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Compiled by
Elizabeth Foxwell, M.A.

Abbreviations:
b.n.: brief notice
biog.: biography
men.: mentioned
obit.: obituary
rev.: review

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THE FEAST OF CORPUS CHRISTI IN MIKULOV, MORAVIA: STRATEGIES OF ROMAN CATHOLIC COUNTER-REFORM (1579–86)

BY

ADAM DARLAGE*

This essay approaches the Feast of Corpus Christi as a means of Roman Catholic identity-formation from the perspective of Roman Catholic priests who lived and worked in Mikulov (Nikolsburg), Moravia, between 1579 and 1586. Local overlord Adam von Dietrichstein brought a missionary Jesuit and parish priests to the estate to return it to the Roman rite. However, he was reluctant to take coercive action against the non-Catholics, especially the profitable communitarian Hutterite Anabaptists. By examining the founding charter of the Mikulov Corpus Christi Confraternity from 1584 and a Corpus Christi sermon from 1585, the author elucidates the priests' strategies to promote Roman devotion in Mikulov. These measures included the formation of a confraternity devoted to the Body of Christ and heavy reliance on Scripture as a source of legitimation for the traditional rituals and practices of the Roman Church, especially the veneration of the Host during the Feast of Corpus Christi.

Keywords: Erhard, Christoph; Feast of Corpus Christi; Hutterite Anabaptists; Mikulov; von Dietrichstein, Adam

No other ritual practice was more important for the formation of Roman Catholic identity in the aftermath of the Reformation than the

*Dr. Darlage is an instructor in the Department of Humanities and Philosophy at Oakton Community College in Des Plaines, IL.

Eucharist, especially as presented in the sermons and processions of the annual Feast of Corpus Christi. As Marvin O'Connell notes:

> the Eucharist embodied [Catholics'] values and priorities, it expressed their *Weltanschaung*. It also provided a simple rule of thumb: those who would not bend the knee during a Corpus Christi procession or who insisted on receiving communion under both species were easy to discern, to fear, and ultimately to hate.[1]

O'Connell's claim that the specifically Catholic aspects of Communion made it easy to distinguish who belonged to the old Church and who did not is not new to students of the Roman Catholic Church in the late-sixteenth century. Studies of the work done by Roman clergy during the Counter-Reformation have shown how local priests and bishops promoted piety among their parishioners through reception and veneration of the Eucharist *sub una specie*.[2] Miri Rubin has demonstrated that the ordering of the local elites in proximity to the Host during the Corpus Christi procession was a means to reinforce local power structures in both cities and villages, while Natalie Zemon Davis has shown how the Feast of Corpus Christi could be a catalyst for ritual or physical violence between Catholics and non-Catholics in areas of confessional pluralism.[3]

This essay approaches the Feast of Corpus Christi as a means of Catholic identity-formation from the perspective of two Roman Catholic priests who lived and worked in Mikulov (Nikolsburg), Moravia between 1579 and 1586.[4] These were the Jesuit missionary Michael Cardaneus[5] and Christoph Erhard, a secular priest from the

[1]Marvin O'Connell, *The Counter Reformation* (New York, 1974), pp. 122–23.

[2]See Philip Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria* (Berkeley, 1993), esp. pp. 80–90; Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York, 1991), esp. pp. 29–48; S. Amanda Eurich, "Religious Toleration and Confessional Identity: Catholics and Protestants in Seventeenth-Century Orange," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* (hereafter *ARG*), 97 (2006), 249–75, esp. 266–72.

[3]See Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (New York, 1991), pp. 243–71; Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays by Natalie Zemon Davis* (Stanford, 1975), pp. 152–87.

[4]The Czech place name Mikulov is used here rather than the German Nikolsburg; the latter is often used in older scholarship.

[5]Cardaneus (1540–91) studied rhetoric, philosophy, and theology at the Society's College in Prague. A member of the Jesuits since September 15, 1561, and an ordained priest since 1566, he worked in the Diocese of Naumberg-Zeitze before his arrival in

Tyrol.[6] Mikulov was a German-speaking town nestled in the Pálava hills near the border between southern Moravia and Lower Austria, which had a population between 2500 and 3000 in 1526.[7] That number does not include the people in the villages and market towns of the estate, including Bulhary (Pulgram), Pavlov (Pollau), Perná (Pergen), Sedlec (Voitelsbrunn), Horní Věstonice (Oberwisternitz), Dolní Věstonice (Unterwisternitz), Klentnice (Klentnitz), Bavory (Pardorf), Mušov nad Dyjí (Muschau), and Strachotín (Tracht). Whereas the market town of Strachotín is almost seven miles north of Mikulov, most of the other communities are between three and six miles away from the city (see figure 1).

Mikulov is perhaps best known for its infamous confessional pluralism during the Reformation era. As Howard Louthan notes, Moravia "could rightly boast of a more tolerant religious culture than even Bohemia."[8] A number of non-Catholic Christian groups made their home there, including Lutherans; Anabaptists; and the Bohemian Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*), an evangelical Hussite group.[9] On the other hand, those in the established Hussite Church in Bohemia, the Utraquists or Calixtines, were relatively weak in the German-speaking border area between Moravia and Austria; Rome had managed to maintain much of its property in the region, if not its hold on the

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Mikulov. Alois Kroess, *Geschichte Der Böhmischen Provinz Der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Vienna, 1910), p. 627; see also *The Mennonite Encyclopedia,* 4 vols. (hereafter *ME*) (Scottdale, PA, 1955–59), 3:108.

[6]Very little is known about Erhard before his activities in Mikulov; he was born at Halle in Tyrol and matriculated from Ingolstadt in 1576, but returned in 1586 and passed the tests to become a licentiate in Sacred Scripture. *ME* 2:243–44; Kroess, *Geschichte Der Böhmischen Provinz Der Gesellschaft Jesu,* p. 631. For more on Erhard's career in Mikulov, especially his polemical writings against the non-Catholics in the area, see D. Jonathan Grieser, "Confessionalization and Polemics: Catholics and Anabaptists in Moravia," in *Early Modern Catholicism: Essays in Honour of John W. O'Malley, S.J.*, ed. Kathleen M. Comerford and Hilmar M. Pabel (Toronto, 2001), pp. 131–45.

[7]Rothkegel, "Anabaptism in Moravia and Silesia," in *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521-1700*, ed. John D. Roth and James M. Stayer (Leiden, 2007), pp. 163–215, here p. 168; see also *Handbuch der Historischen Stätten. Böhmen und Mähren*, ed. Joachim Bahlcke, Winfried Eberhard, and Miloslav Polívka (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 411–13.

[8]Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (New York, 2009), p. 12.

[9]For the history of the Bohemian Brethren, see Rudolf Říčan, *The History of the Unity of Brethren: A Protestant Hussite Church in Bohemia and Moravia*, trans. C. Daniel Crews (Bethlehem, PA, 1992).

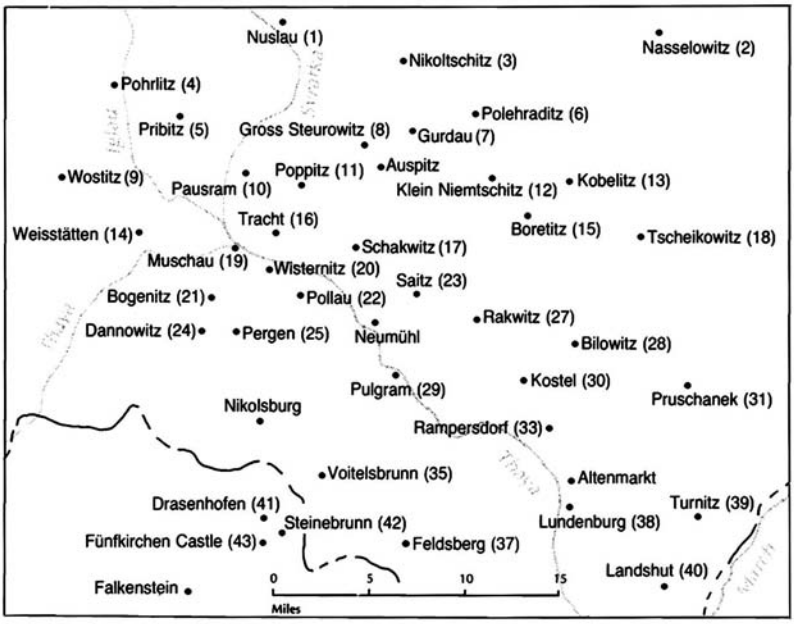

Figure 1. Towns and villages in southern Moravia with Hutterite communes, late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. Hutterite Brethren communities existed in Mikulov (Nikolsburg) and several of the market towns and villages on the estate, including Strachotín (Tracht, no. 16 on the map), Mušov nad Dyjí (Muschau, no. 19), Věstonice (Wisternitz, no. 20), Pavlov (Pollau, no. 22), Perná (Pergen, no. 25), Bulhary (Pulgram, no. 29), and Sedlec (Voitelsbrunn, no. 35). Reprinted from *The Chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren* (Rifton, NY, 1987), p. 820. Reproduced by permission of the publisher.

hearts of the people.[10] Finally, there was also a steadily growing Jewish population in the area, due to the arrival of Jews expelled from Austria in 1438 and the Moravian Royal cities in 1454.[11] Mikulov was comparable to the nearby estate of Slavkov u Brna (Austerlitz), which

[10]As Winfried Eberhard reports, "in Moravia the Hussite Revolution had not forced the Catholic Church into such headlong retreat as it has in Bohemia. The Bishop and cathedral chapter of Olmütz, together with certain monasteries, had kept their hands on a reduced, but still considerable amount of church property." Winifried Eberhard, "Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria," in *The Early Reformation in Europe*, ed. Andrew Pettegree (New York, 1992), pp. 23–48, here p. 38.

[11]On Judaism in Moravia, see *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Mährens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, ed. Hugo Gold (Brünn, 1929), esp. Bruno Mauritz Trapp's essay, "Geschichte der Juden in Mikulov," pp. 417–50.

was known as the "new Babel" during the sixteenth century because of its many sects.[12] Erhard noted in a pamphlet from 1586 that before the arrival of the Jesuits in 1579, people in the empire claimed that if someone was from Mikulov, that person must be an Anabaptist.[13]

The presence of these non-Catholics in southern Moravia was problematic for the missionary priests who came to the Mikulov estate beginning in 1579. The primary reason for this diversity of belief was the tolerant policies of many local lords in the area, who wielded considerable power against the Hapsburgs. Indeed, their families had enjoyed a number of traditional privileges since the Jagiellonians came to power in the late-fifteenth century.[14] As Josef Válka points out, at the turn of the sixteenth-century Moravia was

> directed by an oligarchy of the lords' estate (páni), that is, by some twenty magnate families which emerged victoriously out of the storms of the Hussite revolution, dividing amongst themselves most landed property as well as both the justice and the institutions of the province.[15]

This decentralized system of government left much room for control by these lords, especially in light of the Turkish threat on the south-eastern borders of the empire. When Archduke Ferdinand of Austria became king of Bohemia and Moravia after the death of Louis II Jagiellonian at the Battle of Mohács on August 29, 1526, he could ill afford to alienate the estates of the two Czech lands.[16] Both Ferdinand

[12]Werner Packull, *Hutterite Beginnings: Communitarian Experiments during the Reformation* (Baltimore, 1995), p. 69; see also Henry A. DeWind, "A Sixteenth Century Description of Religious Sects in Austerlitz, Moravia," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 29, no. 1 (1955), pp. 44–53; Astrid von Schlachta, *Hutterische Konfession und Tradition (1578–1619): Etabliertes Leben zwischen Ordnung und Ambivalenz* (Mainz, 2003), p. 20n29.

[13]"Er ist von Nikolsburg / Ergo ist er ein Widertauffer." *Catholische Brieff- Vnd Sendtschreiben, darinnen vermeldet, wie es ein Beschaffenheit vmb das Religionwesen in der Herrschafft Nicolspurg in Mährhern: Sampt angetrutcktem Dialogo oder Gespräch, welches von den bekerten Catholischen Burgerskindern daselbsten zu Nicolsburg in Ankunfft deß ... Herrn Adams von Dietrichstein ... gehalten worden* (Ingolstadt, 1586), sig. Aiij v.

[14]For an account of the Jagiellonians and their weakness relative to the estates, see Josef Maček, "The Monarchy of the Estates," in *Bohemia in History*, ed. Mikuláš Teich (New York, 1998), pp. 98–103.

[15]Josef Válka, "Moravia and the Crisis of the Estates System," in *Crown, Church, and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. R. J. W. Evans and T. V. Thomas (New York, 1991), pp. 149–57, here p. 150.

[16]Ferdinand, who ruled as king of Bohemia and Hungary from 1526 until 1564, succeeded to the throne as the husband of Louis's sister Anne. For more on the career of

and his brother, Emperor Charles V, generally left the estates alone in exchange for their political and military support.

Further, unlike the Bohemian nobles, who were generally satisfied with guarantees of tolerance for both Catholics and Utraquists, the Moravian nobles insisted that the Hapsburgs had no right to enforce religious conformity. Many of them were members of the Bohemian Brethren and did not want to be coerced in matters of religion.[17] As Martin Rothkegel notes, "in 1538, the Moravian diet agreed on the formula that 'people can not be forced to believe, for faith is nothing else than a gift of God, and cannot be given by anybody else than by God himself.'"[18] Josef Válka has called this tolerant attitude in Moravia a "kind of non-confessional Christianity," while Thomas Winkelbauer, echoing Válka, describes the rationale of the Moravian nobles as a commitment to an "über-konfessionellen Christentum."[19]

In addition to the autonomy enjoyed by the Moravian lords with respect to political and religious matters, Cardaneus and Erhard were also handicapped by earlier Roman compromises to a number of ecclesiastical provinces in the Hapsburg lands, including Bohemia and Moravia.[20] The most notable compromise was the lay chalice, which Pope Pius IV had conceded under pressure from Ferdinand, who became emperor in 1556 upon the resignation of Charles. Hoping to maintain religious order in the empire, Ferdinand thought the lay chalice would allow him to gain support against the Turks. He thus called upon Anton Brus, the archbishop of Prague (r. 1561–80), to lobby for the lay chalice at Trent in 1562. After Brus's exhortation, the Council

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Ferdinand as archduke of Austria, king of Bohemia and Hungary, and Holy Roman Emperor, see esp. Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Ferdinand I of Austria: The Politics of Dynasticism in the Age of the Reformation* (New York, 1982).

[17]Packull, *Hutterite Beginnings*, p. 67.

[18]Martin Rothkegel, "Benes Optát, 'On Baptism and the Lord's Supper': An Utraquist Reformer's Opinion of Pilgram Marpeck's *Vermahnung*," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* (hereafter *MQR*), 79, no. 3 (2005), 360. Válka adds, "every new sovereign was asked by the estates upon his accession to respect freedom of belief on the principle that religious faith was a *donum Dei*." Válka, "Moravia and the Crisis," p. 153.

[19]Válka, "Moravia and the Crisis," pp. 152–53; Thomas Winkelbauer, "Überkonfessionelles Christentum in der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts in Mähren und seinen Nachbarländern," in *Dějiny Moravy a Matice Moravská: Problémy a Perspektivy*, ed. Libor Jan (Brno, 2000), pp. 131–46, here p. 132.

[20]Gustav Constant, *Concession à l'Allemagne de la communion sous les deux espéces* (Paris, 1923), 1:461; *cf.* Barry F. H. Graham, "The Evolution of the Utraquist Mass, 1420–1620," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 92 (2006), 553–73, here p. 557n13.

of Trent turned the matter over to Pope Pius IV, who approved it in a decree from April 16, 1564.[21] Although conciliatory Catholics lauded the move, it was unpopular among the new Jesuit order and several Catholic rulers, most notably the Wittelsbachs in Bavaria. Communion *sub utraque specie* was abolished in Bavaria in 1571, but other territories moved more slowly. Austria rescinded the chalice in 1584, and Hungary did so in 1604. Bohemia and Moravia finally took the chalice away in 1621 under Archbishop Johann Lohelius of Prague (r. 1612–22).[22]

Mikulov (1526–75)

The power of the Moravian lords and the conciliatory attitudes of the Hapsburg Emperors, especially Ferdinand's son Maximilian II (r. 1564–76),[23] put the old Church in a very weak position in Moravia. To better contextualize the situation in Mikulov and the particular problem of Anabaptism on the estate by the 1580s, however, a brief account of the religious situation in Mikulov follows from the early years of the Reformation to the arrival of the Catholic Austrian lord Adam von Dietrichstein in 1575.[24] To begin, the Anabaptist leader Balthasar Hubmaier (*c.* 1480–1528) came to the estate in 1526 and converted the local lord, Leonard von Liechtenstein, to his magisterial variant of Anabaptism.[25] There is compelling evidence for Anabaptist enthusiasm in Mikulov between 1526 and 1527; the printer Simprecht Sorg set up his press in Moravia (the only one at the time) and began

[21]For a detailed account of the concession in 1564 after Trent, see Constant, *Concession à l'Allemagne de la communion sous les deux espéces*, 1:461–611.

[22]Constant, *Concession à l'Allemagne de la communion sous les deux espéces*, 1:733–69.

[23]There are a number of studies that address the ambiguity of Maximilian II's religiosity and his policies toward non-Catholics in the Hapsburg lands. See Viktor Bibl, *Maximilian II. der rätselhafte Kaiser* (Hellerau bei Dresden, 1929); R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Hapsburg Monarchy 1550–1700* (Oxford, 1979), esp. pp. 59–61; Howard Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna* (New York, 1997).

[24]Several scholars have examined the Anabaptist presence in Moravia and Mikulov in particular; *cf.* Packull, *Hutterite Beginnings*; Von Schlachta, *Hutterische Konfession und Tradition*; Claus-Peter Clasen, *Anabaptism: A Social History, 1525–1618: Switzerland, Austria, Moravia, South and Central Germany* (Ithaca, NY, 1972); Rothkegel, "Anabaptism in Moravia and Silesia," pp. 163–216.

[25]By "magisterial," I mean that Hubmaier's Anabaptist theology was not characterized by the call for complete separation (*Absonderung*) from the "world" that is found in, for example, the Schleitheim Articles (1527).

publishing pamphlets by Anabaptist leaders, including sixteen by Hubmaier alone.[26]

With the arrest and execution of Hubmaier in 1528, Anabaptist reform in Mikulov lost much of its initial momentum. As Rothkegel acknowledges, little is known of the movement there between 1528 and 1535.[27] Meanwhile, however, the communitarian Hutterite Brethren slowly established themselves as the dominant Anabaptist group in Moravia. They were heirs to a pacifist group at Slavkov u Brna initially led by Hans Hut (1490–1527) but named after their charismatic leader Jakob Hutter (1500–36).[28] Their communities grew despite a number of internal schisms, Anabaptist competitors, and intermittent persecution by Ferdinand in the 1530s and 1540s.[29] They report a community at Mikulov in 1556 as well as the foundation of two more communities in the nearby villages of Perná and Sedlec in 1557.[30] Evidence of an Anabaptist presence in Mikulov also comes from the Hungarian lord Ladislaus von Kereczeny, who bought the estate from Leonard von Liechtenstein's son Christoph in 1560. Kereczeny complained that the population included Sabbatarians and other Anabaptist sects as well as unbaptized people.[31] Stanislaus Pavlovsky, the bishop of Olomouc (r. 1579–98), remarked during his visitation to Mikulov in 1582 that there were people in the area who had not confessed or received the Eucharist for more than forty years.[32]

[26]Rothkegel, "Anabaptism in Moravia and Silesia," pp. 169–70.

[27]Rothkegel, "Anabaptism in Moravia and Silesia," pp. 172–73.

[28]See the Hutterite account of Hutter and their "emerging brotherhood" between 1533 and 1536, *The Chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren* (henceforth *Chronicle*), ed. the Hutterite Brethren (Rifton, 1987), 1:97–146.

[29]The failed Anabaptist Kingdom at Münster in Westphalia (1534–35) prompted Ferdinand to order the expulsion of the Anabaptists from Moravia at the diet of Znojmo (Znaim) in 1535, which led to one of the more intense moments of persecution for the emerging Hutterite movement there. Nevertheless, imperial persecution of the Anabaptists in Moravia steadily decreased as the century wore on. Rothkegel reports two Hutterite communities in Moravia before 1535 and seventy-four between 1593–1622. Rothkegel, "Anabaptism in Moravia and Silesia," p. 199.

[30]*Chronicle*, p. 329; *ME* 3:883–86. A second Hutterite community was founded in Sedlec in 1561, *ME* 4:842.

[31]Cited in Rothkegel, "Anabaptism in Silesia and Moravia," p. 175. Rothkegel notes (p. 173) that the Sabbatarians were the sword-bearing, i.e. nonpacifist, Anabaptists who had emerged from Hubmaier's reformation in Mikulov.

[32]Heinrich Christian Lemker, *Historische Nachricht von Unterdrukkung der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Religion in der Herrschaft Mikulov in Mähren* (Lemgo, 1748), p. 61.

After the Mikulov estate reverted to Maximilian II as king of Bohemia upon the death of Kereczeny in 1572, the emperor awarded the estate to Dietrichstein in 1575 as a gift for his devoted service to the empire.[33] This was no small reward, for Mikulov, as one of the largest and richest estates in Moravia, was worth about 100,000 gulden in 1583, according to Dietrichstein's own accounting.[34] One reason for this wealth was the Hutterite Anabaptists, who brought windfall profits to the region through their distinctive practice of community of goods (*Gütergemeinschaft*) on their large compounds, or *Haushaben.* Indeed, there were sixty-eight Hutterite *Haushaben* in Moravia, Hungary, and Slovakia between 1568 and 1592, and most of these were located in southern Moravia.[35] Given that each *Haushaben* housed between 300 and 500 Hutterites, scholars have suggested that between 20,000 to 60,000 Hutterites were in the region around 1600, representing perhaps 10 percent of the local population.[36] As many scholars of the Brethren have pointed out, the pacifist Hutterites had become quite useful to the Moravian lords by the late-sixteenth century because of their excellent craftsmanship and their work as vintners, millers, servants, and wet-nurses on the estates. They were also convenient sources of tax revenue and forced confiscations, for the local lords often appropriated livestock, beer, wine, or other items in lieu of the war taxes that the Hutterites refused to pay.[37]

[33]The Dietrichstein family came from Carinthia in Inner Austria. On the Dietrichsteins and their various holdings, see Friedrich Edelmayer, "Ehre, Geld, Karriere: Adam von Dietrichstein im Dienst Kaiser Maximillians II," in *Kaiser Maximilian II: Kultur und Politik im 16 Jahrhundert*, ed. Friedrich Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler (Vienna, 1992), pp. 110–12.

[34]Edelmayer, "Ehre, Geld, Karriere," pp. 109, 132–33.

[35]Rothkegel "Anabaptism in Moravia and Silesia," p. 199.

[36]James Stayer, "Numbers in Anabaptist Research," in *Commoners and Community: Essays in Honour of Werner O. Packull*, ed. C. Arnold Snyder (Kitchener, Canada, 1992), pp. 51–73, here p. 63; Jaroslav Pánek, "The Question of Tolerance in Bohemia and Moravia in the Age of the Reformation," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Robert W. Scribner (New York, 1996), pp. 231–48, here p. 246.

[37]Pánek points out that "a marked index of Anabaptist integration into the economic structures of the land was represented by taxes levied from them . . . taxation of the Anabaptists as from 1570 resulted in the acknowledgement of their right to reside in the land." Pánek, "Religious Liberty and Intolerance in Early Modern Europe," in *Historica, Historical Sciences in the Czech Republic*, Series Nova 2/XXXII, pp. 101–21, here p. 113. For more on how the Moravian lords profited from the Hutterite Anabaptists through taxes, confiscations, and so forth, see Frantisek Hruby, "Die Wiedertäufer in Mähren," *ARG,* 30 (1933), 1–36, 170–211; *ARG*, 31 (1934), 61–102; *ARG*, 32 (1935), 1–40, esp. 192–97.

Dietrichstein's approach to the confessional diversity in Mikulov upon his arrival in 1575 was rather pragmatic. On the one hand, Dietrichstein wanted to bring the Protestants back to the Roman Church, and he and his burgraves took measures to do so.[38] Yet, as Johann Loserth reports on the basis of letters exchanged between Dietrichstein and Lambert Gruther, the bishop of Vienna-Neustadt (r. 1573–82), Dietrichstein believed that the conversion of the people of Mikulov would be easier if they communicated under both kinds.[39] The motives of Ferdinand I at the Council of Trent certainly indicate that this was not an uncommon concern for local Roman Catholic lords in this part of central Europe. Nevertheless, Dietrichstein would not tolerate disobedience. Upon his arrival in Mikulov, he dismissed the Protestant minister who denounced him as a "Servant of the Antichrist" from the pulpit of St. Wenceslas, the main parish church.[40] Further, the Hutterites report in their *Chronicle* that in 1579 "many brothers were knocked to the ground for not taking their hats off to the Jesuits" and that the Jesuits had put their schoolmaster at Perná in the stocks for two and a half days for commenting that "they don't act like the religious people they claim to be."[41] Notably, these incidents involve a lack of respect for authority, not theological differences.

Conflicts such as these notwithstanding, Dietrichstein was generally more concerned about the mainline Protestants than the Anabaptists. In fact, he was rather loathe to take long-lasting coercive action against the Hutterites as long as order prevailed, and it is likely that Dietrichstein sought to increase the estate's revenue by continuing to tolerate the Brethren.[42] During the period from 1575 to 1586, his only substantive

[38]The Mikulov burgraves issued decrees designed to discipline the Protestants and the Anabaptists on the estate into fulfilling certain ritual requirements of the Church, such as confessing once before Easter, working on Sundays, and baptizing their children within three days of birth. See Lemker, *Historische Nachricht,* spanning the years 1582–83, pp. 8, 50–54.

[39]Loserth, "Der Communismus der Mährischen Wiedertäufer im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," p. 186.

[40]Johann Loserth, "Der Communismus der Mährischen Wiedertäufer im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte,* 80–81 (1894–95), 135–322, here 186.

[41]*Chronicle*, p. 470.

[42]Von Schlachta argues that "economic reasons were the determining factor in his treatment of the Hutterites." *Hutterische Konfession und Tradition*, p. 85; *cf.* Loserth, "Der Communismus der Mährischen Wiedertäufer im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," p. 173. Adam's conversion to the Roman Church suggests that he took political and economic matters more seriously than religious ones. Dietrichstein's family had embraced the Reformation, but Adam converted sometime after the defeat of the Protestant Smalcald

response to Cardaneus's complaints about the Brethren, from 1579, was that they were not to cause his other vassals "to err in the faith" or deal unjustly toward the Jesuit.[43] Of course, this did not stop the Anabaptists from proselytizing the local population and interrupting sermons, to the utter dismay of the priests. For example, in a report to Dietrichstein on January 2, 1580, Cardaneus was concerned that the Hutterites were persuading the vassals away from the Christian faith.[44] Moreover, on April 8, 1583, Cardaneus complained that he was rudely interrupted while preaching in the market town of Strachotín.[45]

Strategies of Roman Counter-Reform in Mikulov: Support Networks and Scripture

Ultimately, scholars may never fully grasp Dietrichstein's motives for tolerating the Hutterites, but it is clear that he did not share the same vision of Roman Catholic counter-reform as Cardaneus and Erhard. For them, the Anabaptists were not cash cows to be milked at will, but soul-murdering heretics who threatened the salvation of their parishioners in Mikulov. Dietrichstein's toleration of the Anabaptists and the willingness of the Roman Church to compromise its most identifiable ritual marker—i.e., Communion *sub una specie*—beg the question of what Cardaneus and Erhard did to reintroduce Catholicism to the Mikulov estate as something visibly distinct from the other confessional alternatives. The evidence indicates that they strongly promoted the ritual life of the Church through sacraments and sacramentals that divided the Roman Catholics from non-Catholics. Infant baptism was an obvious issue of concern, given the number of Anabaptists in the area, but penance, confirmation, church attendance, and the eating of meat on Fridays also received attention from these priests, not to mention Dietrichstein's burgraves.[46]

League in 1547 when it became clear to him that advancement under Ferdinand I depended on being Catholic. Edelmayer, "Ehre, Geld, Karriere," p. 117.

[43] "Was die Brueder betrifft, da will ich darob sein damit sie sich aller Ungepür meine Unterthanen in Glauben irig zu machen, also auch ewer Person unpillich auszurichten enthalten. . . ." Letter to Cardaneus from Prague, May 24, 1579; cited in Lemker, *Historische Nachricht*, p. 46; see also von Schlachta, *Hutterische Konfession und Tradition*, p. 81; *ME* 3:884.

[44] This prompts von Schlachta to conclude that there must have been Hutterite missionaries in the area, *Hutterische Konfession und Tradition*, p. 83.

[45] Cited in von Schlachta, *Hutterische Konfession und Tradition*, pp. 84–85.

[46] For example, the first decree, issued sometime in 1582 by the burgrave Martin Dotlsteiner von Ebersberg, stipulated that children were to be baptized within three

Above all, Cardaneus and Erhard focused on the veneration of the Host through the Feast of Corpus Christi as the most important devotional means to divide the Roman Catholics from the non-Catholic "heretics" in Mikulov. Their reliance on Eucharistic piety around the Feast of Corpus Christi is consistent with other studies of Tridentine Catholicism in the Holy Roman Empire and the Hapsburg hereditary lands.[47] The question of how they went about their work, however, warrants further investigation, as their strategies may illumine those used by other Roman priests working without political support in areas of Europe that had been lost to the Reformation. Unlike their peers in Munich who could rely on Wittelsbach *fiat*, the Mikulov priests could not depend on Dietrichstein to discipline the non-Catholics on the estate.

Their strategies included the following measures in particular. First, Cardaneus and Erhard forged a support network among their new Catholics by founding a lay confraternity devoted to the Body of Christ. Instead of turning to Dietrichstein, Cardaneus and Erhard looked westward toward the Bavarian Duke Wilhelm V (r. 1579–97) for support in the formation of the confraternity. After all, the Wittelsbachs were the stoutest defenders of traditional Roman Eucharistic piety during this period.[48] The confraternity unified the Mikulov Catholics in the belief that the Body of Christ was paramount for the spiritual care of their members. Second, because Cardaneus and Erhard were unable to rely on reliable or lasting coercive measures of social discipline against the Anabaptists, they often supported their claims in public by appealing to Scripture, the one source of religious authority that most of their audience would accept. To demonstrate these strategies at work, this study examines the work of Cardaneus and Erhard beginning in 1579. It focuses on two pieces of

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days of birth, with a penalty of a pound of wax for every day thereafter that the child went unbaptized. Lemker, *Historische Nachricht*, p. 8.

[47]Ondřej Jakubec's study of Olmütz in Moravia under Pavlovský demonstrates that the bishop's counter-reforming work was characterized by a focus on confession; Communion under one kind; and participation in feast days and processions, especially the Feast of Corpus Christi. "'Sebekonfesionalizace' A Manifestace Katolicismu Jako Projecv Utvaření Konfesní Uniformity Na Predbělohorské Moravě," ["Self-Confessionalization and Manifestation of Catholicism as an Expression of Creating of Confessional Conformity in Moravia in the Late 16th Century]," *Historica*. Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis—Facultas philosophica, 31 (2002), 101–19.

[48]On Communion *sub utraque specie* in Bavaria, see Heinrich Lutz, "Bayern und der Laienkelch," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken,* 34 (1954), 203–34.

evidence in particular: the founding charter of the Mikulov Confraternity of the Body of Christ, composed in 1584, and a Corpus Christi sermon from 1585 written by Erhard.

The Arrival of Cardaneus in 1579

Upon Dietrichstein's request, the Jesuit college at Vienna sent Cardaneus to Mikulov in 1579 to bring the estate back to Rome.[49] The Jesuit missionary enjoyed some early success; as early as Easter 1579 Cardaneus reported that 231 citizens had received Communion under one kind, including nearly all of the city council members.[50] Moreover, in a letter from October 29, 1579, to Dietrichstein, Cardaneus reports that he gave his first sermon in the neighboring village of Bulhary in July 1579 and that he celebrated the Feast of St. Ulrich in Sedlec and converted most of the people there to the Roman faith.[51]

Cardaneus began celebrating the Feast of Corpus Christi in summer 1579 with a procession through the city.[52] In 1582 he even bragged about how glorious the celebration would be in Mikulov that year.[53] The Jesuit also wrote up a "Catalog of the Procession on the Feast Day of Corpus Christi," as it was held in Mikulov in 1583.[54] The procession included all the crafts and all the market towns and villages with their banners as well as little boys dressed as cherubs. The climax of the procession was the Host, which was carried by Cardaneus under the canopy called the *Himmel*, or "heaven." The Mikulov notables and their wives followed the Host in the traditional place of honor.[55]

Cardaneus's work in the Mikulov mission produced new converts who needed to be confirmed as Roman Catholics. Accordingly,

[49]Kroess, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 627; *cf. ME* 1:108.

[50]Grieser, "Confessionalization and Polemics: Catholics and Anabaptists in Moravia," p. 136; Kroess, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 627.

[51]Cited in Johann Loserth, "Der Communismus der Mährischen Wiedertäufer," pp. 186–87.

[52]Kroess, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 635.

[53]Loserth, "Der Communismus der Mährischen Wiedertäufer," p. 187.

[54]"Verzeichnuß der Procession am Gottes Leichnambstag, wie sie zu Nicklspurg Anno 1583 ist gehalten wordten." Lemker, *Historische Nachricht*, p. 81.

[55]Lemker, *Historische Nachricht*, pp. 81–83.

Dietrichstein asked Stanislaus Pavlovsky of Olomuoc, his diocesan bishop, if he would invite Johann Caspar Neubeck, the bishop of Vienna (r. 1574–94), to hold a ceremonial visitation for Cardaneus's new converts. Pavlovsky, however, decided to conduct the visitation himself and even postponed his other work to come to Mikulov.[56] His entrance into the estate on June 22, 1582, reveals the reputation that Mikulov had acquired. Pavlovsky reports that he came with ten wagons because he was "proceeding into the midst of murderous heretics [*inter medios hæreticos sicarios incedentem*]."[57] The Catholic and Protestant stereotype of Anabaptists as soul-murderers and anarchists certainly suggests that Pavlovsky had the Hutterites in mind when he made this comment.

Besides Pavlovsky's own report, Cardaneus put together a catalog of the churches and altars Pavlovsky reconciled and consecrated as well as the number of people he confirmed in the Roman faith between June 23 and July 1.[58] Both accounts of the visitation give the following numbers: nine churches reconciled, nineteen altars consecrated, and 3989 people confirmed across the estate. For nine days' worth of work, these numbers are quite striking; in all likelihood, most of these new Roman Catholics were Catholic in name only. Moreover, in the bishop's account there is only one reference to Anabaptists; Pavlovsky notes that three Anabaptist women converted and confessed in Horní Věstonice, with the help of Joannis Braiten, the priest of Falkenstein in Austria.[59] The bishop appears to have ignored the Hutterite Brethren despite their obvious presence on the estate.

Erhard's *Catholic Letters* and the Confraternity of the Body of Christ

Even before Pavlovsky's visitation in 1582, Dietrichstein had taken steps to help consolidate the gains of the missionary Jesuit. Given the shortage of Roman Catholic priests at the bishop of Olomuoc's dis-

[56]Kroess, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 632; Lemker reproduces Pavlovsky's May 2 reply to Dietrichstein, *Historische Nachricht*, pp. 56–57.

[57]Lemker, *Historische Nachricht*, p. 12.

[58]"Verzaichnuß, was wo und wan, auch wie viel der Hochwürdig Fürst und Herr Stanislaus von Gottes genaden Bischoue zu Olmütz auf der Herrschaft Niclspurg Kirchen, Kirchoff Reconciliirt, altaria consecrirt hat, auch wie viel Personen von ihr Frl. Gn. daselbsten gefirmt und confirmirt worden, wie hernach folgt." Lemker, *Historische Nachricht*, pp. 57–64.

[59]Lemker, *Historische Nachricht*, pp. 60–61.

posal,[60] the Mikulov lord turned to Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, the papal nuncio in Prague, who assigned Erhard and Andreas Fringilla to the estate in 1581.[61] Erhard claims in a later anti-Anabaptist polemic that Bonhomini had instructed him "to help build, cultivate, and plant the new vineyard of the Lord" in Mikulov, which was like "a beautiful rose in the midst of the thorns of all kinds of heresies."[62] Erhard was to be the priest of St. Wenceslas, and Fringilla was to serve as his chaplain. Cardaneus kept up his mission in cooperation with the two secular priests until his departure in 1583, but even after his reassignment to Prague he stayed in contact with Erhard and the Mikulov community.

Erhard proved to be a tireless counter-reformer of Mikulov from St. Wenceslas, enduring the loss of Fringilla to the plague in 1584.[63] He continued the work of Cardaneus, enforced the town decrees, and attempted to secure money and resources for the Roman Church on the estate.[64] Furthermore, to celebrate the progress of the Roman rite, Erhard published *Catholic Letters, within Which Is Announced the Composition of the Religious Character of the Lordship of Mikulov in Moravia* (1586), which chronicles the alleged transition of the Mikulov population from heresy to orthodoxy. In it, Erhard reproduces various letters and other documents that suggest a successful recatholicization of Mikulov.[65] Spanning the years 1583 and 1584,

[60]Kroess notes that despite his concern for Mikulov, the bishop of Olomuoc simply had too few Roman priests on hand. *Geschichte der Böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 631.

[61]Bonhomini is perhaps best known for his zealous promotion of the Tridentine decrees in the Swiss cantons under Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, but he was later appointed by Pope Gregory XIII as papal nuncio at Rudolf II's court at Prague in 1581.

[62]"den newen Weingarten des Herren daselbt hab helfen erbawen / excolieren und pflantzen. Weil dan nun gedachte Herrschaft nichts anderst / als ein schöne Rosen / mitten under dern dörnern / allerhand Ketzereyen." *Gründliche kurtz verfaste Historia von Münsterischen Widertauffern: und wie die Hutterischen Brüder so auch billich, Widertauffer genent werden . . .* (Munich, 1588, 1589), sig. Aij r-v.

[63]On Frigilla's death and Cardaneus's scapegoating of the local Anabaptists, Lutherans, and Jews as the source of the plague in Mikulov, see Lemker, *Historische Nachricht*, pp. 30, 36.

[64]See Erhard's treatment of a soap-boiler named Hans Beer (he ate meat on a Friday) in 1585 and his correspondence with Cardaneus about contacting the papal nuncio Anton Possevinus at Prague regarding a yearly sum of 400 scudi that Pope Gregory XIII had promised for the support of the Mikulov clergy. Lemker, *Historische Nachricht*, pp. 10, 93–97; *cf.* Kroess, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 636.

[65]*Catholische Brieff- Vnd Sendtschreiben, darinnen vermeldet, wie es ein Beschaffenheit vmb das Religionwesen in der Herrschafft Nicolspurg in Mährhern. . .* (hereafter *Catholic Letters*; for full citation, see n13 above).

these documents report on key developments in the Mikulov Church, most notably the formation of a confraternity devoted to the Body of Christ in 1584.

Inspiration for the formation of the Confraternity of the Body of Christ came in part from Wilhelm V, the Wittelsbach duke.[66] Erhard reproduces a letter from Wilhelm directed to the Mikulov estate on April 12, 1584. The duke exhorts the people of Mikulov to form a confraternity devoted to the Feast of Corpus Christi (*Bruderschafft Corporis Christi*) to atone for the many years they persistently denied Christ's real presence in the Eucharist. Wilhelm argues that just as the people of Mikulov had previously shamed and dishonored the sacrament of the altar with their unbelief, now they should hold it in the highest esteem.[67]

Another source of inspiration for the confraternity came from Cardaneus during the Feast of Corpus Christi in 1584. A large fire had broken out on the octave of the feast, and the bell tower of St. Wenceslas had burned to the ground.[68] Upon hearing of this event, Cardaneus came to Mikulov to comfort his new converts and to confirm them in their adoration of the sacrament against those who blamed the Catholics for the fire. Cardaneus found the people of Mikulov willing to form a confraternity of the Feast of Corpus Christi, and he stayed there for a few weeks to help with its organization.[69]

Many people in Mikulov responded positively to Cardaneus's efforts as well as the request from the duke of Bavaria. In another letter reproduced in *Catholic Letters*, the Mikulov city council tells the duke that it would set down the rules and regulations and send them to him.[70] With reference to Wilhelm's admonition, it affirms that "we, from the special inspiration and granting of the grace of God from the Holy Ghost, arranged and set to work the above-mentioned

[66]Von Schlachta, *Hutterische Konfession und Tradition*, p. 87.

[67]Erhard, *Catholic Letters*, sig. Biiij r; *cf.* Kroess, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 637.

[68]Kroess, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 637.

[69]Kroess, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Provinz der Gesellschaft Jesu*, pp. 637–38.

[70]"Antwort und Dancksagung der Christlichen / Catholischen / Löblischen Gottsleichnams Brüderschaft zu Nicolspurg / an den Durchleuchtigen / hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn Herzog Wilhelm in Bayern." The cover letter represents the entire confraternity and was signed by the "Vicerector of the Confraternity," John Antoni Galli, and the secretary, Simon Bembouis. *Catholic Letters*, sig. Cj v.

Brotherhood in the estate of Nikolsburg, as Your Grace can see from the inserted rules."[71]

The confraternity's charter, "Statutes and Regulations of the Sodality or Confraternity of Corpus Christi to be used in Mikulov," was probably drafted by Cardaneus and Erhard along with the founding members sometime after the feast of 1584.[72] First, the charter lays out the organizational structure and expectations of its members. To become a member of the confraternity, an individual was approved by the rector, the vice-rector, the elders, and the rest of the organization. He registered his name, country of origin, and the date into the register, and if he could not read or write, someone else would make his mark.[73] New members were to make a goodwill offering to the benefit of the confraternity according to their ability; the gift was to be recorded in the register by the secretary.[74] This was a common practice for admittance into such confraternities, as it allowed the organization to gather a pool of funds that it could draw upon for the annual feast as well as funerals and Masses for deceased members.[75]

After describing the formalities of joining the confraternity, the charter immediately addresses the specific problem of the Mikulov estate—namely, the presence of heretics in the area. The confraternity declares that "no one should be registered or be allowed to be registered in this Brotherhood who is attached to heresy or sectarian error."[76] New members were also required to have received the sacrament from an ordained priest at least once in the past. This requirement may have been designed especially for a new convert, someone

[71]"wir auß sonderlicher Eingebung und Verleihung der Gnaden Gottes / deß heilige Geistes / die gedacht Bruderschafft in der Herrschaft Nicolspurg nunmehr angericht und ins Werck gesetzt / wie dan E.F.D. auß eingelassenen Regeln mit mehrern gnädig zuersehen." *Catholic Letters*, sig. Cj r.

[72]"Statuten und Regeln der jenigen / so der löblichen Sodalitet oder Brüderschaft Corporis Christi zu Nicolspurg verwandt / und in dieselbe eingeleibt seyn." *Catholic Letters*, sig. Cij r; see also Lemker, *Historische Nachricht*, pp. 27–28.

[73]The confraternity was open to both men and women, as Erhard uses the terms *sister* and *brother* throughout the text. For the sake of brevity and clarity, however, the masculine singular is used.

[74]*Catholic Letters*, sig. Cij r.

[75]See Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 242–43; and Lance Gabriel Lazar, *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord: Jesuit Confraternities in Early Modern Italy* (Toronto, 2005), pp. 3–12.

[76]"In dise Brüderschaft soll niemandt eingeschriben oder zugelassen werde / so mit Ketzereyen / od Sectischem Irrthumb behafft ist." *Catholic Letters*, sig. Cij r-v.

who may have received the Eucharist once from Cardaneus and Erhard between 1579 and 1584. This makes sense, given Pavlovsky's claim in 1582 that there were people on the Mikulov estate who had gone decades without having confessed or communicated.

The charter then moves on to morality. The next article states that no individuals will be accepted who have committed grievous sins until they improve their lives, confess their sins, and do penance. If someone within the confraternity has performed a public sin or is following an unchristian way of life, the superintendent (*Vorsteher*) will admonish that person three times, roughly according to the model of Matthew 18:15–18; if he persists in his immorality, however, he is to be excluded, "like a bad grape cut out of the vineyard."[77] This article reflects the Tridentine emphasis on improving the moral condition of the priests and the laity, which was especially important in areas populated by non-Catholics who had been claiming moral superiority since the early years of the Reformation.[78] Indeed, although this disciplinary model was as old as the Church itself, there may have been a heightened sensitivity to the need for moral rigor given the heavy Anabaptist presence in the area.

Next, the charter moves to the annual celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi and the weekly devotional requirements, as certain stipulations are placed upon the members. Each member of the brotherhood was to attend the Feast of Corpus Christi, take an active role in the procession, and confess between the octaves of the feast.[79] Furthermore, everyone in the brotherhood was to honor the sacrament by celebrating the Eucharist every Thursday evening.[80] Weekly devotion to the Eucharist on Thursday was a common feature of Corpus Christi confraternities at this time, as the feast was traditionally celebrated on the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday.

The next set of clauses in the charter deal with the confraternity's care for the sick or the dying. For example, one who could not attend

[77]"als ein unnütze Reben / von dem guten Weinstock abgehawen werden." *Catholic Letters*, sig. Cij v. The confraternity uses the same word, "Vorsteher," that the Hutterite Brethren used for their chief elders in the Church. Similarly, the Hutterite Vorsteher was in charge of meting out discipline according to the model in Matthew 18.

[78]See esp. the reform decrees from the Twenty-Third and Twenty-Fourth Sessions of the Council of Trent (July–November, 1563), *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. H. J. Schroeder (St. Louis, 1941), pp. 164–79; 190–212.

[79]*Catholic Letters*, sig Cij v.

[80]*Catholic Letters*, sig. Ciij r.

to the bedside of a sick member because of work was exhorted to "fall upon his knees and strike himself on the breast" and pray an Our Father and a Hail Mary for the sick.[81] There were also regulations for attending Masses for the dead. For example, there was to be a Mass for a dead brother or sister during the Ember Weeks: "a requiem [*Seelampt*] will be held for the soul of the deceased brother and sister, [and] the Brotherhood should properly announce it."[82]

Finally, the charter of the confraternity announces, "in order to be admitted and accepted into this Brotherhood, no estate should be respected, neither noble nor base, rich or poor."[83] Clearly, the drafters of this charter wanted to make the confraternity as accessible to the common citizens of Mikulov as possible, regardless of his or her financial status. Perhaps Cardaneus and Erhard were trying to appeal to the Mikulov guilds by instituting an additional source of communal support. Indeed, the Mikulov blacksmiths complained in 1579 that they who were losing work to the rich and well-organized Hutterites, who destroyed their livelihood.[84] Like the Hutterite Brethren, who also used the language of "brother" and "sister" on their communes, the confraternity could offer these craftsmen a community of moral support.

Above all, the statutes of this charter bound the members of the confraternity together in a network of devotion. Through it, Cardaneus and Erhard hoped to build a strong and united Catholic presence by bringing the Mikulov Catholics together around the Body of Christ, especially with respect to the important transition from this world to the next.[85] The formation of this confraternity is therefore clear evidence of these priests' attempts to establish visible devotional dividing lines between the Roman Church and the heretical sects in and around the Mikulov estate. Given the competition between the fledgling Catholic community and the various "sects" in Mikulov, a

[81]"soll er doch auff seine Knie niderfallen / unnd klopfen an die Brust." *Catholic Letters*, sig. Ciij v.

[82]"ein Seelampt gehalten werden / darzu der Brüderschaft soll ordentlich angesagt werden." *Catholic Letters*, sig. Ciiij r.

[83]"zu diser Bruderschaft einzulassen und anzunemen / soll kein Standt angesehen werden / weder Edl noch Unedl / Reich oder Arm." *Catholic Letters*, sig. Ciiij r.

[84]Lemker reproduces the Mikulov blacksmiths' complaint, titled "Beschwär und Artikhel der Schmidt zu Nickelspurg wieder die Wiedertäuffer oder Brüderischen Schmidt." *Historische Nachricht*, pp. 55–56.

[85]Lazar notes that "care for dying and deceased members and benefactors was also an integral part of the activity of every confraternity." *Working in the Vineyard of the Lord*, p. 82.

confraternity devoted to the Body of Christ could provide the fraternal support necessary to encourage its members in the Roman faith.

Erhard's Feast-Day Sermon of 1585

Whereas the formation of the lay confraternity devoted to the Body of Christ points to strategies of community building around Eucharistic devotion, the priests of Mikulov also promoted the veneration of the Host through Corpus Christi feast-day sermons. Fortunately, an unknown editor published a Corpus Christi sermon of Erhard from 1585 nearly thirty years after the fact—*Form and Manner, How to lay out the Glorious Feast of the tender Body of Christ in the old city of Mikulov, in the Margraviate of Moravia, with a preceding sermon, and following worship, [the] graceful procession, arrangement of the guilds, musicians, instruments, cherubs, the priesthood, [and] Latin and German dialogues or speeches, to be observed yearly* (1614).[86] This piece not only contains Erhard's Corpus Christi sermon but also feast-day dialogues in Latin and German and a detailed blueprint for the order of the entire procession, from the banners of the guilds to the organists, gymnasts, and the Host itself. Perhaps most important, Erhard's sermon is not written in Latin, but the German vernacular of his audience. This published sermon, although surely not a verbatim version of what Erhard delivered, can nevertheless be considered a fairly accurate representation of what he preached to the gathered Mikulov population in 1585.[87]

In his dedication to *Form and Manner*, Erhard alludes to the confessional chaos of the Mikulov estate. He claims that the people of Mikulov should frequently honor the sacrament "against all [the] Sacrament-fanatics such as the Calvinists, Pickards [Bohemian Brethren], and still a few secluded Anabaptists or Hutterite Brethren"

[86]*Form und Weiss / Wie das herrliche Fest dess zarten Fronleichnams in der alten Statt Nicolspurg / in Marggrafftthumb Märherrn gelegen / mit vorgehender Predig / und folgenden Gottesdienst / zierlicher Procession / Einheilung der Zünfften / Musicanten / Instrumenten / Engeln / Priesterschaft / Lateinische und Teutschen Dialogen oder Gesprechen / järlich gehalten würd…* (Ingolstadt, 1614) (hereafter *Form and Manner*).

[87]Interpretive problems surround the use of sermon literature as evidence of what people actually heard from their ministers. In this case, it appears that the later editor, probably a parish priest in or around Mikulov, published the vernacular sermon for the edification of his fellow Catholics on the estate. For a brief analysis of some of the research problems, see Mary Morrissey, "Interdisciplinarity and the Study of Early Modern Sermons," *The Historical Journal,* 42 (1999), 1111–23.

through the Confraternity of the Body of Christ [*Gottsleichnams Bruderschafft*].[88] Besides referencing the heretics in the region, Erhard refers to the recently founded confraternity, whose task it was to counter these sects by bestowing praise and honor upon the Body of Christ as often as possible.

Erhard chooses John 6:50 as the text for his sermon: "This is the bread that cometh down from heaven." This verse was commonplace in Corpus Christi sermons; Johannes Nas (1534–90), for example, uses the same text for his third sermon in a twelve-sermon Corpus Christi sermon cycle.[89] Erhard introduces his sermon with a series of rhetorical questions to his audience that he presumes will be asked by an unbeliever or heretic in the crowd: "Why is such ostentation necessary? Why is this Corpus Christi day even necessary? Why is it that one needs so many ceremonies?"[90] Erhard claims that this sermon will be an answer to these questions, and he goes on to present ten reasons why the Feast of Corpus Christi should be celebrated as magnificently as possible on the Mikulov estate.[91] Many of Erhard's reasons draw on the testimony of Scripture, surely an appeal to his ex-Lutheran parishioners or Anabaptist auditors who weighted Scripture more heavily than the extrascriptural traditions of the Roman Church.

First, the feast is the public confession of Christ against the Reformation sects, a witness to the divinity and humanity of Christ as expressed in the creeds. Citing Matthew 10:32–33, Erhard warns the

[88]"wider alle Sacramentschwermer / als Calvinisten / Pickarten / und ewrn noch ein wenig zum theil (wider ewren Willen doch) anheimbs abgesonderten Widertauffern oder Hütterischen Brüdern." *Form and Manner*, sigs. Aij r–Aiij r. Notably, Erhard does not explicitly attack the Lutherans or the Utraquists in this sermon, most likely because they did not share the Reformed-Anabaptist ("Sacramentarian") denial of the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Moreover, the Utraquists also celebrated Catholic feast days and believed that the Mass required an ordained priest recognized by the Roman Catholic Church. For example, during the Utraquist celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi in Prague in 1600, a visitor reported that "the Jesuits and others of our faith judge that they should not be impeded in adoring the host because, as far as known, it is touched by the hands of a genuine priest." Cited in Graham, "The Evolution of the Utraquist Mass, 1420–1620," p. 559.

[89]Richard Ernest Walker, ed., *The Corpus Christi Sermons of Johannes Nas (1534–1590): An Edition with Notes and Commentary* (Göppingen, 1988), p. 125.

[90]"Was bedarff man so vil geprengs? oder warzu ist doch diser Gottsleichnamstag nutz? Was ists / das man so vil Ceremonien braucht?" *Form and Manner*, sigs. Aiij v–Aiiij r.

[91]*Form and Manner*, sig. Aiiij r.

people against a Nicodemite—that is, one who would receive the true body of Christ but not believe in it.[92] Nicodemism, the practice of outward conformity to the Church but an inward denial of its truth, was surely a very real problem for Erhard, who was preaching to converted Lutherans in Mikulov in addition to Anabaptists and other Sacramentarians, i.e., Reformed Protestants who believed the elements only symbolized the Body and Blood of Christ.[93]

Second, the feast and its procession is "a public sermon about the excellence and majesty of the most holy sacrament of Christ."[94] Here Erhard makes the classic Roman point against the Reformation heretics that God is best worshiped when all of the senses are engaged. Against those non-Catholics who believed that visual stimuli such as crucifixes and processions were idolatrous, Erhard argues that the entire feast is a "sermon received by the eyes" as distinguished from the sermon that one hears.[95] For Erhard, the sermon for the eyes often bears more fruit than preaching because of its "beautiful heartfelt ceremonies, the beloved organ, singing and ringing, [and the] procession."[96] On one level, Erhard's focus on the sermon seen by the eyes through ceremonies represents a direct assault on the Reformation notion of *sola scriptura* as well as the Protestant turn to the spoken "Word" that is heard during worship. Yet, given the fact that Erhard's audience was probably a mix of true believers, indifferent onlookers, Nicodemites, and hostile non-Catholics, it is telling that he uses Scripture to make his arguments in support of the visual components of the feast day.

Erhard's third reason that the Church must celebrate the Feast of Corpus Christi is that this celebration is grounded in the scriptural commands concerning idolatry and true worship of God. He first cites Matthew 4:10, where Jesus quotes Deuteronomy 6:13 against Satan during his first Temptation: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." Erhard also cites Psalms 150:4 to

[92]*Form and Manner*, sig. Aiiij v.

[93]On Nicodemism and dissimulation, see esp. Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 1990).

[94]"ein offentlich Predigt / von der Excellenz und Maiestät / deß allerheiligsten Sacraments Christi." *Form and Manner*, sig. Aiiij v.

[95]"die Predigt mit den Augen empfangen." *Form and Manner*, sigs. Aiiij v-Bj r.

[96]"die schönen herrliche Ceremonien / das lieblich Orgels / Singen und Klingen / Procession unnd dergleichen." *Form and Manner*, sigs. Aiiij v-Bj r.

demonstrate how much the Lord is to be praised. He links the verse—"Praise him with the timbrel and dance: praise him with stringed instruments and organs"—to the church practice of using various instruments during feast days. Erhard begins his fourth reason by citing examples of the honor given to Christ from the New Testament, beginning with the three wise men from Matthew 2:2 who came to "worship him."[97] He explains their relevance for how to celebrate the feast as follows: like the three wise men,

> we . . . come together to show him our obedient service. Instead of the incense, we sacrifice our devout prayer, instead of the red gold, a burning love, instead of the myrrh, the castigation of our bodies, whereby we prepare his way.[98]

Erhard also points out that just as Christ was fully present for Mary in the garden, the women on the road, Thomas in the upper room, the blind in the Temple, and the Apostles during the Transfiguration, he was also fully present in the Holy Sacrament.[99]

Erhard moves to the Old Testament in his fifth reason why the feast is profitable to celebrate. He argues that the feast is a fulfillment of the examples, or "figures," of feasting and celebration in the Old Testament. First, Erhard compares the procession of the Ark of the Covenant around Jericho from Joshua 6 to the Feast of Corpus Christi. The manna from heaven carried in the Ark is a figure for the true body of Christ (a tradition based on Hebrews 9:4).[100] He then cites II Samuel 6:16, where David is leaping and dancing before the Ark of the Covenant.[101] Erhard argues that

[97]*Form and Manner*, sig. Bij r.

[98]"also wir heute auch /wie die H. drey Könige / komen zusammen ihm unsers gehorsame Dienst zuerzeigen / an stadt deß Weyrauchs zu opffern unser andechtiges Gebett / an stadt deß rotten Goldes / ein brinende Lieb / ad stadt der Myrren / die Kasteyung unsers Leibs / das wir seine wege erzeigen." *Form and Manner*, sig. Bij r.

[99]*Form and Manner*, sig. Bij v.

[100]*Form and Manner*, sig. Biij r. According to Hebrews 9:4, the ark contained the two tables of the law, Aaron's rod, and the golden pot of manna.

[101]II Samuel 6 was a popular resource for Roman Catholics during the Counter-Reformation era. Louthan recounts how Catholic officials led the people of Prague in antiphonal singing of II Samuel 6 to celebrate the translation of St. Norbert of Xanten's relics to the city in 1627: "As David and the Israelites jubilantly welcomed this treasured object that signified the very presence of God, so the archbishop and his congregation joyfully acknowledged and celebrated the arrival of this physical token of divine grace and mercy." *Converting Bohemia*, pp. 39–40.

> if David did this [for the] figure, what do you think he would do now for the truth itself, if he still lived? Do you not think he would let himself be mocked even more because it was now God himself, than then, when his wife Michal mocked him?[102]

For just as King David danced around the ark more zealously after Queen Michal rebuked him, so, too, should his Mikulov Catholics be more zealous for the Host when mocked by the heretics around them in the city. Whereas other Roman Catholic polemicists also used this passage in their own Corpus Christi sermons, Erhard focuses on Michal's jeering of David as much or more than he does on David's dancing as a figure for how his parishioners should worship the Body of Christ.[103] Erhard surely felt that the image reflected his particular situation in Mikulov very well, as he was no stranger to jeers from the Hutterites.

In his sixth reason Erhard wonders who could have such a "hardened, stony, or even devilish heart" so as not to be moved by the sight of the Host.[104] This must have been a real complaint, given that Hutterites and other heretics witnessed the procession as it made its way through the city and surely did not bend the knee. They may have even tried to disrupt the procession; this was a strategy employed extensively by non-Catholics across Europe, including the denizens of the nearby town of Auspitz.[105] Cardaneus notes in an undated report to Pavlovsky that, among other religious offenses committed by the residents of Auspitz, the town council delayed the Corpus Christi procession the previous year by deceiving the parish priest and the lady of the estate.[106]

[102]"Hat dises David der Figur gethan / was meinstu daß er jetzt der Wahrheit selber that / wan er noch bey Leben were? Meinstu nicht / er würde sich noch vil Lieber verspotten lassen jetzund / weil der ware Gott selber da ist / dann dort / wie ihn die Michol sein Weib verspottet hat." *Form and Manner*, sig. Biij r.

[103]Johannes Nas makes a similar point in his eighth Corpus Christi sermon during his treatment of David's dancing, but without the reference to Michal's jeering of David. Walker, *Corpus Christi Sermons of Johannes Nas*, p. 391. Georg Scherer does likewise in a sermon at Vienna on Holy Trinity Sunday, and although he does mention Michael's jeering, he does not dwell on the image as Erhard does, nor does he return to it later. *Ein Predig vom Fronleichnamsfest und Umbgang* (Ingolstadt, 1587), sig. Bij r.

[104]"ein hartes / Steinern oder gar teufflisch Herz." *Form and Manner*, sig. Biij v.

[105]See esp. Davis, "The Rites of Violence," pp. 152-87, and Eurich, "Religious Toleration and Confessional Identity," pp. 266–72.

[106]Unfortunately, Cardaneus gives no details as to how the town council did this. "Ausspitzerischen Religion Sachen, an Herr P. Michael Cardaneus Bericht," in Lemker, *Historische Nachricht*, pp. 111–14.

Seventh, the procession of the feast is "a thanksgiving . . . for all the benefits we have received during the entire year."[107] Erhard asserts that Christ has prepared a table for everyone and that the Church has decreed that the feast be observed. He cites a number of scriptural passages to support his point, including the "figure" of Joseph and his brothers from Genesis 37 and 43. Erhard argues that if Joseph was honored as a powerful man for providing for Egypt during the seven years of famine, Christ should be honored even more, as he provides not only for the temporal needs of his people, but for their spiritual ones as well.[108]

Erhard's eighth reason for celebrating the Corpus Christi procession is the apostolic argument for Catholic unity. Citing a number of biblical proof-texts,[109] Erhard explains that the procession announces the unity of the Church, "because, as Paul says, we are all members of one body and of one head, as we eat one bread."[110] A standard Catholic polemical trope against the Protestants and Anabaptists, this argument has the strength of not burdening Erhard with the task of having to explain the subtle distinctions between the Roman understanding of the Eucharist and the heretical ones. Like Johannes Nas and others in their Corpus Christi sermons, Erhard makes the simple, easily understood argument that the lack of agreement among the Reformation groups is proof of the truth of the Roman position. Therefore, it is not difficult to imagine the relevance of Erhard's argument for the unity symbolized by the procession, especially given the disadvantages of his circumstances. Although he had the nominal support of Dietrichstein, he still had to watch his parishioners live and work among the Anabaptists on the estate. He must have felt that public devotion to the Body of Christ, through the procession, was an opportunity for him to unite his parishioners against the devil and his followers.

Ninth, Erhard argues that the feast-day procession was a means to receive God's blessing, as King David had been blessed through the

[107] "ein Dancksagung ... für alle Wohltaten / so wir das ganze Jar empfangen haben." *Form and Manner*, sig. Biiij r.

[108] *Form and Manner*, sig. Biiij r-v.

[109] 1 Corinthians 10:17, Psalm 133:1, and I Cor. 14:33; Erhard mistakenly cites Philippians 4:8 in the margin next to "Deus pacis, & non dissensionis," but he clearly has I Cor. 14:33 in mind.

[110] "dann wir alle / wie Paulus sagt / Glieder seind eines Leibs unnd eines Haupt / wie wir von einem Brod essen." *Form and Manner*, sig. Biiij v.

Ark of the Covenant. He revisits Michal's jeering of David to show how it made David's celebration even more holy.[111] Again, the focus is on how the Catholics of Mikulov should not be discouraged in their devotion to the Host by the non-Catholics on the estate. Erhard's tenth reason that the Feast of Corpus Christi is to be celebrated with such ostentation and pride is that is a prelude and a reminder of the of the heavenly procession that that the Lamb of God will lead in the afterlife. Erhard concludes that in eternity the blessed will see Christ's power and glory in his humanity and his divinity, not hidden under the form of bread.[112]

Conclusion

Cardaneus and Erhard, although often supported in their efforts against the Protestants on the Mikulov estate by Dietrichstein and his burgraves, never convinced their overlord to expel the Anabaptists between 1579 and 1586. Yet even in this confessionally diverse environment, the two priests managed to nurture a Roman Catholic confraternity devoted to the Body of Christ. In fact, the Mikulov confraternity survived into the seventeenth century. George Utislaus, parish priest in Mikulov since 1615 and provost of the newly renovated parish of St. Wenceslas in Mikulov (promoted to a Collegiate church in 1625 by Franz von Dietrichstein, Dietrichstein's youngest son), lists the order of the 1638 Corpus Christi feast-day procession. The confraternity and its flag processed after the guilds and their flags, right before the clergy carrying the Host.[113] The work of Cardaneus and Erhard was therefore more enduring than scholars have realized.

While the statutes of the Mikulov Confraternity reveal Cardaneus's and Erhard's attempt to promote devotion to the Body of Christ and Roman solidarity in the midst of confessional diversity, Erhard's Corpus Christi feast-day sermon has highlighted some of the more specific problems that he and the Jesuit faced on the estate between the years 1579 and 1586. First, Erhard believed that Nicodemism was a problem for his new Catholics. Like other Counter-Reformation

[111] *Form and Manner*, sig. Biiij v.

[112] *Form and Manner*, sig. Cj r-v.

[113] "Zu der letzt vor der Clerisei geht der Bruederschaft Corporis Chr. Fahn mit der Brüderschaft." Lemker, *Historische Nachricht,* p. 83. By 1638 Mikulov was practically a new city, given the ecclesiastical and architectural endeavors of Franz von Dietrichstein. For a detailed account of these measures, see P. Gregor Wolny, *Kirchliche Topographie Von Mähren*, II Abtheilung, II Band (Brünn, 1855–56), pp. 40–59.

churchmen, Erhard emphasized that being called a Roman Catholic was not good enough; one had to truly believe that one element, the Bread, contained both the Body and Blood of Christ through the miracle of transubstantiation. Second, Erhard argued that the feast-day procession itself was a kind of visual sermon, and that the visual and tactile components of the procession were there to aid the believers in their devotion. The procession was thus a defense of the unity of the Roman Church against the fracturing principle of *sola scriptura*.

Nevertheless, Erhard supported most of his arguments about the veneration of the Host on the basis of Scripture, as nearly every reason is supported by evidence from the Old and New Testaments. To be sure, the exegetical principle of prefiguring was a widespread means to legitimize both Catholic and non-Catholic beliefs and practices in the sixteenth century, but it dominates nearly every aspect of Erhard's presentation. This is a direct reflection of the confessional pluralism of Mikulov that Erhard lamented. Erhard knew that the non-Catholics on the estate (and surely many of the new Catholics) were much more likely to entertain arguments from Scripture than arguments based on a tradition that they deemed at best superstitious, and at most idolatrous. Without the power to expel the non-Catholics on the estate—especially the Anabaptists—this would have to do.

THE ORDEAL OF ABRAM J. RYAN, 1860–63

BY

DOUGLAS J. SLAWSON*

Abram J. Ryan was a young priest of the Congregation of the Mission during the Union's crisis of early 1861. His thoughts mirrored the struggle of Missouri, his home state, as it sought to negotiate its way through the ordeal. When war came, Ryan poetically expressed his sympathy for the Southern cause. Within fifteen months, he had left the Vincentians for an Illinois parish. Although tradition attributes his departure to his Southern views, recent biographers have identified a problem with authority. Vincentian superiors considered Ryan and his classmates troublesome because of their sense of liberty and independence that caused a disregard of Vincentian rules. In December 1863, Ryan departed his parish under mysterious circumstances. Some accounts alleged his involvement with a woman, while others claimed that the affair was manufactured to discredit him. Vincentian authorities put credence in Ryan's "scandalous fall," which was one of similar lapses by his classmates.

Keywords: Civil War; Congregation of the Mission; Poet Priest of the South; Ryan, Abram J.; Vincentians

Nothing is so tantalizing as a mystery without sufficient evidence to resolve it. Such is the case with Abraham J. Ryan, poet-priest of the South and the most famous Vincentian-turned-former Vincentian of the Civil War era. Although Abraham was his given name, he is universally known as "Abram" for reasons that will be explained later. According to conventional wisdom, Ryan departed the Vincentian Fathers, a religious community known formally as the Congregation of the Mission, because of his sympathy for the South and his difficulty in keeping it to himself as required by the Vincentian rules.

*Dr. Slawson is professor of history at National University in San Diego. An earlier version of this article was presented at the 2008 spring meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association at St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana. The author wishes to thank Stafford Poole, C.M., for his helpful comments on the article.

Some recent scholars have identified a second issue: a problem with authority. A little over a year after Ryan's departure from the Vincentians, he was banished from Illinois. Again, recent scholars attribute his banishment to political reasons while discounting stories of moral wrongdoing. Some wonder why the Vincentians were quick to believe a moral lapse on Ryan's part.[1] This article reexamines these critical events as they pertain to the Congregation of the Mission. The case has never been examined from the perspective of the Vincentians, using the full array of evidence in their archives. The theme that emerges in these crucial years of Ryan's life is his love of liberty.

Ryan was born in Hagerstown, Maryland, in 1838, the fourth child of Matthew and Mary Ryan, who were Irish immigrants. The Ryans moved in 1840 to Ralls County, Missouri, on the Mississippi River just below Hannibal where their last child, David, was born. In 1846, the Ryans relocated to St. Louis, and five years later, thirteen-year-old Abraham entered St. Mary's of the Barrens, the Vincentian seminary in Perry County some eighty miles down the Mississippi River. In August 1854, he became a novice and made vows two years later. After two years of theological study at the Barrens, Stephen Vincent Ryan, the Vincentian provincial who was not related to Abraham, sent the latter to serve as prefect at Our Lady of Angels Seminary at Niagara, New York.[2]

The reason for assigning the twenty-year-old Ryan as prefect there is unclear. During winter and early spring 1859, Ryan wrote three letters to the provincial that suggest there was mutual necessity on the part of the seminary and Ryan himself: The former needed a prefect

[1]For traditional accounts of Abraham Ryan's departure, see Joseph P. McKey, *History of Niagara University: Seminary of Our Lady of the Angels, 1856–1931* (Niagara, NY, 1931), pp. 153–70; Bernadette Greenwood Oldemoppen, *Abram J. Ryan: Priest—Patriot—Poet* (Mobile, AL, 1992), pp. 9–19; and Donald Robert Beagle and Bryan Albin Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause: A Life of Father Ryan* (Knoxville, 2008), pp. 56–60. For Ryan's issues with authority, see David O'Connell, *Furl That Banner: The Life of Abram J. Ryan, Poet-Priest of the South* (Macon, GA, 2006), pp. 11–15, 21–26; and John Bowes, "Glory in the Gloom: Abram J. Ryan, Southern Catholicism, and Lost Cause," (PhD dissertation, Saint Louis University, 1996), pp. 103–10.

[2]St. Mary's Ecclesiastical Seminary Commenced on the 4th of May 1843 (Student Rosters), p. 11, St. Mary of the Barrens Seminary (hereafter cited as SMOB), Box 37, DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archive, DePaul University, Chicago (hereafter cited as DRMA); O'Connell, *Furl That Banner*, pp. 1–9; Bowes, "Glory in the Gloom," pp. 101–02; Beagle and Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause*, pp. 1–25.

and professor, and the latter needed to regain his health. The seminary had opened in 1856 with two teachers and six students. When Ryan arrived two years later, there were four professors, including himself. For his part, he suffered from "neuralgia of the head," probably migraines, which were aggravated by the climate of Missouri.[3] In each letter from Niagara, Ryan remarked on his improving health. For instance, in the first he wrote, "My health is very good; my constitution is improved three fold; my strength is still on the increase." Five months later, he could report, "My health continues excellent, & I have every reason to think that my headaches have bid me adieu."[4] Even taking into account the health issue, the assignment showed confidence in Ryan's abilities.

Ryan, lonely for his friends at the Barrens, found the appointment difficult at first. His teaching and prefect duties left him no time to continue his theological studies. Moreover, Father John Joseph Lynch, the superior of the seminary and the only priest capable of schooling him in theology, was too busy to do so. Ryan believed this situation would remain unchanged through the rest of the school year, but seemed reconciled to the fact. "About my studies I am not anxious," he told the provincial, "because that doesn't depend on me, the will of God is my will and the will of my superiors is the will of God." Still, he asked Stephen Ryan for advice about what to do.[5]

It is difficult to know what sort of advice Abraham Ryan was seeking. Perhaps he was hoping to be recalled to the Barrens. In any case, the response was disappointing. Although lost to history, the reply probably encouraged him to bear with the situation. "Before God I am

[3]Abraham J. Ryan to Mariano Maller, April 10, 1862, Correspondence between the General Curia of the Vincentians (Paris) and the United States of America (hereafter cited as GCUSA), series A, reel 1, no. 356; A. J. Ryan to Stephen V. Ryan, January 1, 1859, and April 29, 1859, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA; Stafford Poole, C.M., "Ad Cleri Disciplinam: The Vincentian Seminary Apostolate in the United States," in *The American Vincentians: A Popular History of the Congregation of the Mission in the United States, 1815–1987*, ed. John E. Rybolt, C.M. (Brooklyn, NY, 1988), 126–27. There actually was a fifth man at the house, but he was engaged in parish missions. Beagle and Giemza suggest that Ryan was sent to Niagara to remove him from St. Mary's where the student body was beginning to divide along North-South political lines (*Poet of the Lost Cause*, p. 26). In fact, the student body did not divide along sectional lines until the Civil War began.

[4]A. J. Ryan to S. V. Ryan, January 1, 1859, and April 29, 1859, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA.

[5]A. J. Ryan to S. V. Ryan, January 12, 1859, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA.

resigned; and humbly submit myself to his wise dispensations which are always for our good," he wrote back to the provincial, "but nature ever feels the burden, which grace lightens, and bends in sorrow to the stroke which grace receives with resignation."[6]

Two months later, Ryan's situation was dramatically altered for the better. Acknowledging receipt of an "affectionate and truly fatherly" letter from the provincial, he noted that his brother, David, who had recently been dismissed from the Vincentian novitiate at the Barrens and had come north to regain his health, was studying at Niagara to become a diocesan priest. David assumed some of his brother's teaching load. Moreover, Abraham was now taking daily lessons in theology and sermon writing from Lynch. Although Abraham still did not have the time for recollection that he had enjoyed at the Barrens, he reported that he was "faithful to the exercises which the rules prescribe" and added, "I am more contented than ever I was." Probably from David, he had learned that his fellows at the Barrens now had the opportunity to study "that most essential, though much neglected, department of ecclesiastical science, preaching." This knowledge caused him some concern. "I fear they will all leave me far behind them in everything," Abraham confessed to Stephen Ryan, "but as you said to me last year—'A live ass is better than a dead doctor.'"[7] This last remark reinforces the interpretation that the provincial had sent him to Niagara in part for health reasons. The new attention at the Barrens to preaching probably reflected the provincial's commitment to engage the Vincentians in parish missions, the Catholic counterpart to the Protestant revival aimed at prompting repentance, spiritual conversion, and renewal.[8]

[6]A. J. Ryan to S. V. Ryan, February 21, 1859, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA.

[7]A. J. Ryan to S. V. Ryan, April 29, 1859, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA; Entry of January 27, 1859, Record of Principal Events at St. Mary's Seminary, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA; *Catalogus Sacerdotum et Clericorum Congregationis Missionis In Provincia Statuum Foederatorum Americae*, p. 18, Archives of the Eastern Province, Germantown, PA (hereafter cited as AEP). David Ryan was asked to leave the novitiate because of his waning piety, which Lynch attributed to weakened health. Lynch wrote that a now recovered David wanted to be readmitted to the novitiate (John Lynch to S. V. Ryan, July 12, 1859, Personnel Files: Lynch, DRMA).

[8]Jay Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience, 1830–1900* (Notre Dame, 1978), pp. 1–89; Douglas J. Slawson, "'To Bring Glad Tidings to the Poor': Vincentian Parish Missions in the United States," in *American Vincentians*, ed. Rybolt, pp. 168–73; Douglas J. Slawson, "Catholic Revivalism: The Vincentian Preaching Apostolate in the United States," in *Embodying the Spirit: New Perspectives on North American Revivalism*, ed. Michael J. McClymond (Baltimore, 2004), pp. 211–28.

In mid-July 1859, Lynch recommended to the provincial that Abraham Ryan complete his theological studies in Paris, but Stephen Ryan brought him back to the Barrens to finish his education and sent two of his classmates to Paris instead. In October, Abraham Ryan led off the course on homiletics with a practice sermon on the destiny of man. In early January 1860, the provincial appointed him second prefect of the preparatory seminary, and later that month Ryan initiated a series of Sunday-evening lectures for the young students, which he and his classmates continued throughout the year. On March 17, he delivered the panegyric in celebration of the feast of St. Patrick.[9] Obviously, he was gaining a reputation for oratory even as a theological student.

On July 19–20, 1860, Bishop John Timon of Buffalo, the former Vincentian provincial, ordained Ryan and his classmates to the subdiaconate and diaconate, respectively. On July 21, Ryan watched as his classmates were ordained to the priesthood. He began his career as a preacher while waiting for a dispensation that would permit his ordination, as he was two years shy of the canonical age. On August 15, 1860, the feast of the Assumption of Mary, Ryan "electrified" listeners with a sermon on "The Virgin Queen" at St. Patrick's church in La Salle, Illinois, a parish administered by the Vincentians. At the end of the month, he preached "a very long sermon on lepers, and various other matters," at Sunday Mass in the parish at the Barrens.[10]

On September 10, 1860, Ryan left for St. Louis where he was to be ordained. Two days after his ordination on September 12, he accompanied Stephen Ryan and collaborated on three consecutive missions, the first at St. Joseph, Missouri, lasting two weeks; the second at Peoria, Illinois, for three weeks; and the third at Janesville, Wisconsin, for two weeks. The St. Joseph mission coincided with a flurry of political meetings running up to the troubled 1860 presidential election that would precipitate the Civil War. Despite the meetings, the small church's evening services were overflowing with people, who spilled into the sacristy and onto the grounds, where they peered through

[9]Lynch to S.V. Ryan, July 12, 1859, Personnel Files: Lynch, DRMA; Entries of October 24, 1859, January 6 and 25, 1860, and March 17, 1860, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA.

[10]Entries of July 19–21 and July 27, 1860, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA; Thomas A. Shaw, *Story of the La Salle Mission*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1907–08), 2:32.

the open windows. At the conclusion of the mission, "there was not a dry eye in the church."[11]

The two Ryans hurried by train to Peoria where their confreres, Fathers Edmond Henesy and Michael O'Reilly, had already opened the mission at St. Mary's parish. It was here that Abraham Ryan met Father Henry Coyle, who would later take him in. During the second week of the mission, Bishop James Duggan of Chicago, a friend of the Vincentians and former pastor of Abraham Ryan in St. Louis, came to Peoria to assist them. Duggan preached, heard confessions, and administered confirmation to 100 faithful, mostly adults.[12]

Leaving Henesy and O'Reilly to close the mission, the two Ryans traveled to Janesville. The pastor there had assured them that 20,000 to 30,000 would avail themselves of the opportunity. He was not far off the mark, as the mission became something of a community event. Protestants of the area were nearly as faithful in attendance as were the Irish Catholic parishioners, and even ministers of various denominations came to hear the sermons. Several diocesan priests assisted in the mission. There were a great number of conversions, and the occasion brought a return to the fold "of a certain number among those previously known for neglecting their religious duties for a great many years and whose lives were empty of good works."[13]

On November 10, the two missionaries returned to the Barrens. Their work together left Stephen Ryan very impressed by his confrere. He reported to the superior general in Paris:

> This young man has more than ordinary abilities, which you can judge by this fact alone, that immediately after his ordination he was able to preach every day for two weeks alternating with me. He promises to make an excellent missionary in a few years when age and experience will have come to the aid of his natural talent. During the course of these three missions, he has rendered me great service and lived up completely to my hopes.[14]

[11]S. V. Ryan to Jean-Baptiste Étienne, February 1, 1860, *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission*, 26 (1861), 565–69; Slawson, "'To Bring Glad Tidings,'" p. 170; Slawson, "Catholic Revivalism," p. 226.

[12]S. V. Ryan to Étienne, February 1, 1860, *Annales*, 26 (1861), 570–71.

[13]S. V. Ryan to Étienne, February 1, 1860, *Annales*, 26 (1861), 571–73.

[14]S. V. Ryan to Étienne, February 1, 1860, *Annales*, 26 (1861), 565–66; Entry of November 10, 1860, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA.

The provincial appointed him to the mission band at the Barrens. Abraham Ryan's future as a missionary was indeed bright.

The two Ryans had reached home just as the sectional crisis came to a head in 1860. Vincentian houses of formation kept a diary of events. To judge by handwriting and sentiment, Abraham Ryan had care of the diary of St. Mary of the Barrens during the crucial months of the crisis of the Union.[15] A Missourian from his infancy, Ryan reflected the thinking of a large portion of his state. Because this is so, it is necessary to understand Missouri's position regarding the Union during the critical months after the election of Abraham Lincoln to understand the mind of Ryan as expressed in the house diary.

Surrounded on three sides by free states, slaveholding Missouri stood out from the western part of the nonslaveholding North. Most slaveholding counties lay alongside or within fifty miles of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. In 1860 about half of Missourians were, like members of the Ryan family, emigrants or their descendants from other states of the Upper South, with attendant political sympathies. The other half had emigrated from free states or other countries, especially Germans who settled predominantly in St. Louis and opposed slavery.[16]

St. Mary of the Barrens Seminary was located at the heart of Perry County, a microcosm of the state. On the eve of the Civil War, 13 percent of white families there were slaveholders. Settled largely by emigrants from states in the Upper South, the county also became home to immigrants from Belgium, France, and especially Germany. The population of the seminary was also quite diverse. Of the 136 people living there—priests, students, and laborers—27 percent had been born in the South, and 57 percent were immigrants, mainly from Ireland, but with a healthy sprinkling of Germans.[17]

[15]Typically, someone was appointed the recorder of the house diary for a specified amount of time. Abraham Ryan took over the duty of recording on January 2, 1861, and maintained the diary until July 20 of that year, with the exception of the times he was away giving missions.

[16]Harrison A. Trexler, *Slavery in Missouri, 1804–1865* (Baltimore, 1914), pp. 9–13; William E. Parrish, ed., *A History of Missouri,* 6 vols. (Columbia, MO, 1971–97), 3:6–8; Virgil C. Blum, "The Political and Military Activities of the German Element in St. Louis, 1859–1861," *Missouri Historical Review*, 42 (1948), 106–07.

[17]Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements until Admission of the State into the Union*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1908), 1:382–87; *The Centennial History of Perry County, Missouri, 1821–1921* (Perryville,

In 1860, Missourians showed themselves to be both pro-Union and laissez-faire regarding slavery. In the gubernatorial and presidential elections that occurred in the summer and fall, respectively, the people overwhelmingly rejected sectional candidates. In the governor's race in August, office-seekers aligned themselves with the various contenders for the presidency. Fully 89 percent of voters cast ballots for the candidates supporting Stephen Douglas and John Bell, indicating that the state overwhelmingly favored the Union and wanted no agitation over slavery. In the presidential race in the fall, Missourians gave a combined 71 percent of their votes to Douglas and Bell, while rejecting sectional candidates Abraham Lincoln and John Breckinridge. Correctly reading the popular mood, Governor Claiborne Fox Jackson, a states' rights advocate and secessionist sympathizer, assured citizens in his inaugural address that Missouri would remain in the Union as long as northern states made no attempt to relegate their slaveholding sisters to a position of inferiority. If hostilities erupted, Missouri would cast its lot with the South.[18]

Jackson urged the legislature to pass a militia bill to summon every able-bodied man to the state's defense and asked lawmakers to call a convention to determine Missouri's relation to the Union. Controlled by Douglas Democrats and Constitutional Unionists, the legislature refused to enact the military bill, but did call a state convention to meet on February 28, 1861. When the convention met, delegates decided that there was insufficient cause for the state to secede and

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MO, 1921), n. pag.; Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi: The Settlement of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri, 1839–1841* (St. Louis, 1958), pp. 1–112; Stafford Poole, C.M., and Douglas Slawson, *Church and Slave in Perry County, Missouri, 1818–1865* (Lewiston, NY, 1986), pp. 3–7, 19–24, 141–89; *Goodspeed's History of Southeast Missouri, Embracing an Historical Account of the Counties of Ste. Genevieve, St Francois, Perry, Cape Girardeau, Bollinger, Madison, New Madrid, Pemiscot, Dunklin, Scott, Mississippi, Stoddard, Butler, Wayne and Iron* (Cape Girardeau, MO, 1955), p. 166; Federal Census, 1860, Perry County, MO.

[18]Arthur Roy Kirkpatrick, "Missouri on the Eve of the Civil War," *Missouri Historical Review,* 55 (1961), 99–102; William H. Lyon, "Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Secession Crisis in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, 58 (1964), 422–32; Christopher Phillips, "Calculated Confederate: Claiborne Jackson and the Strategy for Secession in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review,* 94 (2000), 389–98; Parrish, *History of Missouri*, 3:1–4; *The Union Army: A History of Military Affairs in the Loyal States 1861–1865, Records of the Regiments in the Union Army, Cyclopedia of Battles, Memoirs of Commanders and Soldiers*, 8 vols. (Madison, WI, 1908), 4:228–30. Kirkpatrick argues that Jackson was an uncompromising secessionist who pursued a determined (if sometimes devious) policy to carry Missouri out of the Union. Lyon portrays Jackson as an astute politician pursuing the politics of the possible and compromising accordingly.

urged both the federal government and the seven seceded states to resist a resort to arms and find a peaceful settlement of the situation.[19]

The city of St. Louis became the flashpoint of the political and military crisis in the state. St. Louis County was one of only two that had voted for Lincoln. The city housed a federal arsenal with arms for 36,000 soldiers. Congressman Frank Blair, a friend and supporter of Lincoln, organized the city's antislavery Germans and pro-Union groups into the Home Guards. At the same time, Jackson's lieutenant governor enlisted states' rights advocates in St. Louis as Minute Men. Each side realized that whoever controlled the arsenal would control St. Louis and eventually the state.[20]

When Fort Sumter fell in early April and Lincoln called into federal service 75,000 state militiamen, Jackson refused to send Missouri's quota, an action widely applauded throughout the state. So, Blair offered his Home Guards to the federal government, and the War Department authorized the enrollment of up to 10,000 of them. Captain Nathaniel Lyon, an advocate of federal supremacy who then had charge of the arsenal, armed Blair's Guards. Jackson called a special session of the legislature and ordered the militia into training throughout the state, in effect placing Missouri in a position of armed neutrality against the federal government.[21]

In early May, the militia established Camp Jackson on the western outskirt of St. Louis. Although the camp's two main streets were named "Davis" and "Beauregard," the Stars and Stripes flew from the

[19]Kirkpatrick, "Missouri on Eve of Civil War," pp. 103–06; Lyon, "Jackson and the Secession Crisis," p. 433; Phillips, "Calculated Confederate," pp. 399–400; Parrish, *History of Missouri*, 3:6, 8–10; *Union Army*, 4:232–35; *Goodspeed's History of Southeast Missouri*, p. 90; James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York, 1988), pp. 252–56.

[20]James W. Covington, "The Camp Jackson Affair: 1861," *Missouri Historical Review,* 55 (1961), 198; Kirkpatrick, "Missouri on Eve of Civil War," pp. 107–08; Arthur Roy Kirkpatrick, "Missouri in the Early Months of the Civil War," *Missouri Historical Review,* 55 (1961), 235–38, 251; Phillips, "Calculated Confederate," pp. 398–403; Blum, "Political and Military Activity of German Element," pp. 107–22; Parrish, *History of Missouri*, pp. 4–5; *Union Army*, 4:230, 237–38.

[21]Kirkpatrick, "Early Months of the Civil War," pp. 235–38, 251–54; Lyon, "Jackson and the Secession Crisis," p. 434; Phillips, "Calculated Confederate," pp. 403–06; Blum, "Political and Military Activity of German Element," pp. 122–28; Parrish, *History of Missouri*, 3:10–11; *Union Army*, 4:239–41; *Goodspeed's History of Southeast Missouri*, p. 91.

flagpole. Believing that the post constituted a threat, Lyon decided to capture it. On May 10, federal troops, mostly German Home Guards, surrounded the camp and demanded surrender. The hopelessly outnumbered militia complied. Onlookers began to shout, "Hurrah for Jeff Davis" and "Damn the Dutch." A shot rang out, and the Home Guards opened fire on civilians, killing twenty-eight and wounding some seventy-five more. Rioting continued into the night and for several days thereafter.[22]

News of the massacre electrified the state. The legislature took fifteen minutes to pass the militia bill and followed it with an act to suppress rebellion and repel invasion. As the state mobilized its defense, the Union commander struck a deal permitting the militia to control the state while federal troops controlled St. Louis. The agreement displeased extremists on both sides. Blair replaced the commander with newly promoted Brigadier General Nathaniel Lyon. To buy time, Governor Jackson offered to disband the militia if Lyon would guarantee that no federal troops would be stationed in or pass through Missouri. When Lyon refused, Jackson called up 50,000 state troops to repel invasion. War had come to Missouri.[23]

The ordeal of Missouri—its will to see the Union preserved, its desire to maintain its sovereignty and independence in the face of increasingly coercive federal power, its difficult position between opposing sides, and its ultimate schizophrenic decision—was reflected in the mental ordeal of Abraham Ryan. His entries in the house diary reveal his tortured path toward resistance of federal power and support of secession. For him, slavery was never the issue, at least not directly. Rather, it was states' rights and liberty. Despite the Vincentian rule against writing about political matters, Ryan gave free rein to his thoughts.[24]

The first significant entry occurred on January 4, 1861, several weeks after the secession of South Carolina. That morning, the com-

[22]Covington, "Camp Jackson Affair," pp. 201–12; Kirkpatrick, "Early Months of the Civil War," pp. 254–55; Phillips, "Calculated Confederate," pp. 406–08; Parrish, *History of Missouri*, 3:11–14; *Union Army*, 4:242–41; *Goodspeed's History of Southeast Missouri*, pp. 92–96.

[23]Kirkpatrick, "Early Months of Civil War," pp. 239–44; Lyon, "Jackson and the Secession Crisis," pp. 436–39; Phillips, "Calculated Confederate," pp. 408–14; Parrish, *History of Missouri*, 3:14–22; *Union Army*, 4:242–44.

[24]Vincent de Paul, "Common Rules of the Congregation of the Mission," in *Constitutions and Statutes of the Congregation of the Mission* (Rome, 1984), p. 134.

munity held a solemn high Mass "for the welfare of the distracted union." Stephen Ryan preached "a brief but beautiful sermon on the occasion." Abraham Ryan took the opportunity to grieve over the plight of the nation. Like other Missourians, he valued the Union and clearly did not wish to see it disrupted. Yet, just as clearly, he believed that liberty was about to be extinguished by the North. "Poor America!" begins the lament.

> Who would ever have thought that the doleful day would come when the bonds of fraternity linking the states together would be ruthlessly severed and perhaps forever. The spirit of liberty is about to wing its way to other climes. 'Tis well that the heroes of 76 are sleeping in their honored graves; what bitter burning tears would course down their manly cheeks, if standing on immortal Bunker-hill and gazing upon the most beautiful land of earth, they heard the battle cry of the disunionists echoing along from the shores of Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico. America! your glorious destiny is fading away. Home of the brave and land of the free! accept the tears of one who was born on your soil, who has breathed your pure air, . . . who has watched with pride your unparralled [*sic*] progress & prosperity, who would die for your sake. Your glorious star-spangled horizon is black with lowering clouds, the storm is about to burst, destruction is in its breath. But when in the grave of fallen greatness you are buried let history carve this epitaph upon your tombstone.
>
> "Here lies a once-glorious nation. Born in 1776 its life was one of glory and renown, its name was honored the wide-world over. Its power & prosperity were the admiration of nations. . . . It finished its glorious career in 1861 and met with its death at the hands of James Buchanan the traitor and the North."

Ryan pictured President Buchanan as a traitor to the South because he owed his election to that section and yet, in the moment of crisis, denied the constitutionality of secession and upheld federal supremacy over states' rights. For Ryan, the North was clearly to blame for the destruction of the Union because of its agitation over the issue of slavery. Allowing the bulk of the panegyric to stand, another Vincentian went into the diary and scratched out the words "the traitor and the North," apparently willing to let the appeasing Buchanan take the blame for the disruption of the Union, without considering him a traitor or the North at fault.[25]

[25]Entry of January 4, 1861, Record of the Principal Events at Saint Mary's Seminary during 1859–1864, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, pp. 246–56.

On January 20, after Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia had joined South Carolina in secession, the brooding Ryan noted: "The storm-cloud of disruption is gathering darker around us. Like a pall of death it hangs over the land. May God guard our lives & what is dearer still, our liberty."[26] More cherished than life was liberty for Ryan. As will be seen, such freedom meant not only the right of people and states to choose their position in relation to the Union but also the right of Vincentians to choose their relationship to the Vincentian community.

The ambivalent, almost schizophrenic, mind of Ryan is revealed in nearly back-to-back entries. On February 18, 1861, the election day for delegates to the state convention, seventeen members of the community went to the polls to vote for the Catholic slaveholder Ruben Shelby. "Seven bright stars have been already erased from the glorious constellation of thirty three [*sic*]," wrote Ryan. "May Missouri, the western star glitter on the spangled banner as long as the banner waves." Yet, ten days later, when the convention opened in Jefferson City, he had completely reversed himself: "Missouri convention meets to-day in the Capital of the state. May we secede! Amen."[27] Nothing in the intervening entries indicates what might have caused Ryan to move from wanting to see Missouri remain in the Union to wishing to see it join the Deep South.

In April, when news of the fall of Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call to arms reached the Barrens, Ryan again dramatically lamented the collapse of the Union and the end of liberty at the hands of the North: "War has bared his ruthless arm & announced his revel in blood at Fort Sumpter [*sic*]. North & south are arrayed against one another & are preparing for the combat which is to seal the *downfall* of America. Day after day does news come. The union is gone, the spirit of liberty is flying away. Peace has vanished. . . . [T]he grave is dug, dug by the North. Grand & glorious republic you will soon be only a melancholy mass of ruins, a thing of the past, a byword among nations, the grandest historical proof of the mutability and evenanescence [*sic*] of mortal projects."[28]

[26]Entry of January 20, 1861, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA; McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, p. 235.

[27]Entries of February 19 and 28, 1861, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA. In fact, the election occurred on February 18, 1861.

[28]Entry of April 21, 1861, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA, emphasis in original.

Two weeks later, Ryan traveled to St. Louis to join Stephen Ryan in giving a parish mission at St. Bridget's church. The pair had scarcely begun their work when violence erupted with the capture of Camp Jackson. On his return to the Barrens, an appalled Abraham Ryan noted in the diary that the mission was discontinued

> by reason of the disturbances prevailing through the city, the consequence of the inhuman conduct of the Dutch in the Seizure of Camp Jackson, where with heartless cruelty they fired into a defenceless [*sic*] crowd of spectators, killing & wounding men, *women*, & CHILDREN. May this brutal deed be eternalized![29]

Here was federal coercive power in action. The Camp Jackson incident was a turning point for the state. It forced many a conditional Unionist off the fence. It demonstrated that the federal government and its supporters would use force against state sovereignty. It also marked Ryan's abandonment of affection for the Union and his wholehearted embrace of the Confederacy.

Scarcely a week later, at the end of May, he waxed at first melancholy and then martial. Reconciled now to the death of the Union, he took his stand with Dixie. Wrote Ryan on the twenty-ninth:

> A dreary, heart-depressing rainy day. The weather this year is inclined to be pluvial, perhaps 'tis the angels weeping over poor ruined America. Our country's dangers are thickening. The north is tumultuously talking, the south in the silence of a firm solemn resolve is girding herself for the conflict and preparing to meet the vandal-hordes of Abe Lincoln & to vindicate at swords point [*sic*] & cannon's mouth southern heroism & southern prowess. Hurrah! for Jeff Davis and A[lexander]. Stephens.

The future poet laureate of the South then penned what is probably his first Civil War verse:

> Abe Lincoln, Abe Lincoln beware of the day
> When Southerners shall meet thee in battle array.
> For a field of the dead rushes red on my sight
> And the clans of thy minions are scattered in flight.
> And the Hessians shall cringe and like dogs shall they cower
> While onward the sons of the south in their power
> Shall march in their glory undaunted & brave
> To live on as free-men or rest in the grave.[30]

[29]Parenthetical entry of May 15, 1861 (following the entry of May 20), Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA, emphasis in original.

[30]Entry of May 29, 1861, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA.

Like the majority of Missourians, Ryan had desired the preservation of the Union as it was. He viewed the disruption of the republic as the demise of liberty, giving way to a coercion that must be resisted. Lincoln and the North were oppressors. The South would live free or die.[31] As will be seen, the theme of liberty woven through these entries is probably what would carry Ryan out of the Vincentian community.

On June 1, 1861, Stephen Ryan sent Abraham Ryan and Joseph O'Brien to preach a mission at St. Mary's Landing, a settlement about twelve miles northeast of the Barrens on the bank of the Mississippi. Five days later, O'Brien returned with word that attendance was thin and there was not much promise. Stephen Ryan assisted Abraham for the final two days of the mission and then caught a boat to St. Louis en route to the general assembly of the Vincentian community in Paris. Contrary to O'Brien, when the younger Ryan returned to the Barrens, he reported that the mission "was pretty successful."[32]

Citing post–Civil War sources, Ryan's most recent biographers, Donald Beagle and Bryan Giemza, suggest that in July and August 1861, he was freelancing as a chaplain with Louisiana regiments in Virginia and was present at the battle of First Bull Run.[33] This seems unlikely. The handwriting and style in the house diary are certainly Ryan's through July 21, 1861 (the day of Bull Run). Only on July 24 does a new scribe take over and continue for the remainder of the summer.[34] Moreover, the two authors place Ryan at the Niagara seminary in September of that year, but he was clearly elsewhere.[35]

Apparently, before departing for Paris, the provincial had decided to send Abraham Ryan to teach dogmatic theology at St. Vincent's College in Cape Girardeau, forty miles south of the Barrens. The college served as the seminary for the ecclesiastical province of St. Louis. Ryan left St. Mary's Seminary and arrived at Cape Girardeau on

[31]On the role that "liberty" played in Southern life and the decision for secession, see McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, pp. 240–42, 283–84, 310–11, 860–61; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics & Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), pp. 70, 72–73, 111–13; James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York, 1998), pp. 239–42.

[32]Entries of June 1, 5, 8, and 9, 1861, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA.

[33]Beagle and Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause*, pp. 44–51.

[34]See entries of June and July, *passim*, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA.

[35]Beagle and Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause*, p. 52.

September 1 in the midst of the Union military buildup and fortification of the town. He fell ill for nearly two months and was more or less bedridden. Given his Southern sympathy, the presence of several thousand federal troops probably contributed to his condition. Ryan later claimed that during this sickness, "I was treated like a dog." It seems likely that all was not well at the college, because, at a meeting of the house council in late September, "some ten remarks were made about *our own* sick." This cryptic comment might indicate poor treatment or refer to complaints about malingering confreres. In either case, Ryan later said that at this point, "I made arrangements to leave the Congregation. I thought I would wait awhile." He was finally sent to the hospital in St. Louis to recover.[36]

When Stephen Ryan returned from Paris in October, he visited Abraham Ryan at Sister's Hospital. The provincial then transferred him to Niagara, where his brother David was still a student. It is likely that because Abraham Ryan's health had improved during his first stay at Niagara, the provincial sent him there again for the same reason. In fact, Ryan's health did improve, and he developed mission sermons on the typical topics: the "End of Man," "Mortal Sin," "Revelation," and "Death." In early December, Stephen Ryan brought Anthony Rossi to join the faculty at Niagara. Thus, three young classmates were stationed at that house: Rossi, Abraham Ryan, and Patrick O'Regan.[37]

[36]Quotation from Minutes of the House Council of St. Vincent's College, September 24, 1861, St. Vincent's College (hereafter cited as SVC), Box 2, DRMA, emphasis in original. Entry of September 1, 1861, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA; A. J. Ryan to Maller, April 10, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 356; a copy is also in Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA; Personnel of the House, St. Vincent's College, Beginning 1859, SVC, Box 2, DRMA; John Rybolt, C.M., "St. Vincent's College and Theological Education," *Vincentian Heritage,* 7, 291–308. Ryan's account of his whereabouts coincides with corroborating evidence (*cf.* S. V. Ryan to Étienne, November 12, 1861, *Annales*, 27 [1862], 282–83; S. V. Ryan to Maller, April 5, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 269). This sequence is more likely than the one given by McKey (*History of Niagara University*, pp. 153–70), which has been accepted by subsequent biographers. Regarding the military buildup at Cape Girardeau, see S. V. Ryan to Étienne, November 12, 1861, *Annales*, 27 (1862), 282; S. V. Ryan to Maller, November 25, 1861, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, 266; James McGill to Maller, February 5, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 125; Mark Bliss, "The Defense of Fort D," *Southeast Missourian*, January 19, 2005, <http://semissourian.rustcom.net/story/154607.html>; Scott Moyers, "Area Civil War History Buffs Work to Clean Up Fort D," *Southeast Missourian*, November 20, 2005, <http://www.semissourian.com/story/1126667.html>.

[37]A. J. Ryan to Maller, April 10, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 356; Abraham J. Ryan, Sermons & Plans of Sermons. Ideas & Thoughts on Various Subjects, December 3, 1861. Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, Copybook, Our Lady of Angels Seminary, DRMA; Entry of

Something must have occurred, because in January 1862, the provincial returned for a formal visit and stayed for a few weeks, longer than any previous visit. He then appointed Thomas Smith superior of the house; and, as John Asmuth noted, "by way of supplementary appointment, for the temporal and spiritual welfare of both parties, Mr. A. Ryan was appointed Admonitor to the Superior, if some one improves by this appointment it will do no harm." An admonitor was a person assigned to watch the superior and correct him if he disobeyed the rules. Apparently, there must have been some friction between Smith and the younger Ryan, and the provincial's solution was to place both men in positions where they could keep an eye on each other. Stephen Ryan intended to return to Niagara after visiting other Vincentian houses in the East.[38]

Again, based on late-nineteenth century retrospective sources, Beagle and Giemza believe that on February 3, 1862, Abraham Ryan was with General Pierre G.T. Beauregard at Nashville where the priest allegedly spoke at the Masonic Hall.[39] Their sources were probably mistaken. It is impossible that the young Ryan would have been absent from a formal visitation by the provincial. Moreover, on February 6, Asmuth wrote that the five Vincentians at Niagara—he specifically named all five, including Abraham Ryan—formed "quite a small and interesting fraternity" that would do credit to their confreres at the Barrens. "The only fear I have," added Asmuth, was that "they may do too much."[40] Such a statement would seem to refute the idea of long absences from the house by Ryan if all were working as hard as Asmuth claimed.

Stephen Ryan's effort to resolve difficulties among the "interesting fraternity" at Niagara apparently were short-lived. In late March, he took Abraham Ryan to a new assignment: St. Patrick's church in La Salle, Illinois, a small town southwest of Chicago about halfway to

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December 9, 1861, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA. For the timing of Stephen Ryan's return from the General Assembly in Paris, see S. V. Ryan to Maller, October 12, 1861, Buffalo, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 264.

[38]John Asmuth to Patrick McMenamy, February 6, 1862, Personnel Files: J. Asmuth, DRMA; S. V. Ryan to Maller, February 18, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 167. A Vincentian provincial was required to make periodic formal visits to each house to ensure its smooth running, inquire about problems or issues, and reach agreement with the confreres about steps to be taken and goals to be achieved.

[39]Beagle and Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause*, pp. 54–56.

[40]Asmuth to McMenamy, February 6, 1862, Personnel Files: J. Asmuth, DRMA.

Peoria. Stationed there were Mark Anthony, James Knowd, and John Koop, who had been a year ahead of Ryan in the seminary. Not long after his arrival in La Salle, the twenty-four-year-old Ryan sent a request directly to Paris asking for dismissal from the Vincentians. The traditional reason for his desire to leave the community was his sympathy for the Southern cause and his unwillingness to keep it to himself according to the rule.[41] But, using Ryan's letter of request, recent biographers have identified another motive: a problem with authority.[42]

Ryan addressed himself directly to Father Mariano Maller, a former provincial of the American Vincentians who was then a secretary to the superior general in Paris. Ryan said that for the past 30 months, he had had "no peace, no content & no satisfaction in the congregation." "In the first place," he explained, "it seems impossible for me to agree or to sympathize with my superiors," especially the provincial. "Reprimands & rebukes have been my daily bread," he wrote. "Sometimes I deserved them, sometimes I did not." "It was thought, and without any foundation," he continued, "that I was too fond of preaching & on that account restrictions were unduly placed on me, from which others were free." His superiors, he said, placed no trust in him nor could he please them: "Three years ago I was made prefect. I did not satisfy them. I was then, after my ordination, taken to give missions. I did not satisfy them." When Stephen Ryan returned from the General Assembly and visited him at the hospital in St. Louis, "his first word to me was a reprimand for having complained of the treatment I received when sick [at Cape Girardeau]." When the provincial visited the seminary at Niagara in early 1862, "again for no earthly reason that I know I was rebuked for working in an underhand manner." He was then placed temporarily at La Salle before his transfer to St. Louis. As he had lost interest in and love for the Vincentian community, Ryan said that he was unwilling "to live a

[41]A. J. Ryan to Maller, April 10, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 356; S. V. Ryan to Maller, February 18, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 267 (in this letter, the provincial tells Maller that he will be returning to Niagara and asks him to send his reply there); S. V. Ryan to Maller, March 4, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 268 (in this letter, the provincial indicates that he had just arrived in Germantown, PA, after visiting Niagara and Baltimore); S. V. Ryan to Maller, April 5, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 269 (in this letter, the provincial states that he has gone to La Salle); *Catalogue des Maisons et du Personnel de la Congrégation de la Mission*, February 1862 (Paris, 1862); McKey, *History of Niagara University*, pp. 153–70; Oldemoppen, *Abram J. Ryan*, pp. 9–19; Beagle and Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause*, pp. 56–60.

[42]O'Connell, *Furl That Banner*, pp. 11–15, 21–26; Bowes, "Glory in the Gloom," pp. 103–10.

hypochrite [*sic*] in it." He had written to Father Isaac Hecker about joining the Paulist Fathers, "a new congregation of Missionaries lately established in this country, who make no vows." He was also considering service as a diocesan priest. He told Maller, "I have informed no one of my determination & of this letter, except my present confessor."[43]

Ryan waited three months for his letter of dismissal. When it did not arrive, he sent a second, briefer letter stating that because he had been "mistreated by the visitor [i.e., provincial] & my local superiors I have little peace indeed & can bear it no longer." "In this country everything seems to be done arbitrarily in the congregation," he complained. "I have some talent for preaching, but in the eyes of superiors when I preach, I preach myself & not the cross." Admitting that he might "be too sensitive," he again demanded that his dismissal be granted as soon as possible.[44] This second request reached the superior general less than three weeks later. The superior general granted the dismissal and asked Maller to inform the young Ryan that the dispensation from his vows was being sent to the provincial.[45]

In late August 1862, the provincial, unaware that Abraham Ryan was seeking dismissal, had requested that he make the customary annual retreat with the Vincentians at the house in St. Louis, which now included St. Vincent's parish, the novitiate, and the major seminary. Prior to the retreat, Ryan learned that his dismissal had been granted, but he did not inform the provincial. Shortly before or during the retreat, Stephen Ryan received the letter of dismissal. He wrote to Maller:

> You may imagine my surprise at receiving . . . the dispensation of his vows without any intimation either from himself or from Paris that he had ever applied for it. The consultors [of the province] were no less surprised than myself.

On the evening the spiritual exercises concluded, the provincial handed the letter to Abraham.[46]

[43]A. J. Ryan to Maller, April 10, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 356.

[44]A. J. Ryan to Maller, July 10, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 357; a copy is also in Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA.

[45]A. Devin to Maller, Vichy, July 28, 1862, copy, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA.

[46]S. V. Ryan to Maller, September 4, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 272 (this is the second letter bearing this number and immediately follows the first); S. V. Ryan to Patrick McMenamy, September 1, 1862, Personnel Files: McMenamy, DRMA.

On September 1, 1862, the morning after the provincial delivered the dismissal, Ryan left to join Father Coyle at St. Mary's parish in Peoria, where he and Stephen Ryan had preached a mission in fall 1860. In early 1861, Coyle had written to Stephen Ryan that there was simply too much work for one priest to sustain the beneficial effects of the mission. It is likely that the provincial shared this information with Abraham Ryan. It seems equally obvious that Coyle and Ryan had worked out an arrangement prior to the latter's departure from the Vincentians because faculties permitting him to function in the Diocese of Chicago were awaiting his arrival at St. Mary's.[47]

At the end of September, Ryan wrote to his mother to inform her that he had left the Vincentians. He said that for the past four years he had patiently suffered various grievances at the hands of the community. He had sought to have his issues redressed, but to no avail. So, he asked for a "dispensation and obtained it & the reason of my going to St. Louis and making the retreat was to decide the matter." Ryan assured her:

> Even at the last moment I offered to remain on condition that the grievances should be redressed, but F. Ryan [the provincial] would listen to no conditions so that the only alternative left was to break off connection with the order, which I did conscientiously, honorably, after prayer, much consultation and full deliberation. . . . I am perfectly in the right and therefore care not what people think about the matter.

Whether this conversation with the provincial ever took place is unknown. The older Ryan did not address the matter in his correspondence. The fact that the young Ryan never told the latter that he had requested and received dismissal raises questions. He had also told Maller that the only person who knew that he was seeking dismissal was his confessor, whom he had *informed* of his decision. If he reached that decision after much consultation, the identity of his advisers is an interesting issue. Ryan told his mother that he would likely remain in Peoria to help Coyle resolve the church's debts; and he would then go to the Diocese of Toronto where Bishop Lynch, his former superior and theology professor at Niagara, had asked him to give parish missions for a year.[48]

[47]A. J. Ryan to Mary Coughlin Ryan, September 27, 1862, Ryan Archive, Belmont Abbey College (hereafter cited as RABAC); A. J. Ryan to John Moloney, September 12, 1862, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA.

[48]A. J. Ryan to M. C. Ryan, September 27, 1862, RABAC; Henry Coyle to S. V. Ryan, February 21, 1861, Provincial Papers: Ryan, DRMA; A. J. Ryan to John Moloney, September 12, 1862, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA.

The true reason behind Abraham Ryan's departure from the Vincentians is difficult to ascertain. His letters requesting dismissal are fraught with problems. He told Maller that he had not been content in the community for the last two and a half years. Yet, his letter to Stephen Ryan of April 1859 stated that he had never been more content. He complained that he failed to please his superiors as a prefect and missionary. This, too, is difficult to understand. When he returned to the Barrens from Niagara he was appointed second prefect, something that would have been unlikely if he had performed the task so miserably in New York. It is certain that the provincial believed that he had distinct promise as a missionary and was well pleased with his performance in fall 1860. Moreover, he continued to send the young Ryan on missions, first taking him to St. Louis for the abortive mission at St. Bridget's and then sending him to St. Mary's Landing. Abraham Ryan also stated that restrictions were placed on his preaching while others were free to preach as they chose. It is impossible to know what those restrictions might have been. Certainly it was not a moratorium against preaching. From November 1860 through August 1861, the house diary of St. Mary of the Barrens records nineteen instances of sermons. Ryan preached one-third of them, more than anyone else in the house, including the provincial.[49] Again, in his second letter he states that he had been mistreated by every superior, yet in his letter to his mother he averred that he would be going to give missions in Toronto at the request of Bishop Lynch, a former superior who had allegedly mistreated him. He later referred to Father Anthony, his superior at La Salle, as "a fine, noble hearted man."[50]

On the other hand, the letters do contain elements of truth. For instance, Ryan said that he was treated poorly while ill at Cape Girardeau, and evidence might support that claim. He also indicates that the provincial upbraided him for acting in an underhanded manner during his second assignment at Niagara. As the previously cited Asmuth letter makes clear, there was something occurring between Ryan and Smith. Speaking of the young priests stationed at Niagara, Knowd later wrote that if any were appointed to a position

[49]Entries from November 10, 1860, to September 1, 1861, *passim*, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA. It should be noted that priests did not deliver daily homilies in those days, and it seems that it may have been uncommon for priests to preach every Sunday. It should also be noted that the provincial was away at the Vincentian General Assembly in Paris for nearly three months during that period.

[50]A. J. Ryan to John Moloney, September 12, 1862, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA.

of authority, "confusion & cabal [would be] the consequence."[51] Such a statement would tend to support the idea that the younger Ryan may have been acting in a subversive way and was admonished for it. In all likelihood, Ryan was probably trying to paint as dark a picture as possible in his letters to ensure he achieved his aim: liberty.

This is not to absolve Stephen Ryan of all responsibility in the young Ryan's departure. In his second letter to Paris, Abraham Ryan complained of the arbitrary manner that characterized the operation of the province. He was not alone in his criticism. One provincial consultor, Father James Rolando, who had recently transferred from the East Coast to St. Louis, wrote to Paris about the style of Stephen Ryan:

> [H]is manners are rather cool and very reserved, I mean not communicative enough; and I am not the only one who finds him so; taking all together his ways are not conciliating. Add to this that, as it seems to me he sometimes acts too much *in motu proprio* [on his own authority].

Rolando remarked that the provincial had made many changes without seeking advice from the consultors. So strongly did he feel about his difficulties with Stephen Ryan that he asked either to be allowed to return to Italy or transfer to another house.[52] Similarly, when in 1863 Father James McGill was suddenly removed as superior from St. Vincent's College at Cape Girardeau and transferred to Niagara, he complained that the provincial provided no reason for the change. The transfer left McGill bewildered, wondering what, if anything, he had done wrong.[53]

In light of such evidence, it is possible that the provincial's rapid movement of Abraham Ryan from assignment to assignment was probably done without consultation and perhaps without explanation, appearing arbitrary to the latter. The younger Ryan noted that his last superior, Father Anthony, blamed the provincial for his departure.[54]

[51]James Knowd to Maller, March 29, 1864, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 154.

[52]James Rolando to Maller, July 26, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 353. The superior general gave Rolando permission to move to another house, but Rolando did not do so (Maller to Rolando, October 21, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 354).

[53]McGill to Etienne, October 23, 1864, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 132.

[54]A. J. Ryan to John Maloney, September 12, 1862, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA.

For his part, Stephen Ryan considered the group of priests that Abraham grew up with to be a problem. He wrote to Maller:

> I do not in the least regret his defection, it is rather a gain for the community, and there may be one or two more of the same school, received as he was and subjected to the same influences, who if they do not follow his steps, will never edify nor strengthen us much.[55]

Nearly two months later, the provincial reiterated the point: "As to Mr. A. J. Ryan's exodus I am in no way displeased with it. . . . All sensible confreres know that we are better without him than with him."[56] If Abraham Ryan had an authority problem, some of the sensible confreres considered that difficulty symptomatic of a more nationalistic tendency: liberty and independence.

Vincentian rules required members of the community to be Carthusians at home and missionaries abroad—that is, they were to find companionship among themselves in their houses and maintain a reflective silence apart from times of scheduled recreation. Contact with people outside the community was to be kept at a minimum and confined only to "what needs to be said, or what can promote the salvation and spiritual development of either party." This was known as the rule of separation. Furthermore, obedience, submission, and humility rather than independence and self-assertion were hallmarks of a good Vincentian.[57]

Several Vincentians found this spirit wanting among the priests in Abraham Ryan's class and the class thereafter. Patrick McMenamy, superior at the Barrens, told authorities in Paris:

> There were about six young men ordained a couple of years ago and they appear to have imbibed a spirit of self-will and independence, a spirit of ambition that always desires to be employed among externs and is never content in the solitude of community life. . . . [They] never manifested much signs of being good missioners but these must either change or abandon the Cong[regation].

[55]S. V. Ryan to Maller, September 4, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 273. In fact, Ryan's two classmates, Rossi and Gleeson, were later dismissed from the Vincentians (S. V. Ryan to Maller, December 18, 1863, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 282; John Quigley to Maller, St. Louis, April 20, 1864, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 246; S. V. Ryan to Maller, June 27, 1865, copy, Provincial Papers: S. V. Ryan, DRMA).

[56]S. V. Ryan to Maller, October 22, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 274.

[57]Vincent de Paul, *Common Rules*, pp. 110–11, 121–25, 134–37.

In his own house, he singled out Thomas Shaw and John Moloney, two of Abraham Ryan's friends.[58]

> Like McMenamy, McGill had at St. Vincent's College in Cape [Girardeau] a few young confreres, who felt grieved . . . because they would not be allowed to run about the town going into company and doing things which were entirely incompatible with the teachings of our holy rules, & the spirit of St. Vincent. . . . [S]ome of our young confreres are very far from being animated with that spirit and that their conduct & example are anything but a source of edification to the well disposed member or of advantage before the public.[59]

So lax were some members of the province about limiting contact with outsiders to official duty that Stephen Ryan was said to have placed everyone under "formal precept [command of obedience]" to observe the entire chapter of the Vincentian rule devoted to that issue.[60]

In early 1863, Asmuth, who had lived with Ryan and two of his classmates at Niagara, wrote to McMenamy:

> I have long ago come to the conclusion, that the vital interests of our Community were seriously threatened with danger. I have said this as far as two years back, and I believe now unless something will be done speedily our Province will see humiliation.

He foresaw imminent peril. "I would not fear poverty, nor suffering, nor distress," he continued, "but I fear pride, insubordination and independence, which appear to be now the order of the daily routine." He added that "every one sees this 'moral consumption,' which has seized

[58]Quotation from McMenamy to Étienne, Barrens, July 8, 1863, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 169. Identification from McMenamy to Étienne, Barrens, January 10, 1864, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 170.

[59]McGill to Étienne, Niagara, October 23, 1864, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 132.

[60]Edmond Henesy to Maller, August 16, [1862 or 1863], GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 142. Henesy was complaining about the too-frequent resort to formal obedience made by Stephen Ryan and other superiors. He told Maller that his sympathy for Ryan's administration was "only exterior and put on in order to encourage others to second him [Ryan] in all he does." Henesy said that a dozen Vincentians were prepared to leave the community because of this state of affairs, naming Rossi as one of the disaffected. In fact, Rossi was dismissed from the community in spring 1864 (see n54). For his part, Stephen Ryan considered Henesy a magnet for disaffected Vincentians, who, although he did not share their wayward conduct, conciliated them (S. V. Ryan to Maller, December 18, 1863, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 282).

parts of the moral body, still every one remains silent & quiet."The turbulence of the Civil War and the decay in parts of the Vincentian community caused Asmuth to picture the situation in apocalyptic terms. He told McMenamy:

> We are in the latter days of which the Scripture speaks when the clashing of arms, and the sound of steel and disobedience to Domination shall announce the dissolution of this world. Verily, would it not appear as though the end of the world were not far distant.[61]

Father Knowd shared the concern of Asmuth, McMenamy, McGill, and Stephen Ryan, and shed light on the meaning of the provincial's phrase "received as he [Abraham Ryan] was and subjected to the same influences." Despairing about the future of the province because of "the principles and actions of very many of the young priests," Knowd complained to Maller about their recruitment into the community and their training. He laid much of the blame on Lynch, who "used a method of procuring vocations not to say merely unknown to St. Vincent but actually prohibited by him." Then their master of novices "completed the evil" by eschewing as unfit for modern times "the monkish training of the late middle ages . . . which impressed the eternal truth upon the mind." Lynch had repeatedly told these young men that the Vincentians would never amount to anything in America until the community was in their hands.[62]

The current novice master, John Quigley, told the superior general that he had been expecting Abraham Ryan's departure for the past three years. Considering the young priest vain, too susceptible to flattery, and too soon placed in the limelight, he argued that the real problem was deeper:

> All that I have seen since I have been in the Congregation, and above all since I have been director [of novices] goes to convince me that it is necessary not to give too great a liberty to our young people. You well know . . . the spirit of this country, a spirit of liberty often badly understood and a spirit that seeks to enter into all ranks of society. . . . The rule of separation and of silence are the most difficult for us to keep.[63]

[61]Asmuth to McMenamy, March 18, 1863, Personnel Files: J. Asmuth, DRMA.

[62]Knowd to Maller, March 29, 1864, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 154.

[63]Quigley to Étienne, October 2, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 242. See also S. V. Ryan to Maller, September 4, 1862, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 271; McGill to Étienne, October 23, 1864, GCUSA, series A, reel 1, no. 132.

Ryan's own lifelong friend and classmate, Father Patrick O'Regan, later told Nannie Ryan that her cousin had left the Vincentians because "he didn't like discipline, he didn't care to get up in the morning and wouldn't obey the rules, that he was spoiled, they all praised him so much."[64]

The picture that emerges is one of a gifted young man, something of a prima donna, who chafed at authority, believed he was destined to lead, and wanted independence and freedom. Moreover, Ryan and other young priests were caught in a conflict of values within the Vincentian community itself. At issue was the reconciliation of seventeenth-century French rules with the American values of liberty and independence. The "sensible" confreres were committed to the Counter-Reformation spirituality embodied in the rules, while other "young" confreres had imbibed the national spirit and sought to reconcile it with community life. However, it would be wrong to see this as a generational conflict. To be sure, Knowd was thirty-three years older than Abraham Ryan, but the provincial was just twelve years older, McGill was ten years older, McMenamy was four years older, and Asmuth only two years older. Moreover, some of Ryan's "young" classmates were as old or older than some of the "sensible" men. For instance, Xavier Jacquemet was a year older than Stephen Ryan, and Patrick Gleeson was McMenamy's age.[65] The term *young* obviously indicated recent ordination rather than age.

That liberty and independence—self-will, according to some—were the real motives behind Abraham Ryan's departure from the Vincentians is suggested by his remark that he would either seek to join the Paulist Fathers, "a new congregation of Missionaries lately established in this country, who make no vows, or I will accept a mission under some Bishop." Hidden in this remark was an entire theology of freedom. Isaac Hecker, founder of the Paulists, was a convert to Catholicism who believed that his newfound faith was the one that harmonized best with the American values of freedom and individualism. If America was to become a Catholic country, the Church would have to capitalize on national traits, especially personal liberty and energetic individuality. Hecker reconciled these traits with an authoritarian Catholic Church through his understanding that the Holy Spirit worked in both individuals and the institution. For him, Spirit-

[64]Nannie Ryan to Joseph McKey, July 5, 1923, RABAC.
[65]*Catalogus Sacerdotum et Clericorum*, pp. 8–17 *passim*, AEP.

filled freedom and individualism were not a threat to the Church, but an asset. The Paulists, therefore, took no vows so that they could develop and give free rein to their talents for the good of the Church.[66]

Thus, the spirit of liberty that Abraham Ryan had so praised in the house diary during the crisis of the Union, the spirit that carried the South out of the republic, was the same spirit that caused him to secede from the Vincentians. Unfettered by coercive rules and authority, and unconfined to the companionship of only his confreres, he could give free rein to his talents as he saw fit. As much as that spirit enlivened him, he did not join the Paulists, but served in the vineyard of the Lord in the Diocese of Chicago.

It took Ryan a week to reach Peoria. Coyle welcomed him warmly and placed him in charge of the parish children. Ryan planned to establish a school for Catholic girls. The parish itself was in debt because of the building of a new church. It also had other difficulties, principally factionalism among its members. After only five days there, Ryan wrote to his friend John Moloney at the Barrens that the "people have received me most cordially & they are so glad to have me among them." Coyle had decided to raise money to liquidate the parish debt by having Ryan deliver lectures for a fee. He told Moloney:

> All these things help to alleviate my sorrow & regret for parting with those I love so much & my many occupations prevent me from brooding over the happy past, yet when I am alone & especially at night memory is busy recalling olden times & dear friends & then when I contrast my past with the present & feel that I am alone, solitary, isolated that I may have *friends* but no *confreres*, oh! no wonder that my bosom throbs & my lips sigh &

[66]Isaac T. Hecker, *The Church and the Age: An Exposition of Catholic Church in View of the Needs and Aspirations of the Present Age* (New York, 1896), pp. 7–87; John Farina, *An American Experience of God: The Spirituality of Isaac Hecker* (New York, 1981), pp. 9–12, 46–83; Edward J. Langlois, C.S.P., "Isaac Hecker's Political Thought," in *Hecker Studies: Essays on the Thought of Isaac Hecker*, ed. John Farina (New York, 1983), pp. 49–86; Joseph Gower, "Democracy as Theological Problem in Isaac Hecker's Apologetics," in *American in Theological Perspective*, ed. Thomas McFadden (New York, 1976), pp. 39–52; David O'Brien, "An Evangelical Imperative: Isaac Hecker, Catholicism, and Modern Society," in *Hecker Studies*, ed. Farina, pp. 87–98, 102–115; Joseph Chinnici, O.F.M., *Living Stones: The History and Structure of Catholic Spiritual Life in the United States* (New York, 1989), pp. 91–92, 100, 107–09; Martin J. Kirk, C.F.M., *The Spirituality of Isaac Thomas Hecker: Reconciling the American Character and the Catholic Faith* (New York, 1988), pp. 143–74, 199–214; Margaret Reher, *Catholic Intellectual Life in America: A Historical Study of Persons and Movements* (New York, 1989), pp. 45–49, 57–59.

> my eyes are dimmed with tears. I fear that my happy days are over. There is a gloom, a deep, dark gloom of melancholy over me & it will hang over me & darken my future pathway forever.

Ryan discovered that it was one thing to divorce himself from the Vincentians—the rules and authority—it was quite another to separate himself from long-time associates. Clearly, he had not lost love for many of those at the Barrens, including another brother of his, Edward (called Ned). Despite his statement to his mother that he did not care what others thought about his departure, he urged Moloney: "Tell me all without disguise. What they think, what they say. . . . Does my brother Ned know it & what does he think." Ryan asked his friend to treat Ned kindly and hoped that the latter would remain at the Barrens: "Tis the best place for him."[67]

Ryan quickly gained fame as an orator, no doubt building on a reputation earned during the parish mission in 1860. In early September 1862, he delivered two lectures in Peoria on "The Three Grand Ages of the Church." The first brought in $157. At the end of the month, he was scheduled to lay the cornerstone for a new church in Galesburg and lecture there that night. Later the same week he delivered an address in Monmouth for the benefit of the church there and then returned to Peoria for a speech on Ireland. Word of his success quickly reached the Vincentians. Scarcely two weeks after Ryan took up residence at St. Mary's, McGill wrote to McMenamy that their former confrere was "delivering lectures, 'magna cum laude.'" Yet, the work took its toll. Ryan again fell ill, and Coyle intended to prevent him from preaching or attending to other duties so that he could rest and recover.[68]

At that time, Illinois was deeply divided over the war. Late in 1862, its citizens sent a Democratic majority to Springfield, destined to become the so-called Copperhead Legislature of 1863. A great many in the state wanted an end to hostilities, and there were rumors that the legislature would bring home the state's troops and "secede from the contest." This failed to materialize, although lawmakers did vote to

[67]Quotations from A. J. Ryan to Moloney, September 12, 1862, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA. A. J. Ryan to Moloney, September 17, 1862, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA; A. J. Ryan to McMenamy, July 17, 1863, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA.

[68]McGill to McMenamy, September 21, 1862, Personnel Files: McMenamy, DRMA; A. J. Ryan to John Moloney, September 17, 1862, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA; Coyle to McMenamy, October 3, 1862, Personnel Files: McMenamy, DRMA; *Peoria Daily Transcript*, September 11 and 26, 1962.

support a negotiated armistice to be followed by a peace convention. In March 1863, the U.S. Congress passed the Conscription Act, which subjected all able-bodied men aged twenty to forty-five to the draft. There was resistance to the draft in various parts of Illinois. From Chicago, the Republican editor of the *Tribune* decried the antidraft riots occurring in Fulton County next to Peoria and elsewhere around the state. He considered adherents of the Church of Rome largely disloyal. "The Catholics," he wrote, "compose the backbone of the Copperhead party."[69]

This situation served as the backdrop for Ryan's next moves. In early fall 1862, he visited Nashville, Tennessee, then under Union control, where he was arrested for seditious utterances. He was released and returned to his parish. On December 5, he delivered an address in Peoria on a favorite topic: "Liberty, Its Struggles and Its Heroes." In January 1863, he repeated the lecture in neighboring Pekin under the title "Liberty—Its Heroes and Martyrs." Ryan's thesis in these addresses was that God had created people to be free. Political power belonged to the people, who were at liberty to delegate it to whomever they wished. "When that government becomes tyrannical and oppressive, it is the right of the people to hurl it from the seat of power." Ryan rattled off a litany of freedom fighters: William Tell, Hugh O'Neil, Robert the Bruce, William Wallace, Johann DeKalb, Casimir Pulaski, and Thaddeus Kosciuszko. He concluded by stating "that nothing could undo America but America herself, and made an eloquent appeal to the audience to adopt kind and mild and Christian measures in the sad condition to which the county is now reduced."[70] Whereas both the Republican and Democratic papers of Peoria extolled the address, there can be little doubt that Ryan viewed the Union as the oppressor and the South as the oppressed seeking self-government. Indeed, Southerners viewed themselves as the true heirs of the principles of

[69]First quotation: Quigley to Maller, January 19, 1863, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 243. Second quotation: *Chicago Tribune*, October 23, 1863, 2. *Chicago Tribune*, August 15, 1863, 2; Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War: The Story of the Copperheads* (New York, 1942), pp. 130–32, 138; Frank Klement, *The Copperheads in the Middle West* (Chicago, 1960), pp. 58–66, 79; Jennifer L. Weber, *Copperheads: The Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 23–24, 114–15; Delores Archaimbault and Terry A. Barnhart, "Illinois Copperheads and the American Civil War," *Illinois History Teacher*, 3, no. 1 (1996), 15–19.

[70]Quotations from *Peoria Morning Mail*, December 6, 1862, 3. A. J. Ryan to McMenamy, July 17, 1863, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA; *Peoria Daily Transcript*, December 6, 1862, 3 and January 22, 1863, 3; O'Connell, *Furl That Banner*, pp. 29–30; Beagle and Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause*, p. 63.

the American Revolution. Ryan's call for mild and Christian measures placed him in the camp of Copperheads or Peace Democrats, who sought an armistice and a negotiated settlement, although they differed over whether that settlement should reunite the South with the North or peacefully let it go.

Not long after these addresses, the Democratic paper in Peoria confirmed the existence of a Union League in the town, a secret politico-military society committed to "Dark Lanternism." Run by Radical Republicans, the league even co-opted War Democrats. It supported the aims of the Lincoln administration and heartily endorsed Emancipation. The league threatened violence to "every traitor that dares lift his arm in forcible resistance to the government and those measures necessary to crush out the rebellion."[71]

In March 1863, Coyle resigned from St. Mary's parish, and the twenty-five-year-old Ryan became the pastor. By mid-summer, he had broken down the factions that divided his parishioners, and all was "going on harmoniously." He even gained fame for his charity. When he noticed that the children of certain families under his care failed to attend school, he visited them to discover the reason. In every case it was the same: The parents could not afford decent clothing for their offspring. Ryan took it upon himself to provide the necessary raiment. He continued to maintain cordial relations with his former confreres. In early July, Father William Ryan, brother of the provincial, visited him in Peoria, said Mass, and preached on Sunday. Later that month, Abraham Ryan traveled to St. Louis where he spent time with the Vincentians there. By then, he had two assistant priests to help him, but claimed there was work enough for six. These assistants no doubt made it easier for him to absent himself from the parish.[72]

While things were going well at St. Mary's, tragedy touched the pastor's life. In April, Ryan's brother, David, who had left Niagara to join the Confederate cavalry of General John Hunt Morgan in Kentucky, died near Montecello in that state. Ryan probably learned of his brother's passing sometime in May. In July, he wrote to McMenamy:

[71]Quotation from *Peoria Morning Mail*, March 13, 1863, 1. *Peoria Morning Mail*, March 7, 1863, 3.

[72]Quotation from A. J. Ryan to McMenamy, July 17, 1863, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA. A. J. Ryan to McMenamy, August 8, 1863, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA; *Peoria Daily Transcript*, March 28, 1863, p. 3; *Peoria Morning Mail*, September 11, 1863, 4; O'Connell, *Furl That Banner*, pp. 33–36.

"Dave's death was a great stroke to me. May he rest in peace. Next week I am going to go for his remains." Biographers have argued that Ryan's frequent absences from the parish following his brother's death were probably attempts to locate the body. If he did search for his brother's remains, he never found them.[73] In light of what is discussed below, there may have been a different explanation for his absences.

Although Ryan continued to sign his letters to Vincentian friends as "Abraham," by winter 1863, he had begun signing those to others as "Abram"; by late summer, the papers in Peoria referred to him in the same way. His biographers note that the change in appellation owed to his desire to distance himself from Lincoln and the popular Civil War song "We are coming, Father Abraham."[74] Here was a very personal and symbolic rejection of oppression.

At the end of August 1863, Ryan went to Pekin with a host of his parishioners to lay the cornerstone for a new church. He celebrated Mass at the courthouse and preached on "the remembrance of death," a subject that could have been prompted by his brother's demise. In the afternoon, he laid the stone and delivered an address on the Church of Christ, which might be interpreted as a thinly veiled comparison to what was occurring in the nation. Relying on Christ's promise that he would always be with his disciples, the Twelve Apostles "were twelve conquerors, leading the army of redemption, winning souls to Christ, by the majesty and power, not of words merely, but of purity and sanctity." "Pagan Rome was to fall," continued Ryan. "Nero had the power of the sword—of the statesman—of all Paganism to sustain him; but Christianity confronted him, and with all his power he went down, and Christianity, proud and fearless, rose triumphant."[75] The imagery here could serve as a metaphor for Ryan's theme of the oppressive power of the North versus the righteousness of the Southern cause: tyranny versus freedom.

While Ryan was making a name for himself in Peoria, his classmate Jacquemet was making a different sort of name for himself in New Orleans. In spring 1863, Stephen Ryan made his first visit to the

[73]A. J. Ryan to McMenamy, July 17, 1863, Personnel Files: A. J. Ryan, DRMA; Oldemoppen, *Abram J. Ryan*, p. 37; O'Connell, *Furl That Banner*, pp. 35–36; Beagle and Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause*, pp. 70–74.

[74]O'Connell, *Furl That Banner*, p. 14; Oldemoppen, *Abram J. Ryan*, p. 2; Beagle and Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause*, p. 11.

[75]*Peoria Morning Mail*, September 1, 1863, 3.

Vincentians there since the war began. On his arrival, he had to hustle Jacquemet out of town because of "several charges of solicitation [seduction in the confessional] and some other things that proved him unfit for the duties of the ministry." Ryan told Maller, "I considered that his safety and our character could only be secured by removing him at once from the exercises of the sacred ministry." Jacquemet added disobedience to questionable morals by refusing to go north as commanded, heading instead for Havana where he hoped to be accepted by a Spanish Vincentian recruiting priests for service in Mexico.[76]

Admitting that he had rashly disobeyed the provincial, Jacquemet threw himself on the mercy of the superior general. His reason for the Havana trip was that the northern climate had always been injurious to his health. He added that Ryan had never clearly explained the cause for his removal, but left him to understand that it bore on his "priestly character." Jacquemet asserted that his conscience was clear.[77] Despite this protestation of innocence, his departure for Cuba indicates that he certainly understood the wisdom of leaving town. This case marked the first of four episodes involving women and members of Abram Ryan's class. The next would include Ryan himself.

The facts of his case are difficult to decipher. On November 7, 1863, Bishop Duggan, accompanied by a number of clergymen, came to Peoria for the reopening of the newly remodeled church and to administer confirmation. Duggan took Ryan with him to Pekin and then Chicago.[78] It is quite likely that this social and ministerial call was cover for the occasion for Ryan's removal as pastor for a secret offense that would soon come to light.

At this point, the historical record regarding the subsequent events in Ryan's life becomes confusing if not contradictory. On Sunday, November 29, 1863, the Republican *Chicago Tribune* carried two sto-

[76]S. V. Ryan to Maller, May 6, 1863, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 277. In mid-May, Stephen Ryan suspended Gleeson, another of Abram Ryan's classmates stationed at the Barrens, from exercise of the ministry for "giving trouble to his Superior and some disedification to the Community" (S. V. Ryan to McMenamy, May 17, 1863, Personnel Files: McMenamy, DRMA. Quotation from S. V. Ryan to Maller, May 22, 1863, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 278).

[77]F[rancis]. Xavier Jacquemet to Étienne, April 6, 1863 (in French), GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 153.

[78]*Peoria Morning Mail*, November 8, 1863, 3 and November 11, 1863, 3. On the remodel of the church, see *Peoria Morning Mail*, August 30, 1863, 3, and November 4, 1863, 3.

ries, one about the attempted elopement of the fourteen-year-old daughter of a well-to-do family with a middle-aged rag dealer on "West Canal street," and the other about the arrest of a Catholic priest under scandalous circumstances. Because of the importance of the second article for what follows, it is reproduced here in full:

> A few days ago, a disgraceful affair occurred in the city, which, disagreeable as is the mention of it, we still consider it our duty to impart to our readers.
>
> The week before, a well dressed gentleman of dignified aspect, entered one of the houses of ill fame on South Wells street, and made the acquaintance of the girls who were boarding there. One of them, with whom he became especially intimate, gave him to understand, that she recognized in him a preacher of the gospel, which his whole appearance indicated. Her friend denied this accusation, but informed her confidentially, at the same time exhibiting visible signs of terror, that he was a captain in the rebel army, and had chosen the disguise of a clergyman in order to secure himself against discovery. With this explanation the girl was completely satisfied. A few days later, the same gentleman returned to the house, and brought back with him a charming young girl, for whom he engaged board as a "lady friend" of his; a proceeding which excited the jealousy of his first *confidante*. She believed herself to have a sort of first claim upon the would-be Captain of the Southern chivalry, and when all her attempts to attract his attention were fruitless, meditated revenge. She was on good terms with a policeman, to whom she confided the circumstances and confession of her faithless lover. He made his observations accordingly, and on a beautiful moonlight night, our hero and his lady love were arrested at the door of the house, just as they were taking a most affectionate leave of each other. The pretended Southern cavalry official was in the utmost apparent consternation. After he had exhausted his stock of persuasion upon the iron firmness of the policeman, he offered him $3500 in greenbacks to let him and the girl go, but this last attack upon the official was repelled with indignation, and the guilty pair taken to the Armory. Another secret policeman whose fatally accurate memory is the horror of all criminals, thought that he had seen our hero in a pulpit, and it was determined to take him to a prelate of the city, in order, if possible, to identify him.
>
> This was accordingly done, and the prelate [Bishop Duggan], who stands deservedly high in the Roman Catholic Church in this city, recognized in the Southern cavalry officer, a brother in the same apostleship, who had thus foully disgraced his sacred profession and calling. It is unnecessary to say that the offending priest was immediately degraded from his office, and to-day sustains no other relations to the Church he has disgraced than those of a layman.[79]

[79]*Chicago Tribune*, November 29, 1863, 4; O'Connell, *Furl That Banner*, pp. 39–42. The two stories appeared in back-to-back editions of the paper, November 29–30, but

Without mentioning this article, two Chicago papers took issue with the story of the elopement. The *Evening Journal* considered it a fictitious "romance," noting that there was no "*West Canal* street." Reprinting the *Journal* article, the *Post* commented that the *Tribune* now employed a writer to plagiarize and manufacture news.[80] The *Tribune* responded that the two papers were objecting because they had been scooped. The editor challenged his colleagues to have their reporters check the facts by talking to "Thomas Bennett, junk dealer, 247 South Canal street," presumably the gentleman-lover in the abortive elopement. Even though neither paper had challenged the story about the clergyman, the editor added, "As to the Priest in question, his name was Ryan, formerly of Peoria, and since he was so summarily handled by the police and by Father Dunn, he is *from Chicago*." The editor said that Moore, the police officer, could corroborate the specifics.[81] Reverend Dennis Dunne was vicar general of the diocese.

On Friday, December 4, the Republican *Peoria Daily Transcript* reprinted the *Tribune* article, omitting its first paragraph and starting with the second, now altered to read "Last week a well-dressed gentleman . . ." instead of the correct "The week before." After printing the remainder of the article verbatim, the editor noted that in a subsequent article the *Tribune* identified the priest as Abram Ryan of Peoria.[82]

The Democratic *Peoria Morning Mail* upbraided the *Transcript* for reprinting the article. The editor admitted it was "generally understood that Father Ryan was arrested for some political offense, either real or pretended, some four weeks since"—that is, about the time of Duggan's visit. It was also learned that he had been permitted to go free on condition of leaving the state, "which he is understood to have done." Said the editor:

> Then two weeks after these facts have transpired the Jacobin paper at Chicago . . . comes out with a statement, cautiously worded, when needed to cover over the fact of arbitrary arrest and banishment, to the effect that moral obliquity, and not political offense, is the cause of his banishment.

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the editor's comment on December 2 (see n81) suggests that it had been scheduled to appear only on November 30.

[80] *Chicago Evening Journal*, November 30, 1863, emphasis in original; Chicago *Post*, December 1, 1863.

[81] *Chicago Tribune*, December 2, 1863, emphasis in original, 4. Both the *Tribune* and Stephen Ryan spell Dunne's name as "Dunn" (Ryan to Étienne, February 1, 1861, *Annales,* 26 [1861], 555).

[82] *Peoria Daily Transcript*, December 4, 1863, 3.

The *Mail* accused the *Transcript* of turning a political issue into a question of morality. If a fair examination revealed that Ryan had indeed disgraced himself, the editor declared "none will more fully condemn him than ourselves." He then added an addendum. "Since writing the above," he said, a Peoria "gentleman of the highest respectability, who had business with Mr. Ryan at the time," had come forward to vouch that the priest had been in Chicago for only one night during the period alleged by the *Tribune*. Ryan had taken the morning train to Chicago, returned the next day by the day train, and never went back to the city. Moreover, he "was at home for many days previous" to the trip. The editor believed that this information discredited the *Tribune* story altogether.[83]

The *Transcript* countered that the *Mail* was itself using partisan politics to cover a moral lapse. To the Democratic editor's claim that if an impartial examination proved Ryan guilty, he would denounce him, the Republican editor responded: "'First catch your hare.' Father Ryan has taken unto himself heels and made tracks beyond the reach of examination. Had he been innocent he would now be in Peoria. Had he been belied, Bishop Duggan would have proclaimed it."[84]

A reconstruction of events based on time lines inferred from the *Tribune* and the *Morning Mail* presents a picture that is often contradictory. The *Mail* admits that Ryan had been arrested about four weeks earlier, coincidental with Duggan's visit to Peoria. According to that paper, the arrest was "generally understood" to be for some alleged political offense. Ryan was apparently released about two weeks before the appearance of article in the *Tribune*—around November 14 or 15—on condition that he leave the state, and the *Mail* suggests he did so soon after gaining freedom. According to the *Tribune*, Ryan came to Chicago and spent a night at a house of ill repute the week before his arrest. The paper states that he returned "a few days later" in the following week and was subsequently taken into custody. Based on the date of publication, this meant that Ryan probably made his first visit to Chicago about November 18 or 19 (maybe earlier) and returned the next week, perhaps on November 23 or 24. A day or two after his return, he was arrested as a spy and was discovered to be a priest with a girlfriend.

[83]*Peoria Morning Mail*, December 5, 1863, 4.
[84]*Peoria Daily Transcript*, December 7, 1863, 3.

This time line is muddied by the fact that the Peoria witness claimed that Ryan traveled to Chicago only once during the time frame alleged by the *Tribune*. If, as seems likely, this witness knew the *Tribune* article only through its reprint in the *Transcript*, then his time frame was incorrect. As noted above, the *Transcript* began the *Tribune* article with its second paragraph altered to begin: "Last week . . ." Thus, the *Transcript* gave the mistaken impression that both of Ryan's visits to Chicago occurred during the week of November 22. If the Peoria witness is correct, then his story simultaneously confirms and refutes elements in the accounts of both the *Mail* and the *Tribune*. The witness placed Ryan in Chicago for only one night; and this visit took place during the week of November 22, thus confirming Ryan's presence in the city the week the *Tribune* stated that he was arrested. The witness's story, however, gives the lie to the *Tribune*'s tale of two visits, one of them for a few days. His story also contradicts the *Mail*'s claim that Ryan had left the state in mid-month because the witness asserted that Ryan was in Peoria "for many days previous" to his trip to Chicago.

It is possible that the witness was giving Ryan an alibi and that the *Mail* grasped at the story to protect the reputation of a respected clergyman. It is also possible, perhaps even probable, that the *Tribune* dramatized and embellished the story of the arrest. Indeed, the inaccuracy about Canal Street in the elopement piece—corrected by the *Tribune*'s editor—raises questions about attention to detail. Moreover, the article about the clergyman claimed that he had been defrocked, a glaring inaccuracy because Ryan never left the priesthood. Ryan's most recent biographers accept that he was the victim of partisan politics in both Chicago and Peoria, and discount any moral wrongdoing, because the *Tribune* and other papers of the time were not beneath manufacturing incidents or twisting facts for political purposes.[85]

There can be little doubt that Ryan was a Copperhead and voiced his politics in terms of liberty versus tyranny. In fact, the Republican *Transcript*, which had early praised his learning and oratory, fell silent about him in late summer 1863. However, a troubling question remains: If the *Tribune* was trying to frame Ryan with a moral scandal to discredit his politics, why did the paper not name him in the original arti-

[85]Beagle and Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause*, pp. 76–78; O'Connell, *Furl That Banner*, pp. 45–48.

cle? Had rival papers not challenged the story about the attempted elopement, the identity of the fallen clergyman would almost certainly have remained unknown. If the kernel of the article about the disgraced priest is true—namely, that he was involved with a woman—then perhaps the *Tribune* kept his identity secret in the initial piece out of deference to Duggan, who supported the Republican cause.

To complicate matters further, biographers Beagle and Giemza suggest that it is possible that Abram Ryan was near Chattanooga in mid-November 1863. Their suggestion is based on a retrospective published in March 1907 in the Chicago *New World*. The author, M. B. G. (almost certainly Montgomery B. Gibbs), apparently based his story on a dispatch by a war correspondent for a London paper. Written in the first person as though Gibbs was that correspondent, the account stated that during the siege of Chattanooga, the correspondent was attached to the Confederate regiment of Colonel John J. Sullivan. He recounted that Ryan arrived at Lookout Mountain on November 21. The priest asked to see Gibbs because John Mitchell, the Irish patriot and an old friend of Gibbs's father, had accompanied him. Gibbs noted that Ryan's "name was on the lips of every soldier in [Braxton] Bragg's army and it was always coupled with benediction." Just as the three men were sitting down to dinner, fire from heavy artillery erupted, and Ryan's orderly announced the federal attack. "The mists that concealed the Federal troops were lifted," wrote Gibbs, "and [Philip Henry] Sheridan at the head of his regiment could be plainly seen advancing." Later, the reporter found Ryan ministering to Confederate wounded, including the priest's dying orderly. The article carried a photograph captioned "Old Relic of Field of 'Look-out Mountain,'" allegedly taken on the battlefield. The photo shows six men in dark suits posing against a backdrop, three seated with three standing behind them. The center figure of those standing is a young Abram Ryan.[86]

The information in this article runs counter to that contained in the *Tribune* article as well as that given by the gentleman in Peoria to the *Mail*. The Gibbs article is, however, fraught with problems. Clearly an embroidered recollection many years after the event, it collapses five days into one and two battles into a single engagement. Ryan is said to have arrived on November 21 with a battle beginning just as

[86]M[ontgomery]. B. G[ibbs]., "Two Soldiers: An Incident of the Battle of Lookout Mountain," clipping in RABAC, 1907, n.p.; Beagle and Giemza, *Poet of the Lost Cause*, pp. 78–86 (which contains a lengthy discussion of the provenance of the article).

he was sitting down to dinner. The rising mist is an allusion to the battle of Lookout Mountain—the so-called "Battle above the Clouds," which occurred on November 24—while Sheridan's forces advanced the next day at Missionary Ridge. It is improbable and unlikely that soldiers in the Confederate army knew Ryan's identity. However, there are more serious objections to the piece. The Army of Tennessee had no Colonel John J. Sullivan.[87] Moreover, the man standing to the left of Ryan in the photograph is certainly a young John Koop, who had been ordained the year before Ryan. The two had briefly been stationed together at La Salle in 1862. In November 1863, Koop was at the Vincentian house in St. Louis.[88]

Unlike Ryan's biographers, his Vincentian contemporaries did believe that their former confrere had morally disgraced himself. On December 15, 1863, Stephen Ryan informed McMenamy:

> A[bram]. Ryan's unfortunate and scandalous fall is no longer a secret, but a matter of public notoriety, he was rearrested when he went to Chicago to petition the Bishop [Duggan] to be restored to Peoria, and all the facts of the case came out in the Chicago Tribune.[89]

[87]"Organization of the Army of Tennessee, General Braxton Bragg, C.S. Army, commanding, 19 and 20 September 1863," in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. I, 53 vols. (Washington, DC, 1880–1901), 30, pt. 2:11–20; "Organization of the Army of Tennessee, General Braxton Bragg, C.S. Army, commanding, 31 October 1863," in *War of the Rebellion*, 31, pt. 3:615–20; "Organization of the Army of Tennessee, General Braxton Bragg, C.S. Army, commanding, 20 November 1863," in *War of the Rebellion*, 31, pt. 2:657–64. For the Chattanooga campaign, see McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, pp. 674–81.

[88]Entries of November 15 and December 6, 1863, Book of Records of St. Vincent's, St. Louis, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA; John Koop to McMenamy, November 19, 1863, Personnel Files: McMenamy, DRMA (in which Koop, writing from St. Louis, states that his time has been consumed in teaching in the seminary and preaching). Compare the photo in the clipping reproduced on page 82 of *Poet of the Lost Cause* with the picture of Koop in Personnel Files: Koop, DRMA.

[89]S.V. Ryan to McMenamy, November 15 [*sic* for December] 1863, Personnel Files: McMenamy, DRMA. Internal and external evidence confirm that the letter was misdated and that December 15 is correct. Ryan begins the letter: "I got a boat [at St. Mary's Landing] on Friday about noon and reached here [St. Louis] Saturday morning. Mr. McGill left the Cape Thursday and reached here Sunday afternoon, so you see I was more fortunate. Mr. McGill left here this morning for Niagara to aid Mr. Rice. . . ." The diary of the house in St. Louis states that Ryan returned from the Barrens on Saturday, December 12, and that McGill left St. Louis for Niagara on December 15 (Entries of December 12 and 15, 1863, Book of Records of St. Vincent's, St. Louis, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA). Moreover, McGill was stationed at Cape Girardeau until December 9 when he resigned as president of the college pending his transfer to Niagara (Minutes of the Board of Trustees, December 9, 1863, SVC, Box 2, DRMA).

Several days later, the provincial informed Maller in Paris that Ryan had

> lost his character and post [Peoria] in which he figured so conspicuously, he was taken in flagrante delicto and the matter was spread to the public in the public papers, pray God have mercy on him and protect his church suffering cruelly from scandalous Priests.

The provincial went on to express concern about other priests in the province who were "no way scrupulous or delicate of conscience." "This fallen ex Confrere's example and success," he said, "had a damaging influence on a certain class, who all seemed to breathe the same spirit, infected with the same contagion."[90]

These letters indicate that before the publication of the *Tribune* article, Stephen Ryan already knew that his erstwhile subject had been previously arrested and removed from his parish by Duggan because of a "scandalous fall" that had been kept under wraps until the facts emerged with his rearrest in Chicago. The provincial indicates that the second arrest occurred when Ryan went to see Duggan to seek reinstatement as pastor of St. Mary's in Peoria. The letter to McMenamy further implies that the latter, too, already knew the situation.

How the provincial came to know the nature of the secret scandal is not hard to explain. The Vincentians were friends of Duggan, who had studied with them at Cape Girardeau and knew them from his priestly ministry in St. Louis. Moreover, the provincial considered the "venerable" Father Dunne "a devoted friend." In 1860 Dunne had invited Stephen Ryan to preach a mission at his parish, and Duggan insisted that the provincial conduct the retreat for the clergy of Chicago in summer 1863. In mid-November of that year, after Abram Ryan's initial arrest, Stephen Ryan needed to see Duggan on important business, and the latter paid Ryan a visit in St. Louis on the eighteenth. Since the bishop and provincial had both known Abram Ryan from his youth, it is no stretch to suppose that Duggan confided to the provincial "all the facts" surrounding the removal of the young pastor from his parish. To judge by the article in the *Tribune*, "all the facts" would seem to indicate that Abram Ryan was involved with a "lady friend," whether or not he was also a Southern spy. When Stephen Ryan visited the Barrens in early December, he no doubt shared the

[90]S. V. Ryan to Maller, December 18, 1863, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 282.

information with McMenamy.[91] Thus, when the story broke in the *Tribune*, both Ryan and McMenamy knew that the secret was out.

Although biographers have followed the *Mail* in suggesting that a moral scandal was concocted to disgrace a Copperhead priest, Stephen Ryan's letters provide evidence for a theory that Abram Ryan's politics were used to keep a moral scandal private. By suggesting that the pastor was removed from his parish for political reasons, the good Catholics of Peoria would be spared the unsavory truth and embarrassment. Yet the plan went awry when Ryan showed up in Chicago with his lady friend in tow to seek reinstatement.

Stephen Ryan wanted to make Abram Ryan an object lesson for Vincentians of similar spirit. Stationed at the Barrens were four who were classmates or friends of the young Ryan. When the provincial informed McMenamy about the latter's fall, he enclosed a letter that Father Knowd of St. Patrick's in La Salle had sent to Father John McGerry at St. Vincent's College in Cape Girardeau. Stephen Ryan told McMenamy:

> Mr. Knowd's assertions are exaggerated but some truth is in it and it would be well for our young men to hear them, you might take occasion to read it to the young Priests, as coming from yourself, that is you may let it be known as a letter from Mr. Knowd to a confrere at the Cape, but let me not appear in the affair.[92]

The provincial was obviously aware that some of those men had difficulty with his administration and his insistence on the rule of separation—that is, not seeking company outside the community.

Although the letter to McGerry is no longer extant, Knowd also wrote to Maller several months after Abram Ryan's fall. Although this letter does not explicitly mention Ryan's scandal, it is clearly written in light of Ryan's case and perhaps those of Jacquemet and Rossi. As discussed above, Jacquemet was accused of several instances of solicitation in the confessional. By the time of Knowd's writing, Rossi was also involved in trouble with women. He was then stationed at New

[91]Quotations from S. V. Ryan to Étienne, February 1, 1860, *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission*, 26 (1861), 554–61. S. V. Ryan to McMenamy, November 17, 1863, Personnel Files: McMenamy, DRMA; Entry of November 18, 1863, Book of Records of St. Vincent's, St. Louis, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA; Entries of December 5 and 10, 1863, Record of Principal Events, SMOB, Box 44, DRMA. The archives of the Archdiocese of Chicago contain no material relating to Abram Ryan's removal as pastor.

[92]S.V. Ryan to McMenamy, November 15 [*sic* for December], 1863, Personnel Files: McMenamy, DRMA.

Orleans, but had previously been assigned to Niagara with Ryan. When the superior in the Crescent City informed Stephen Ryan that Rossi announced his intention to seek dismissal from the community, the provincial explained to Maller, "His conduct is disorderly and refractory, somewhat dangerous to the reputation of the Community as he cannot be kept from frequent and long, unnecessary and forbidden intercourse cum femina [illegible]"—that is, with a woman.[93]

Knowd had been stationed with Jacquemet, Rossi, Ryan, and Gleeson during their final year of theology at St. Mary's. After their ordination, Knowd transferred to La Salle where he remained until spring 1862 when he was sent to Emmitsburg, Maryland, for about a year. He returned to La Salle, probably in May 1863. There, he was stationed again with Gleeson.[94] It was from La Salle that Knowd wrote to Maller.

He told Maller that he, despondent about the state of the province, had written several letters to him previously, only to throw them into the fire. If a letter had been sent five years ago—the year before Ryan's ordination—about "what I then foresaw," said Knowd, "I would have been looked upon as a turbulent visionary but facts now speak trumpet tongued." He sent this current letter only because he despaired for the province. Knowd was deeply concerned about the "principles and actions" of young priests, especially those at Niagara and La Salle, the last two houses in which Ryan lived before leaving the Vincentians. He told Maller:

> The obligations of rules & vows appeared to be there & elsewhere (I speak only from what I saw there [Niagara] and in this place [La Salle]) to be unknown or utterly disregarded. These young priests to whom I allude would in direct opposition to the injunction of the superior pay idle or more than idle visits to young ladies & come home at whatever hour of the night they pleased, generally after 10 o'clock, sometimes after 12 and even 9 o'clock in the morning. There is one in this house far worse from tollerating [*sic*] or encouraging practices of lax morality hitherto opposed by the priests of this place, has acquired a popularity with a certain class, runs down the old priests as behind the times, his whole conduct disedifying & afflicting to the pious among the people.[95]

[93]S. V. Ryan to Maller, February 27, 1864, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 286.

[94]Koop to McMenamy, November 19, 1863, Personnel Files: McMenamy, DRMA. On returning from New Orleans in May 1863, Ryan made his way to St. Louis via Emmitsburg, Niagara, and La Salle (S. V. Ryan to Maller, May 22, 1863, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 278). It is quite likely that Ryan picked up Knowd at Emmitsburg and returned him to La Salle at this time.

[95]Knowd to Maller, March 29, 1864, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 154. Punctuation has been added to the text of the letter to facilitate reading.

Because Knowd had never been stationed in Niagara, his eyewitness knowledge of affairs there could have come only from visits to that house, perhaps during the time that Rossi and Ryan were assigned to it, although this is only conjecture.

The evidence suggests that Ryan and some of his classmates had a casual attitude toward relations with women. Someone as sensitive and brilliant as Ryan may well have proven attractive to them. The death of a dear brother may also have rendered him vulnerable. If he was indeed in a relationship with a woman, it seems unlikely that it was with one in Peoria. Word would have leaked out, as it did with another local clergyman, Pastor John Miller, who was expelled from the Christian Church in that town along with his adulterous companion, Mrs. Mary Richardson.[96] On the other hand, if Ryan had struck up a relationship with a woman at La Salle or a town where he had lectured, it might account for some of his absences from Peoria, especially after his brother's death. In any case, Ryan learned that liberty, political and moral, comes with a price: the loss of a beloved parish and the people who held him dear.

Within eight years of ordination, only two of Ryan's classmates remained Vincentians. Four, including Ryan, had either departed or been dismissed from the community, and another had died of consumption. Robert Rice and Patrick O'Regan alone continued as members of the "Little Company" of St. Vincent.[97] Steven Ryan had been correct in his prediction that others of "the same school" would likely leave the community.

Vincentians who knew Abram Ryan, like his lifelong friend O'Regan and Thomas Shaw, certainly believed the affair. When, in 1913, Vincentian Joseph McKey was gathering information about Ryan for proposed publication, his two confreres surprised him by their responses to his enquiry. Shaw cautioned: "I would be careful to confine your life to . . . speaking in general of his literary labors, etc. etc."[98] O'Regan's reply was more startling:

[96]*Peoria Morning Mail*, October 22, 1863, 3.

[97]Rossi was dismissed in May 1864; Gleeson abandoned the community without a dispensation in January 1865; Jacquemet left in October 1868; and James Piggott died in June 1865 (*Catalogus Sacerdotum et Clericorum*, pp. 14, 17, AEP; S. V. Ryan to Maller, June 27, 1865, GCUSA, series A, reel 2, no. 297).

[98]Thomas Shaw to Joseph McKey, January 15, 1913, RABAC.

> I would gladly comply with your request if the account would contribute to "*His*" honor or the glory of religion. Some years ago, two Jesuits from "Spring Hill College" called on me for some reminiscences about the *man* for the purpose of a lecture. I told them that the less said about *him* the better for the honor of the church and for his reputation, as long as copies of certain daily papers of Chicago & Peoria may be in existence. The lectures were not delivered. I can truly say of "him," what a Poet said about a flag. "Furl it, fold it, it is best." Let him rest—unknown except in poetry.[99]

Almost a decade later, McKey approached O'Regan again for information about Ryan's life. Once more, O'Regan proved tight-lipped. He replied to McKey:

> We were friends and remained so to his end. We often corresponded. He wrote beautiful letters, but always tinted with a vein of melancholy the result of a little aberation [*sic*] on his father's side. I knew him well. . . . I would rather leave his life a *mystery* than expose it to criticism. The Chicago and Peoria papers are in existence yet. I know that some priests have copies, not for love, but through jealousy.[100]

The relentless McKey had Nannie Ryan visit O'Regan in 1923. She had heard, she told him, that her cousin had left Peoria for political reasons. O'Regan replied, "Politics was not the cause of his leaving there—there was *another reason*." She pursued the matter no further, writing to McKey, who was still working on a life of Ryan:

> I think it would be best to give up writing the "Life" because some one will come forward with those unpleasant truths or untruths, exaggerate them, cause controversy and the notoriety it will bring will be the worst feature, it would defeat the purpose for which the book would be written.[101]

Nannie Ryan's fear has been fulfilled. History has unearthed the unpleasant truths or untruths about Abram Ryan, and historians are now debating their veracity—a debate destined to continue, for nothing is so tantalizing as a mystery without evidence enough to resolve it.

[99]Patrick O'Regan to McKey, May 5, 1913, RABAC, emphasis in original. The poet was Abram Ryan, and the line is from "The Conquered Banner." O'Regan had been orphaned as a child, and his uncle, Anthony O'Regan, a priest of St. Louis and later bishop of Chicago, placed him with the Ryan family. He lived with them for almost two years before entering St. Mary's Seminary. Ryan joined him there the next year, and the two were ordained in 1860.

[100]Patrick O'Regan to McKey, February 4, 1922, RABAC.

[101]Nannie Ryan to McKey, July 5, 1923, RABAC, emphasis in original.

BISHOP PIERRE CLAVERIE AND THE RISKS OF RELIGIOUS RECONCILIATION

BY

PHILLIP C. NAYLOR*

Bishop Pierre Claverie's life and death illustrated the challenge posed by interreligious dialogue, especially when pursued in a deteriorating political environment. Furthermore, the bishop embodied the inspiring history of the Church in Algeria, which sought to transform its identity during the trying transition from colonialism to postcolonialism.

Keywords: Armed Islamic Group; Church of Algeria; Claverie, Pierre; Duval, Léon-Etienne; Teissier, Henri

On August 1, 1996, a remote-controlled bomb ripped the episcopal residence of Pierre Claverie, the outspoken bishop of Oran. The explosion killed Claverie and his driver, Mohamed Bouchiki, as they entered the building. Their deaths profoundly affected Algeria, particularly its small Christian community. There was also bereavement on an international scale, given Bishop Claverie's engagement in interreligious dialogue and his condemnation of the violence perpetrated on all sides during Algeria's civil strife or *fitna*.[1]

The year of Claverie's assassination was a difficult one for the Catholic Church in Algeria (Church of Algeria). Several months before, the extremist Groupe Islamique Armé (Armed Islamic Group/GIA)

*Dr. Naylor is professor in the Department of History at Marquette University.

[1]*Fitna* has multiple meanings, including civil strife, dissension, and temptation. It is a more appropriate term than the phrase *civil war*, since the insurgency in Algeria has involved many sides. It is much more complicated than a conflict between the government and insurgents, and certainly between "secularists" and Islamists. There are still insurgents in the field, namely al-Qa'ida in the Lands of the Maghrib (formerly the Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat or GSPC [Salafi(st) Group for Preaching and Combat]). But the violence has significantly abated since the "black decade" of the 1990s. Nevertheless, the lack of transparency regarding its causation, course, and consequences remains a national problem. See Phillip C. Naylor, *Historical Dictionary of Algeria*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD, 2006), pp. 164–69.

reputedly executed seven Trappist monks (Cistercians of the Strict Observance). Retired cardinal Léon-Etienne Duval, who courageously led the Church into the difficult postcolonial period, passed away at the same time. Claverie's assassination marked the climax of violent assaults against Catholics in Algeria. Indeed, his murder remains controversial. Many identify Claverie's death with the question that has tormented Algeria and still remains unresolved regarding its fratricidal violence: *qui tue qui* (who is killing whom)?

More Muslims than Christians attended Claverie's funeral, attesting to his conciliatory apostolic commitment. Upon Claverie's elevation as bishop in October 1981, he had recognized that all religions had the potential "to become instruments of oppression and alienation." But he professed: "We can fight against these perversions of faith, our own and those of others, by maintaining dialogue. . . . Dialogue . . . permits the disarming of fanaticism in us and in others. It is for this we are called to express our faith and love of God. . . . Brothers and sisters, this is our mission."[2] Claverie devoutly engaged that mission as a person and a prelate during a transformative and tumultuous period.

A Brief History of the Catholic Church in Algeria[3]

North Africa is unfairly relegated as a tangential rather than a fundamental geographic component of Western Civilization. Indeed, North Africa was Christianized well before Western Europe.[4] In what

[2]Timothy Radcliffe, Préface to *Pierre Claverie: un Algérien par alliance*, by Jean-Jacques Pérennès (Paris, 2000), pp. 12–13. Usually referred to in this article is the translation of this book, *A Life Poured Out: Pierre Claverie of Algeria,* trans. Phyllis Jestice and Matthew Sherry (Maryknoll, NY, 2007). Radcliffe's English foreword does not include this quotation.

[3]For more detailed information, see Phillip C. Naylor, "Catholicism in Colonial and Postcolonial Algeria," a paper presented at the American Catholic Historical Association meeting, April 7–8, 1995, at Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI, available through the Theological Research Extension Network (TREN) (CHA-9512), 9 pp. Robert Jones of TREN has granted permission for the author to draw from that paper for this article.

[4]See Henri Teissier, ed., *Histoire des Chrétiens d'Afrique du Nord: Libye-Tunisie-Algérie-Maroc* (Paris, 1991). Teissier was a close friend of Claverie's and was eventually elevated to archbishop. He resigned in 2004, but remained until the arrival of Ghaleb Moussa Abdallah Bader, the new archbishop, in 2008. See Martine de Sauto, *Henri Teissier, un évêque en Algérie: de l'Algérie française à la crise islamiste* (Paris, 2006). The bishops of the Conférence Episcopale Régionale du Nord de l'Afrique (CERNA) reminded that North Africans (specifically Maghribis) participated in the emergence of Christianity, notably Simon of Cyrene's assisting Jesus with the Cross. Cyrene was a major city in eastern Libya, which had important links with Jerusalem as noted at

would become modern Algeria, Marcus Minucius Felix (fl. 2nd century AD), a convert from Tébessa, wrote *Octavius*, which is considered to be the earliest Christian work written in Latin. Optatus (Optat) from Mila resolutely opposed Donatism, a heresy emerging in North Africa linked to Roman persecution of Christians. (An impressive North African martyrology includes Ss. Perpetua in 203 and Bishop Cyprian in 258.) Augustine (354–430) was born in Souk Ahras and became bishop of Hippo (Bône/Annaba) after a remarkable spiritual quest chronicled in his extraordinary autobiography *Confessions*. His prolific writings culminated in *The City of God*, earning him the prestigious title of Church Father and Doctor and sainthood. In addition to Augustine, his mother, Monica (332?–387), and his friend, Alipius (360?–429), were canonized.

In the fifth century, the Vandals' invasion and occupation of principally today's Tunisia and eastern Algeria established Arianism, another heresy.[5] A century later, the Byzantines overwhelmed the Vandals and restored establishment Christianity. Byzantine rule featured considerable church construction (and fortifications) and ended with the arrival and expansion of the Arabs and Islam during the seventh and eighth centuries.[6]

Although there was a general conversion to Islam, Christian communities continued, protected as "People of the Book" under Islam. Pope Gregory VII appointed a bishop for Annaba in 1076. Papal ties with the Hammadid emirate (1014–1152) continued to the mid-twelfth century. Pope Julius II (r. 1505–13) appointed a nominal bishop of Constantine who never assumed his clerical post. The weakening of independent North African states in the late-fifteenth to early-sixteenth centuries offered opportunities for Spanish incursions. These were impelled in part by the success of the *Reconquista* of Muslim Iberia (al-Andalus), the fervent faith of Cardinal Francisco Ximénes de Cisneros (1437–1517), and the military ambitions of Pedro Navarro (1460?–1528). For example, the Spanish captured Oran in 1509, kept it until 1708, and resumed control in 1732. They aban-

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Pentecost when citizens from the city heard St. Peter deliver his sermon ("Les Eglises du Maghreb en l'An 2000," *La Documentation catholique*, no. 2221 [2000], 231).

[5]Arianism arose in Alexandria in the fourth century, attesting to the importance of North Africa in the development of Christianity.

[6]Berbers and Byzantines mounted stiff resistance, notably Dihya, known as al-Kahina (the prophetess), a leader of the reputedly Jewish/Christian Jarawa tribe. She is believed to have died in battle in the late-seventh century.

doned the city in 1791 after an earthquake and an Ottoman offensive. The perpetuation of a Spanish presence in Oran was exceptional as other presidios along the North African littoral (east of Morocco) fell to the Ottoman Turks. The Ottoman Regency of Algiers, which was technically associated with the Porte, exercised de facto autonomy.[7] Privateering was a notorious source of income for the Algiers Regency, including the capture and ransom of prisoners.[8] Trinitarian, Mercy, Capuchin, and Lazarist (Vincentian) priests ministered to captives. The Lazarists also played a political role serving as French consuls from 1646 to 1827.[9]

The French conquest of Algiers in July 1830, essentially a campaign to divert the French public from the unpopular policies of King Charles X (r. 1824–30), transformed the image of Christianity in Algeria. In the Muslim imagination, it became conjoined with French colonialism. A rationale provided by the comte de Polignac to justify the capture of Algiers was "the abolition of Christian slavery."[10] Charles X hoped that the invasion would work toward "the profit of Christianity."[11] The duc de Bourmont, commander of the French forces, proclaimed during the first Mass celebrated after the conquest of Algiers that the French had arrived "to reopen . . . the door of Christianity in Africa."[12] A staff member of de Bourmont considered "the Christian conversion of Algerian Muslims [as] a duty that Providence has bestowed upon France."[13] General de Bourmont ordered the French flag flown from the famous Katshawa mosque, located on the base of Algiers's Casbah. Muslims interpreted this action as a provocation portending evangelization and the elimination of Islam.[14]

[7]The Spanish maintained other presidios along the Moroccan/Mediterranean coast, namely Ceuta and Melilla, still governed by Madrid today (along with several islets).

[8]Agriculture and manufacturing also played important roles in the regency's economy. Note that Europeans, especially the Knights of Malta, also pursued privateering.

[9]In addition, the Lazarists also held the title of bishop and apostolic vicar (see John B. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast: Algeria under the Turks* [New York, 1979], pp. 213–14).

[10]Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration* (Paris, 1955), p. 247.

[11]Charles-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine: la conquête et les débuts de la colonisation (1827–1871)* (Paris, 1964), p. 599.

[12]"L'Eglise catholique en Algérie," *Maghreb*, no. 6 (1964), 35.

[13]Eduard d'Ault-Dumesnil, *Relation de l'expédition d'Afrique en 1830 et de la conquête d'Alger* (Paris, 1868), p. 503. See Naylor, "Catholicism," for further examples.

[14]Katshawa was converted into a Christian church in 1832 and then into a cathedral by the end of the century. See Luc-Willy Deheuvels, *Islam et pensée contemporaine en Algérie: la revue* al-Asâla *(1971–1981)* (Paris, 1991), pp. 14–15, citing "'Âdat-al-jum'a kamâ âda katchâwa," *al-Asâla,* nos. 36/37 (August–September 1976), 196–98.

The Algerian-perceived threat to their religion and culture deepened as French and European settlers, the *colons* or *pieds-noirs*, arrived to take the best land. The aggressive pursuits of Algiers's Bishop Antoine-Adolphe Dupuch from 1839 to 1845, including the conversions of mosques to churches and evangelization, also raised Muslim anxieties. Dupuch's proselytizing also concerned French colonial officials who feared that Muslim antagonism would incite further conflict. On the other hand, the Church's charitable works also validated the French "civilizing mission." Its ministering to the growing European population inevitably identified the Church with the colonial enterprise. Nevertheless, French authorities forced Dupuch's retirement in 1845.[15]

On the other hand, settler society was not that devout. Marc Baroli, a *pied-noir*, stated that the settlers practiced an "African Catholicism," which was "essentially a religion of rites and ceremonies, an exterior religion."[16] Abd al-Qadir (1807–83), the emir who militarily opposed French colonialism until his capture in 1847, considered the settlers irreligious.[17] Regarded as the founder of colonial Algeria, Marshal Thomas-Robert Bugeaud, who sought to crush the emir's stout resistance during the 1830s and 1840s, upheld the official prohibition of Christian proselytism and opposed the abolition of slavery.[18] The Third Republic's emergent anticlericalism dating from the 1870s reinforced an irreligious attitude. For example, traditional Easter processions were canceled (or moved) in Algiers and Oran.[19] A dynamic prelate challenged, however, this contrarian colonial disposition.

Charles Martial Allemand-Lavigerie (1825–92), bishop of Nancy, was appointed archbishop of Algiers in 1867. In a letter to Governor-

[15]J. Dean O'Donnell, *Lavigerie in Tunisia: The Interplay of Imperialist and Missionary* (Athens, GA, 1979), p. 4. There was also contention within the Church. Bishop Dupuch and Emilie de Vialar, the superior general and founder of the Soeurs de Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition (Sisters of Saint Joseph), conflicted over church policy and evangelization in Algeria as well as over personal issues, resulting in the order's removal in 1843. Given their emphasis on service to the indigenous population (Muslims and Jews), Vialar and the Sisters of Saint Joseph resembled the witness of the postcolonial Church of Algeria. See Sarah A. Curtis, "Emilie de Vialar and the Religious Reconquest of Algeria," *French Historical Studies,* 29 (2006), 261–91.

[16]Marc Baroli, *Algérie, terre d'espérances: colons et immigrants (1830–1914)* (Paris, 1992), p. 229.

[17]Baroli, *Algérie,* p. 223.

[18]Note that the army also lacked chaplains. See Baroli, *Algérie,* p. 224.

[19]Baroli, *Algérie,* 230.

General Patrice MacMahon, he stated: "Algeria is only the door opened by Providence on a barbaric continent of 200 million souls. It is especially there that we must bring the Catholic apostolate."[20] In 1868, he founded the Society of Missionaries of Africa (known as the White Fathers) and in 1869, the Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa (known as the White Sisters). Lavigerie first concentrated his proselytism with the Berber Kabyles of eastern Algeria. He declared: "We cannot leave these people with their Qur'an. France must give them the Gospel or else they will roam the desert, far from the civilized world."[21] As time passed, Lavigerie realized the impossibility of mass conversion, which colonial governments in Algeria firmly opposed. Instead, he hoped that a few indigenous converts would in turn persuade their compatriots to adopt Christianity.[22] He also opposed assimilation, the policy of making the colonized French, and he deemed slavery intolerable. On the other hand, he linked proselytism with French overseas expansion. His fervid support of French global imperialism correlated Christianity and Catholicism with colonialism.[23]

The most famous priest in the history of colonial Algeria was the eremitic Charles-Eugène de Foucauld (1858–1916). After leading a life of debauchery and dissipation, he completely transformed his life, was ordained a priest in 1901, and then lived in isolation in the deep Sahara. De Foucauld was also critical of the colonial government, which impeded conversion:

[20]O'Donnell, *Lavigerie in Tunisia*, p. 3, citing Xavier de Montclos, *Lavigerie: le Saint-Siège de l'Eglise* (Paris, 1965), p. 332. Like Archbishop Dupuch, Lavigerie's ambitions correlated with the notion of a historical restoration of a Roman imperial presence, which was an important underpinning of the colonial enterprise in Algeria. See also Patricia M. E. Lorcin, "Rome and France in Africa: Recovering Colonial Algeria's Latin Past," *French Historical Studies,* 25 (2002), 313–15.

[21]Aicha Lemsine, "Berberism: An Historical Travesty in Algeria's Time of Travail," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, January/February 1995, 31.

[22]Lavigerie's arrival in Algeria correlated with multiple demographic disasters. Famines and epidemics orphaned many Algerian children. Lavigerie organized relief and children converted to Catholicism. See Bertrand Taith, "Algerian Orphans and Colonial Christianity in Algeria, 1866–1939," *French History*, 20, no. 3 (2006), 240–59; and Aylward Shorter, "Christian Presence in a Muslim Milieu: The Missionaries of Africa in the Maghreb and the Sahara," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research,* 28, no. 4 (2004), 159–62. Lavigerie was elevated to cardinal in 1881.

[23]Despite the identification of Lavigerie with imperialism, he also served as a countervailing force restraining colonial aggression and exploitation, e.g., regarding the establishment of the Tunisian protectorate rather than the beylik's annexation to Algeria (O'Donnell, pp. 100–01).

> We Catholics meet systematic opposition from the authorities who support and encourage the Moslem religion! By doing this, they are committing a sort of suicide, for, I must say it, Islam is our enemy: We will always be the despised *roumis* [Arabic for Romans/Byzantines].[24]

Despite his disappointment over the failure to convert the Saharan Tuareg,[25] de Foucauld aspired to achieve to achieve a certain recognition: "I want to accustom all the inhabitants, Christians, Muslims, Jews and non-believers, to look on me as their brother, the universal brother."[26] He endeavored to be that brother. Ali Merad contends that

> through contact with him, more than one sincere believer among the inhabitants of the oases or the Tuareg was led to wonder about the true message of this "Christian marabout," who seemed to have been raised up by Providence to embody once again some of the fundamental values of pure *Islam*: wholehearted submission to God, simplicity and the quest for moral perfection, at the same time as the firm resolve to contribute—even in an obscure and modest way—to creating a society characterized by justice and brotherly love.[27]

On the other hand, his hermitage at Assekrem also was "a symbol of French presence in the Sahara."[28] Marauding Tuareg murdered the "universal brother" in 1916. Proceedings began in 1927 that resulted in de Foucault's beatification in 2005.

The anticlericalism of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries in France continued to manifest itself in assimilated Algeria. As Henri Teissier recounted, when the White Fathers built schools in Kabylia, the French government reacted and constructed secular ones.[29] Nevertheless, the centenary commemoration of colonial Algeria also celebrated the re-establishment of the Church of Africa. Yet, Catholic voices also appealed for charity and humanity toward Muslims and engagement. Inspired by Father de Foucauld, René Voillaume (1905–2003) founded the Petits Frères de Jésus in 1933 at El-Abiodh-Sidi-Cheikh in the southern Oranais. After leading lives of contemplation, the brothers decided to change their witness in 1947

[24]Douglas Porch, *The Conquest of the Sahara* (London, 1985), p. 287.

[25]De Foucauld also became a renowned philologist, providing a dictionary of the Tuareg's Berber language, Tamahaq.

[26]Philip Hillyer, *Charles de Foucauld* (Collegeville, MN, 1979), p. 161.

[27]Ali Merad, *Christian Hermit in an Islamic World: A Muslim's View of Charles de Foucauld*, trans. Zoe Hersov (New York, 1999), pp. 32–33.

[28]Porch, *Conquest*, p. 301.

[29]Henri Teissier, *Chrétiens en Algérie: un partage d'espérance* (Paris, 2002), p. 45.

and become directly involved with the Muslim community, sharing its daily life and poverty.[30] In turn, Madeleine Hutin (1898–1989) established the Petites Soeurs de Jésus in 1939. The sisters, like the brothers, devoted their Christian service to immediate Muslim needs.

The rise of nationalism, culminating in the War of Liberation (1954–62), freed Algeria from France. It also liberated Christianity from colonialism. By the post–World War II period, many religious were either neutral or sympathetic toward the nationalists. The Secrétariat Social d'Alger, a Jesuit-led organization, endeavored to raise the consciousness of the *pieds-noirs* and the metropolitan French concerning the oppressive condition of the colonized. In particular, Abbé Jean Scotto (1913–93), a *pied-noir* and pastor from Algiers, condemned colonialism's callous inhumanity. He eventually became the bishop of Constantine (1970–83).

French rule was severe. Frantz Fanon (1925–61), a psychiatrist from Martinique who became a third-world ideologue, described how the colonized suffered from a systemic and "massive psychoexistential complex."[31] They were inferiorized psychologically and depersonalized existentially. Although Algeria was not technically a colony but integrated as French departments since 1848, a colonialist administration prevailed and systematically excluded and stereotyped as "*arabes*" or "*indigènes*." French authorities regarded Arabic as a foreign language. By the time the War of Liberation broke out in November 1954, approximately 90 percent of the Muslims were illiterate.

The remarkable Duval encountered these conditions when he arrived in Algeria in 1947 as the new bishop of Constantine and Hippo (Annaba). This was two years after the bloody Sétif Riots that galvanized Algerian nationalism.[32] Duval was destined to be a key

[30]This witness complemented the worker-priest movement in France. Worker-priests and sisters played important roles in France opposing the Algerian War. See Martin Evans, *The Memory of Resistance: French Opposition to the Algerian War (1954–1962)* (Oxford, 1997).

[31]Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York, 1967), pp. 11–12. Although this work dealt with the French Antilles, his ideas were applicable to the Algerian colonial condition. Fanon later served as a psychiatrist in Algeria and then joined the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN). He wrote for *El Moudjahid*, the FLN's newspaper, and composed his most renowned work, *The Wretched of the Earth* (Paris, 1961), before succumbing to leukemia.

[32]During a V-E parade on May 8, 1945, placards calling for independence led to severe repression, resulting in 103 *pied-noir* deaths and 5000 to 10,000 (or possibly 15,000 to 20,000) Muslim fatalities.

figure in the transition of the colonial to the postcolonial Church. This conciliatory prelate reassessed the missions of Lavigerie and de Foucauld. He recounted how Lavigerie had met the exiled Abd al-Qadir and was impressed with the emir's loyalty to France.[33] Furthermore, Duval considered de Foucauld as "an extraordinary illustration of Islamo-Christian dialogue."[34] Applying an Augustinian precept, Duval espoused the idea of "fraternal love," which he fervently believed "leads to love of God."[35] Elevated to archbishop of Algiers in 1954, Duval was severely tested by the War of Liberation, just as Claverie would be during the civil strife of the 1990s.

Claverie's *Prise de Conscience*

Claverie was born on May 8, 1938, in Algiers to a fourth-generation *pied-noir* family. He lived in the European quarter known as Bab el Oued, a place often romanticized by nostalgic *pied-noir* literature. Claverie and his sister grew up in a loving family of moderate means. In Fanonist terms, he lived in a Manichaean society, divided by colonialism into an indifferent dualism marked, for example, by the physical separation of neighborhoods in colonial Algiers/Casbah. In particular, the other, the colonized, was excluded from his life. In Albert Camus's *L'Etranger* (*The Stranger*), Meursault's almost casual killing of an Arab epitomized this social condition, a lack of regard or recognition of the other.[36] The effect of colonialism and Algeria's violent decolonization profoundly affected Claverie. He recollected:

[33]Abd al-Qadir's intervention in sectarian violence in Damascus in 1860 saved thousands of Christians. Abbé Lavigerie headed a relief mission to the survivors, had conversations with Abd al-Qadir, and increased his sensibility toward Islam (see Shorter, p. 159). Nevertheless, Lavigerie expressed a fervid prejudice against Islam (O'Donnell, *Lavigerie*, pp. 18–20).

[34]Marie-Christine Ray, ed., *Le Cardinal Duval: «Evêque en Algérie»* (Paris, 1984), pp. 50–51.

[35]Ray, *Cardinal Duval*, p. 52.

[36]Camus's novels, such as *L'Etranger* (Paris, 1942) and *La Peste* (*The Plague,* Paris, 1947), ignored or were indifferent to the colonized population, as pointed out by his Muslim literary friends, such as the Algerian novelist Mouloud Féraoun (1913–62). Duval recalled that Camus admired Augustine as the great patron of North African literature. Furthermore, Camus "had assimilated that which is the most profound essence in Augustinian thought, that is to say the imperatives of fraternal love" (Ray, *Cardinal Duval*, pp. 100–01). Claverie reflected during his ordination as bishop of Oran that "I lived as a stranger in my youth" ("j'ai vécu en *étranger* [emphasis added] toute ma jeunesse") (Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, p. 101 in the English trans.; p. 154 in the French edition). In a 1995 interview, Claverie remarked: "Despite the solidarity and my deep Algerian attachments, I am a foreigner there (j'y suis un étranger)" (Claverie, *Lettres et*

> I spent my childhood in the "colonial bubble," in which relations between two worlds [European and Algerian] were constantly absent. . . . The Other was ignored. . . . Perhaps because I ignored the Other or because I denied his existence, one day he suddenly leapt right in front of me. He burst open my sheltered universe, which was ravaged by violence . . . and asserted his existence.
>
> The emergence of the Other, the recognition of the Other, the accommodation of the Other became an overwhelming preoccupation. It is likely that my religious vocation stemmed from this. I asked myself why, throughout my entire childhood as a Christian . . . and hearing sermons on the love of one's neighbor, I had never been told that the Arab was my neighbor. Perhaps, I had been told, but hadn't been listening.[37]

These autobiographical reflections were published decades after his arrival in France to begin mathematical and scientific (physics and chemistry) studies at the University of Grenoble in 1957.

Concurrently, Algeria and Algerian Christianity were in the midst of the War of Liberation. Duval's position urging "fraternal love" and "cohabitation" was met by *pied-noir* scorn and name-calling, such as "Muhammad Duval." In 1956, the archbishop called for Algerian "self-determination." The Jesuits of the Secrétariat Social and the Centre Catholique Universitaire continued to raise consciousness by publishing social and economic studies providing reasons why the colonized had rebelled. Jean Scotto, who later became a dear friend of Claverie's, espoused Algerian independence. On the other hand, like most *pieds-noirs*, Claverie was, at that time, a supporter of French Algeria. He opposed, as he put it, the "Jesuit-progressive influence" on the Left.[38] He also associated with students supporting the preservation of French Algeria. Reflecting the *pied-noir* ethos (and echoing Camus), he wrote in a February 1960 letter that he was from "another race" compared to the metropolitan French.[39] Nevertheless, his "colonial bubble" was soon riddled by disturbing stories of torture in Algeria and his growing realization of how unjustly the colonized had

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messages d'Algérie [Paris, 1996], p. 20). Like Camus, whom he read, Claverie loved Algeria's natural beauty (see Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie,* p. 109).

[37]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, p. 258, citing "Humanity in the Plural," an autobiographical essay published by *Nouveaux Cahiers du Sud* in January 1996. The essay is appended to Pérennès's biography (pp. 258–61).

[38]Joseph Vandrisse, "Pierre Claverie: un juste assassiné," *Le Figaro*, May 31, 2001. LexisNexis Academic.

[39]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, p. 45. This attitude was often expressed to the author while conducting interviews with *pieds-noirs* during his doctoral research.

been exploited and excluded.[40] Although Claverie's family was not deeply religious, he fondly remembered his days in la Saint-Do, a scout troop led by Dominican priests in Algiers. He felt he was called by God and joined the Dominicans in December 1958. He studied theology at Lille and then at Le Saulchoir near Paris. He interrupted his coursework to return to Algeria to fulfill his military obligation (as a noncombatant/ chaplain) during the difficult transition from the colonialism to independence.

His mother and sister had left Algeria as part of the mass repatriation—from the *pieds-noirs*' perspective, their expatriation.[41] His father stayed on but found conditions unbearable. Unlike other *pieds-noirs*, he sold his apartment rather than abandoned it and left for southern France by late 1962. In the meantime, Claverie became more convinced that colonialism was morally wrong. The scorched-earth campaign by the recalcitrant colonialist Organisation de l'Armée Secrète (OAS) punctured Claverie's "bubble." Nevertheless, he still had to reconcile himself with postcolonial Algeria. He felt two vocations. One was Dominican and the other Algerian.[42] Claverie considered himself an Algerian with a certain idea of his country. In 1965, three years after France withdrew, he was ordained.

With Algerian independence, Duval hoped to convert the Church's mission to service the new nation. He declared: "To devote oneself for the common good of a developing country is, for a Christian, a call from God."[43] Duval concluded specific agreements with the Algerian government regarding the reconversion of the Cathedral of Saint-

[40]See a letter reproduced in Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, pp. 45–46. In comparison, see Camus's essay, "A Short Guide to Towns without a Past," in *Lyrical and Critical Essays*, trans. Ellen Conroy Kennedy (New York, 1970), p. 145. Claverie began to imagine a new relationship with the Muslims, echoing Camus's conciliatory efforts during the War of Liberation.

[41]Approximately 800,000 to 900,000 *pieds-noirs* left Algeria within a year after the Evian Accords were signed in March 1962.

[42]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, p. 36, citing *Ut sint unum*, *bulletin de la province dominicaine de France* (July 1981), 80. See also *La Vie spirituelle* 150, no. 721 (1996), 691–94. This issue was devoted to Claverie's life and ministry. An important recent work, a collection of his writings by Sister Anne-Catherine Meyer, is Claverie, *Humanité plurielle* (Paris, 2008). Claverie applied for Algerian citizenship but never received his papers.

[43]"L'Aujourd'hui de Dieu," *Coopération*, no. 1 (1963), 6. Regarding the Church's postcolonial mission in the Maghrib, see "Chrétiens au Maghreb: Le sens de nos rencontres," *La Documentation Catholique*, no. 1775 (1979), 1033–44. See also CERNA, "Les Eglises du Maghreb," pp. 232–35.

Philippe (the Katshawa Mosque) and the continued disbursement of certain clerical salaries. Other vacated properties were handed over without indemnification.[44] Teissier calculated that about 700 churches and chapels were turned over to the state and subsequently were converted into mosques or used for educational or cultural purposes.[45] Nevertheless, the Church also intended to play a role in Algeria's development and offered training and teaching at vocational institutes and schools. Libraries, cultural centers, and clinics were vital to this mission and ministry. Caritas Algérienne was inaugurated to provide needed supplies and support.[46] Catholic congregations changed as well. French government and church private *coopérants* (trainers and teachers) along with foreign aid workers (e.g., Italians, Germans, Canadians, Filipinos, Spanish, and Americans) now sat in the *pieds-noirs*' pews. The latter's numbers had dwindled. Almost the entire *pied-noir* community was gone by the beginning of 1963.[47] On the other hand, a multiethnic Church of Algeria emerged.

In 1967, Claverie was assigned to Algeria. He immediately needed to learn Arabic and worked intensely with the Lebanese Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. His studies led him to appreciate deeply Islamic civilizations and cultures.[48] His theological coursework had occurred concurrently with the Second Vatican Council. Its declarations (*Dignitatis humanae*, *Nostra aetate*, and *Lumen gentium*) that insisted on opening dialogues with other faiths resonated deeply within Claverie's conscience. His bubble had

[44]Ray, *Cardinal Duval*, pp. 154–55.

[45]Teissier, *Chrétiens en Algérie*, p. 64.

[46]For further details regarding the Church's activities in the immediate postcolonial period, see Naylor, "Catholicism," p. 8.

[47]There were about 70,000 *pieds-noirs* still in Algeria in 1965 from a population of about 1 million in 1954. See Phillip C. Naylor, *France and Algeria: A History of Decolonization and Transformation* (Gainesville, FL, 2000), pp. 42–43. For more historical and bibliographic information on the *pieds-noirs,* see Naylor, *Dictionary*, pp. 382–84, 567.

[48]Ali Merad wrote of de Foucauld that "one must simply remember that Islam was at the starting point of Charles de Foucauld's spiritual journey. Fate would have it that his religious life and work would develop in constant contact with Islam." Nevertheless, there was a stark contrast between de Foucauld and Claverie. For de Foucauld, "this relationship [between Christianity and Islam] would be expressed more in terms of opposition than of open-mindedness and rapprochement" (Merad, *Christian Hermit*, p. 48). On the other hand, Claverie, like de Foucauld, believed that fluency in the other's language was extremely important "in order to begin to perceive the abyss that separates us" (Claverie, *Il est tout de même permis d'être heureux: lettres familiales, 1967–1969* [Paris, 2003], p. 351).

burst. He taught at the Diocesan Institute on the chemin des Glycines in Algiers and led the institute beginning in 1973, succeeding his good friend, Teissier, who was appointed bishop of Oran. The center included a department for language training, especially classical Arabic, a theology department, and an excellent library specializing in theological works and Algerian culture. The chief librarian was Jean Déjeux, a White Father, outstanding literary critic, and promoter of Maghribi literature.[49]

In the meantime, Algeria inaugurated a cultural revolution in the 1970s that featured accelerated Arabization. The preparation and promulgation of the National Charter of 1976 that defined a dynamic Algerian state socialism, coupled with a deteriorating French-Algerian bilateral relationship, created a climate in which the Church became a target, resulting in the nationalization of diocesan schools and other educational services.[50] As much as Duval (elevated to cardinal in 1965[51]) and his priests attempted to demonstrate by word and deed that they were not linked to France or its embassy, the Church was still held in suspicion and made a convenient scapegoat. From Claverie's perspective, the social and cultural policy of Houari Boumedienne's government (1965–78) expedited the political Islamization of Algeria.[52] Furthermore, Algerian authorities directly questioned Claverie, given his interest in Berber language and culture.[53]

[49]While researching his dissertation, the author had the privilege of meeting and discussing Maghribi literature with Father Déjeux at the center.

[50]The decline of privileged French-Algerian cooperation principally occurred as a consequence of Algiers's nationalization of French hydrocarbon concessions in the Sahara in 1971. Although relations improved from 1973 to 1975, during the brief period known as the *relancement* (relaunching), economic imbalances, as well as Paris's support of rival Rabat's ambitions in Western Sahara, deteriorated relations. Algerian ideological statism, as Teissier discusses (*Chrétiens en Algérie*, p. 64), was certainly a cause of the nationalizations, but the conditions of the bilateral relationship was also an important variable.

[51]The Algerian delegation to Rome for this event included the renowned intellectual Malik Bennabi, who shared a pluralist aspiration for postcolonial Algeria and ecumenical perspective regarding global civilization. See Nour-Eddine Boukrouh, *L'Islam sans l'Islamisme: vie et pensée de Malek Bennabi* (Algiers, 2006), p. 237.

[52]Claverie, *Lettres*, p. 19.

[53]The Berber Kabyles revolted against the government in 1963. Discontent surfaced again in violent protests in 1980 (and notably in 2001). The Berber minority has been most vocal regarding protecting its culture and especially its language. They have particularly protested Arabization programs. In general, the Arab-dominated government regarded Berbers as potentially destabilizing, thus explaining the apprehension over Claverie's interest.

Claverie, Bishop of Oran

In 1981, Claverie was appointed bishop of Oran as Teissier became the coadjutor of Algiers to assist the aging Cardinal Duval. During Claverie's ordination, he delivered a moving sermon. (His dedication to preaching exemplified the Dominican tradition.) To his Muslim "brothers and friends," he affirmed: "Studying Arabic, I have learned above all to speak and to understand the language of the heart, that of brotherly friendship where all races and religions commune together. . . . I believe that this friendship comes from God."[54] A week later, invested in Oran, he clearly defined his conception of the mission of the Church:

> We are not and do not want to be the soldiers of a new crusade against Islam, against unbelief, or against anyone. . . .We do not want to be agents of an economic or cultural neo-colonialism. . . . But we are and we wish to be missionaries of the love of God, which we have discovered in Jesus Christ. This love, infinitely respectful of human beings, does not impose itself, does not force consciences or hearts. With delicacy and solely through its presence, it liberates that which was in chains, reconciles that which was rent asunder, restores to its feet that which has been trodden down.[55]

One of Claverie's immediate challenges was the situation of Oran's cathedral. Handed over to the local government authorities, it was subsequently converted into a library and cultural center. In return, the government provided financial assistance to turn the church of Saint-Eugène into a Catholic cathedral. The bishop also rehabilitated the Basilica of Santa Cruz overlooking Oran, much to the satisfaction of *pied-noir* pilgrims.[56] Meanwhile, Claverie participated in many sessions concerning interfaith dialogue, and he was appointed to the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue in 1987.[57]

Nevertheless, Claverie desired a dialogue beyond conferences and colloquia to public and personal action, but social and political conditions in Algeria were changing rapidly. Islam was increasingly politicized as an ideology, evolving into Islamism. Given the authoritarian Algerian government, Islamism was the only means available to

[54]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, p. 101. See the homily in *La Vie spirituelle,* pp. 701–04.

[55]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, pp. 102, 104.

[56]This was not an easy task, but clearly demonstrated Claverie's hope for reconciliation (Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, pp. 109–13).

[57]Reverend Thomas Michel, S.J., one of its members, warmly remembered Claverie in a conversation with the author in 2007.

Algerians to express political opinion and opposition. Historically, Shaykh Abd al-Hamid Ben Badis and his Association des Uléma Musulmans Algériens, or AUMA (the Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama), especially distinguished Algerian Islamism. Founded in 1931, the AUMA asserted the credo that "Islam is my religion; Arabic is my language; Algeria is my fatherland." Actually, the AUMA's ulama were political moderates but unremitting in their opposition to any movement that opposed their vision of cultural authenticity. They viewed themselves as the exclusive guides in a national existential quest to attain an authentic cultural identity. The AUMA rejected Amazighism (Berberism) and portrayed rival Sufis (traditional marabouts) as superstitious. The sudden appearance of the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) in 1954, leading to Algeria's eight-year War of Liberation, displaced the AUMA's influence and shifted cultural and political representation but not the underlying proclivity for "unanimism."[58] This existential project of fashioning a nation and culture, which perceived pluralism as a threat to unanimity, threatened the Church's postcolonial presence. The government posited a socialist yet Islamic state during the 1960s and 1970s (e.g., the Tripoli Program [1962], the Algiers Charter [1964], and the National Charters [1976, 1986]), but the state model began to fail. The 1980s portended a greater peril that tragically impelled the nihilistic violence in the 1990s.

Claverie was deeply disturbed by the preaching of Shaykh al-Ghazali, who, with impunity, rhetorically assaulted Christianity in the Algerian media, referring to Blessed Mother Teresa of Calcutta and Sister Emmanuelle of Cairo "as Islam's worst enemies." Furthermore, Algerian television broadcast a program that presented Jimmy Swaggart as "an author and a leading American specialist in Judeo-Christian religion."[59] Although Claverie's Muslim friends condemned these portrayals, damage was done. Furthermore, with difficulty, the government suppressed an Islamist insurgency (1984–87) led by Mustapha Bouyali (d. 1987).

In June 1988, Claverie was invited by Shaykh Abbas of the Paris Mosque to participate in a conference on interfaith dialogue. Claverie reiterated his well-developed themes. He described how Christianity

[58]See James McDougall, *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria* (New York, 2006).

[59]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, pp. 140–41; concerning Swaggart, citing *Horizons*, May 18, 1988, 4.

and Islam shared a heritage of spiritual pretensions that claimed to possess exclusive universal truths. Yet he also pointed out that there had been dialogues, like that between Pope Gregory VII and al-Nasir ibn Alnas, the Hammadid emir in the eleventh century. He stressed the importance of recognizing the other and realizing the value of the other in helping oneself find spiritual truth. Instead of remaining silent about difference, it should be openly discussed "in a climate of trust and mutual respect."[60] He noted that the "challenge of pluralism" was worth taking.[61] Claverie's ecumenism included the study of Jalal al-Din al-Rumi, the great Sufi mystic and poet, and, later in difficult times, he was attracted to Dietrich Bonhoeffer's ideas of a "Confessional Church."[62]

In the meantime, conditions in Algeria deteriorated. The plunge in petroleum prices in the mid-1980s, compounded by a restless, alienated youth population, provoked the riots of 1988, which expedited an exciting but anarchic political liberalism. Although the sudden granting of civil and political freedoms led to a florescence of Algerian culture, illustrating the country's pluralist character, it also debilitated and discredited the FLN. Exploiting this situation was the Front Islamique du Salut (Islamic Salvation Front/FIS), one of many new parties allowed by a new constitution (February 1989) and legislation (July 1989). With its goal of establishing an Islamist state, the FIS represented another chapter in the history of Algerian Islamism. It nonetheless related thematically to the assertion of an exclusive representation of authenticity and a rejection of social and cultural pluralism. The FIS's extraordinary success in the local elections of June 1990 astonished the traditional political elites known as the "Pouvoir" (or power establishment). When the FIS dominated the first round of parliamentary elections in December 1991, the Pouvoir overthrew President Chadli Benjedid's government in January 1992 before the second round took place. Days before the coup, Claverie wrote:

[60]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, pp. 145–50.

[61]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, p. 166, citing Claverie, "25 ans après," *Le Lien*, June–July 1987.

[62]Opponents of the Nazification of German Christianity established the Confessional or "Confessing" Church in 1934. Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–45), a Lutheran pastor and theologian, was a leading member. His resistance to Adolf Hitler's government led to his arrest and execution. Claverie viewed Bonhoeffer's convictions as exemplifying Christian devotion, a conflation of grace with risk (see Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, pp. 229–30).

> I don't expect anything good to come from any religious government, Jewish, Christian or Muslim. I trust in the Algerian people, even certain of them who hope for an Islamic solution. We are not neither Iran, nor Sudan, nor Saudi Arabia.

He supported Algerian democracy and understood the youth's frustration.[63] Claverie perceived that "contemporary Algerian Islam is an Islam of resistance" and that "Islamism [was] the result of this Islam of resistance."[64] Soon after the coup against the government prevented the formation of a FIS government, Islamist resistance transmuted into a widespread insurgency. The conflict has resulted in 150,000 to 200,000 deaths. Claverie wrote in a letter in August 1993 that "extremists on both sides run the risk of cutting off any chance of a peace process."[65] The violence targeted and murdered those who believed in a pluralist Algeria, like the author Tahar Djaout in 1993, who criticized Islamists and the government, and Oran's brilliant playwright Abdelkader Alloula in 1994, whom Claverie especially admired.[66] Journalists and professionals were also gunned down and soon Catholics as well who chose not to leave Algeria but to serve it faithfully.

The extremist Islamist Groupe Islamique Armé, or GIA (Armed Islamic Group), issued a December 1993 deadline for all "foreigner crusaders" to evacuate Algeria. A series of killings of religious began in May 1994 when Brother Henri Vergès and Sister Paul-Hélène Saint-Raymond, who ran a library in Algiers's Casbah, perished. In October, two Spanish nuns were killed in Bab el Oued, Claverie's childhood neighborhood. In December four White Fathers were murdered in Tizi Ouzou, probably in revenge for the killing by French security forces of four Algerian hijackers of an Air France Airbus in Marseilles.

Under the auspices of the Sant'Egidio Catholic community in Rome, opposition Algerian parties including members of the outlawed FIS met and discussed in late 1994 and early 1995 ways to end the violence. They constructed what would be called the Sant'Egidio Platform or "National Contract." It called for political pluralism, implying a relegitimization of the FIS and new elections. The Algerian gov-

[63]Claverie, *Lettres*, pp. 113–14.

[64]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, p. 182, citing "Islamisme et islamismes en Algérie," *Eglise en mission* (September 1994), 44. Claverie understood the contributory role of Islam regarding the resistance to colonialism, especially during the War of Liberation.

[65]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, p. 187.

[66]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, p. 188.

ernment rejected the Sant'Egidio Platform. Although an advocate of pluralism, Claverie was disturbed that the Church of Algeria was not consulted about these proceedings, and he protested strongly. Furthermore, he thought the inclusion and political revival of the FIS was a mistake.[67] Several weeks after the platform was promulgated, the bishops of Algeria arrived in Rome and discussed their position and opposition with Sant'Egidio negotiators, especially regarding the FIS. The Algerian prelates' stance suggested that they supported the controversial Pouvoir and the Algerian government—to detractors, an example of the *hizb faransa* (the party of France).[68] Ironically, Sant'Egidio made the Church in Algeria more vulnerable to violence. At a conference in Montpellier, France, in February 1995, Claverie criticized the Sant'Egidio agreement by reviewing Algerian Islamism's social ideas including the patriarchal treatment of women and separation of the sexes in school. He questioned the FIS's political strength by noting that 41 percent of the electorate had abstained from voting in 1991 and that only 29 percent of registered voters had aligned with the party. He concluded by professing that Jesus's Crucifixion aimed

> to gather in the children of God who had been scattered by the sin that separates them that isolates them, and pits them against one another and against even God himself. He placed himself upon the fault lines created by sin. . . . In Algeria, we find ourselves on a seismic division that extends throughout the entire world: Islam/the West, North/South, rich/poor, etc.

The Church aimed to remain in Algeria in service to "see the light of the Resurrection, and together with it, the hope for the renewal of our world."[69] Ironically, French journals such as *L'Actualité religieuse* and *Témoignage chrétien* characterized the bishop as opposed to dialogue, given his criticism of the Sant'Egidio Platform.

The Death of Claverie

More murders were perpetrated against the Church. In September 1995, Sister Bibiane (Denise) Leclerc and Sister Angèle-Marie (Jeanne)

[67]Claverie, *Lettres*, p. 19.

[68]Algeria's government at this time, under the presidency of Liamine Zeroual, was torn between those who wanted to conciliate the Islamists and those who wanted to eradicate them. Although France officially gave mixed messages regarding the *fitna*, it supported the government.

[69]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, pp. 199–201.

Litteljohn, were killed. A few weeks later, Sister Odette Prévost, a close friend of Claverie's when he served in the Diocesan Center, was shot and killed in November 1995. He reacted angrily: "Bravo! The heroic combatants of justice have struck again!" Yet his rhetoric was not only aimed at extremist Islamists but also at "provocateurs, of the 'system,' the 'services,' the mafia, which have as their mission to confound the paths [of truth] and to demonize the Islamists."[70] On March 26, 1996, seven French Trappist monks at Tibhirine in the Diocese of Algiers were kidnapped.[71] Their decapitated heads were found on May 30. On that same day, Cardinal Duval died. On August 1, Claverie met with Hervé de Charette, the French foreign minister, who was visiting Algiers. Claverie expressed his particular concern about the 300 French clergy and members of religious orders. He must have felt a reluctance to meet with de Charette since it could be interpreted that he identified with France, possibly reinforcing the image of the insidious *hizb faransa*. Nevertheless, he also attended the meeting to assist Algerian friends who had trouble obtaining French visas. After returning home to Oran late that day, Claverie and Mohamed Bouchiki were killed by a remote-controlled bomb on the threshold of the episcopal residence. President Zeroual and Algerian newspapers expressed their deep sympathies.[72]

The GIA was assumed to be culpable for the murders. In March 1998, eight Islamists, one in absentia, were sentenced to death, despite Church appeals.[73] Nevertheless, other theories surfaced. In June 1998, the press publicized the mysterious roles of Algerian intelligence infil-

[70]Claverie, *Lettres*, pp. 177, 179.

[71]Claverie profoundly admired the Trappists, who also prayed with Sufis. See Claverie, *Je ne savais pas mon nom . . . (Mémoires d'un religieux anonyme)* (Paris, 2006), pp. 171–72. The monks' lives and deaths have been the subject of several books including Robert Masson's *Tibhirine: Les veilleurs de l'Atlas* (Paris, 1997); *Sept vies pour Dieu et l'Algérie*, ed. Bruno Chenu (Paris, 1996); and John W. Kiser's *The Monks of Tibhirine: Faith. Love, and Terror in Algeria* (New York, 2002). Anticipating the possibility of his death given the rise in extremism, Prior Christian de Chergé wrote a testament that exemplified Christian service in postcolonial Algeria: "I would like my community, my church, my family to remember that my life was dedicated to God and this country" (Chenu, *Sept vies*, p. 210).

[72]See Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, pp. 248–49; Naylor, *France and Algeria*, pp. 233–34; and especially *Vie spirituelle*, which features many testimonials. In particular, see the Algerian press's reactions to the assassination (pp. 615–19).

[73]*New York Times*, March 26, 1998, A6. They were eventually given life sentences. In August 1996, three Islamists were killed by security forces and were officially considered linked to the bishop's murder (Agence France-Presse, August 22, 1996. LexisNexis Academic). At this time, there is no proof regarding these allegations.

tration of the GIA and the possibility of rogue-agent activities. Indeed, there was the rumor of GIA-French government negotiations regarding the monks' release, bypassing the Algerian government. Claverie's role in any negotiation is, however, unfounded. The *Irish Times*, citing Henri Tincq of *Le Monde*, accused embedded Algerian intelligence agents within the GIA of involvement in the killings of the seven Trappists and the assassination of the bishop. According to Tincq: "There are too many shadows, too many mysteries surrounding their deaths." He added: "We can no longer blame it all on 'wicked Islamists.'"[74] Thus, Claverie's death, like tens of thousands of others in Algeria, can be considered a political as well as sectarian murder. It also remains unresolved.

Conclusion

Claverie relentlessly engaged the risks of interreligious dialogue and reconciliation.[75] He expressed and embodied the core values of the Church of Algeria, notably the importance of engagement and dialogue—encountering, recognizing, and respecting the other. This process presupposed that people had truths to share. To be effective,

[74]*Irish Times*, June 9. 1998, 11. On July 6, 2008, Italy's *La Stampa* claimed that "rogue" security forces, which had heavily infiltrated the GIA, and staged the kidnapping of the monks. Furthermore, *La Stampa* stated, the monks were mistakenly killed by a helicopter assault. *La Stampa* also inferred that security forces were involved in Claverie's murder, especially since he seemed to know who was really responsible for the death of the monks. The story appeared on the *La Stampa* Web site on July 6, 2008, as reported by BBC Worldwide Monitoring, July 8, 2008. LexisNexis Academic. It implied that the notorious Département de Recherches, de Renseignement et de Sécurité, or DRS (Department of Investigation, Intelligence, and Security), was complicit in this tragedy. In July 2009, a story leaked that a French military attaché serving in Algiers from 1996 to 1998 heard from an Algerian source supporting the account that the monks' deaths had been accidental during a helicopter attack on a suspected GIA camp. Algerian security forces subsequently found the monks riddled with bullets and mutilated their bodies to frame and blame the notorious GIA. President Nicolas Sarkozy publicly stated his intention to pursue the matter and provide classified information about the monks' deaths (see Lara Marlowe, "Sarkozy to Release Details about Beheaded Monks in Algeria," *Irish Times*, July 8, 2009, 10. LexisNexis Academic). As this article goes to press, there has been no further information regarding this matter.

[75]Claverie believed that "reconciliation and human and spiritual partnership between Christians and Muslims, in particular, has become one of the Church's great tasks of our time" (Pierre Claverie et les évêques du Maghreb, *Le livre de la foi: révélation et parole de Dieu dans la tradition chrétienne* [Conférence épiscopale du Nord de l'Afrique] [Paris, 1996], p. 146). Teissier stated in late 1989 that "[d]ialogue is not sufficient." What was actually necessary was an "individual, person-to-person relationship" (de Sauto, *Henri Teissier*, p. 177).

relations had to be on an equal basis, frank and open.[76] Indeed, dialogue was existentially crucial. He wrote: "To reject the other . . . is to condemn oneself.[77] He also sought discursive space to present his imagination of a pluralist, humanitarian Algeria, a vision he believed was shared by so many others.[78] Claverie's dialogical reach extended from FIS members to government officials.[79] On a deeper level, like so many other religious of the Church of Algeria, he embraced the risks of faith.[80] The dangers that he dauntlessly faced striding over the "fault lines" fissuring Algeria, strengthened his Christianity and his devotion to its living, fundamental principles, especially that of loving the other. Others devoutly shared this faith of a Church in service of Muslims.[81] Indeed, Claverie, the monks of Tibhirine, and other murdered religious identified their witness, including the possibility of their sacrifice, as a profound opportunity to experience Christ's life and love.

"For me," Claverie stated, "God has many names."[82] He believed that every person "carries . . . a message, a truth, a conviction, that he seeks to share."[83] Yet Claverie also recognized that religion is also dangerous: "Each religion carries in it the seed of possible totalitarianisms."[84] His appeal for a "humanité plurielle" (humanity in the plural) called for reconciliation with historical and global realities. Claverie especially understood the importance of historicism and constantly referred to examples of interreligious dialogue while also recounting

[76]He wrote in *Ut sint Unum* (no. 590, April 1996) that "the key word [maître mot] of my faith today is . . . dialogue" (*Vie spirituelle*, p. 824). Claverie elaborated upon encounter and dialogue at a conference in Lille (January 1992). See *Vie spirituelle*, pp. 741–52. See also Martin McGee, *Christian Martyrs for a Muslim People* (New York, 2008), pp. 110–11. CERNA compared the experience of encountering to those of Jesus in Galilee ("Les Eglises du Maghreb," p. 238). In an interview in Marseilles in May 1996, Claverie spoke of the need for a mutual "relearning" of words and language to enhance a shared experiential dialogue (*Humanité plurielle*, p. 11).

[77]Claverie, *Humanité plurielle.*, p. 27, from his *Lien* writings in 1985.

[78]President Abdelaziz Bouteflika has spoken publicly about his admiration of Augustine (de Sauto, *Henri Teissier*, pp. 273–74). Furthermore, Bouteflika has called for the canonization of Duval (Teissier, *Chrétiens en Algérie*, p. 123).

[79]See Robert Masson, *Jusqu'au bout de la nuit: l'Eglise d'Algérie* (Paris, 1998), pp. 197–200.

[80]Claverie equated "hope" with the "risk of faith" (see *Lettres,* pp. 129–32). See McGee, *Christian Martyrs*.

[81]This is thematic in CERNA's documents "Chrétiens au Maghreb" and "Les Eglises."

[82]Claverie, *Je ne savais pas mon nom*, p. 25.

[83]Claverie, *Lettres*, p. 23.

[84]Claverie, *Lettres*, p. 61.

unfortunate conflicts.[85] Furthermore, Claverie's dialogical, conciliatory engagement implied a wider application than Algeria and the Muslim world.

Today there are very few Christians in Algeria; about twenty Catholic churches are still used. A law passed in 2006 prohibits Christian proselytism and restricts the freedom of non-Muslims.[86] Although the Church is no longer involved in proselytism in Algeria, Craig S. Smith points out that "many of the church's charitable activities [are] vulnerable to politically motivated interpretation."[87] Once again, it appears that, under such pressure, a Christian presence in Algeria may disappear.[88] Yet the hope of Muslims as well as Christians is that Claverie's message of dialogue and action, of recognition and respect, will muster the courage and conviction of others to pursue a similar witness with passion. In a homily offered in 1981, Claverie declared: "Holiness is above all a great passion. . . . Without this passion of God, without this passion from God, the saints are incomprehensible."[89] On the other hand, Claverie's passion, experienced under grievous circumstances, offers comprehensibility as well as sanctity.

[85]See *L'Humanité plurielle*, pp. 37–44. Reflecting on the deaths of the Trappists of Tibhirine, Archbishop (later Cardinal) Jean-Marie Lustiger stated in March 1997: "It is not only an economic or political crisis, nor a crisis of culture that convulses the countries of Islam. . . . It is a deep inquiry rising from their own history. That inquiry is also our own" (Masson, *Tibhirine*, p. 10). Claverie understood the importance of historical inquiry.

[86]This legislation especially affected Evangelical Protestants resulting in arrests and the expulsion of Pastor Hugh Johnson (a Methodist and longtime resident) in early 2008. For articles on the status of Catholicism and Protestantism and proselytism in Algeria see *El Watan*, May 25, 2008 (May 26 online). Teissier has argued that the Catholic Church has not pursued conversions. On the other hand, the Church supports freedom of conscience and views the 2006 legislation as contradicting the Algerian Constitution. In particular, Teissier supported Habiba Kouider, who was arrested for carrying Bibles (see BBC Monitoring Middle East, Worldwide Monitoring, July 23, 2008. LexisNexis Academic).

[87]Craig Smith, "Catholic Bishop Bides Time in Muslim World," *International Herald Tribune*, July 25, 2006, 2. Smith is referring to Teissier.

[88]Teissier recounted other events that physically threatened the Church's presence. The first was the flight of the *pieds-noirs* in 1962; the second was the departure of foreigners as a consequence of GIA threats and attacks; and the third was the direct assaults against Christians. Despite these events and others, such as the nationalization of Church properties and institutions, the Church survives: "Our mission is still there. It involves being the Church of Algeria. Christians are not there. But there is a people in Algeria. A Muslim people, a people that God has given us to meet, to serve, and to love" (Teissier, *Chrétiens*, pp. 61–65).

[89]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, p. 224, citing *Le Lien*, November 1981.

Writing in 1968, he stated: "The essential value in our life lies in passing beyond our limitations, in extending beyond ourselves through love. . . . This is the foundation of our life, whether we are believers or non-believers, Christian, Muslim or Buddhist."[90] Claverie perceived that to understand the other, to converse and immerse with the other, one also had to transcend the complexity of the self and of history. Although it was a difficult task, he demonstrated that it was a profoundly rewarding as well as redemptive project. His was a transformative, inspiring life.

[90]Pérennès, *Pierre Claverie*, p. 215, citing "Vie religieuse," 1968, unpublished address, p. 27. In a Christmas message in 1994, Claverie equated the Church's "presence" as a "witness of love" (*Vie spirituelle*, p. 770).

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY AND TREASURER, OCTOBER 2010 THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

As treasurer of the American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA), this is my first annual report. I gave a short and less detailed report on our finances at the general meeting of the ACHA when we met in San Diego on January 7–10, 2010.

The worst part of the collapse of the market during this recession happened between late September 2008 and early March 2009. On March 5, 2009, the Dow fell to a new low of 6,594.44. On October 9, 2007, the Dow had closed at 14,164.43. Between its peak and its bottom, the Dow had dropped more than 50 percent in just seventeen months. This has been the longest and most severe postwar recession we have experienced. The market value of our Deutsche Bank, Alex Brown investments in 2009 increased from a low of $672,932 in January 2009 to $787,404.00 in December 2009. This represents a 26.7 percent return to the portfolio. Our DB investment councilor, David Canham, has advised us to stay the course. On the other hand, our mutual fund accounts at Vanguard and T. Rowe Price, which represent about 20 percent of our endowment, have earned about 4 percent during this same period. These mutual fund accounts were created to endow prizes and so remain in a series of GNMA funds.

As our expenses have increased, our revenue stream has become smaller. The 2007 budget was $66,544.31. The 2008 budget was $74,651.74. In 2009, our budget was $102,872.52. The difference came from a $15,000 payment on the new Web site and $12,000 to the executive secretary for both a monthly stipend and travel expenses to the annual meetings. This has led to deficit spending from the portfolio. It is clear that our present revenue stream, which primarily comes from memberships, is down. To offset this, we need to increase the endowment to increase the dividend earned from these funds.

PAUL ROBICHAUD, C.S.P.
Executive Secretary and Treasurer

Fund Statement (as of December 31, 2009)

Cash		
Balance as of December 15, 2008 (PNC Bank)	8,960.66	
Transferred from Investments	(49,000.00)	
Balance as of December 15, 2009 (PNC Bank)	9,745.58	
Market Value of Investments: See Exhibit B		
DBAB investments	787,404.00	
Mutual funds	153,503.52	
Total fund resources		940,907.52

Statement of Revenue and Expenses: (Exhibit A)

Revenue:		
Membership fees (annual)	31,383.50	
Annual meetings		
New York	1,150.00	
Philadelphia	2,435.68	
Total revenue		34,969.18
Expenses:		
Office expenses		
Executive secretary	12,000.00	
Office secretary	19,800.00	
Supplies and printing	1,723.02	
Postage	2,400.00	
Total office	34,923.02	
The Catholic Historical Review	38,000.00	
ACHA Web site	15,280.00	
Annual Meetings		
New York	8,100.00	
Philadelphia	0	
Total meetings	8,100.00	
Awards:		
John Gilmary Shea Prize	750.00	
Howard R. Marraro Prize	750.00	
John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Prize	1,200.00	
Peter Guilday Prize	100.00	
Total Prize Awards	2,800.00	
Miscellaneous:		
Bank charges	98.50	
Certified public acct	2,400.00	
CIC membership	51.00	
Miscellaneous	220.00	
Total Miscellaneous	2,769.50	
Total Expenses		102,872.52

Investments (Exhibit B)

Deutsche Bank Alex Brown

Money Market	170.30	
PIMCO Bonds GNMA	51,767.85	
Davis Manager Large Cap Fund	387,189.00	
Small Cap Fund	156,619.02	
Developing Markets, Euro-Pacific Fund	191,334.00	
Total		787,080.17

Total Market Value of Portfolio

Capital Gains (1/1/2009)	672,932.00
(12/31/2009)	787,080.17
Dividend	*11,904.22*

T. Rowe Price

Mutual Fund GNMA:		
(1/1/2009)	50,010.90	
Dividend	*2,332.14*	
Market fluctuation	845.85	
Total	53,188.89	

Vanguard

GNMA Fund (1):			
Capital Gains (1/1/2009)	90,562.85	(12/31/2009)	95,350.65
GNMA Fund (2):			
Capital Gains (1/1/2009)	4,935.69	(12/31/2009)	4,963.68
Total	95,498.54		100,314.33
Dividend	*4,513.28*		

Total Income 2009:

Investment:		
DBAB	11,904.62	
T. Rowe Price	2,332.14	
Vanguard	4,513.28	
Total Dividend	18,750.04	
Total Revenue	34,969.18	
Total Income		53,719.22

Total Expenses 2009:

Total Expenses	102,872.52
Deficit	49,153.30

BOOK REVIEWS

General and Miscellaneous

Christianity in Culture: A Historical Quest. By John R. Sommerfeldt. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America. 2009. Pp. x, 252. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-761-84671-0.)

The noted and prolific medievalist John Sommerfeldt attempts in this book to show the influence of Christianity on culture and vice versa, beginning with the early Christian Church and continuing on to the pontificate of Pope Benedict XVI. In some places, it resembles Christopher Dawson's admirable blending of literature, art, and theology. The discussion of the medieval priesthood is made more cogent by the introduction of Chaucer's description of the Clerk in the *Canterbury Tales*:

> Wide was his parish, with houses far asunder
> Yet he neglected not in rain and thunder
> In sickness or in grief, to pay a call
> On the remotest, whether great or small.

Also, Sommerfeldt's brief treatment of Dante is inspired, pointing out that Dante "used the form of a love lyric to express profound philosophical and theological ideas" and the author shows how (p. 87). To a teacher of the humanities for the last thirty years, this is wonderful stuff. There is a fine moment, at the very end of the book, where the author reflects movingly on the relationship between modern science and faith, concluding that faith will (and should) have its influence.

Unfortunately, this tone is not sustained throughout the book. The author wants his reflections to be read by a wide audience, those who are curious and intelligent but with no specialized training in historical scholarship. This, he admits, is a new audience for him. It is the kind of thing Dawson would try to do, but even Dawson limited his attention to specific periods of time, focusing on the "Dark Ages" or on a specific work of literature such as "Piers Plowman." Recent attempts to do something similar, such as Charles Taylor's *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA, 2007) and Jacques Barzun's *From Dawn to Decadence* (New York, 2000) were massive undertakings of more than 800 pages, and they both only began their narratives in the late Middle Ages.

Sommerfeldt casts his net very wide, taking in *all* of Christian Church history. The book may have been better titled *My Reflections on Christianity in Culture*, since this is really not more than a professor's musings on the interac-

tions of Christianity and culture rather than a serious attempt to explain them. Even the treatment of the Middle Ages is lacking. Whereas the sudden emergence of the medieval Church in new religious orders and new approaches to spirituality and theology receive good coverage, the development of Gothic architecture and Gregorian chant (and Giotto) are hardly mentioned. The farther the author journeys from the Middle Ages, the worse things get.

Opinions are quirky. Leonardo Da Vinci, by a narrow definition of humanism, is excluded as being a truly Renaissance artist. Martin Luther's (and Protestantism's) main quarrel with the Catholic Church is over free will. I thought that Melancthon had patched that up. Otto von Bismarck is remembered as a social reformer, but his *Kulturkampf*—with its imprisonment of Catholic bishops, closure of Catholic schools, and dismissal of religious orders—is not mentioned. The Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century and the enormous literary and theological revivals of the twentieth century, taking place in several countries at the same time, are not to be found in this book. In a book on Christianity in culture, the names John Henry Newman, Gerard Manley Hopkins, G. K. Chesterton, Evelyn Waugh, Graham Greene, Charles Peguy, François Mauriac, Sigrid Undset, and Thomas Mann should at least be noted, if not treated in some detail. The missionary work of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is not mentioned, along with its revolution in the cultural direction of the Church; the insistence of the popes on inculturation; the introduction of the vernacular at the Second Vatican Council; the composition of the College of Cardinals; and the impact of the Church on world politics, including the fall of communism. Nothing.

Even more regrettable is the treatment of the last two centuries in terms of intellectual and theological development. The author oversimplifies the gigantic divisions between modernists and Ultramontanists, between people certainly over the edge of Orthodoxy (like Loisy) and those trying to reconcile Catholic tradition with the best of modern thinking (like Newman and his development of doctrine or Wilfred Ward, the editor of the *Dublin Review*). No, Sommerfeldt lumps all the scholars together as "progressives," no matter what their theological stamp or level of irresponsibility, and "traditionalists," whom he sees as unthinking zealots totally devoted to the pope—just as Protestant fundamentalists are unthinkingly devoted to the Bible. Although there are some people who fit into these categories, a study like this needs to take notice of the situation in a more balanced way. Père Lagrange and his École Biblique were as dedicated to the scientific study of Scripture as they were to the Church. These are nuances that need to be introduced in any serious discussion of the modern age. Pope John Paul II was not simply a "rock star"; he had some very important things to say on a number of subjects that will be studied for a long time. I only wish Sommerfeldt had used his opportunity to do the same.

Providence College JOHN VIDMAR, O.P.

Light and Shadows: Church History amid Faith, Fact, and Legend. By Walter Brandmüller. Translated by Michael J. Miller. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press. 2009. Pp. 286. $16.95 paperback. ISBN 978-1-586-17273-2.)

Monsignor Walter Brandmüller, the former president of the Pontifical Committee on Historical Sciences, here offers fifteen previously published texts as they were revised for German publication in 2007, without their original footnotes. The book is directed at the kinds of questions posed by a popular audience concerning the Church's historical "record." Church history is considered from a believer's viewpoint. The translation reads well, although a comparison of page 16 of the German edition ("Diese Geschichte. . .") with page 22 of the English translation ("Despite this history. . .") will show that there are mistranslations.

The first essay, "Trust the Church?," mentions various theses of widely read authors, such as that the Qumran discoveries undermine the Gospel portrayals of Jesus. Hans Küng's list of errors of the Magisterium is countered with a list of Küng's errors. There is a "once-over lightly" character to some of the discussions, which will not satisfy all readers. Similarly, statements such as "[t]he mere existence of the Church in the year 2007 is . . . an irrefutable proof for her permanence" (p. 21) may strike some as rhetorical bravado. Brandmüller's observation that various writers do not sufficiently concern themselves with context to make their allegations clear might occasionally be turned against himself: He speaks of "the Bishop of Rome" around 70 AD without referring to the research that has been devoted to the first-century leadership of the Roman Church (and in the second essay, Brandmüller's discussion of St. Ignatius of Antioch does not note that the authenticity of Ignatius's letter to the Roman Church has been contested). But such things are more noticed by the historian than the general reader. Here and elsewhere, more distinction could be made between theological claims and what the historical record can establish. Throughout, Brandmüller distinguishes between errors in matters of faith and other matters.

The second essay explains papal primacy. As we live in a democratic age and some look forward to a time when the pope will be a sort of general secretary, Brandmüller observes as warnings against such thinking the drift into nationalism of the Orthodox churches and the fragmentation of doctrine of the Protestant churches. The third and fourth are fine essays on the role of Christianity in the unification of Europe and of the Enlightenment and French Revolution in its disintegration, and on the awakenings following each apparent disaster, the latter giving present hope. With the fifth essay, Brandmüller turns to more particular questions, first to a well-informed discussion of the historicity of the so-called infancy narratives and then to the medieval inquisition, the crusades, and the Lutheran Reformation. In treating this latter "from a Catholic perspective," Brandmüller is at his most polemical, showing the deceptiveness of the very idea of reform by return to origins.

After a lucid explanation of why Hubert Jedin's label, "the miracle of Trent," is appropriate, Brandmüller excellently considers three of the "awakenings" that he earlier noted have followed periods of apparent decadence. The first is the development of the baroque, characterized by "the tension and harmony between sensuousness and rationality" (p. 169). The second is French Catholicism after 1789. The third is German Catholicism in roughly the same period (see essay 14 and the two appendices). Essay 13 turns to the Second Vatican Council, and the final essay is an excellent exposition of Pope John Paul II's and Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger's reflections of the Penitential Act (*Tertio millennio adveniente*).

In sum, this is a most stimulating book. An American reader will find striking parallels especially between the German and American Christian attempts to come to terms with modernity.

University of Utah GLENN W. OLSEN

Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown. Edited by Philip Rousseau and Manolis Papoutsakis. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xx, 345. $124.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66553-3.)

It is hard to imagine any publication doing justice to the author of *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley, 1967, rev. 2000), *The World of Late Antiquity* (New York, 1971), *The Cult of the Saints* (Chicago, 1981), *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988), *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000* (Cambridge, MA, 1996; rev., Maiden, MA, 2003)—to name only the most imposing of the works of his that in the course of the past half-century have revolutionized the study of late-classical, early Christian, early Byzantine, and early-medieval Western culture (bibliography for Peter Brown to 2005: pp. xv–xx). We may therefore be grateful to the editors of this volume for settling on an "intimate" and not too "declamatory" mode for their tribute (p. x), and to its publishers for issuing an old-fashioned Festschrift of the sort that hardly any university press will entertain nowadays.

Alerted in the preface that "it would be foolish to force the essays in this collection into a simplistic straitjacket" (p. x), the reviewer must steer clear of the lunatic asylum whose isolated late-antique prototypes are the subject of Peregrine Horden's essay, itself an elegant instance of the main subgenre of the volume—namely, the strategic sampling of sources in quest of possible narratives of historical continuity and change over the *longue* (or at least *moyenne*) *durée*, such as Brown has elaborated. Thus we have an annotated translation of a chapter excerpted from a ninth-century legal compilation in Syriac by Bishop Gabriel of Basra, adduced by Sebastian Brock as "a link between professional associations of Late Antiquity and those of the Islamic

world" (p. 52). A neighboring piece by Sidney H. Griffith tracks convergences between early Byzantine and early Islamic iconophobia, hinting at an affinity between the development of "text as icon" among Muslims and "a hitherto unaccustomed role for textual display" among Eastern Christians (p. 84). In three notably wide-ranging and resourceful studies, Charlotte Roueché pursues the interrelated theatrical lives of classical myth and biblical story in the public entertainments of the Roman Empire; Claudia Rapp expounds the role of handwritten documents in the protocols of confession and absolution reflected by early Byzantine monastic and hagiographical literature; and Judith Herrin plots the history of book burning as an instrument of Christian censorship down to the Council *in Trullo* of 692. With a sharper focus and tone, John Matthews uses a series of vignettes ("Four Funerals and a Wedding: This World and the Next in Fourth-Century Rome") to expose the common ground and idioms shared by pagan and Christian aristocrats—and the willful eccentricity of the "blundering careerist" Jerome (p. 140). Rita Lizzi Testa's "*breve lavoro*" on the emerging pagan historiographical tradition concerning Emperor Constantine (pp. 85–128) is a very substantial piece of source-criticism.

Other essayists take individual figures or authors for topics and, more or less explicitly, for paradigms. Claude Lepelley reconsiders St. Augustine's misgivings about the fashion for embellishing records of the martyrs; his comments (after Serge Lancel) on what the Church thereby stood to lose "in terms of spectacle" (p. 151) set the stage for a deft analysis by Philip Rousseau of the same bishop's approach, especially via texts of Varro in the *City of God*, to Christian cult and spectacle as media for defining "a differing species of citizenship" (p. 175). In Susanna Elm's essay on St. Gregory of Nazianzus, it is the person of the bishop that becomes a plastic medium for the modeling of a new kind of spiritual family. Gregory's "self-made" holy (family) man then finds a female counterpart in the virginal figure of Radegund of Poitiers, as cut and successively recut by herself and three sixth- and early-seventh-century writers studied here by Julia H. Smith. In what may be the most ambitious of the contributions, Lellia Cracco Ruggini and Giorgio Cracco endeavor to restore to Pope Gregory the Great the authorship of a commentary, *On the First Book of Kings* (i.e., 1 Samuel), that recent scholarship has all but removed from his canon. Engaging as it is, the final essay by Peter Garnsey on "Gemistus Plethon and Platonic Political Philosophy" is effectively outside the volume.

The first three essays also stand somewhat apart from the rest. Those by Averil Cameron and Glen Bowersock form an instructively disjoint diptych on the ways in which Rome and Constantinople ("Old Rome and New Rome") and their respective cultural traditions were viewed in the East in late antiquity and subsequent ages. The opening piece by Robert Markus ("Between Marrou and Brown: Transformations of Late Antique Christianity") offers a personal account of changing disciplinary priorities in the field. The historio-

graphical perspectives laid out by Markus are at least partly assumed by other contributors. If there is another general assumption underpinning this volume, it would seem to be that readers of Brown will already have learnt how to construct satisfying historical narratives and interpretive schemes out of often disparate materials.

University of British Columbia MARK VESSEY

Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter. By John Tolan. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 382. $55.00. ISBN 978-0-199-23972-6.)

John Tolan presents his readers with a flickering movie reel of images of the meeting of St. Francis of Assisi and Malik al-Kamil, the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt. The two met at Damietta in the midst of the Fifth Crusade, and Tolan's book covers the visual and textual descriptions of the encounter from the first, written just six months later, to the most recent, referenced in op-ed pieces commenting on contemporary Christian-Muslim relations. Tolan deftly shows how each author or artist shifts the figures in the tableau, portraying and shaping European attitudes about sanctity, Islam, the crusades, and inter-religious dialogue. In many ways, these authors and artists are the real subjects of Tolan's book; they often emerge as far more solid figures than either Francis or al-Kamil.

Tolan covers the eight centuries of images in two parts. The first covers the 200 years following the meeting of the saint and the sultan, and each chapter focuses on a specific author or artist such as Bishop Jacques de Vitry, Angelo Clareno da Cingoli, or the artist of the Bardi Dossal. It is in this section that Tolan is at his strongest. The discussion of de Vitry, for example, is a superb mini-portrait of both the man and his age. In most cases, the primary concern here is Francis as the founder of a religious order and as a new model of Christian sanctity. The second part covers the remaining eight centuries, and Tolan discusses those crafting the image of the encounter in broader terms: Christians' reaction to the challenge of the Ottomans, Catholic apologists confronting Protestant criticism, Enlightenment *philosophes* decrying the corruption of religious orders. Here, the concerns have broadened beyond the Franciscan Order and Francis's sanctity to Francis as a symbol of Roman Catholicism.

The reader thus receives a learned and thoughtful tour through eight centuries. But a tour of what? As Tolan recognizes, discussions of the saint and the sultan are never really about the encounter itself, but are ciphers for other concerns. Tolan, for example, shows that for de Vitry, the first narrator of the encounter, Francis was emblematic of the larger reform movement that de Vitry championed. At other moments, it is not as clear what is at stake. When discussing Bonaventure, minister general of the Franciscan Order, Tolan com-

ments that "he invokes Francis as a model for a specific purpose: to show that it is impossible to convert the Saracens through rational or scriptural arguments" (p. 134). True. But why is Bonaventure so interested in using the founder of his order to show this? To show the Saracens to be irrational, or to show the inadequacy of rational argument to convert anyone to true faith? Given Tolan's previous work on European imagination about Muslims, one might expect that a larger point of the book would concern the ways in which the depictions of the sultan reveal Europe's propensity to see the failures and temptations of the world represented in Islam. Yet Tolan makes no such claim or any other about the larger significance of the encounter's enduring fascination. His book provides a welcome and useful survey of the changing European perspectives on Francis and al-Kamil, and will be a welcome addition for scholars and readers interested in Francis, his changing image, and European perspective on Islam.

Dartmouth College CHRISTOPHER H. MACEVITT

The Cult of Saint Catherine of Siena: A Study in Civil Religion. By Gerald Parsons. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. xii, 185. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65645-6.)

Gerald Parsons traces the different ways in which from her death in 1380 through the late-twentieth century, St. Catherine of Siena has featured in Italian "civic religion"—that is, as a focus for shared values and an agent of social and political unity. Parsons begins by describing the role played by Siena in promoting Catherine's cult in the century after her death—a useful corrective to the usual emphasis on the activities of the Dominican Order on Catherine's behalf—and Catherine's prominence as a patron saint of Siena in the early-modern period. But most readers will probably find their main interest in Parsons's discussion of Catherine's emergence as a focus for a Catholic brand of Italian nationalism after the *Risorgimento*, a fascist hero in the 1920s and 1930s, and a patron of the Italian war effort in the 1940s.

Parsons shows how the some of the main public causes of Catherine's career—the return of the pope to Rome, peace in Italy, and a crusade against the infidels—were seen as particularly relevant to the emerging national identity, especially among those who sought to reconcile Italian fascism with Italian Catholicism. Catherine was cited for her *romanità* and, in a 1929 article in *Studi Cateriniani*, compared to Mussolini in her promotion of "the unity of the nation in the unity of faith" (p. 60). Parsons gives many examples to show how individuals and institutions in Siena and elsewhere in Italy appealed to the language and ideology of fascism in urging Catherine's adoption as national patron. Increasingly associated with an assertive Italian nationalism and an aggressively militaristic foreign policy, Catherine's intervention was invoked for the conquest of Ethiopia, and she became a special patron of the Italian armed forces. A collection of excerpts from her writings

was published in a small book to be distributed to soldiers, divided into three sections corresponding to Benito Mussolini's slogan *credere, obbeddire, combattere* (p. 91).

After the war, as Italy sought a new identity within Europe and the world, Catherine was recast as an apostle of peace and justice, proponent of European unity and international cooperation, and even as a model for the participation of Italian women in political life. As Parsons notes, it is an interesting reflection on the cult of saints and on civic religion that devotees of the nationalistic, fascist Catherine and devotees of the internationalist, peace-campaigner Catherine have drawn on largely the same episodes in the saint's career and the same aspects of her writings to tie Catherine to their radically different causes.

Parsons's book is a fascinating case study of the history of a saint's cult and all the more interesting for crossing historical periods. It is also essential background reading for understanding twentieth-century Catherinian scholarship, not only the nature of the anachronistic distortions of her career by fascist apologists but also what it is in Catherine's cult or Catherinian scholarship that others have reacted against from time to time. Parsons includes a 1940 photograph that shows a row of uniformed dignitaries greeting the head of Catherine with the fascist salute as it passes in procession before the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. If the Catherinian scholarship of the last several decades of the twentieth century tended to be less interested in the overtly political nature of Catherine's career, images like this one help explain why.

Tulane University F. Thomas Luongo

Die Freimauer und die katholische Kirche. Vom geschichtlichen Überblick zur geltenden Rechtslage. By Klaus Kottmann. [Adnotationes in Ius Canonicum, Vol. 45.] (New York: Peter Lang. 2009. Pp. 370. $70.95 paperback. ISBN 978-3-631-58484-2.)

The first grand lodge of modern Freemasonry was established in London in 1717, with the recognition of the first lodge in the United States following in 1730. Shortly thereafter, the earliest of what would be many condemnations of the Freemasons by the Catholic Church ensued with the publication in 1738 of the bull *In eminenti apostolatus specula* of Pope Clement XII. To this day, the complex history of relations between the Catholic Church and the Freemasons continues to develop. Scholarly works that address this subject matter are not as plentiful as one would expect. The present volume adds a welcome contribution to that important body of work.

The volume under review is a slightly modified version of a doctoral dissertation presented to the Catholic Faculty of Theology at the University of Bochum in 2008. As such, the works reads very much like a well-crafted dissertation, with concise, densely worded pages and more than 1000 helpful

footnotes to lead the reader to further sources. The bibliography is extensive, beginning with an excellent listing of ecclesiastical sources and concluding with a solid, although not exhaustive, presentation of available scholarly works, most written in German.

Klaus Kottmann divides his work into two major parts. The first discusses the original, diffusion, and self-understanding of the Freemasons. The benefit of this introductory section is the succinct manner in which the author presents the history of the Freemasons along with the rituals and structure found in the organization today. The downside to this approach is that the wide-ranging number of issues treated in the section allows the author to present only the most salient points about each. For instance, the establishment of the Freemasons in the United States is discussed in barely three pages. This leaves the reader to seek out other sources to fill in the gaps, although the author provides some possibilities. Additional sources are not difficult to find, since numerous other authors have covered most of the information in this section, including many who write in English.

The second section makes an important contribution to the particular study of ecclesiastical law and Catholic membership in Freemasonry. Kottmann first discusses the numerous papal bulls, synodal norms (including those of the Council of Baltimore in 1866), and conciliar declarations up to 1917. He then considers the Pio-Benedictine Code of Canon Law of 1917, although only in some fifteen pages. A more elaborate examination of the canonical developments that have taken place since the promulgation of the revised Code of Canon Law of 1983 concludes this part of the work. Of special interest here is the analysis of scholarly reactions to the 1983 Declaration of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith on Catholic membership in Freemasonry.

For those interested specifically in the position of the Catholic Church on the tenets of Freemasonry and membership in the organization, this work will serve as a necessary complement to the few others available. For the reader who desires merely a general introduction to the history and tenets of Freemasonry, other works are available in English that will fulfill that need better than the present volume.

United States Conference of Catholic Bishops RONNY E. JENKINS

Das Zisterzienserinnen-, später Benediktinerinnenkloster St. Aegidii zu Münster. By Wilhelm Kohl. [Germania Sacra, Die Kirche des Alten Reiches und ihre Institutionen, Dritte Folge, 1: Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Köln, Das Bistum Münster 10.] (New York: de Gruyter. 2009. Pp. xxiv, 562. $182.00. ISBN 978-3-110-21254-9.)

Paul Fridolin Kehr—a Protestant—founded the Germania Sacra in 1917 to study the Church in the Holy Roman Empire, and eight volumes were pub-

lished in the original series under the auspices of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für deutsche Geschichte. In 1956 the Max-Planck-Institut für Geschichte assumed direction of the project, and another fifty volumes appeared in the new series. The latter institute closed in 2007, and the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen took over the undertaking. For unspecified reasons, the statutes of the Union of German Academies require fundamental changes in the program. Monographs currently in preparation have been grandfathered in and will appear by 2018, but additional work, to be completed by 2032, will be limited to bishoprics and cathedral chapters that existed in 1500 and that are situated in the Federal Republic. In the case of the Diocese of Münster, the Germania Sacra has published nineteen volumes, twelve of them by Wilhelm Kohl, including this one, the first in the third series, which appeared in conjunction with his ninety-fifth birthday. His study of the Cistercian abbey of Marienfeld is also due in 2009, and six more monographs are in progress, but twenty-five additional houses will remain unstudied.

The Germania Sacra provides a standard format, in which all the available, largely unpublished archival data are placed: sources, literature, and monuments; archives and library; historical overview; constitution; religious and intellectual life; possessions; and personnel. There is some repetition, and the narrative often needs to be pieced together. For example, in the case of St. Giles (*Egidius* in Latin, *sunte Ilien* or the ligature *Tilien* in Low German, or even *Gillis*, derived from the French), the fate of the church building after the dissolution of the convent in 1811, when Münster was part of Napoleonic France, is discussed before the foundation of the convent.

In spite of the massive amount of material assembled by Kohl, very little is really known about this rather undistinguished convent. Since he relies a great deal on visitation reports, the story may be unduly negative. The priest Lüdiger (whose distinct name suggests he was a kinsman of Alheidis, the first abbess and sister of Count Lüdiger II of Wöltingerode-Wohldenberg) founded shortly before 1184, within the city of Münster, a church dedicated to St. Giles. The convent was established around 1206 next to the church, and by 1229 the church doubled as a parish church. The provost, who was responsible for the nuns' spiritual welfare, acted on their behalf in secular matters, was appointed by the abbess, and served as the parish priest. The convent followed the Cistercian Rule, but it was never formally affiliated with the order; and the nuns' lifestyle from the start resembled that of secular canonesses. In the 1460s the bishop forced the convent to join the Benedictine Bursfeld reform congregation, and conditions improved. The majority of the nuns were enthusiastic supporters of the Münster Anabaptists in 1534–35, but some semblance of external order had been restored by 1571. However, the nuns never took enclosure or silence seriously. Discipline was particularly lax by the late-eighteenth century. For example, the nuns demanded in 1784 in an electoral capitulation that every nun be permitted to visit her relatives and friends three or four weeks a year

and to have her personal maid. In short, St. Giles was a comfortable asylum for women of the lower nobility.

It is unfortunate that more of the raw data was not analyzed and integrated into the brief historical overview, and the whole placed into the context of local and German history. Two examples would have been worth exploring. The most important provost was Otto Beckman (1529–40), who had studied at Wittenberg and was acquainted with Martin Luther and a friend of Melanchthon. The latter dedicated his inaugural address in Wittenberg to Beckman. The provost turned against Luther in 1527 and opposed the Anabaptists, but what does his selection as provost reveal about religious trends in the convent? Second, in the 1780s or 1790s the convent established a school for approximately 120 to 150 poor girls. Since Maximilian Francis (the last prince-bishop of Münster, and the elector and prince-archbishop of Cologne) believed, like his brother, Emperor Joseph II, that convents were useless and that their endowments should be employed for such practical purposes as schools, was the foundation of the school a last reform effort to appease the archduke? It is to be hoped that a way can be found to continue the Germania Sacra's century-long study of all German ecclesiastical institutions and that by providing more opportunity for historical analysis, the project will attract more devoted scholars like Kohl.

Illinois State University JOHN B. FREED

Dances with Spiders: Crisis, Celebrity, and Celebration in Southern Italy. By Karen Lüdtke. [Epistemologies of Healing, Vol. 4.] (New York: Berghahn Books. 2009. Pp. xviii, 254. $70.00. ISBN 978-1-845-45445-6.)

A wide variety of local and regional rituals characterize southern Italy. Modernization and global processes have influenced their shape, form, and meaning, as well as their very existence. While many have vanished, others have changed markedly in form and/or content. The history of the Tarantism ritual—from a fifteenth-century means of survival into a twenty-first-century means of coping with personal, local, and regional struggles and identities—illustrates this change.

The ancient ritual's evolution from a dance believed to cure victims of a spider bite into a modern-day performance that serves economic and psychological ends is the focus of Karen Lüdtke's clear and compelling study. Lüdtke's work draws from and extends Ernesto De Martino's seminal study of Tarantism among peasants of the Salentine peninsula, *The Land of Remorse: A Study of Southern Italian Tarantism* (London, 2005). People bitten, or believed to be bitten, by a tarantula originally performed the ritual. The spider's poisonous venom manifested itself in symptoms defined by modern-day medicine as depression. Lüdtke extensively describes one of the last *tarantate*, Evelina, a peasant woman who was bitten twice since 1953 and

"Every May and June, ever since, she has succumbed to the crisis the tarantula evokes: fainting spells, nausea, stomach pains" (pp. 3–4). The cure for the depression was a dance called the *pizzica* (the Apulian Tarantella) that lasted for days on end. Victims of the spider bite also had to perform the ritual annually during the festival of St. Paul. According to Clifford Geertz, the webs of the tarantula are webs of meaning, and Lüdtke analyzes these meanings from a holistic perspective. She studies social, economic, political, and cultural systems through religion, music, and dance, which results in a rich and fascinating book.

Today, the traditional praxis of Tarantism has nearly disappeared. Indeed, the dance and music that defined the ancient ritual are popular among young people. The ritual also has become commodified. Professional dancers perform it, for example, during yearly festivals in the Salento, on television, and on the Internet. According to Lüdtke, the performances are important tourist attractions and expressions of regional identity. Her close analysis of performance and perception reveals that despite changes in the ritual, in terms of place and practice, there are striking continuities between the peasant tradition and the postmodern stage- and television-directed performances. These are seen, for example, in the links between performance and the self.

Departing from De Martino's earlier work, Lüdtke studies the ways performing the dance influences the dancer's well-being by researching (over the course of years of fieldwork) the lives of the women, mostly in their forties, who perform the *pizzica.* This study reveals three significant points. First, the dancers embody the dance. Second, partaking in the performance influences the life of the dancer. Third, performing *pizzica* brings relief to ailments not caused by a spider bite, ranging from the ability to cope with daily problems to deeper struggles with depression.

In sum, Lüdtke's *Dances with Spiders* sheds clear and compelling light on how (and why) ancient rituals change over time and serve contemporary needs. Well written and engaging, the author weaves wit—in her reflections on her own performance and the suggestion that researchers conducting participant observations seem to outnumber the few who still practice the traditional cult on St. Paul's day—into her work. Undermined only by the tendency to treat all data as equally relevant, her study of the general sociocultural and performative transformations of Tarantism provides an excellent sequel to De Martino's seminal work. It also points the way for future research by focusing on the real people that postmodern anthropology tends to overlook. Finally, it raises questions that merit further study, such as the role of age and gender in the evolutions of rituals and cults.

Roosevelt Academy, Utrecht University HERMAN TAK

Storia delle Chiese di Sicilia. Edited by Gaetano Zito. (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2009. Pp. 766. €37,00. ISBN 978-8-820-98171-6.)

This massive and scholarly volume on the history of the Church in Sicily provides information and insights on the institution's development and activities from its arrival and dispersion on the island to the third millennium. It is a historical as well as a theological account whose reconstruction of events pays particular attention to the impact and influence of political and military events that swept over the island and influenced its ecclesiastical development. It is competently edited by Gaetano Zito, a priest of the Archdiocese of Catania; instructor of church history at the Studio Teological San Paolo, over which he presides; and vice president of the Ecclesiastical Archival Association. These responsibilities, interests, and attributes are reflected in Zito's wide array of past presentations and publications, including those on the martyrdom of St. Vitus—believed to have been born in Sicily—and a study of St. Agatha of Catania.

In the foreword of the present volume (pp. 7–11), Zito explains that while collaborating on a three-volume work on the dioceses of Italy (2007–08), the participants recognized the need for a separate examination of the churches of Sicily, whose structure would parallel that of the Italian study. Indeed, before turning to the Sicilian Church, there is a short historical note on the Italian dioceses (pp. 13–26), written by Emanuele Boaga, which serves as a transition from Italian to Sicilian ecclesiastical developments. This is followed by Zito's wide-ranging narrative account of church developments in Sicily over the centuries within the broader context of political, social, economic, and national events (pp. 27–165). This is the section that will prove to be most accessible for the general reader.

The volume combines a broad range of events with much narrower concerns and developments. The material catalogued in the series of appendices that follow Zito's narrative, for example, will undoubtedly appeal primarily to specialists. One such appendix lists the male monasteries and convents in 1650, providing information on their location, the order to which they belonged, and their foundation (pp. 169–217). Another focuses on Carmelite convents in Sicily from the 1200s to 2008 (pp. 219–29), while a third contains the male religious institutes on the island in 2005 and their location (pp. 240–57). Very likely, the list of Sicilian saints and Sicilians who have been beatified (pp. 238–39) will be of greater interest to the general public than the material found in the other appendices.

The final section of the volume, which concentrates on the eighteen dioceses of Sicily, encompasses the greater part of the work—some 500 pages rich in detail. This section has entries on Acireale, Agrigento, Caltagirone, Caltanisetta, Catania, Cefalù, Mazara del Vallo, Messina, Monreale, Nicosia, Noto, Palermo, Patti, Piana degli Albanesi, Piazza Armerina, Ragusa, Siracusa, and Trapani. Individual specialists compiled these; Zito has drafted the

accounts on Catania and Nicosia. These entries more or less follow the general guidelines established by the editor and vary in length from that on Palermo of more than eighty pages (pp. 579–663) to the less than twenty pages on Trapani (pp. 747–63). It would have been helpful if the editor had included a conclusion summarizing the findings in the eighteen dioceses and a comparative analysis of developments therein, a useful addition for both specialist and general reader.

St. John's University (Emeritus), NY FRANK J. COPPA

Ancient

The Early Church. By Morwenna Ludlow. [History of the Christian Church.] (New York: I. B. Tauris. 2009. Pp. xx, 282. $39.95. ISBN 978-1-845-11366-7.)

The Early Church is divided into nine chapters and an epilogue. The chapters follow a broadly chronological sequence, but are organized as much by theme and geography as time sequence. The author knows that doing justice to the complexity of the story and the diversity of Christianity in its first six centuries is no easy task, but has succeeded in taking consistently judicious paths in negotiating the difficulties, with an impressive degree of honesty and sensitivity to the issues. Many previous histories have been weak on the theological front; many doctrinal histories have been weak on the social, cultural, and political context. Neither is true of this volume, which is a remarkably comprehensive and balanced account of the major aspects of the life and thought of the early Church, informed by the burgeoning range of interests and approaches brought to scholarship of the period in recent decades—liturgy as well as society, heresy as well as orthodoxy, politics as well as theology, women's history as well as men's, not to mention post-Holocaust sensitivities about Christian supersessionism and postmodern fascination with and incomprehension of ascetic practices. Even the seasoned scholar finds fresh connections and differentiations, whereas the general reader could hardly wish for a better introduction.

That said, there are occasional surprises, odd errors, or contentious positions adopted, as seen in the following examples:

- On p. 76, Origen, it seems, erroneously appears in a paragraph about Clement of Alexandria.
- On page 108, Cyprian and the rise of the Donatists are correctly differentiated, but these are conflated on p. 176.
- On pages 82–83, it is suggested that there was no great chain of Being in Origen's theology, without justifying a claim that is at variance with much standard interpretation.
- On page 125, it is assumed that Athanasius influenced the Cappadocians, which is a less secure assumption than once was the case.

- On page 158, it simply states that Basil of Caesarea said the Holy Spirit was *homoousios*; but his friend, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, upbraided him for not doing so, and Gregory was probably disappointed that the Council of Constantinople also failed to do so explicitly. Thus, Gregory's philosophy was not fully accepted at Constantinople, as stated on page 165—explaining, no doubt, some of his disillusionment.
- On page 163, the impression given of Basil is surprising. He certainly exploited the division of the province to multiply bishoprics, but surely he saw it as a hostile act on the part of the Arian emperor.

On the other hand, particularly recommended are the following:

- The handling of the delicate transition from Jesus Christ to the Church, with all the complexities of New Testament study to negotiate.
- The clarity of the exposition of the issues involved in the main controversies, particularly those of the fourth and fifth centuries.
- The brilliantly succinct accounts of the thought of the major theologians of the period: Irenaeus, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Athanasius, the Cappadocians, and St. Augustine.
- The survey of Christianity's ascetic streak and the monastic movements of the fourth and fifth centuries.
- The epilogue's sketch of the consequences of Chalcedon and its retrospective reflection on the kaleidoscope of early Christianity and the factors that nevertheless held the Church together.

Altogether, this work is an enormous achievement and is highly recommended.

Birmingham, UK FRANCES YOUNG

Aliens and Sojourners: Self as Other in Early Christianity. By Benjamin H. Dunning. [Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. vi, 186. $49.95. ISBN 978-0-812-24156-3.)

The subject of early Christian identity and self-understanding has been extensively studied in recent years. The present volume is a welcome contribution. The introduction focuses especially on the problem of how to expropriate social data from texts that were not written for that purpose, but rather for a highly rhetorical context. The rhetorical strategy of authors who use the *topos* of alien or foreign identity of a subgroup within a larger society functions positively to construct a tighter insider identity within the group.

Greek, Roman, and Jewish precedents show that this is a ubiquitous way to create and strengthen insider identity. The elite male Greek understanding of self as normative over others was challenged by the ascendancy of Rome in power and prestige, while elite Romans both disdained the Greeks and

admired their cultural and intellectual achievements at the same time. Roman ambiguity about otherness was shown further in the puzzling way in which the Romans could incorporate previously despised persons (for examples, slaves and former enemies) as Roman citizens.

The theme of the heavenly destiny of Christians so that they do not belong where they are occurs with surprising frequency, beginning with Phil. 3:20 and 1 Peter. In this book, four Christian documents are examined for their play on otherness and insider identity. The canonical Epistle to the Hebrews offers contrasting images of entering into rest and going out to Jesus outside the camp, because no permanent city exists on Earth (Heb 13:10–16). The *Epistle to Diognetus*, a second- or third-century apologetic treatise, has its own contrasting images: Christians are like everyone else, whether Greek or barbarian (the two categories of people in the Greek mind)—yet they are a different *genos*, roughly understood as "race." They excel in virtuous practices over all their neighbors because they do not swap marriage partners or expose babies. Christians are the consummate insiders, yet they become outsiders by outdoing others in noble conduct.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* uses the theme of foreignness in service of its main purpose: the critique of wealth and unjust practices against the poor. The theme of Christians as living in a foreign country is used only in *Similitude* 1, where it is developed extensively in parable form: People should not accumulate wealth and land in this country, because its ruler can throw them out; rather, wealth should be stored up in their home country so that when they go home, they will be able to rely on it.

The *Apocalypse of James* from the Nag Hammadi collection plays on the theme of foreignness only to reject it. Christians may feel that they do not belong where they are, but the solution is to take hold of what lies within as the way to salvation. The author engages in "semiotic playfulness" whereby Jesus rebukes his disciples again and again until they finally come to understanding. The text is part of an "internal conversation" about the *topos* in early Christianity.

The book is well done and well written. The reader should simply keep in mind that, however frequent the theme of the outsider is in early Christianity, there are other images that suggest a more this-worldly understanding: the Church as family in Colossians, Ephesians, and 1 Timothy; God's building and field and Christ's body in 1 Corinthians; and the tower being built in *The Shepherd of Hermas*, to name a few. Nevertheless, otherness is a significant category in early Christianity that is well studied here.

Archives, Society of the Sacred Heart CAROLYN OSIEK
St. Louis

The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity. By Andrew Cain. [Oxford Early Christian Studies.] (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 286. $99.00. ISBN 978-0-199-56355-5.)

This fine study of Jerome's letters represents a quite new direction in the study of a significant number of the saint's epistles. Previously well researched as sources of information about Jerome's life, theological stance, and exegetical activities and techniques, the letters are here investigated to "examine Jerome's sophisticated use of literary artistry to construct spiritual and intellectual authority for himself" (p. 6). In this, the author is brilliantly successful and contrives at the same time not to neglect those traditional concerns of former students of the letters. Omitting from sustained discussion Jerome's letters to St. Augustine and Paulinus of Nola, Epistles 117 and 108, and documents treating of the Origenist controversy, Cain first sets his sights on the *Epistularum ad diversos Liber*. He plausibly reconstructs the contents of this collection, arguing that Jerome intended it for use on his visit to Rome (382) to promote his reputation as a holy ascetic in the Eastern mold. As a *novus homo* (Cain refers to him as a "provincial upstart," p. 8) of modest social standing and limited financial means, Jerome stood in need of support and patronage, which this collection of letters was designed to elicit. Jerome's qualities as a master of Latin prose are here on full display; his command of the language and his outstanding abilities as a stylist were to serve him well, Cain argues, when enemies and opponents were never reluctant to attack this "avant-garde" scholar with his newfangled *Hebraica veritas*. Indeed, Cain argues that the publication of his collected letters to Pope Damasus, examined in chapter 2, was designed by Jerome to reassure a multitude of doubters that his forays into Hebrew scholarship and the Jewish world were undertaken with the pope's blessing and authority.

Cain views the collection of letters titled *Ad Marcellam Epistularum Liber*, discussed in chapter 3, as a skillful exercise in damage limitation to Jerome's reputation following the events of summer and autumn 385, as a result of which he had been compelled to leave Rome. The events themselves are carefully investigated in chapter 4; here Cain maintains that Paula's relations were principally responsible for the charges of clerical misconduct laid against Jerome, charges that his enemies were content to support from "offstage," as it were. After leaving Rome and settling in the Holy Land, however, Jerome was able to write from that sacred place to his spiritual children in the West, once again preserving these letters as evidence of the constant demands for advice in matters moral and ascetic continually laid upon him by persons far away. The final chapter treats of the exegetical letters designed, Cain argues, to cultivate the image of Jerome as an unrivaled master of biblical exegesis: "he was uneasily aware . . . that he was but one voice among many vying for personal influence and a sympathetic audience. . . . The

burden, then, was on Jerome to convince prospective supporters why the spiritual and Scriptural mentoring he offered was sound" (p. 199).

Jerome's renown from late antiquity onward as a remarkable scholar and ascetic, Cain thus suggests, owes a great deal to his letters, many of which functioned effectively as forms of self-promotion. Although Cain presents it as a first appendix to his book, the new taxonomy of Jerome's letters set out on pages 207–19 (a significant contribution in its own right to our understanding of ancient literary genres) strongly supports this central thesis. There is hardly an epistolary type known from antiquity that Jerome does not use and in some manner adapt to his own needs; and it is in the development of these epistolary types that Jerome's motives often stand revealed. A second appendix discusses lost letters of Jerome, a third gives a lucid account of the manuscript tradition of the letters, and a comprehensive bibliography concludes the book.

There are occasional inaccuracies in translation of some Latin quotations. Thus, for example, on pages 45–46, the phrase *acumen ingenii tui*, translated as "the greatness of your spirit," is better rendered as "the shrewdness of your ability." On page 52, "translated a while ago from Greek ones" renders an original *olim de veteribus Graecis translatos codicibus*, which surely means rather "translated once upon a time from the old Greek codices." Further discussion of Ambrosiater, whom Cain registers as major rival of Jerome in biblical interpretation, might have been desirable; and Cain's views on why Jerome's self-promotion turned out to be so enduringly successful also would have been welcome. But these are minor criticisms and in no way detract from this volume's achievements.

University of Durham ROBERT HAYWARD

Augustine of Hippo: A Life. By Henry Chadwick. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 177. $19.95. ISBN 978-0-199-56830-7.)

It is always a pleasure to read great writers who are also great scholars. The wealth of what is found in this short book does not need to be emphasized. Reading a book by Henry Chadwick is always chock-full of choice delicacies. As Peter Brown tells us in his graceful introduction, "the manuscript of the book was discovered among his papers" (p. viii). A shorter version was published in 1986, and now, this longer version allows us to appreciate, in Brown's words, the "full texture of Augustine's life and thought" (p. viii).

Chadwick has chosen several important moments in St. Augustine's life as a focus of his reflective narrative. A few examples serve as representative "snapshots" of his probing, thoughtful writing. On the significance that Augustine attaches to his own conversion, Chadwick sees it as "the culmination of a moral and intellectual struggle" (p. 29). He sees Augustine as having

accepted "so profound a fusion of Christianity with Platonic mysticism that Augustine thinks of Christ and Plato as different teachers converging in the same truths." The fascination of such a combination has led more than one writer to neglect the grounding that Augustine had in the Scriptures in favor of the neoplatonic influence. Chadwick sees rather a confluence of "Cicero's Hortensius, Neoplatonist ideals . . . readings in St. Paul, brotherly pressure from Alypius," and something inside this highly intelligent man—a "teacher who needed his pupils to get his own thinking clear" (p. 30). Such insights can be found throughout this book, attentive to social, historical, and spiritual dimensions as he gives us a vision of this man in his time.

Perhaps instigated by the interest of St. Paulinus of Nola, Augustine wrote the *Confessions* as "a prose-poem addressed to his Maker, not to human readers" (p. 90). As Augustine questions his God, we are told that the last three books are a neoplatonizing commentary on the first chapter of Genesis with striking affinities to ideas found in Origen. Neoplatonism, of course, was part of the air Augustine breathed, and the thought that he sees things through such eyes remains all too common among learned readers of the *Confessions*. How much apter it is to see a Christian reading of Origen as a significant influence on this book. Rather than a writing summarized as "the alienation of man from his true self" (p. 91), is it not the story about the growth and the salvation of an innocent, alienated child? Is the pessimistic turn of phrase, "The innocence and natural goodness of childhood Augustine thinks an illusion" (p. 91) really accurate? The "original" sin left everyone with the weakness and ignorance of mortal beginnings—which meant, for Augustine, a need for Christ. That diagnosis of the human condition is hardly "somber" (p. 152).

"Anger," Augustine observed, "passes into hatred if unhealed" (p. 108). Chadwick grasps the *enjeu* of the Donatist controversy, noting that "the town/country tension was more a consequence than an initial cause of the schism's history (p. 106) and the way that each community described the beginnings was incompatible (p. 110). But his comment on the debate on the use of coercion (even today) bears repeating: "In later ages his arguments came to be disastrously exploited by inquisitors, ecclesiastical and secular, who neglected his crucial proviso that the form of correction must be seen to be a loving familial chastisement, a minimal force. . ." (p. 113).

Brown writes: "This is a book about Augustine which has the tang of life" (p. ix). To read it is to be treated to an adventure, savoring both Augustine's life and that of the delightfully human scholar who wrote about him. One should not delay the pleasure.

Villanova University ALLAN FITZGERALD, O.S.A.

"My Share of God's Reward": Exploring the Roles and Formulations of the Afterlife in Early Christian Martyrdom. By L. Arik Greenberg. [Studies in Biblical Literature, Vol. 121.] (New York: Peter Lang. 2009. Pp. xiv + 236, $72.95. ISBN 978-1-433-10487-9.)

L. Arik Greenberg's monograph examines the development of martyrological currents within Hellenistic Judaism and early Christianity, giving special attention to how these texts explore the concept of the afterlife. He asserts that whereas writers describe postmortem rewards in diverse ways, these formulations nevertheless function to provide martyrs with compensation for their suffering. To support his thesis, Greenberg first argues for a genealogical development of martyrological discourse: Greco-Roman noble death traditions informed Hellenistic Jewish martyr stories, and these two currents became models for early Christian writers. He then offers a diachronic reading of second-century through fourth-century Christian martyrologies to show that "world-affirming" approaches to suffering and death in earlier texts give way to an attitude that increasingly prioritizes life after death.

Greenberg's first chapter observes that early Israelite literature lacks a developed concept of the soul, imagines death as a form of punishment, and conceives of life after death as a gloomy, shadowy existence cut off from Yahweh. This Deuteronomistic world view clearly cannot account for later martyrological thought. Instead, Greenberg asserts that Hellenistic Judaism experimented with noble death traditions by valorizing sufferers as righteous and according them with rewards through some type of postmortem existence. The second half of this chapter asserts that Christian martyrologies drew on the Socratic legacy. This noble-death tradition is essential for Greenberg, who defines martyrdom as a volitional act done through pious obedience to instruct others.

The second chapter examines New Testament views of suffering and postmortem existence. Greenberg thinks that this literature begins to connect suffering and "witnessing" with views of personal immortality, variously conceived as the immortality of the soul, spiritual resurrection, or physical resurrection. Although these beliefs do not culminate in a spirit of "world-denial," Greenberg claims that they compose a constellation of ideas for later martyrologists who choose to move in this direction. Writers from the second through fourth centuries thus radicalize New Testament teachings by envisioning martyrdom as an escape from the "death" of this world and an entrance into eternal life.

The third and fourth chapters trace this development. Greenberg begins with an examination of the patristic writers St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Origen. He notes that for the first three writers, suffering was one path to God, but that they dampen their zeal for voluntary martyrdom, either by offering alternative routes to immortality or by revaluing the notion of martyrdom itself. Origen, however, makes the most

overt links between the transvaluation of life and death, and personal immortality. Greenberg finds a similar trend within the martyr acts, with experimentation among early texts giving way to more rigid views of martyrdom as a form of witnessing that culminates in death and the attainment of a personal, heavenly reward.

By tracking the rise of martyrologies in conjunction with late-antique conceptions of afterlife, Greenberg has not only offered a valuable demonstration of Jewish and Christian indebtedness to Greco-Roman thought but also provided important evidence for the theological diversity of pre-Constantinian Christianity. Some assumptions and arguments, however, call for further clarification and exploration. For example, situating the martyrological texts within a broader sociohistorical matrix would add depth to Greenberg's recognition of diverse approaches to martyrdom. Why do some authors deploy one strategy over another, and what do the overlapping and crisscrossing features of these discourses reveal about early Christian attempts to negotiate social space? To appeal to "official and widespread persecution" (p. 223) is questionable and does not sufficiently explain the diverse range of views on martyrdom (e.g., *Testimony of Truth*, Cyprian, Prudentius' *Peristephanon*). Moreover, Greenberg's appeal to historical reliability (pp. 5, 150–51, 199–200) is perhaps unnecessary for his argument. Even texts written close to the time of the martyr's death (e.g., *Martyrdom of Polycarp*) may lack historically reliable data, and it might be said that *all* martyrologies are reliable witnesses to early Christian thought *because* they are rhetorical productions—fictions—designed to polemicize, persuade, and defend. Recent works on martyrdom by Judith Perkins, Brent Shaw, Kate Cooper, Elizabeth Castelli, Maureen Tilley, Paul Middleton, and Jakob Engberg have addressed such questions and would seem to be ideal conversation partners whom Greenberg could engage with profit.

Bridgewater College DAVID M. REIS
Bridgewater, VA

Medieval

Intrepid Lover of Perfect Grace: The Life and Thought of Prosper of Aquitaine. By Alexander Y. Hwang. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 267. $36.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-813-21670-6.)

To be amenable to intellectual biography, a writer should attract wide notice from contemporaries, discourse freely about himself or herself, and leave behind an ample series of securely datable literary works. Aside from the Doctors of the Churches, few early Christian writers meet these requirements. Prosper "of Aquitaine" is not obvious among them. *De providentia Dei*,

a nearly 1000-line poem, gives a shadowy impression of someone who suffered from the passage of the Goths and Vandals through southwestern Gaul in the early-fifth century. During the period *c.* 426–35 Prosper energetically defended St. Augustine's teaching on grace and predestination against critics in the region of Marseille, composing controversial works in several genres and betaking himself to Rome in 431 to obtain a ruling from Pope Celestine. In 433, 445, and 455, he expanded St. Jerome's *Chronicle*. None of these more or less precisely datable works, together accounting for roughly half the œuvre now attributed to Prosper, yields much circumstantial detail about him. The remainder of the œuvre, which includes extensive summarizing, excerpting, and versifying of Augustine, is harder to distribute across a career. Our only significant external notice of Prosper is the sketchy and tendentious one provided several decades later by Gennadius. "It is not without good reason that a comprehensive biography of Prosper has not been attempted in the past," writes Alexander Y. Hwang (p. 6).

His attempt builds on the work of earlier scholars (notably G. de Plinval and M. Cappuyns) who have plotted the progressive moderation of Prosper's "Augustinianism" on the subject of grace and predestination, and who have associated that development with the influence of Leo the Great. Hwang divides Prosper's writings into three periods: (1) a pre-Augustinian phase represented solely by the *De providentia Dei* of *c.* 416, (2) a hard-line Augustinian phase *c.* 426–35, and (3) a "mature" phase *c.* 440–55, characterized by Prosper's adherence to a fully (Roman) catholic ecclesiology. In these two long intervals (417–25, 435–40) between these periods of literary activity, Prosper is supposed to have stopped writing while pausing for "reflection and contemplation" (p. 187). The first period of reflection would coincide with his textual encounter with Augustine. The second, on Hwang's account, would culminate with his leaving Gaul in 440 in the entourage of the newly elected Pope Leo, who had decided to make him his adviser; henceforth, the ex-combatant Prosper "would find himself under the peaceful theological sky of Rome in the service of the Roman Church" (p. 186; *cf.* 190 and 31n94; the figurative phrase is taken from Cappuyns). There are two problems with this narrative. The first is the shoe-horning of all agreeably "Roman" texts into the "final" phase of Prosper's literary career, sometimes on the flimsiest pretexts (e.g., pp. 199–205 for the *Expositio psalmorum* and other works *de longue haleine* adapted from Augustine; pp. 220–22 for the *Auctoritates* or *Capitula*, a set of papal pronouncements on grace, available to Prosper by the early 430s). The second is the fanciful nature of the personal and official connection postulated between Prosper and Leo the Great, already partly exposed by Robert Markus in a 1986 paper and soon to be made plainer in a forthcoming study by R. W. Burgess.

Hwang can be commended for providing careful and well-informed summaries of the arguments of several of Prosper's most important controversial works, and for judicious splicing of the scanty evidence for the latter's life

into the more colorful picture of his (putative) milieux derivable from contemporary sources. Regrettably, however, his work does little to advance the critical study of Prosper as a framer of Christian doctrine in Latin verse and prose.

University of British Columbia MARK VESSEY

The Rule *of Saint Benedict: Initiation into the Monastic Tradition 4*. By Thomas Merton. Edited by Patrick F. O'Connell. [Monastic Wisdom Series, No. 19.] (Collegeville, MN: Cistercian Publications, Liturgical Press. 2009. Pp. lxi, 291. $24.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-879-07019-9.)

In addition to the works that Thomas Merton intended for publication, many of the conferences that he gave to novices and newly ordained monks at the Abbey of Gethsemani in the final dozen years of his life are now becoming available. The volume here under review is the fourth of these to appear, all of them edited by Patrick O'Connell, a former president of the International Thomas Merton Society.

Although titled *The* Rule *of Saint Benedict*, this particular set of conferences is by no means an exhaustive commentary on all the chapters of the *Rule*. Instead, Merton gives an overview of the document; reflects on selected parts of Pope Gregory the Great's *Life of St. Benedict*; provides what he calls "a spiritual commentary" on fifteen chapters that deal with the abbot, other monastic officers, monastic work, and poverty; and concludes with an extensive commentary on chapter 7, "The Degrees of Humility," which Merton rightly considers "the *supernatural* heart of the *Rule*" (p. 160; emphasis in original). Throughout, he focuses on the basic principles of monastic life and the way the young monks under his tutelage could use those principles as a guide in their own lives.

Even though Merton did not intend to provide an academic commentary of the sort that Adalbert de Vogüé has written, he clearly kept abreast of the best scholarship about the *Rule* and urged the novices to make use of it in their personal interpretation of what Benedict wrote. For example, he shows that the *textus receptus*, the one most commonly used since the Middle Ages, deviates in some important respects from the earlier Monte Cassino text as represented in St. Gall Ms. 914, this latter being more reasonable and less rigid about certain points of monastic discipline. Merton warns his hearers that "the mentality which would prefer the rigidity and oversimplification of the *textus receptus* is also very likely to be the mentality which hates and distrusts scholarship . . . [and] leads to ossification and stupor in the spiritual life" (p. 46).

More than a quarter of Merton's text deals with the previously mentioned seventh chapter of the *Rule*. As part of his way of showing the ongoing rele-

vance of Benedict's teaching about humility, Merton comments on the way in which the first degree of this virtue, which includes an awareness that God is always present to one's thoughts and actions, actually fosters societies that are vital and flourishing. By way of contrast, he claims, "Witness the dullness and stupidity of atheist-materialist society and culture: the culture of people with no inner life. The 'presence' of God brings life, light, meaning, to our interior life" (p. 176).

Other incisive remarks of that sort can be found throughout the work, which O'Connell has painstakingly edited. Among other things, he tracked down the original sources of many of Merton's references, and he provided in footnotes the complete text of scriptural passages that in Merton's typescript were indicated only by chapter and verse. O'Connell also included five appendices, including one that gives additional notes on the *Rule* that Merton inserted by hand after certain pages of his typescript and another that gives a useful list for further reading. In sum, this is a book that will be deeply appreciated by anyone interested in Merton's thought on basic principles of monastic life.

The Catholic University of America JAMES A. WISEMAN, O.S.B.

Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians. By Thomas F. X. Noble. [The Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 488. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-812-24141-9.)

Thomas F. X. Noble provides a comprehensive study into the writings about Christian art in the Carolingian world. There are three large clusters of complexes: (1) the *Opus Caroli regis* (or *Libri Carolini*) as the Frankish answer to the Synod of Nicaea in 787, (2) the materials of the Paris Colloquy in 825 (the *Libellus*) as provoked by the letter from the Byzantine emperor Michael II to Louis the Pious, and (3) the further discussion about images during the reign of Louis the Pious. The first two were caused by the Byzantine image controversy. At the beginning of the third cluster stood the action of Claudius of Turin, who destroyed Christian pictures. Claudius was one of the independent thinkers of the Carolingian age (like Gottschalk and John Scotus); he contested conceptions, which in his time were generally accepted. He rejected not only images but also the cult of relics and pilgrimages to Rome. The refutation was undertaken by Jonas of Orléans and Dungal of Pavia, but only in a general manner by reference to tradition and the Bible. Agobard of Lyon, Walahfrid Strabo, and Einhard composed other writings on the subject. The latter wrote not about images, but about the cross. Noble reports and discusses the complete texts in great breadth and presents a theory of images in the Carolingian period. He integrates the image question into the political situation and discusses it in the categories of tradition, order, and worship. So the Franks tried to show themselves as the legitimate people of God, to the exclusion of Byzantium. Order means general principles in the

organization of society as necessary and agreeable to God. Worship leads over to the question, whether images are venerable.

Carolingian authors professed different positions concerning images. All, except Claudius, affirmed the existence of Christian images. They were justified by Old Testament references, Christian tradition, and the incarnation of Jesus Christ. Rarely did an author refer to the pedagogical value of pictures for illiterates or to psychical effects. The meaning that the veneration of the image passes over to the represented person was not unknown, but it was not considered important. Images have no ontological holiness; they work no miracles. As a rule, no separate veneration of the image was maintained. If there was any veneration of material things, such as crosses, then it was distinguished from the adoration that was due to God alone. The Franks always recognized the different manners or degrees of veneration, using a changing vocabulary. The word is of greater value than the image.

The familiar opinion that the Franks misunderstood the acts of Nicaea because they had a bad translation, is rightly rejected. But there is not the distinct understanding, that the pope used the same translation.

Because the Western preoccupation with the image question was initially an echo of the Eastern image controversy, Noble gives an exposition of the Byzantine quarrel. He sees the whole complex in great parts.

Noble is careful to pay attention to the entire non-English literature. This produces a harmonious impression of the status of research. But there are titles out of date and dubious, and there are disputes about their correct interpretation.

Greifswald University HANS GEORG THÜMMEL

Making and Meaning in Insular Art. Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Insular Art Held at Trinity College Dublin, 25–28 August 2005. Edited by Rachel Moss. [TRIARC Research Studies in Irish Art: 1.] (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed in the United States by ISBS, Portland, OR. 2007. Pp. xxiv, 342. $70.00. ISBN 978-1-851-82986-6.)

This volume contains a selection of the papers presented at the fifth International Conference on Insular Art in Dublin in August 2005. As one would expect, there is a strong Irish presence, but the papers feature a wide variety of topics relating to archaeological and art-historical themes in Ireland, England, Scotland, and Wales.

The volume begins with three excellent papers by Lawrence Nees (University of Delaware) on belt-mounts in the Sutton Hoo hoard (pp. 1–17), Niamh Whitfield (Christie's Education, London) on the origins of motifs in

Insular filigree (pp. 18–39), and Anna Gannon (University of Cambridge) on Anglo-Saxon zoomorphic pins. In the context of the sensational recent discovery of the magnificent Staffordshire hoard (containing almost 1500 items of early Anglo-Saxon fine metalwork), these studies offer an essential introduction to the proper evaluation of that exciting new material.

Scotland features in the papers by Mark Hall (Perth Museum) on some recently discovered metalwork fragments from Perthshire (pp. 70–78) and Isabel Henderson (Ross & Cromarty, Scotland) on the remarkable recovery of lost sections of the great Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab (pp. 198–214). Hall's paper is not helped by the poor quality of the black-and-white illustrations that accompany it—a curious contrast to the excellent ones in Henderson's paper. Sculpture also features in the papers on Irish high-crosses by Roger Stalley (Trinity College, Dublin) on artistic identity and the tell-tale features that might distinguish individual sculptors (pp. 153–66) and Peter Harbison (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin) on the sources of the imagery of classical animals (centaurs, griffins, and so forth) that appear on the Irish crosses. Whereas Harbison finds his inspiration in the now familiar Carolingian and post-Carolingian sculpture of continental European workshops, Stalley identifies a Muiredach Master active at Monasterboice (County Louth) and, interestingly enough, remarks that the iconographical repertoire in the Irish crosses has no analogues either in Pictland or Northumbria. He notes: "Indeed the very uniqueness of the Irish sculpture crosses gives the impression that the inspiration came either from within Ireland itself or from much further afield" (p. 163).

The excellent survey of early-medieval sculpture in southwest Wales (pp. 184–97) by Nancy Edwards (Bangor University) should perhaps be read in conjunction with the iconographical analysis of the so-called marigold-stone at Carndonagh (County Donegal) by Conor Newman and Niamh Walsh (National University of Ireland, Galway), as the illustrations used here hardly do justice to the quality of the 3D-scanned originals. The Welsh material, by contrast, is much broader in scope and more convincing in Edwards's demonstration of an Irish Sea area of mutual influence from the post-Roman period to the Viking era.

Somewhat surprisingly, Irish metalwork is only briefly featured in the discussion (pp. 50–69) of the figural iconography on the *Soiscél Molaise* and Stowe Missal shrines, by Paul Mullarkey (National Museum of Ireland, Dublin) and a survey of the construction and characteristics of Insular-type crosiers (pp. 79–94) by Griffin Murray (Kerry County Museum, Tralee). Both are excellent and comprehensive contributions, but again both suffer from the poor quality of the black-and-white illustrations. Other contributions that can be loosely linked are the ones by Tomás Ó Carragáin (University College Cork) on skeuomorphs and spolia in Irish pre-Romanesque architecture (pp. 95–109) and Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh (University College Cork) on evidence from Old Irish (Brehon) law texts for the status of the stone-mason (*sáer*); this

latter piece follows up on a pioneering 1995 paper by Doug Mac Lean. Unfortunately, Ó Carragáin's piece tends to lapse into theory and jargon. Comparison with post-Roman Britain is also strained, in the light of the fact that there was never a Roman presence in Ireland.

A distinctive feature of the Insular art conferences since their inception has been the presence of manuscript scholars, archaeologists, and art historians. The Dublin conference happily continued that trend, with excellent papers by the late Gifford Charles-Edwards on Insular display capitals and their origins (pp. 228–41), Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Ohio Wesleyan University) on structure and meaning in Insular canon-table arcades, Heather Pulliam (University of Edinburgh) on "meaning in the margins of the Book of Kells" (pp. 257–67)—which curiously omits to mention Etienne Rynne's earlier paper on the same subject—Bernard Meehan (Trinity College, Dublin) on the image of the devil in the Book of Kells (pp. 268–74), which reflects state-of-the-art macro-photography, Carol Farr (London, England) on the incipit-pages in the Macregol Gospels (pp. 275–87), Tessa Morrison (University of Newcastle, Australia) on hand gestures in Insular art (pp. 288–300), and Colum Hourihane (Princeton University) on the influence of Insular manuscript decoration (particularly of initials) on later medieval Irish codices (pp. 317–30).

Finally, Jennifer O'Reilly (University College Cork) discusses the context of the inscriptions to the Durham Gospels (A.II.17) Crucifixion page (pp. 301–16)—a characteristically dense and richly sourced analysis—and Jane Hawkes (University of York) provides a delightful biographical portrait of the great English archaeologist and art historian R. G. Collingwood (pp. 142–52). All in all, the excellent quality of the book is reflected in the text and the color plates.

National University of Ireland, Galway DÁIBHÍ Ó CRÓINÍN

Medieval Christianity. Edited by Daniel L. Bornstein. [A People's History of Christianity, Vol. 4.] (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 409. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-800-63414-8.)

This volume is a worthy contribution to the series A People's History of Christianity, which attempts to view church history from the vantage point of the ordinary faithful, emphasizing the popular practice of religion as opposed to the study of the institutional Church, its hierarchy, and the theological concepts it developed and taught. The collection of essays seeks to build on the success of creative historians who have teased out fresh insights on popular religious conceptions and practices from long-studied sources. Most of its contributors succeed admirably in this undertaking, and the essays are solid and informative, even when "popular" aspects are difficult to root out. The volume is divided into five parts, each with two or three essays grouped the-

matically, and enlivened by more than eighty black-and-white illustrations interspersed throughout the essays and thirteen plates in full color. Some attention is paid to the first Christian millennium, but since sources for that period are truly scant, the search for popular religion does not yield a richly textured story until the final centuries of the medieval era. That notwithstanding, each essay contributes to a mosaic depicting Christianity as a vital part of the lives of medieval people, and the volume is well worth reading.

Daniel Bornstein edited the book; his introduction sets the stage for the various articles that follow. He also contributed an essay, "Relics, Ascetics, Living Saints," discussing how Christianity's attitudes toward the body, dramatically different from pagan and Jewish traditions, impacted popular belief and religiosity throughout the medieval era. The contributors are an assembly of eminent scholars, including Yitzhak Hen ("Converting the Barbarian West"), Bonnie Effros ("Death and Burial"), Richard Kieckhefer ("The Impact of Architecture"), André Vauchez ("Clerical Celibacy and the Laity"), Roberto Rusconi ("Hearing Woman's Sins"), Grado Merlo ("Heresy and Dissent"), Diane Webb ("Domestic Religion"), and Katherine French ("Parish Life"). All the essays are well written and informative; each makes a contribution to the volume's theme, and each in its own way is excellent and thought provoking. Particularly enjoyable are Gary Dickson's "Medieval Revivalism"; Theo Ruiz's "Jews, Muslims and Christians"; and R. N. Swanson's "The Burdens of Purgatory." Dickson focuses on the period from 1000 to 1500, taking a fresh look at various expressions of popular religious enthusiasm, from crusading to the "bonfires of the vanities" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including the children's crusade, the flagellants, and more. He makes a convincing case that these enigmatic outbursts of popular religious ecstasy, episodes of revivalism, provide a meaningful glimpse into medieval popular devotion. Ruiz focuses on Iberia, unique in the Christian West for its religious pluralism. Islamic Spain, initially relatively tolerant of Christians and Jews, became less so as Christian enclaves in the north expanded. In Christian communities, as reconquest became crusade, an ideology of hostility toward the religious other developed and became ingrained, setting the stage for the tragic expulsions, at the close of the medieval period, of all Muslims and Jews, even some whose forebears had converted to Christianity. Swanson's essay shows how the doctrine of purgatory, embraced by the laity because it promised eventual salvation to all good Christians, promoted a series of changes in devotional practice in the later Middle Ages. These included the truly popular garnering of indulgences and an emphasis on providing Masses and prayers for oneself and deceased family members, both of which had far-reaching, unintended consequences.

Bronx Community College, NY JAMES D. RYAN

Anchoress and Abbess in Ninth-Century Saxony: The Lives *of Liutbirga of Wendhausen and Hathumoda of Gandersheim*. Translated by Frederick S. Paxton. [Medieval Texts in Translation.] (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 204. $29.95 paperback. ISBN 978-0-813-21569-3.)

Frederick Paxton's *Anchoress and Abbess in Ninth-Century Saxony* includes a full-text translation of the *Lives* of Saint Liutbirga of Wendhausen (*VL*) and Saint Hathumoda of Gandersheim (*VH*). In addition to his thorough introduction, Paxton has also included a full-text translation of the poetic *Dialogue* of Agius on the death of Hathumoda. The ninth-century hagiographies chronicle the lives of Liutbirga, who was the first recorded anchoress of Saxony, and Hathumoda, who was the first abbess of Gandersheim, while the *Dialogue* was a letter of consolation to Hathumoda's grieving sisters.

The earliest extant copies of all three texts are in a manuscript collection of Abbot Andreas Lang (1483–1502) that catalogs the lives of important Benedictine men and women. Unfortunately, the manuscripts from which he worked are now lost, and, although widely debated, the original author of the *VL* remains a mystery. Unlike the author of the *VL*, Agius of Corvey, who was a priest and monk at the famous monastery, pointedly named himself as the author of both the *VH* and the *Dialogue*. He may have been Hathumoda's uncle, but he undoubtedly knew her well, as he performed the priestly functions for her community.

Despite the personal anonymity, the author of the *VL* vividly depicts the pious events of Liutbirga's life. As a young woman, she impressed Gisla, who was the widowed daughter of a Saxon nobleman and, eventually, persuaded Liut-birga to join her family. Liutbirga served and lived with Gisla's family as a relative until sometime around 840, when she persuaded Gisla's son and heir, Bernhard, the bishop of Halberstadt, to allow her to retire to the family cloister at Wendhausen. According to the *VL*, there she lived out the remaining thirty years of her life as an anchoress walled into a cell inside the abbey church, where she dyed yarn, battled the devil, prayed, repented, prophesied, and counseled others, all while imposing the most rigorous asceticism on herself.

Like Liutbirga, Hathumoda demonstrated great promise at a young age, prompting her parents to ask papal permission to establish a cloister with her as abbess at the tender age of twelve. Pope Sergius II acquiesced, and Hathumoda became a model Benedictine abbess. She insisted that the nuns be properly cloistered (even from relatives); she always ate communally, and, although she permitted it by others, she never consumed meat. In summation, Agius presents Hathumoda as a strict, yet benevolent, abbess who lived a firmly austere life.

Hathumoda died at only thirty-four years of age, which is the focus of almost two-thirds of the *VH*. Agius describes the medical care she received

during her long-term illness, the visions she had, and the sisters who rallied to support her through her illness. He also details the rituals, prayers, and chants that were performed for her in both life and death. In the *Dialogue*, Agius explains to her biological sisters that they should take consolation in her divinely willed death, because Hathumoda would now represent them in the heavenly court.

Paxton has done a significant service by providing lucid translations of three texts that are valuable sources for understanding the lives of Carolingian religious women. When they are combined with his introduction, which situates the texts within the broader historical context of ninth-century Saxony, it is quite evident that the *vitae* are rich sources for understanding the complex web in which such female monastic communities were an integral component, including the ecclesiastical, political, and social networks that their families dominated. Additionally, they contain a wealth of social and cultural history for the Carolingian period, including detailed information about death rituals and medical care.

Coastal Carolina University ANEILYA BARNES
Conway, SC

Life in the Medieval Cloister. By Julie Kerr. (New York: Continuum. 2009. Pp. xiv, 256. $29.95. ISBN 978-1-84725-161-9.)

Julie Kerr's impressionistic book on the character of monastic life in the Middle Ages is the first wave of a swelling tide of general titles on medieval history and religion from Continuum Books. Kerr's book is, for the most part, a highly derivative survey of monastic history that ornaments its drab generalizations and stereotypes with gaudy splashes of sensationalism aimed at capturing the attention of a general readership.

It is only fair to begin by describing the book on its own terms. Kerr aims "to explore what it really meant" for medieval people to enter the cloistered life and "to evoke the reality of everyday life in the monastery" (p. xi). The time period in question is the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries, and examples are drawn primarily from England with a measured sampling of evidence from European abbeys. For some reason, neither the mendicants nor the crusading orders are considered in the narrative, and female religious play only a very small role in the work. For the most part, then, this is a book about the monks who already inhabit the popular imagination of modern readers, the Benedictines.

With a thematic rather than an historical approach, the book presents an *omnium gatherum* of information on general topics such as the monastic precinct, the duties of religious officials, the demands of individual comportment, and the daily rhythms of the cloister. Kerr illustrates these topics with anecdotal evidence that has been stripped of any meaningful context. As

such, she creates the very misleading impression that the experience of the monastic vocation was relatively constant for medieval people, irrespective of when and where they lived. Much worse, though, is her tendency to adorn her narrative with anecdotes that lean toward sensationalism and hyperbole. The worst of these is the story of the twelfth-century nun who is forced to take into her mouth the severed genitalia of her lover (p. xiii, with no reference to its source). This story does not convincingly forward Kerr's argument, in this case, that "measures were taken to enforce obedience and misdemeanours were punished" in medieval abbeys. Rather, it is in the opening pages of the book presumably to catch the imagination of the popular reader. This is medieval history as perverse alterity.

Kerr's book offers nothing new to scholars of monastic history; and although readers unfamiliar with the topic will come away with some useful information, it is not recommended for a general audience. Its lack of sensitivity to historical change and its inattention to the limitations of the sources used to illustrate its assertions are more likely to mislead new readers than provide them with an accurate picture of medieval monastic life in all of its rich variety. Academics write histories for the general public for a variety of reasons, but too often forget that these books, unlike monographs and articles, are the ambassadors of scholarly research to intelligent and inquisitive readers of all backgrounds. The simplification and sensationalization of a complex topic like Christian monasticism is a condescension they do not deserve.

University of Colorado at Boulder SCOTT G. BRUCE

The Female Mystic: Great Women Thinkers of the Middle Ages. By Andrea Janelle Dickens. [International Library of Historical Studies, Vol. 60.] (New York: I. B. Tauris. 2009. Pp. viii, 248. $32.50 paperback. ISBN 978-1-845-11641-5.)

This volume consists of individual essays on twelve medieval women: Richeldis of Avranches (fl. 1061), St. Hildegard of Bingen (d. 1179), Christina of St. Trond (d. 1224), Hadewijch of Brabant (fl. *c.* 1240), Mechtild of Magdeburg (d. c. 1291), St. Mechtilde of Hackeborn (d. *c.* 1299), Blessed Angela of Foligno (d. *c.* 1309), Marguerite Porete (d. 1310), Julian of Norwich (d. 1413), St. Catherine of Siena (d. 1380), Margery Kempe (d. 1439), and St. Teresa of Ávila (d. 1582). All but two of the women were writers, and their own texts are our best sources; in the case of the two exceptions—namely, Richeldis, who was founder of the Marian shrine at Walsingham, and the beguine-like lay penitent Christine—the only sources are hagiographical. Each of Dickens's essays serves as an introduction to the woman in question, focused primarily on her spirituality and/or theology in the context of her circumstances and based on relevant literature in English, including both sources and scholarship. She writes that the book is "geared" for courses on "'medieval women' in the literary or religious studies classroom" (p. 8), and the essays read a bit like course lectures. The essay

on Hildegard, for example, sketches her biography, places her thought in the context of twelfth-century intellectual currents, discusses the mode and content of her visions and the sapiential theme in her writings, and addresses the nature of her claim to authoritative speech: a competent survey.

Dickens's essays may be read with profit, especially by her intended audience of students new to the subject of medieval women. But there are two aspects of the volume overall that restrict its usefulness. One is the limited attention to scholarship. The introductory chapter does survey five scholarly approaches to "female mystics" (in terms of, respectively, the notion of a gender-specific literature, relationships to popular religion, analyses of power, interactions with clerics, and supposed distinctions of genre), but this survey is too brief and unspecific to be of much use as a guide to the field of study, as one might expect in a work intended as an introduction. Throughout the body of the volume, although Dickens makes use of various scholars' work and gives proper acknowledgment, she makes little attempt to orient the reader to the shape or current status of scholarly discussions on the individual figures. There also are notable omissions in the bibliography, even assuming the restriction to works in English—for example, Paul Mommaers's translated monograph on Hadewijch, the essays of Karen Scott on Catherine, and Denise Baker's study of Julian's theology.

The other limiting aspect of the volume is the author's apparent reluctance to convey a clear thesis or compelling sense of project to give it coherence. There is, for example, no attempt to define or otherwise explain the problematic word *mystic* in the title. On the contrary, Dickens points out precisely what the figures she discusses do *not* have in common as a warning against assuming comparability too easily because of the dangers of "essentialism"—that is, treating any behavior or personal quality of the figures she studies as distinctively female (pp. 8, 193–94). But to avoid essentialism is one thing; to hesitate to cast one's work in terms of a distinctive approach to the subject matter or a set of organizing insights is another.

Dickens clearly has the knowledge and expertise to produce a more focused monograph on some aspect of the material covered here. It is hoped she chooses to do so.

New Brunswick Theological Seminary, NJ JOHN W. COAKLEY

Readers, Texts and Compilers in the Earlier Middle Ages: Studies in Medieval Canon Law in Honour of Linda Fowler-Magerl. Edited by Martin Brett and Kathleen G. Cushing. [Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xviii, 205. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66235-8.)

Linda Fowler was a student of Gaines Post at the University of Wisconsin–Madison; taught at the University of Nebraska; migrated to the

Max-Planck Institute in Frankfurt; and remained in Germany after she married, settling with her husband in a small town near Regensburg. These moves did not hinder her scholarship. This volume honors her dedication to the study of medieval canon law and especially her indefatigable exploration of pre-Gratian canonical collections. Her great contribution to the field was her *Clavis canonum,* which she published in 1998 and issued in a revised edition under the auspices of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica in 2005. Those who have ventured on the treacherous terrain of pre-Gratian collections cannot avoid using her *Clavis* as a secure pinion to which they may attach their scholarly lifelines.

The essays in the volume originated as papers at the Medieval Congress in Leeds and focus primarily on canonical collections of the eleventh and early-twelfth centuries. Peter Landau's essay on Vacarius's career in England and James Brundage's essay on courtroom decorum as found in thirteenth-century procedural tracts go beyond the framework of the other essays. Abigail Firey looks at the practice of penance in the Carolingian period and argues that bishops used penitential "courts" to assert claims of jurisdiction over crimes committed against clerics. The evidence for this development is sparse, as it is confined primarily to a difficult, composite text printed by Hermann Wasserschleben. It seems an exaggeration to conclude that "the apparatus of ecclesiastical discipline was evolving into a judicial system in competition with secular courts" (p. 32 and note 56).

Greta Austin plunges into the difficult territory of attribution of texts in early canonical collections. Fowler-Magerl's *Clavis canonum* provides detailed evidence that if medieval compilers of canonical collections had a large library (which they certainly did not), they would have scratched their heads repeatedly by the variety of attributions that they would have found in their collections. Austin's essay compares the inscriptions of Burchard of Worms's *Decretum* to Ivo of Chartres's *Decretum*. She concludes that Burchard was much more cavalier than Ivo when he copied the inscriptions of canons. He even "invented" inscriptions (for this intriguing generalization she cites her book, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000: The* Decretum *of Burchard of Worms* [Burlington, VT, 2009; see this issue]). Both compilers gave pride of place to the writings of the Church Fathers, early popes, and the first councils.

Christof Rolker has written a splendid, analytical essay that should be read by everyone who teaches the history of canon law and the Gregorian Reform. Since the time of Paul Fournier, the *Collection in 74 Titles* has been viewed as a papal collection compiled in Italy whose purpose was to provide a legal foundation for the Roman reformers. Rolker argues that the collection was compiled north of the Alps and was later brought to Rome. His evidence for that conclusion has been staring us in the face for decades: the collection's emphasis on monastic privileges conferred by the papacy and monastic lib-

erties in the first titles. I find his arguments thoroughly convincing and will have to revise my lectures.

After wisely observing that "historians . . . recognize the extreme difficulty of establishing precise links between [*sic*] canonical collections" (p. 73), Kathleen Cushing's analysis of the *Collectio canonum Barberiniana* (Vat. Barb. Lat. 538) "reveals connections or at least engagement" (p. 79) with many other collections. In an appendix she uses Fowler-Magerl's *Clavis* to list the "parallels" found in other collections of a selection of the canons. If she could have proven connections among the collections, this work would have been especially interesting, but she cannot.

Uta-Renate Blumenthal discusses the *Collectio Tarraconensis* (Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública 26) and its connections with southwestern France and Catalonia. She shows that the collection is a fine example of how the *Collection in 74 Titles* was expanded and enriched in the early-twelfth century in (think of Rolker's essay) a monastic milieu. By this time, the collection Blumenthal notes, "simply breathes the spirit of the eleventh-century church reform" (p. 93).

The Council of Pisa in 1135 again comes under the scrutiny of Robert Somerville. Further manuscript work, especially a witness to the canons in a copy of the *Panormia* contained in Munich, Clm 11316, provides him with evidence for isolating canons that were promulgated in Pisa and repeated at the Second Lateran Council. Methodologically, Somerville shows once again that pre-Gratian collections should be carefully analyzed in their various manuscript forms. Compilers added a variety of texts to the core collections that can be crucial evidence for councils (and papal letters) that have been imperfectly preserved.

Anders Winroth returns to the text of Gratian's *Decretum*, a subject that, as is now well known, he revolutionized. He cautiously argues that Gratian's conclusions about marital consent and the right of slaves to marry in the earlier version of the *Decretum* might be at odds with the conclusions of "Gratian" in the vulgate edition and that this may be evidence for Winroth's "Two Gratians" theory. Only time and much more work will tell whether there are fundamental differences between the two versions of the *Decretum* that would justify creating a second "Gratian." I am skeptical, but I hope my skepticism is thoroughly imbued with an open mind. To accept Winroth's argument, one has to believe that Gratian II modified his predecessor's opinion, but, since he left Gratian I's texts and commentary intact, did not edit his text to make his new viewpoints on these two issues unambiguously clear. It would have been useful if Winroth had taken the evidence of the St. Gall manuscript into account, but, as Martin Brett remarks in this volume, St. Gall's importance remains controversial.

Brett's essay is a superb example of how careful manuscript work can illuminate the contexts of pre-Gratian collections and also underlines Somerville's implicit point. In this essay he uses Fowler-Magerl's *Clavis canonum* to explore the "local additions" (like Somerville's canons) to the "Ivonian collections"—i.e., Panormia, Tripartita, and Decretum. He shows that these manuscripts were augmented by other pre-Gratian collections and even by Gratian. On page 152 he formulates a lapidary, interlocutory conclusion that every scholar of legal collections and texts should repeat daily: "the mutation of one collection into another is a process with no clear beginning or end." From my research I can firmly endorse that statement, not only for collections but also for many legal commentaries and apparatus of glosses.

Fowler-Magerl also did path-breaking work on the literary genre of the *ordines iudiciarii.* Bruce Brasington edits and analyzes the short *Ordo "Pro utraque parte"* from Cambridge, Trinity College O.7.40 but misses the central point of the text. The author was concerned with a single issue: Can the oath of purgation be a valid means of producing and confirming evidence in court? He did not find a lot of support for canonical purgation with oaths in his sources. Consequently, he made a rather intriguing argument. He interpreted three canons in Gratian and one from the Polycarpus (also in Gratian) as being evidence for the practice in the earlier canonical tradition. He reached this remarkable conclusion by glossing the words *monstrare*, *probare*, and *docere* in the four canons as meaning "purgare" rather than what the words meant literally. He applied this piece of creative jurisprudence to cases in which clerics must prove the veracity of their accusations and their testimony, and in cases where women would testify in cases of matrimonial impotence. Brasington's editing of the text obscures the jurist's argument because he does not provide quotation marks for the jurist's interpretive remarks. The jurist alleged that the words in the canons should be understood differently with the repeated notation in the text: "probare" (i.e., the word in the canon) ponitur "purgare" (i.e., for the word "to prove" understand "to purge"). The glossed words must be placed in quotation marks for the jurist's meaning to be clearly understood. I prefer that legal historians use the guidelines of the *Monumenta iuris canonici* when editing text, but even if they are not followed as here, a golden rule of editing is that the text should be correct, and incorrect readings should be relegated to the notes, as is not the case here.

The editors have provided the volume with a welcome index of manuscripts and of names and concepts. The volume is worthy of the recipient and a significant contribution to the study of pre-Gratian canon law.

The Catholic University of America KENNETH PENNINGTON

Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000: The Decretum *of Burchard of Worms*. By Greta Austin. [Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xii, 344. $124.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65091-1.)

This book presents a fundamental reinterpretation of an important collection of church law from the 1010s: the *Decretum* of Burchard, bishop of Worms. Like most canon law collections before the *Decretum* of Gratian (*c.* 1140), Burchard's book contains the text of many laws but no commentary in the compiler's own voice. Modern scholars have thus understood it as a simple storehouse of texts with a point of view, to be sure, but not much in the way of an argument. At the same time, they have been puzzled by Burchard's willingness to falsify his texts by changing their wording or attribution.

Greta Austin is now able to show that such views are overly simplistic. Burchard conscientiously produced a coherent and well-organized work—"the ideal book of canon law"—that presents his vision of justice in the Church. His voice may not be heard in the *Decretum* (except in the prologue), but Austin has found Burchard's hand in the many small adjustments he made to his texts. She shows that Burchard avoided contradictions among his canons either by selecting from his sources only canons that did not contradict each other or changing the wording of those that did. In doing so, Burchard did not act willfully, but he followed certain principles that were based in readings of the Bible offered by the Fathers. He also took care to quote texts that clearly express those principles. He changed the attributions of some of his texts so that they seemed to have been written by one of the approved authorities that he had listed in his prologue. The end result was a law book that was coherent, lucid, and easy to use. Thus he fulfilled what he had promised in the prologue: to produce a work that included only authoritative and harmonious canons that could be used also by priests without legal training and as a schoolbook. The general principles of law were so clear that the reader could easily extend them to cases not foreseen by any chapter in the *Decretum*.

Austin's results are remarkable. She achieves them through careful close readings and a painstakingly acquired, deep understanding of Burchard's work. Earlier scholars thought that it was possible to produce a unified and coherent work of canon law only after scholastic methods developed in the twelfth century. Those methods produced works like Gratian's *Decretum*, in which the author reconciled contradictory legal statements by discussing and explaining them in his own voice. Burchard did not include a running commentary in his *Decretum*, which, however, does not make it an unreflective conglomeration of texts. He strove for and achieved results that would be similar (and perhaps in many ways superior) to Gratian's, but he used different methods—namely, those in vogue among Carolingian intellectuals. Burchard's editorial interventions played the same role as scholastic commentary in later

legal works. The great merit of Austin's work is that she understands Burchard according to the standards he set for himself, not according to those current in a different century.

As a consequence, legal and intellectual historians need to rethink how jurisprudential thought developed in and around the eleventh century. The "Gregorian" reform movement no longer appears as the watershed moment it usually is taken to be.

Yale University ANDERS WINROTH

The Written World: Past and Place in the World of Orderic Vitalis. By Amanda Jane Hingst. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2009. Pp. xxiii, 272. $40.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-268-03086-5.)

Modern historians have certainly made up for the neglect that the *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis suffered among the medieval churchmen for whom he originally wrote. The mighty six-volume edition published by Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1962–72) has seen to this, turning his work into an essential resource for scholars tackling topics ranging from Norman politics to monastic foundation, gender history to medieval historiography. And yet for all the combing of Orderic's copious words, relatively few historians have reflected on the thought-world of the man himself and the strategies he used to craft his chronicle. Amanda Hingst sets out to remedy this situation. In *The Written World*, she examines a particular strategy in Orderic's writing: his use of geography as an organizing principle for historical narrative. Beginning, as her subject did, with the monastery of St. Evroult, Hingst suggests that here, in Orderic's own house, he formed distinctive ways of thinking about past and place that informed his later writing. Orderic did not confine himself to the story of St. Evroult—far from it. His horizons expanded to encompass the story of the Normans, the history of Western Europe more generally, and ultimately the history of Christendom itself. Hingst's subsequent chapters explore these themes. The second suggests that narrating the story of the Norman "diaspora" forced new ways of thinking on Orderic about past and place. Classical traditions, in which geography was sketched out first as the unchanging stage on which history unfolded, would not do for the story of restless Normans who were responsible for remaking the political geography of significant parts of Western Europe. The Norman phenomenon also obliged Orderic to reconsider the maritime world, shifting the center of his writing northward so that the islands of the north Atlantic were embraced as well. A third chapter burrows into language to explore Orderic's representation of Norman rule in England, focusing particularly on his revival of the ancient name of Albion as a means to assert continuity with the Anglo-Saxon past and hint at a kind of power that extended more generally within the British isles. Later chapters shift attention from what might (loosely) be thought of as political geography to sacred geography. Again, Hingst explores

how Orderic wrote on varied scales, from his evocation of the dead in a "haunted" landscape around St. Evroult itself to the ramifications of crusade and the place of Jerusalem as a pivot around which history and geography turned. In all this, she reveals the connectedness of microcosm to macrocosm, of the immediate story of St. Evroult to the larger unfolding of Christian history.

The Written World is a thoughtful book. More connected essays than a comprehensive treatment of its themes, it inevitably leaves much ground unbroken. In particular, a fuller comparison of Orderic with his peers would have helped make some of Hingst's claims stick, especially in the final chapter where, toward the end, more general conclusions about twelfth-century historiography are ventured. Nonetheless, this is a useful contribution to our understanding of Orderic and a stimulus to further study of an important chronicler who, as Hingst rightly observes, warrants further attention in his own right.

Magdalene College, Cambridge CARL WATKINS

The Cambridge History of Christianity, Vol. 4: *Christianity in Western Europe c. 1100–c. 1500.* Edited by Miri Rubin and Walter Simons. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xxii, 577. $165.00. ISBN 978-0-521-81106-4.).

It is easy to feel these days as if there are too many encyclopedias and handbooks, often on idiosyncratically chosen subjects, and too many multi-authored volumes, in which an important topic is divided among so many voices that any coherence of interpretation, let alone creativity and energy, is rendered impossible. Moreover, such volumes are often plagued in their choice of authors either by resorting to established authorities who are resistant to current trends or by relying on scholars so new to academic writing that they are hesitant to analyze with the trenchancy necessary to such an enterprise. Happily, vol. 4 of *The Cambridge History of Christianity* is not an illustration of these problems. The editors have done a splendid job of selecting their authors, who include many young voices and several established masters. The series of volumes that compose this *Cambridge History* cover a fundamental area of historical research for which—somewhat surprisingly—no up-to-date survey exists. Cambridge University Press has produced an almost impeccable book. Simply put, this volume is both authoritative and exciting—a needed addition to the corpus of fundamental works on the Middle Ages.

As is inevitable in such enterprises, there is some unevenness. A few of the essays wander off the topic, and a few are cursed with plodding prose. Nevertheless, most of the pieces (for example, Anders Winroth on legal texts, Ora Limor on Christians and Jews, Joseph Ziegler on natural philosophical investigations into theological issues, Sarah Lipton on images, and Katherine

Jansen on preaching) are admirably clear and concise summaries of very complex material. Moreover, many of the very best essays manage unobtrusively to introduce original interpretations into balanced and knowledgeable coverage of their topics, without either straining for novelty or indulging in gratuitous disagreements with other scholars. For example, Rachel Fulton returns our attention to the doctrine of creation, too long neglected as a concern in late-medieval piety; Peter Biller convinces us that heresies were more, not less, prominent than our partisan sources suggest; and John Arnold introduces into his discussion of repression a sociologically sensitive treatment of how marking bodies made outsiders and offenders legible to others.

This large volume (almost 500 pages of text) is organized partly chronologically and partly topically. Part I treats the century from 1100 to 1200 under the rubric "institutions and change" but does not manage to make the period—once considered the most innovative of medieval centuries—very lively. Nor do subsequent chapters quite do justice to the period. Although we are ready to dispense with the tired issue of "renaissances," one wonders rather sadly where the creative twelfth century, so beloved of scholars in the 1960s and 1970s, has gone. In part II, the years from 1200 to 1300 are treated under the rubric "forging a Christian world"; and despite excellent discussions of law, preaching, and the development of parishes, the section fails to bring the great achievements of the thirteenth century completely to life. Part IV, however, with splendid essays on the sacraments, liturgy, images, Marian devotion, and mysticism, gives an altogether fuller and more animated view of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The remainder of the volume suggests—as is hardly unexpected—that it is topics of challenge and repression, of the formation and breaching of boundaries, that most excite contemporary historians. In part VII ("Reform and Renewal"), the liveliest pieces deal with demonology and dissidence. Part III ("The Erection of Boundaries") and part VI ("Challenges to Christian Society") draw on much recent scholarship that stresses conflict, aggression, and resistance; and even part V ("Christian Life in Movement") focuses on margins, expansion, crusade, and conquest. The positive and mainstream responses of the often neglected fifteenth century are not, however, ignored. Observant reform is given careful treatment, and André Vauchez reprises his own important scholarship on pilgrimage and saints. Nonetheless, one is a little saddened by the indubitably correct insight of Christopher Ocker that we would find his topic, the study of the Bible, more exciting and informative if more scholars would work on it.

Although the editors have each contributed an excellent substantive chapter to the volume, their short introduction is a little disappointing. The contrast drawn there between older scholarship that stresses popes, intellectuals, and Latinity and recent work that focuses on religious movements and the vernacular is something of a caricature. Yes, new work has drawn our atten-

tion to the laity and women, to heterodoxy and resistance, and to devotional literature in the vernacular, but surely we would hardly have made so much progress on these topics without the great twentieth-century works of M. D. Chenu, Herbert Grundmann, Peter Browe, R. W. Southern, and others, who taught us to explore not only creativity in piety and theology but also dissidence and the urge for reform that welled up in part from women and the dispossessed. Nor were these great historians blind to the stereotyping and repression characteristic of the medieval church. Indeed, excellent though the bibliographical coverage of recent work is, one could wish that some of the chapters in this volume had deeper knowledge of—and paid tribute to—the older scholarship that provides the foundation on which so much current interpretation builds. In this respect, the article of Kantik Ghosh on Wycliffism and Lollardy is admirable, admitting as it does that the recent flood of creative reinterpretation by, above all, literary scholars is still based on Anne Hudson's fundamental work of thirty years ago.

For all the excellence of the coverage in this volume, theology per se is underserved. Lesley Smith opens her chapter on "the theological framework" by commenting that basic doctrines, established in antiquity, remained "for the most part, static" (p. 75); she then gives an overview that smacks vaguely of the old debates of Gilson and van Steenberghen about the introduction of Aristotle. Michael Stoltz covers the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by summarizing the place of the liberal arts, with brief mention at the end of the chapter of theological discussions of contingency, divine omnipotence, and the freedom of the will. Yet it is not really correct to say that doctrines of sin, creation, redemption, the Eucharist, and so forth were fully in place before 1100. The twelfth century saw new ideas of atonement, a new theology of penance and contrition, and debate over the nature of the Eucharist; and the thirteenth century not only consolidated earlier ideas about creation, grace, and redemption but also gave birth to the fundamental debates of the fourteenth century about predestination and the will, *visio Dei*, the nature of ethical acts, and the power of God. Several of the chapters do deal in part with theological ideas: Rachel Fulton on Mary; Amy Hollywood on mysticism (a lovely essay that, however, neglects the fifteenth century); Rubin's own discussion of the sacraments; Alan Bernstein's piece on hell, heaven, and purgatory; and especially the splendid chapter by Ziegler on the many debates in which natural philosophical issues fundamentally shaped soteriology, Maryology, and understandings of original sin. But for a volume on the history of Christianity to mention only in passing, if at all, such crucial concepts as *potentia absoluta Dei* and such major theologians as Robert Holcot, Thomas Bradwardine, and Gabriel Biel seems a bit unbalanced. Wycliffe gets several pages of coverage, Nicholas of Cusa only two throwaway sentences. The picture Heiko Oberman gave us, only one or two scholarly generations ago, of the vibrancy and conflict within nominalist theology is absent here. Nevertheless, it is probably inevitable that a splendid volume such as this should leave us not only with gratitude for what has been accomplished but

also with an eagerness to see the present moment in scholarship supplemented with new investigations.

Institute for Advanced Study CAROLINE WALKER BYNUM

Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe. By James William Brodman. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 318. $59.95. ISBN 978-0-813- 21580-8.)

Much is packed into this extremely useful and informative introductory survey of Western European charitable institutions. While the title separates charity and religion, the book is essentially about what Brodman calls "religious charity"—a structured yet broad concern for the poor (with some other targets) as manifested mainly in hospitals, leprosaria, and charitable religious orders. Geographically, the net is widely cast, but with a focus on Spain, Italy, and France (the strong Spanish component reflects the author's earlier research and publications). Germany and England receive comparatively little attention—indeed, the English references are disappointing and occasionally insecure, but without undermining the strength of the general survey. Chronologically, the analysis appears strongest for the period 1100–1350, perhaps because those are the centuries of foundation and rule making, with the following years a time of continuation, consolidation, or decline.

The book's institutional focus is justifiable, and validated, but the title may raise expectations of a broader balancing of the charity *and* religion of the title, possibly disappointed as the institutional agenda becomes evident. The first chapter, "The Pious and the Practical: An Ideology of Charity," does encourage a broad appreciation, with charity as a core element in Catholic mentality—the *caritas* that, as a theological virtue, provided a basis for the religion's ideal social dynamic. From chapter 2 ("A Cascade of Hospitals") the institutions predominate. Chapter 3 deals mainly with care for pilgrims, provided by military orders and hospices; it also (somewhat oddly, even intrusively) considers brotherhoods established to maintain bridges. Chapter 4 is a valuable, if succinct, introduction to the continent-wide, nonmilitary hospitaller brotherhoods—St. Anthony of Vienne, St. James of Altopascio, Roncesvalles, and Santo Spirito in Rome. A change in direction takes chapter 5 to more localized and laicized works of charity. Here Brodman combines considerations of urban sainthood, local confraternities, and parish foundations (he avoids the word *guild*, which may explain the scant discussion of English charitable activity). Chapter 6 reverts to hospitals. Here the rules, even if not those of an order, created a regularly regulated life for those both caring and cared for, a "Charity that Sanctifies." "The Religious Dimensions of Care" follow, especially engaging with issues of selectivity when offering assistance, offering a forceful response to suggestions that selection reflected misogyny.

Challengingly titled "Between Two Worlds: An Elusive Paradigm," the conclusion provides a final opportunity for debate. Returning to fundamental

issues about the status and motivation of charitable care, Brodman rejects Kenneth Baxter Wolf's arguments to prioritize the contemplative over the active life and Teofilo Ruiz's conclusions on attitudes to charity reflected in Castilian wills. The latter rebuttal raises an unacknowledged issue: that conclusions on charity depend on the sources studied. Ruiz analyzes wills; Brodman deals with rules and institutions. Both examine charity and religion, but from different, possibly incompatible, perspectives. Both deal with only one aspect of how Catholicism and "charity"—itself only one element of *caritas*—were intertwined in medieval Europe, with the picture still incomplete.

This is a stimulating introduction to a broad field. Importantly, the volume gives an international perspective for institutions that, when viewed from local or national contexts and perspectives, can easily be marginalized or ignored precisely because of the international scale of their operations. This could easily have been a bigger book, possibly should have been. It certainly provides a strong foundation for appreciations of a core aspect of Catholicism's social role in medieval Western Europe.

University of Birmingham, UK R. N. SWANSON

L'image à l'époque gothique (1140–1280). By Jean Wirth. (Paris: Éditions du Cerf. 2008. Pp. 426. €42,00. ISBN 978-2-204-07915-0.)

In this second volume of a projected trilogy, Jean Wirth proposes an alternative to Émile Mâle's classic iconographic studies of medieval French art. Considering theological and literary theories of images during the "Gothic era," he explains the unprecedented prestige of artificial images by a heightened interest in nature, the visible world, and the mimetic capacity of art.

Part I, "Scholastics and the Image," establishes the theological rationale for naturalism. Appreciated by the Scholastics as an entity distinct from the divine supernatural, nature was understood to be accessible to reason and physics. Furthermore, the Scholastics adapted Aristotelian thought to argue that images, by virtue of likeness, had the capacity to reveal both the physical appearance and the spiritual nature of things. This applied equally to holy images as to portraits of living individuals, as well as the Eucharist. Wirth further argues that the more naturalistic style of Gothic art complemented the scholastic theory of devotional images as diminishing barriers between the materiality of the image and what it represents.

Part II, "Imitation of Nature," argues that the emphasis on the literal sense of scriptures at the expense of the complex typologies and allegories fostered greater naturalism from the thirteenth century onward. Naturalism was also promoted in secular and theological literature by the association of beauty with similitude. For example, Pygmalion's beautiful ivory statue, described by Jean de Meung in the *Roman de la Rose*, finds analogies in William of Auvergne's account of the soul as a beautiful statue created by God and in St.

Bonaventure's description of the sculptor producing an external image of the internal soul, whose effect is commensurate with the artist's ability to produce similitude. The association of beauty with naturalism is further justified by the Scholastic theory of hylomorphism, according to which the soul is presented as a form of body, the two united in a form of marriage.

Wirth sees the impact of these ideas in the transformation of Gothic sculpture around 1220, including the animation of figures through gesture, the physical extension of the body in space, and the adoption of *contrapposto* (e.g., Chartres north). Around the middle of the century he sees a further engagement of spectators through clearly defined physiognomies revealing distinct emotional states (e.g., Naumburg), which he connects to contemporaneous physiognomic treatises. He interprets the ubiquitous architectural framing of figures in sculpture as a bridge between fictive and real worlds that reflects the development of optical theory and perspective. A theological optimism in the revelatory capacity of the appearance of things leads to what Wirth terms a "perceptual illusionism" (p. 204) in Gothic art.

Part III is devoted to the iconography of embodiment. Particularly significant is his exploration of the dialogue between the sacred and profane worlds. Wirth describes how the theme of spiritual marriage is depicted in images of Mary as "bride of Christ" in the coronation scene and in the intimate sculptures of Mary and the Christ Child, which often draw upon the iconography of profane love (e.g., Christ caressing Mary's chin). Wirth explains these innovations in relation to the Church's promotion of spiritual marriage in commentaries on the Song of Songs and its assertion of control over secular marriage by designating it a sacrament. At the same time, Wirth suggests that the lay response to ecclesiastical control is offered by themes of courtly love that parody religious themes on the margins of sacred books used by the laity.

Exploring the cult of the dead (chapter II), Wirth describes the conflicting views of secular authority expressed in French sculptural programs: On one hand, the kings, princes, and tyrants trampled under the feet of the apostles and saints allude to the victory of the Church over its secular adversaries; on the other hand, the gallery of kings reflects a more positive view of the contemporary monarchy in the guise of Christ's royal genealogy. He also shows how aristocratic tombs assimilated aspects of saintly images in their effigies and in the introduction of canopies and tomb chests derived from saints' shrines.

Wirth concludes with a chapter focusing on humankind's end and the Last Judgment. He shows that the representation of time in Gothic art is determined by the eschatological hope in a final resurrection and vision of paradise. On one hand, the Labors of the Months are personified by figures drawn from all ranks of contemporary society to legitimize quotidian life within the framework of religious time. On the other hand, the Wheel of Fortune destabilizes social order by showing kings and prelates alike as the victims of unex-

pected reversals of fortune. Wirth's discussion of the Last Judgment comes closest to Mâle's enterprise as he explains iconographic innovations such as the representation of the suffering Christ, the processions of naked bodies to Abraham, and the inclusion of contemporary kings and prelates. But he goes beyond Mâle in his appeal to current ideas on embodiment (e.g., the representation of resurrected souls as naked infants). He also finds allusions to contemporaneous political change in the representation of the blessed: Their bodies are shown in identical form to suggest their equality, whereas the damned are represented with the signs of worldly status intact, an innovation Wirth traces to the emerging commune and social revolution. Finally, he departs from Mâle's religious focus by highlighting the courtly elements in paradise (e.g., Bourges), including elegant couples wreathed with flowers, echoing courtly marginalia in manuscripts. Similarly, he shows how virtues and vices are represented by narratives drawn from both sermon literature and fabliaux.

Although Wirth successfully challenges Mâle's model of iconography, he also retains certain traditional assumptions. Wirth embraces a "Gothic era" beginning around 1140 without explaining the overlap of this traditional stylistic periodization with the "Romanesque." His focus on French monumental sculpture also tends to reinforce Mâle's favoring of French cathedral art as the dominant paradigm for Gothic art. Thus, he omits pertinent innovations, including mystical devotional art in Germanic lands in the late-thirteenth century, the development of altarpieces in Italy after 1215, and the introduction of ostensories facilitating more immediate apprehension of relics and consecrated hosts. Wirth also fails to engage Michael Camille's important reconceptualization of the field in *The Gothic Idol* (New York, 1989), a work that reveals how representations of idolatry are set against Christian devotional images to critique the non-Christian other as well as the excesses of courtly love. Wirth's conventional definition of portraiture should be contrasted with recent scholarship that places physiognomic likeness as one among competing representational strategies in Gothic art. Finally, focusing exclusively on vision, Wirth misses the opportunity to participate in a growing interdisciplinary consensus that has shown the multisensory dimensions of medieval art.

Leaving aside these concerns, Wirth offers a convincing explanation of Gothic style and iconography in relation to contemporaneous theories and practices of images. He also clearly demonstrates the extent to which Gothic art is engaged in a fruitful dialogue between sacred and secular learning.

University of Wisconsin–Madison THOMAS DALE

Römisches Zentrum und kirchliche Peripherie. Das universale Papsttum als Bezugspunkt der Kirchen von den Reformpäpsten bis zu Innocenz III. Edited by Jochen Johrendt and Harald Müller. [Neue Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Studien zu Papstgeschichte und Papsturkunden, Neue Folge, Band 2.] (New York: de Gruyter. 2008. Pp. x, 356. €54,21. ISBN 978-3-110-20223-6.)

The thirteen essays printed here originated in a conference held at the German Historical Institute in Rome on January 20, 2006. As Klaus Herbers explains in his "Geleitwort," the series that this volume launches not only intends to offer editions and calendars of papal texts up to the pontificate of Pope Innocent III but also to publish collections of papers and interpretive studies dealing with this material. The contributions to this volume, all in German except one in Italian, are grouped into two categories, following the editors' introductory essay "Zentrum und Peripherie. Prozesse des Austausches, der Durchdringung und der Zentralisierung der lateinischen Kirche im Hochmittelalter." Four contributions are presented under the heading "Römische Zentrum": Lotte Kéry on papal decretals ("Dekretalenrecht zwischen Zentrale und Peripherie"), Thomas Wetzstein on expanding papal influence from the eleventh to the thirteenth century ("Wie die *urbs* zum *orbis* wurde. Der Beitrag des Papsttums zur Entstehung neuer Kommunikationsräume im europäischen Hochmittelalter"), Claudia Zey on papal legates ("Die Augen des Papstes. Zu E igenschaften und Vollmachten päpstlicher Legaten"), and Harald Müller on papal judges delegate ("Entscheidung auf Nachfrage. Die delegierten Richter als Verbindungsglieder zwichen Kurie und Region sowie als Gradmesser päpstlicher Autorität"). Seven more papers treat churches in areas outside of Rome: Ingo Fleisch ("Rom und die Iberische Halbinsel: das Personal der päpstlichen Legationen und Gesandschaften im 12. Jahrhundert"), Przemyslaw Nowak ("Die polnische Kirchenprovinz Gnesen und die Kurie im 12. Jahrhundet"), Nicolangelo D'Acunto ("Chiesa romana e chiese della Lombardia: prove ed esperimenti di centralizzazione nei secoli XI e XII"), Jochen Jochren ("Der Sonderfall vor der Haustüre: Kalabrien und das Papsttum"), Rainer Murauer ("Geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit und Rezeption des neuen Rechts im Erzbistum Salzburg im 12. Jahrhundert"), Stefan Weiss ("Papst und Kanzler. Das Papsttum und der Erzbischof von Köln im 12. Jahrhundert"), and Rolf Grosse ("*La fille aînée de l'Église*: Frankreichs Kirche und die Kurie im 12. Jahrhundert"). The volume concludes with an essay by Klaus Herbers ("Im Dienste der Universalität oden der Zentralisierung? Das Papsttum und die 'Peripherien' im hohen Mittelalter—Schlussbemerkungen und Perspectiven"). This list of titles shows the range of the contents and also the importance of certain themes—e.g., law, papal legates, and the centrality of the twelfth century in the development of papal institutions. An index of people and places appears at the end of the work (and under the latter heading includes references to church councils).

Columbia University ROBERT SOMERVILLE

The Laity, the Church and the Mystery Plays: A Drama of Belonging. By Tony Corbett. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distrib. in the United States by ISBS, Portland, OR. 2009. $74.50. Pp. ii, 262. ISBN 978-1-846-82153-0.)

Tony Corbett's book is divided into two sections: "Contexts" and "Drama of Belonging." The first part begins by asking some fundamental questions: Whom do the plays speak for? To whom are they speaking? And what meaning do they convey? Corbett points out that some have thought of the plays as a kind of catechism for the laity that represents in dramatic form the essentials of the faith that were to be taught to the laity as articulated in the syllabi developed at Lateran Council IV and by the English archbishop John Pecham and the bishop John Thoresby. At the parish level, clerics were to instruct their flock in the elements of the faith: the Pater Noster, the Creed, the Seven Deadly Sins, the Seven Acts of Mercy, and so forth. Corbett points out, quite correctly, that the syllabus does not exist in its entirety in any of the cycles or collections of biblical plays. This observation provides an opening to differentiate the spirituality of the clerical hierarchy from that of the laity. Corbett stresses that the distinction he is making does not argue that the piety of the laity was counter to that of the clergy; he describes it as traditional and conservative. Then he begins to assess how this lay audience might receive the plays. He explores how the texts are meaningful to the performers, who are most acquainted with the texts; the audience close enough to hear the texts spoken; and the audience, who can only interpret the actions from what they see because of the poor acoustics arising from production in the outdoors. He notes with regard to the latter that they can understand what they see only if they are knowledgeable about the events they are seeing—that is, that they have some kind of "devotional literacy." This part of the argument is a variant of the discussion of whether images, stained-glass windows, and other artistic representations within churches function as books for the illiterate. They cannot, Corbett argues, unless the viewer had some pre-knowledge of what the images represent. This point provides the base for the argument that the experience of Christian religion is different for laity and clergy or, more important, for the laity and an institutionalized hierarchy of clerisy. Readers of this part of the book may think that Corbett draws too firm a line between clergy and laity, even though most would agree that experiences and ritual participation do differ. Corbett suggests that the laity's relation to belief and practice is closer to that of laymen in the early Church and implies at times that there is some residue of that practice in the late-medieval and early-modern periods. Although he does not state this outright, readers can have the sense of what he was describing as lay piety was a kind of proto-Protestantism.

The second part of the book comments on the presence of the Decalogue in the plays and the absence of the Pater Noster and the Creed from them before proceeding to a discussion of the representations of Mary and Christ. The appropriate place for the Decalogue would be in a Moses play, but the

cycles usually present it in the scenes of Christ and the doctors. Corbett argues that this scenario reflects the relationship of the laity to the clergy as well as the particular form of lay piety that exists in the plays. Christ, he says, is represented as an unlettered youth who confounds his learned elders with his innate (actually divinely inspired) knowledge; thus, Christ's position in the play is similar to that of the lay audience before their clerical superiors.

Following through on the point that most of the clerical syllabus does not exist in the cycle, Corbett observes that the Pater Noster does not appear in any of the collections even though there are opportunities where it might (during the Last Supper, for example). Only Chester includes the making of the Creed but in doing so edits out references to the Holy Catholic Church.

The last two chapters describe the representations of Mary and Christ, emphasizing in both cases the ways these figures evoke emotional responses. His treatment of Marian devotion is fairly standard, although his analysis of the play texts is interesting. When he turns to Christ, he contrasts his representation in clerical texts for the education of the laity, Mirk's *Festival* and the *Lay-Folks Catechism*, to that in the plays. He also notes that the Christ figure subsumes that of God the Father, and thus the plays abandon the Trinitarian representation of the deity found earlier in the cycles.

Although the textual analyses in the second half of the book to be the better part of Corbett's discussion, his suggestion that the plays exhibit an affective piety as opposed to a learned clerical one is overstated. Affective piety was a broad-based consequence of a shift in religious sensibilities that began as early as the eleventh century and that was exhibited in both clerical and lay cultures in the later Middle Ages.

Indiana University LAWRENCE M. CLOPPER

Il Codice Vanga: Un principe vescovo e il suo governo: Torre Vanga, Museo Diocesano Tridentino, 23 novembre 2007–2 marzo 2008. Catalogo della Mostra Tenuta a Trento. Edited by Emanuele Curzel. [In filigrana, 2.] (Trento: Publistampa Arti Grafiche. 2007. Pp. 157. €12,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-877-02209-8.)

This slender catalog was published in conjunction with an exhibit at the Museo Diocesano Tridentino and at the Torre Vanga in Trent sponsored in 2007–08 by the province's Soprintendenza per i Beni Storico-artistici and the Bruno Kessler foundation. The exhibit celebrated the restoration of the *Codex Wangianus*, a cartulary compiled at the behest of Federico Vanga, bishop of Trent from 1207 to 1218. There are actually two codices. The *Codex Wangianus Minor* was redacted from 1215 and contains 180 documents, as well as two images of Vanga. The prelate's successors added another 55 documents over the rest of the thirteenth century. Bishop Nicolò da Brno, bishop of Trent from 1336 to 1347, had another copy made, "updating" the collection and adding materi-

als; this volume is known as the *Codex Wangianus Maior*. Of greater importance than the volume under review is the edition done by Emanuele Curzel and Gian Maria Varanini: *Codex Wangianus. I cartulari della Chiesa trentina (secoli XIII-XIV)* (Bologna, 2007). Together, however, the catalog and edition provide valuable sources for the history of the Diocese of Trent.

Vanga certainly merits scholarly consideration. The family name derived from an area north of Bolzano, and Vanga's ecclesiastical career was initially pursued in the Altoadige and Bavaria; he was canon of Augsburg in 1197 and then dean of the cathedral of Bressanone before his election as bishop of Trent in 1207. He was a blood relative of Emperor Frederick II and accompanied the emperor to Germany in 1212, later acting as imperial *vicarius* in northern Italy. Vanga participated in the Fourth Lateran Council and died on the Fifth Crusade at Acre on November 6, 1218. In addition to the *Codex Wangianus*, which has annotations in the bishop's own hand, two liturgical books—an *Ordo Missae Pontificalis* and a lectionary—were produced at Vanga's behest, both bearing images of the prince-bishop. The cartulary is of considerable interest for the light it sheds on the principality of Trent and includes a series of documents on mining and mining rights known collectively as the *Liber de postis montis arçentarie*. The earliest is an accord of 1185 between Bishop Alberto da Campo and silver miners active in the diocese, and six documents record mining regulations promulgated by Vanga and his curia between 1208 and 1214.

This catalog is a useful introduction to the bishop and the material culture of his pontificate. The exhibition consisted mainly of parchments and manuscripts but also included seals, a portable altar, incised silver book covers (one with a stunning image of Vanga in liturgical dress), and several ivory coffers from Sicily and the Islamic world. The chief scholarly contribution of the catalog is a series of brief articles on the urban residences of Vanga: the "Castelletto" attached to the Duomo and the "Torre Vanga" on the bank of the Adige. Iginio Rogger sets out the documentary evidence for the disposition of spaces within the Castelletto in Vanga's era and describes some of the findings revealed and quandaries posed by restorations to the structure in the 1990s. A section drawing, to scale, is provided. Three brief articles are devoted to the tower built by Vanga at the head of the San Lorenzo bridge and next to a gate in the city walls. Laura Dal Prà sets out the documentary evidence for Vanga's acquisition of the fief, already endowed with a house and mill, and the addition of the tower. In another contribution she surveys surviving images of the tower from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Michela Cunaccia describes the various restorations of the complex, with valuable bibliographical information and photographic documentation of its condition over the course of the twentieth century, and the results of recent archaeological explorations.

Although this volume does not offer any satisfactory interpretation of Bishop Federico Vanga's pontificate, it does provide materials useful to histo-

rians in forging a new understanding of the prince-bishopric in the thirteenth century. The publication of an edition of the *Codex Wangianus* makes the key documentation available to scholars, and this catalog provides an introduction to the material culture of Vanga's pontificate. One can only hope that an enterprising young scholar will capitalize upon this bounty soon to write the history of this important see before it became known for the Castello di Buonconsiglio and the Council of Trent.

University of California, Berkeley MAUREEN C. MILLER

Pain and Suffering in Medieval Theology: Academic Debates at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century. By Donald Mowbray. (Rochester, NY: The Boydell Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 192. $105.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83461-8.)

This is a discussion of some texts on human pain and suffering by Parisian masters of theology from 1230 to 1300. It consists of six chapters, the first three of which present texts on topics concerning the present life: (1) human pain and the suffering of Christ, (2) contrasts between female and male suffering, and (3) voluntary suffering and satisfaction for sin. The other three chapters present texts on topics concerning the afterlife: (4) unbaptized children and the doctrine of limbo, (5) the suffering of separated souls in purgatory and hell, and (6) the bodily suffering of the damned after resurrection. The author's goal is historico-linguistic: "to show how the masters developed a technical language and ideas for understanding pain and suffering" (p. 162). He regularly pauses to note instances of such development, for example in Aquinas's distinction between the genus of pain (*dolor*), and its two species, bodily pain (also called *dolor*) and spiritual sadness (*tristitia* or *dolor interior*) (p. 23).

The masters consider questions such as the following: Can the human soul suffer through its body? Was Christ's suffering more intense in the sensitive or the rational part of his soul? How are the respective punishments of Adam and Eve mentioned in Genesis 3:16–18 to be interpreted? What is pain of contrition? How do certain painful actions make reparation for sin? How should we take St. Augustine's remark that children unbaptized at death suffer only the mildest punishment (*poena mitissima*)? How is a human soul separated by death from its body able to suffer? How are the sufferings of hell to be understood with respect to the worm (thought to symbolize remorse) and the fire mentioned in Isaiah 66:24?

The author's standard procedure, used to good effect, is to take comparative "soundings," at roughly the same place in the order of topics established by Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences* (1145–51), of responses to the same question by several masters, often Ss. Albert, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas, in their commentaries on the *Sentences*. This is supplemented by presentation of arguments from *summae* and disputed questions, and argu-

ments by other masters. The author paraphrases passages that he then reproduces in footnotes, giving the reader a convenient, textually grounded overview of the relevant figures, issues, and positions.

Some minor points can be questioned. *Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius in sensu* is not "Aristotle's phrase" (p. 15n13); *virtutes* should not be translated as "virtues" where it means "powers" (pp. 107n14; *cf.* p. 134n13); consultation of the Leonine editions of Aquinas's *Quaestiones de anima* and quodlibetal questions would provide access to not only superior critical texts but also potentially valuable historical information (p. 168). In general, however, this is a useful survey of the terrain that puts the reader in position to make further investigation.

Unsurprisingly, Augustine looms large among the *auctoritates*. Augustine's developments of the theme of pain are influenced by his Christianity and perhaps by Stoic sources. Plato and Aristotle devote much more attention to pleasure than to pain. Aquinas seems to make Augustine's authority on the subject of pain the counterpart of Aristotle's on the subject of pleasure (*Summa theologiae* I–II, qq. 31–39). In any case, it is hard to improve on two of Augustine's remarks that Bonaventure brings together (p. 114): that pain is a *sensus divisionis vel corruptionis inpatiens* (*De libero arbitrio* 3.23), and that sadness is a *dissensio ab his rebus, quae nobis nolentibus acciderunt* (*De civitate Dei* 14.15). Augustine thus suggests that pain is a reluctant awareness of being divided or destroyed and that sadness is a dissent from—that is, a protesting awareness of—something that has happened against our wishes.

The Catholic University of America KEVIN WHITE

A Tale of Two Monasteries: Westminster and Saint-Denis in the Thirteenth Century. By William Chester Jordan. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 245. $35.00. ISBN 978-0-691-13901-2.)

Readers familiar with William Chester Jordan's graceful studies of the French monarchy will be familiar with his meticulous research, lively mind, and unburdened prose. *A Tale of Two Monasteries* is a closely researched and energetic cameo that inspects and illuminates the interwoven histories of England and France, Kings Henry III and Louis IX, through two institutional lenses. This is really the history of several pairs: Westminster and Saint-Denis; Louis and Henry; Abbots Richard of Ware and Mathieu de Vendôme; and, to a less explicit sense, England and France. Saint-Denis and Westminster are both beautiful and seminal buildings, Saint-Denis for the propagation of the Rayonnant style of Gothic, Westminster for establishing many of the premises of English late-medieval art. Jordan works through their visual and political heritages with a view to larger insight.

This is not a history of two monasteries in the sense of volunteering a commentary on their religious and institutional cultures—Barbara Harvey has

already demonstrated to huge effect the depth and value to social history of Westminster's archives, surpassing in scale as they do many smaller national states. We will find little here on the respective liturgies of the two houses: Greek was not used at Westminster as it was at Saint-Denis. The common features are significant: Both houses were royal mausolea, both held royal regalia, both had French-speaking monks, and both embraced chronicle writing. On the other hand, Saint-Denis was the father of Gothic; Westminster, in contrast, was a kind of commentary on it. Saint-Denis had a developed literary culture whereas Westminster borrowed its from Saint Albans; Westminster preserves more of its original artworks whereas Saint-Denis was brutalized during the French Revolution. What did the two houses learn from each other? One or two of the smaller architectural features of Westminster as rebuilt by Henry III from 1245 probably derived from the new church of Saint-Denis begun in 1231, but what Westminster really demonstrates is the grip of Reims, the French coronation church, and the Sainte-Chapelle, Louis IX's fabulous reliquary chapel, on the mind of Henry III. There is no evidence that Henry or his masons found Saint-Denis's architecture anything other than dry and austere. They sought instead the charisma of Louis IX's palaces. Reciprocally speaking, in contrast, Saint-Denis gained nothing, and probably sought nothing, from Westminster.

When Henry III looked to Rome for ideas that aimed consciously to trump the cultural and political supremacy of the Capetians—for his introduction of papal mosaics into Westminster is something we can surely see as political without undue risk of overdetermination—he used Abbot Richard as his agent: Richard knew Italy because Westminster, like Saint-Denis, was an exempt house directly under the pope, obliging the abbots to go there to be confirmed. The difference between patron and agent is a key one not always clarified by Jordan. It is inconceivable that the unheard-of gesture of romanizing a Gothic church should have been the idea of anyone other than Henry III. King Edward I continued the policy, and it is as a result of his links with Charles of Anjou that a design akin to the work of Arnolfo di Cambio was made available for Henry III's tomb. These artworks are explicable only by royal sanction and high diplomacy. The abbots of Westminster, unlike the priors of Canterbury, were not traditional arbiters of taste.

In general, this is a very surefooted text and one that must be seen above all as a political history viewed through a certain institutional psychology. Art historians are necessarily political historians when it comes to such great monasteries. Here and there, Jordan makes some points that will be debated. It is not clear that Henry III ever had an intention to turn Westminster into a Plantagenet Saint-Denis. When Odoricus, the mosaic maker named in the great pavement at Westminster, is placed at the center of the agents responsible, between Henry III and the abbot, he is being promoted, not "in fact, backstage" (p. 111). But then, this is not art history. At heart, it is a study of the spectacular social mobility of a century that saw modest men such as Richard

and Mathieu rise to administrative and diplomatic eminence, like Pope Urban IV, the son of a cobbler. Jordan's account is of a charmed circle of highly placed individuals. May we hope that one day he will turn to the royal brothers-in-law, Louis IX and Henry III, for an even larger narrative?

University of Cambridge PAUL BINSKI

The Letters of Catherine of Siena. Translated with introduction and notes by Suzanne Noffke, O.P. 4 vols. [Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Vols. 202, 203, 329, 355.] (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Arizona State University. 2000 [2nd ed.], 2001, 2007, 2008. Vol. I: Pp. lxi, 601, $50.00, ISBN 978-0-866-98244-3; Vol. II: Pp. xxii, 808, $60.00, ISBN 978-0-866-98245-0; Vol. III: Pp. xviii, 428, $55.00, ISBN 978-0-866-98377-8; Vol. IV: Pp. xx, 474, $65.00, ISBN 078-0-866-98403-4.)

With this remarkable project now at an end, Suzanne Noffke has fully launched St. Catherine of Siena into the English-speaking world, as the letters join Noffke's earlier translations of Catherine's works (*The Dialogue*, New York, 1980; *The Prayers*, New York, 1983). This four-volume, annotated translation is more than a translation. A collaborative effort launched three decades ago by an extraordinary group of Dominican nuns, it is the first complete modern edition in any language that places Catherine's almost 400 letters in chronological order. It thus offers readers their first opportunity to see the growth and development of not only Catherine's theology but also her writing—a writing rich in memorable images, local expressions, and common sense. The earliest letters are from roughly 1370, the last from 1380. These were the years of Catherine's active ministry as she addressed herself to kings, queens, two popes, painters and prostitutes, her mother and brothers, and the members of her extended *famiglia*—disciples eager to have Catherine's words as she traveled to Avignon, Pisa, Florence, and finally, the Rome she helped re-establish as the center of Catholicism.

The fact that fewer than 10 percent of Catherine's letters are identified by date or internal historical evidence made this a challenging project from the start. Even fewer letters are autographs—a mere eight. Countless were probably lost; at one point, her scribes berate themselves for not keeping a copy of a letter sent to King Edward III of England, and one can only wonder about other missed opportunities to know more about Catherine's life and times. The earliest manuscripts of Catherine's letters, painstakingly assembled by disciples in Venice and elsewhere, were organized according to correspondent and gender: popes and male religious like Catherine's confessor, Raymond of Capua, came first, the laity last. This has largely been the norm ever since—at least until Eugenio Dupré Theseider began his monumental project in the 1920s to order the letters chronologically. Supported by the Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, Theseider managed to complete only the first volume of eighty-eight letters. He died in 1975, leaving behind what

Noffke calls "mountains of uncompleted research in note form for the remainder of the project" (I: xxxviii).

Noffke used those notes for her English edition, and when she began this project in the 1980s, she faithfully followed the order Theseider had envisioned. Yet soon after she published volume I of her translation in 1988 (reviewed by Karen Scott in *ante,* 76 [1990], 360–61), she largely jettisoned Theseider's strategies for dating. More than a decade went into articulating a new methodology for reconstructing Catherine's life through the letters, and she explains her rationale in the introduction to the second edition of volume I. Fascinated by what she saw as linguistic patterns—she would eventually identify some 3000 of them—she set out to organize the letters according to shared clusters of those patterns. The first letter in Theseider's volume is no. 30, to the abbess of the Monastery of Santa Marta in Siena. Noffke dates it to May 1374, largely because it shares a number of expressions with a letter written earlier that year; it also echoes some five letters placed as late as 1376. At the same time, she modestly insists that hers is a "`relative' chronology" (I:xlvii). She divides the volumes into the stages of Catherine's career, such as her six months in the Val d'Orcia or her eighteen months in Rome. Noffke hopes to encourage discussion and debate even as she argues for remarkable consistency in Catherine's use of the striking phrase or a combination of words: "a thousand hells," "the body as a burden," "running as one in love."

Another obstacle to a complete edition, in Italian or English, has been the fact that there are twenty-seven major manuscript copies of Catherine's epistolary output. These manuscripts can be traced back to four disciples, three of whom were Catherine's scribes; the fourth, Tommaso Caffarini, promptly set up a scriptorium in Venice from which he launched a campaign for Catherine's canonization. One invaluable service Noffke provides in volumes I and II is to list important variants among the manuscripts for each letter (sadly, these lists disappear in volumes III and IV. A CD-Rom of Catherine's complete works in Italian became available in 2002, and, Noffke explains, she has "almost always followed [editor Antonio] Volpato's lead in the choice of manuscripts and simply incorporated variants relevant within that scope into the footnotes" [III:xiii], although there are few such footnotes.) Some scribes were reluctant to preserve personal information that would be tantalizing to us now, but to someone eager to press for Catherine's sanctity, it might have been judged distracting. Other scribes omitted theologically delicate or potentially politically charged ideas. How nice it would have been had the scribe of Palatino 3514 filled out what he meant by the "etc." at the end of this sentence from a letter of December 1375: "These very days the ambassador from the queen of Cyprus came and spoke with me about the business, etc." (II:202; letter 132). The letters copied by Stefano Maconi "correct" Sienese dialect and attempt to make Catherine's prose more readable. Hence, while authenticity is a vexed issue when approaching Catherine's works, having precise information about differences between one manuscript and another

is critical for reconstructing the "production" of Catherine by those who came after her. We are inevitably removed from the immediacy of a letter's dictation, less so from the project of its transmission.

Finally, there is the daunting process of translation, in which Noffke was assisted by three other nuns, two of whom did not live to see the project completed. Noffke edited the draft translations, and one would be hard-pressed to identify individual voices among the translators. The translation is admirably fluid, aiming to capture in English the oral delivery that was Catherine's main medium for transmitting her epistles. As Noffke says in the original volume I, she introduced "consistency in pronominal forms and verb tenses where Catherine is distractingly inconsistent."[1] She tends to break long sentences into several short ones, thus stressing the rhetorical efficacy and force of Catherine's voice, and she chooses imperatives whenever possible; Catherine, she suggests, uses a style "not poetic but oratorical—the style, really, of the preacher she had wanted even from childhood to be" (I: xx)—the preacher who will tell Pope Gregory XI when he still will not leave Avignon: "Don't make it necessary for me to complain about you to Christ crucified" (II:194; letter 255). Noffke has a sharp eye for any gendered nuances that might go unobserved in the Italian, where "anima," for example, is simply a female noun. In English, however, reference to the soul as a "she" gets noticed. Yet Catherine herself will call attention to the fact that "libertà," for example, or the will (*volontà*) is a "donna": a lady, from the Latin *domina*. All the same, one questions the occasionally gratuitous addition that exaggerates Catherine's attention to gender. Thus Noffke translates the end of letter 143 to Giovanna d'Angiò as "Divine mercy will make us all kings and queens, lords and ladies" (I:149); the Italian reads merely "Re e signori," kings and lords. But overall, one appreciates Noffke and her colleagues' ability to emulate Catherine's frank and down-to-earth style—especially in the early letters where her first scribes, literate Sienese women, probably did little to alter her prose. (In at least one case, we can assume that a scribe herself is speaking: "Alessa negligente si volrebbe volentieri invòllare in questa lettera," fetchingly translated as "Careless Alessa would like to tuck herself into this letter" [I:41; letter 127]).

The annotated Italian edition of Catherine's letters remains to be written; Volpato's CD of 2002 has no notes. But in the meantime, there is Noffke's thorough guide to Catherine's writings and the unfolding of her mission—from her first extant letters to her cousin on a Lenten mission to nearby Asciano to her final, powerful epistle to Raymond several months before her death in April 1380. Each letter is prefaced by a brief historical description of the moment in which it may have been written and situates us confidently within the context of Sienese and, more broadly, Italian and European history.

[1]*The Letters of Catherine of Siena,* [Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Vol. 52] (Binghamton, NY, 1988), I:25.

Perceptive notes suggest parallels from other letters or the *Dialogo*, observe possible sources in Bernard de Clairvaux or Domenico Cavalca, and reflect on ways that Catherine will adapt her prose to her interlocutor—hence, she will use a legal turn of phrase in a letter to a lawyer. The four volumes are chockfull of maps, chronologies of Catherine's life, brief biographies of Catherine's interlocutors, and descriptions of manuscript collections. A most helpful vehicle for sizing up Catherine's language is, perhaps surprisingly, the index, which includes a marvelous list of the images that Catherine employed—for example, under "T," there are "tether," "thief," "tombs," "town crier," and "treasure." At every step along the way, we feel ourselves to be in the hands of a *domina* in control of her fascinating subject. And, just as important, we recognize the extent to which Catherine, too, was such a *domina*: inspired and illuminated by God, no doubt, but possessed of extraordinary intelligence and natural linguistic gifts.

New York University JANE TYLUS

L'Eglise du Grand Schisme, 1378–1417. By Hélène Millet [Les Médiévalistes français, 9.] (Paris: A. et J. Picard. 2009. Pp. 272. €34,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-708-40848-7.)

Hélène Millet, after completing her dissertation on the canons of Laon's cathedral chapter, was recruited in 1982 by France's CNRS (National Center for Scientific Research) to take part in a research program focused on the Great Western Schism, a subject that characterized her career as a researcher. The present volume is a collection of some of her works on the subject under the title *The Church of the Great Schism*.

The book begins by a foreword in which the author explains the origins of her interest in the Great Schism. She noticed an incompatibility between the Council of Pisa's reception by Laon's Cathedral Chapter and the contents of French handbooks of ecclesiastical history, inspired by Roman Catholicism. Consequently, she decided that she would try to elucidate the questions that had been tormenting her and, with the help of Bernard Guenée, she chose to apply a prosopographical method to a new population: French clerics pursuing solutions aimed at ending the schism. From her investigations on these topics, Millet has extracted the materials for the present volume. Every chapter is devoted to the Church, especially to the Church of France, grappling with a schism that was distorting it and looking for some solutions to give her beauty "with no speck or wrinckle" back (Eph. 5, 27).

Two chapters with a broader approach of the problems introduce and conclude the book: "The Great Western Schism Seen by Contemporaries: A Church's Crisis or a Papacy's Crisis" for the introduction and "The Pope's Great Pardon (1390) and the Great Pardon of the Holy Year 1400" for the conclusion. This latest choice is rather judicious, as it impels us to look beyond

the Avignon's obedience. Between these two wider sights, the book is organized around four main parts.

The first part, "The Assemblies of the Clergy," includes four chapters and helps us to understand why assemblies of the clergy are such an important characteristic of the Great Western Schism in France. The second part, "Lower and Upper Prelates on Benefices' chessboard," includes four chapters and introduces us to some of the clerics who became famous or whose conduct conveyed some new element of understanding. The third part, "Accounts and Witnesses," includes four chapters and examines the schism through a chronicler, Michel Pintoin; an account, *Le Livre des Fais du Bon Messire Jehan Le Maingre dit Bouciquaut;* and a relatively unknown witness, Jean de Sains. The fourth part, "Schism and Prophecy," includes three chapters and allows us to perceive how, in the world of prophecy, temporal concerns and eschatological perspectives meet in an insoluble amalgam.

Although the essays have already been published elsewhere, it is a great benefit to have them collected in a single volume.

University of Paris II, Panthéon Assas, PRES Sorbonne Universities NATACHA-INGRID TINTEROFF

The Virgin Warrior: The Life and Death of Joan of Arc. By Larissa Juliet Taylor (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xxv, 251; 26 plates. $30.00. ISBN 978-0-300-11458-4.)

One can safely estimate that, since 1429, more than 10,000 works—textual, visual, and musical—have been devoted to St. Joan of Arc, authored in languages ranging from French and English to Japanese and Maltese. Of these, many are biographies claiming to portray the "true" Joan. So, *pace* claims made by this book's author and others, critical biographies of her did and do exist, but because the "truth" of such a unique personage changes with time and culture, another update is needed. Paradoxically, the Internet's boundless information, much of which is unselective at best, thus necessitates a sane, concise biography as never before. Larissa Juliet Taylor has assimilated what historian Philippe Contamine (even before the Internet) deemed "the discouraging mass of Johannic scholarship" to fashion a critical account freshly attuned to current concerns yet faithful to all or most existing evidence.

This book begins with a chronology of Joan's life and trials. Its preface states its deliberate focus on Joan in her own time, to avoid subsequent mythologizing—followed by the prologue's efficient summary of the Hundred Years' War up until her birth. Chapter 1, vividly re-creating her childhood—mainly based on nullification trial testimony—evinces little to nothing about "Jehannette" presaging anything extraordinary. Chapter 2 compares Joan's voices and visions to those of other medieval female saints and visionaries; whereas the latter tended to be self-mortifying and—despite pow-

erful experiences—finally ineffectual because of enclosure, Joan's militant visions, overt self-confidence, and real-world exploits by contrast enabled her to improve her world. Chapter 3, on her mysterious interview with Charles at Chinon, rightly underscores Yolande of Aragon's influence, along with the Poitiers theologians' guardedly affirmative findings, which validated her participation with Charles's army at Orléans. Joan's role in this crucial victory both militarily and symbolically transformed her from mere "mascot" into France's savior; from "harlot" to redoubtable threat to the English (chapter 4). In assessing her other glorious victories (chapter 5), Taylor aptly invokes Joan's gender (and virginal purity), age and, class, which, intriguingly, allowed her greater freedom of action than that enjoyed by the noble male knights, confined by social codes and past (losing) history. Chapter 6 depicts Joan's deteriorating relations with the ever-calculating Charles and now jealous courtiers; she even supposedly foresees her downfall. Chapters 7 through 9 tell of her capture, many prisons, trial, and execution.

Throughout her mission, Taylor's Joan differs from the traditionally characterized intensely devout, naive peasant girl manipulated by powerful nobles, then victimized by shrewd, university-educated clerics: rather, she was a *pucelle* with a plan. More impressive still, Joan could readily adapt her plan to unforeseen circumstances, thereby retaining her prophetic charisma. For just as she had first learned to mobilize collective yearning and belief (prevailing prophecy) to make herself an "answer," then rapidly mastered the arts of warfare to become *chef de guerre* and not just a figurehead, Joan as defendant revealed herself an astoundingly quick study in legal-inquisitional language and other maneuvers. If such skills could not save her from the fire, they immortalized her by their enduringly provocative ambiguity as well as their clarity, thus expanding her martyrdom's significance. Despite her enemies' ruthless efforts and Charles's self-protective policies, she triumphs in the end, as chapter 10 (her nullification trial) and epilogue (her 1920 canonization) attest. Four appendices, an index, and notes on further reading (the only possibly weak aspect of the book, but this is a difficult task) complete the volume's usefulness.

Photographs and maps of the actual sites marking Joan's career effectively supplement Taylor's astute analyses. In all, despite some odd source usage (e.g., the infamously zealous Ayroles here looks respectable; "Barrett" is basically the great Pierre Champion [uncredited] in translation), Taylor gives important new scholarship its due. Her rational yet engrossing biography fulfills its own heroic mission admirably for students and the general educated public.

Mount Holyoke College NADIA MARGOLIS

Dominicans, Muslims and Jews in the Medieval Crown of Aragon. By Robin Vose. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 294. $99.00. ISBN 978-0-521-88643-7.)

After tracing the twelfth-century precedents set by Peter Alfonsi, Peter Abelard, and Peter the Venerable, and referring to the Franciscan Roger Bacon and Ramon Llull (who may have become a Franciscan tertiary), this book studies the Dominicans in the Crown of Aragon. The author seeks to set the celebrated writings of Ramon Penyafort, Raymond Martini, and Paul Christiani in the context of the thirteenth century as a whole. We have a discussion of the Disputation of Barcelona of 1263 and of later (generally unsuccessful) attempts by the popes and church authorities to prosecute Jews accused of blasphemy. Vose's contention—against previous views of the Dominicans as engaged in a sustained, large-scale attempt to convert Jews and Muslims—is that this was an exceptional and relatively minor part of their work. Vose believes that "there is little here to suggest a widespread commitment to Arabic studies for missionary purposes" (p. 111). He argues instead that the Domincans' mission was an internal and defensive one aimed principally at "nurturing and protecting" Christians.

The book includes a well-documented study of the gradual expansion of the order in the Crown of Aragon. It is particularly useful in its comparisons between the fortunes of the Dominicans and other orders. We have a careful study of library collections and the writings of Martini. Vose has an impressive and up-to-date command of the sources in Catalan as well as other languages.

Bacon and Llull are characterized as representing "different branches of an extreme tendency advocating universal proselytism through reason" (p. 33). Their "extravagant plans" failed to win general support, especially in the Dominican Order. Although the last point is undeniable, Bacon and Llull should not be placed together as equally ineffective. Llull was to enjoy considerable fame and influence in the Middle Ages; Bacon's turn came later.

There are a few slips. The reason why the Disputation of Barcelona is not mentioned in James I's autobiography (p. 11n27) is that this work is not continuous but contains considerable gaps. "Peter Pascual" (p. 211n18), a later Mercedarian invention, should be deleted from the pages of history. Pedro de Muntaner's study of the Bennazar family in Majorca has been substantially revised and should now be consulted in *Mallorca musulmana, Cuaderno de Historia* 4 (Palma, 2009).

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (Emeritus) JOCELYN N. HILLGARTH

Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile (1410–1467). By Ana Echevarría. Translated by Martin Beagles. [The Medieval and Early Modern World, Vol. 36.] (Leiden and Boston: Brill. 2009. Pp. xix, 358. €119,00; $179.00. ISBN 978-9-004-17110-7.)

The presence of a Moorish guard in the service of the kings of Castile in the fifteenth century seems an anomaly as the Christian reconquest of Spain was still in progress and endowed by the papacy with the character of a crusade. From the initial Muslim invasion in the eighth century Christians and Muslims were thrown together in ways uncommon elsewhere in northern Europe. Christians were employed in the civil service of the emirs and caliphs of Córdoba. Christian knights such as the Cid served the Muslim rulers of Zaragoza and Valencia, and in the thirteenth century the armies of the Almohads and Marinids of Morocco included Christian contingents. Castilian magnates rebelling against King Alfonso X also took service with the king of Granada.

Conversely, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries individual Moors, at odds with the kings of Granada, entered Castilian service. From the early-fifteenth century Moorish military units were incorporated into the Castilian royal household. Mudéjars or Muslims living under Christian rule and Moors from the kingdom of Granada constituted the *Guardia mora,* which became especially prominent in the reigns of Juan II (1406–54) and Enrique IV (1454–74). The civil wars and uncertainties of the kingdom of Granada and the intervention of the Castilian kings facilitated this process. In some measure this reflected the general tendency of the era to create a standing army. Forming the king's personal guard, they were wholly dependent on him and generally loyal. As generations passed, membership in the *Guardia mora* passed from father to son.

The Moorish knights received a daily wage (the *ración morisca*) and account books dating from 1455–56 record those payments. Illustrating this material are several tables and a long documentary appendix containing 107 documents, mostly concerning payments of wages by the royal treasury.

Over time, many of Moorish knights opted to convert to Christianity. Some probably did so out of personal conviction, while others may have decided that conversion would give them full access into Christian society and military advancement. Whereas the ceremony of conversion involved baptism and the presentation of a symbolic cloth, the converts continued to wear Moorish dress and to carry Moorish arms. Some of them were drawn from the class known as *elches* or renegades, usually Christians taken captive in their youth who converted to Islam and on entering Castilian service decided to return to the religion of their ancestors. As the fifteenth century advanced, religious tensions led to antagonistic actions against the Jews and converts from Judaism. During that time, however, the sincerity of converts from Islam does not seem to have been challenged, and they were not subjected to the same violence.

The civil wars that erupted in the latter years of Enrique IV led to the dissolution of the Moorish guard, whose presence in the royal court provoked a hostile reaction. As Islamophobia reared its head, the nobles accused the king of being overly fond of Muslim practice, and they demanded that the Moorish guard be disbanded. That probably occurred by 1466 when chancery documents ceased to refer to it. Although the *Guardia mora* disappeared, in the twentieth century Generalissimo Francisco Franco brought Moroccan troops to Spain, where they figured prominently in parades and other celebrations.

Ana Echevarría has written an excellent book that places the hitherto obscure history of the *Guardia mora* in the context of Christian-Muslim relations and Castilian military organization. Utilizing many unpublished records, the work is thoroughly researched. An extensive bibliography, a map, a genealogical table, and an index complete a most interesting volume.

Fordham University JOSEPH F. O'CALLAGHAN

Reform, Ecclesiology, and the Christian Life in the Late Middle Ages. By Thomas M. Izbicki. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, 893.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. xii, 272. $114.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65948-8.)

Since the publication of his book *Protector of the Faith. Cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata and the Defense of the Institutional Church* (Washington, DC, 1981), Thomas Izbicki has been a familiar and consistent voice in scholarship on legal thought and church history in the later Middle Ages. An officer and active member of the American Cusanus Society for many years, Izbicki made late-medieval ecclesiology accessible to a wider audience of students and scholars by his reliable and well-documented translations of works of Cusanus, Torquemada, and other authors from the Dominican order. Numerous studies ensuing from these translations provided valuable context and promoted better understanding of the facts, intentions, and motives of the ideological struggles in the later Middle Ages. The present volume gathers fourteen studies published between 1998 and 2006, and one original contribution, among them some pearls of Izbicki's sedulous work during the past ten years. As in any volume from the Ashgate Variorum Collected Studies series, the articles are reproduced anastatically, keeping the original typesetting and page numeration. Within the volume, the individual articles are distinguished by Roman numbers added above the (original) page numbers. For obvious reasons, this makes the volume an extremely helpful tool for bibliographical references (but not a candidate for the beauty prize). The table of contents structures the fifteen studies according to the three categories "Reform" (I–III), "Ecclesiology" (IV–X), and "The Christian Life" (XI–XV); and it gives the original place of their publication. In terms of their topics, one can easily perceive Izbicki's interest and expertise in Nicholas of Cusa (studies III, VII, VIII, IX, and XIII) and ecclesiology in Dominican authors (I, II, IV, V, VIXI,

XII, XIV, and XV). The individual studies are the following: I. "Reform and obedience in four conciliar sermons by Leonardo Dati, O.P." (2000); II. "The sins of the clergy in Juan de Torquemada's *Defense of the Revelations of Saint Birgitta*" (2005); III. "Forbidden colors in the regulation of clerical dress from the fourth Lateran Council (1215) to the time of Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464)" (2005); IV. "The Immaculate Conception and ecclesiastical politics from the Council of Basel to the Council of Trent: The Dominicans and their foes" (2005); V. "A papalist reading of Gratian: Juan de Torquemada on c. *Quodcumque* [C.24 q.1 c.6]" (2001); VI. "Cajetan's attack on parallels between church and state" (1999); VII. "Representation in Nicholas of Cusa" (2006); VIII. "An ambivalent papalism: Peter in the sermons of Nicholas of Cusa" (2001); IX. "'Their cardinal Cusanus': Nicholas of Cusa in Tudor and Stuart polemics" (first publication); X. "Reject Aeneas! Pius II on the errors of his youth" (2003); XI. "Leonardo Dati's sermon on the circumcision of Jesus (1417)" (2004); XII. "Juan de Torquemada's defense of the *conversos*" (1999); XIII. "Nicholas of Cusa and the Jews" (2004); XIV. "The origins of the *De ornatu mulierum* of Antoninus of Florence" (2004); and XV. "Salamancan *relectiones* in the Fernán Núñez collection" (1998). The volume is rounded off by some "Addenda and Corrigenda," usually not more than one reference per article, and a most helpful index of (historical) persons and topics.

University of Vienna THOMAS PRÜGL

The Ages of Faith: Popular Religion in Late Medieval England and Europe. By Norman Tanner. (New York: I. B. Tauris. 2009. Pp. xii, 232. $85.00. ISBN 978-1-845-11760-3.)

The Church in the Later Middle Ages. By Norman Tanner. [The I. B. Tauris History of the Christian Church.] (New York: I. B. Tauris. 2008. Pp. xxvi, 198. $39.95. ISBN 978-1-845-11438-1.).

Probably most widely known as the general editor of the English edition of *Documents of the Ecumenical Councils* (London, 1990) and as the author of the best short history of the general councils available in English, Norman Tanner is a more broad-gauged church historian than those two works might well suggest. The two more recent books reviewed here make that perfectly clear. And they serve also to draw our attention to the fact that he had earlier immersed himself in a tightly focused, empirically based study of religious life in late-medieval England, an investigative effort that resulted in the important monograph *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich: 1370–1523* (Toronto, 1984).

The two volumes reviewed here reflect, build upon, and extend that impressive body of work. The first, *The Ages of Faith*, a collection of previously published articles, chapters, and reviews, is rather disparate in nature—in two respects. Disparate in that, while half the pieces reprinted are works of primary scholarship, the other half are shorter, slighter, more broadly interpretative essays intended for a more general readership and published,

accordingly, in such venues as *The Month, America, The Church Times*, and *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought*. These essays are disparate, too, in the range of topics they address, from "Sources of Popular Religion in Late Medieval England" to "Recognition of the First Seven Ecumenical Councils by Late Medieval and Later General Councils of the Western Church," and from "Making Merry in the Middle Ages" to "The Study of English Medieval Recluses in the Twentieth Century." That notwithstanding, the volume does not lack a center of intellectual gravity, and it clearly lies in the substantial clusters of pieces focused either on the history of the general councils or on the history of religion in late-medieval Norwich. The author's interests, it would seem, are engaged most heavily in conciliar history and in the history of late-medieval religious practice. And if the former interest tugs him in the direction of a concern with the institutional Church as its history unfolds along the broader European axis, the latter, calling as it does for carefully constructed, empirically based description, nudges him toward a tightening of focus and leads him to dwell on the English and especially the East Anglian religious scene.

Both sets of dominant interests eventuate here in a set of substantial and interesting contributions to our understanding of the complexities of later medieval church history. And both are also reflected in *The Church in the Later Middle Ages*, a volume contributed to the multivolume I. B. Tauris History of the Christian Church, and feed into the book's central strength. That strength stems from the author's conscious commitment to balancing a traditional institutional approach, proceeding as it were from above and focusing on pope, clerical hierarchy, and monastic orders, with a more gritty approach from below, exploiting what can be gleaned from a myriad of documentary sources (wills, visitation records, popular spiritual reading, and the like) and focusing, above all, on the laity and its characteristic modes of religiosity. And if the former focus is wide enough to embrace the Eastern Orthodox churches and the relationship of Christendom with the non-Christian world, the latter is able to include within its purview the phenomena of heresy and dissent and the broader world of intellect and culture.

We are provided here, then, with rather rich and various fare, and it is appropriate to ask what conclusions we can draw from it. At the outset Tanner commits himself to understanding the period in its own right rather than in terms of what went before (the creative achievements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) or of what came after (the great upheavals of Reformation and Counter-Reformation). He does not renege on that commitment. Drawing largely on the evidence from England, Tanner concludes (p. 105) that not only was there "much energy and creativity in the religion of the laity" in the later Middle Ages but also that "cooperation and mutual need between laity and clergy is evident at almost every turn." Given his scrupulous canvassing of the evidence available and his balanced and wholly admirable sobriety of judgment, there are no grounds for challenging that conclusion.

Of course, no book of this scope is likely to be altogether free of factual errors or fail to give some room for marginally critical observation. And Tanner's is no exception. Despite his two claims to the contrary (pp. 37, 113), the great French theologian Jean Gerson was never made a cardinal. Nor did the Council of Constance depose just one claimant to the papal office (the Pisan pope John XXIII) and "persuade" the other two to resign (p. 1). As Tanner himself correctly notes later on (p. 18), Benedict XIII, the Avignonese claimant, obdurately refused to resign and had to be deprived by formal conciliar judgment. Nor, again, did Angelo (*not* Giovanni) Roncalli's choice of the regnal title John XXIII imply (at least for him) "the illegitimacy of the previous John XXIII" (p. 19). When announcing in 1958 his choice of the name "John" and noting that there had been twenty-two previous popes of that name, Roncalli himself appended the cautious qualification *extra discussiones legitimitatis*. It was presumably some curial hand more papal than the pope's that deleted that agnostic qualification from the official version of the speech later published in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*.

But these are comparatively minor slips. More to the point is the general tenor of these two books and the scholarly qualities they evince. And here, while noting that Tanner's particular strength as a historian strikes me as lying in his investigative/descriptive qualities rather than in his analytic/interpretative powers, I should like to pay tribute to a certain calm independence of spirit that leads him to deliver himself from time to time of some refreshingly firm and insightful judgments. Of these, let me note just two. First, his untroubled, not altogether fashionable, but surely accurate assertion in *The Ages of Faith* (p. 188) that it was not St. Thomas Aquinas or Blessed John Duns Scotus but William of Ockham who was "the most influential thinker in Western Christendom . . . during the two centuries before the Reformation." Second, his willingness in the same book (p. 14) and elsewhere to align himself with the terminology that the Council of Constance used in the profession that it drew up with a view to imposing it on the incoming pope. In that profession, the designation of "universal" or "ecumenical" is confined to the Church's first seven councils, from Nicaea I (325) to Nicaea II (787). The councils of the medieval Latin Church, on the other hand, and presumably because of the absence from them of representatives of the Eastern Church, it dubbed simply as "general." Of the Council of Trent, accordingly, and speaking with an eye on ecumenical relations, Tanner concludes (p. 39) that "perhaps the best way forward is to value its remarkable achievements without exaggerating its authority: to see it as a general council of the Roman Catholic Church—along with other councils, after the East-West schism of the eleventh century rather than an ecumenical council binding all Christians." "A more relaxed attitude," he wryly notes, "that surprisingly few theologians have adopted."

Williams College FRANCIS OAKLEY

The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in Late Medieval England. By Simon Phillips. Rochester, NY: Boydell Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 210. $95.00. ISBN 978-1-843-83437-3.)

In the later Middle Ages, the Hospitallers were the only greater military order still active in the eastern Mediterranean. Since the convent at Rhodes depended completely on the supply of men, materials, and monies from the West, the order's network of twenty-five priories had to be well organized. The priors functioned as important links between the convent and the regional authorities. They were closely involved in the affairs of their own country while answering the requests from Rhodes and propagating the order's image as defenders of Christianity. The English prior was insofar exceptional as his priority was, in fact, identical with the English realm while, for example, France was divided into six priories. There has already been intensive research on the English Hospitallers in the last decades, namely articles by Anthony Luttrell and Helen Nicholson as well as the monograph of Gregory O'Malley on the English Langue between 1460 and 1565. Now this book by Simon Phillips promises a new perspective by concentrating on the English priors of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries as senior political figures.

Based mainly on an intensive review of the English sources from the National Archives, the British Library, and printed materials, the book analyzes the different roles of the priors in English politics. Following the introduction into the history of the English priory, state of research, and methodology, chapter 2 deals with the priors as treasurers of England and as a financial source for the Crown, lending money or negotiating loans and tax grants. Chapter 3 reviews the different military duties for the Crown taken over by the priors such as keeper of Southampton, admiral of the fleet, and other roles pertaining to military operations. Chapter 4 analyzes the engagement of the priors in international politics, in which they became important as diplomatic envoys and Crown ambassadors from the 1440s, culminating with Thomas Docwra (1501–27) in the time of Kings Henry VII and Henry VIII. This is complemented in chapter 5 by a study of the priors as lay lords in England, especially at parliaments and in the kings' council, and on their general role in English politics. Finally, chapter 6 is dedicated to the developments leading to the secularization of the order in England, based on an analysis of the lease books of the last three priors. In sum, the study demonstrates that the Hospitaller priors were increasingly involved in English politics since the beginnings of the Hundred Years War, which also served the order when the Crown, in consequence, allowed the exchange of brethren and the export of the order's monies (responsions) to Rhodes.

The author unnecessarily takes great pains to justify his approach by contrasting it with earlier studies. But it is certainly not correct that "modern historians present the crown-Hospitaller relationship as one of frictions" (p. 162) or that these "works rely mainly on Hospitaller sources" from Malta (p. 60), as

it is rather inadequate to return to the national perspective of military orders that flourished mainly in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. In addition, the bibliography, which lists nearly exclusively studies in English, omits even relevant works in other languages that would have allowed comparisons to other priors. This tendency should be replaced by a comparative approach as practiced in the networks of modern research on military orders. But, although the results of the book are not completely surprising, this is the first detailed, well-founded analysis of the important role of the English priors of the Hospitallers in English politics from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.

University of Hamburg JÜRGEN SARNOWSKY

Early Modern European

Dominican Women and Renaissance Art. The Convent of San Domenico of Pisa. By Ann Roberts. [Women and Gender in the Early Modern World.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xvi, 375. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65530-5.)

The Observant reform movements of the mendicant orders transformed the religious life of Italian cities in the fifteenth century and spawned dozens of new male and female religious houses. This book studies the art patronage of one significant Tuscan convent, San Domenico of Pisa, founded at the dawn of the Observant Dominican movement (1385), from its foundation through its suppression in the nineteenth century. San Domenico, under the direction of its foundress and early prioress Beata Chiara Gambacorta, became a model for subsequent reform in other Dominican Observant convents in Tuscany and Venice. Its ways were transmitted both by nuns sent to govern elsewhere and by male superiors who sang its praises, including the ubiquitous Fra Giovanni Dominici. Roberts reconstructs the convent's substantial art holdings, now dispersed, and sets the collection in social and devotional contexts. For this she relies heavily on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century inventories, published here in appendices along with a *catalogue raisonnée* and related archival documents.

The study confirms a number of well-established conclusions. After Pisa fell to Florence in 1406, this formerly vibrant cultural and economic center declined to a provincial backwater. Artistically, local traditions with Sienese affinities faded and Florentine artists and styles came to dominate. San Domenico's sisters employed Florentine artists such as Benozzo Gozzoli and Fra Angelico; they modeled their work on the Florentine reformed Dominican friary of San Marco, with which the Pisan convent had a fascinating and stormy relationship. Roberts meticulously examines these center-periphery connections of iconography and style. She also finds, unsurprisingly, that the Pisan sisters used their art patronage to reinforce the distinctive spirituality

of the Observant Dominicans, as adapted for a female religious audience. Artworks emphasize particularly the Eucharistic cult, the virgin martyrs, and mystical marriage, with images of both Catherine of Siena and Catherine of Alexandria in the latter scene. Finally, she concludes that it is often difficult to determine who made the choices in art patronage: the nuns, the artists, the lay patrons, or male superiors. She notes, for example, that the nuns could not themselves have seen the refectory frescoes in San Marco, on which Gozzoli based their own refectory paintings, so must have relied on an intermediary for the idea. Moreover, she concludes, to the extent that they controlled subject and style, the nuns favored rather backward-looking, static representations of standing saints modeled on pieces they already owned (chapter 7). San Domenico may have been the "mother house of the Dominican reform" in Tuscany (p. 15), but its sisters made no effort to innovate artistically.

Art history specialists will want to review Roberts's painstaking work in identifying San Domenico's holdings, making attributions, and finding influences. Scholars interested in convent studies and female sanctity will be interested in Gambacorta's life and reputation for holiness. The *santa viva* 's family ruled Pisa prior to Florentine domination; and the faction's subsequent ruin and exile posed challenges for the convent, which are well analyzed in chapter 6. Roberts suggests some useful contexts she does not explore: for example, the convent's reluctant involvement in the Savonarolan upheavals that convulsed the entire Dominican order around 1500 (the literature on Savonarolism is conspicuously absent from the bibliography). But the book argues persuasively that the vibrant visual culture of the high Renaissance was not restricted to the fashionable, the adventurous, or the rich.

Miami University P. Renée Baernstein
Oxford, OH

The Idol in the Age of Art. Objects, Devotions and the Early Modern World. Edited by Michael W. Cole and Rebecca Zorach. [St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xx, 356. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65290-8.)

Much has been said about the extraordinary growth—after 1970—of art historical and theological studies concerned with the Reformation image question and iconoclasm. They have now become a separate field of research, where the faultlines that after 1500 ripped apart the religious and visual civilization of Europe are studied in ever greater detail. However, Michael Camille's seminal book on *The Gothic Idol* (New York, 1989) did transcend the limitations of a mere debate between iconoclasts and iconodules by introducing the category of a pagan "idol" and its rebirth in the Italian Renaissance. Camille showed that medieval beliefs about *Bildmagie* persisted well into the beginnings of the baroque, when they were assimilated into the general framework of the "theatrum sacrum."

The book reviewed here, a collection of thirteen scholarly articles, intends to offer a broad perspective on the concept of the idol both as a category of theological strife and as a supplementary category codetermining the status of many an artwork between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century. Although *idol* was a somewhat vague designation and the charge of idolatry was often applied in a haphazard way, the European debate had fascinating cultural ramifications, including in its attitudes toward non-European societies. The book's essays are thus keyed specifically to the production and reception of objects from different parts of the world. Indeed, the idols of non-European cultures, be they African, Mexican, or Chinese in origin, play an important role in the thematic complex of the book, although as such they are defined not by an indigenous tradition or categorization but mostly by the then European points of view. This attention to the specific idolatrous object distinguishes the book from the more historical approaches to the question of images. Last but not least, it concerns itself also with internal idols in the shape of mental images (Rebecca Zorach).

The collection of essays is opened by a somewhat diffuse paper (Suzanne Preston Blier) on the fate of West African salt cellars that became often part of a European *Kunstkammer*-ambiente. In a similar thematic context, a paper by Clare Farago and Carol Parenteau explores the Spanish attitude toward Mexican painted manuscripts and their "grotesque idols." Thomas Cummins discusses in a perspicacious contribution the perceptions of pre-Columbian indigenous American idolatry in the sixteenth century, both by the Spaniards and their reformed enemies (Theodore de Bry, 1598). Two further contributions concern Japan (Mia Mochizuki) and China (Dawn Odell). Whereas Mochizuki tries to apply—not always with success—the category of *idol* to Western art imports in Japan, Odell, on the other hand, analyzes the attitude of the famous Jesuit Athanasius Kircher toward Chinese religious figures.

The remaining contributions are devoted either to Renaissance adaptations of antique pagan idols or to the Protestant image question. Michael Cole offers a fascinating analysis of the deeper implications—subsumed by him under the term *perpetual exorcism*—of the "Christianization" of the ancient columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius. Although the problem seems pretty straightforward at first glance, Cole manages to show how Pope Sixtus V intended a translation as much as a conversion of the images's power. Gerhard Wolf and Philine Helas's analysis of Filippino Lippi's Strozzi chapel frescoes is—maybe also due to a less than satisfactory translation—obviously carried away by its somewhat paradoxical rhetoric. More useful is Megan Holmes's presentation of Florentine ex votos, although the material is in its main parts rather well known.

Four papers are devoted to the Protestant-Catholic conflicts around the question of images and selected iconographical problems. Larry Silver offers an excellent overview of the post-Reformation Marian cult. Walter Melion analyzes the overlay of Catholic and Lutheran tropes in religious prints around

1600—a phenomenon investigated at great length by German art historians in the last two decades. Celeste Brusati presents the empty, Calvinist Dutch churches painted by Pieter Saenredam, which epitomize the reformation of idols. Donald McColl's paper on "Iconoclasm by Water in the Reformation World" takes up the problem of the discarded idol's ordeal by water. Although McColl presents an astoundingly broad panorama, he seems to have overlooked the fascinating Russian Orthodox habit of throwing unusable icons to the water, thus honorably returning them to nature's circulation.

On the whole, this is a well-edited, useful, and stimulating collection of papers that explore the range of meaning of the idol between the poles of art and religious cult in the modern era.

Eberhard Karls University, Tübingen SERGIUSZ MICHALSKI

The Church, the Councils, and Reform: The Legacy of the Fifteenth Century. Edited by Gerald Christianson, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Christopher M. Bellitto. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 336. $79.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21527-3.)

The volume presents the papers of the Gettysburg Conference of the American Cusanus Society in 2004, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Brian Tierney's *Foundations of the the Conciliar Theory* (Cambridge, UK, 1955). Tierney contributes the afterword "Reflections on a Half Century of Conciliar Studies" (pp. 313–27) to the volume, emphasizing that canon law alone is not sufficient to explain the rise of conciliarism, but needs to be complemented by theological ideas and traditions. Consequently, the papers in this volume come from different disciplinary approaches, not just examining canonistic sources but also covering a broad array of reform debates from the fifteenth to the twentieth century.

The volume opens with Gerald Christianson's paper, "The Conciliar Tradition and Ecumenical Dialogue" (pp. 1–24), in which the author sheds some light on the practice of "synodality" in the early Protestant churches. Christianson's optimistic look on Protestantism as "a revival of cooperative conciliarism" (p. 22), however, underestimates Martin Luther's ecclesiology and his suspicion against the general council and its claim to infallibility. Nelson H. Minnich provides an excellent survey on recent research on the conciliar period from 1409 to 1565; "Councils of the Catholic Reformation" (pp. 27–59) is a revised and extended version of the author's very rich and balanced article in *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum,* 32 (2000), 303–37. Emily O'Brien, "Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini and the Histories of the Council of Basel" (pp. 60–81), rehearses the changing attitudes toward the Council of Basel in Enea Silvio's three historiographical accounts of the *Basiliense* dating from 1439 to 1464. Francis Oakley, "The Conciliar Heritage and the Politics of Oblivion" (pp. 82–97), summarizes a number of insights from his book *The Conciliarist Tradition* (Oxford, 2003), repeating his favorite idea of the "pol-

itics of oblivion" by which a "high-papalist constitutive narrative" (pp. 88–89) eradicated the conciliar tradition. Daniel Zach Flanagin introduces an often neglected aspect for conciliar studies. His paper, "God's Divine Law. The Scriptural Founts of Conciliar Theory in Jean Gerson" (pp. 101–21), retraces the strong biblical foundation of Gerson's theology, by which he arrived at alternative models of law and authority that criticized the predominant juridical ecclesiologies at his time. Continuing an earlier study in *Cristianesimo nella Storia,* 37 (2006), Michiel Decaluwe undertakes a reconstruction of the original text of *Haec sancta* and tries to identify three different interests in the formulation of the decree at Constance (pp. 122–38). As much as we welcome such philological efforts, the conclusions drawn from the tiny textual differences do not always seem to warrant the far-reaching conclusions. Natacha-Ingrid Tinteroff takes up the topic of councils as liturgical and pneumatological events. Her paper, "The Councils and the Holy Spirit: Liturgical Perspectives" (pp. 140–54), offers a theological reflection on the Church by comparing texts from Constance, Basel, and the Second Vatican Council and by emphasizing the "charismatic process" (p. 149) of councils over their legislative work. In "From Conciliar Unity to Mystical Union" (pp. 155–73), Jovino Miroy tries to establish a relationship between Cusa's *Concordantia Catholica* and his *De docta ignorantia* (pp. 155–73). Anxious to reconcile Cusa the philosopher with Cusa the canonist, Miroy sees Cusa's "Learned Ignorance" as "another way by which he redefined himself as a papalist" (p. 159). Morimichi Watanabe contributes a concise survey on "Pope Eugenius IV, the Conciliar Movement, and the Primacy of Rome" (pp. 177–93), while J. H. Burns presents Angelo da Vallombrosa, an unwavering papalist in support of Pope Julius II (pp. 194–211). Jesse D. Mann collects material on the idea of Mary as the only remaining believer during Christ's passion (also known as Ockham's "remnant ecclesiology") and highlights John of Segovia's rejection of the idea in his opusculum "De vera intelligentia dicti vulgaris quod in sola virgine triduo remansit fides" (pp. 212–25). "Electoral Systems of Nicholas of Cusa" by Günter Hägele and Friedrich Pukelsheim (pp. 229–49) demonstrates how in Cusanus mathematical skills were put into the service of church reform. The voting procedures proposed by Cusanus were motivated by the need to identify the best candidate and to meet the expectations of the electoral body as much as possible. A rare example of "Conciliarism at the Local Level" is remembered by David Peterson, who examines the clerical corporation of Florence in the early-fifteenth century (pp. 250–70). Peterson argues that the *Constitutiones sinodales cleri florentini* (1412–50) were influenced by *Haec sancta* and the corporatist teachings of Francesco Zabarella. Obviously they came about also because of a deep distrust of the local bishop and his poor handling of the diocese's finances. Once St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence (1446–59), began to celebrate annual diocesan synods and shared the financial responsibilities with his clergy, the revolt vanished quickly. The volume is rounded off by a passionate plea for the continuing significance of *Haec sancta* by the late Giuseppe Alberigo. It underscores the underlying message of this handsome publication that historical scholarship

and conciliar studies take lively and active interest in the Church's mission and reform today.

University of Vienna THOMAS PRÜGL

Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Three Maries Debate: On Mary Magdalen; On Christ's Three Days in the Tomb; On the One Mary in Place of Three, a Discussion; On the Threefold and Single Magdalen, a Second Discussion. Introduction, Latin text, English translation, and annotation by Sheila M. Porrer. [Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance, No. CDLI.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 2009. Pp. 519. $165.00. ISBN 978-2-600-01248-5.)

Sheila Porrer has handled a complex subject with judicious care and clarity. The book was conceived twenty-five years ago as a doctoral thesis at the University of London under the direction of D. P. Walker, and it has doubtless been enhanced with two decades of further reflection and research. The introduction analyzes many difficult Latin texts dealing with biblical exegesis, patristic and scholastic interpretations of the New Testament, and the polemic that pitted early-modern humanist scholars against traditionalist scholastic theologians. It thus prepares the reader for the Latin texts and English translations of the four books published in 1517–19 by the evangelical humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (*c.* 1455–1536)—books that caused controversy throughout Europe during a watershed period in the intellectual and religious movements known as the Renaissance and Reformation in France.

The four treatises by Lefèvre deal with three principal topics: first, the centuries-old identification of St. Mary Magdalen with two other women in the New Testament named Mary; second, the length of time that Christ lay in the tomb before his resurrection; and, third, the pious legend holding that St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary, married three times and had children named Mary by each of her three husbands. Behind these seemingly innocuous issues lay a momentous question: What should be done when scholars who had neither formal theological training nor a recognized license to teach theology dared to challenge centuries-old interpretations of Sacred Scripture and to circulate their ideas among an untrained lay public? Scholastic theologians and other traditionalists, on the one hand, feared that questioning even a few beliefs held for centuries opened the door to questioning any or all beliefs, posing a danger to the faith and devotion of pious people and to the rites and traditions of the Church. Lefèvre and other humanists, on the other, believed that the real danger to faith and devotion lay in allowing ill-founded legends to corrupt authentic faith and piety and prevented the reform of belief and practice that was sorely needed in the Church.

Porrer lays out in detail both the sources that Lefèvre called into question and the ones that he used to support his interpretations. She points out (as Desiderius Erasmus had already done) that Lefèvre's overarching priority of promoting piety sometimes interfered with his arriving at a true interpreta-

tion of the Scriptures. She shows how, in the last of the four books, Lefèvre was forced to tone down some of his original conclusions and to pull back from his overbearing claims to the spiritual high ground.

Lefèvre's critics, especially the Paris Faculty of Theology and its members such as Noël Beda and Pierre Cousturier (Sutor) are given a more balanced appraisal than they usually receive at the hands of historians. Some of Lefèvre's supporters, like Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, used Lefèvre's works to promote reforms more radical than he ever dreamed of—confirming, in a way, the fears of the traditionalists.

The book's solid, annotated introduction (153 pp. in length) could have profited from a judicious paring of some instances of repetition. In addition, it is puzzling why the author consistently substitutes the arcane term *gospellist* for the universally employed word *evangelist*.These are small drawbacks, however, and do not diminish the overall importance of this book. By giving us the Latin texts and English translations of these four treatises, Porrer has provided an important resource for students of the intellectual debates between humanists and scholastics in the early-modern era.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies JAMES K. FARGE

The Pastoral Luther: Essays on Martin Luther's Practical Theology. Edited by Timothy J. Wengert. [Lutheran Quarterly Books.] (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans. 2009. Pp xi, 380. $45.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-802-86351-5.)

This volume brings together essays first published in *Lutheran Quarterly* that deal with Martin Luther's pastoral theology and experience. They are directed not to a small group of scholars but to a more general audience, particularly Lutheran clergy and church workers with a professional interest in practical theology within the context of their own religious tradition. Luther's pastoral theology is a topic that has attracted increased interest in recent years, and several of the articles introduce or summarize the contents of more specialized studies by the same authors.

Wengert's introduction gives an overview of Luther as pastor and describes the book's five sections. The sole article in the first section, "The Theological Heart of the Pastor," explains Luther's theology of the Cross (Robert Kolb) in a way that contemporary American readers can understand. The three essays in "Preaching the Living Word" consider Luther's view of language and communication (Vitor Westhelle), his humor (Eric Gritsch), and his understanding of how God communicates through preaching (H. S. Wilson). "The Teaching Ministry" opens with a general overview of Luther on education (Robert Rosin). This is followed by five articles topically related to the parts of the catechism (only baptism is missing). Wengert includes two of his own essays, the first describing Luther's approach to explaining the Ten Commandments and the second examining how Luther's own experience of

prayer informed his discussion of prayer in the Large Catechism. Charles P. Arand describes how Luther's explanation gave a Trinitarian structure to the Apostles' Creed; Reinhard Schwarz discusses the significance of Luther's understanding of the Lord's Supper as Christ's testament, and Ronald K. Rittgers uses a controversy in Nuremberg to illustrate the ambiguous place that private confession held in early Lutheran theology. "The Pastor and the People's Piety" contains articles discussing Luther's view of the Virgin Mary (Beth Kreitzer) as well as of Eve and women more generally (Mickey L. Mattox). Robin A. Leaver discusses Luther's view of music; Christoph Weimer describes how Lucas Cranach's altarpieces reflected the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith, and Jane E. Strohl describes Luther's pastoral advice on suffering in an early treatise written for Elector Frederick the Wise. Finally, "The Pastor in the World" has essays on Luther and monasticism (Dorothea Wendebourg) and on Luther's changing view of the responsibility of secular authorities for religion (James M. Estes).

Scholars will regret that the book has neither an index nor a bibliography, although this may not be so important for general readers. More unfortunate is the lack of illustrations, not only of the woodcuts described in Schwarz's essay on the Last Supper but also of the two types of images that Cranach developed to portray the theme of justification.

The essays tend to stress either the historical or the more abstractly theological, and several of them have at least the implicit goal of showing how Luther's insights might be helpful for Lutheran pastors in the twenty-first century. Wengert's articles are the most successful at meeting the volume's goal of joining historical and theological analysis with practical and pastoral relevance. The articles on preaching tend more toward the abstract and so are of less interest to historians. Those on confession, the Virgin Mary, and monasticism are most pertinent as contributions to ecumenical dialogue by shedding light on the complexity of Luther's teaching on issues that still divide Catholics and Lutherans.

University of Nebraska–Lincoln AMY NELSON BURNETT

Culture and Power: Tuscany and Its Universities 1537–1609. By Jonathan Davies. [Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Vol. 34.] (Leiden and Boston: Brill. 2009. Pp. xiv, 361. $179.00. ISBN 978-9-004-17255-5.)

This is a history of the administrative relations between the grand dukes of Tuscany and the two universities in their state, Pisa and Siena. Because the author does not discuss what was taught at the universities, the use of "culture" in the title is puzzling. The first chapter describes the structure of the grand duchy, including such matters as its foreign policy, which seems extraneous to the topic of the book. Davies discusses whether Cosimo I de' Medici

and the next two grand dukes, his sons, were absolutist rulers. He endorses the current view that absolutely denies absolutism, which is not very convincing for the Medici grand dukes. Then Davies reviews the relations between the grand ducal administration and the two universities, including the organs and officials that the government employed to oversee the universities and their activities, and how the government sometimes sided with students, other times with professors. Next follow brief treatments of standard themes in the history of Pisa and Siena, and university history generally, including the number of professors in the two universities, pay scales, private lessons, professorial absenteeism, doctoral expenses, matters of status and precedence, the introduction of competitions to choose professors at Siena, and the cost of doctoral examinations. Davies spends more time on student violence, seeing this as the consequence of masculinity, honor, and nationality. He also points out that by permitting students to carry swords, the government promoted violence, which seems an overstatement. Little of this is new, because Giulio Prunai, Danilo Marrara, and other scholars, especially Giovanni Cascio Pratilli, extensively studied the universities of Pisa and Siena some time ago. Swatches of the book summarize their findings. Although Davies frequently states that other scholars are wrong on one point or another, close reading reveals that, while other scholars are incorrect on nuances in the view of Davies, his own research confirms that they had the big picture right.

The new theme to emerge is that the grand ducal administration granted the student rector of the University of Pisa jurisdictional authority over students accused of crimes, plus professors in certain circumstances. This contrasted with the decline of the powers of student rectors in other Italian universities. The book also includes appendices listing the names of the men who filled the office of *Deputati di Balìa sopra lo Studio di Siena* (the magistracy that oversaw the University of Siena); the members of the Pisan and Sienese colleges of theology, law, and arts; gross financial outlays; and payments to individual professors at the two universities and the handful of men who taught at Florence. This archival material, plus the full bibliography, will be useful to other historians. Despite the misuse of "hopefully" on page 90, the book is clearly written.

University of Toronto (Emeritus) and Chapel Hill, NC PAUL F. GRENDLER

The Religious Patronage of the Duke of Lerma, 1598–1621. By Lisa M. Banner. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2009. Pp. xx, 249. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-745-66120-7.)

This is an admirable and important book. Lisa Banner has written a detailed study of the ecclesiastical patronage of the duke of Lerma, favorite (*valido)* of King Philip III of Spain (1598–1621) during the years 1598 to 1618. This contribution is especially important, because historians have tended too often to concentrate on the secular and courtly roles of royal

favorites and have neglected the importance of religion to them. Banner brings us back to base: Religion mattered deeply to most of these men, and they can, accordingly, be fully understood only if we understand that it did so. The dazzling brilliance with which Lerma mastered king and court and manipulated the royal grace for his own purposes is only part of the achievement of this extraordinary politician. It was not accidental that Lerma finished his life as a cardinal, for he was the most religious of all the major European favorites of the seventeenth century, and he was also perhaps the greatest lay patron of the Church in Spanish history. In reminding us of the centrality of the religious impetus to Lerma's exercise of courtly power, Banner performs a service of prime importance. Her book will be indispensable to everyone interested in Lerma himself or in the phenomenon of the royal favorites of the seventeenth century, and it will hopefully serve to bring about an adjustment of historical perspective.

Banner has made use of a variety of documents—letters, memorials, architectural plans, and the like. Her treatment is methodical and judicious. She is one of the few historians to build upon the work of Luis Cervera Vera, who in the years 1967–91 produced an extraordinary—and extraordinarily important—series of studies on Lerma's buildings, most notably his incomparable *Conjunto Palacial de la villa de Lerma* (Valencia, 1967). In doing so, Banner demonstrates how Lerma planned and built his churches and conventual houses and then furnished them with missals and sacred vessels, pictures and statues, and the like. Her analysis is well constructed and focused, particularly because she deals with the development of Lerma's patronage in a broadly chronological manner. Certainly, her insistence that Lerma accomplished all this patronage because he was Comendador Mayor de Castilla in the Military Order of Santiago will not find universal favor: Family traditions and personal ambitions were much more important to Lerma than his obligations as a comendador, while the income of 12,000 ducats a year as Comendador Mayor would not have scratched the surface of his expenditure on his ecclesiastical projects (which sometimes amounted to more than 50,000 to 80,000 ducats annually). Nevertheless, it is valuable to be reminded how important it was for leading noblemen to patronize the Church as an expression of their knightly rank. Lerma built his churches, monasteries, and convents, and he patronized virtually every major religious order—Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Jesuits, and so forth—*because* he was profoundly religious and also—it must be admitted—because he wished to guarantee his own passage into what he revealingly termed "the celestial court." Indeed, part of his insurance policy against a fall from power was to convert the lavish grants that he wheedled from Philip III into buildings precisely because these could not be confiscated from his family. Banner's study will be fundamental to all future assessments of Lerma and will help to reassert the importance of religion in the life of early-modern Europe; she is to be congratulated on her achievement.

University of Portsmouth, UK PATRICK WILLIAMS

Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe: Ethnic Diversity, Denominational Plurality and Comparative Politics in the Principality of Transylvania. By István Keul. [Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, Vol. 143.] (Leiden and Boston: Brill. 2009. Pp. xvii, 313. US$ 147.00. ISBN 978-9-004-17652-2.)

As the subtitle of this book demonstrates, the tangle of categories applicable in any historical study of this region makes an investigation of religious history in Transylvania a daunting one. István Keul endeavors to clear up matters by framing his work with the question of to what degree the "confessionalization" paradigm, which has long been employed in studies of this period, can be applied in this case. Keul's conclusion is that this model has considerable use for Transylvania, but this conclusion, which is worth considering, may not be the most important contribution that his book makes to the field.

Transylvania presents a number of challenges to the religious historian. First, many of the collections of primary source materials that have formed the foundation of groundbreaking work on comparable themes in Western Europe are missing, dispersed, destroyed, or yet to be recovered. Second, the scholarly literature is spread among many languages, most notably Hungarian and Romanian, and in many instances nationalist agendas helped shape this scholarship. This problem is not as dire as it once was, but is still a significant feature of the scholarly landscape. Finally, confessional bias still runs deep in a region where ethnic identity and the very right to inhabit the land is tied to religious affiliation, and this bias has also left its mark on the scholarly literature and intersects with the problem of nationalist bias.

Keul's work makes no claim that it is based on archival materials and so does not address the first point. But his careful weighing of existing research and his skill in constructing a narrative that draws on complementary and even competing interpretations make this study a valuable contribution to the English-language literature on this topic. In particular, Keul's presentation of the Diet of Torda, which remains a landmark in the history of religious toleration, is lucid and a fine introduction to the topic. Keul also provides guideposts along the many twists and turns of the diplomatic and domestic political history of the elective Grand Principality and notes the important connections between the local Reformed clergy and intellectual developments in far-off Holland. The marshalling of the scholarly literature in ample footnotes (in which Hungarian and Romanian titles are helpfully translated) coupled with the narrative strengths of the book make it a useful starting point for a student or for a scholar of some other corner of early-modern history who wants to begin exploring east-central Europe. Compared with this potential value, the qualified conclusion that Keul draws regarding the applicability of the paradigm of "confessionalization" seems far less significant.

Despite Keul's concern with the modern question of "confessionalization," his book bears a family resemblance to histories written a century or more ago that sought to provide a synthesized—and therefore more easily comprehended—view of a period. This is not necessarily a bad thing. The reader may wonder, however, how much farther Keul, who clearly has a firm grasp of the topic, might be willing to venture in the realm of interpretation and evaluation of events in this turbulent corner of Europe. How Keul might tackle archival sources is another intriguing question that his book provokes.

Early Modern Religious Communities in East-Central Europe is lavishly illustrated with dozens of black-and-white reproductions of portraits and of artworks showing the churches, towns, and castles of the region.

Brandon University, Canada PAUL SHORE

Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation. By Howard Louthan. [New Studies in European History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 351. $120.00. ISBN 978-0-521-88929-2.)

Converting the Czech lands to Catholicism after the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 presented a major challenge to Ferdinand II, emperor and king of Bohemia, to the Bohemian Church and the Roman Curia. It was also a long-term undertaking—which can be regarded as persisting, with changing forms, of course—until the Edict of Toleration, issued by Emperor Joseph II in 1781. As both a political and religious process, the recatholicization was the subject of much discussion and polemic in Czech historiography, and these discourses have undoubtedly played a decisive part in forming "modern" Czech national identity in the late-nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth. Howard Louthan offers the English-speaking reader an ambitious undertaking together with a rich and dense reading. As he says from the outset, he did not want to write a history of the Czech lands between 1620 and 1781 but, rather, aimed to provide an interpretation of the confessional change and the creation of a new Catholic identity. According to Louthan, Bohemian and Moravian cases offer a unique opportunity for examining the problem of the Counter-Reformation in the broader field of early-modern history on the Catholic Reformation. Second, he argues, that the re-establishment of the Catholic Church was "less a product of violence and force than of negotiation and persuasion" (n.p.). The point is difficult to prove with certainty, and Louthan's conclusion gives place again to force. Each chapter may then be viewed not only as a step moving those main arguments forward but also as an entry in itself, which merits a more comprehensive discussion that that allowed in the context of a brief review. Louthan is aware that "for the great majority of the Bohemian populace, the Catholicism they were expected to observe demanded right actions and appearances" and that it was "orthopraxy, rather than orthodoxy" (p. 8). However, the book is more a study of

intellectual history than a history of social religious practices and behavior. Politics are discussed only in chapters 1 and 4 and the conclusion.

At first, Louthan addresses the non-Catholic situation prevailing in the Czech lands until 1620, resulting from the lingering effects of former Hussitism with its two major sixteenth-century offshoots, Utraquism and the Bohemian Brethren. He discusses what is now one of the most delicate points in Czech religious history: the doctrinal nature of Utraquism and its relationship both to Catholicism and to Lutheranism at the time of the Battle of White Mountain. He then describes the sometimes conflicting situation existing between the Society of Jesus and other Catholic religious orders, institutions, and individuals and enlarges on what he calls, with true insight and exactitude, antiquarianism. He successively considers an impressive number of printed texts—catechisms, sermons, songbooks, and translations of the Bible—passing on relics in translation, education, pilgrimage, and missions and ending with the "making" of St. John Nepomucene and the attempts to convert the Jews of Prague through the famous story of Simon Abeles, a murdered young boy.

Converting Bohemia is unquestionably the result of a very thoughtful analysis. It is brilliantly written with a number of well-chosen ideas and fine remarks. Yet the author wrote it for a broader audience, and sometimes it proves difficult to mesh his scholarly accuracy with more general assertions, which aim to reintegrate the Bohemian case both in the wider European context and in recent historical paradigms. At times, this approach, which combines a larger assertive narrative with an impressive number of details, may not always win support nor lead in a well-substantiated direction, as, for instance, when deducing a successfully constructed Catholic identity in the populace as an effect of manifold antiquarian prints, which, however, were mostly published in Latin. The poet and musician Adam Michna of Otradovice seems to have composed his hymnals for Marian congregations rather than for the simple folk (p. 199); and, as a Czech scholar has recently proved, he was often adapting the sophisticated religious poems of a Bavarian clerk, Johannes Khühn of Munich. These minor quibbles, however, do not undermine Louthan's true achievement; his book represents a serious attempt to make Western historians conscious of the importance of including non-German Central European material and processes in their analyses.

Centre de Recherches Historiques MARIE-ELIZABETH DUCREUX
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris

Meditations on the Incarnation, Passion, and Death of Jesus Christ. By Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg. Edited and translated by Lynne Tatlock. [The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. xxxii, 325. $27.00 paperback. ISBN 978-0-226-86489-1.)

With this translation, Lynne Tatlock introduces the astonishing Lower Austrian Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg (1633–92) to a far wider audience than the German-language specialists who had known her before. Tatlock sums up the life of this woman who was anything but typical, even disregarding her high birth and her unconventional marriage to her tutor/half-uncle Hans Rudolf von Greiffenberg (d. 1677). She was highly learned, passionately devout after a teenage "conversion," and irrepressible, imagining that she might convert the emperor. She broke into print in 1662, with her *Geistliche Sonnette/Lieder und Gedichte*.

Von Greiffenberg was a literary unicum in her day. Throughout her life, until the delayed effects of the 1629 Edict of Restitution deprived her of her estates and compelled her to move to the friendly Lutheran circles of Nuremberg, she had been, to be sure, a heartfelt Lutheran but within an entirely Catholic environment. She could acquire Lutheran books but not hear Lutheran preaching or pastoral counsel. All around her was the cultural milieu—the devout servants, the shrines and other sacred art, the feast-day celebrations—of emotionally unrestrained Catholicism. As Tatlock observes in her introduction, von Greiffenberg may well have absorbed the features of local and Jesuit spirituality (24, 36).

For even though in the late-seventeenth century the baroque esthetic and Pietism declared their respective affinities for emotional demonstration as the mode of demonstrating conviction, von Greiffenberg's outpaces both these trends in her always imaginative and often fantastic sculpting of charged metaphors. Tatlock's truly significant achievement is her sensitive, cognizant rendering of this language into the most comparable English. She chooses long excerpts from two previously untranslated works, *Des Allerheiligst- und Allerheilsamsten Leids und Sterbens Jesu Christi* . . . (1672, 2nd ed. 1683); and *Der Allerheiligsten Menschwerdung, Geburt und Jugend Jesu Christi* . . . (1678). Both of these are indeed apt vehicles for conveying the creative intensity of this early modern writer. Exceptionally educated for a woman, or even for a man, of her day, von Greiffenberg lards her works with allusions to a range of classical, patristic, and medieval writers; and her familiarity with Scripture is unquestionable. At the same time, she has absorbed basic Lutheran precepts and knows how these differ from the Catholic. Yet her very topics, the Passion and Marian aspects of the Incarnation, and certainly the manner of her treatments, were not in the Lutheran style of her or the Reformers' days. Luther quickly influenced his followers away from dwelling at length on the suffering of Christ, and he discouraged concentration upon

the Virgin in any setting. Von Greiffenberg violates both these principles and dramatizes her devotion in a fully Catholic manner. Her devotion is as erotically charged as that of any mystic. She proclaims, apropos of Jesus's head and side wounds:

> I would not have ceased to suck on the loveliest of all heads [Christ's] until all of the thorns were pulled out, the little holes closed up, and all of the bloody drops in my mouth. Oh! Not until I was in His side, in His most loving heart, would I have drunk myself completely to death and suffered myself to be thereby struck dead. . . . (p. 122)

Tatlock's version of von Greiffenberg's poetry is strikingly fine but less easily demonstrated in a brief review. Perhaps she should have translated *Granatapfel*, in its bejeweled context, as *garnet* (pp. 144, 151), but this is straining to identify some flaw. Overall, Tatlock is a surpassing artist in her rendition. She captures the wide range of this author's vocabulary in her own wealth of English, and she embodies her subject's constantly hyperbolic mode of expression in matching superlative forms.

Von Greiffenberg is proud of being a woman writer who may attract others to her work and through her to the praise of God: "My spurring you on now will start you on this glory track" (p. 142). She lauds the women who desired to embalm Christ's body (p. 139; Calvin condemned them). She has Mary undo the disastrous effects of Eve (p. 191). She lists female saints who suffered heroically for their faith (pp. 205–09), many of whom Martin Luther had dismissed as being undocumentable and/or detracting from a proper concentration on divine grace and atonement. Here again, the Austrian noblewoman shows the effects of her Catholic environment as well as the traditional and ongoing assumption that women were by nature more emotional than men. She seizes this stereotype as empowerment.

This book will attract numerous admirers. It is most deserving of this reception.

University of Arizona SUSAN C. KARANT-NUNN

Rembrandt's Faith: Church and Temple in the Dutch Golden Age. By Shelley Perlove and Larry Silver. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2009. Pp. xxiv, 506. $100.00. ISBN 978-0-271-03406-5.)

Was Rembrandt a visual Christian Hebraist *avant la lettre*? Every era fashions its own Rembrandt, the art historian's Pygmalion. In *Rembrandt's Faith*, a post-9/11 Rembrandt springs to life: a community bridge-builder and irenic ecumenical in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, an artistic St. Paul who had "one comprehensive vision, an interdenominational unity" (p. 364). In this latest addition to the bibliography on Rembrandt's relationship to religion,

Shelley Perlove and Larry Silver conclude that the artist's interest in Judaism was rooted in an unswerving Christianity that may have implicitly sought Jewish conversion as its ultimate goal.

Eschewing a traditional chronology of the artist's works, the authors trace the biblical narrative in Rembrandt's religious subjects. Chapter 1, "A Religious Stew," provides an excellent introduction to the major denominations active in Leiden and Amsterdam and their connections to Rembrandt's œuvre. In chapter 2, the authors consider Rembrandt's engagement with the patriarchs, kings, and heroes of the Old Testament and Apocrypha through a Christian typology shaped by sources like the Dutch *Statenbijbel*, Desiderius Erasmus's writings, John Calvin's commentaries, and Pauline theology. One example of the shift in emphasis will suffice. Whereas Julius Held famously stressed the roles of blindness and familial love (between father and son, husband and wife) in the travails of Tobit, Perlove and Silver consider Tobit primarily as the ancestor of Christ's followers (p. 158). This is an Old Testament closely bound to the hope of redemption.

How then did Rembrandt understand the New Testament? Chapter 3 posits his interest in Jesus's infancy and early scenes of the Holy Family as a fulfillment of the Old Dispensation with the Temple of Jerusalem as the key to a religiously pluralistic environment. Simeon, St. John the Baptist, and St. Joseph receive special attention as "hinge" figures, Jewish men whom Rembrandt presents as recognizing the Redeemer. By chapter 4, a growing tension with the councilors, Pharisees, and high priests becomes evident in the scenes of Jesus's childhood and ministry in the Temple as the historical Jesus increasingly rejects the traditional Judaism of his birth. Noteworthy is a rich treasure trove of contemporary ground plans and interpretations of the Temple of Jerusalem that the authors use to identify several of Rembrandt's architectural backgrounds. Judeo-Christian conflict is resolved in chapter 5, where the body of the adult Jesus finally supersedes the Temple of Jerusalem as the site of physical sacrifice and spiritual guidance. Christian teaching and preaching, or mission, is then presented with millennial overtones starting with Jewish communities at home, the potential audiences of another Joseph of Arimathea or Nicodemus in seventeenth-century Holland. In the denouement of chapter 6, the internalized spirituality of Rembrandt's late works is viewed as a result of a disenchantment with institutionalized religion, either Church or Temple.

Assuming a *longue durée* view of Scripture, *Rembrandt's Faith* contributes a far-reaching analysis of the Judeo-Christian character that biblical narrative held for Rembrandt and indeed the myriad interconnections of contemporary religious preoccupations for history painting at large. Perlove and Silver's multimedia, sociohistorical approach, moving beyond strictly connoisseurial and patronage concerns, will also be appreciated by many. If the authors' characterization of Rembrandt as a man of faith is sure to be contro-

versial, *Rembrandt's Faith* will nevertheless be a critical reference work for the artist's biblical iconography, for Perlove and Silver, with this magisterial monograph, underscore the dynamic significance of religion for the celebrated realism of Dutch art.

Jesuit School of Theology of Santa Clara University MIA M. MOCHIZUKI
Graduate Theological Union,
University of California–Berkeley

Catholic Theology in Shakespeare's Plays. By David N. Beauregard. (Newark: University of Delaware Press. 2008. Pp. 226. $49.50. ISBN 978-0-874-13002-7.)

Catholic Theology seeks to demonstrate Shakespeare's "Catholic sensibility" (p. 39) or even "discreet" church papistry (p. 56)—the book hesitates between these claims—on the basis of a credible hermeneutic. The book does not decode plays, but (in good Protestant and Thomist fashion) argues from the literal sense and with a clear grasp of the issues dividing Protestants and Catholics (p. 22): penance; indulgences; pilgrimages; purgatory; celibacy; and meritorious works, but not predestination, prevenient grace, or the other great themes of their shared Augustinian heritage. Although the *Hamlet* chapter lapses into topical allegory (Hamlet figuring failed Catholic regicides [p. 86]), the book generally abides by its own principles—albeit with mixed results.

It makes a very strong case for the sheer pervasiveness of allusions to Catholic doctrine and practice in Shakespeare's plays; references to chantries, unction, confession, nuns, intercessory prayer, and requiem Masses thread across the entire corpus, including plays set in non-Catholic lands, e.g., Ephesus and Illyria. Throughout the comedies, wise and holy friars do their best to set things right and, on occasion, succeed. The Catholic material is sometimes used metaphorically, as in the erotic penances imposed in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, but more often not; the chantries Henry V builds are literal chantries, where priests sing for Richard's soul (p. 31); Juliet, like a good Catholic, is shriven prior to her marriage (pp. 30, 81); Hamlet Senior, like a pretty good Catholic, resides in purgatory. But calling these allusions to Catholic rites and the Catholic supernatural "theology" seems inaccurate. Rather, it seems almost as though the plays inhabit a Roman Catholic world; as though the Reformation never happened; as though shrift before marriage were a normal social practice, and Shakespeare's audience would have trembled at the thought of dying unhousled. The frequency and explicitness of the Catholic material is puzzling, not least because neither Shakespeare's audiences nor the censors seem to have objected or even noticed. David N. Beauregard's work thus has major implications for our understanding of English mainstream religion *c*. 1600. It is not just another book claiming Shakespeare for one's own side but opens a window on the still largely

unknown field where Catholic and Protestant vectors intersect and merge; where they absorb, deflect, distort, amplify, or diffuse each other; where they do something besides merely collide.

Yet rather than explore this new terrain, *Catholic Theology* for the most part sinks back into Shakespeare-on-my-side polemic. The *Hamlet* chapter is an exercise in tendentious political allegory. Although certainly right about Shakespeare's benevolent friars, Beauregard ignores his overwhelmingly negative depiction of prelates, beginning with Winchester in *I Henry VI*. Instead, he labors to clear *King John*'s Pandulph from charges of being a Machiavellian *agent provocateur* on the ground that the cardinal merely predicts "the course events will likely take," and prediction is not intrigue (p. 134). He neglects to mention, however, that the prediction concludes with Pandulph instructing the dauphin to invade England, while he himself will go to "whet on the King" (3.4.181). Nor is this the only instance of strategic omission. The discussion of Henry V's prayer in the opening scene of act IV gives no hint that the lines are spoken right before the Battle of Agincourt, that Henry is asking God "not to-day" to punish him for "the fault/My father made in compassing the crown"—not, that is, to punish him with defeat in battle. By leaving out this context, Beauregard makes it seem as though Shakespeare's point were to show this great and glorious monarch as a devout Catholic praying for his father's soul in purgatory (p. 31). Equally disturbing is the book's tendency to misrepresent Protestantism, even at the risk of self-contradiction. The comparison of Protestant and Catholic teaching on repentance begins with the fine observation that in the Elizabethan church, the Roman doctrine of satisfaction due to God's offended justice is "reduced to the human plane, [and] becomes restitution made for injuries to our neighbor" (p. 28). The next page, however, unaccountably asserts the opposite: that medieval penance had "a social and external dimension," which Protestantism "completely privatized and interiorized" (p. 29). This claim is then immediately contradicted by the sudden mention of "the English Protestant phenomenon of 'public penance,'" as when in *2 Henry VI* the duchess of Gloucester has to walk barefoot dressed in a white sheet (p. 30). Beauregard returns to the Protestant replacement of sacramental penance with these new rites of public shaming more than once (pp. 66, 70). In fact, however, the public penances imposed by the post-Reformation ecclesiastical courts go back to the thirteenth century. Yet even if such public penances had been post-Reformation inventions, Beauregard's account of Protestant teaching on repentance as stressing restitution to the injured party, as wholly interior, and as centered on public-shame punishments, remains incoherent—as does his later account of Protestant ethics as founded both on "obedience to law" (pp. 90–92) and on "the absolute and unmediated authority of the individual conscience" (p. 94).

The problems with *Catholic Theology* stem from the premise implicit in Beauregard's comment that in Henry VIII, "compassion for the afflicted queen

virtually compels us to cancel out any respect for Henry" (p. 141). If Shakespeare means Katherine to be a sympathetic figure, then Henry must be unsympathetic. Beauregard, that is, reads the plays as dramatized polemic. That this was also Shakespeare's view seems unlikely. Yet occasionally the book does acknowledge a more complex reality: that "Catholic" and "Protestant" were not always opposing sides, with sympathy for the one cancelling out respect for the other, but rather into the early-seventeenth century a heavy residual Catholicism survived within the English church (p. 18), many of whose members clung to "some of the old beliefs, devotions, and practices while accepting some of the new" (p. 22), so that Shakespeare was "the inheritor of a mixed rather than a single tradition" (p. 159). More work needs to be done on this mixed tradition, and although *Catholic Theology* calls attention to crucial and understudied aspects of Shakespeare's religious culture, the legacy of old hatreds obstructs the tentative probings of fresh insight.

University of California, Los Angeles DEBORA SHUGER

Thomas White and the Blackloists: Between Politics and Theology during the English Civil War. By Stefania Tutino. [Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. xiv, 213. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-65817-7.)

Catholic history has recently become a topic of interest among historians and in secular universities; the academic world will have a better understanding of the past because of the inclusion of those who have been ignored for so long. This book is an attempt to look at the contribution of a group of English Catholics to the development of science, politics, and religion in seventeenth-century England. The author examines the work of Thomas White, Kenelm Digby, and Henry Holden, who became known as Blackloists after the alias assumed by White during a 1652 controversy when the English Chapter split into two groups.

The work of the Blackloists is interesting because it is a way into sixteenth- and seventeenth-century physics and the threat that physics posed to religious belief, be it Catholic or Protestant. The author does point out that English Protestant philosophers were open to the work of their Catholic peers. They were both faced by what they saw as a threat to belief; both groups wished to ground that belief rationally. The Blackloists also dealt with ecclesiastical questions such as the sources of religious truth, papal infallibility (which, until 1870, was a theological opinion and not a dogma), and parliamentary control of the appointment of Catholic bishops. Finally, in the context of the Civil War and the Interregnum, they dealt with the question of political loyalty that had plagued the English Catholic community since *Regnans in Excelsis* (1570). The author's analysis of White's *The Grounds of Obedience and Government* (London, 1655) is very good. She argues that White's political philosophy is in its essence Catholic because it is grounded

in both natural law and free will. She also demonstrates the relationship between White's philosophy and that of Hobbes.

The book has, however, some weaknesses. On page 22 the author makes reference to Descartes and his interest in alchemy. The reference is to secondary works. To support a statement like that one needs a reference to a text of Descartes. On pages 25 and 26 she explains Digby's interest in Aristotle by saying that Digby wanted "to prove that the soul was immortal." She states that Aristotle proved the immortality of the individual soul. Digby may have believed that Aristotle proved that, but Aristotle did not prove that the individual human soul was immortal. If he had, then there would have been no controversy over Aristotle in the thirteenth century. In dealing with the Church of England on page 9 she mentions the Arminian establishment. There was no Arminian establishment until the reign of Charles I. In dealing with Catholics at the court of Charles I she makes no reference to the work of Caroline Hibbard. The author also claims that the administration of the seminary at Douai was transferred to the Society of Jesus in 1579 "and that the Jesuits and their allies transformed it to a 'training camp' for English priests to go back to England as missionaries" (p. 5). Jesuits never ran or controlled the seminary at Douai; at one point they were the confessors at the seminary, but that is a long way from running a seminary founded by William Allen, who wanted priests to go back to England. That was not a Jesuit project. Cuthbert Mayne, a graduate of the seminary at Douai, returned to England in 1576 and was executed in 1577. That was three years before the foundation of the English Jesuit Mission.

The author seems to ignore the division in English Catholicism between the Jesuits and the Appellants, which went back to the last years of Elizabeth's reign and which was really a debate over whether Catholics could accept minority status in England or whether the realm needed to be reconverted to help Protestants save their immortal souls from hellfire that was the motivation for the English Mission. It was not simply a fight over power. The Blackloist ecclesiology was simply another and perhaps the most radical solution in the attempt to accept minority status and solve the problem of loyalty to the Crown. After reading so many dubious statements of fact in the first thirty pages, the reader is plagued with questions about the accuracy of the author's other statements. A lack of copyediting also mars the book.

Xavier University JOHN J. LAROCCA, S.J.
Cincinnati, OH

1688: The First Modern Revolution. By Steve Pincus. [The Lewis Walpole Series in Eighteenth-Century Culture and History.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 647. ISBN 978-0-300-11547-5.)

This is a brave and bulky attempt to resuscitate King James II's reputation by suggesting he was more of a strategist than many Whig, revisionist, and tra-

ditional accounts argue. Instead of the Establishment Whig myth, which has achieved "hegemonic status" (p. 21), of James as a psychologically unstable, fanatical Catholic whose fall accomplished the restoration of liberty and moderation through a conservative revolution versus the more modern revisionist view of him as generously tolerant of other religions, Pincus portrays him as a "radical modernizer" (p. 475), taking his cue from King Louis XIV in France. While, according to Pincus, James's modernizing schemes were definitely planned, the revolution he provoked in putting them into effect were rooted in changes in English society as far back as the English Civil War. Pincus offers a Tocquevillean critique, suggesting that by James's disturbing deeply embedded social and political attitudes, he gravely weakened the fundaments of English society and ended up losing control over the process of change as it gathered momentum; his program was "at its most fragile . . . during its transformative phase" (p. 213). Ultimately, control of the process passed to those who inherited James's strategy after 1688 and who helped to inaugurate a new kind of modern state through this, the "first modern revolution," as the book states, whose effects were consolidated by 1696. The effects of the 1688–89 Revolution were the result of two "competing modernization programs" (p. 36). James II's aggressive policy against the Dutch, his foreign policy dominated by an imperialist preoccupation with colonial acquisition, his expansion of foreign trade and the army, his imposition of a central bureaucracy over local government, and his highly efficient surveillance system competed with a postrevolutionary regime that had the same modernizing objective but sought to achieve it through different means—that is, through a pro-Dutch foreign policy, the development of manufacturing rather than territorial acquisition, some political devolution, and a commitment to religious toleration. The author assembles an enormous battery of evidence in a book that took twenty-five years to produce and that was begun at the time of the 1988 celebrations in London to mark the Glorious Revolution. In Pincus's eyes, these "sedate and dull" celebrations (p. 28) were monopolized by the English government for its own purposes, so he sets out to investigate two themes that past research has underplayed: first, the long-term causes and consequences of the revolution and, second, the revolution's crucial international economic, religious, and political interactions. He argues, for instance, that James's Catholicism can only be understood through an interpretation of current European debates, although to suggest the king adopted a rigid Gallicanism favored by the Jesuits (pp. 121–23) is not entirely accurate. From an examination of his themes, Pincus is led to define 1688–89 and its aftermath as clearly a revolution because it was "violent, popular, and divisive" (p. 8) rather than "aristocratic, bloodless and consensual" (p. 302), and he cites interesting parallels with similar political upheavals in Scandinavia and Spain (p. 35). The divisions it caused in Catholicism have been analyzed further by Gabriel Glickman in his recent book, *The English Catholic Community 1688–1745* (Rochester, NY, 2009). Pincus convincingly places 1688–89 within the context of a revolutionary century, 1620–1720, which transformed England and, as a Whig triumph, ushered in a "bourgeois

culture" (p. 484). There are some small errors: Wakefield is in the West Riding, not in Northumberland (p. 67); Stockport was in Cheshire, not Lancashire (p. 111); Placidus Fleming (p. 126) was a Scottish Benedictine, not an Augustinian; and the Benedictine presence in York (p. 164) hardly constituted a "monastery," nor was there an "abbey" at St. James's Palace (p. 257).

Douai Abbey GEOFFREY SCOTT, O.S.B.
Woolhampton, UK

Tra moglie e marito: Matrimoni e separazioni a Livorno nel Settecento. By Chiara La Rocca. [Fondazione Bruno Kessler, Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Monografie, 51.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2009. Pp. 445. €30,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-12770-9.)

With her study of matrimonial litigation in Leghorn (Livorno, 1766–1806), Chiara La Rocca has made a useful addition to the vast literature on the history of marriage. On the basis of about 250 petitions for separations, filed before either ecclesiastical or civil tribunals in this Tuscan port city, La Rocca seeks to examine both the control of matrimony and the prevailing popular mores concerning marriage. Most litigants were lower middle class, coming especially from the ranks of small merchants or artisans. Not at all surprising is La Rocca's finding that couples seemed to take the initiative in courting and subsequently sought parental approval. Mundane concerns, especially pertaining to the dowry, were key factors in the choice of mates. The records understandably provide more information about men's work than women's. Women, however, clearly made vitally important contributions to the family economy, most notably as spinners, seamstresses, and landladies. The author is quite persuasive in describing marriages as partnerships, as women and men shared the responsibilities of administering the household. Notwithstanding the author's claims to the contrary, historians have in recent decades amply described the vitally important contributions that women made to the domestic economy.

La Rocca argues against the notion that the late-eighteenth century witnessed increased emphasis on romantic love in courtship and marriage. La Rocca avers that the silence on romantic sentiment in Leghorn's court documents reflects the fact that the litigants were of modest means rather than members of the elite, who, she claims, were the pioneers in the creation of the modern family. Some historians, however, actually see the love match as first taking root among the popular classes, a development that was facilitated by the growth in wage labor. Variations in family structure could help explain the difference between her findings and those of other scholars; many litigants in Leghorn lived in complex households—some couples even shared a single room with other relatives—a striking contrast to so many other regions where the nuclear household was the norm.

La Rocca is undoubtedly correct in asserting that informal separations likely outnumbered those that were legally sanctioned. Few states in early-modern Europe had the means of convoking *ex officio* all couples who were guilty of illicit separations (although such police actions were quite common in other areas). Women, who composed 90 percent of plaintiffs who filed unilaterally for separations, were motivated by the desire to wrest financial support and control of the dowry from their husbands, who were most often accused of abuse. For most of this period, separation cases were under the purview of Leghorn's ecclesiastical tribunal. This court viewed the *separatio thori* as a temporary solution, with six months as the most commonly prescribed period. Civil and church authorities regularly collaborated in matrimonial matters, as the former tried to maintain public order by, among other things, admonishing abusive husbands. Following a law passed by the grand duke of Tuscany, secular courts briefly (1784–92) had jurisdiction over separation cases. Secular authorities accepted joint petitions for separations from couples, and such mutual requests subsequently became quite common before the church court. Judicial separations had traditionally been based on the premise that one party was guilty, and the decision to award separations requested by both parties reflected an important change in attitude on the part of the ecclesiastical judge. The overwhelming majority of petitions for separations that reached a final decision, be they submitted jointly or unilaterally, were granted.

La Rocca's descriptions of individual cases make for a good read. Ably comparing her findings to those of other scholars, she makes a solid case that marriage and its control in Leghorn differed in subtle ways from patterns found elsewhere.

University of Mississippi JEFFREY R. WATT

Ai confini d'Italia: Saggi di storia trentina in età moderna. By Claudio Donati. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento: Monografie, 50.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2009. Pp. 417. €29,00. ISBN 978-8-815-12811-9.)

Ceti tirolesi e territorio trentino. Materiali del Landschaftliches Archiv di Innsbruck. 1722–1785. By Marcello Bonazza and Reinhard Stauber. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Fonti, 7.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 2008. Pp. 418. €26,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-815-12721-1.)

Ai confini d'Italia was published after the death of the well-known Italian scholar Claudio Donati (1950–2008), collecting his essays regarding the history of the Trentino that were published over the years in several volumes following his first monograph in 1975. Here, his more than thirty years of experience in different fields—clerical, noble, and military—have enriched the themes of his initial research. The first pages provide a complete bibliography

of Donati's works, evidence of his interest in many themes from the early-modern period.

The first part of the book includes essays on the institutional features of the Prince-Bishopric of Trento, whereas the second part treats the history of society and culture. There is, however, a clear link between these two parts: The history of institutions has been developed throughout with continuous references to the men who embodied them, whereas the biographical studies do not ignore the changes in the political and institutional environment and the role played by these men.

These essays cover the early-modern period, with a particular attention to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Donati has traced the steps in the evolution of the institutions of the Prince-Bishopric from the low Middle Ages to the secularization in 1802, outlining the periods with the most important changes. The period of the crisis of the European mind, which has been long neglected by Italian and Trentine historiography, is clearly emphasized here, as Donati always considered it significant—together with studies pertaining to the Austrian and wider European areas—because it was a crucial time of change and a period of real transition toward the Enlightenment. At that time, the Prince-Bishopric of Trento emerged as an important communication channel between the Habsburgs' Austrian territories and their Italian dominions, which explains Donati's interest in its political relationship with the county of Tirol, the Roman Curia, and Vienna.

Particular attention has been paid to the reforms under Maria Theresia and Joseph II, divided into two phases, which adheres to a system used by many scholars of the eighteenth century. The first phase regards the centralization of administration during the government of Leopoldo Ernesto di Firmian. The *Staatkirchentum* politics started by Kaunitz characterized the second, more tumultuous phase, with the prince determined to obtain control of ecclesiastic discipline and divine worship. For the Trentino, this could be seen as a lethal attack on its autonomy that was headed by the bishop and the Chapter and seemed to lead to the disappearance of the Prince-Bishopric. However, as prince of the empire, the bishop was protected, and only during the years of Napoleon did secularization take place and Trentino become part of the Austrian district of Tirol.

The second part of this volume includes essays concerning social and cultural history in the eighteenth century. The biographical studies offer another perspective on the previously mentioned two phases. The author has noted that toward the middle of the century Trento represented an interesting laboratory for reforms due to the presence of representatives of the Catholic Enlightenment and other individuals who would soon play a role of high importance in Austrian and Italian reformation: Leopoldo di Firmian, Giuseppe Antonio di Sperges, Gian Carlo di Herberstein, Cristoforo Migazzi, and Antonio Pilati. They created a network of cooperation among noblemen,

enlightened churchmen, and scholars that contrasted starkly with the most conservative clerical attitude. Some of these men are the subject of Donati's essays (Pilati, for instance); others are just mentioned, such as Giuseppe Antonio di Sperges, who appears to have been for some time the secretary of Count Antonio di Wolkenstein. The beginning of the ecclesiastical reformation caused a change that implied the disappearance of this group (as evidenced by Pilati's exile), and the ruling class chose to defend the autonomy of Trentino. The author also has paid particular attention to people either uninvolved with Enlightenment culture or completely opposed to reforms, such as Simone Zambaiti and Sigismondo Antonio Manci, who are examples of the variegated cultural and religious world of the Trentino. These men, while acting within clerical institutions, saw the collapse within a few years of the Prince-Bishopric of Trento, the Holy Roman Empire, and the power of the pope. Their worry and efforts to defend a world that was coming to an end appear in their notes and letters.

The book by Marcello Bonazza and Reinhard Stauber is part of a project of research regarding the political communication between the Prince-Bishopric of Trento and the county of Tirol, supported by the Fondazione Bruno Kessler (formerly Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico di Trento). It is based on the collection of documents found in archives and on a bibliography regarding the activity of the Tyrolean Diet, and continues a previous volume concerning the period 1413–1790. The analyzed documents belong to the collection Verhandlungen der Landschaft. Out of about 8000 filed documents, 555 pertaining to Trentino have been extracted, translated, and analyzed. The result is a fully representative sample of the activity of the Tyrolean assembly of estates, extracted from repetitive or scarcely significant documents.

These documents can be dated from 1511, when the *Landlibell* issued by Massimiliano I ordered Prince-Bishoprics of Trento and Bressanone to give their contribution for military expenses, together with Tirol. Thus these areas were subjected to two systems—they kept their right to vote in the Imperial Diet yet also acquired the right to be represented in the Tyrolean Diet. In other words, on one side Trento was subordinated to the counts of Tirol, but on the other side the autonomy of the bishop was confirmed as he was a prince of the empire. This new situation allowed the bishop of Trento to ask the empire for help against the decisions of the counts of Tirol whenever he considered it necessary. The documents about the eighteenth century gathered here are particularly interesting, as they show the changes occurring in this area during the period of reforms, such as the increase of military expenses and the idea of a more equal division of the tax burden in the kingdom of Leopoldo I. This implied a transformation in Tirol fiscal institutions, which were able to survive after the reforms of the eighteenth century, as happened in other Austrian territories as well. In this environment, the Prince-Bishopric of Trento managed to free itself from the fiscal administration of Tirol and to negotiate taxation directly with Vienna.

The documents analyzed pertain to the Diets and the *Congresso minore*, the *Compromissariato steorale*, the protocols of the *Deputations* of Innsbruck and Bolzano, and the *Attività cetuale*—which were all greatly affected by the reforms of the eighteenth century. These documents are therefore important for the history of institutions, economy, trade, society, and the estates, as they show the animated dialectic that developed in the assemblies of the estates during the reform of local institutions.

University of Milan ALESSANDRA DATTERO

Le Livre Noir de la Révolution française. Edited by Renaud Escande. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2008. Pp. 882. €44,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-08160-3.)

This is a curious and uneven collection that relentlessly presents the debit side of the French Revolution. The essays in their different ways (some subtle, some downright polemical) insistently remind readers that the progressive presentation of the Revolution has held consensual sway in republican France for too long and that it is time to put the other side and restore a balance. And so they do. In successive contributions, the dark and destructive dimensions of the Revolution are identified (with the unspoken question, was it worth it?), and historians are implicitly (and sometimes with some justice) chastised for taking too lightly the human costs of 1789–1815. The victims of the Revolution, it seems, outweighed its beneficiaries. While anxious to stress (and, in some instances, to overplay) the contemporary countercultural dimension of this reading of the Revolution, Renaud Escande's essayists provide fine offerings on Rivarol, Maistre, and Bonald, and Jacques de Guillebon gives us Balzac as "un critique organique" of the Revolution. Renaud Silly, O.P., writes about Taine as a precursor of François Furet, and there is a superbly succinct examination of Auguste Cochin in context by Philippe Lauvaux. However, this discussion of distinguished nineteenth-century authors and historians who were in varying degrees critics of the Revolution is in itself evidence that Escande's team is hardly the first to notice the multiple costs of the 1790s and beyond, and thus slightly undermines its claims to critical originality in challenging the foundational mythologies of French republicanism. This enterprise has been going on as long as there has been a republic to impugn. Nevertheless, *Le Livre noir* is far more than a roll call of the Right. It repays surveying not least because its fifty-six chapters include contributors of the calibre of Pierre Chaunu, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Jean Tulard, and Jean de Viguerie, and it is heartening to find some distinguished clerical authors herein. There are chapters on key episodes such as the taking of the Bastille; the event of August 10, 1792; and the death of King Louis XVI. Those on leading participants vary in quality, and one wonders how helpful it is for François Rouvillois to ask "Saint-Just fasciste?" on the expanded basis of noting that he and Benito Mussolini both agreed that Augustus was the greatest man in antiquity. One

also finds the irrepressible Reynald Sécher returning to the Vendée and Christophe Boutin writing thoughtfully about "Le découpage révolutionnaire du territoire." Two other highlights based on solid learning are Tancrède Josseran on the destruction of French naval power at the hands of the republic and Xavier Martin on revolutionary law.

University of Leicester NIGEL ASTON

Late Modern European

Roman Catholic Church Music in England, 1791–1914: A Handmaid of the Liturgy? By T. E. Muir. [Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain.] (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing. 2008. Pp. xviii, 288. $99.95. ISBN 978-0-754-66105-4.)

This is a groundbreaking book. Catholic Church music in nineteenth-century England has long been ignored, largely due to the low esteem in which it is generally held by scholars, members of other churches, and even, T. E. Muir points out, by Catholics themselves. Composers such as John Crookall (1821–87), John Richardson (1816–79), and Joseph Egbert Turner (1853–97), whose music was regularly heard by English Catholics well into the twentieth century, do not appear in the pages of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1878–99), and their works are very seldom performed.

Muir admits that some of the music is of low aesthetic quality and the standards of performance from largely amateur choirs must have left something to be desired. Yet he claims that the repertoire is "an essential component in the study of the history of English music" (p. 3), heard regularly by a community whose numbers expanded from an estimated 70,000 at the time of the second Catholic Relief Act of 1791, to about 1.7 million at the start of World War I. The sheer volume of Catholic Church music produced in England during this time, and the size and growing status of its audience make it worthy of serious consideration. There is also an element of urgency here. Since the reforms of Second Vatican Council much of this music has been lost, often quite literally thrown out with the garbage. Muir's timely study considers a vast amount of previously unexplored material, drawn mainly from collections in the north of England, and from the London Embassy chapels.

After a detailed account of the historical and liturgical background, Muir discusses various aspects of Catholic church music, including the changing performance practice of plainchant and sixteenth-century polyphony, the influence of the Cecilian movement, and the growth of extraliturgical services and vernacular hymnody. Many helpful tables, lists, and musical examples illustrate the narrative, and testify to the vast scope of the historical and musical sources that have informed the preparation of this book.

Throughout the text, Muir gives serious consideration to the conflict between the Ultramontane party and the nationalists, associating this, for example, with the differing interpretations of plainchant. Again, with regard to polyphony, he shows how emphasis was placed upon Roman composers such as Palestrina, whereas native composers, even Catholics such as William Byrd, were largely ignored until the advent of Sir Richard Terry as director of music at Westminster Cathedral in the early-twentieth century. Social history is also explored and linked with music; for instance, the increase in extraliturgical services and popular devotions is associated with the shifts in class background of the Catholic community during the nineteenth century.

There are a few small problems. Copyediting could have been better; for example, St. Walburge's church, Preston, also appears as St. Walburga's and even as St. Walbuge. Some musical examples contain errors, as in Ex. 6.8, where the *Sanctus* from Seymour's Mass in A flat appears with no key signature. Musical terms are occasionally misapplied, as on page 126 where A major is described as the "tonic" of D minor, rather than the dominant. All in all, the strength of the narrative lies in the historical rather than the musical detail.

However, this book is an essential read for anyone interested in the chronicle of the Catholic Church in England and throws light on an unjustly neglected aspect of music history.

University of Aberdeen SHELAGH MARY NODEN

Le Papauté contemporaine (XIX^e^–XX^e^ siècles). Hommage au chanoine Roger Aubert, professeur émerité à l'université catholique de Louvain, pour ses 95 ans. Il Papato contemporaneo (secoli XIX–XX). Omaggio al canonico Roger Aubert, professore emerito all'Università cattolica di Lovanio, per i 95 anni. Edited by Jean-Pierre Delville and Marco Jačov. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, fascicule 90; Collectanea Archivi Vaticani, 68.] (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Erasme. Leuven: Universiteitsbibliotheek. Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano. 2009. Pp. viii, 729. €65,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-885-04261-2.)

No single historian can have helped our study of church history more than Roger Aubert of Louvain. This volume is a second Festschrift, but he died as it was being published. The collection is worthy of the exceptional mind it honors. Despite the title, it is not a history of modern papacy but articles that shed light on individual popes. Why was the illiberal Pius X so gentle with the liberal Cardinal Désiré-Joseph Mercier of Malines? How did popes cope with the movements for liturgical reform, from the influential monastic revival of Solesmes to the radicals of the later twentieth century? Why was Louis Billot, so conservative a cardinal and so influential a theologian, forced into resigning his eminence because he was friendly to Catholic Action? One of the editors, Marco Jačov, makes an important examination of what Pope Leo XIII tried to do about the Armenian massacres. We read of the troubles of Xavier

de Mérode before the Holy Office and are left with the conviction that it fussed. Émile Poulat gives as important an article as any by explaining the French "diocesan associations" formed after World War I to remedy the structural absurdities left by the ruthless disestablishment of 1905. We learn more of Alfred Loisy, the modernist, from the side of his enemies. Angelo Roncalli, the future Pope John XXIII, was nuncio in France after World War II and had a difficult time because several French bishops were "tainted" by their attitude to Vichy and the Resistance. But this future author of an ecclesiastical revolution is shown to be a very conservative nuncio. He also was often at Solesmes.

Naturally, communism looms large during the twentieth century. Nazism is less large, for none of the authors writes on Germany except in the most general of terms and with two exceptions, on the learned theologian and politician François-Xavier de Feller in the years before the overturning of the Holy Roman Empire by Napoleon; and a generation later, the nuncio in Vienna with Metternich, Michele Viale-Prelà—how to be rid of Josephism. The trials of Pope Pius XI with Russia are well documented.

There is a delightful chapter on the endeavors of Pius X to stop priests riding bicycles as failing in the due dignity of the clergy. Here also is a study of Cardinal Francis Spellman, thought to be the most influential American cardinal ever mainly because the Vatican badly needed the gifts of money that he was a master at collecting, and a study of the future Pius XI when he was nuncio in postwar Poland, an important subject that is still controversial.

The pope most prominent is Giovanni Montini/Pope Paul VI. We read of his work behind the scenes for the Second Vatican Council and of the Christian Democrat historian and political theorist Pietro Scoppola. An essay by Alberto Melloni is as frightening as history can be: a study of the kidnapping of the Italian prime minister Aldo Moro and the murder of his bodyguards. This reviewer was in Rome that night and can bear witness to the unique tensions in the city. The captive appealed not only to the Catholic politicians in power like the humane Francesco Cossiga but also to Paul VI, then in the last months of his life. The evidence is that, before he was killed, Moro thought the pope would do less than he could. But the only chance of freeing Moro would be to free the members of the Red Brigade, whom the police already held in prison.

Cambridge, UK OWEN CHADWICK

Faithfully Seeking Understanding: Selected Writings of Johannes Kuhn. Edited and translated by Grant Kaplan. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. x, 301. $74.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21675-1.)

Among scholars of nineteenth-century German Catholic theology, Johannes Evangelist von Kuhn (1806–87) is regarded as the greatest specula-

tive mind of the so-called Catholic Tübingen School. Although selected works by Kuhn's colleagues J. S. Drey and J. A. Möhler have previously been translated into English, this volume is the first English translation of Kuhn's writings—a welcome addition to the literature on the Tübingen School.

In his introduction, Kaplan reviews the debate about the Catholic Tübingen School, pointing out how the contrasting positions of Josef Rupert Geiselmann and Rudolf Reinhardt have been refined by more recent scholars. Like Bradford Hinze, Kaplan believes that the theologians generally included under the Tübingen banner attempted to chart a middle course between rationalism and historical relativism on the one hand, and ecclesial triumphalism and a static understanding of doctrine on the other. Like Peter Hünermann, Kaplan identifies methodology as the centripetal force that can justify placing the diverse Catholic theologians who studied and/or taught at Tübingen under the heading of a school of thought.

Kaplan follows the same structure and includes, for the most part, the same excerpts from Kuhn's writings that Heinrich Fries used in *Johannes von Kuhn* (Graz, 1973). Like Fries's collection, Kaplan's book includes selections that span Kuhn's publishing career from the 1830s through the 1860s. These selections, which compose just a tiny portion of Kuhn's voluminous corpus, explore vital themes such as the relationship of revelation and history, the nature of faith and its relationship to reason, the Catholic understanding of Scripture and tradition as sources of truth, and the doctrines of God and grace. Before each selection, Kaplan provides a brief, helpful introduction that explicates its specific historical context and also describes Kuhn's influence on later theologians or suggests a trajectory from Kuhn's way of approaching a theological topic to the way such topics are handled in contemporary theology.

Drawing heavily on Hubert Wolf's 1992 *Ketzer oder Kirchenlehrer?* (Mainz, 1992), Kaplan helps the reader understand the complexity of Kuhn's theological and church-political positions, which were alternatively deemed orthodox and heretical. Because Kuhn advanced progressive theological positions on such matters as the development of doctrine and the "didactic" or theological character of the gospels, and because he disagreed with some neo-Scholastic interpretations of grace while approving elements in the theology of the liberal Protestant Friedrich Schleiermacher, some of Kuhn's writings were referred to Rome for condemnation. The texts included by Kaplan in this volume generally illuminate the nature of those tensions.

Unfortunately, accurate translation cannot always make Kuhn's ideas clear to readers, especially those less familiar with nineteenth-century German philosophy and theology (see, for example, the turgid text on pp. 53–54). This volume, moreover, would have been improved if the full German title of the included articles had been consistently supplied. The inclusion of a few other texts in this volume also would have improved our appreciation of Kuhn. For

example, to illuminate Kuhn's critique of D. F. Strauss's *Life of Jesus Critically Examined* (Tübingen, 1835), Kaplan chose to translate "Von dem schriftstellerischen Charakter der Evangelien im Verhältniss zu der apostolischen Predigt. . ." under the heading "Is History Mythic?". An understanding of Kuhn's approach to biblical interpretation, in general, and his criticism of Strauss, in particular, would, however, have been significantly enhanced if Kaplan had included an excerpt from "Hermeneutik und Kritik in ihrer Anwendung auf die evangelische Geschichte" (1836). In that article, Kuhn argued that a truly "scientific" exegesis protests equally against exclusively supernaturalistic and rationalistic interpretations as it does against an exclusively mythical interpretation of the Gospels, while conceding that the story of Jesus' birth and childhood could be regarded as mythical.

These suggested minor improvements notwithstanding, Kaplan's book provides a very good portrait of Kuhn the theologian and makes a commendable addition to our understanding of the significance of the Catholic Tübingen School.

Saint Joseph's University WILLIAM MADGES

Republicanism and Anticlerical Nationalism in Spain. By Enrique A. Sanabria. (New York: Palgrave. 2009. Pp. xiii, 258. $79.95. ISBN 978-0-230-61331-7.)

Through the nineteenth century Spanish republicanism was a minor force in a political world dominated by liberal monarchist parties. The weakness of republicanism reflected the divisions always prevalent among its partisans and their failure to create a popular base of support. The creation of the First Republic (1873–74) owed more to historical accident than to the emergence of a unified and well-organized movement. By the first decade of the twentieth century, a new and aggressive populist republicanism began to emerge in which anticlericalism occupied a central place. The support of the masses for strongly anticlerical parties in Catalonia and Valencia as well as the emergence of expanding socialist and anarchist trade unions revived Spanish republicanism, although it never threatened the dominance of the liberal monarchist parties during the regime that replaced the First Republic, the Restoration (1875–1923).

This well-researched and -argued study of republican anticlericalism during this period focuses on José Nakens Pérez (1841–1926) as a key transitional figure in the transformation of republicanism from a movement dominated by a small group of intellectuals and discontented military men to one that appealed to the urban masses for the first time. Nakens never sought political office, but acquired widespread influence in republican circles as a prolific and pugnacious journalist, especially through the pages of *El Motín*, which he directed from 1881 until his death. Some republicans did not appre-

ciate his vivid, sensationalist attacks on the role of the Church and the clergy in Spanish society, deploring his journalistic excesses, and the Church's supporters made him an object of constant vituperation.

The author maintains that Nakens's contribution to the emergence of populist republicanism rested on more than his appreciation of the value of insistent propaganda against the Church as a means of galvanizing popular support for the cause. It also reflected Nakens's commitment to the creation of a new Spanish nationalism based on democratic, secular values that became characteristic of twentieth-century republicanism. Nakens saw the alliance of the Church with the oligarchic and sometimes corrupt political system of the Restoration State as a formidable obstacle to the formation of the republic of his dreams.

The author is judicious in assessing the anticlericalism of Nakens and later republic politicians. Anticlericalism, however widespread it became, was incapable in and by itself of uniting a republicanism afflicted still by deep social, economic, and political divisions. The author also recognizes that the strategy of arousing the masses against Church and clergy had a negative side when popular passions descended into violence as during the wave of church burnings in Barcelona in 1909 and in many cities during spring 1931 following the proclamation of the Second Republic, as well as, above all, during the widespread destruction of churches and assassinations of priests and religious following the beginning of the Civil War in 1936.

The author has written a persuasive interpretation of the transformation of Spanish republicanism at a critical moment in its history. The discussion is placed within the framework of the country's nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century history. The author considers anticlericalism in comparison with other European countries—notably France, Italy, and Germany—and takes full account of Spanish social and intellectual history for the period under study. This is an excellent monograph based on solid research and a comprehensive approach to the topic.

University of Toronto (Emeritus) WILLIAM J. CALLAHAN

Catholic Belfast and Nationalist Ireland in the Era of Joe Devlin, 1871–1934. By A. C. Hepburn. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xxii, 307. $110.00. ISBN 978-0-199-29884-6.)

A. C. Hepburn's death in 2008 was a great loss to Irish history and to the study of ethnic conflict, but we are fortunate that the present volume was completed before his death. It combines a lifetime's work on Catholic Belfast with the first proper biography of Joe Devlin, the leader who dominated that community's political life through many of its most turbulent years. It is an absorbing, innovative, and deeply researched study of both subjects.

The book begins with an excellent scene-setting chapter on Belfast in the late-nineteenth century. When "wee Joe" was born and for a hundred years afterward, its Catholic community occupied occasionally besieged enclaves in a mostly hostile majority-Protestant city that denied them most of the better jobs and opportunities. The main business niche available was the liquor trade, which was largely monopolized by Catholics and where Devlin went to work as a bar manager. Hepburn has some fascinating things to say about the political power of "the trade" and suggests an antagonism between rising but disreputable politicians and the small but respectable professional elite who saw themselves as the proper leaders of the minority. The latter backed the local bishop, who formed his own municipal party to control his parishioners' votes and keep them out of the hands of the nationalists. Devlin, a political prodigy with great organizational and oratorical skills, led the fight against this establishment to bring Belfast into line with the rest of home rule-supporting Catholic Ireland and not only emerged the victor but also as Irish Party MP for West Belfast.

This is not the Devlin that historians have come to know and love. Conventional wisdom has depicted him as something of an ethnic entrepreneur, using northern-style sectarianism as a potent but negative mobilizing tool. In fact, as Hepburn convincingly demonstrates, he fought church influence in politics and sought for most of his career to build bridges to the Protestant working class. His usual appeal was not to religious identity but to social solidarity, and much of his parliamentary activity was devoted to improving the lives of the poor. And he does seem to have had a small but real share of Protestant support.

On the other hand, he also built the exclusively Catholic and much-reviled Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) into the main machine for Irish Party operations: How does this fit with the new image of Devlin the ecumenical humanitarian? Hepburn is on slightly less firm ground here when he argues that the AOH actually helped liberate people from church control as it was outside priestly control, as were its numerous halls and rooms. Perhaps more important, it was also a bastion of party loyalty, unlike the parallel United Irish League, whose branches were sometimes prone to joining dissident movements. This proved essential when it came to gaining northern Catholic acquiescence to the various partition schemes suggested after 1913 as a way of appeasing Protestant/Unionist opposition to home rule. Unfortunately, Devlin spent his political capital for naught, as events—and British ministers—conspired to scuttle any compromises until the home rule party was replaced by revolutionary Sinn Féin in 1918, leaving Devlin without any further influence over the course of events. He would later re-emerge as the head of the nationalist party in Northern Ireland, but it is a great irony that Devlin was ultimately forced against his will into leading an essentially Catholic party by the very unionist and republican enemies who so often denounced his supposed sectarianism. Hepburn's conclusions will no doubt

spark a long-running debate—an appropriate legacy for a great researcher and a most humane writer.

Memorial University of Newfoundland PETER HART

Mgr René Barbier de la Serre (1880–1969): Un éducateur conservateur et novateur. By François Hochepied. (Paris: Editions du Cerf. 2009. Pp. 148. €20,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-204-08754-4.)

François Hochepied, the author of this biography of Monsignor René Barbier de la Serre, acknowledges at the outset that his subject was a secondary figure in the religious history of France in the twentieth century. In Hochepied's view, Barbier de la Serre nonetheless merits our attention, for his long and varied career led him to participate at the center of a range of educational, intellectual, and social institutions. His biography thus allows us to revisit some of the dramatic events and issues that troubled the Church in the twentieth century, as experienced by a talented and loyal clergyman of the second rank. Hochepied organizes his book into two sections—the first narrating the career of Barbier de la Serre; the second exploring in more detail his ideas about human nature, the Church, politics, and the social question.

Born into an elite Catholic family in Paris, Barbier de la Serre was educated first by the Jesuits and then by the Sulpicians as a seminary student during the Dreyfus affair and the ensuing political crisis, which led to the separation of church and state. This experience left him, as it did so many other clergymen, embittered and alienated from the Republic. More generally, Barbier de la Serre developed a disgust for French politics, which he expressed in frank terms in 1932: "Le terrain politique est stérile et traitre: on y recule toujours" ("The political terrain is sterile and treacherous; one is always recoiling from it," p. 122). After a brief stay in Rome, Barbier de la Serre took up a career in education, serving at the Sulpician seminary, the Collége Sainte-Croix de Neuilly, and the Institut Catholique de Paris; at the latter institution, he worked as prorector with the aging Cardinal Alfred-Henri-Marie Baudrillart from 1927 to 1938. During World War I, he served first as a stretcher-bearer and then as a chaplain for his regiment. But Barbier de la Serre, while devoted to France, did not accept the "union sacrée" that sought to reconcile Church and Republic. Like many other conservative French Catholics, Barbier de la Serre saw the French loss in World War II as a divine chastisement and an opportunity for the Catholic Church to recover its central and essential role in French society. During the Vichy regime he served as chaplain to the French Scouts and the French Catholic student organization. Following the war, he was, for a time, the head of the international Catholic sports federation, before spending his last years as a parish priest in the French countryside.

Hochepied draws on family archives in telling Barbier de la SerreÕs story, and his bibliography includes a good list of secondary sources. But there is little that is very surprising in this story, and Hochepied does not generally probe very deeply, beyond placing his subject in the obvious contexts of political strife and educational policy. It would have been interesting, for example, to read more about the motives that pushed Barbier de la Serre to become a major promoter of organized sports, an initiative that seems to have frustrated him because of the tepid response of his colleagues. There seems to be no evidence that Barbier de la Serre himself was an athlete, and his spirituality was conventional in its focus on the other world. How did such a position accord with the advocacy of athletic competition and physical prowess? In his last years Barbier de la Serre was critical of the innovations of the Second Vatican Council, and he remained committed to an ideal of a Christian society based on religious education that Hochepied acknowledges seems out of place in a Òpost-ChristianÓ France. Although one might accept HochepiedÕs critique of the current confusion in educational theory and practice, his argument that Barbier de la SerreÕs career offers a useful vantage point from which to view current debate seems strained. HochepiedÕs portrait shows us a man bound to Catholic tradition and education, hostile to the world of contemporary politics, and skeptical about any far-reaching worldly mission that would advance democracy or social justice. Barbier de la Serre was an honorable, hard-working, and holy man; but without intending to do so, HochepiedÕs biography of his life helps us understand why the Catholic Church has struggled to remain a central force in twentieth-century France.

University of Notre Dame THOMAS KSELMAN

Robert Schuman: Neo-Scholastic Humanism and the Reunification of Europe. By Alan Paul Fimister. [Philosophy & Politics, No. 15.] (Pieterlen, Switzerland: Peter Lang. 2008. Pp. 284. $55.95 paperback. ISBN 978-9-052-01439-5.)

The author of this book about the religious roots of European integration states its objective admirably clearly in the introduction. It is

> to demonstrate that the character of that European community which emerged from the declaration of 9th May 1950 [the ÒSchuman PlanÓ] resulted from the self-conscious application by the French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman of the Papal Social Magisterium and of Neo-Thomistic political philosophy to the relations of European states. (p. 17)

This is a bold claim that is not, however, corroborated in this form by the empirical evidence utilized for this book that has many conceptual and methodological flaws, including the complete absence of a list of sources used and of a bibliography and citations of literature in footnotes in the form of the authorÕs surname and the year of publication only.

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Fimister has structured his book in four parts. The first chapter introduces the reader to the evolution of neo-Thomistic thought from Popes Leo XIII to Pius XII. The second chapter is devoted to the reception of the Social Magisterium in France and its (alleged) influence on the attitudes of political Catholicism there to the Republic, "Europe," and European cooperation or integration. The third amounts to a biographical sketch of the life of Schuman, who was born in Luxembourg, studied at German universities, and worked as a lawyer in Metz when Alsace-Lorraine belonged to the German Reich. Schuman opted for France after World War I; became a member of the French parliament; and, after World War II, French foreign and prime minister in various centrist governments. Finally, in the fourth chapter, the author attempts to link Schuman's intellectual ideas to Western European integration in the European Union from 1950 onward. Whereas the first three chapters are based entirely on (some of) the available literature, chapter 4 is mostly based on sources from Schuman's private papers. However, as Schuman destroyed all of his correspondence from the interwar period at the start of World War II, and very little of relevance is left for the early postwar years, most of these documents consist of his public speeches after he was replaced as foreign minister by Georges Bidault.

The survey in the first two chapters of this book is competent, but no linear evolution existed from the thinking of Leo XIII through that of Jacques Maritain, who Fimister alleges (but fails to demonstrate) must have had a formative influence on Schuman. However, Schuman never had direct personal links with Maritain in interwar France, and in the short period when Maritain actually supported European integration when he was in exile in the United States during World War II, Schuman was under house arrest and then in hiding in Vichy France. As the author himself admits, Maritain became exclusively interested in world government after 1945 and regarded European integration as driven too much by anticommunism. Anticommunism, however, was one main motivation among others for Schuman to support European integration, and it was clearly by far the most important motive behind Pius XII's eventual guarded support for it. Schuman's Catholicism is clearly one explanatory factor—for example, for his strong support for the creation of "core Europe" without Britain—but other factors such as his interest in Franco-German rapprochement also help explain his preference for European integration as a much more multifaceted phenomenon than it appears to be in this book. Crucially, Schuman's *ex post factum* rationalization of his policies in speeches for public consumption hardly corroborate Fimister's neat linkage between Leo XIII and Schuman.

To claim, however, that the Catholic motivation of Schuman's policies in turn accounts for the origins of the present-day European Union is outright absurd. The proposal for sector integration in coal and steel was prepared within the French government by Jean Monnet, who had socialist technocratic policy preferences. Schuman took it up only in early May 1950 as an

opportunity to advance Franco-German rapprochement. Previously he (unlike other French Christian Democrats like François de Menthon) had never contributed anything significant to discussions among Western European Christian Democrats about either supranationality as a political principle or economic sector integration. In fact those who did included Konrad Adenauer, the West German chancellor, who repeatedly mocked the idea that political initiatives could or should be derived from religious thought. These Christian Democrats also conceived of "core Europe" integration as limited to democratic states and starting in the economic field, whereas the pope (as the author himself admits) wanted authoritarian dictatorships, especially General Francisco Franco's Spain, to participate in a spiritual revival of Catholic continental Europe, not economic integration based essentially on free-market principles. In short, although the intellectual origins of European integration are crucially important and have been neglected by historical research for various reasons, this book, which does not refer to nor demonstrate knowledge of the relevant historiographical debates, is unlikely to change this deplorable state of affairs.

University of Portsmouth, UK WOLFRAM KAISER

The Reception of Pragmatism in France and the Rise of Roman Catholic Modernism, 1890–1914. Edited by David G. Schultenover, S.J. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 247. $69.95. ISBN 978-0-813-21572-3.)

This collection of essays covers the relationship between American pragmatism and (largely) Franco-Catholic attempts to apply pragmatism to bridge what many felt was an expanding gulf between traditionally Catholic metaphysics and the realities of the modern world, especially evolution and historical consciousness. In addition to a preface and an introduction, the book, which stems from a 2004 meeting at the American Academy of Religion, contains eight essays by scholars from America and Europe.

Although the book's title does not give this away, the pragmatism under consideration is of the Jamesian variety, and the modernism under consideration covers only the philosophical and not the historical questions that surrounded the modernist crisis. The reader learns quickly that of the Pragmatists only William James made a significant impact in French circles. Despite the singularity of French interest in American pragmatism, it was serious enough to call into question whether the French disdained pragmatism; to the contrary, the French thinkers under consideration took it quite seriously.

On the whole the essays are of a high quality. The first and last essays, by Stephen Schloesser and Clara Ginther respectively, are the best and most enjoyable. Schloesser offers a titillating and learned contextual essay to frame the collection. He contends that the collection reveals the modernist crisis to be not simply an intra-Catholic squabble, but as "central to the [fin de siècle]

epoch's fundamental anxieties and attempted solutions" (p. 58). Schloesser displays his massive learning as he weaves larger social realities together with acute philosophical and theological analysis.

Of all the essays, Ginther's takes most seriously the position of the neo-Scholastics who opposed modernism mightily. Her exposition for George Tyrrell manifests a Catholicism in crisis. In a deep sense, Tyrrell wanted to show the "cash value" of Catholic religious tenets that, when presented in the old intellectualist way, made Catholicism seem unconnected to the faith experience of ordinary believers. Thus pragmatism appealed to Tyrrell, who read James avidly. Tyrrell also saw dangers in a pragmatic or modern approach to religion that sought to jettison doctrine and objective transcendence. As Ginther shows, Tyrrell's concern to connect spirituality with theology and doctrine with lived experience made him suspect in Rome. One century later such a concern would strike most defenders of orthodoxy as more necessary than dangerous.

The other thinkers under consideration, especially Maurice Blondel, appealed to a vitalism to articulate their dissatisfactions with older scholastic method. As presented here, they felt the need to find new categories but did not want to undermine the metaphysical claims of the Church. This begs the question: Why did ecclesiastical authorities oppose them so strongly? And why did the same authorities not see the limitations of arid Scholasticism? Perhaps any concession to vitalism might have opened the door to pantheism, or condoning these methods might have undermined ecclesiastical authority in a time of tumult. These questions might have been addressed more directly in the book.

Overall, David Schultenover's collection significantly advances the understanding of French Catholic modernism and the reception of James in France during the critical decade before World War I. One might have wished that the essays were more cohesive as a group, but this should not prevent interested scholars from appreciating the many gems in the volume.

Saint Louis University GRANT KAPLAN

Moderne und Antimoderne: Der Renouveau catholique *und die deutsche Literatur. Beiträge des Heidelberger Colloquiums vom 12. bis 16 September 2006*. Edited by Wilhelm Kühlmann and Roman Luckscheiter. [Rombach Wissenschaften, Reihe Catholica: Quellen und Studien zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte des modernen Katholizismus, Bd. 1.] Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag KG. 2008. Pp. 608. €68,00. ISBN 978-3-793-09546-0.)

This collection considers the influence of the *Renouveau catholique* on Catholic German literati through roughly the first half of the twentieth century. As Thomas Pittrof asserts in his contribution, the fundamental causes of

the *Renouveau* were grounded in a profound dissatisfaction with the scientific monism of an unbelieving era. Horrified by the notion (popularized by the contemporary chemist Marcellin Berthelot) that "today's world is without mystery," many Catholic writers on both sides of the Rhine bemoaned the attendant loss of creative freedom, the erosion of society's metaphysical roots, and the crumbling of its religious foundations (p. 118). There was much about modernity to which *Renouveau* writers objected and, in turn, sought to overcome. But this was not the defensive Catholicism of the *Syllabus of Errors*. Those who identified with the *Renouveau* worked largely outside the official Church. Like theologian Hans Urs von Balthasar, they were willing to challenge its boundaries by engaging modernity in a constructive manner. (Balthasar raised eyebrows both inside and outside the Church by making productive use of Nietzsche.) As the editors explain, in the *Renouveau,* modern and antimodern often crossed paths in the same author (p. 11).

The connection between *Renouveau* Catholicism and politics, covered by many contributors to this volume, is predictably ambivalent. In the poetry of Heinrich Lersch, an intensely experienced Catholicism could work symbiotically with wartime nationalism (p. 327). Novelist Léon Bloy at least partially impressed conservative icons Carl Schmitt and Ernst Jünger. Hermann Bahr, as Stephanie Arend writes, took inspiration in Maurice Barrès's attack on the empty decadence of fin-de-siècle Paris. However, Bahr rejected Barrès's call to couple a revived Catholicism with French nationalism. Bahr likewise refused to join a European-wide alliance of anti-Dreyfusards. Catholic Germans who took an interest in the *Renouveau* even veered to the left. A translator of *Renouveau* texts from a number of French authors, Franz Blei saw in the Catholic faith the power to foster connectivity in an otherwise chaotic time (p. 209). This time the French influence was Charles Péguy, lauded by Blei as a living example of Catholic socialism. Like Blei, Heinrich Böll was interested in the renewed fascination with the poverty of Christ, originally brought to the attention of many *Renouveau* figures by the Grünewald cult, which was inspired by the French novelist Joris-Karl Huysmans. In Böll's case the most proximate influence was Bloy, whose *Le sang du pauvre* (*Blood of the Poor*, Paris, 1922) reached young Catholic Germans like a "bomb" in 1936. In his later work, Böll affirmed Bloy's criticism of contemporary Catholics, too complacent in their material comfort and too indifferent to the obvious connection between money and human suffering (pp. 315–16).

Beyond the world of German Catholicism, there is much in this volume that will resonate with readers. For instance, we learn that the Grünewald cult inspired Expressionist painters like Max Beckmann, Paul Klee, and August Macke (p. 35). We also learn that Alfred Döblin's conversion to Catholicism (announced in 1943 on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday in Santa Monica, California) meant marginalization from fellow exiles Berthold Brecht and Thomas Mann, and an indifferent reputation from the German reading public after the author of *Berlin Alexanderplatz* returned home after 1945 (p. 396).

We also learn that being too interested in things French could be a liability, as was discovered by cultural philosopher and novelist Hermann Platz, one of the most prolific translators of the *Renouveau* from 1910 to 1935. In late 1934, Hitler's government denounced Platz as a "typical representative of the November system," as a fanatical political Catholic, and as a Francophile, and demanded his removal from his teaching position at Bonn University.

Schreiner University, TX JEREMY ROETHLER

Éditer les martyrologes Henri Quentin et les Bollandistes: Correspondance. Edited by Bernard Joassart. [Tabularium Hagiographicum, 5.] Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 2009. Pp. 235. €50,00 paperback. ISBN 978-2-873-65021-6.)

This volume is the fifth in its series and continues publication of correspondence concerning the study of hagiographical projects and publications. The relations of the Benedictine Henri Quentin (1872–1935) and the Bollandists, beginning in 1901 and ending in 1933, emerge in the 167 letters published here. The bulk of the correspondence occurs between Quentin and Hipployte Delehaye (1859–1941) and centers on their eventual collaboration over publication of a foundational document for hagiographical studies—a text and commentary on the Martyrology attributed to St. Jerome—that appeared in 1931.

Early in the correspondence Quentin reveals that his interest in martyrologies developed in the late 1890s. Called to Rome in 1908 to work on a critical edition of the Vulgate, Quentin developed close ties to Louis Duchesne (1843–1922), who, together with Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822–94), had published an edition of the Hieronymian Martyrology in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* (Paris, 1894). The text of this martyrology has a long and complicated history, and it is symptomatic that Duchesne continued to work on it even after its publication in the *Acta Sanctorum*. In 1922 Quentin became the historian's executor and came into possession of Duchesne's notes. On the Bollandist side, there is a long history of involvement with this text, going back to Héribart Rosweyde (1569–1629). Additional complete manuscripts became available in the nineteenth century, stimulating interest in a critical edition. Early in his Bollandist career Delehaye became engaged in this martyrology, a copy of which became a fixture on his worktable and led to the collaborative project with Quentin. Their correspondence reveals the technical problems encountered over the long course of the project, setbacks met and overcome (the collaboration came close to falling apart in 1928 and again in 1929)—in short, the human dimension of scholarly work.

Although, as the title of this volume indicates, martyrologies form the core of the correspondents' concerns (the Roman Martyrology also figures), other matters bearing on hagiography and religious history also appear. It is apparent in this volume, as in previous ones that published correspondence of

Duchesne and Frederich von Hügel (1852–1925), that the condemnation of Roman Catholic modernism cast a long shadow over succeeding debates and remained a factor to be considered in critical work. Although Delehaye's *Légendes hagiographiques* (Brussels, 1905) narrowly escaped the Index, Duchesne's three-volume history of the early Church was not so fortunate in avoiding censure. As literary executor, Quentin was able to secure publication of the intended fourth volume, *L'Église au VI^e siècle* (Paris, 1925), which also figures in the correspondence. The letters also reveal a measure of rehabilitation of the Bollandists, already under suspicion for their critical work before Delehaye's book appeared. In 1930 Pius XI spoke favorably of the Bollandists in general and Delehaye in particular, and directed that their assistance be enlisted in consultations over the dossiers for canonizations of saints.

The letters are preceded by an introduction that contextualizes their concerns and highlights important aspects that emerge from the exchanges. The annotations maintain the high standards set in previous volumes of the editor's work and serve as a model for presentation of correspondence.

Beyond its obvious interest for those who study the Bollandists and those who work in the area of hagiography, this volume has value for those looking for insight into the intellectual life of Catholicism over the period covered by the exchanges of correspondence

University of St. Thomas C. J. T. Talar

La Censure d'Alfred Loisy (1903): Les Documents des Congrégations de l'Index et du Saint Office. Edited by Claus Arnold and Giacomo Losito. [Fontes Archivi Sancti Officii Romani, 4.] (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 2009. Pp. 459. €40,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-820-98318-5.)

In December 1903, the Holy See formally condemned five books by Alfred Loisy. After much negotiation, Loisy submitted to the judgment against his works, but neither Loisy himself nor the Holy See considered the issues resolved. Four years later, Pope Pius X issued a syllabus and then encyclical identifying the chief errors of the modernists. This time, Loisy refused to submit, and he was excommunicated the following year.

Now, thanks to *La Censure d'Alfred Loisy*, scholars can read for themselves the nine documents of the official investigation that resulted in the condemnation of Loisy's books. The documents are well annotated, and helpful introductions to the volume provide a narrative context. The first introduction, by Claus Arnold, tells the story of the inner workings of the Congregation of the Index. The second introduction, by Giacomo Losito, describes the campaign of French antimodernists to engineer Loisy's condemnation.

Concern about Loisy's work dated back at least to 1893, in Rome as well as in France, but the formal investigation of his publications began in earnest

in 1901. The Congregation of the Index initially concentrated on Loisy's "La Religion D'Israel" ("The Religion of Israel," 1900); four of the eight *vota* were dedicated to it. Of these, *vota* by David Fleming and Enrico Gismondi recommended against condemnation, while Laurent Janssens and Raphael Merry del Val argued for condemnation.

Early in the process, Loisy's defenders expected a favorable decision. But Louis Billot denounced Loisy's *L'Évangile et l'Église* (Paris, 1902) and was then invited to submit a formal *votum* on the new book. Not realizing the full danger, Gismondi defended Loisy's new book with a short *votum*. Made aware of Billot's hostile *votum*, Gismondi then submitted a second *votum* on *L'Évangile et l'Église*, which was extremely long and not particularly effective. Finally, Pie de Langogne produced an equally long *Relatio* surveying the arguments of the *vota* and offering his own (negative) commentary on the five of Loisy's books that were eventually placed on the Index.

Throughout this process, antimodernists in France pressed for Loisy's condemnation. Cardinal François-Marie-Benjamin Richard de la Vergne, archbishop of Paris, played a pivotal role in the first stages, but other members of the French hierarchy—particularly Charles François Turinaz and Adolphe Perraud—were also active. The story told in the two introductions and the documents themselves contributes much to our understanding of antimodernism, highlighting three aspects.

First, the movement that led to the indexing of Loisy's books in 1903 significantly predated the publication of his most famous work, *L'Évangile et l'Église.* But for *L'Évangile et l'Église,* Loisy's French opponents might not have succeeded in the condemnation of Loisy's works. Still, "The Religion of Israel" was the catalyst for their efforts.

Second, the political situation in France was not a significant consideration in the Roman response to Loisy's work before 1903. When Turinaz publicly attacked *L'Évangile et l'Église* in 1902, many conservative Catholics in France, including Cardinal Richard, feared the consequences of dividing a Church faced with an anticlerical government in France. But other French antimodernists believed the doctrinal issues at stake were too important to ignore, and the Roman Congregations apparently concurred.

Finally, the volume highlights the central role of Billot in the condemnation of Loisy's books, and annotations on his *votum* demonstrate its impact on Pius's eventual syllabus condemning modernist propositions.

For these and many other insights, students of modernism can be grateful for the publication of this volume.

Berry College HARVEY HILL
Mount Berry, GA

The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910–1950. By James R. Lothian. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 2009. Pp. xxiii, 487. $60.00. ISBN 978-0-268-03382-8.)

In 1956, Christopher Dawson declared that "during my lifetime Catholicism has come back into English literature, so that the literary critic can no longer afford to ignore it." Most scholars, however, did neglect this renaissance for another half-century. Although the Catholic literary revival is now a burgeoning academic field, few studies of it have yet focused on its political dimension. James Lothian makes an admirable attempt to fill this lucana. Borrowing a term from Orwell, Lothian traces the trajectory of "political Catholicism" in early-twentieth-century Britain. He maintains that a self-consciously Catholic community of discourse emerged with the efforts of Hilaire Belloc and his followers, was modified by Dawson and his associates, and dissipated under the pressures of World War II and postwar social changes. Although this monograph should be more sensitive to key continuities in Catholic social criticism during this period, it is a weighty contribution to the intellectual history of British Catholicism.

Lothian contends that an "articulate counterculture" was forged initially by the mature Belloc's populism, which rebelled against parliamentary democracy, industrial capitalism, and the Whig interpretation of history. Belloc proposed instead a distributist polity of decentralized government and widespread property ownership, along with a revisionist reading of history that saw England's true heritage as Latin and Catholic, making its modern political and economic miseries an ultimate ramification of the Reformation. Lothian claims that interwar British Catholics largely accepted this sociohistorical model. Even when figures like Dawson criticized its historiography as parochial and amateurish, they frequently adopted its political and economic tenets, including Belloc's hopes that rightist dictators like Mussolini and Franco would provide a viable alternative to aggressive communism and putatively moribund liberal democracy.

Yet as World War II impended and proceeded, Dawson especially gained greater respect for political liberalism, and hence began nurturing hitherto marginalized Christian Democratic Catholics such as Barbara Ward. Lothian's most absorbing analysis recounts Dawson's and Ward's wartime campaigns to unite all defenders of the West against totalitarianism of every kind on behalf of the principles of individual dignity, limited government, and the need for a private sphere that Catholics and old-style liberals both upheld. Lothian concludes that the Allies' victory vindicated the Dawsonian-Wardean worldview, but that it did not become the new Catholic paradigm, due to the residual sway of unreconstructed Bellocians (like Douglas Jerrold) and the opposing tendency of most postwar British Catholics to assimilate culturally and accommodate the welfare state. As a distinctively Catholic social vision and subculture disappeared, an identifiably Catholic intellectual community dissolved as well.

Lothian's judgment about the fate of British political Catholicism requires a crucial caveat. He posits that these wartime and postwar centrifugal forces discredited all the components of Bellocianism. Belloc's philoauthoritarianism and triumphalist view of history surely lost purchase among Catholics, but distributism proved more resilient. Indeed, its advocacy of a devolved polity made distributism more compatible with the baptized liberalism of Dawson and Ward than with Bellocian autocracy. Lothian overlooks how this preference for small-scale government and proprietorship drove Dawson to censure often the welfare state's centralizing bent; nor does he note the precocious postwar ecological activism of Ward and her friend E. F. Schumacher, whose *Small Is Beautiful* (New York, 1973) gave distributism its highest public profile ever. Distributism thus outlasted the other facets of Bellocianism.

This misprision notwithstanding, *The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community* deserves respectful consideration. Its artful pen portraits rehabilitate undervalued writers like Barbara Ward. Its assertion of a Bellocian-Dawsonian tension as the dynamic of twentieth-century British Catholic social thought is piquant. Its assessment of this community's destiny, if not dispositive, should nonetheless inspire keener appraisals of the postwar transformation of Catholic identity. Above all, Lothian makes it harder to ignore Catholicism's resurgence in the British public mind, a salutary reminder that a sacramental faith encompasses both eschatology and sociology. As G. K. Chesterton put it, "political questions … always are religious questions."

Christendom College ADAM SCHWARTZ

Western European Liberation Theology: The First Wave (1924–1959). By Gerd-Rainer Horn. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 314. $120.00. ISBN 978-0-199-20449-6.)

Gerd-Rainer Horn tells us that Cardinal Emmanuel Suhard of Paris was so taken by *France: Pays de Mission?* (Paris, 1943) of Fathers Henri Godin and Yvan Daniel that he spent a sleepless night devouring every word. This tract helped inspire the Mission de France initiative to "rechristianize the working class" and the tragic saga of the worker-priests. Horn might have added that 1943 also had the popular daily broadcasts of well-known politician Philippe Henriot—"the French Goebbels" nurtured by the Catholic Action movement—preaching Christian Crusade against Bolshevism. Would French workers, with the Communist Party outlawed, welcome an effort to "rechristianize" them? In 1944, not long before the liberation of Paris, Henriot was assassinated at his Paris apartment, and Suhard presided at his funeral in Notre Dame (deeply offending General Charles de Gaulle). Catholics promised to "liberate" all mankind, but how?

The preface declares an intention to help "revalidate the progressive variant of twentieth-century Catholicism" (p. 4), and the monograph presents successive portraits of representative (often anti-Liberal) liberation theologians attractive to the author who, he argues, were of considerable socioeconomic importance. This is a new effort to present a European Catholic Left—if not liberation theology—in a transnational framework.

As in his book on May 1968, Horn is idiosyncratic in what he includes and excludes. He discusses important "progressive" figures faulted for earlier Pétainist or fascist sympathies (e.g., Suhard, Jacques Maritain, and Emmanuel Mounier) without mentioning this issue (p. 102). He describes the Italian Christian Marxists as remarkably original and important (p. 130) but does not mention young Frenchmen such as Paul Ricoeur and Maurice Merleau-Ponty; the Terre Nouvelle, Témoignage Chrétien, or Économie et Humanisme groups; and the Chrétiens progressistes involved with the PCF and the Christian Trade Union (CFTC) or their attitudes toward Stalinism (p. 244). His focus on France and francophone Belgium is mostly on dynamic Action Catholique movements in France and Belgium such as the Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne (JOC) founded by Joseph Cardijn in 1924.

This book discusses the Italian Catholic Left from its growth in the 1930s to its peak during the immediate postwar years (1944–46). Horn examines the Christian Democrat "Dossetiens"—Giuseppe Dossetti, Amintore Fanfani, and Giorgio La Pira—the Sinistra Cristiana (Christian Left) of Felice Balbo and Franco Rodano; and the small Christian-Social Party inspired by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon and Mounier. Horn describes iconoclastic local prophets—particularly the charismatic Don Zeno Saltini, whose efforts to form "base communities" were suppressed by the Vatican in 1950–51.

The final chapters describe the Mouvement Populaire des Familles, established in 1941, which, with 100,000 members, became the most important mass-based social movement of the early French Catholic Left. Also covered is the militant collective worker-priests' manifesto of 1953, which alarmed the Vatican and so contributed to the group's demise.

Why were the French Left Catholic intellectuals and theologians so important? Horn does not address this question (or describe the remarkable variety of "Christian renewal" efforts undertaken under Pétain). The book does link European liberation theology to the famous Latin American bishops' conference at Medellin in 1968. Although it is true that liberation theologians such as Gustavo Gutierrez had studied in Europe and been influenced by the "first wave" of French and Belgian Left Catholicism, the European context before the Second Vatican Council was very different from that of Latin America after the Cuban revolution. Bishop Karol Wojtyla drew inspiration from the theologians of the first, but became extremely wary of the second.

However inaccurate its title, this book is based upon extensive research and offers rich new material about movements of Catholic laypeople in the mid-twentieth century, particularly the Catholic Left. Since Horn sets out to revalidate this tendency, he does not feel an obligation to make sense of liberation theology in general or of the ephemeral Christian-Stalinist experience in particular.

McGill University JOHN W. HELLMAN

La Revue «La Vie intellectuelle»: Marc Sangnier, le thomisme et le personnalisme. By Jean-Claude Delbreil. [Sciences Humaines et Religions.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 2008. Pp. 146. €25,00. ISBN 978-2-204-08580-9.)

This concise study examines one of interwar France's most influential Catholic periodicals—a journal of ideas first published monthly and, after 1931, bimonthly—which dedicated itself to reinvigorating Catholic thought in the wake of the successive controversies of modernism; the Sillon, a lay movement; and Action Française, the integral nationalist movement.

Founded in 1928 by the Dominican fathers who established the Éditions du Cerf publishing house, *La Vie intellectuelle* began its nearly thirty-five-year life (1928–40, 1945–56) in the aftermath of Pope Pius XI's 1926 condemnation of Action Française.

Père Marie-Vincent Bernadot (1883–1941), who directed the *revue* during its early years, had joined lay Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain and four other clerics in drafting *Pourquoi Rome a parlé* (Paris, 1927), a defense of the papal ban on French Catholics joining the agnostic Charles Maurras's movement or reading its popular newspaper. Bernadot himself had once sympathized with Action Française, but now supported wholeheartedly a doctrinal clarification and political reorientation on the part of the Holy See. Tensions with Father Thomas Pègues, an eminent Thomist and Maurrasian who served as regent of studies at the Dominican house at Saint-Maximin, led to papal intervention to secure the transfer of Bernadot and his colleague, Père Étienne Lajeunie, from the Dominican province of Toulouse to that of France (Paris). From the new *couvent* of Juvisy, Bernadot relied on the contributions of younger Dominicans such as Marie-Dominique Chenu and Yves Congar, associated today with the *nouvelle théologie* that helped shape the reforms of the Second Vatican Council.

La Vie intellectuelle embraced a catholicity that went beyond the Thomistic renewal envisaged by Maritain, an early supporter of the journal. It presented to its educated readership less a unified point of view than a *carrefours*, or intersection, of several approaches to the question of how French Catholics could best renew their engagement with the secular Third Republic and pluralistic modernity. The Social Catholicism associated with the legacy

of Marc Sangnier and his movement, the Sillon, which was suppressed by Pope Pius X in 1910, presented one approach; and, for Delbreil, the question of Sangier's influence on both *La Vie intellectuelle* between the wars and, by extension, the Christian Democratic movement after 1945 remains in the foreground throughout this study. The Thomism of Maritain, Étienne Gilson, and others—freed from both a narrow, static conception of the relationship between nature and grace on the one hand and from authoritarian politics on the other—provides another approach. Finally, the idea of personalism found a prominent place in the journal, its *ni droite, ni gauche* answer to the "established disorder" of the 1930s expressed through an ecumenical, revolutionary "mystique" by Emmanuel Mounier (a periodic contributor best known for founding the journal *Esprit*) and a more specifically Christian and avowedly democratic expression by Paul Archambault.

Delbreil addresses differing scholarly interpretations of the *revue* directed by Bernadot and by Father Jean-Augustin Maydieu after Bernadot began devoting more of his attention to the new weekly *Sept* in the mid-1930s. These include Yves Tranvouez's portrayal of the journal's editors as exemplifying "Catholic intransigence" toward modernity and Philippe Chenaux's recent depiction of *La Vie intellectuelle* as playing a positive role in the formation of a new generation of post-Maurrasian Catholic intellectuals, with Delbreil showing more sympathy for the latter thesis. He also offers a nuanced interpretation of the *revue*'s philosophical and theological heterogeneity, including the contribution of philosopher of action Maurice Blondel, his reputation again ascendant after the Action Française condemnation. Delbreil is less successful in demonstrating the abiding influence of Sangnier, however, despite offering portraits of rising young Christian Democrats who contributed to the *revue* and later played a role in both the Resistance and postwar politics: Étienne Borne, Jacques Madaule, and Maurice Schumann. The author admits that it might seem "a bit artificial" to posit the direct impact of Sangnier and "the spirit of the Sillon" on the *revue* (p. 113). This artificiality is evidenced by Delbreil's devotion of his first two chapters to lay testimonials to Sangnier and the next sixteen chapters to the workings of a journal whose direction was controlled fully and its output generated mostly by a clerical *équipe*.

Certainly, there are limits to what can be demonstrated in a monograph of less than 150 pages. Delbreil's book does not offer a definitive portrait of French Catholic intellectual life in the interwar years, its historical antecedents, or its political context. But it does offer a judicious survey of a remarkable journal of ideas run by a dedicated group of Dominicans who earnestly and intelligently sought to reinvigorate the Catholic intellect in the service of the faith. Read along with more expansive studies such as Chenaux's *Entre Maurras et Maritain* (Paris, 1999) and Peter Bernardi's *Maurice Blondel, Social Catholicism, and* Action Française (Washington, DC, 2009), it makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the

intellectual vitality and diversity of French Catholicism in the early-twentieth century.

Greensboro College, NC RICHARD FRANCIS CRANE

Papst und Teufel. Die Archive des Vatikan und das Dritte Reich. By Hubert Wolf. (Munich: Beck. 2009. Pp. 360. €24,90. ISBN 978-3-406-57742-0.)

Critics of Pope Pius XII have demanded for years that the Vatican archives for his pontificate be opened, so that his role during the Holocaust can be clarified. In 2003 Pope John Paul II ordered a partial opening of the archives from the pontificate of Pius XI (1922–39). In February 2006 Pope Benedict XVI opened the entire archive for Pius XI's pontificate: some 100,000 separate files containing up to 1000 pages each. Although they contain thousands of documents from and about Eugenio Pacelli (from 1939, Pope Pius XII), nuncio in Munich and Berlin from 1917 until 1930 and thereafter papal secretary of state, his critics have shown little interest. One of those to do so (although not the first) is Hubert Wolf, professor of modern church history at the University of Münster.

Wolf takes his title from Pius XI, who said in May 1929 that, to save a single soul, he would be ready to negotiate with the devil himself (p. 7). Wolf adopts an often irreverent style that, although it may offend the pious, should enhance credibility with readers keenly aware of the Church's human side. One example: Describing the behavior of popes as "prisoners of the Vatican from the end of the Papal State in 1870 until its restoration in miniature through the Lateran Pacts of 1929, he writes that, during this period, the papal blessing "to the city and the world," formerly given on major feasts from the outside loggia of St. Peter's basilica, was imparted only within the building "so that the Italian 'robbers of the Church State' would not get any of it" (p. 8).

Appointed papal nuncio to Bavaria in May 1917, Pacelli's first task was to present Pope Benedict XV's peace proposal to the government of the German kaiser, Wilhelm II. Anticipating that this initiative would fail, Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, Pacelli's patron and papal secretary of state, tried to prevent Pacelli's appointment as nuncio, lest his star pupil be discredited at the start of his diplomatic career. When Gasparri's fears were confirmed, Pacelli was "traumatized," Wolf writes, and took the failure as confirmation of his mentor's belief in the need for the Holy See's "absolute neutrality in political and military conflicts" (p. 54). This makes his subsequent limited and secret cooperation with the German opposition to Adolf Hitler at the start of World War II the more remarkable.

Wolf devotes fifty pages to the oft-cited condemnation of racial antisemitism by the Roman Holy Office in 1928. This came about through the efforts of the Friends of Israel, a Catholic reform movement with widespread

hierarchical support, including membership by nineteen cardinals, to facilitate Jewish conversions, in part by purging the reference to "the perfidious Jews" in the Good Friday liturgy. The proposal was approved by the Congregation for Rites, only to founder on the outraged opposition of Cardinal Raphael Merry del Val, the prefect of the Holy Office and militant hammer of heretics since the antimodernist campaign of Pope Pius X. Insisting on the maintenance of the Church's traditional religious anti-Judaism, based on the accusation that Jews were guilty of deicide, Merry del Val convinced Pope Pius XI that changing the Good Friday prayer would be a betrayal of the Catholic faith and forced leading members of the Friends of Israel to make humiliating retractions of their request. The condemnation of racial antisemitism was issued as a cover for the Church's reiteration of religious anti-Judaism. This chapter makes for painful reading today.

The heart of the book is Wolf's examination of the connections between the German bishops' modification of their previous condemnations of National Socialism, following Hitler's declaration of March 23, 1933, that he intended to make "the two Christian confessions the foundation of [his] work of national renewal" (p. 188); the Center Party's subsequent consent to the "Enabling Law" suspending constitutional guarantees and giving Hitler emergency powers; the self-dissolution of the Center Party on July 5; and the signing of the concordat on July 20.

Behind these fateful events church critics, most recently the late Klaus Scholder, a Protestant church historian at the University of Tübingen, have perceived the fine Italian hand of Cardinal Pacelli in Rome. The documents show clearly that the protagonists acted independently. Far from steering events, Pacelli criticized both the German bishops and the Center Party for making concessions to Hitler without firm guarantees of church rights. For the Church, the purpose of the concordat was to obtain guarantees of those rights. Hitler's sole interest, on the other hand, was to remove the Catholic clergy (always prominent in the Center Party) from politics. When the Center Party voluntarily dissolved itself (the last German party to do so), Pacelli expressed regret, since it deprived him of a potential bargaining chip in the still incomplete concordat negotiations.

None of this, however, is new. Wolf has discovered nothing to change the accounts of the concordat published decades ago by Ludwig Volk, S.J.; Dieter Albrecht; and Konrad Repgen. Wolf also fails to inform readers that Scholder's charges were definitively refuted in papers presented at a 2004 conference in Rome.[1]

[1]Published in *Das Reichskonkordat 1933. Forschungsstand, Kontroversen, Dokumente*, ed. Thomas Brechenmacher [Kommission fur Zeitgeschichte, Series B. vol. 109] (Paderborn, 2007).

Opening of the archives of the pontificate of Pius XII is still some five years distant. This delay is not caused by a desire for concealment, but the enormous amount of work required before the documents can be made available to researchers (cataloguing, sorting into the appropriate groups, binding, and stamping each page with the Vatican's seal); and the small staff available for this preparation (some twenty in number, compared to the hundreds employed by government archives). The volume of material will surely surpass that for Pius XI's reign.

Archdiocese of St. Louis JOHN JAY HUGHES

The Aryan Jesus: Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany. By Susannah Heschel. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 339. ISBN 978-0-691-12531-2.)

Susannah Heschel's highly praised book uncovers a wealth of new archival sources in its focus on the Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Religious Life, a "scholarly" institute that existed from 1939 to 1945. Although the title refers more generally to Christian theologians, she makes it clear that this institute was overwhelmingly led, staffed, and sponsored by Protestants and in particular by theologians, pastors, and academics associated with the German Christian movement that sought to fuse Christianity with the ideals of National Socialism.

The key figure in her account is Walter Grundmann, a rather bookish New Testament scholar who became head of the institute while serving as a professor in the theology department at the University of Jena, which became the most Nazified theology department in Germany. Like others in this movement, Grundmann aspired to reshape German Protestantism. He sought a masculine church, in which Jesus was recast as a warrior out to destroy the morally rotten edifice of Judaism. Drawing on claims from the late-nineteenth century onward that underscored the settlement of non-Jews to the Galilean region in the wake of the Assyrian conquest, he insisted that Jesus was Aryan—and certainly not Jewish. He and his compatriots attempted to dejudaize liturgies, hymns, and even the New Testament.

Heschel's book is rich in astute insights. She points out that many of the pioneers of this movement suffered from religious doubts; in their search for a new basis for faith, racial doctrines and National Socialism provided ideal foundations. Many ambitious scholars saw in the institute the opportunity to further their careers, as it provided a nexus for publishing, networking, and conferences. Here they were not disappointed. In a particularly compelling chapter of the book, she describes how many of the institute's fellows and grantees continued to profit in the postwar era from these associations. With but a few exceptions, most were eventually exonerated by denazification panels, as they had successfully maintained the fiction that they had actively

resisted National Socialism. Most went on to assume positions as pastors or academics in both East and West Germany, making little reference to their most unsavory antisemitic proclamations of the past. Grundmann himself became the rector of the Thuringian seminary in Eisenach—and moonlighted as a Stasi informer, taking revenge on those members of the Confessing Church who had moved into high places after 1945. She leaves little doubt that these institute members did not ultimately renounce their prior beliefs. In his postwar New Testament scholarship, Grundmann continued to deplore the lack of morality and violence purportedly at the core of the Jewish tradition.

It is clear, however, that Heschel is seeking after more in this book. At various places, she hints at a more sweeping indictment of Christianity. She argues that the Confessing Church and the German Christians effectively competed against each other to see who could be more antisemitic. Citing the Confessing Church historian Hans von Soden, she argues that the use of racist ideas was so pervasive among theologians that "supporters and opponents of Nazism cannot easily be distinguished" (p. 161). More fundamentally, the Nazis could not reject Christianity, she claims, "not because it would offend the moral and social sensibilities of Germans but because the anti-Semitism of Christianity formed the basis on which the party could appeal to Germans" (p. 8).

To make this case, she would have to shift her methodology from intellectual to social history, showing that antisemitism not only permeated the thoughts of theologians in their church and ivory towers but also occupied a central role in the sermons, confirmation classes, and instructional materials of ordinary pastors—and that rank-and-file churchgoers were duly influenced by these materials. Here, a bit of caution might be in order. Protestant churchgoers were notoriously lax in their attendance; the socialization of young Protestants famously weak. As Jeff Zalar has shown, even German Catholics during the height of *Kulturkampf* were not particularly wont to heed the dictates of the clergy on many matters, including the choice of reading materials; the influence of the clergy in the decentralized Protestant churches was no doubt even less than in the Catholic milieu. The German Protestant clergy, moreover, was drawn from the educated middle classes (*Bildungsbürgertum*), precisely the segment of society most likely to embrace Nazism; their pro-Nazi sympathies likely derived equally from their class position. These concerns aside, Heschel's book will rank as an important work of intellectual history, one that provides a penetrating analysis of the mind-set of the institute and its supporters in the ranks of the German Christians.

Saint Louis University MARK E. RUFF

Religion under Siege, Vol. 2: *Protestant, Orthodox and Muslim Communities in Occupied Europe (1939–1950)*. Edited by Lieve Gevers and Jan Bank. [Annua Nuntia Lovaniensia, LVI.2.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2007. Pp. ix, 284. €54,00 paperback. ISBN 978-9-042-91933-4.)

This collection, like its companion volume *Religion under Siege: The Roman Catholic Church in Occupied Europe (1939–1950;* reviewed in *ante,* 96 [2010], 384–86), is part of a larger project sponsored by the European Science Foundation on "The Impact of National Socialist and Fascist Occupation in Europe." It covers an assortment of religious communities in eastern, northwestern, and southeastern Europe in the years during and after World War II. Two chapters deal with the largely Orthodox Ukraine under Nazi and Soviet occupation; other chapters treat important Balkan religious groups (the Serbian and Greek Orthodox, and Bosnian Muslims); and the rest cover Protestant communities (Lutheran and Reformed) in Scandinavia, the Netherlands, France, and Belgium.

Mikhail Shkarovskij and Katrin Boeckh both compare Nazi and Soviet church policy in Ukraine in their contributions. They show how both Nazis and Soviets sought to use the Orthodox churches for their own ends. Although ideologically hostile toward these churches, both regimes made concessions for tactical reasons, observing and reacting to each other's policies. Both authors also show how Germany's policy involved a complex overlapping of civil, military, party, and other jurisdictions, and Shkarovskij makes clear that Hitler and Stalin both took religious policy very seriously. From 1943 to 1948, the Soviets were heavily involved in church politics—even including unrealized and extremely ambitious plans to hold an ecumenical council and transform Moscow into a sort of Orthodox Vatican. Readers learn how readily Orthodox church leaders, even some outside the Soviet bloc, let themselves be used as tools of Soviet propaganda and policy. Boeckh, for example, cites examples of Orthodox bishops and clergy praising Stalin, even calling him "The Greatest Friend of Believers" (p. 123). Both authors note that the Nazis and Soviets shared a hostility to the Catholic Church. Both regimes worked during the occupation to curtail Catholic influence in the region, and after the war the Soviets liquidated the Uniates and expelled the Polish Catholics. Shkarovskij, however, while noting a readiness on the part of Moscow to settle the "Uniate Question" after the war in a way acceptable to Rome, seems to imply that Pope Pius XII failed to understand Soviet "signals" and missed an opportunity to normalize relations with the Soviet Union. In fact, given the sort of regimes Moscow was intent on establishing in Eastern Europe (especially Poland), the pope understood all too well what the Soviets were doing.

In the chapters on the Balkans, Radmila Radić and Grigorios Psallidas deal with the Serbian and Greek Orthodox churches respectively. Radić shows how the Serbian Orthodox Church navigated a complex and challenging situation—the loss of its position in prewar Yugoslavia, eight distinct occupation

zones, a civil war pitting nationalist Serb Chetniks against communist Partisans, and the ultimate communist takeover of their country. The Greeks, as Psallidas shows, faced a similar situation—division into multiple occupation zones; a communist insurgency and civil war, and a monarchy in exile. Valeria Heuberger's contribution shows the great variety of Muslim responses in Bosnia to the complex wartime situation. Muslims sheltered Jews, joined Chetnik and Partisan resistance movements, and organized their own self-defense militias. They also joined Bosnian Muslim units of the Nazi SS, for which Hajj Amin al-Husseini, the grand mufti of Jerusalem who was living in exile in Germany, served as recruiter. After the war, under the Yugoslav communist regime of Josip Broz Tito, Muslims faced considerable repression until the mid-1950s, when Yugoslavia joined the Non-Aligned Movement and it became in Tito's interest to portray Yugoslavia as a great friend of the Islamic world.

Three chapters in this collection examine Protestants in northwestern Europe. Anders Jarlert surveys the churches in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland, treating them comparatively and in a broad historical context. Drawing from scholars such as Hartmut Lehmann, Olaf Blaschke, and Hugh McLeod, Jarlert argues against oversimplified narratives of secularization in European Christianity. He shows the great diversity across the Scandinavian region with respect to inner-church dynamics, church-state relations, and ways churches responded to the situation during and after World War II. Jarlert's essay, however, presupposes considerable knowledge of the Scandinavian situation; moreover, given the breadth of issues covered, the questions of wartime collaboration, accommodation, and resistance sometimes are obscured or treated less thoroughly.

This is not the case for Jan Bank's chapter comparing Protestants in the Netherlands and France, with its heavy focus on Protestant accommodation and resistance. Bank, of all the contributors to this collection, takes the theological dimension most seriously and shows great sensitivity to the nuances within and between various strains of Reformed Christianity. His chapter examines the motives for Protestant rescue of Jews, noting the key impact of German theologian Karl Barth in inspiring resistance to the Nazi regime among both Dutch and French Protestants. Bank also notes the influence of Reformed theologian Abraham Kuyper on some Dutch Protestants, the neo-Calvinist tendency to see the Nazi invasion as God's judgment on a sinful Netherlands, and the theological divisions within the Dutch Reformed Church that left room for pro-Nazi elements to find a place in it. The collection concludes with an article by Lieven Saerens on the tiny and fragmented Protestant communities in Belgium.

Given the diversity of the religious groups and countries surveyed, as well as differences in approach by the various authors, this collection does not hang together as well as one might hope; nevertheless, it provides helpful studies of a number of discrete cases of religious communities and institu-

tions dealing with the wartime occupation (and of occupation forces dealing in turn with them). It is to be recommended as a useful contribution to our understanding of the impact of World War II and its aftermath on Europe's non-Catholic religious groups.

University of Washington JAMES R. FELAK

After Hitler, Before Stalin: Catholics, Communists, and Democrats in Slovakia, 1945–1948. By James Ramon Felak. [Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.] (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 261. $50.00. ISBN 978-0-822-94374-7.)

How was it that in an overwhelmingly Catholic republic where a democratic political party had gained a stunning electoral victory thanks to Catholic support, a Communist Party with less than a third of the vote could, in less than two years, outmaneuver its opponents and lay the groundwork for a political takeover? This is the question posed by James Ramon Felak in his study of Slovak politics between the end of World War II and the February coup of 1948. In answering it, he goes beyond Slovakia's peculiar circumstances in that transitional period—including the shadow of the Axis-supported Tiso regime and the influence of the Czech portion of the Czechoslovak Republic—to trace the complex and contradictory political trajectories of Slovakia's Catholics, Communists, and Democrats.

After Hitler, Before Stalin comprises five chronological chapters, which trace Slovak politics from war's end to the crucial April 1946 agreement between Democrats and Catholics; the elections of May 1946, in which the Democrats gained 62 percent of the vote to the Communists' 30.37; the trial of Father Jozef Tiso; the alleged antistate conspiracies of 1947; and the communists' political offensive culminating in their takeover in 1948. The last six pages of the final chapter serve as a summary and conclusion. The endnotes are generous and sometimes intriguing (e.g., p. 238n38 informs us that one influential left-leaning Catholic Democrat had apparently served Soviet intelligence during and after the war; later we learn that after the February coup, he obtained a ministerial position). A selected bibliography and a detailed index complete the volume.

Felak bases his study on archival sources, mostly in Bratislava, as well as on the contemporary Slovak press and extensive secondary literature (including memoirs) in Slovak, Czech, German, and English. In the course of his narrative, we meet individuals who would play important roles in Czechoslovak history, such as Gustav Husák and Ludvik Svoboda. Although the author does not dwell unnecessarily on events in the Czech lands, he does draw brief but useful comparisons with contemporary political and religious developments in Catholic Hungary and Croatia. A fuller account, however, would have covered eastern Slovakia's substantial Greek-Catholic population, whose hierarchs receive only brief mention (p. 148 and p. 233n93).

Readers will be struck by the sophistication, resourcefulness, and flexibility of communist strategy and tactics. Slovak communists supported Catholics on certain issues while working against their Church on others. They managed to score significant successes while maintaining inconsistent, even contradictory positions. They also utilized Partisan and trade-union support, and effectively exploited their influence in the state security apparatus.

Felak's readable style is unburdened by academic jargon and enlivened by the occasional colloquialism. His evident sympathies do not distort his clear and subtle analysis. From time to time he summarizes the preceding account; occasionally, he reminds readers of the significance of a person or event mentioned previously in the text. These features make the book suitable for undergraduate and graduate students as well as for scholars.

Although events in Prague may have outweighed those in Bratislava in deciding the fate of the binational republic, the relatively unknown Slovak case merits attention in its own right. As the anatomy of a political takeover and the postmortem of a democratic party, *After Hitler, Before Stalin* invites readers to compare contemporary political developments elsewhere in Eastern Europe. It also raises more general questions about the dilemmas and vulnerabilities of Catholics in the political realm.

Rockville, MD ANDREW SOROKOWSKI

American

Constructing Lives at Mission San Francisco: Native Californians and Hispanic Colonists, 1776–1821. By Quincy D. Newell. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2009. Pp.x, 267) $39.95. ISBN 978-0-826-34706-0.)

Constructing Lives, Quincy Newell's first book, is a significant addition to the new wave of books on the California missions that use digitized Franciscan mission records as quantitative evidence. This important new methodology, pioneered by Randall Milliken and others, has yielded many important insights about Native political organization, heterogeneous mission populations, and timing of conversion. Newell reproduces a version of Milliken's map of precontact tribal areas of the San Francisco Bay region in her book (p. 171), but takes issue with his thesis in *Time of Little Choice* (Menlo Park, CA, 1995). Native Californians at Mission San Francisco continued to exercise choice once baptized, she argues: Native responses to Catholicism were "partial, contingent, and variegated" (p. 177). Not only did the priests accommodate to Native labor rhythms and residential preferences within the mission environment but also found it necessary to permit baptized Indians frequent absences (*paseos*) to gather food. Newell marshals convincing proof that many furloughs away from the mission were deliberately

timed to coincide with births and deaths, indicating only a partial commitment to Catholicism and a preference for Native life-passage ceremonies.

Newell employs anthropological "thick description" to underline the complexity of the cultural encounter. She reconstructs contrasting indigenous precontact Coastanoan Indian culture (insofar as this is possible) to that introduced by eighteenth-century Spanish colonists. While primarily concerned with changing kinship patterns, her analysis includes many aspects of material culture as well as ideology: rituals, foods, artistic designs, gift giving, housing, gender roles, and labor patterns. She compares the more egalitarian gender patterns and lineage organizations of Natives with the hierarchical authority structures introduced by the Franciscans. The author concludes that the Spanish successfully imposed a nuclear family organization but says the Natives utilized the *compadrinazgo* (godparenting) institution to repair their damaged family networks. Avoiding moral judgments, she invokes the idea of Double Mistaken Identity to underline the gulf of misunderstandings between indigenous people and the Spanish.

One strength of *Constructing Lives* is its framing within contemporary scholarship on colonialism and gender. The book is a careful case study contextualized within the current literature on settler-indigenous relations in the larger Spanish colonial world. Like other current works, Newell says colonial power was weaker than earlier scholars projected and indigenous agency more pronounced: the Spanish intent to convert Natives was never fully realized, the result being a syncretic blend of indigenous spirituality and Catholicism. The tragedy of Native demographic collapse of mission Indian populations is noted, but she steers her interpretations to more controversial debates: Were the San Franciscan mission *alcaldes* village headmen? Was mission labor "slavery"? Her findings are inclusive on the former and negative on the latter (p. 73). Where her evidentiary base is thin, she draws information from studies of other places in Spanish colonial America and Native California. To her credit, Newell persistently attempts to foreground Native people by using their indigenous names, reconstituting kinship networks, and eliciting what little personal information that can be found about individuals' lives from the mission records. Unfortunately, her small population sample and the dearth of primary sources on pre- and early-contact Coastanoan experience and perspective are limiting: Newell frequently resorts to speculation about motives that offer little that is substantive or original. In a strong concluding chapter, "The Varieties of Religious Experience," Newell argues some Natives fully embraced Catholicism while others demonstrated considerable ambivalence. She candid admits that the existing sources do not provide explanations for why Native people had these different responses.

Like Steven Hackel's *Children of Coyote* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2005), Newell's book adds texture and nuance to the understanding of the California mission experience, transcending rancorous political debates pivoting on victimiza-

tion that have previously characterized work on this subject. A good read, *Constructing Lives* is carefully researched, balanced in its judgments, and persuasive in its major argument.

University of California, Irvine TANIS C. THORNE

Nicholas Black Elk: Medicine Man, Missionary, Mystic. By Michael F. Steltenkamp. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2009. Pp. xxii, 270. $24.95. ISBN 978-0-806-14063-6.)

Michael F. Steltenkamp's stated intention is to make a full portrait of the life of Nicholas Black Elk (1863–1950) accessible in one volume (p. xix). To this end, he rewrites the material found in his previous book, *Black Elk: Holy Man of the Oglala* (Norman, OK, 1993), which focuses on Black Elk's years as a catechist. Steltenkamp also provides some historical background, summarizes Joseph Brown's *The Sacred Pipe* (Norman, OK, 1953), and fleshes out Black Elk's biography. He also includes some good photographs that were not included in the previous book, a brief chronology of Black Elk's life, and a "Note on Sources."

Although Steltenkamp seems to have moved toward recognizing that Black Elk's "visions were, ultimately, neither parochially Lakota or insularly Catholic" (p. 123), there is no doubt that he is still very concerned to produce a Black Elk who remained a "fervent catechist until the end" (p. 223). As in the previous work, he regards the testimony obtained through his interviews with Lucy Looks Twice, Black Elk's daughter, as an irrefutable bedrock on which to base his interpretation: "Instead of me projecting a bias onto Black Elk's experience, I simply recounted what was reported to me by those who knew him best" (p. xviii).

Steltenkamp, unfortunately, is willing to cut a few corners to get where he wants to go. In this book, as in the previous one, Looks Twice's account of her father's "conversion" is pivotal. According to Looks Twice, it was effected by the ejection of Black Elk by Joseph Lindebner, S.J., from a tipi where he was performing a healing ritual. In the previous book, Looks Twice says, "My father never talked about that incident,"[1] which at least strongly suggests that this is her story, not her father's. In this book, although Steltenkamp admits that "Black Elk's conversion might not have occurred in the manner he described to his daughter" (p. 94), it has become Black Elk's story. Black Elk's actual—and contradictory—story of a priest who was thrown from his horse and killed after interfering with one of his rituals is discounted as "probably not what Black Elk would have seriously asserted in 1931" (p. 92).

Similarly, it is important to Steltenkamp to play down Black Elk's continuing commitment to the nativist cultural ideals of the Ghost Dance and his

[1]Steltenkamp, *Black Elk: Holy Man of the Oglala* (Norman, OK, 1993), p. 34.

continual usage of the symbolism of the flowering stick, which was central to the Ghost Dance. In his account of the ghost shirt, Steltenkamp says, "Contrary to what is sometimes claimed, Black Elk was not the shirt's originator" (p. 62). Although that is probably true as a matter of historical fact, it is also misleading, as it glosses over the fact that Black Elk stated flatly in the Neihardt interviews, "So I started the ghost shirt."[2] He also plays down (pp. 142–44) the tension with Father Joseph Zimmerman and some of the other Jesuits created by the publication of *Black Elk Speaks* (New York, 1932).

Scholars will continue to be frustrated with Steltenkamp's refusal to seriously engage either his critics or their interpretations of Black Elk's religion, which are generally dismissed in a single sentence. Indeed, when one reads statements such as "The Lakota sun dance was outlawed in the 1880s, but this prohibition was not enforced until 1904" (p. 181), it raises the question of whether Steltenkamp has read the secondary literature.

There are dozens of unattributed assertions of fact. For example, "A researcher found only one person who claimed to be a patient of Black Elk" (p. 87). This raises the questions of who was the researcher, when was the research done, how was it done, and where was it published. The overwhelming impression left by the book is that Steltenkamp is still passionately engaged in fighting the battles of the past. Despite his knowledge, he still seems to see Black Elk primarily in Zimmerman's terms. If Steltenkamp could gain a deeper appreciation of dual participation among the Lakota, he might be able to better evaluate Look Twice's statements and better understand why his version of Looks Twice and that of Hilda Neihardt look so different (pp. 214–16).

This book contains much valuable information about Lakota Catholism, Black Elk's milieu, and Black Elk himself. Readers who are primarily interested in reservation Catholicism and who want a "fervent catechist" will find it satisfying.

Morganton, GA CLYDE HOLLER

Educators in the Catholic Intellectual Tradition. Edited by John L. Elias and Lucinda A. Nolan. (Fairfield, CT: Sacred Heart University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 336. $28.95. ISBN 978-1-888-11218-4.)

This book will be of greater interest to religious educators than to historians interested in the Catholic intellectual tradition. None of the seven authors represented in it is a historian; all, rather, are authorities on one aspect or another of religious education. It comprises essays providing detailed coverage of the educational views and activities of ten persons

[2]Raymond J. DeMallie, ed., *The Sixth Grandfather* (Lincoln, NE, 1984), p. 262.

whose work falls into rough chronological order. Aside from references to the importance of neo-Scholasticism in the senior editor's introduction, there is no effort to identify recurring themes or to trace out an overall developmental pattern. For this reason, and because of the highly focused attention to the educational and methodological ideas of the individuals covered, the volume is best viewed as a reference book rather than as a work of synthesis or interpretation.

The first three essays deal with figures from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries: John Lancaster Spalding, Edward Pace, and Thomas E. Shields. The educational interests of the first are well known; the essays on Pace and Shields, who have been little studied, are of greater value.

The next four essays deal with persons most active between 1920 and 1950. The most interesting of these brings to light the achievement of Sister M. Rosalia Walsh, M.H.S.H., hitherto unknown to historians, who devoted herself to the educational needs of Catholics attending non-Catholic schools, especially through the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. The other essays—which deal with Monsignor George Johnson, Virgil Michel, O.S.B., and Jacques Maritain—are quite a mixed bag. Johnson merits attention as editor of the *Catholic Educational Review* and for his long association with the National Catholic Educational Association and the Education Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; Michel's educational ideas were, not surprisingly, closely related to his commitment to liturgical reform; and those interested in Maritain's views will find here context for, and analysis of, his *Education at the Crossroads* (New Haven, 1943).

The persons whose work is covered in the last three essays are closer to us in time. The career of Neil McCluskey, S.J., spanned scholarship in the history of education; educational journalism, academic administration; and, late in life (he died in 2008), an interest in gerontology and adult education. Mary Perkins Ryan's enthusiasm for liturgical and catechetical reform underlay her widely read critique, *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?* (New York, 1964), a landmark in the "great debate" about Catholic education that took place against the background of the Second Vatican Council. The final essay assesses Gerard S. Sloyan's contribution to catechetics and religious education, both in his writings and through his long association with the Department of Religious Education at The Catholic University of America, which he chaired (1957–67) during a period of rapid change and intense controversy. Unfortunately, there is no discussion of John Montgomery Cooper, the pioneering founder of systematic academic attention to religious education at The Catholic University. Sloyan himself, however, contributed an appreciation of Cooper's work to the fall 2009 issue of *American Catholic Studies*.

Slipshod proofreading failed to detect a number of minor, but nevertheless troubling, errors—e.g., misdating the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore and the issuance of *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (pp. 103, 285), and making Michael

Mathis a Benedictine rather than a member of the Congregation of Holy Cross (p. 247).

University of Notre Dame (Emeritus) PHILIP GLEASON

Living in God's Providence: History of the Congregation of Divine Providence of San Antonio, Texas, 1943–2000. By Mary Christine Morkovsky, C.D.P. (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris. 2009. Pp. viii, 431. $23.99 paperback. ISBN 978-1-436-38611-1.)

This congregational history provides a thoroughly researched portrait of a unique group of women religious, the Congregation of Divine Providence of San Antonio, in the latter half of the twentieth century. The book, based on archival research and a significant collection of oral histories, focuses particularly on how sisters adapted to new ministries and changes in internal organization and governance. So many other congregations experienced similar upheavals, but the pleasure of this book can be found in how it makes this familiar story particular. For example, we assume that most sisters' discernment about these issues was based in prayer, but Mary Christine Morkovsky reminds us that a congregation's approach to prayer is unique. She argues that her congregation's special dedication to, and reliance upon, God's Providence helped them sense changing needs and situations, and discern the most fruitful path. Stories abound of sisters who watched for "Providence moments," as members of the congregation referred to them, and then interpreted these moments as personal directives in changing times.

Clearly, then, these sisters made a habit of practicing the art of discernment, a habit that seemed to serve them well. Yet a more complex portrait emerges. Morkovsky also has this to say of her congregation: "The Sisters are more task-oriented than reflective in their orientation toward life" (p. 16). This is an extraordinary statement about a group of women who based their lives on the ability to identify and interpret the gifts of Providence, and one that the author leaves unexplained. For better or for worse, this statement is also an accurate description of Morkovsky's book as a whole.

The author has made a great effort to balance the obvious need to chronicle the congregation's history for its internal use and to write a history that will be of interest to outsiders. She successfully places the congregation's history in the larger context of the U.S. Church's history. But Morkovsky lets the facts tell her story without offering much in the way of reflection or argument.

The book's primary purpose is apparent in the sheer number of people mentioned in the text—to provide a comprehensive record of the congregation. Of greater concern, however, is the author's tendency to make blanket, cheerful statements about the sisters. For example, Morkovsky states that "as individuals and as a Congregation, the Sisters of Divine Providence met each

challenge and adapted with resilience and creativity" (p. 50). We also learn that "[w]hen a need arises they do what they need to do and they do it well" (p. 16). Such statements are not particularly helpful for scholars. Nevertheless, historians interested in Hispanic Catholics and those who ministered to them, the sisterhoods in transition and decline, Catholic schools and Catholic higher education, and the Second Vatican Council transition will find a wealth of information here that makes larger trends of this period concrete.

Roanoke College, VA MARY J. HENOLD

Latin American

Teología en América Latina, II/2: *De las guerras de independencia hasta finales del siglo XIX (1810–1899).* Edited by Josep-Ignasi Saranyana and Carmen-José Alejos Grau. (Madrid: Iberoamericana and Frankfurt am Main: Editorial Vervuert. 2008. Pp. 1126. €56,00 paperback. ISBN 978-8-484-89333-2 [Iberoamericana]; 978-3-865-27385-7 [Vervuert].)

"When Latin-American theology of the nineteenth century is addressed in depth, one of the researcher's great surprises is the unsuspected richness of authors and subject-matters, and their strongly autochthonous and uncultured character." With these words, Josep-Ignasi Saranyana, the editor of *Teología en América Latina*, begins his introduction to this volume, which is the culmination of a daunting project: to present the theology developed in the lands discovered by Columbus in 1492 in a comprehensive fashion. For the first time, these pages offer a wide and detailed view full history of nineteenth-century Latin American theology.

This work is divided into two parts, presenting a general framework of elements common to the whole Catholic world as well as aspects pertaining to Latin America. Regarding the latter, subjects discussed include the canonical penal procedures against revolutionaries; the legitimacy of insurgency; the theological and canonical implications of republican patronage that encompasses the Roman pontiff's jurisdiction and episcopal appointments; the debates surrounding the Immaculate Conception; the reactions to late Gallicanism; the first proposals made by liberal theology; the participation of Latin American prelates in the First Vatican Council; the canonical and ecclesiastical proposals on the nature of natural law in Latin America; the relationship of the new human sciences to the historical sciences; the provincial councils in Latin America that were summoned to receive the First Vatican Council's edicts; and the long-range cultural projects intended to instruct Catholic intellectuals in Latin America.

The first part, consisting of two chapters, presents a general overview of the politico-ecclesiastical scenario throughout the nineteenth century in Latin America. The first chapter, by Marta Eugenia García Ugarte, covers the strife surrounding the independence movements; the beginnings of republi-

can governments, with the exception of Brazil, which maintained the monarchical tradition; and the role of liberalism in the movement toward modernity, secularization, ecclesiastical property expropriation, separation of church and state, abolition of privilege, and lay education. The great political and social events of the day are presented, offering the Church's role in the civil and political societies of the various countries of the continent, especially Mexico. The second chapter presents a systematic examination of the attempts from 1852 to 1892 between various Latin American countries and the Holy See to develop concordats, including both successful and unsuccessful efforts.

The second part dedicates five chapters to the study of theology within the republican framework. Chapter 3 is dedicated to theology through the achievement of independence (1810–25), focusing on the main representatives of independence and the theological arguments supporting their stand. There are sections on Mexico and Gran Colombia by Carmen-José Alejos Grau, on Peru by Fernando Armas Asín, on Chile by Elisa Luque Alcalde, and on Río de la Plata by Néstor Tomás. In chapter 4, various authors study the theological polemics in the independent republics. Alfonso Alcalá begins with an analysis of Mexican polemicists before and after the 1857 Constitution, and others continue with theological polemics in Central America (Hugo Aníbal Dávila), the Colombian Catholic polemicists (Iván Darío Toro Jaramillo), the theological polemics in Peru (Fernando Armas Asín), and Argentina's journalists, polemicists, and apologists during the same period (Néstor Tomás Auza).

Chapter 5—the most extensive of the book—is dedicated to academic theologians and canonists of the independent republics and Cuba, which Saranyana cowrote. It presents a panoramic view of theological speculation in Latin America and the Caribbean during the nineteenth century, encompassing the work of academic theologians, great prelates who developed theological arguments in their pastorals or other doctrinal documents, priests, and laypeople. It is important to consider the work of nonprofessional theologians and academics in this period, as academic institutions, with the exception of those in Chile, were in upheaval—seminaries, novitiates, and universities were closed; new institutions were opened in the new republics; ecclesiastical structures were sometimes violently assaulted by liberals; ecclesiastical property was secularized; and ecclesiastical jurisdiction was invaded, which diminished the freedom of Catholic educational initiatives and affected the study of theological sciences. This chapter verifies the richness of nineteenth-century theological contributions in Latin America.

Chapter 6, by Elisa Luque Alcalde, is dedicated to the Latin American cycle of councils in the republican era, studying the twelve provincial councils held from 1863 through 1897 and showing the recuperation of the Latin American Church from the 1860s after the wars of independence. It contrasts with the experience in the United States, where, before the First Vatican Council, a large number of provincial councils and two plenary or national councils had

been convened (1852–66). The first councils tried to restructure churches that had experienced the destruction of many of their institutions and resources. Those councils that took place after the First Vatican Council showed many doctrinal innovations, as prelates incorporated their past experiences as well as new European ideological thought, restructuring ecclesial life from within rather than counting on the state. The last of the chapters, written in Portuguese by Alexandre Antosz Filho, deals with the Brazilian Messianic movements from 1808 through 1938. The book ends with an index of proper names as well as an index of councils, synods, and other ecclesiastical assemblies.

In sum, this book should be consulted by anyone interested in Latin American theological thought and the intellectual activity of the Church. It has been written with preciseness, depth, sobriety, and elegance.

Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaiso, Chile CARLOS SALINAS ARANEDA

Asian

Jesuit on the Roof of the World: Ippolito Desideri's Mission to Eighteenth-Century Tibet. By Trent Pomplun. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 302. $29.95. ISBN 978-0-195-37786-6.)

The mountain kingdoms of the Himalayas have long bred fascination among Westerners, primarily because of their inaccessibility, but also because of their exotic culture and religion. Before the mid-twentieth century few Europeans or Americans had reached the Tibetan plateau, so the only knowledge of them that reached Western audiences came from a handful of intrepid travelers. Foremost among these was the Italian Jesuit Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733), who lived in Tibet during the 1710s but whose efforts to create a permanent mission there were checked by political events in Asia and ecclesiastical politics in Europe. Desideri's voluminous writings have long been used by Tibetologists seeking a window onto indigenous culture and thought, although they were produced mainly as a justification for his seemingly fruitless expeditions to "the roof of the world." Trent Pomplun has written a biography that presents Desideri to a wider audience, combining analysis of the missionary's Italian and Tibetan writings within a broader examination of the political upheaval of early-eighteenth-century Tibet and the religious conflicts in Italy.

Desideri was not a typical Jesuit during his age. Although he was the product of the mature Society of Jesus, he showed indifference toward the hierarchy of his religious order. Pomplun insists that Desideri's ardent desires to travel to Tibet were the fruit of the institutional and spiritual culture of the Jesuits, but they seem to have been far more radical than those of his contem-

poraries. Desideri was possessed of a formidable independent streak: with the begrudging acceptance of the Society's superior general, he undertook a dangerous mission to unknown lands at a time when the order could ill afford more conflicts in Asia. At issue was the fact that Capuchins enjoyed the rights to missionize Tibet, a privilege granted to them by Propaganda Fide over the objections of the Jesuits. Moreover, the Society had extensive pastoral concerns in Asia and could not necessarily spare men for unsustainable new enterprises. Yet Desideri went on to Tibet, unimpeded by such bureaucratic trifles, until a Manchu army captured Lhasa and the Capuchins insisted on their right to an exclusive mission. These events forced him back to Italy, where he would spend years seeking to vindicate his individual missionary project.

The highlights of Pomplun's analysis come when he examines Desideri's accounts of Tibetan political struggles and his writings on local Buddhist practice. There is no doubt that this Jesuit was a shrewd observer of Asian secular and ecclesiastical politics, but when it came to European affairs, his vision was cloudy. This book suffers from a similar myopia: Pomplun's analysis of Desideri himself and his Tibetan context is very good, but he often loses sight of why the Society of Jesus did not defend their man in Rome and why the Portuguese Jesuits—or the Portuguese crown, the patron of the Society's Asian missions—did not rally behind Desideri. The reader would have benefited from discussion of the denouement of the Chinese Rites controversy, as well as of the rivalry between Portuguese and French Jesuit missions in Asia in the eighteenth century. The Jesuits involved in those debates were not blinded by what Pomplun calls "Jesuit *phantasia*" (p. 17; emphasis in original), the purported wellspring of Desideri's ambitions. The Society's superiors in Rome, Lisbon, and Goa knew well what was at stake in the political and theological debates of their day, and their lukewarm support for Desideri was proof that they recognized how fantastical his projects were. In the end, Desideri remained alone with his visions of far-off Tibet, longing for a mission that was no longer his.

Michigan State University LIAM MATTHEW BROCKEY

BRIEF NOTICES

New Catholic Encyclopedia, Supplement 2009. Vol. 1: A–I; Vol. 2: J–Z. (Detroit: Cengage Learning. 2010. $273.00 (print version). Vol. 1: Pp. xxxiv, 447, ISBN 978-1-41-447527-1; vol 2: xvi, 449–948, ISBN 978-1-414-47528-8. Set ISBN 978-1-414-47526-4. E-book ISBN 978-1-414-47526-4.)

Although this supplement is focused on "Science and the Church," it contains articles on new ecclesial documents such as the encyclicals of Pope Benedict XVI and personalities such as Charles Darwin; Cardinal Avery Dulles, S.J.; Sigmund Freud; and Pope John Paul II. There are also updated articles on

all the states and archdioceses of the United States, on the Greek Catholic Churches (Eastern Catholic) in the United States and Canada, the Catholic Church in Latin America, Bavaria, and India; and on The Catholic University of America. This supplement has also been published in electronic form, which contains all of the previous versions of a revised, updated, or rewritten entry; this policy will be observed in each successive supplement. The supplement for 2010 will be devoted mainly to "Modern History and the Church," and the supplement for 2011 to "Literature and the Arts." The electronic form is available to subscribers to the Jubilee Volume (2001), the second edition of the encyclopedia (2003), and all forthcoming supplements. ROBERT TRISCO *(The Catholic University of America)*

O'Malley, John W., S.J. *A History of the Popes: From Peter to the Present*. (Lanham, MD: Sheed & Ward. 2010. Pp. xvi, 351. $26.95. ISBN 978-1-580-51227-5.)

In recent years, Eamon Duffy's *Saints & Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven, 1997) has dominated the one-volume market in this field. Now John W. O'Malley provides a shorter, clearer, more direct and readable but still informative history of popes and the papacy (despite its title). Teachers would be better off assigning O'Malley's "leaner narrative" (p. ix), since average readers and undergraduates can lose their way in Duffy's sometimes dense text. Another aspect that makes it more accessible is the organization of six parts into a total of thirty-one chapters of about ten pages each. "From the Margins to the Center of the Roman World" takes the story up to Gregory the Great; "Bringing Order Out of Chaos" goes from the Merovingians to Gregory VII, a chapter whose subtitle, "Who's in Charge Here?," reminds us why O'Malley is a popular public speaker. The high-medieval period comprises "Development, Decline, Disarray," followed by "Renaissance and Reformation" detailing a period of papal recovery; but then comes "Into the Modern Era," a troubled tale, and "The Papacy as a Global Institution" from World War I to the present day. Given this strong story line, it would be easy for professors to supplement the volume with lectures and readings that play to their own interests and for the general reader to dig deeper. The reason why this history sounds like a compelling story is its source material: O'Malley's series of thirty-six, twenty-five-minute talks recorded for Now You Know Media in 2006. These were transcribed, edited, and rewritten. Reading it is a bit like experiencing an engaging book-on-tape in reverse. CHRISTOPHER M. BELLITTO *(Kean University)*

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Exhibitions

Until October 2010 the exhibition "Everybody Welcome, Everything Free" is on display in Rome's Capitoline Museum. The title refers to the motto adopted by the Knights of Columbus for their centers in Europe during World Wars I and II. In 1920, Pope Benedict XV invited the Knights to provide services in the Eternal City. They built a series of playgrounds open to all without fee. One in the San Lorenzo neighborhood was damaged by Allied bombing in 1943, but some are still functioning to this day. The Knights went on to sponsor restorations of various statues, roofs, and tombs of St. Peter's Basilica and to microfilm codices in the Vatican Library. One of the largest items in the exhibition is the Graham-Paige limousine presented to Pope Pius XI in 1929 by the Graham brothers, who were Knights. It became the favorite car of Pius XII and had logged over 30,000 miles before its retirement.

The Pontifical Commission for Sacred Archaeology has presented to the public the completed restoration of the oldest known paintings of Ss. Peter, Paul, Andrew, and John recently discovered under a crust of calcium carbonate in the Catacombs of St. Thecla in Rome.

The Galileo Museum of Florence, dedicated to the history of science, has exhibited three fingers and a molar of Galileo Galilei. These relics were identified after their purchase at the Pandolfini auction house in Florence by Candida Bruschi. In 1737, the historian and naturalist Giovanni Targioni Tozzetti had removed these items with a knife from the cadaver of Galileo when it was reburied with a Freemasonic rite in the church of Santa Croce.

Anniversary Celebration

At the end of July on Chapel Island and on Lennox Island, Nova Scotia, the 400th anniversary of the baptism of Grand Chief Henri Membertou of the Mi'kmaq Nation and of twenty other members of his family was celebrated with Masses and powwows. On June 24, 1610, they became the first aboriginals of French North America to become Christian. Celebrations a month earlier were held in Annapolis Royal and in Halifax Commons, Halifax, Nova Scotia. When the British expelled the French from this region, the Holy See in 1752 negotiated a treaty that allowed a French priest to continue to provide pastoral care to the Mi'kmaq.

Research Centers and Tools

Restoration work on the interior of the Vatican Library has been completed on schedule so that the library reopened on September 20. Among the improvements are new entries in the online catalog of manuscripts and bibliographical entries related to them. A Wi-Fi connection to the library's internal network allows readers to use their personal computers to consult the catalogs and other databases and to order from the Manuscript Reading Room items for consultation. Readers need to obtain new user permits from the Admissions Office that contain RFID microchips that identify them at the distribution desk and open an assigned locker.

Villanova University has announced the completion of a two-year project that provides a virtual tour of four churches in Rome. By taking several thousand digital photographs that were digitally stitched together, the team has created 360-degree images that can be enlarged and rotated, providing a virtual panorama in a three-dimensional projection. For St. Peter's Basilica, see http://www.vatican.va/various/basiliche/san pietro/vr tour/index-en.html; for the Sistine Chapel, see http://www.vatican.va/various/cappelle/sistine vr/index.html; for St. John Lateran, see http://www.vatican.va/various /basiliche/san giovanni/vr tour/Media/VR/Lateran Nave1/index.html; and for St. Paul's Outside the Walls, see http://www.vatican.va/various/basiliche/san paolo/vr tour/index-it.html.

Iuris canonici medii aevi consociatio (ICMAC)/International Society of Medieval Canon Law (http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/medieval/icmac/index .html) has announced its new Web site. Although the Web site is still in its infancy, it will post notices of conferences, symposia, grants and bursaries, publications, as well as issues of the electronic publication *Novellae: News of Medieval Canon Law.* It intends to create a members' forum where individuals can post announcements about events and current research, seek information, discuss scholarly questions, and join ICMAC online.

The Accademia Ambrosiana has put at the free disposition of scholars a database containing 21,000 of the 40,000 known letters of St. Carlo Borromeo. They can be accessed at http://epistolariosancarlo.ambrosiana.it.

Conferences

On November 25–27, 2010, the Accademia Ambrosiana of Milan, Italy, will sponsor a *Dies Academicus* dedicated to the theme "Carlo Borromeo e il cattolicesimo dell'età moderna. Nascita e 'fortuna' di un modello di santità."

On March 4, 2011, a joint meeting of the Texas State Historical Association and the Texas Catholic Historical Society will be held in El Paso. A panel session will be dedicated to the theme "The Church in El Paso during Two

Mexican Revolutions: 1810s and 1910s." Rick Hendricks and Mario Garcia will present papers, and Dennis Bixler-Márquez will be the commentator.

On May 12–15, 2011, the International Society of Medieval Canon Law will sponsor two sessions at the International Congress on Medieval Studies to be held at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo. The themes of the sessions will be "Did the Letter of the Law Matter? Church Law and Social History" and "The Bishop at Work: Tasks, Trials, and Transformation of Diocesan Administration." Proposals for the first session should be sent promptly to Greta Austin in the Department of Religion of the University of Puget Sound (ggaustin@pugetsound.edu). They should examine how canon law was applied in particular medieval contexts. Proposals for the second session are to be addressed to John S. Ott in the History Department of Portland State University (fax: 503/725-3953). A proposal should contain the title and an abstract of less than 300 words, and be accompanied by the curriculum vitae of its author. Forms providing participant information are available at http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/congress/submissions/index.html#PIF. At the same conference, the Stephan Kuttner Institute of Medieval Canon Law will sponsor the session "Letter and the Law: Correspondence and the Application of Church Law in Medieval Society." It will investigate how precepts of canon law were disseminated and further developed by means of official and personal correspondence. Proposals for papers should be sent to Mary E. Sommar of Millersville University (msommar@gmail.com).

From May 29 to June 1, 2011, the conference "Religion and Peace in Monotheistic Traditions" will be jointly sponsored by the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute and Bar-Ilan University in Israel. The conference will focus on the meaning and ramification of peace, the theological and practical basis of peace, the history of the profession of peacemaking, and the terminology of peacemaking (e.g., truce and ceasefire). The conference organizers welcome papers addressing such themes as eternal versus temporal peace, peace movements (e.g., *pax Dei* and *tregua Dei*), historical models of peace treaties, liturgies of peace, the theology of forgiveness and peace, peacemaking as a theological mission, and peace tourism and pilgrimage. Proposals for papers in the form of abstracts of less than 300 words should be sent before October 1, 2010, to Yvonne Friedman (yfried@mail.biu.ac.il) and Merav Mack (merav.mack@gmail.com).

Causes of Saints

On June 24, 2010, Bishop Nicholas A. DiMarzio of Brooklyn, New York, opened a canonical inquiry into the cause of sainthood for Monsignor Bernard J. Quinn (1880–1940), who championed racial equality. Quinn established the first church for African Americans in Brooklyn, St. Peter Claver, and the first orphanage for black children on Long Island, named for St. Thérèse of Lisieux, which he had to rebuild twice after it was destroyed by arson. His

efforts to provide musical opportunities to young black people won the support of Lena Horne and Pearl Bailey.

On July 1, 2010, Pope Benedict XVI approved recommendations of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints (see below). It recognized the martyrdom of sixteen members of the Congregation of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of ten members of the Order of the Carmelites during religious persecutions in Spain in 1936. Also recognized as martyrs were Sister Marguerite Rutan (1736–94) of the Congregation of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul and three diocesan priests killed in Hamburg, Germany, in 1943. The heroic virtue of the foundress of the "Beaterio" of Buenos Aires, Sister Maria Antonia of St. Joseph (née Maria Antonia de Paz y Figueroa, 1730–99), and of Mother Maria (née Casmira Kaupas, 1880–1940), the foundress of the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Casimir, was formally recognized. Venerable Mother Maria's congregation ministers primarily to the Lithuanian communities of Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Argentina.

On July 20, 2010, Baltimore Archbishop Edwin F. O'Brien celebrated the closing of the archdiocesan inquiry into the life and ministry of Father Patrick Joseph Peyton (1909–92). Born in County Mayo, Ireland, Peyton came to America in 1928 and soon entered the Congregation of the Holy Cross. He promoted the saying of the rosary through the Family Rosary Crusade, coining the phrase, "The family that prays together stays together." His Family Theatre Productions, founded in 1947, led to the production of 600 radio and television programs, 10,000 broadcasts, and fifteen films on the life of Christ.

Publications

Studies in Church History (vol. 46, 2010) contains the papers read at the 2008 summer meeting and the 2009 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society, which have been edited by Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon, and published by the Boydell Press under the title *God's Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World.* A selection follows: Sarah Foot, "Plenty, Portents and Plague: Ecclesiastical Readings of the Natural World in Early Medieval Europe" (pp. 15–41); Olga Gusakova, "A Saint and the Natural World: A Motif of Obedience in three early Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives" (pp. 42–52); Conor Kosstick, "God's Bounty, *Pauperes* and the Crusades of 1096 and 1147" (pp. 66–77); Peter Biller, "Cathars and the Material World" (pp. 89–110); Brenda Bolton, "Subiaco—Innocent III's Version of Elijah's Cave" (pp. 111–23); R. N. Swanson, "Payback Time? Tithes and Tithing in Late Medieval England" (pp. 124–33); Simon Ditchfield, "What did Natural History have to do with Salvation? José de Acosta SJ (1540–1600) in the Americas" (pp. 144–68); Alexandra Walsham, "Footprints and Faith: Religion and the Landscape in Early Modern Britain and Ireland" (pp. 184–93); Raymond Gillespie, "Devotional Landscapes: God, Saints and the Natural World in Early Modern Ireland" (pp.

217–36); Alasdair Raffe, "Nature's Scourges: The Natural World and Special Prayers, Fasts and Thanksgivings, 1541–1866" (pp. 237–47); Michael Gladwin, "Australian Anglican Clergymen, Science and Religion, 1820–1850" (pp. 293–306); Paul White, "Darwin's Church" (pp. 333–52); William Sheils, "Nature and Modernity: J. C. Atkinson and Rural Ministry in England, *c.* 1850–1900" (Presidential Address) (pp. 366–95); and Christopher Clark, "Heavens on Earth: Christian Utopias in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century America" (pp. 396–418).

The Pontificia Università della Santa Croce in Rome has published the "Atti del XII Convegno Internazionale della Facoltà di Teologia, 'La storia della Chiesa nella storia,' Roma, 13–14 marzo 2008," edited by Luis Martínez Ferrer, under the title *Venti secoli di storiografia ecclesiastica: Bilancio e prospettive.* The following contributions are called *relazioni*: Paolo Siniscalco, "Due tradizioni storiografiche a confronto: le *Historiae ecclesiasticae* e i *De uiris illustribus*" (pp. 11–32); Françoise Thelamon, "Les *Histoires ecclésiastiques* du V^e^ siècle: Rufin, Socrate, Sozomène, Théodoret" (pp. 33–54); Martin Aurell, "L'historiographie ecclésiastique en Occident (IV^e^–XII^e^ siècles): Providence, type, exemple" (pp. 55–71); Marco Pellegrini, "La storia della Chiesa nella prospettiva degli umanisti (secc. XV–XVI)" (pp. 73–130); Johannes Grohe, "Cesare Baronio e la polemica sui Concili ecumenici" (pp. 131–45); Cosimo Semeraro, "Azione e incidenza dei papati contemporanei nei riguardi della storia della Chiesa'" (pp. 147–77); Jean-Dominique Durand, "La storiografia religiosa francese del Novecento" (pp. 179–95); and José Andrés-Gallego, "Corrientes de historiografía eclesiástica desde el Concilio Vaticano II" (pp. 197–233). There are also twenty *comunicazioni* (pp. 237–464). The price of the volume is €32,00.

"Das ‹Breviarium› des Liberatus von Karthago" is the theme of the articles published in Heft 1 of the *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity* for 2010 (Band 14). Edited by Volker Henning Drecoll and Mische Meier, who have written the "Einleitung/Editorial" (pp. 3-8), the *Aufsätze*/Essays are as follows: Drecoll, "Kommentierende Analyse zu Liberatus, *Breviarium* 1–7" (pp. 9–30); Uta Heil, "Liberatus von Karthago und die «Drei Kapitel». Anmerkungen zum *Breviarium causae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum* 8–10" (pp. 31–59); Martin Wallraff, "Das Konzil von Chalkedon in der Darstellung des Liberatus von Karthago (*Breviarium* 11–14)" (pp. 60–73); Hanns Christof Brennecke, "Das akakianische Schisma: Liberatus, *Breviarium* 15–18" (pp. 74–95); Benjamin Gleede, "Liberatus' Polemik gegen die Verurteilung der drei Kapitel und seine alexandrinische Quelle. Einige Beobachtungen zu *Breviarium* 19-24" (pp. 96–129); Mische Meier, "Das *Breviarium* des Liberatus von Karthago. Einige Hypothesen zu seiner Intention" (pp.130–48); Hartmut Leppin, "Das Bild der Kaiser bei Liberatus" (pp. 149–65); Bruno Bleckmann, "Tendenziöse Historiographie bei Liberatus: Von Proterius bis Athanasios II." (pp. 166–95); Konrad Vössing, "Africa zwischen Vandalen, Mauren und Byzantinern (533–548 n.Chr.)" (pp.

196–225); and Steffen Patzold, "Spurensuche: Beobachtungen zur Rezeption des Liberatus in der Karolingerzeit und im Hochmittelalter" (pp. 226–49).

Several papers presented at the "Jahresversammlung der Gesellschaft zum Studium des Christlichen Ostens," which was held in Vienna on May 15–16, 2009, have been published in Heft 2 of *Ostkirchliche Studien* for 2009 (vol. 58), viz., Ekaterina Mitsiou, "Das Leben der Kirche von Konstantinopel im Spiegel des Patriarchatsregisters: Zwischen Ideal und Devianz—Mönche, Kleriker, Laien, Konvertiten, Häretiker und Zauberer" (pp. 208–25); Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, "Das Patriarchat von Konstantinopel und das politische und religiöse Umfeld des 14. Jh.s im Spiegel ausgewählter Urkunden des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel" (pp. 226–36); Christian Gastgeber, "Die Kirchengeschichte des Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos. Ihre Entdeckung und Verwendung in der Zeit der Reformation" (pp. 237–47); and Sebastiano Panteghini, "Die Kirchengeschichte des Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos" (pp. 248–66).

A study day on the Gregorian Reform, sponsored by the Société d'Histoire Religieuse de France, was held in Paris on January 31, 2009. The papers presented on that occasion have been published in the issue for January–June, 2010, of the *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* (vol. 96), as follows: Michel Sot, "La réforme grégorienne, une introduction" (pp. 5–10); Rolf Grosse, "L'Église impériale dans la tradition franque. Le temps des Ottoniens et des premiers Saliens" (pp. 11–27); Guy Lobrichon, "Les réformateurs ont-ils inventés les laïcs (*c.*? 1100-*c.* 1110)" (pp. 29–41); Philippe Depreux, "Investitures et rapports de pouvoirs: réflexions sur les symboles de la querelle en Empire" (pp. 43–69); Patrick Henriet, "En quoi peut-on parler d'une spiritualité de la réforme grégorienne?" (pp. 71–91); Klaus Krönert, "La réforme grégorienne dans l'Église de Trèves (milieu XI^{e} siècle–début XII^{e} siècle)" (pp. 93–106); and Jean-Hervé Foulon, "Réflexions autour de l'application de la réforme pontificale en France: le cas du Val de Loire" (pp. 107–34).

Ten articles on "Inquisizioni" are published in the combined first and second numbers of series 5 (2009) of the *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia,* to wit: Marina Benedetti, "Fra Dolcino da Novara: un'avventura religiosa e documentaria" (pp. 339–62); Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, "Le carte lucchesi del processo inquisitoriale di Michele di Alessandro Diodati (aprile 1559–aprile 1560)" (pp. 363–86); María Luisa Cerrón Puga, "Nel labirinto di Babilonia. Vergerio artefice della censura di Petrarca" (pp. 387–424); Giorgos Plakotos, "Rumours, Gossip and Crypto-Jewish Identity in the Sixteenth-Century Venetian Inquisition" (pp. 425–43); José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Educating the Infidels within: Some Remarks on the College of the Catechumens of Lisbon (XVI–XVII centuries)" (pp. 445–72); Carlos Alberto González Sánchez and Pedro Rueda Ramírez, "«Con recato y sin estruendo». Puertos atlánticos y visita inquisitorial de navíos" (pp. 473–506); Vittorio Frajese, "A proposito del processo a Galileo. Il problema del precetto Seghizzi" (pp. 507–33); François Soyer, "The Inquisition

and the 'Priestess of Zafra': Hermaphroditism and Gender Transgression in Seventeenth-Century Spain" (pp. 535–62); Marina Torres Arce, "La Inquisición de Palermo entre Saboyas y Borbones. Un tribunal español y un rey piemontés en el reino de Sicilia (1713–18)" (pp. 563–91); and Gustavo Costa, "Celestini e inquisitori: Galiani, la Bibbia e la cultura napoletana" (pp. 593–621).

"The Year of the Priest" that Pope Benedict XVI proclaimed on June 19, 2009, in commemoration of the sesquicentennial of the death of St. Jean-Baptiste Vianney, the curé d'Ars, has been observed in Heft 3/4 of the *Römische Quartalschrift* for 2009 (Band 104) with the following articles: Erwin Gatz, "Zur Lebenskultur des katholischen Seelsorgeklerus. Ein Annäherungsversuch" (pp. 177–86); Dominik Burkard, "Priester als Landeshistoriker—Vermessung eines Forschungsfeldes" (pp. 187–224); Gisela Fleckenstein, "Priester als Ordensgründer im 19. Jahrhundert" (pp. 225–46); Catherine Maurer, "Priester als Gründer von Sozialeinrichtungen. Der Fall Paul Müller-Simonis (1862–1930)" (pp. 247–56); Hans-Georg Aschoff, "Priester als Parteipolitiker im Deutschen Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik" (pp. 257–85); Erwin Gatz, "Priester und Jugendbewegung" (pp. 286–96); Josef Pilvousek, "Heimatvertriebene Priester in der SBZ/DDR von 1945 bis 1948" (pp. 297–311); and Thomas Forstner, "Oral History mit katholischen Weltgeistlichen—Einblicke in ein Forschungsprojekt" (pp. 312–23).

Two issues of the *U.S. Catholic Historian* have recently appeared. The winter 2010 (vol. 28, no. 1) issue has as its theme "African American Catholics: Essays in Honor of Cyprian Davis, O.S.B." It contains the following articles: Diane Batts Morrow, "'To My Darlings, the Oblates, Every Blessing': The Reverend John T. Gillard, S.S.J., and the Oblate Sisters of Providence" (pp. 1–26); Cecilia A. Moore, "Conversion Narratives: The Dual Experiences and Voices of African American Catholic Converts" (pp. 27–40); Kimberly Flint-Hamilton, "When Church Becomes State: Electioneering and the Culture of Fear and Race in the 2008 Presidential Election" (pp. 41–52); M. Shawn Copeland, "Building up a Household of Faith: Dom Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., and the Work of History" (pp. 53–63); Bryan M. Massingale, "Cyprian Davis and the Black Catholic Intellectual Vocation" (pp. 65–82); Jon Nilson, "'Towards the 'Beloved Community': The Church's Role in the Struggle against Racism" (pp. 83–91); and Raymond Studzinski, O.S.B., "Cyprian Davis—Monk, Historian, Teacher, Agent of Hope" (pp. 93–98). The spring 2010 issue (vol. 28, no. 2) is devoted to "Ecumenism," which is treated by the following authors: Patrick W. Carey, "American Catholic Ecumenism on the Eve of Vatican II, 1940–1962" (pp. 1–17); John A. Rodano, "Contributions of Americans to Vatican Ecumenism: The Critical Period, 1960–1978" (pp. 19–38); John S. Cummins, "Bishop Floyd L. Begin's Bold and Steady Service in the Development of the Graduate Theological Union: A Personal Reflection" (pp. 39–54); Jeffrey Gros, F.S.C., "The Unity of Christians: The United States Catholic Witness" (pp. 55–80); John Borelli, "The Origins and Early Development of Interreligious

Relations during the Century of the Church (1910–2010)" (pp. 81–105); Mary Christine Athans, B.V.M., "Courtesy, Confrontation, Cooperation: Jewish-Christian/Catholic Relations in the United States" (pp. 107–34); Ronald G. Roberson, C.S.P., "The Dialogues of the Catholic Church with the Separated Eastern Churches" (pp. 135–52); and Mark Clatterbuck, "In Native Tongues: Catholic Charismatic Renewal and Montana's Eastern Tribes (1975–Today)" (pp. 153–80).

Personal Notices

Charles R. Gallagher, S.J., was ordained a priest on June 12, 2010. Father Gallagher has been appointed as assistant professor of history at Boston College.

Charles O'Brien has recently published *False Patriots* (Severn House, 2010) a novel that deals with the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. It is the ninth of his historical mysteries set in the French Revolution.

Obituary Notices

Sister Grace Donovan, S.U.S.C. (1921–2009)

Sister Grace Donovan, S.U.S.C. (Sister Thérèse Anna), died on April 9, 2009, at the age of eighty-seven after a long illness. She was born in Fall River, Massachusetts, on September 14, 1921, the daughter of Cornelius and Mary Ellen (Grandfield) Donovan, both of Fall River.

Sister Grace was a graduate of the former St. Patrick's school and of the former Sacred Hearts Academy, both in Fall River. She entered the Holy Union Sisters in Fall River in 1938 and pronounced her first vows on September 20, 1940. She earned a BA from Manhattan College, New York, and her MA and PhD from Boston College. She completed additional studies at Oxford University and the University of Paris.

Sister Grace began her teaching career in junior high schools in Fall River and New York. Later she moved to St. Mary's High School in Taunton, Massachusetts, where she also served as principal from 1957 to 1961. She combined service to the Holy Union Sisters with a long academic career. After receiving her doctorate in history she served on the history faculty at Boston College and Lowell State, today the University of Massachusetts at Lowell. She was dean of students at Regis College in Weston, Massachusetts, from 1974 to 1976. She was a member of the campus ministry staff as well as adjunct professor of history at Stonehill College in North Easton, Massachusetts, from 1979 to 1997. She was an active member of the American Historical Association, the Society of American Archivists, the New England Association of Religious Archivists, and the American Catholic Historical Association

since 1981. She attended annual conferences of these professional organizations and often served on various committees as well as chairing sessions and delivering several papers on the history of women religious.

Sister Grace was provincial superior of the Fall River Province of the Holy Union Sisters from 1971 to 1974. Additionally, through the years she represented the province at many international assemblies. She also served on the provincial council for two terms. In 1977, she traveled to Belgium as part of an international research commission that organized the archival collections of the Holy Union Congregation and conducted research on the Congregation's history and spirituality. While teaching at Stonehill she also served as the archivist for the Fall River Province. She continued in this position until 1999 when a merger created the United States Province of the Holy Union Sisters. She then served as co-archivist from 1999 to 2005.

Even during her retirement, Sister Grace maintained strong ties with the academic world, lecturing on Holy Union history and the charism of the community to various groups. Her publications include *Beginning: Holy Union Women in the U.S.A., 1886–1986* (Fall River, MA, 1986) and *Holy Women on Holy Ground*, a history of the foundational period of her congregation (n.p., 2005).

Sister Grace Donovan's warmth, ever-positive attitude, and welcoming spirit were hallmarks of her life as both a religious and an academic. Well loved by her community, faculty colleagues, and students, she made a significant contribution to the American Church.

Stonehill College RICHARD GRIBBLE, C.S.C.

George T. Dennis, S.J. (1923–2010)

Two days before he died on March 7 at the Sacred Heart Jesuit Center in Los Gatos, California, Father George Dennis was at his desk beginning a new project. He had just completed his ninth book, *The Tactical Constitutions of Leo VI*, which Harvard's Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies would publish shortly after his death. The Byzantine Symposium that spring on Byzantine warfare was dedicated to his memory.

Father Dennis was born in Somerville, Massachusetts, on November 17, 1923. His family relocated to Santa Monica, California, when he was in high school. At seventeen, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1941 at Los Gatos and was ordained to the priesthood in 1954. His scholarly career began during seminary studies in 1955 with his first article on an autograph of the reformer, Philip Melanchthon, which he discovered in the rare book collection of the Jesuit seminary in Spokane, Washington. From then on, he produced a steady stream of books, articles, and book reviews. After a year's ter-

tianship in Florence, Father Dennis began graduate studies at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome, where he did his dissertation on the late-fourteenth-century emperor Manuel II Palaeologus under the direction of Raymond Loenertz, O.P. Under Father Loenertz's direction, he began to study the difficult Greek of the late-Byzantine period and mastered it to an exceptional degree. This mastery was in no small way the product of another lesson he took away from his graduate studies—namely, the need to produce critical editions and translations of medieval Greek texts so that historians would have a firm basis on which to build their analyses of the Byzantine world. In the process, he also mastered Greek paleography. He was a member of the American Catholic Historical Association from 1960 until he died.

After completing his doctoral studies, Father Dennis took a position at Loyola University in Los Angeles where he taught medieval history from 1961 to 1966. In 1964–65, he received a Guggenheim Fellowship to study Greek manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. After a year in Washington, DC, working for the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, he took a position in the Department of History at The Catholic University of America. In 1986–87, he returned to the Pontifical Oriental Institute as a visiting professor, and in 1990–91, he held a fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks, where he edited the orations of Michael Psellos. A great benefit of teaching in Washington, DC, was the easy access to the library at Dumbarton Oaks. Father Dennis taught occasional summer courses at Dumbarton Oaks and was a regular participant in its medieval Greek reading group. He was well known for the generous help he was always prepared to give to colleagues and students alike. From 1995 to 2001, he was a Senior Fellow at Dumbarton Oaks. In the late 1970s, he completed Monsignor Martin Higgins's unfinished edition of *Strategikon* of the Emperor Maurice, which led to a new interest in Byzantine military history. A Festschrift, *Peace and War in Byzantium*, was published in honor of his seventieth birthday (Washington, DC, 1995).

Father Dennis continued teaching at CUA until 2000, when he suffered a stroke. In 2001, he returned to what was now Loyola Marymount University, where, confined to a wheelchair, he continued to teach history courses and do his research and writing. In December 2005, further health problems forced him and his books to move to Los Gatos, where he continued to work. In accordance with his wishes, his library was donated to the Ukrainian Catholic University of Lviv.

The Jesuit School of Theology DAVID W. JOHNSON, S.J.
University of Santa Clara

Letter to the Editor

In his response to our letter to the editor of *The Catholic Historical Review*, published *ante*, XCVI (2010), 200–01, David O'Connell makes a number of assertions that must be disputed. O'Connell states, "With regard to

Beagle's claim that I accuse the Reverend Joseph McKey of having perpetrated a 'hoax' by stating that Ryan had been at the Battle of Lookout Mountain, I take strong exception to Beagle's having put that word in my mouth. In fact, the word 'hoax' does not appear in my book."

This claim will come as a great surprise to any objective reader of O'Connell's *Furl That Banner*, who will find on p. 51, paragraph 1, the following statement where he uses the specific word "hoax" to describe the specific article about Ryan's presence at Lookout Mountain. Here is O'Connell's own sentence, quoted verbatim: "The hoax was repeated in an article that appeared in *The New World*, the newspaper of the Archdiocese of Chicago, about this time, but now the mysterious correspondent was named "M. B. G., . . ." Lest there be any doubt that O'Connell was fingering Father McKey as the perpetrator of this so-called "hoax," he identifies McKey by name on both the preceding page (p. 50), "By inventing this story, McKey not only placed Ryan on a mountain top in Tennessee, . . ." and on the following page (p. 52): "When McKey invented the story of Ryan at Missionary Ridge. . . ."

In fact, McKey never "invented" the story of Ryan at Missionary Ridge. The narrative was first published on March 2, 1907, in *The New World* and again on October 31, 1907, in the *New Zealand Tablet*, the newspaper of the Diocese of Dunedin (under the title "Soldiers of the Cross"). This establishes beyond doubt that the "M.B.G." who submitted the narrative to both publications was Montgomery B. Gibbs, a Chicago-based newspaper editor who had served from 1899 to 1905 in New Zealand and Australia as editorial representative for *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Gibbs returned to the United States in 1905 to research his namesake ancestor, a Unionist agent of the Department of the Treasury who, according to a postwar Treasury Department report, had been covertly stationed at "interior points in the southern states" beginning in 1863, the year of the Battle of Lookout Mountain. The 1907 narrative has nothing to do with the Second Klan, which formed nearly a decade later. Far from defending Southern patriotism, the narrative by "M.B.G." criticizes Confederate soldiers for a lack of discipline, slams the Southern Irish for a lack of fealty to Catholicism, and praises the command of Ulysses Grant. The narrative was almost certainly embellished in ways typical of many popular postwar accounts of the day. But all other works known to have been published by Gibbs were historical nonfiction accounts recast as personal anecdotal narratives. There is no reason to believe otherwise of "Two Soldiers."

O'Connell is certainly welcome to stand by his absolutist opinion that Ryan was not present at Lookout Mountain or Missionary Ridge. But it is clear from the highly favorable reviews of our book in the *Journal of Southern History* and the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* by Jennifer Lynn Gross and William P. Morelli respectively (both of whom comment positively on our treatment of the Lookout Mountain-Chattanooga episode) that we are in good company in viewing Ryan's presence there as probable, whether or not it is ever ultimately provable.

O'Connell's description of the Father Ryan Archive is unfortunately as inaccurate as his claim that the word "hoax" does not appear in his own book. In his book (p. x), O'Connell states that he is "... indebted to Susan Mayes and Donald Beagle, archivists at Belmont Abbey College, for making the college's Father Ryan materials available to me." To paraphrase a standard legal idiom, was O'Connell being inaccurate then or is he being inaccurate now? The archival contents today remain physically in the same good order that McKey left them decades ago. Moreover, the detailed annotated Finding Aid that Susan Mayes provided to O'Connell during his visit remains unchanged in the Web access catalog. The professional management of this archive so impressed visiting archivists from the State Library and Archives of North Carolina that in 2003–04 the library was awarded a competitive $10,000 grant funded by the Institute of Museum and Library Services specifically for the digitization of selected contents of the Father Ryan Archive.

In *Poet of the Lost Cause*, we were indeed forced by scholarly necessity to correct many (but by no means all) of the errors and inaccuracies in O'Connell's own book. The objective reader need look no further than page 2 of *Furl That Banner*, where O'Connell's extensive footnote 2 annotates and cites an entire series of published articles and letters to *Commonweal*. In point of fact, none of these items ever appeared in *Commonweal*. The Father Ryan Archive cannot be scapegoated for such inaccuracies on O'Connell's part, for copies of the published articles and letters in question were never a part of the archive, and the citation errors could easily have been discovered and corrected by using nearly any university library in the United States.

Certainly no book about a figure as complex, enigmatic, and controversial as Father Ryan, including our own book, can be expected to emerge entirely error-free. But the pattern of errors and omissions characterized by the *Commonweal* citations and the blatant misidentification of the Father Ryan Window at Boston College, which, in O'Connell's figure (p. xvii), depicts a bearded man wearing glasses, appear all too frequently in O'Connell's book and regrettably, have clearly continued with his review of our book, and with his subsequent response to our letter to the editor.

Belmont Abbey College DONALD ROBERT BEAGLE
Randolph-Macon College BRYAN ALBIN GIEMZA

David O'Connell replies:

Mud-slinging serves no useful purpose. I will not engage in it. Father Ryan, like most Southerners of his day, understood what "honor" is. Even more important, he understood the demands that a gentleman's code of "honor" places on his personal conduct. Judging by the professional behavior of the Beagle-Giemza duo, one would be rash to conclude that they possess a thorough understanding of the code that Ryan held dear.

I wrote a book. As I proceeded, I consulted many sources. In my travels, I used the primary sources located in a research facility where one of the two authors held the position of archivist. In the course of the several visits that I made there (it was about a 3- to 4-hour drive requiring an overnight stay), this archivist was never to be found. I was never able to speak to him to ask the many questions I had about the collection. In his place, I met on each of my visits with an assistant who knew nothing about the Ryan collection—and said so repeatedly. She did nothing more than point to the cardboard box into which unmarked files had been dumped. I was on my own. I thought at the time that this behavior was unprofessional, but had no inkling of the true nature of the skullduggery that was unfolding. To be clear, I did not realize at the time that key documents were being held back from me. Nor did I realize that the reason why the archivist was avoiding me was because he was also writing a book on Father Ryan. Only later, when I saw the Beagle-Giemza book, did the full realization of what had happened hit me. If the man's professional behavior had been so shabby, it was because he feared that, in speaking to me, he might actually help me!

But the story gets even worse when we recall that the authors knew what I was doing, while I had no idea what they were doing. When I read their book, I was struck by the number of times they refer to my biography of Ryan. In fact, I now suspect that they might have even held back publication of their book to read mine before they went to press. Despite the large number of references to my book, I also believe that if an independent scholar were given the time to read the two books closely, instance of plagiarism could very well be detected.

Although I did not have the benefit of consulting all the available documentation on Ryan, I still stand by my book. It is the first complete biography of the "poet-priest," and I believe that it offers a thorough, full, and fair overview of the man's life and work.

Georgia State University (Emeritus) DAVID O'CONNELL

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