican II is qualified as a “pastoral” council standing in contrast with earlier predominantly “doctrinal” councils. O’Malley scores a major point by recalling how the Council of Trent is remembered by most as teaching crucial doctrines on the relation of grace and free choice in justification as well as on each of the seven sacraments—while many also completely forget Trent’s dozen documents of reform decrees of decisive importance for the ways pastoral care was provided in the modern Catholic Church. Then, in a passage of elegant remembering, O’Malley recalls the doctrines formulated by Vatican II, to conclude in a reconstruction, by which Vatican II’s central action was to issue documents in which doctrine and practice compenetrates each other, while illuminating truths of existential import for believers and communities called to holiness and seeking to live out their Christian vocations in our world.

Moving on to the great block of the 2015 papers, we note that seventeen of the scholars reporting in 2012 on the extent and condition of archives in different nations returned to the 2015 congress to present findings from their sources in the papers of the 2017 volume, at times with dense and illuminating results. A striking example is Gilles Routhier’s account based on the archived letters of several French Canadian bishops who tell of how they were gaining day by day at Vatican II a fresh awareness of the Church’s catholicity, growing out of all their informal interactions with bishops of other lands, such as their neighbors in the rows of the Fathers’ chairs in St. Peter’s, as well as *extra aulam* on daily bus rides to and from Council meetings, at receptions and dinners, at lectures by *periti*, and at sessions for formulating amendments to the draft texts.

A common pattern in the 2015 papers by the scholars returning from 2012 is to treat the conciliar participation and contributions of individual or multiple Council Fathers belonging to the national group surveyed earlier. In 2012 Christian Sorrel presented the possibilities of research in archives of the 127 French bishops attending Vatican II, and then in 2015 presented insights from a study of the Council diaries kept by twenty-one of these bishops. Mathijs Lamberigts first treated the Belgian bishops’ archives, and then in 2015, in collaboration with Leo Declerck, presented Bishop André M. Charue of Namur, who we learn joined Gerard Philips and Bishop Joseph Heuschen late in the Council in convincing “the



Germans” of the theological gravity of the Pastoral Constitution. Jean Paul Messina wrote first on the papers of the Cameroon bishops and then on Jean Zoa, Archbishop of Yaoundé. Fermina Alvarez Alonso first surveyed the archives of Spanish bishops and then treated Casimiro Morcillo, Archbishop of Saragossa. András Fejérdy and Krisztina Toth gave 2012 papers on Hungarian archives and in 2015 presented a paper on the Catholic journalist Vid Mihelics by the former and on activities of the group, by the latter, with special attention to their president Bishop Endre Hamvas, to Bishop Sándor Kovács, and to the bishops’ Norbertine *peritus*, Sándor K. Klempa. After Tricia Pine and Gerald Fogarty first surveyed the Vatican II archives of the US bishops and of American *periti*, respectively, in 2012, they gave at the second gathering papers on Archbishop Lawrence Sheehan of Baltimore and on episcopal collegiality as an early practice of the American bishops that they then practiced themselves at Vatican II. Carlos Salinas Araneda reported initially on Latin American bishops’ archives of Vatican II and then in 2015 presented the conciliar activities of the two cardinals of the South American Pacific Coast, Raul Silva Henríquez, S.D.B., of Santiago de Chile, and Juan Landázuri Ricketts, O.F.M., of Lima, Peru. Eduardo Chávez Sánchez told in 2012 of the condition of the archives of the fifty Mexican council Fathers, and came back in 2015 to tell of what is documented in the surviving papers of Sergio Méndez Arceo, Bishop of Cuernavaca. Paul Pulikkan’s 2012 report surveyed the archival sources of the Vatican II bishops of India and then in 2015 told of the Indian bishops’ conciliar activity in the “forum” of British Commonwealth bishops and, more at length, of the Indian bishops’ promotion of themes of global justice under inspiration of the 1964 Eucharistic Congress of Bombay.

Another case of complementary papers given by a scholar at the two congresses may serve to introduce one of the thematic concerns of the 2015 congress, namely, to give attention to Vatican II’s minority. For this, a striking example comes from another French-Canadian author, Philippe Roy Lisencourt, who reported first on the sources and perspectives of research on the *Coetus Internationalis Patrum* assembled and led by Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, C.S.Sp, and who then offered in 2015 a dense account of the services given to Lefebvre and the other Fathers of the *Coetus* by the *peritus*, Abbé Victor-Alain Berto. The latter’s papers are evidence of his energetic activities during the second and third conciliar periods, amid much anguish over the advance, in the revised drafts on the Church, ecumenism, and religious liberty, of what was for Berto a modernist conspiracy aiming at substantial change in Catholic doctrine under the pretext of aggiornamento thinly covering the advance of heterodoxy. The promulgation of *Lumen gentium* and *Unitatis redintegratio* in November 1964 left Berto so sick at heart that he could not come to the fourth period of 1965, even though he later admitted that Pope Paul VI had made the dogmatic text on the Church bearable even to one who rejected the spirit in which it was drafted. In profound sadness Berto died in December 1968.

In 2012, Piero Doria, a long-time official of the Vatican Archive, gave an informative report on the massive collection of Council records held in the Vatican. But at the second congress, Doria’s paper gave voice to the Vatican II minority by



reporting on Luigi Maria Carli, Bishop of Segni, who was at Vatican II an active and vociferous promoter of the central positions of LeFebvre's *Coetus*. Doria's later paper, however, is not an archive-based account of Carli at Vatican II, but a summary of his post-conciliar book, *Nova et Vetera. Tradizione e progresso nella Chiesa dopo Vaticano II* (Rome, 1969). Here "protagonists" do clash, but at the edges of the Council's healthy synthesis, due largely to Paul VI's interventions, which Carli came to see as both rebuffing extreme traditionalists and promoting sound innovations in doctrinal formulation and disciplinary guidelines.

The present review turns now to mentioning papers of the 2015 gathering that were not preceded by a 2012 paper. The 2015 theme of heeding the minority advanced notably in Giuseppe Militello's report on Cardinal Giuseppe Siri of Genoa, drawing on multiple sources, including Siri's unpublished Council diary and related correspondence. Siri came to the Council as an established leader among the Italian bishops, and he moved easily into roles in Council governance, even though he was unsympathetic with John XXIII's convocation of Vatican II and was at times pained over Paul VI's respect for renewal currents advanced by the "Nordic" churchmen. Siri attended one early meeting of Lefebvre's *Coetus*, after which he avoided it as a dangerous pressure group. As Council themes emerged in draft texts, Siri had at times a moderating influence by his votes *placet iuxta modum*, accompanied by apposite amendments.

Early in the 2015 Congress, the co-editor Philippe Chenaux gave an informative paper on Pope Paul VI's decisions and discourses that shaped Vatican II's unfolding. Some few early examples begin with Paul VI's own idea to have four cardinals as moderators, similar to the Cardinal Legates overseeing the Council of Trent. From him came as well the appointment of lay "auditors" and of a Press Committee with an international make-up. Paul VI's opening discourse of the second period gave Vatican II's labors a striking Christological basis and characterized its ecclesiological work as the Church presenting itself out of its own depths to all concerned, while purifying itself of what is outmoded and defective. Paul VI thought it wrong to cast the papacy as an obstacle to ecumenism, because without the Pope the Catholic Church would not be itself and would lack the unifying factor of a supreme pastoral office. Still, he defended the emerging theme of episcopal collegiality, especially in his trenchant *Nota riservata* rebuffing the opposition of Cardinal Arcadio M. Larraona and others in October 1964.

In three papers, other major players of the Council are set in fresh light, beginning with the account of the pre-conciliar development of Cardinal Augustin Bea in matters ecumenical, related by Saretta Marotta. Correspondingly, the widely-published Vatican II scholar Michael Quisinsky portrays Lukas Vischer, the Reformed theologian sent to Vatican II as the principal observer on behalf of the World Council of Churches. Vischer envisioned Vatican II's development and importance for the broader Christian world with growing appreciation, which he conveyed to the World Council's leadership in frequent, sometimes daily, letters from Rome to Geneva. Another cache of Vatican II letters, those between the Car-

dinal Moderator, Julius Döpfner of Munich, and bishops of developing countries, illustrate wide-ranging “networking” by a Vatican II leader, as related, with accompanying maps, in Peter Pfister’s 2015 paper.

One learns more about the African Church at Vatican II in papers by Laurent M. Pasinya on Archbishop Joseph A. Malula of what was then Léopoldville, Zaire, and by Paul H. Gumdani on the Carmelite missionary Bishop Donal R. Lamont of Umtali, then in Rhodesia. Western European participation is given even more coverage in the paper of Carlo Poppi on the Spanish priest and future Opus Dei General President Alvaro del Portillo, secretary of the Vatican II commission responsible for the Decree *Presbyterorum ordinis*. Also, Erich Leitenberger reports on the archive of Cardinal Franz König of Vienna, whom Karl Rahner assisted as *peritus* and who gave decisive backing, amid obstacles, to the Declaration *Nostra aetate*. Further information on Latin American “protagonists” comes in Manuelita Nuñez’s account of Bishop Marcos McGrath, C.S.C., of Panama, both in his conciliar actions, especially in promoting what became *Gaudium et spes*, and his post-conciliar leadership in Latin American conciliar implementation. Further accounts of the limited Council presence of the Church behind the Iron Curtain are in the paper of Emilia Hrabovek and Viliam Judák on Eduard Nécsey, titular Archbishop and Administrator of Nitra in Slovakia, and in the account by Oleh Turiy of the Ukrainian Major Archbishop Yousif Slipyj, who arrived in 1963 from eighteen years of Soviet imprisonment to give his witness at Vatican II. Another vital locale of Catholic life, the Oriental Churches of India, appears in Francis A. Thonippara’s paper on the 1963 intervention of Sebastian Valloppilly, Bishop of the Syro-Malabar diocese of Tellicherry, who argued during Vatican II’s second period on behalf of admitting distinct Episcopal jurisdictions, even in the same territory, based on adherence to different rites, as is now practiced in the Syro-Malabar Exempt Eparchies in India and beyond in the English-speaking world.

Surprisingly, one paper given fifty years after Vatican II’s conclusion treats a daily dimension of the Council’s life heretofore little studied by the Council’s historians. This is the lengthy account of daily and festive corporate worship during Council sessions, by Maria Teresa Fattori, who researched the records of the Council’s Ceremonial Commission, with its published guides for participants in some of the liturgies, while relating numerous scattered reactions to the planned events, as noted in diaries of Council members. At times liturgical innovations came from suggestions of Vatican II Fathers acting as “protagonists.” An intriguing reciprocity developed between the liturgical celebrations and the Council’s developing impact on the wider Church, accompanied by a combination of holding to older traditions, as in masses of beatifications and proclamations of indulgences, along with the introduction of renewal, as with the arrival of concelebrated masses and the regular diversity of language, demonstrated early on by the varied, always reverent, Oriental Church celebrations.

The conclusion of the 2015 congress included a round-table discussion of Vatican II from the four varied perspectives of the retired Curial Cardinal, Paul

Poupard, who had headed the Pontifical Council relating to non-believers and to culture, of the lay historian and editor of this volume, Philippe Chenaux, of Archbishop Sir David Moxon, Director of the Anglican Center in Rome, and of Reverend Aleksei Dikarev, Delegate of the Department of Foreign Church Relations of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Moscow. Selecting from much more, we find notable in these papers how Vatican II extended the trail-blazing encyclicals of Pope Pius XII, *Divino afflante Spiritu* on biblical studies and *Mediator Dei* on liturgical worship (Poupard), an understanding of Vatican II as proposing a Christian humanism as alternative to the Enlightenment, while expressing an immense sympathy for humanity amid its pains (Chenaux), the importance for interpreting Vatican II of the delegated observers' post-conciliar publications, exemplified by the 1967 volume, *The Second Vatican Council: Studies by Eight Anglican Observers*, edited by Bernard C. Pawley (Moxon), and the remarkably changing evaluations of the Council expressed by the Russian Orthodox observers in their weekly reports to Moscow (Dikarev).

The historian Alberto Melloni spoke for an alternative Vatican II hermeneutic of epochal change, while mentioning early on the truism that every historical process involves coexisting continuities and discontinuities, in which the interpreter must avoid confounding what is insignificant with what is original and of major importance. Among insignificant topics of Vatican II study, Melloni lists the minority featured in the 2018 volume, while he attributes major significance to the fact that Vatican II said a decided "Farewell!" to the condemnations issued by the Popes Pius IX, Pius X, and Pius XII. But even when Vatican II acted in continuity with previous Church life and doctrine, what emerged was not simple repetition, but guidance marked by influences at Vatican II giving rise to important variants from what was previously normative. A sensitive historical interpretation of the Vatican II outcomes is moving beyond a simplistic pairing of continuity and discontinuity to grasp the Council's frequent oscillation between the two. Furthermore, today we are moving toward new discoveries foreseen by studies that will use a complete machine-readable file of the whole Vatican II documentation, combining both the preparatory *Acta et Documenta* and the *Acta Synodalia*. This will promote recovery of terms in the fullness of their Vatican II nuances, such as the adjective "pastoral," and of themes such as "poverty," i.e., that of Christ, of the apostle, and, most relevantly, of "the church of the Poor." Thus, historical study will truly promote openness to greater catholicity in a Church able to speak to the future with an equilibrium safeguarded by those serving in apostolic succession.

A final observation: although John O'Malley's paper stands near the beginning of the printed volume of 2015 papers, one should not conclude that many, or even a few, of their authors took account of his overarching contention, namely, that Vatican II was working out a synthesis of doctrine and pastoral concerns, featuring discourse combining instruction attractively expressed to encourage, pastorally, our living *in* Christ our Lord animated by the Holy Spirit.

## AMERICAN

*The Religious Formation of John Witherspoon: Calvinism, Evangelicalism, and the Scottish Enlightenment.* By Kevin DeYoung. (New York: Routledge, 2020. Pp. x, 222. \$136. ISBN: 978-0-367-35089-5.)

Among America's Founding Fathers, John Witherspoon is an enigma. The Scottish Presbyterian minister emigrated to America in 1768 to serve as the sixth president at Princeton, and in the process became a patriot and notably the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence. But because very few of Witherspoon's papers have survived, historians and religious scholars alike have had to speculate how a former loyal subject of the crown and theologically conservative minister metamorphosed into a revolutionary and leading proponent of Enlightenment moral philosophy. Kevin DeYoung tries to make sense of the apparent "sea change" in Witherspoon's thought during his time of transition from Scotland to America in five chapters that form the heart of this monograph.

Witherspoon began his career as a humble Scottish clergyman, serving the Kirk at two parishes near Glasgow before relocating to America. The Scottish firebrand developed a name for himself with his immensely popular *Ecclesiastical Characteristics* (1753). This satirical work, targeting the opposing Moderate Party within the Church of Scotland and their support of patronage and promotion of polite pulpit rhetoric at the expense of classic Reformed doctrines, ultimately led to an invitation to fill the vacant presidency at Princeton. In the first and third chapters, DeYoung adeptly explains Witherspoon's adherence to established Reformed doctrines, including the notion of original sin inherited from Adam through federal headship, the doctrine of divine election through predestination, and the need for grace through Christ's death and penal substitution.

DeYoung takes on a more challenging task in the second, fourth, and fifth chapters where he presents Witherspoon as an enlightened evangelical whose thought remained consistent even after he established residency in America. DeYoung very clearly demonstrates Witherspoon's affinity for traditional Reformed theology while living in Scotland, and how the Scot's use of reason made him amenable to certain aspects of Enlightenment thinking. But readers are left with circumstantial evidence for Witherspoon's support of the revivalism inherent in the burgeoning transatlantic evangelical movement of the eighteenth century. DeYoung is right to point out that Witherspoon associated with certain Scottish evangelicals, and that he lambasted the opposing theologically liberal Moderate Party within the Kirk, all the while criticizing the suspected heterodoxy of such Scottish Enlightenment luminaries as Lord Kames and David Hume. But Witherspoon's stance on the revivals of the First Great Awakening and Western Scotland during the 1740s is curiously absent from any extant records. Muddying the waters further, one contemporary goes so far as to say that the American patriot opposed a later revival that took place at Princeton under his watch as president. In the end, it seems only fair to say that Witherspoon was simply a confessional, orthodox Presbyterian minister.

Even more difficult is the herculean task of arguing for continuity and consistency in Witherspoon's thought when he transitioned from his pastoral ministry in Scotland to his presidency at Princeton. DeYoung pushes back against the scholarship of Mark Noll and other historians who suggest that Witherspoon moved away from the traditional Calvinism of his Scottish context in order to champion Enlightened moral philosophy and Scottish Common Sense Realism in particular once he unpacked his bags in America. DeYoung reminds his readers of the obvious different role that Witherspoon had as a college president in America by comparison to his work as a pastor in Scotland. But whether these occupational differences account for the apparent discrepancies in his thought continues to be up for debate.

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JONATHAN YEAGER

*Teaching in Black and White: The Sisters of St. Joseph in the American South.* By Barbara E. Mattick (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2022. Pp. 246. \$34.95. ISBN: 978-0-8132-3608-7.)

In *Teaching in Black and White: The Sisters of St. Joseph in the American South*, Barbara E. Mattick provides a comprehensive view of the ministries of the Sisters of St. Joseph to African Americans and whites just after the American Civil War through the turn of the twentieth century. She documents how these sisters, who came to Florida in 1866 from LePuy, France, arrived in time to be among the first Catholics to directly engage in ministry to the newly freed African Americans in Florida and Georgia. Within a few months of their arrival in a country whose primary language and various cultures they did not know, these women were already teaching Black boys in St. Augustine, Florida. By 1867, they extended their teaching ministries to Black children and adults in Savannah, Georgia. Soon the Sisters of St. Joseph began offering educational opportunities to whites, too. Ironically, by the turn of the twentieth century, the Sisters of St. Joseph would have a much greater teaching ministry among whites than they would among African Americans.

Mattick makes good use of archival and secondary sources to show how and why they were invited to do this important work that helped lay a new foundation for formerly enslaved Blacks. They taught the fundamentals—reading, writing, and arithmetic—as well as provided religious instruction in the Roman Catholic faith. In letters they sent home to France, Mattick shows how on one hand, some of the sisters adopted the anti-Black sentiments typical of many white Americans of the time, while on the other hand, the letters reveal the sincere admiration and respect the sisters had for African American spirituality and the sense of community that Black Americans demonstrated.

Among several intriguing aspects of Mattick's study is her assertion that the Sisters of St. Joseph engaged in a competition with Protestant missionaries for the "salvation" of the souls of Blacks. The greatest advantage the sisters had was that though they were "foreign," they were not "Northern." This made them more acceptable and less threatening than the Blacks and whites who were agents of the

American Missionary Association. Another advantage they had was that St. Augustine, Florida was a Catholic stronghold with a significant Black Catholic community in a state that by the later nineteenth century was predominantly Protestant. Working against them in this battle for souls was their lack of fluency in English and the predominance of white and Black Protestant denominations and churches throughout both Florida and Georgia. Nevertheless, Mattick argues that these religious rivals did share a sincere desire to evangelize Blacks and to help them develop skills they needed to live well as free people. In the opinion of this reviewer, this is Mattick's most significant contribution. Here she demonstrates how important it is to understand how Catholic and Protestant histories meet in relation to African Americans in the U.S. context as well as how enmeshed U.S. Catholic and African American religious histories are. Mattick offers a salient example of how we might begin to take on this necessary work.

*Teaching in Black and White: The Sisters of the St. Joseph in the American South* has much to offer to generalists and specialists alike who are interested in missionary history, educational history, the history of women religious, African American religious history, and Florida and Georgia history.

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CECILIA A. MOORE

## LATIN AMERICAN

*Gamboa's World: Justice, Silver Mining, and Imperial Reform in New Spain.* By Christopher Albi. (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2021. Pp. 256. \$29.95. ISBN: 978-0-826-36295-7.)

Christopher Albi has written a fine biography of the preeminent jurist of eighteenth-century Mexico, Francisco Xavier de Gamboa. Born in Guadalajara in 1717, this *criollo* of Basque heritage made the most of his racial, ethnic, and gender privilege to enjoy a successful career first as a lawyer, then as a magistrate in New Spain's capital of Mexico City. Though illustrious, his career was often fraught with controversy. The author believes Gamboa to be the perfect vehicle for examining the tensions between metropolis and colony that increased markedly from the 1760s through the 1780s, the period of the so-called Bourbon Reforms.

Albi's approach to his subject is chronological, with each chapter highlighting a major phase of Gamboa's life as a jurist. First, however, the author provides an invaluable introduction in which he lays out clearly the fundamental attributes of *derecho indiano*, the law that held sway in the Spanish colonial world. This was a system that drew not only from royal legislation, but also from Christian concepts of distributive justice, from European *ius commune*, and from local custom. Therefore, *derecho indiano* called for judges to consider all these elements in order to achieve justice, the ultimate goal. Equally illuminating is the author's discussion of the importance of jurisdiction. The legal system consisted of multiple jurisdictions, each with its own tribunals and judges that often competed with one another and

served not only as a system of checks and balances among institutions but also to limit the absolute power of the crown. Modern writers, including historians, have often failed to appreciate the multi-layered, often negotiated, and inherently flexible nature of *derecho indiano* that Albi describes so well.

While the introduction provides the bedrock for the recurrent themes that run through this biography, the author goes beyond simply examining the juridical dimensions of Gamboa's career. Efficiently and economically, Albi contextualizes the various settings in which Gamboa's life unfolded, which form the bases of each chapter—the elite educational institutions where Gamboa studied, his experiences as a young lawyer in Mexico City, the nature of the Basque diaspora that facilitated access to power, Gamboa's stint in Madrid, the proposed reforms to the mining industry of New Spain, and imperial politics at the highest levels.

Francisco Xavier de Gamboa spent nine years in Madrid furthering his career and returned to his homeland in 1764 with an appointment to the Audiencia of Mexico. Henceforth he figured as a vociferous opponent of reforms imposed from outside and an energetic advocate for the jurisdictional primacy of the audiencia and the idea of custom over decree in matters dealing with local affairs. His main antagonist now was none other than José de Gálvez, visitor general to New Spain and, later, Minister of the Indies. With no prior colonial experience and utter disdain for the locals, Gálvez embarked on a campaign of “reform” with a heavy hand, trampling at will on juridical ways embedded in local custom and practice. Gamboa's stubborn resistance to these reforms proved costly. Accused unjustly of disloyalty to the crown, Gamboa was exiled to Spain and, later, assigned to the less prestigious Audiencia of Santo Domingo. In 1788 he returned to New Spain as Regent of the Audiencia of Mexico, where he continued until his death in 1794 to be a combative (at times, cranky) defender of the old order.

*Gamboa's World* offers a valuable perspective on the political and juridical ideas so hotly contested in eighteenth-century Mexico. It also sheds light on the underlying assumptions and the make-up of Spanish colonial law, which had long been an effective tool of Spanish rule. Jargon-free and clearly written, this book will prove useful to specialists and novices alike.

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CHARLES CUTTER

## AFRICAN

*Catholicism and the Making of Politics in Central Mozambique 1940–1986*. By Eric Morier-Genoud. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2019. Pp. xviii, 246. \$85.00. ISBN 978-1-787-44473-7.)

This is a remarkable and original study of Mozambique during the transition from colonial rule to independence. There have been many books on this topic that have followed, to a greater or lesser extent, the same broad analysis, though there has



recently been a marked shift away from the neat narrative propagated by Frelimo to a greater focus on the diversity among the early nationalists, their rivalries, and the deep divisions that were later to tear the country apart in a ten-year civil war.

While dealing with the same chronological period, Eric Morier-Genoud's book is wholly different. It is a book about the Catholic church in Central Mozambique and how it evolved during the period of the rise of nationalism and the early years of independence. If it does nothing else, this book reminds students of history that, when examining key historical events, it pays to view them from radically different angles.

This book is not just about Mozambique, however. In fact, although the location of what it describes is Mozambique, in fact it is really a study of the modern Catholic Church itself.

The author has important things to say about the nature of the twentieth-century church. He dismisses the idea that the church is monolithic and hierarchical, as it may appear to non-Catholics. After reading this book it is impossible any longer to think of the church as having one political orientation or one set of values. Nor does it speak with one voice: "tensions are . . . a structural feature of the Roman Catholic Church" (161). The author's focus is on the uneasy, and sometimes even dysfunctional, relations between the religious congregations with their own separate organizations and relations with the Vatican, and the diocese, which provides the framework for the Catholic laity: "Neither a purely top-down nor a wholly bottom-up analysis captures and manages to make sense of the internal diversity of the church." This is because the church has always "institutionalized diversity within religious congregations" (170).

To illustrate his ideas about the nature of the Catholic church, Morier-Genoud takes the example of the diocese of Beira where he has had access to a wide range of diocesan papers, the reports of the secret police (PIDE), and the papers of the bishop, Dom Sebastião Soares de Resende, who emerges as the hero of this story. As a result, this book is impressively supported by archival research. The story begins with the appointment of Bishop Resende to the diocese in 1943, a position he held until his death in 1967. On arrival he found an almost total absence of any organized missionary activity and, in order to remedy this situation, approached a wide range of male and female religious and missionary congregations, both Portuguese and non-Portuguese. He had considerable success, and eventually eighteen different congregations were working in the Beira diocese, while the number of converts grew impressively.

Morier-Genoud shows how the approaches of the various congregations to their work was radically different—in particular contrasting the White Fathers and the Franciscans, the one seeking to convert individuals through a prolonged period of teaching, while the latter looked for a more communal approach focused on observance and practice.



As the Portuguese regime entered what we now know was the “end game” of colonialism, these differences between the congregations were reflected in their attitude to the politics of the day. As the close alliance of state and church began to break down, some of the missionaries broke ranks and tried to protest against the violence of the regime. Gradually the prospect of nationalism and independence divided them still further, the non-Portuguese missionaries increasingly showing their sympathies for the African cause. Resende’s struggle to hold the diocese together is spelled out in detail, and after the bishop died in 1967, the failures of his successors became every more obvious. Meanwhile the missionary organization of the diocese began to disintegrate as the state expelled missionaries who were considered unreliable, and first the White Fathers and then the so-called “Picpus” Fathers unilaterally withdrew from Mozambique. At the same time, one of the first African priests to have been produced by the diocesan seminaries, Father Gwenjere, left to become a prominent figure in the early history of Frelimo.

The last part of the book looks at the post-independence period and assesses the extent to which the church was “decolonized.” The author emphasizes that independence is not a clean break in the Church’s story. Important changes had already been taking place since at least the 1960s. His description of the government measures taken against organized religion graphically recalls the extent to which, after independence, Frelimo declared cultural war on its own people and drove them into the arms of the Renamo guerrillas.

It is always tempting for a reviewer to suggest that the author should have devoted more attention to this or that topic, so it is worth emphasizing that this book is firmly focused on Central Mozambique and the dioceses of Beira and Tete. The peculiar character of these two dioceses is summed up at the end: “While Beira was the dissident voice in the colonial church in Mozambique, after independence its bishop became the vanguard of a new institutional model” (176). Even so, Morier-Genoud frequently refers to the church in Mozambique as a whole, although there is very little about what was happening in dioceses other than Beira and Tete—in the areas of Islamic influence, for example.

In summary, this is a book that can be strongly recommended.

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MALYN NEWITT

*Contesting Catholics: Benedicto Kiwanuka and the Birth of Postcolonial Uganda.* By Jonathan L. Earle and Jay J. Carney. (Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2021. Pp. xxii, 242. ISBN 978-1-84701-240-1.)

As Uganda approached independence from British colonial rule in the 1950s, the Catholic Church had become, numerically, the largest religious community in Uganda. The transition to democratic politics offered hope that Catholics would be able to overcome their historic discrimination in the face of a Protestant (Anglican) establishment, which during colonial rule had dominated the political life of the country. The leader of the Democratic Party was Benedicto Kiwanuka, a Catholic

from Buddu in Buganda (the largest and most populous kingdom in Uganda). Kiwanuka's Democratic Party (DP) hoped to transcend ethnic and religious divisions by advocating a socially liberal polity for the new nation, along the lines of Social Democratic parties in Europe, and in contrast to their main rival, the Uganda People's Congress, which seemed to be dominated by the existing Protestant elites, and to be leaning towards Communism. Despite Kiwanuka's intentions, DP became identified, in the popular imagination, as a predominantly Catholic party (nicknamed "Dini ya Papa," the religion of the Pope). Earle and Carney's thoroughly researched and detailed narrative convincingly shows that the political geography of Uganda is much more complex. Simplistic ethnic and denominational categories simply do not do justice to the situation.

DP was at first seen outside Buganda as an expression of an exclusively Ganda nationalism in Teso (in eastern Uganda); this meant that Catholic intellectuals such as Cuthbert Obwangor became early supporters of UPC. In contrast, in the kingdom of Ankole, DP was seen as anti-monarchist. A coalition between the Protestant elite and the Catholic peasantry led to a DP victory in the elections of the early 1960s. In Buganda itself, the charge of "republicanism" alienated many Catholics, who voted in large numbers for the royalist party, Kabaka Yekka.

In the first election, Kiwanuka, with the support from the strongly Catholic Acholi province, was able to win a majority and briefly became prime minister. But he was subsequently outmaneuvered by an alliance between Milton Obote's UPC and Kabaka Yekka. In opposition, Kiwanuka was a valiant defender of human rights. He was imprisoned by Obote, only to be released when the military dictator Idi Amin came to power in 1971. Amin appointed Kiwanuka as Attorney General, but his stout defense of the independence of the judiciary soon alienated Amin, and in 1972 Kiwanuka was arrested, tortured and murdered. There has been a move by the Catholic Church for him to be canonized as a martyr for truth and justice, but the complexity of Ugandan politics has made this problematic (the same can be said of another Ugandan martyr, the Anglican Archbishop, Janani Luwum, whose legacy is also disputed within Uganda).

Earle and Carney's excellent book utilizes previously neglected original material and is an important contribution to a more nuanced understanding Uganda's social, religious and political life between 1950 and 1972.

*Leeds University, UK*

KEVIN WARD

## Notes and Comments

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### ASSOCIATION NEWS

The program for the annual meeting to be held in San Francisco's Hilton San Francisco, Union Square, on January 4 to 6, 2024 has been posted on the website: <https://aha.confex.com/aha/2024/meetingapp.cgi/Symposium/3435>. Registration for the meeting closes on December 17, 2023, involves a \$25.00 registration fee, and can be done on the website: <https://achahistory.org/sanfrancisco2024>.

The Association's newly elected officers are: Mary Dunn of Saint Louis University as vice president, and Kate Feighery of the Archives of the Archdiocese of New York and Thomas Worcester, S.J., of Fordham University as members of the Executive Committee.

### CAUSE OF SAINTS

On June 22, 2023 Pope Francis gave official recognition to the heroic virtue of Mother Mary Elizabeth Lange and declared her a venerable. An immigrant from Cuba, she opened in her home the St. Frances Academy to offer free education to Baltimore's African American children. With support from Archbishop James Whitfield of Baltimore she founded a school for Black girls. She also founded in Baltimore in 1829 the first African American religious congregation called the Oblate Sisters of Providence (of which she was the superior general) to carry on this work and other ministries. She died in 1882 at the age of 92 or 93.

Pope Francis on this occasion also declared venerable Sister Lúcia de Jesus Rosa dos Santos, OCD, (1907–2005), the eldest child to witness the Fatima apparitions. Others declared venerable were: Brazilian Archbishop Antônio de Almeida Lustosa (1886–1974), a Salesian known for giving wise spiritual direction, writing children's books, and providing pastoral care in the four dioceses in which he served as bishop; Italian Franciscan Father Antonio Pagani (1526–1589), a canonist and theologian, *peritus* at the Council of Trent, founder of the Company of the Brothers of the Cross and the Company of Dimesse, famed for his holiness; and Italian Sister Anna Cantalupo (1888–1983), of the Company of the Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul, who worked among the poor in Catania, Sicily.

The pope also approved the martyrdom of Manuel González-Serna Rodríguez (1880–1936), a priest of the diocese of Sevilla, and nineteen companions killed during the Spanish Civil War in 1936.

## CONFERENCES

On September 6, 2023, as part of its Seminarzyklus “Euro-Mediterranean Entanglements in Medieval History,” organized by the Deutschen Historischen Instituten in Paris und Rome, Beatrice Blümer, of the University of Kassel, gave an online presentation on the theme “Processes of a Mediterranean Exchange. The *Liber insularum Archipelagi* and its Humanistic Circulation.” It investigated the geopolitical and religious context of the Aegean, from Crete to Constantinople, between 1420 and 1650, using the manuscripts of Cristoforo Buondelmonti and others of the Italian humanist circle.

On September 28, 2023 the Pontifical Gregorian University held a symposium titled “Ripensare la Restaurazione: Bilanci e prospettive del pontificato di Leone XII nel bicentenario dell’elezione (1823–2023).” Among the speakers were: Rémy Hême de Lacotte, “Spirituel d’abord ? Léon XII, ambitions et limites d’un réformateur religieux,” Stefano Tabacchi, “Il governo dello Stato. Leone XII alla prova del tempo,” Pierangelo Gentile, “Da Roma verso il mondo. La diplomazia globale di papa della Genga al tempo delle rivoluzioni,” Giovanna Capitelli, “Istituzioni, protagonisti, cantieri nel sistema delle arti,” and Christopher Korten “Two Popes, One Vision: The Guiding Influence of Leo XII on Gregory XVI.”

On November 22 to 24, 2023 the Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche in collaboration with the Dicastero per la Dottrina della Fede and l’Istituto Storico Italiano per l’età moderna e contemporanea sponsored an international symposium on “L’Inquisizione romana: Nuove ricerche, nuove prospettive” held at the Istituto Centrale per i Beni Sonori ed Audiovisivi, Via Michelangelo Caetani 32 in Rome. In the morning of November 22, after welcoming remarks, Adriano Prospero spoke on “L’inquisizione Romana: bilanci e prospettive” followed by Agostino Borromeo on the theme “Papato e repressione dell’eresia: istituzione, competenze e prima organizzazione della Congregazione dell’Inquisizione da Paolo III a Pio V (1542–1572).” Other speakers included Vincenzo Lavenia, “Percorsi della miscredenza alla fine del Cinquecento: un processo e i suoi corollari,” Pierroberto Scaramella, “Inquisizione e società nel Vicereame napoletano nella prima età moderna: uno sguardo d’insieme attraverso la corrispondenza tra le diocesi meridionali ed il tribunale romano del Sant’Uffizio (XVI–XVII sec.),” and Giorgio Caravale, “L’ombra lunga di Lutero. Censura libraria e categorie controversistiche in età moderna.” In the afternoon the speakers were: Ugo Baldini, “L’impatto sulla storia delle scienze; precisazione e modifica di antichi percorsi, apertura di nuovi,” Giuliano Gasparri, “Gli studi di Marta Fattori su censura e filosofia moderna. Acquisizioni e prospettive di ricerca,” Hannah Marcus, “Le licenze di leggere Copernico dopo la proibizione del 1616,” S.E.R. Mons. Sergio Pagano, “Il ‘Galileo’ di Pio Paschini: nuove ricerche,” Michaela Valente, “Da malfefici a presunti sortilegi tra XVII e XVIII secolo: primi appunti alle streghe,” and Jean-Robert Armogathe, “Lettres Un iter inquisitoriale tormentato : la causa incompiuta di Maria de Ágreda (1602–1665).”

On Thursday November 23 the speakers were: Antal Molnár, “Il Sant’Uffizio nell’Europa centrale e nei Balcani durante il XVII secolo,” Benedetto Ligorio, “Acculturazione e cripto-ebraismo nell’aristocrazia portoghese. L’inquisizione romana e i nobili Vaez in Puglia nel XVII secolo,” Paolo Aranha, “L’Inquisizione Romana e l’Asia nella prima età moderna,” Albert Warso, “La Polonia nel periodo del comunismo fino al 1958 alla luce dell’Archivio del Sant’Uffizio,” Gabriella Zarri, “Affettata santità’. Da colpa morale a definizione ereticale. Studi e ricerche,” Kim Siebenhüner, “Il delitto di bigamia riesaminato. Prospettive attuali della ricerca sull’Inquisizione,” Guido dall’Olio, “Abusus Psalmorum: i Salmi come maledizioni nei documenti dell’Archivio del Dicastero per la Dottrina della Fede (1670–1726),” Antón M. Pazos, “Politica e censura pontificia: la polemica su ‘El liberalismo es pecado’ di Félix Sardá (1884),” Augustin Laffay, O.P., “Sabine Schratz, O.P., Institutum Historicum Ordinis Praedicatorum Domenicani al servizio dell’Sant’Uffizio da Pio X a Pio XII. Verso uno studio della Roma domenicana,” Sebastian Terráneo, “Il processo per il delitto di abuso sessuale di minori presso il Sant’Uffizio (1922–1958),” Manuela Barbolla, “Grazia e giustizia nella prassi del Sant’Uffizio nella prima metà del ‘900: la remissione della scomunica ‘specialissimo modo reservata’,” Jean-Louis Quantin, “‘Odium theologicum’: Louis Billot contro Mons. Duchesne (1910–1912),” and Michel Perrin, “Censure ai libri di Ernesto Buonaiuti: studio di alcuni procedimenti.”

On Friday Novembe 24, the speakers were: Saretta Marotta, “Il Sant’Uffizio davanti alla crescita del movimento ecumenico internazionale,” Matthias Daufratshofer, “Come nasce una definizione infallibile. Pio XII e la proclamazione del dogma dell’Assunzione di Maria in Cielo (1950),” Patrick Descourtieux, “La preparazione del mancato Concilio ecumenico del 1951, secondo l’Archivio del Sant’Uffizio,” Matteo Al Kalak and Silvia Toppetta, “Dall’apertura alla fruizione digitale: un progetto di digital library per l’Archivio del Dicastero della Dottrina della Fede,” and Agostino Borromeo, “Osservazioni conclusive.”

## FELLOWSHIPS

The Cushwa Center at the Univeristy of Notre Dame is offering research grants and awards with an application deadline of December 31, 2023. They include: Research Travel Grants for archival research at Notre Dame; D’Agostino Grants for research in Rome; the Cyprian Davis Prize for work on the Black Catholic experience; Guerin Grants for research centering on Catholic women; and Hibernian Awards for Irish and Irish American history. For more information, please contact: [cushwa@nd.edu](mailto:cushwa@nd.edu).

The Newberry Library of Chicago is sponsoring a seminar led by Lia Markey (Newberry Library) for graduate students that will examine the early seventeenth-century inventory of the Altemps palace in Rome that belonged to Cardinal Marco Sittico Altemps, nephew of Pope Pius IV. The seminar, to be held on Thursdays, March 28–May 30, 2024, will seek to determine the attitudes of its collectors, the consumption and use of books and other household goods, and the function of

palace design. The seminar is free and open to all graduate students, faculty, and postdoctoral scholars.

## PUBLICATIONS

A special issue of *Quærens: Journal of Theology and Pastoral Life*, 17, nos. 1–2 (Jan.–Dec., 2022), is dedicated to a commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the First General Chapter of the Congregation of the Augustinian Recollects of the Philippines, and is titled “Amor Difussivus III: Historical Studies and Translations.” This special issue contains in Section I: “Historical Studies and Translations by Various Authors,” the following articles: “The Augustinian Recollects in the 17th Century and the Martyrs in Japan,” by Ángel Martínez Cuesta, O.A.R., (1–39); “The Augustinian Recollects in the Philippines in the 18th century: Triumphs and Travails,” by Ángel Martínez Cuesta, O.A.R. (40–73); “The Augustinian Recollects in the 18th Century: Religious Identity and Conflicts,” by Ángel Martínez Cuesta, O.A.R. (74–106); “The Augustinian Recollects in the 18th Century: Pastoral Work,” by Ángel Martínez Cuesta, O.A.R. (107–33); “The Augustinian Recollects in the 19th Century: Turbulence and Expansion,” by Ángel Martínez Cuesta, O.A.R. (134–50); “The Augustinian recollects in the 20th Century: Autonomy, Growth and Stability,” by Rene F. Paglinawan, O.A.R. (151–69); “A Short History of the Church in Caraga Antigua,” by Ángel Martínez Cuesta, O.A.R. (170–84), “Augustinian recollect Parishes in Cebu and Camotes Islands,” by Licinio Ruiz, O.A.R. (185–215); “The Augustinian Recollects’ Role in Quelling the Dagohoy Revolt (1827–1829),” by Manuel Carceller, O.A.R. (216–28); “The Cession of the Recollect Curacies in Mindanao to the Jesuits (1859–1863),” by Manuel Carceller, O.A.R. (229–64); “Augustinian Recollect History of Siquijor (1794–1898),” by Ángel Martínez Cuesta, O.A.R. (265–72); “The Augustinian Recollects and the Philippine Revolution in Cavite,” by Ángel Martínez Cuesta, O.A.R. (273–82); “Historical Account of My Arrest and Incarceration in 1898,” by Blessed José Rada (283–87); “Life and Martyrdom of Blessed José Rada (1861–1936),” by Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos (288–94); “The Augustinian Recollects of Cebu during the Philippine Revolution in 1898,” by José Luis Sáenz Ruiz-Olalde, O.A.R. (295–300); “An Unpublished Letter of Saint Ezekiel Unveils a Model Friar,” by Pablo Panedas, O.A.R. (301–11); “The Philippine Revolution and the Last Years of Fr. Fernando Cuenca in Talisay,” by Santiago José Martínez Lázaro (312–20); “Our Lady of Mount Carmel Venerated at San Sebastian Basilica,” by Blessed Vicente Soler (321–26); “Recollect War and Postwar Chronicles of Manila, San Juan (Batangas) and Cebu,” by Manuel Carceller, O.A.R. (327–338); “Apostolate during World War II in San Carlos, Negros Occidental,” by Gregorio Espiga, O.A.R. (339–50).

Section II: “Historical Studies by Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos,” contains the following articles: “History of Guindulman, Bohol (1788–1940) in Augustinian Recollect Anals and Other Sources,” by Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos (353–69); “How the Philippines Saved the Augustinian Recollects from Extinction: Church Confiscation Decrees (1835–1937) of Spanish Minister Juan Álvarez Mendizábal,”

by Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos (370–86); “Jesuits and the Augustinian Recollects in Mindanao in the 19th Century,” by Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos (387–95); “

Luis A. Romanillos (396–408); “The Parish Ministry of Blessed León Inchausti in Bohol and Romblon (1885–1897),” by Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos (409–18);

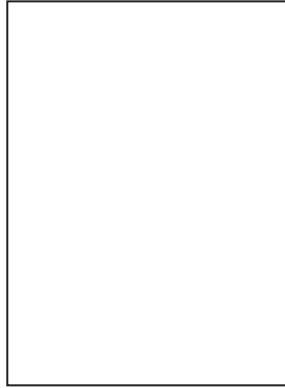
“University of San Jose–Recoletos: Towards another 75 Years (1947–2022),” by Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos (419–25); “A History of Santo Tomas de Vil-

lanueva-Recoletos Formation Center: Seeds of Vocation to the Recollect Religious Life and Priesthood,” by Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos (426–64); “Notes for Biyaheng Recoletos 400/ Saint Ezekiel Moreno Pilgrimage-Caravan (1 May–9 June 2006),” by Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos (465–76); “

Recollect Markers and Saint Ezekiel Promotion Campaigns,” by Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos (477–93); “Errors and Omissions in the History of the Augustinian Recollects in the Philippines,” by Emmanuel Luis A. Romanillos (494–542).

## Obituary

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### **The Reverend Martin Zielinski (1952–2023)**

The Reverend Martin Zielinski, a priest of the Archdiocese of Chicago and a retired professor in the Department of Church History at the University of St. Mary of the Lake/Mundelein Seminary in Mundelein, passed away Sunday, June 25, 2023; he was 71. Born on April 4, 1952, Zielinski grew up in Chicago's south side and attended Infant Jesus of Prague Catholic grade school in Flossmoor, Illinois. After his graduation, he entered the Chicago seminary system, first attending Quigley Preparatory Seminary, in Chicago, then continuing with Niles College Seminary, in Niles, Illinois, and finally finishing at the University of St. Mary of the Lake/Mundelein Seminary, Chicago's major seminary. On May 10, 1978, Cardinal John Cody ordained Zielinski to the priesthood. Recognizing his talents as a student and a scholar, Cody asked Zielinski to pursue a doctoral degree in American Church History at Catholic University of America. Mgr. Trisco directed his dissertation "Doing the truth': the Catholic Interracial Council of New York, 1945–1965," and Zielinski defended it successfully in 1989, and was awarded a PhD in American Church History.

In the same year, he was assigned to Mundelein Seminary as an associate professor of Church History; Zielinski spent more than 30 years at the University of St. Mary of the Lake/Mundelein Seminary where he taught history of the Church. He taught nearly every period of the Church, but specialized in American Church history. His passion for the stories of the Church made him a sought-after professor. As his former student, I will always remember his emotion as he narrated the circumstances of the Marian apparition of Lourdes. He explained that St. Berna-



dette Soubirous, a small, poor peasant girl, revealed that Mary told her that she was the “Immaculate Conception;” a dogma that priest and prelates happened to be debating in Rome at the time. Bernadette’s testimony confirmed the dogma, which Pius IX later ratified. Zielinski voice’s shook when he explained that a “small, poor, peasant” confirmed the theological debate.

Zielinski published many articles in the *U.S. Catholic Historian*, the *Encyclopedia of American Catholic History* and the journal *Chicago Studies*. Recently, he made a special contribution to American Church History, a transcription and annotation of the diary of Bishop William Quarter, the first bishop of Chicago, 1844–48. Born in Ireland in Killurin, King’s County, in 1806, Quarter as a young man listened to the stories of an Irish missionary to the United States, who narrated how early American Catholics were deprived of the Eucharist and the other sacraments on account of a lack of priests. Moved by these tales, the young Quarter resolved to serve as a missionary in North America. Having received permission and a blessing from his bishop, Bishop James Warren Doyle, Quarter boarded a ship for the New World and crossed the Atlantic in 1822. Eventually, he was ordained to the priesthood in New York in 1829 and served first as a vicar and then as a pastor of St. Mary’s Church in the heart of New York, at that time. In 1843, Pope Gregory XVI appointed Quarter as the first Bishop of the diocese of Chicago. From 1843 until his death in 1848, Quarter logged a diary of his experience as a bishop and of his travels. Concerning the entries, Zielinski said, “He had some interesting observations. . . . He talks about being down in the southwest part of the state and how flooded everything is. There was a huge flood of the Mississippi that year, and he was seeing the effects of it. You wish he had taken the time to expand some of his entries, maybe a little more description of the Catholic communities he visited. . . . That could have been just tiredness. He might have had more to say if he felt stronger.” This diary will serve as important contribution to the field of American Church History.

At the end of his life, Zielinski contributed the Church’s liturgical life as well. Having attended many ordinations and prayed the litany of the saints during them, he realized that the American saints were often absent from the popular liturgical litanies. In response to this, Zielinski wrote a litany of American saints, and Lee James Noren composed the music to accompany the litany, which reflects the tones and rhythms of American music. Under the direction of Linda Cerabona, Mundelein Seminary’s music director, the Mundelein Seminary choir recorded the litany in February of 2023. Hopefully, future *ordinandi* will pray this litany as they lie prostrate waiting for the imposition of hands.

Fr. Zielinski is, of course, greatly missed by family, friends, parishioners, and his students. He left, however, an important legacy: his Christian faith. His faith was present in the way he taught, in the way he spoke, and in the way he prayed. He formed and inspired generations of priests who have and will continue the great mission of the American Church. May Fr. Martin Zielinski rest in peace.

## Periodical Literature

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### GENERAL

- Catalogues de manuscrits latins. Inventaire hagiographique (trente-neuvième série). François Dolbeau. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 141 (1, 2023), 161–64.
- Childbirth and Emerging Missionary Information: Networks in Britain and the South Pacific. Kate Tilson. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 74 (2, 2023), 305–24.

### ANCIENT

- Dai presbiteri d'Asia agli episcopi di Roma secondo Ireneo di Lione—Parte I. Enrico Norelli. *Augustinianum*, 63 (June, 2023), 9–45.
- La consacrazione di Novaziano in una notizia di Eulogio di Alessandria trasmessa da Fozio (Phot., codd. 182, 280). Rocco Ronzani. *Augustinianum*, 63 (June, 2023), 269–82.
- La Madre di Cristo nelle opere dei Padri aquileiesi. Giuseppe Peressotti. *Augustinianum*, 63 (June, 2023), 109–29.
- Il discernimento spirituale nelle Lettere di Antonio Abbate. Peter Dufka, S.J. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 88 (2, 2022), 289–300.
- A Palimpsest with the Martyrdom of Proklos and Hilarios (*BHG* 2374) in Christian Palestinian Aramaic Translation from the Monastery Library of Saint Catherine (Sin. CPA NF Frg. 7, fol. 5/6). Christa Müller-Kessler. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 141 (June, 2023), 5–15.
- Lucifero di Cagliari e la sua Chiesa in Sardegna: isolamento volontario e scisma locale. Daniele Dessì. *Augustinianum*, 63 (June, 2023), 75–108.
- Visualità e drammatizzazione: reliquie e culto dei martiri in Giovanni Crisostomo. Chiara Spuntarelli. *Augustinianum*, 63 (June, 2023), 131–63.
- Laris exul et urbis*: il progetto politico di Paolino di Nola. Maria Carolina Campone. *Augustinianum*, 63 (June, 2023), 195–216.
- Foot Washing in the Church of Hippo: Augustine as an Interpreter of a Liturgical Practice. Thomas O'Loughlin. *Augustinianum*, 63 (June, 2023), 239–51.
- Infirmus loquor, infirmioribus loquor*: Efficacia retorica e progresso spirituale nei discorsi al popolo di Agostino. Americo Miranda. *Augustinianum*, 63 (June, 2023), 217–33.

The ecclesiological writings of Saint Jerome and their canonical impact. Szabolcs Anzelm Szuroimi, O.Praem. *Folia Theologica et Canonica*, 11, no. 33/25 (2022), 99–107.

Isidore of Pelusium on Providence, Fate and Divine Longanimity. Francesco Celia. *Augustinianum*, 63 (June, 2023), 165–94.

## MEDIEVAL

Saint Perpète de Dinant. À la lumière des données anthropobiologiques, archéométriques et écrites : évêque de Maastricht (fin du 6<sup>e</sup>-début du 7<sup>e</sup> siècle)? Guillaume Wymmersch and Caroline Polet. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 118 (1–2, 2023), 5–43.

The *Passio Erasmi* in Latin, Greek, and Slavonic Versions. Vadim B. Krysko. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 141 (June, 2023), 55–09.

L'Office de saint Barbaros le myroblyte. *Editio princeps*. Dimosthenis A. Kaklamanos. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 141 (June, 2023), 90–117.

L'épitomé des *Actes de Thomas* (BHG 1836e) et l'*Évergétinon*. À propos d'une contribution récente. Pietro D'Agostino. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 141 (June, 2023), 51–54.

Haïto, évêque et abbé à l'époque carolingienne. Une nouvelle approche. Christian Wilsdorf. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 118 (1–2, 2023), 190–256.

Le moi de l'hagiographe. La conscience d'auteur de Jean diacre de Naples vers 900. Thomas Granier. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 141 (June, 2023), 16–50.

La Fête de la Protection de la Vierge dans le rite byzantin. Aperçu historique. Olga Lossky-Laham. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 118 (1–2, 2023), 44–64.

Traduire le *De diligendo Deo* de Bernard de Clairvaux au Moyen Âge: Vernacularisation et vulgarisation. Marie-Pascale Halary. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 109 (Jan.–June, 2023), 13–34.

La colaboración de los presbíteros con el obispo durante el primer milenio según el *Decreto* de Graciano. Joaquín Sedano. *Folia Theologica et Canonica*, 11, no. 33/25 (2022), 181–201.

“Beyond,” “Above” or “Against” Nature? Early Scholastic Debates on the Status of Miracles. Lydia Schumacher. *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 116 (1–2, 2023), 3–34.

“Vulgariser” le méditation au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le *Tractatus de saporibus* de Robert de Sorbon. François Wallerich. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 109 (Jan.–June, 2023), 35–60.

Vulgariser un traité spirituel pseudo-bonaventurien: diffusion et mise en recueils des traductions françaises du *Stimulus amoris*. Géraldine Veyseyre. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 109 (Jan.–June, 2023), 75–103.

- Cupientes Subiectos Feliciter Gubernari*. Diocesan Administration in Southern Italy under the Angevin Rule: Structural Limits and Reforming initiatives. Antonio Antonetti. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 118 (1–2, 2023), 65–116.
- Prédication ou *ebatemens*? Les intentions de l'auteur du *Rosarius*. Marie-Laure Savoye. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 109 (Jan.–June, 2023), 61–74.
- Form and matter of the Eucharist in the Church of the East. John F. Romano. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 88 (2, 2022), 394–424.
- “De Iudeis”: References to Jews and Judaism in Thomas Ebendorfer's *Sentences* Commentary. Ioana Curuț. *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales*, 90 (1, 2023), 111–22.

## EARLY MODERN

- The Bohemian Chronicles of Eberhard Ablauß and Michael of Carinthia on the *Capitula generalissima* (1430–1517). Antonín Kalous. *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 116 (1–2, 2023), 143–246.
- Byzantine Requests for an Ecumenical Council in the Years after the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438/9). Dimitrios Th. Vachaviolos. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 88 (2, 2022), 503–16.
- Imprimerie et littérature hagiographique dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux (1473–1520). Renaud Adam. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 141 (June, 2023), 118–35.
- Ottmar Nachtgall, Jean de Vauzelles, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples: La double mise en vulgaire des *Evangelicae historiae* d'Ammonius (1523–1526). Elsa Kammerer. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 109 (Jan.–June, 2023), 105–27.
- Forgetfulness in the First English Reformation? Tithes Forgotten. David Fogg Postles. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 74 (2, 2023), 384–304.
- Medieval Inheritances; Papal History Writing, the Peace of Venice and the Reformation in Robert Barnes's *Lives of the Roman Pontiffs*. Griffin Ridley. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 118 (1–2, 2023), 117–44.
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- Vulgariser la controverse: La méthode “facile” de Françoise Véron contre les réformes (années 1610–années 1640). Julien Léonard. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 109 (Jan.–June, 2023), 129–43.
- La culture religieuse des laïques: La littérature chrétienne et les élites françaises du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Éric Suire. *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 109 (Jan.–June, 2023), 145–61.
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## MODERN

- Giovanni Fortunato Zamboni (1756–1850) and the Unpublished Manuscript of the *Riflessioni*. A Secret Plan to Re-Establish the *Societas Christiana*. Valfredo Maria Rossi. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 118 (1–2, 2023), 145–67.
- Un intellettuale al vertice dell'Ordine: il costo di una visione. Giuseppe Buffon. *Antonianum*, 98 (Apr., 2023), 189–208.
- Don de l'Église de France à l'Église de Pologne (1945). Michal Klakus. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 118 (1–2, 2023), 168–89.
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- El padre copto-ortodoxo Matta Al-Miskin: una aproximación introductoria a su vida, obra y teología. Ashraf N. I. Abdelmalak. *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, 98 (Jan.–Mar., 2023), 35–72.
- Intra-Christian Violence and the Problematisation of the World Christian Paradigm. Jason Bruner and David C. Kirkpatrick. *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 74 (2, 2023), 370–97.

## AMERICAN

- The Catholic Diocese of Lafayette and Desegregation, 1947–1972. Mark Newman. *Louisiana History*, 64 (2, 2023), 121–76.
- From Lithuania to Lorain, Ohio: Remembering my Grandfather, “The Sabbath-Observant Jew . . . Whose Name Is Memorialized in a Catholic Hospital.” Hollace Ava Weiner. *The American Jewish Archives Journal*, 74 (1–2, 2022), 51–73.

## ASIAN PACIFIC

- The Church of Todos los Santos in Kelang (Keelung, Taiwan). José Eugenio Borao Mateo. *Philippiniana Sacra*, 58 (Sept.–Dec., 2023), 515–25.
- “In this land all is death.” Don Diego Vázquez de Mercado, first secular archbishop of Manila (1608–16) and the Vacant See (1617–20). Alexandre Coello de la Rosa. *Philippiniana Sacra*, 58 (Sept.–Dec., 2023), 587–618.

## AFRICAN

- Abbés Noirs et Pères Blancs. Note sur l'abbé Alexis Kagame. Élisabeth Bruyère. *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 118 (1–2, 2023), 257–87.

## Other Books Received

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- Addington, Catherine, trans. *Saint Rafael Arnaiz: The Collected Works*. Ed. Sr. María Gonzalo-García, O.C.S.O. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2022. Pp. lviii, 730. \$79.95, paperback.)
- Ardura, Bernard and Armand Puig i Tàrrach, eds. *“Che Cos’è Stato il 1968? Una Lettura 50 Anni Dopo” Barcellona, 17–19 gennaio 2018: “¿Qué Fue el 1968? Una Lectura Medio Siglo Después” Barcelona, 17–19 enero 2018*. (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2020. Pp. xiv, 342. €25,00, hardcover.)
- Artman, Amy Collier. *The Miracle Lady: Kathryn Kuhlman and the Transformation of Charismatic Christianity*. Foreword by Kate Bowler. (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. 2019. Pp. 248. \$30.99, paperback.)
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