NEW CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA



SUPPLEMENT 2010

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Robert L. Fastiggi, Executive Editor

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FOREWORD

The publication of this 2010 Supplement to the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (NCE) is a cause of great joy to me as I conclude my tenure as President of The Catholic University of America. This supplement focuses on "Modern History and the Church," and it also includes new articles and updates on topics of contemporary Catholic interest, along with fresh coverage of the new "Saints" and "Blesseds" of the Church. Like the 2009 Supplement, it is being published in both electronic and print form, and it continues the fine collaboration of Gale, Cengage Learning with The Catholic University of America Press. I am happy to know that plans are already underway for supplements focusing on Literature, Music, and the Arts (2011) and Philosophy and Ethics (2012).

Since becoming President of The Catholic University of America in 1998, I have grown even more aware of the important role of the Catholic Church in the events of history, in both the United States and the world. In an age of instant communication, people of all faiths are interested in the role of the Catholic Church in public affairs and culture. This 2010 NCE Supplement helps to situate many contemporary questions and controversies in the light of Catholic history. The editors have recruited a team of eminent scholars to cover the central personalities, events and topics of modern Catholic history. In my opinion, they carry out their work with objectivity, accuracy and balance. The present volume establishes the truth of the old adage that we cannot understand the present without a clear understanding of the past.

The Second Vatican Council reminded us that the Church is "*sancta simul et semper purificanda*"—"at the same time holy and always in need of purification" (*Lumen gentium*, 8). In light of this, the authors of the present volume do not shy away from the shadows of Catholic history. On the other hand, many Catholic men and women of the past have responded to God's grace with heroic virtue and are justly honored as exemplars of holiness. The new "Saints" and "Blesseds" covered within the present volume show that, in spite of human weakness and failure, authentic faith, hope and charity is possible.

I wish to thank the editors of the 2010 Supplement—Dr. Robert Fastiggi, Fr. Joseph Koterski, S.J. and Dr. Frank Coppa—for their dedicated work. Likewise, I express my gratitude to Hélène Potter and Douglas Dentino of Gale, Cengage Learning, along with Jay Flynn, the publisher. I am especially grateful to Dr. David McGonagle, the Director of The Catholic University of America Press, who has insured that the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* will continue as a preeminent source of Catholic scholarship and information.

Very Rev. David M. O'Connell, C.M., J.C.D.
President,
The Catholic University of America

PREFACE

This 2010 Supplement to the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (NCE) follows the approach established by the 2009 Supplement: Special attention is given to a particular theme while new and updated entries appear on other topics of historical and contemporary interest. Following the successful focus on Science and the Church (2009), the present 2010 volume concentrates on Modern History and the Church. Plans are underway for future supplements on Literature, Music, and the Arts (2011) and Philosophy and Ethics (2012).

The Catholic University of America Press first published the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* in 15 volumes in 1967, followed by four supplemental volumes between 1972 and 1995. In 2001, a Jubilee Volume was issued marking the year 2000, which was published by the Gale Group of Farmington Hills, Michigan in editorial partnership with The Catholic University of America Press. This Jubilee Volume covered the people, issues and events of the Catholic Church since the Second Vatican Council with a special focus on the pontificate of Pope John Paul II. It also prepared the way for the second edition of the NCE, which was published in 2003. This second edition included many new articles and revisions of the original entries from the 1967 volumes.

In the summer of 2006, planning for new supplements of the NCE began with an eye towards an electronic format. Cengage Learning (the successor to the Gale Group), together with The Catholic University of America Press, decided to combine the thematic approach of the 2001 Jubilee Volume with the necessary updating and revision of prior entries. A commitment was made to have annual supplements in order to have more frequent updating and revisions. Annual supplements also facilitate the inclusion of more new topics that touch on Catholic life, thought and practice. In 2009, the first supplement of this revised format was published, in both electronic and print form, with a thematic focus on "Science and the Church."

The present 2010 volume concentrates on Modern History and the Church, which is subdivided into Early Modern History (1500–1789) and Later Modern (since 1789). In addition to updated entries on these periods, there is also an updated entry on Early Church History and a completely re-written article on Medieval Church History. Readers will also find many entries dealing with Catholic and/or papal reactions to various events of modern history, such as the American Revolution, the American Civil War, World War I, World War II and the War in Iraq. Biographical entries appear on significant historical figures, such as Garibaldi, Stalin, Mussolini, Charles de Gaulle and John F. Kennedy. Important issues and movements are also treated, with updated or new entries on topics such as NATO, Nazism, anti-Judaism, Jewish-Catholic relations and the legal history of Church-State relations in the USA.

Just as the 2009 volume had a secondary focus on the Church in the United States, the 2010 supplement has a secondary focus on the new "Saints" and "Blesseds" of the Catholic Church. The entries on these newly canonized or beatified men and women frequently relate to Modern Catholic History because of connections with events such as the "Spanish Civil War" and the anti-Catholic persecutions in Mexico during the 1920s. There is also an article on the 800 men recognized as the "Martyrs of Otranto," executed for their faith in 1480.

As in earlier supplements, the editors realized that the ongoing life of the Catholic Church necessitates coverage of new ecclesial documents, personalities and matters of emerging interest. Thus, new entries are included in the present volume on *Anglicanorum coetibus*, the constitution for Anglicans wishing to enter into full Catholic communion, and Benedict XVI's encyclical, *Caritas in veritate*. Recently deceased Catholic figures, such as Stanley Jaki, OSB and Cardinal Pio Laghi, are also given coverage. In addition, the theological articles on the Blessed Virgin Mary have been either revised or completely re-written, and an entirely new article on Lutheranism appears. Other revised or new entries are found on topics such as the *mandatum* required for professors of Catholic theology and the 1990 papal constitution for Catholic colleges and universities, *Ex corde Ecclesiae*.

For the 2010 supplement, special thanks must be given to Associate Editor, Dr. Frank Coppa of St. John's University. His expertise in Modern Catholic History, especially the history of the papacy, was invaluable for the special focus of the present volume. The contributions of Fr. Joseph Koterski, S.J. of Fordham University and Dr. David McGonagle of The Catholic University of America Press also deserve much recognition. Finally, many thanks must go to Douglas Dentino, the Project Editor, and Hèlëne Potter, the Director of New Product Development of Cengage Learning. Without their help, the present volume would not have been possible.

Editorial Note: In an effort to focus on topics that are of interest to our readers, we have created a mailbox where you can email us your ideas for topics that you would like us to cover, or comment on those we have already published. We welcome your participation in the re-forging of the New Catholic Encyclopedia. The mailbox address is:

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Robert L. Fastiggi
Executive Editor

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James L. Heft, SM (2010)

EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (K THROUGH 12) IN THE UNITED STATES
Thomas C. Hunt (2010)

ELIA DI SAN CLEMENTE, BL.
Laurie J. Edwards (2010)

EMMERICK, ANNA KATHARINA, BL.
Kent Wallace (2010)

ERRICO, GAETANO, ST.
Elizabeth Inserra (2010)

ESCRIVÁ DE BALAGUER Y ALBÁS, JOSEMARÍA, ST.
Rev. Robert A. Gahl, Jr. (2010)
Mary Louise Maytag Kennedy (2003)

EUPHRASIA OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS, BL.
Laurie J. Edwards (2010)

EUROPEAN UNION AND THE PAPACY
Frank J. Coppa (2010)

EX CORDE ECCLESIAE
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)
Joseph A. Komonchak (2003)

EXCOMMUNICATION
Edward Peters (2010)
Msgr. Thomas J. Green (2003)
Rev. Francis Xavier Lawlor, SJ (2003)

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FABRIS, EUROSIA, BL.
Laurie J. Edwards (2010)

FASCISM
Richard J. Wolff (2010)

FAWKES, GUY
William D. Griffin (2010)

FELIŃSKI, ZYGMUNT SZCZĘSNY, ST.
Laurie Malashanko (2010)

FELIX OF NICOSIA, ST.
Kevin M. Clarke (2010)
Rev. Thaddeus MacVicar, OFMCap (2003)

FELLOWSHIP OF CATHOLIC SCHOLARS
James Hitchcock (2010)

FERNANDES, BARTOLOMEU DEI MARTIRI, BL.
Laurie J. Edwards (2010)

FILIPPINI, LUCY, ST.
EDS. (2010)
Sister Margherita Frances Marchione, MPF (2003)

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Joyce Lazarus (2010)

FINDYSZ, WŁADYSŁAW (LADISLAUS), BL.
Neil P. Sloan (2010)

FLESCH, MARGARET, BL.
Laurie J. Edwards (2010)

FOUCAULD, CHARLES EUGÈNE DE, BL.
Damian X. Lenshek (2010)
Rev. Anthony J. Wouters, WF (2003)

498 MARTYRS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, BB.
Elizabeth Inserra (2010)

FRANCIA, ANNIBALE MARIA DI, ST.
Kevin M. Clarke (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

FRANCISCANS, CONVENTUAL
Rev. Steven J. McMichael (2010)

FRANCO, FRANCISCO
Julia L. Ortiz-Griffin (2010)

FRASSINELLO, BENEDETTA CAMBIAGIO, ST.
Kevin M. Clarke (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

FREINADEMETZ, JOSEPH, ST.
Elizabeth Inserra (2010)

FUSCO, ALFONSO MARIA, BL.
Sheila Marie Kirbos (2010)

FUSCO, TOMMASO MARIA, BL.
Sheila Marie Kirbos (2010)

G

GALEN, CLEMENS AUGUSTINUS VON, BL.
Kent Wallace (2010)
Mother Mary Alice Gallin, OSU (2003)

GALLICAN LIBERTIES
William Roberts (2010)

GALVÃO, ANTHONY OF SAINT ANNE, ST.
Kevin M. Clarke (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

GARCÍA ZAVALA, MARÍA GUADALUPE, BL.
Ann H. Shurgin (2010)

GARIBALDI, GIUSEPPE
Roland Sarti (2010)

GIACCARDO, TIMOTEO, BL.
EDS. (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

GINARD MARTÍ, MARÍA DE LOS ÁNGELES, BL.
Ann H. Shurgin (2010)

GIUSSANI, LUIGI
Rev. Antonio López, FSCB (2010)

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Ann H. Shurgin (2010)

GONZÁLEZ, EMMANUEL GÓMEZ, BL.
Ann H. Shurgin (2010)

GOOD SHEPHERD, CATECHESIS OF THE
Barbara M. Doran (2010)

GORAZDOWSKI, ZYGMUNT, ST.
Elizabeth Inserra (2010)

GREELEY, ANDREW M.
Richard P. Harmond (2010)

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Robert W. Shaffern (2010)

GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY
Michael Andrews (2010)

GUÉRIN, MOTHER THEODORE, ST.
Alexis Lavin (2010)
Sister Mary Rodger Madden, SP (2003)

GUÍZAR VALENCIA, RAFAEL, ST.
Kevin M. Clarke (2010)
Eduardo J. Correa (2003)

GUADALUPE, OUR LADY OF
EDS. (2010)
Angel Maria Garibay Kintana (2003)

GUERRERO GONZÁLEZ, ANGELA DE LA CRUZ, ST.
Kevin M. Clarke (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

GUEST HOUSE
Daniel A. Kidd (2010)

GUTIÉRREZ, GUSTAVO
Miguel A. León (2010)

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Brian Pedraza (2010)
Rev. Vincent F. Petriccione, TOR (2003)

HADDAD, JACQUES GHAZIR, BL.
Damian X. Lenshek (2010)

HELL (THEOLOGY OF)
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)
Rev. Edgar G. Hardwick, OMI (2003)

HELL, HARROWING OF
Msgr. Fernando B. Felices (2010)

HERESY, HISTORY OF: I. EARLY CHURCH
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)
Rev. Pierre J. Roche, CSSR (2003)

HERESY, HISTORY OF: II. MEDIEVIL PERIOD
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)
Bohdan Chudoba (2003)

HERESY, HISTORY OF: III. MODERN PERIOD
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)
Rev. Edward D. McShane, SJ (2003)

HERESY, HISTORY OF: IV. AFTER VATICAN II
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)

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John L. Carr (2010)

HITLER, ADOLF
Joseph A. Biesinger (2010)

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Sister Maria Renata Daily, CSC (2003)

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Very Rev. Edward L. Heston, CSC (2003)
James T. Connelly (2003)

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Rev. Louis J. Hoffman, SF (2003)

HOPKO, VASIL', BL.
Ann H. Shurgin (2010)

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Brian Pedraza (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

HUMILIS DE BISIGNANO, ST.
Randall Woodard (2010)

HURTADO CRUCHAGA, ALBERTO, ST.
Brian Pedraza (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

I

IGNATIUS OF SANTHIÀ, ST.
Elizabeth Inserra (2010)

IMPRIMATUR
Ino Rossi (2010)

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Edward Peters (2010)

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John M. McDermott, SJ (2010)

William E. May (2003)
Rev. Barnabas M. Ahern, CP (2003)
Rev. Francis J. Moloney, SDB (2003)

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Howard Bromberg (2010)

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William D. Griffin (2010)

IRWA, JILDO, BL.
Ann H. Shurgin (2010)

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Elizabeth Inserra (2010)

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JÄGERSTÄTTER, FRANZ, BL.
Elizabeth Inserra (2010)

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Joseph M. Keating (2010)

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William Roberts (2010)

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Rev. Paul Haffner (2010)

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Dennis R. Di Mauro (2010)
Rev. Vincent J. Fecher, SVD (2003)

JERUSALEM, LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF
Rev. Alex Kratz, OFM (2010)

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Eugene J. Fisher (2010)

JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (THEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF)
Rev. Lawrence E. Frizzell (2010)

JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: I. ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIOD (67–622)
EDS. (2010)
Rev. Kurt Hruby (2003)

JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: II. ISLAMIC PERIOD (622–1096)
EDS. (2010)
Rev. Kurt Hruby (2003)

JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: III. PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES AND SPANISH INQUISITION
EDS. (2010)
Rev. Kurt Hruby (2003)

JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: IV PERIOD OF THE RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION
EDS. (2010)
Rev. Kurt Hruby (2003)

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EDS. (2010)
Rev. Kurt Hruby (2003)

JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: VI. EMANCIPATION (1750–1948)
EDS. (2010)
Rev. Kurt Hruby (2003)

JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: VII. CONTEMPORARY HISTORY (1948–2009)
Rabbi Asher Finkel (2010)

JOSÉ APARICIO SANZ AND 232 COMPANIONS, MARTYRS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR,
Laurie J. Edwards (2010)

JOSEPH TÀPIES AND SIX COMPANIONS, BB.
Laurie J. Edwards (2010)

JUGAN, JEANNE, ST.
Dennis R. Di Mauro (2010)
Rev. Thomas Francis Casey (2003)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

JUSTIFICATION, JOINT DECLARATION ON
Michael Root (2010)

JUSTO DE OLIVEIRA, LINDALVA, BL.
Jacob W. Wood (2010)

K

KŁOPOTOWSKI, IGNATIUS, BL.
Jacob W. Wood (2010)

KÜNG, HANS
Raymond F. Bulman (2010)

KASSAB, NIMATULLAH AL-HARDINI YOUSEF, ST.
Dennis R. Di Mauro (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

KAZIMIERCZYK, STANISLAW YOUSEF, ST.
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Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

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Robert R. Tomes (2010)

KENNEDY, JOHN F.
Steven J. Brust (2010)

KILMARTIN, EDWARD J.
Carmina Magnusen Chapp (2010)

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS
Howard Bromberg (2010)
Christopher J. Kauffman (2003)

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Elizabeth Inserra (2010)

LAGHI, PIO
Russell Shaw (2010)
Most Rev. Timothy M. Dolan (2003)

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Timothy A. Milford (2010)

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Frank J. Coppa (2010)

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Rev. Paul Molinari, SJ (2003)

LEDÓCHOWSKA, URSZULA (URSULA), ST.
Robert Saley (2010)

Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

LEDÓCHOWSKI, WLADIMIR
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Rev. Paul Molinari, SJ (2003)

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Lara Vapnek (2010)

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Rev. Brian Harrison, OS (2010)
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Rev. Paul J. Hill (2003)

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Hans L. Trefousse (2010)

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Rev. Anthony J. Wouters, WF (2003)

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Rev. Thomas Francis Casey (2003)

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Sr. Constance Carolyn Veit, LSP (2003)

LIVIERO, CARLO (CHARLES), BL.
Cynthia Little (2010)

LLUCH, JUANA MARÍA CONDESA, BL.
Elizabeth Inserra (2010)

LONGHIN, ANDREW (ANDREA) HYACINTH, BL.
Elizabeth Inserra (2010)

LOZANO GARRIDO, MANUEL, BL.
Laurie J. Edwards (2010)

LUDOVICA DE ANGELIS, MARIA, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

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John Ryle Kezel (2010)

LUTHERANISM
Michael Root (2010)

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MACKILLOP, MARY HELEN, ST.
EDS. (2010)
Rev. James G. Murtagh (2003)

MANDATUM, ACADEMIC
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)

MANGANIELLO, TERESA, BL.
Laurie J. Edwards (2010)

MANTOVANI, MARIA DOMENICA, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MANYANET Y VIVES, JOSÉ (JOSEPH), ST.
Robert Saley (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

MARÍA DEL CARMEN OF THE CHILD JESUS, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MARÍA DEL TRÁNSITO DE JESÚS SACRAMENTADO, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MARCONI, GUGLIELMO
Sister Margherita Frances Marchione, MPF (2010)

MARELLO, GIUSEPPE (JOSEPH), ST.
Douglas A. Dentino (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

MARIA CANDIDA OF THE EUCHARIST, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MARIA GIUSEPPINA OF JESUS CRUCIFIED, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MARIA MADDALENA DELLA PASSION, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MARIA OF THE PASSION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MARIA TERESA OF JESUS, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MARIA TERESA OF ST. JOSEPH, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MARIAN FATHERS
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Rev. Martin P. Rzeszutek, MIC (2003)

MARIANITES OF HOLY CROSS
EDS. (2010)
Sister Mary Lourdes Dorsey, MSC (2003)

MARIANO DE LA MATA APARICIO, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MARIE-CÉLINE DE LA PRÉSENTATION, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MARK OF AVIANO, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MARKIEWICZ, BRONISŁAW, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MARTILLO MORÁN, NARCISA DE JESÚS, ST.
Robert Saley (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

MARTIN, LOUIS, BL.
Laurie Malashanko (2010)

MARTIN, MARIE-ZÉLIE GUÉRIN, BL.
Laurie Malashanko (2010)

MARVELLI, ALBERTO, BL.
Damian X. Lenshek (2010)

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Rev. Joseph W. Koterski, SJ (2010)

MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THE BIBLE)
Rev. François Rossier, SM (2010)
Rev. Christian P. Ceroke, Ocarm (2003)

MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THEOLOGY): I. HOLINESS OF MARY
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)
Rev. John F. Murphy (2003)

MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THEOLOGY): II. KNOWLEDGE AND FAITH OF MARY
Rev. Thomas A Thompson, SM (2010)

Rev. Paul John Mahoney, OP (2003)

MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THEOLOGY): III. MARY AND THE CHURCH
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)
Rev. Cyril Vollert, SJ (2003)
Rev. Frederick M. Jelly, OP (2003)

MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THEOLOGY): IV. MEDIATRIX OF ALL GRACES
Rev. Paul Haffner (2010)
Rev Juniper B. Carol, OFM (2003)

MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THEOLOGY): V. SPIRITUAL MATERNITY OF MARY
Judith Marie Gentle (2010)
Rev. William J. Cole, SM (2003)

MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO
Rev. Thomas Buffer (2010)
Rev. Eamon R. Carroll, Ocarm (2003)

MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, PAPAL MAGISTERIUM SINCE VATICAN II ON
Msgr. Arthur Burton Calkins (2010)

MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, QUEENSHIP OF
Edward Sri (2010)

MARY (AND ECUMENICAL DIALOGUE)
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)

MARY MAGDALENE OF THE INCARNATION, BL.
Heather Blomberg (2010)

MASTENA, MARIA PIA, BL.
Rebecca Bowman Woods (2010)

MATTIAS, MARIA DE, ST.
A. J. Kim (2010)
Rev. Andrew J. Pollack, CPPS (2003)

MAZZINI, GIUSEPPE
Roland Sarti (2010)

MCMANUS, FREDERICK
Msgr. Thomas J. Green (2010)

MENEGUZZI, LIDUINA, BL.
Rebecca Bowman Woods (2010)

MERKERT, MARIA LUISA, BL.
Rebecca Bowman Woods (2010)

MERZ, IVAN, BL.
Elizabeth L. McCloskey (2010)

MILLERET, MARIE EUGENIE OF JESUS, ST.
Laurie Malashanko (2010)

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Rev. Darren N. Dentino, MC (2010)

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Rev. Berard L. Marthaler, OFMConv (2003)

MISSIONARY SISTERS OF ST. PETER CLAVER
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Rev. Paul Molinari, SJ (2003)

MIT BRENNENDER SORGE
Sister Margherita Frances Marchione, MPF (2010)

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Charles J.T. Talar (2010)

MOLLA, GIANNA (JOAN) BERETTA, ST.
Neil P. Sloan (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

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Rev. Placid D. Solari, OSB (2010)
Rev. Jean Gribomont, OSB (2003)

MONASTICISM: II. MEDIEVAL MONASTICISM (600–1500)
Rev. Placid D. Solari, OSB (2010)
Rev. Victor Joseph Gellhaus, OSB (2003)

MONASTICISM: III. MODERN MONASTICISM (1500–1960)
Rev. Placid D. Solari, OSB (2010)
Rev. Joel Rippinger, OSB (2003)

MONASTICISM: IV. CONTEMPORARY MONASTICISM (1960–2009)
Rev. Placid D. Solari, OSB (2010)
Rev. Joel Rippinger, OSB (2003)

MONASTICISM: V. EASTERN MONASTICISM UNTIL 1453
Rev. Placid D. Solari, OSB (2010)
Rev. Jean Gribomont, OSB (2003)

MONASTICISM: VI. EASTERN MONASTICISM SINCE 1453
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Rev. Thomas Špidlík, SJ (2003)

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Elizabeth L. McCloskey (2010)

MONTOYA, LAURA, BL.
Alexander Andujar (2010)

MONZA, LUIGI, BL.
Elizabeth L. McCloskey (2010)

MORE, SIR THOMAS, ST.
Gerard B. Wegemer (2010)
Richard S. Sylvester (2003)
Richard J. Schoeck (2003)

MOREAU, BASIL ANTHONY, BL.
Sheila Marie Kirbos (2010)
Very Rev. Edward L. Heston, CSC (2003)

MOTHER TERESA OF CALCUTTA, BL.
Elizabeth Inserra (2010)
Rev. Berard L. Marthaler, OFMConv (2003)

MUSSOLINI, BENITO
Roland Sarti (2010)

MUTTATHUPANDATHU, ALPHONSA, ST.
A. J. Kim (2010)

Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

N

NAMUNCURÁ, ZEPHERIN, BL.
Elizabeth L. McCloskey (2010)

NANTES, EDICT OF
Michael Wolfe (2010)

NARDINI, PAUL JOSEF, BL.
Elizabeth L. McCloskey (2010)

NATO, PAPAL REACTION TO
Susan A. Maurer (2010)

NAZISM, PAPAL RESPONSE TO
Frank J. Coppa (2010)

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Rev. Joseph W. Koterski, SJ (2010)

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Paul Thigpen (2010)

NICOLI, GIUSEPPINA, BL.
Rebecca Bowman Woods (2010)

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Jack Zupko (2010)

NON LICET
Roy Domenico (2010)

NOUWEN, HENRI JOZEF MACHIEL
Michael Hryniuk (2010)

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EDS. (2010)
Rev. Silvio J. Chini, OSJ (2003)

OKELO, DAUDI, BL.
Ann H. Shurgin (2010)

OPUS DEI
EDS. (2010)
Ramiro Pellitero (2003)

ORIONE, LUIGI (LOUIS), ST.
A. J. Kim (2010)
Rev. Thomas Francis Casey (2003)

OROZCO, ALFONSO DE, ST.
Elizabeth-Jane P. McGuire (2010)
Brendan R. Cavanaugh (2003)

ORTIZ REAL, PIEDAD DE LA CRUZ, BL.
Ann H. Shurgin (2010)

OTRANTO (ITALY), MARTYRS OF
Elizabeth Lev (2010)

OUR LADY OF ALL NATIONS
Mark Miravalle (2010)

OWENS, JOSEPH
Mary C. Sommers (2010)

P

PÉREZ, LEONARDO, BL.
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PALESTINE, PAPAL POSITION TOWARD
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Ryan M. Haber (2010)

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Roy Domenico (2010)

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Mark B. Giszczak (2010)
Rev. Martin P. Rzeszutek, MIC (2003)

PAQUAY, VALENTIN, BL.
Ryan M. Haber (2010)

PAULINE FATHERS AND BROTHERS
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Rev. James Dunn, SSP (2003)

PAVONI, LODOVICO, BL.
Ryan M. Haber (2010)

PELCZAR, JÓZEF SEBASTIAN, ST.
Elizabeth-Jane P. McGuire (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

PELLESI, MARIA ROSA, BL.
Liz Swain (2010)

PEREIRA, NUNO DE SANTA MARIA ÁLVARES, ST.
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)

PERON, JUAN DOMINGO
Julia L. Ortiz-Griffin (2010)

PERPETUAL ADORATION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT, NUNS OF THE
EDS. (2010)
John H. McNeely (2003)

PERSONALISM
Kenneth Schmitz (2010)

PETER KIBE KASUI AND 187 COMPANIONS, MARTYRS OF NAGASAKI (JAPAN), BB.
Laurie J. Edwards (2010)

PETKOVIĆ, MARIA OF JESUS CRUCIFIED, BL.
Liz Swain (2010)

PIANZOLA, FRANCESCO, BL.
Elizabeth Inserra (2010)

PICCO, EUGENIA, BL.
Liz Swain (2010)

PIDAL Y CHICO DE GUZMÁN, MARÍA MARAVILLAS DE JESÚS BATTISTA,
Elizabeth-Jane P. McGuire (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

PILSUDSKI, JOZEF
Rev. Michael A. Guzik, SJ (2010)

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José M. Sánchez (2010)

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Rev. Martin X. Moleski, SJ (2010)

POLONI, VINCENZA MARIA, BL.
Liz Swain (2010)

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Hugh M. Dempsey (2010)
G. Michael Bugarin (2003)

PORTILLO, ALVARO DEL
EDS. (2010)
Russell Shaw (2003)

POVEDA CASTROVERDE, PEDRO, ST.
Albert Edward Doskey (2010)

Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

PRAETER INTENTIONEM
Rev. Andrew Jaspers, SJ (2010)

PRECA, GEORGE, ST.
Albert Edward Doskey (2010)
Emanuel P. Magro (2003)

PRECIOUS BLOOD SISTERS: I. ADORERS OF THE BLOOD OF CHRIST
EDS. (2010)
Sister Angelita Myerscough, AdPPS (2003)

PRECIOUS BLOOD SISTERS: II. SISTERS OF THE MOST PRECIOUS BLOOD
EDS. (2010)
Sister Mary Patrice Thaman, CPPS (2003)

PRECIOUS BLOOD SISTERS: III. SISTERS OF THE PRECIOUS BLOOD
EDS. (2010)
Sister Mary Octavia Gutman, CPPS (2003)

PROTOEVANGELIUM OF JAMES
Rev. Neil J. Roy (2010)

Q

QUIETISM
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)
Rev. Thomas K. Connolly, OP (2003)

R

RANGEL, JOSÉ TRINIDAD, BL.
Liz Swain (2010)

RAPTURE
Paul Thigpen (2010)
Mary Frohlich (2003)

RAVASCO, EUGENIA, BL.
Liz Swain (2010)

REDEMPTION (THEOLOGY OF)
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Rev. Eugene Leo Peterman, CP (2003)

REGGIO, TOMMASO, BL.
Liz Swain (2010)

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Liz Swain (2010)

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Rev. Brian Van Hove, SJ (2010)

RITA AMADA DE JESUS, BL.
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Liz Swain (2010)

RODRÍGUEZ SOPEÑA, MARÍA DOLORES, BL.
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ROMA (GYPSIES)
John Radzilowski (2010)

ROMERO MENESES, MARÍA, BL.
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Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

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ROSMINI-SERBATI, ANTONIO, BL
Robert L. Fastiggi (2010)
Rev. Denis A. Cleary, IC (2003)

RUBIO Y PERALTA, JOSÉ MARÍA, ST.
Albert Edward Doskey (2010)
Katherine I. Rabenstein (2003)

S

SACRAMENTINE SISTERS OF BERGAMO
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Rev. Franco Giuseppe Sottocornola, SX (2003)

SACRED HEARTS OF JESUS AND MARY, CONGREGATION OF THE
EDS. (2010)
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BATTISTA DA VARANO, CAMILLA, ST. (2010)
CURCIO, MARIA CROCIFISSA, BL. (2010)
CZARTORYSKI, AUGUSTO, BL. (2010)
DA COSTA, ALEXANDRINA MARIA, BL. (2010)
DARONCH, ADÍLIO, BL. (2010)
DJIDJOV, PAVEL, BL. (2010)
ELIA DI SAN CLEMENTE, BL. (2010)
EUPHRASIA OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS, BL. (2010)
FABRIS, EUROSIA, BL. (2010)
FERNANDES, BARTOLOMEU DEI MARTIRI, BL. (2010)
FLESCH, MARGARET, BL. (2010)
JOSÉ APARICIO SANZ AND 232 COMPANIONS, MARTYRS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, BB. (2010)
JOSEPH TÀPIES AND SIX COMPANIONS, BB. (2010)
LOZANO GARRIDO, MANUEL, BL. (2010)
MANGANIELLO, TERESA, BL. (2010)
PETER KIBE KASUI AND 187 COMPANIONS, MARTYRS OF NAGASAKI (JAPAN), BB. (2010)
TOUS Y SOLER, JOSÉ, BL. (2010)

Rev. Giorgio Eldarov, OFMConv
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BOSSILKOV, EVGENIJ, BL. (2003)

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Detroit, Mich.
ACTA APOSTOLICAE SEDIS (2010)
AFTERLIFE: I. PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES (2010)
AFTERLIFE: II. THE BIBLE (2010)
AFTERLIFE: III. ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME (2010)
AFTERLIFE: IV. ANCIENT EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA (2010)
AFTERLIFE: V. PERSIA, INDIA, AND CHINA (2010)
AFTERLIFE: VI. JUDAISM (2010)
AFTERLIFE: VII. ISLAM (2010)
AFTERLIFE: VIII. CHRISTIANITY (2010)
ALLOCUTION, PAPAL (2010)
ALUMBRADOS (ILLUMINATI) (2010)
ANGLICANORUM COETIBUS (2010)
BÉRULLE, PIERRE DE (2010)
BEATIFICATION (2010)
CATECHISMS (2010)
DEACONESS (2010)
DENZINGER (2010)
DEVIL (2010)
ECCLESIA DE EUCHARISTIA (2010)
EX CORDE ECCLESIAE (2010)
HELL (THEOLOGY OF) (2010)
HERESY, HISTORY OF: I. EARLY CHURCH (2010)
HERESY, HISTORY OF: II. MEDIEVIL PERIOD (2010)
HERESY, HISTORY OF: III. MODERN PERIOD (2010)
HERESY, HISTORY OF: IV. AFTER VATICAN II (2010)
MANDATUM, ACADEMIC (2010)
MARY (AND ECUMENICAL DIALOGUE) (2010)
MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THEOLOGY): I. HOLINESS OF MARY (2010)
MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THEOLOGY): III. MARY AND THE CHURCH (2010)
PEREIRA, NUNO DE SANTA MARIA ÁLVARES, ST. (2010)
QUIETISM (2010)
ROSMINI-SERBATI, ANTONIO, BL. (2010)
WILLEBRANDS, JOHANNES (2010)

Rev. Vincent J. Fecher, SVD
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DIVINE WORD, SOCIETY OF THE (2003)
JANSSEN, ARNOLD, ST. (2003)

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Pastor
Gruta de Lourdes Parish
Archdiocese of San Juan, PR
HELL, HARROWING OF (2010)
SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939) (2010)

Rabbi Asher Finkel
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JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: VII. CONTEMPORARY HISTORY (1948–2009) (2010)

Eugene J. Fisher
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Secretariat for Ecumenical & Interreligious Affairs
U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops
JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (PUBLIC) (2010)

Rev. Hilary C. Franco
National Office of the Propagation of the Faith
New York, N.Y.
SLAVERY: I. (IN THE BIBLE) (2003)

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JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (THEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF) (2010)

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RAPTURE (2003)

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TAPARELLI D'AZEGLIO, LUIGI (2003)

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ESCRIVÁ DE BALAGUER Y ALBÁS, JOSEMARÍA, ST. (2010)

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BERGSON, HENRI LOUIS (2003)

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GALEN, CLEMENS AUGUSTINUS VON, BL. (2003)

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Peapack, N.J.
ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, SISTERS OF (2003)

Angel Maria Garibay Kintana
Canon of the Chapter of Guadalupe
Mexico City, Mexico
GUADALUPE, OUR LADY OF (2003)

James Gaston
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BUCKLEY JR., WILLIAM F. (2010)

Rev. Victor Joseph Gellhaus, OSB
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MONASTICISM: II. MEDIEVAL MONASTICISM (600–1500) (2003)

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Steubenville, Ohio
DUFF, FRANK (2010)
MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THEOLOGY): V. SPIRITUAL MATERNITY OF MARY (2010)

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Washington, D.C.
PAPCZYŃSKI, STANISLAUS OF JESUS AND MARY, BL. (2010)
TRČKA, METOD DOMINIK, BL. (2010)

Msgr. Thomas J. Green
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Washington, D.C.
EXCOMMUNICATION (2003)
MCMANUS, FREDERICK (2010)

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River Forest, Ill.
BEATIFICATION (2003)

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MONASTICISM: I. EARLY CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM (TO 600) (2003)
MONASTICISM: V. EASTERN MONASTICISM UNTIL 1453 (2003)

William D. Griffin
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New York
FAWKES, GUY (2010)
IRISH NATIONALISM AND THE PAPACY (2010)

Rev. Msgr. Vittorio Guerrera, RC
Priest of the Archdiocese of Hartford
SHROUD OF TURIN (2010)

Sister Mary Octavia Gutman, CPPS
General Councilor and Secretary-General
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Dayton, Ohio
PRECIOUS BLOOD SISTERS: III. SISTERS OF THE PRECIOUS BLOOD (2003)

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Buffalo, NY
PILSUDSKI, JOZEF (2010)

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PALOMINO YENES, EUSEBIA, BL. (2010)
PAQUAY, VALENTIN, BL. (2010)
PAVONI, LODOVICO, BL. (2010)

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JAKI, STANLEY (2010)
MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THEOLOGY): IV. MEDIATRIX OF ALL GRACES (2010)

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DIVINI ILLIUS MAGISTRI (2010)

Rev. Thomas O'Brien Hanley, SJ
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CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES (LEGAL HISTORY): I. COLONIAL PERIOD (1607–1776) (2003)

Rev. Edgar G. Hardwick, OMI
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HELL (THEOLOGY OF) (2003)

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New York
AMERICA (2010)
AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, PAPAL STANCE TOWARDS (2010)
GREELEY, ANDREW M. (2010)

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LIMBO (2010)

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DEVIL (2003)

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EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (HIGHER) IN THE UNITED STATES (2010)

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CASSANT, JOSEPH-MARIE, BL. (2010)
CHAPPOTIN DE NEUVILLE, HELÉNÈ DE, BL. (2010)

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HOLY CROSS, CONGREGATION OF (2003)
MOREAU, BASIL ANTHONY, BL. (2003)

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LIMBO (2003)

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AMERICANISM (2010)
BAKER, DAVID AUGUSTINE (2010)
FELLOWSHIP OF CATHOLIC SCHOLARS (2010)
LIBERALISM (2010)

Rev. Louis J. Hoffman, SF
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Holy Family Seminary
Silver Spring, Md.
HOLY FAMILY, SONS OF THE (2003)

Rev. Kurt Hruby
Chargé de cours (Rabbinic Hebrew)
Institut Catholique
Paris, France
JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: I. ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIOD (67–622) (2003)
JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: II. ISLAMIC PERIOD (622–1096) (2003)
JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: III. PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES AND SPANISH INQUISITION (1096–1492)(2003)
JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: IV PERIOD OF THE RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION 1492–1650 (2003)
JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: V. BEGINNING OF THE MODERN ERA (1650–1750) (2003)
JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE: VI. EMANCIPATION (1750–1948) (2003)

Michael Hryniuk
Executive Director
Henri Nouwen Society
Richmond Hill, Ontario
NOUWEN, HENRI JOZEF MACHIEL (2010)

Thomas C. Hunt
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EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (K THROUGH 12) IN THE UNITED STATES (2010)

Elizabeth Inserra
Independent Scholar
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498 MARTYRS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, BB. (2010)
BIRAGHI, LUIGI, BL. (2010)
BOCCARDO, LUIGI, BL. (2010)
BONHOMME, PIERRE, BL. (2010)

BONIFACIO (DI PIRANO), FRANCESCO GIOVANNI, BL. (2010)
BRADER, MARÍA CARIDAD, BL. (2010)
BRANDO, MARIA CRISTINA, BL. (2010)
CANDELARIA OF ST. JOSEPH, BL. (2010)
CELESTINA OF THE MOTHER OF GOD, BL. (2010)
CHARLES OF AUSTRIA, BL. (2010)
CHICHKOV, JOSAPHAT, BL. (2010)
DURANDO, MARCANTONIO, BL. (2010)
ERRICO, GAETANO, ST. (2010)
FREINADEMETZ, JOSEPH, ST. (2010)
GORAZDOWSKI, ZYGMUNT, ST. (2010)
IGNATIUS OF SANTHIÀ, ST. (2010)
IZQUIERDO ALBERO, MARÍA DEL PILAR, BL. (2010)
JÄGERSTÄTTER, FRANZ, BL. (2010)
LÓPEZ DE MATURANA, MARGARITA MARÍA, BL. (2010)
LLUCH, JUANA MARÍA CONDESA, BL. (2010)
LONGHIN, ANDREW (ANDREA) HYACINTH, BL. (2010)
MOTHER TERESA OF CALCUTTA, BL. (2010)
PIANZOLA, FRANCESCO, BL. (2010)
SIMON (SZYMON) OF LIPNICA, ST. (2010)
STERNI, GAETANA, BL. (2010)
SURIANO, GIUSEPPINA, BL. (2010)
SZYMKOWIAK, SANCJA (SANTIA), BL. (2010)
TALAMONI, LUIGI, BL. (2010)
TARRÉS I CLARET, PERE (PETER), BL. (2010)
ZEGRÍ Y MORENO, JUAN NEPOMUCENO, BL. (2010)

Massimo Introvigne
Managing Director
Center for Studies on New Religions (CESNUR)
Torino, Italy
BLACK MASS (2010)

James M. Jacobs
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Notre Dame Seminary
New Orleans
DETERMINISM (2010)

Most Rev. Sarhad Jammo
Chaldean Catholic Diocese of St. Peter the Apostle
San Diego, CA
ADDAI AND MARI, ANAPHORA OF (2010)

Very Rev. Eugène Jarry
Professor
Faculté des Lettres
Faculté de Théologic
Institut Cathotique
Paris, France
STATES OF THE CHURCH (2003)

Rev. Andrew Jaspers, SJ
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Department of Philosophy
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PRAETER INTENTIONEM (2010)

Rev. Frederick M. Jelly, OP
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Pontifical College, Josephinum
Worthington, Ohio
MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THEOLOGY): III. MARY AND THE CHURCH (2003)

Charles B. Jones
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School of Theology and Religious Studies
The Catholic University of America
Washington, D.C.
BUDDHISM (2003)
BUDDHISM (2010)

Christopher Jones
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CAGOTS (2010)

Henry P. Köster
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Associate Dean of Studies
Divine Word Seminary
Techny, Ill.
AFTERLIFE: II. THE BIBLE (2003)

Rev. Antony Chacko Kakkanatt, CMI
Vice-Postulator
St. Joseph's Monastery
Mannanam (India)
CHAVARA, KURIAKOSE (CYRIAC) ELIAS, BL. (2003)

Christopher J. Kauffman
Catholic Daughters of the Americas Professor of American Church History
The Catholic University of America
Washington, D.C.
KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS (2003)

Joseph M. Keating
The Catholic University of America
ANACLETO GONZÁLEZ FLORES AND NINE COMPANIONS, BB. (2010)
JACINTO DE LOS ÁNGELES AND JUAN BAUTISTA, BB. (2010)

Mary Louise Maytag Kennedy
Writer, philanthropist, and promoter of liturgical art
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ESCRIVÁ DE BALAGUER Y ALBÁS, JOSEMARÍA, ST. (2003)

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LUMINOUS MYSTERIES OF THE ROSARY (2010)

Daniel A. Kidd
President and Chief Executive Officer
Guest House, Inc.
GUEST HOUSE (2010)

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Graduate Student
School of Theology and Religious Studies

The Catholic University of America
ÜFFING, MARIA EUTHYMIA (EMMA), BL. (2010)
MATTIAS, MARIA DE, ST. (2010)
MUTTATHUPANDATHU, ALPHONSA, ST. (2010)
ORIONE, LUIGI (LOUIS), ST. (2010)
VALDÉS, JOSÉ OLALLO, BL. (2010)

Rev. Thomas M. King, SJ
Professor
Department of Theology
Georgetown University
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BERGSON, HENRI LOUIS (2010)
SARTRE, JEAN-PAUL (2010)
TEILHARD DE CHARDIN, PIERRE (2010)

Sheila Marie Kirbos
Independent Researcher
Silver Spring, Md.
FUSCO, ALFONSO MARIA, BL. (2010)
FUSCO, TOMMASO MARIA, BL. (2010)
MOREAU, BASIL ANTHONY, BL. (2010)

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EX CORDE ECCLESIAE (2003)

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CARLEN, CLAUDIA (2010)

Rev. Joseph W. Koterski, SJ
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CISZEK, WALTER J. (2010)
CLARKE, W. NORRIS (2010)
COMMUNISM (2010)
MARXISM (2010)
NEOSCHOLASTICISM AND NEOTHOMISM (2010)

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SOCIETY OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL SCIENTISTS (2010)

Rev. Alex Kratz, OFM
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JERUSALEM, LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF (2010)

Rev. Lázaro I. Lamadrid, OFM
Historical Advisor for the Cause of Beatification of the Venerable Pedro de San José Betancur
BETANCUR (BETHANCOURT), PEDRO DE SAN JOSÉ (PETER OF ST. JOSEPH), ST. (2003)

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Full Professor of Church History
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BATIFFOL, PIERRE (2010)

Rev. James H. Lambert, SM
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VENERINI SISTERS (2003)

Rev. Vincent Anthony Lapomarda, SJ
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CERIOLI, PAOLA ELISABETTA (COSTANZA), ST. (2003)

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SACRED HEARTS OF JESUS AND MARY, CONGREGATION OF THE (2003)

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CARITAS IN VERITATE (2010)
SIN (THEOLOGY OF) (2010)

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GUÉRIN, MOTHER THEODORE, ST. (2010)

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COMMUNION OF SAINTS (2003)
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FINALY AFFAIR (2010)

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ROSMINIANS (2003)

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COMMUNION OF SAINTS (2010)

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FOUCAULD, CHARLES EUGÈNE DE, BL. (2010)
HADDAD, JACQUES GHAZIR, BL. (2010)
MARVELLI, ALBERTO, BL. (2010)
VEUSTER, JOSEPH DE (FR. DAMIEN), ST. (2010)

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ALLENDE, SALVADOR (2010)
GUTIÉRREZ, GUSTAVO (2010)

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OTRANTO (ITALY), MARTYRS OF (2010)

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LIVIERO, CARLO (CHARLES), BL. (2010)

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BÉRULLE, PIERRE DE (2003)

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GIUSSANI, LUIGI (2010)

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BERNARD OF CORLEONE, ST. (2003)
FELIX OF NICOSIA, ST. (2003)

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GUÉRIN, MOTHER THEODORE, ST. (2003)
SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE OF ST. MARY-OF-THE-WOODS (2003)

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KILMARTIN, EDWARD J. (2010)
SOCIETY FOR CATHOLIC LITURGY (2010)

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PRECA, GEORGE, ST.(2003)

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MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THEOLOGY): II. KNOWLEDGE AND FAITH OF MARY (2003)

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ALPHONSUS DE LIGUORI, ST. (2010)

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COMENSOLI, GERTRUDE CATERINA, ST. (2010)
FELIŃSKI, ZYGMUNT SZCZĘSNY, ST. (2010)
MARTIN, LOUIS, BL. (2010)
MARTIN, MARIE-ZÉLIE GUÉRIN, BL. (2010)
MILLERET, MARIE EUGENIE OF JESUS, ST. (2010)
SCHELINGOVÁ, ZDENKA CECILIA, BL. (2010)
TADINI, ARCÁNGELO, ST. (2010)
THÉRÈSE DE LISIEUX, ST. (2010)
VENERINI, ROSE, ST. (2010)
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FILIPPINI, LUCY, ST. (2003)
MARCONI, GUGLIELMO (2010)
MIT BRENNENDER SORGE (2010)

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MOTHER TERESA OF CALCUTTA, BL. (2003)

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ATOMIC ENERGY (2010)

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ALLENBY, EDMUND (2010)
CHARISMATIC RENEWAL, CATHOLIC (2010)
CURRAN, CHARLES (2010)
NATO, PAPAL REACTION TO (2010)

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MERZ, IVAN, BL. (2010)
MONTI, LUIGI MARIA, BL. (2010)
MONZA, LUIGI, BL. (2010)
NAMUNCURÁ, ZEPHERIN, BL. (2010)
NARDINI, PAUL JOSEF, BL. (2010)

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CROSS, THEOLOGY OF THE (2010)
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SIN (THEOLOGY OF) (2003)

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OROZCO, ALFONSO DE, ST. (2010)
PELCZAR, JÓZEF SEBASTIAN, ST. (2010)
PIDAL Y CHICO DE GUZMÁN, MARÍA MARAVILLAS DE JESÚS BATTISTA, ST. (2010)
VALLE, GIULIA NEMESIA, BL. (2010)
VAN LIESHOUT, EUSTÁQUIO, BL. (2010)

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FRANCISCANS, CONVENTUAL (2010)

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PERPETUAL ADORATION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT, NUNS OF THE (2003)

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SISTER CHURCHES (2010)

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HERESY, HISTORY OF: III. MODERN PERIOD (2003)

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DIVINIZATION (THEOSIS), DOCTRINE OF (2010)
THEURGY, DOCTRINE OF (2010)

Most Rev. Basil Meeking
Bishop Emeritus of Christchurch
New Zealand
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ABBREVIATIONS

The system of abbreviations used for the works of Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, and St. Thomas Aquinas is as follows: Plato is cited by book and Stephanus number only, e.g., Phaedo 79B; Rep. 480A. Aristotle is cited by book and Bekker number only, e.g., Anal. post. 72b 8—12; Anim. 430a 18. St. Augustine is cited as in the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, e.g., C. acad.3.20.45; Conf. 13.38.53, with capitalization of the first word of the title. St. Thomas is cited as in scholarly journals, but using Arabic numerals. In addition, the following abbreviations have been used throughout the encyclopedia for biblical books and versions of the Bible.

Books

Acts	Acts of the Apostles
Am	Amos
Bar	Baruch
1-2 Chr	1 and 2 Chronicles (1 and 2 Paralipomenon in Septuagint and Vulgate)
Col	Colossians
1-2 Cor	1 and 2 Corinthians
Dn	Daniel
Dt	Deuteronomy
Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Eph	Ephesians
Est	Esther
Ex	Exodus
Ez	Ezekiel
Ezr	Ezra (Esdras B in Septuagint; 1 Esdras in Vulgate) Gal Galatians
Gn	Genesis
Hb	Habakkuk
Heb	Hebrews
Hg	Haggai
Hos	Hosea
Is	Isaiah
Jas	James
Jb	Job
Jdt	Judith
Jer	Jeremiah
Jgs	Judges
Jl	Joel
Jn	John
1-3 Jn	1, 2, and 3 John
Jon	Jonah
Jos	Joshua
Jude	Jude
1-2 Kgs	1 and 2 Kings (3 and 4 Kings in Septuagint and Vulgate)
Lam	Lamentations
Lk	Luke
Lv	Leviticus
Mal	Malachi (Malachias in Vulgate)
1-2 Mc	1 and 2 Maccabees
Mi	Micah
Mk	Mark
Mt	Matthew
Na	Nahum
Neh	Nehemiah (2 Esdras in Septuagint and Vulgate) Nm Numbers
Ob	Obadiah
Phil	Philippians
Phlm	Philemon
Prv	Proverbs
Ps	Psalms

1-2 Pt	1 and 2 Peter
Rom	Romans
Ru	Ruth
Rv	Revelation (Apocalypse in Vulgate)
Sg	Song of Songs Sir Sirach (Wisdom of Ben Sira; Ecclesiasticus in Septuagint and Vulgate)
1-2 Sm	1 and 2 Samuel (1 and 2 Kings in Septuagint and Vulgate)
Tb	Tobit
1-2 Thes	1 and 2 Thessalonians
Ti	Titus
1-2 Tm	1 and 2 Timothy
Wis	Wisdom
Zec	Zechariah
Zep	Zephaniah

Versions

Apoc	Apocrypha
ARV	American Standard Revised Version
ARVm	American Standard Revised Version, margin
AT	American Translation
AV	Authorized Version (King James)
CCD	Confraternity of Christian Doctrine
DV	Douay-Challoner Version
ERV	English Revised Version
ERVm	English Revised Version, margin
EV	English Version(s) of the Bible
JB	Jerusalem Bible
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NAB	New American Bible
NEB	New English Bible
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RV	Revised Version
RVm	Revised Version, margin
Syr	Syriac
Vulg	Vulgate

A

ACOSTA ZURITA, DARÍO, BL.

Baptized Ángel; priest, MARTYR; b. December 13, 1908 (birth date always given as the 13th, but birth certificate indicates the 20th), Naolinco, Mexico; d. July 25, 1931, Veracruz, Mexico; beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI, November 15, 2005.

Ángel Darío Acosta Zurita, son of Leopoldo Acosta and Dominga Zurita, was baptized at St. Matthew the Apostle on December 23, 1908. Darío was born into a poor Christian family. He learned about hardship and sacrifice at an early age. His father, a butcher, lost his livestock and income during the armed revolts of the Mexican rebellion. Leopoldo Acosta died when Darío was a child, so Darío helped his widowed mother support his four brothers. He expressed an interest in the priesthood and wished to attend seminary, but because he was young and greatly needed by his family, he was not selected. His mother, at great sacrifice to herself and her family, appealed to Bishop Guízar Valencia to have her son admitted as an external student, as she was sure he would later receive a scholarship for his hard work and piety.

Ordained on April 25, 1931, Fr. Darío said his first Mass on May 24 in Veracruz. On May 26, Msgr. Guízar appointed him coadjutor vicar of Assumption Parish in Veracruz. Fr. Darío placed great emphasis on children's catechesis and the Sacrament of Penance. Persecution and violence during the Mexican Revolution put his life and that of the other priests in constant danger, but they asserted that they were ready to face whatever they must to fulfill their priestly duties.

Their resolve was tested in July 1931, when Governor Adalberto Tejada enacted Decree 197 to end religious fanaticism by decreasing the number of priests. Fr. Darío's notification came on July 21, but he did not comply. The law went into effect on July 25, but the priests of Assumption Parish ignored the directive. Children prepared to attend catechism, and adults went to confession. As Fr. Darío, who had just baptized a child, exited the baptistery, soldiers entered the three gates and, in front of the 2,000 children present, fired at the priests. Fr. Darío died instantly after exclaiming "Jesus!" Another priest, Fr. Landa, was severely wounded. On hearing the news, Bishop Guízar sent a letter to the governor indicating that the bloodshed would result in stronger devotion to God.

On November 15, 2005, Benedict XVI issued an Apostolic Letter calling Ángel Darío Acosta Zurita and twelve other Mexican martyrs "Blessed" and setting November 20 as the date of their yearly memorial. That same day, in a soccer stadium in Guadalajara, Mexico, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins recognized Fr. Darío's sacrifice of his life for the cause of Christ.

Feast: November 20.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; MEXICO (MODERN), THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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ACT OF SUPREMACY (1534)

The Act of Supremacy, passed in November 1534, confirmed the royal supremacy of the English king, Henry VIII, and brought to fruition the Reformation that had been brewing in England since at least 1527, when Henry had petitioned Pope CLEMENT VII to annul his marriage to CATHERINE OF ARAGON so that he could be free to marry Anne Boleyn. In the period between 1527 and 1534, a number of acts were passed which moved England toward royal supremacy, and the wording on the 1534 act makes it very clear that it was confirming authority that the king already enjoyed: "The king's majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognized by the clergy of this realm at its convocations." Already recognized as the head of the Church of England by his clergy, the purpose of the act was not, therefore, to grant but to confirm the king's status; this meant that parliament would not be able to revoke the act at a later stage. The king's authority was to cover all his realms "united and annexed," which at the time included England, Wales, and Ireland. As supreme head, the king was entitled to "all honors, dignities, preeminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities" of the Church, and he also had the power and authority to "visit, repress, redress, record, order, correct, restrain and amend" all "errors, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities"; it was this clause which paved the way for the dissolution of the monasteries that began in 1536. The last clause of the Act of Supremacy makes it very clear that the act stood above "any usage, customs, foreign laws, [or] foreign authority"; thus, the State and Church were tied together in the monarchy, making any religious conviction contrary to ANGLICANISM a tacit repudiation of the power of the monarchy, and thus high treason.

In 1527 Henry claimed that his marriage to Catherine was against biblical teaching because Catherine had first been the wife of his late brother, Arthur. A special dispensation from Pope JULIUS II had allowed Henry and Catherine's wedding to take place in 1509, and the couple had a daughter, Mary, who would be made illegitimate by an ANNULMENT. Henry desperately wanted a male heir to avoid the kind of succession crisis that had led to the War of the Roses, and he wanted Anne Boleyn, who refused to be only a mistress, in no less measure. Pope Clement VII refused to annul the marriage because, under canon law, it was not permissible to overturn a prior dispensation. Moreover, Catherine's nephew was the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, a man the pope did not want to displease, and whose troops had only the year before taken the pope prisoner while they sacked ROME. Henry's inability to gain an annulment set him and England on the path toward the Reformation.

First, in 1529, Henry indicted his chancellor cardinal, Thomas WOLSEY, whom he blamed for the failed annulment attempt. Wolsey was deemed guilty of the crime of *praemunire*, the definition of which stemmed from a law dating back to the fourteenth century that prohibited assertion in England of foreign jurisdiction, including papal jurisdiction, against the supremacy of the monarch. Wolsey died while returning to London to answer to this charge of high treason. That same year the king summoned what became known as the Reformation Parliament to try to deal with the annulment issue. Although most members of parliament wanted some kind of reform, there was little agreement about the particular form it should take. Some, like Thomas MORE, just wanted new laws against HERESY; others, like Thomas CROMWELL, were keen on Lutheran theology and hostile to Rome, and advocated for royal supremacy over the English Church. In the end, parliament took the advice of clergymen who advised them that they could not empower the archbishop to act against a papal prohibition. Henry therefore decided to charge the whole of the English clergy with *praemunire*, and claimed £100,000 from the Convocation of the Church of England at Canterbury. Henry also added five important articles to this claim, which served as preparation for the 1534 Act of Supremacy: that the clergy recognize Henry as the "sole protector and Supreme Head of the church and clergy of England" and had spiritual jurisdiction; that the privileges of the Church were upheld only if they did not detract from the royal prerogative and the laws of the realm; that the king pardoned the clergy for violating the statute of *praemunire*; and that the laity were also pardoned. Although opposition was raised in parliament by Catherine's champion, Bishop John FISHER, the convocation consented to both the payment and the five articles on March 8, 1531.

In 1532 Thomas Cromwell, seeking to curry favor with the king, brought before parliament the act of Sup-



A Meal Shared. *Henry VIII and Sir Thomas More were not always at odds with each other. Before Henry VIII broke with the Church of Rome, the two men were close friends.* **HENRY VIII WITH SIR THOMAS MORE ON HIS RIGHT, ENGLISH SCHOOL (20TH CENTURY) / PRIVATE COLLECTION / © LOOK AND LEARN / THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY**

plication against the Ordinaries, which listed, among its nine grievances against the Church, the abuse of power which came from the convocation's independent power of legislation. The act of May 15, 1532, Submission of the Clergy, recognized royal supremacy and proclaimed that the convocation could no longer make canon law without royal permission. Thomas More resigned as chancellor the next day, and Thomas Cromwell became Henry's unofficial chief minister. A flurry of acts was then passed in quick succession before culminating in the 1534 Act of Supremacy, though not without some opposition. Among these new acts, the 1533 Act in Restraint of Appeals forbade appeals to Rome, and it was this act which allowed Henry to be granted a DIVORCE in England without obtaining papal permission. When Henry married Anne Boleyn in WESTMINSTER ABBEY in January 1533, both he and his new archbishop, Thomas CRANMER, were excommunicated by the pope. The wording of this act is also important because, in effect, it declared England to be an "empire"—meaning an independent, sovereign nation-state, absolutely free from papal interference. Further acts forbade payments to Rome by the clergy and by landowners, and ordered that cathedrals refusing to invest the king's episcopal choices would be charged with *praemunire*. It is in light of this legislation that we can regard the Act of Supremacy of 1534 as the culmination of a series of legal maneuverings which wrested control of the English Church away from the papacy and brought about royal supremacy. Henry followed up the Act of Supremacy with the Treason Act of 1534, which made it high treason to deny royal supremacy. It was under this act that Thomas More and John Fisher were executed (both were canonized in 1935 by Pope PIUS XI). The act was repealed by Catherine of Aragon's daughter, Queen Mary I, and another very different Act of Supremacy was issued in 1559 by Anne Boleyn's politique daughter, Elizabeth I.

SEE ALSO CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); CHARLES V, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; DISPENSATIONAL THEOLOGY; ELIZABETH I, QUEEN OF ENGLAND; EXCOMMUNICATION; HENRY VIII, KING OF ENGLAND; LUTHERANISM; MARY TUDOR, QUEEN OF ENGLAND; REFORMATION, PROTESTANT (IN THE BRITISH ISLES).

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ACTA APOSTOLICAE SEDIS

Since 1909 the monthly journal *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (*Acts of the Apostolic See*; abbreviated as AAS) has been the official means for promulgating documents, decrees, and decisions of the HOLY SEE. Its full title is *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*: *Commentarium Officiale* (Acts of the Apostolic See: Official Record). In view of the forthcoming Code of Canon Law (which appeared in 1917), St. PIUS X (pope from 1903 to 1914) recognized the need for an official periodical of the Holy See. By means of his constitution, *Promulgandi* of September 28, 1908, the publication *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* was established, and its first issue appeared on January 1, 1909.

Prior to the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, the periodical *Acta Sanctae Sedis* (Acts of the Holy See; abbreviated as ASS) served as the primary, though unofficial, means for promulgating the most important documents of the POPE and various congregations of the Roman CURIA. Established in 1865 by the priest Pietro Avanzini, the *Acta Sanctae Sedis* did not have the status of being an official publication of the Holy See until 1904 when the Sacred Congregation of the PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH declared the ASS to be the "authentic and official" venue for the publication of the acts of the Holy See. This declaration, though, was superseded by Pius X's constitution of 1908, which initiated the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*. The ASS, therefore, ceased publication in 1908, but in 1909, Monsignor Cesare Pecorari edited a general index of the forty-one volumes of the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, and the forty-one volumes of the ASS continue to serve as an important historical resource.

Both the 1917 and 1983 Codes of Canon Law recognize the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* as the official means for promulgating laws of the APOSTOLIC or Roman See. Canon 9 of the 1917 Code states that: "Laws issued by the Apostolic See are promulgated by publication in the official record, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, unless in particular cases another means of promulgation was prescribed." Moreover, "These laws become effective only after three months have elapsed from the date of that issue of the *Acta*, unless they bind immediately because of the very nature of the matter or a shorter or longer suspensive period (*vacatio*) has been specifically and expressly established." Canon 8.1 of the 1983 Code repeats this canon almost verbatim. An addition, however, is made regarding particular laws, which "are promulgated in a manner determined by the legislator, and they begin to bind one month from the date of issuance unless another time period is determined in the law itself" (canon 8.2). The 1990 Code of the Eastern Catholic Churches, *Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium*, repeats canon 8.1 of the 1983 Code in its canon 1489.1, and its canon 1489.2 states that laws "issued by other legislators are promulgated in the manner determined by these legislators and begin to oblige from the date determined by them."

Most volumes of the AAS include the "Acts of the Supreme Pontiff," which, in turn, are broken down into the following categories: encyclicals, decretal letters, APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, apostolic letters, epistles, common declarations, homilies, allocutions, messages, and apostolic journeys. Also included in the AAS are the major acts of the congregations of the Roman Curia, such as the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, the Congregation for Bishops, and the Congregation for the EVANGELIZATION OF THE PEOPLES. The AAS likewise publishes acts of the PONTIFICAL COUNCILS, such as the Pontifical Council for Christian Unity and the PONTIFICAL COUNCIL FOR INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE. Acts of the Roman tribunals, such as the Apostolic PENITENTIARY, also appear as well as the Diary of the Roman Curia (*Diarium romanae curiae*). This diary includes the more solemn audiences, nominations of bishops, and records of deaths (*Necrologia*).

Most of the documents contained in the AAS are in Latin, but other languages also appear. Publication in the AAS usually constitutes the official and definitive text of a document, and all translations and questions of interpretation must then refer to the AAS as the *editio typica* (typical edition). This was the case with the documents of Vatican II and the vast majority of other MAGISTERIAL DOCUMENTS. Sometimes changes are made to these documents in their final AAS version, even after they have appeared in vernacular translations. One notable case was the passage from JOHN PAUL II's 1995 ENCYCLICAL, *Evangelium vitae* (no. 99), where he gave assurance to women who had abortions that their child was now "living in the Lord." Because this was open to flawed interpretations, the definitive text in the AAS 87 (1995), 515, was changed to read: "You can entrust your child to the same Father and to his mercy with hope." This change was subsequently referenced in footnote 98 of the 2007 document of the INTERNA-

TIONAL THEOLOGICAL COMMISSION, "The Hope of Salvation for Infants Who Die without Being Baptised."

Even though the AAS is the preeminent means for promulgating magisterial documents, other publications, such as the VATICAN newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, frequently publish these documents prior to their appearance in the AAS. Sometimes, only the decree of promulgation of a law or a text is published in the AAS (e.g., for liturgical texts), and the Vatican Press will then be used for more widespread distribution. Other times, a decision of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith is published in the AAS, but a longer explanation or commentary of the decision will appear in *L'Osservatore Romano*. By the early 2000s, more and more people turned to the VATICAN WEB SITE for access to magisterial documents, even though the text in the AAS is normative.

Well-known sourcebooks, such as Denzinger's *Enchiridion* and the *Enchiridion vaticanum*, use the AAS as the normative reference for magisterial documents of the last century. Although some important documents, such as the 1949 Letter of the Holy Office to Archbishop CUSHING concerning Father FEENEY, never appeared in the AAS, it is fair to say that, since 1909, the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* has played an important role in the life of the Church.

SEE ALSO ABORTION; ACTA SANCTAE SEDIS; ALLOCUTION, PAPAL; BAPTISM OF INFANTS; CANON LAW, 1983 CODE; CANON LAW, HISTORY OF; DECRETALS; EVANGELIUM VITAE; HOMILY; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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ACTION FRANÇAISE

Action Française (AF) is the name of a French right-wing political movement, its associated newspaper, and its fortnightly journal. The movement, active mainly in the first three decades of the twentieth century, advocated return to a corporatist political and social system under a restored monarchy, and exclusion or elimination of foreign elements and influences from French political and cultural life.

Program, Ideology, and Influence. A first committee of AF was born in 1898 during the DREYFUS AFFAIR. It was transformed in 1905 into a league of AF, which proposed to combat every republican regime and to reestablish the monarchy. It edited a biweekly periodical, called *Revue de L'Action française*, and in 1908 launched a daily newspaper, with the shortened name *L'Action française*. An institute of AF took charge of doctrinal propaganda. Charles MAURRAS was the unquestioned head and the theorist of the movement, which counted several other very talented leaders, such as Léon DAUDET, Henri Vaugeois, and Jacques Bainville.

AF was never a mass movement, and although Daudet was for a time elected a deputy, it played only a minor role in French politics. AF supported royalist and other conservative candidates, and attacked leftist candidates, politicians, and other opinion leaders. Its young partisans, grouped under the name "Camelots du roi," also carried out extraparliamentary political action, including marches and demonstrations, extending even to physical assault of opponents. Their tactics prefigured those of the later fascist and national socialist storm troopers. Maurras's and AF's Integral Nationalist social and political ideology bore considerable resemblance to but also notable differences from the later movements of FASCISM and National Socialism. Through the medium of Maurras's philosophy, AF provided inspiration for Italian nationalism and fascism and for integral nationalist and fascist movements in Belgium, Romania, Switzerland, and Portugal. It also exercised considerable influence in Spanish and Latin American political thought.

From the Dreyfus Affair on, AF supported the French military and the Catholic Church, and called for an aggressive French nationalist policy. Although its principal directors were atheists, they argued that if French society was to prosper as it had in the past, it must return to both the political form and the religious practice of earlier times. This stance reflected the influences of the eventually condemned philosophical school of nineteenth-century TRADITIONALISM and elements of the philosophy of Auguste Compte, upon whom Maurras drew extensively in the development of his own philosophical position. Maurras himself depicted France

as the torchbearer of classical civilization, and Catholicism as an integral guiding dimension of French culture. He was opposed to the French Third Republic, democracy, and workers' movements, all of which were regarded as effects of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, brought about and consolidated by the four "non-French" groups Maurras denounced: Protestants, Jews, Freemasons, and the foreign-born.

The movement exercised considerable influence in French intellectual life. Controversies arose within the Church over the organization's influence over a section of the French clergy and faithful, its ideology and tactics, and its compatibility with Catholic teachings. Its journal taught that political laws proceed from experience, and that the national interest has an absolute primacy in moral matters. In brief, it was a political school whose concepts derived from a naturalist view of man, society, and religion; and this intellectual outlook obliterated the moral sense of its members in their concepts of foreign and domestic politics. During the Modernist controversy, in public clashes over these issues during 1909 and 1910, the philosopher Maurice BLONDEL (under the pen name Testis, and defending the democratic Catholic organization Semaines Sociales) argued against Catholic collaboration with AF, while the Jesuit theologian Pedro Descoqs came to AF's and Maurras's defense.

Attitude of the Church. Because of the complaints of French bishops, the Holy Office prepared a prohibition of seven books by Maurras as well as the periodical (but not the newspaper) of the movement (January 26, 1914). However, AF's combat against anticlerical republicans, its antimodernist stance during the MODERNISM crisis, and its struggle for a conservative type of Catholicism then in favor at the Vatican produced interventions in its favor in ROME. PIUS X (1903–1914) suspended publication of the decree, effectively granting AF a temporary reprieve from condemnation. BENEDICT XV (1914–1922) adopted the same attitude because of WORLD WAR I. PIUS XI (1922–1939) received new complaints as a result of an investigation that revealed the extraordinary ascendancy of the movement over Belgian youth, and he asked Cardinal Andrieu, Archbishop of Bordeaux, to publish a letter of disapproval, which appeared on August 25, 1926, and received papal approbation.

The response of AF was similar to that of the aforementioned traditionalists when they found their positions, seemingly strongly supportive of their image of Catholicism, condemned by the Church. AF replied violently to the *L'Osservatore Romano*'s printed articles on the condemnation, branding the editors a "small band of demoniacal agents," and pretending in an article titled "*Non possumus*" that treason and parricide were being asked of it. A decree of the Holy Office (December 29, 1926) published the text of the 1914 condemnation, and added to it, with the ratification of Pius XI, the newspaper *L'Action française*, "as it is published today," because of articles written "these recent days especially ... namely by Charles Maurras and Léon Daudet, articles which every sensible man is obliged to recognize as written against the Holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff himself." AF vilified *L'Osservatore Romano* as "*Diffamatore Romano*," and "an infamous rag." It resurrected all the familiar tropes of ANTICLERICALISM and accused the pope of being the victim of a plot to restore the Holy Roman Germanic Empire. This led Bishop Ruch of Strasbourg to classify *L'Action française* the most anticlerical newspaper in France.

Subsequent to the condemnation of December 29, 1926, the HOLY SEE published other disciplinary documents establishing how those who did not submit to the condemnation were to be reprimanded. Priests were forbidden to administer the sacraments to any such people, and they were threatened with canonical sanctions if disobedient. Marriages of the rebellious were merely to be blessed in the sacristy, as mixed marriages. Dying rebels were required to make honorable amends, or else they would be deprived of the last rites and go to their graves without the Church's prayers. Several French bishops remained sympathetic to AF, and at first either refrained from commenting on the Roman condemnation or made very fine distinctions in their observations. Undoubtedly at the Holy See's demand, a long declaration appeared with 116 episcopal signatures (March 8, 1927), but without the names of three bishops. One of these was later regarded by the Holy See as having resigned. Priests suspected of favoring the movement were gradually removed from influential posts, especially those dealing with young people.

The influential neo-Thomist scholar, Cardinal Louis BILLOT, who like many other Catholic intellectuals had supported the movement because of its anti-Modernist and antiliberal stances, resigned from the Sacred College over the condemnation of AF. There are conflicting accounts of Billot's resignation. Some maintain he was forced to do so, but there is better evidence that he asked Pius XI for permission to resign. One important previous supporter of AF, Jacques MARITAIN, published a book in collaboration with Père Doncoeur and four other ecclesiastics defending the Holy See's position, *Pourquoi Rome a parlé* (1927). Maurice Pujo replied to it in a series of articles which were later assembled in a single volume, *Comment Rome est trompé* (1929), and drew from M.-V. Bernadot, Maritain, and several other authors the reply *Clairvoyance de Rome* (1929). Other previous supporters, such as Decoqs and Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P., withdrew their support from AF less emphatically.

Some bishops closed their eyes, but others applied the sanctions rigorously. Many cases gained notoriety and, as time passed, hopes grew for a gradual appeasement of the affair. Some interventions occurred in Rome. Maurras wrote to Pius XI (January 1937), and received a reply. He then wrote two more letters to the pope. Their correspondence made it clear, however, that their viewpoints remained irreconcilable. The pontificate of PIUS XII (1939–1958) opened new perspectives on the matter. After long negotiations, the directive committee of AF sent a letter to the pope expressing their sincerest sorrow for anything in their polemics and controversies that had been injurious or unjust. The Catholics on the committee rejected all their erroneous writings and every precept and theory contrary to Catholic teachings. Pius XII had not demanded the type of retraction required by his predecessor, but the text signed by the committee constituted an implicit retraction since it admitted that the prohibition's motives were just. The Holy See triumphed in the end, as Catholic youths ceased joining the movement. Its defeat became more evident when the Duke of Guise, pretender to the throne, disassociated himself from AF in 1937. In 1944 the liberation government forbade the publication of *L'Action française* because of its attitude during WORLD WAR II.

AF has possibly exerted indirect effects on twentieth- and twenty-first-century movements also sharing the name "Traditionalism," including that of the late schismatic Archbishop Marcel LEFEBVRE and the likewise schismatic Society of St. Pius X. While Lefebvre denies having read the works of Maurras or having been associated with AF, he studied under Henri Le Floch, an AF supporter at the French Seminary in Rome, and the early membership of the Society of St. Pius X included numerous former AF members or supporters. Affinities of ideology between AF, Lefebvre, and the Society of St. Pius X are reflected in, among other aspects, their mutual rejection of modernity, in particular the French Revolution and its effects, which Lefebvre and his supporters see in the course and products of the Second Vatican Council.

SEE ALSO FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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ADDAI AND MARI, ANAPHORA OF

The connection between the Aramaic *Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari*, the Eucharistic prayer that has been used continuously in the AssyroChaldean Church of the East since its beginnings, and the *Birkat Ha-Mazon*, the ancient Jewish meal blessing, has been recognized since it was first brought to light by the French theologian Louis Bouyer (1913–2004) in 1968. A similar connection has been recognized between Chapter 10 of the Greek *Didache of the Apostles*, which contains an archaic Eucharistic Prayer belonging to the APOSTOLIC era, with the same *Birkat*. Therefore, to understand and trace the origin of the *Addai and Mari*, a familiarity with the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* is necessary.

The *Babylonian Talmud* states:

> Our teachers taught: The order of the blessing of food is the following: the first blessing is the one that is for the One Who Nourishes, the second one the blessing for the Land, the third is for the One Who Will Build Jerusalem ...Our teachers taught: From where does it result that the blessing for the food is contained in the law? From where it says: 'When you have eaten your fill, you shall bless.' (Dt 8: 10)

This text sets out the structure of the ancient Jewish meal blessing, which is structured in three sections: (1) a glorification of God for the gift of creation and nourishment: "Blessed are you, Lord our God, king of the universe, for you nourish us and the whole world"; (2) a thanksgiving for the gift of redemption: "We give you thanks, Lord our God, for you have given us for our inheritance a desirable land"; and (3) a petition for the blessed city and the nation: "Have mercy, Lord our God, on us your people Israel."

There is a structural similarity between the text of the *Birkat* cited above and the Eucharist of Chapter 10 of the *Didache of the Apostles*. This can be seen in the beginning of each of the three sections of the Eucharist in the *Didache*: (1) "Almighty Lord, you created all things for your Name's sake ... "; (2) "We thank you, holy Father, for your holy Name which you have made to dwell in our hearts ... "; and (3) "Lord, remember your Church ... "

In regard to the *Addai and Mari*, the composition of three sections (*Pasoqe*) was mentioned clearly by the Patriarch 'Ysho'yahb I in 587 as belonging to the Mesopotamian anaphora as well (See Chabot 1902, p. 169). As mentioned previously, the correspondence of structure, content, and style between the Addai and Mari and the *Birkat Ha-Mazon* can be observed by comparing both texts. At the same time, it is important to note the ways that the Christian LITURGY adopted the structure of the Jewish blessing. In the specific text of the Anaphora, for example, glorification and praise for creation and redemption are the topic of the first section ("Worthy of glory ... the Name ... who created the world ..."); thanksgiving for the gifts of redemption by Christ is the content of the second section ("We give thanks to you ... for you put on our humanity"); and asking the Father to remember all the FAITHFUL of the Church and grant peace to his people is the primordial topic of the third section ("Lord ... make a gracious remembrance for all the upright and just fathers ..., in the commemoration of the body and blood of your Christ") (Macomber 1966, pp. 360, 362, 364; Aramaic text).

In addition to information of a historic character, particularly the similarity of euchological structure, conceptual content, and the wording of the beginning and ending of each of the three sections between the Aramaic anaphora and the *Birkat Ha-Mazon*, there is sufficient evidence to show that the *Addai and Mari* originated in Mesopotamia, where the Apostles preached the advent of the MESSIAH to the Aramaic-speaking population and celebrated the Eucharist in the way that Jesus taught them to. The Apostles Eucharistic prayer, or anaphora, was a variation of the *Birkat*, which was familiar to many of their neophytes of Jewish tradition, and which they adapted to the new liturgy in memory of their crucified and risen Lord.

A comparison with Chapter 10 of the Greek *Didache* confirms this conclusion, which is overwhelmingly recognized by scholars. Indeed the *Addai and Mari* "is one of the most ancient Anaphoras, dating back to the time of the very early Church," as stated by the HOLY SEE's document dealing with its validity, the *Guidelines for Admission to the Eucharist between the Chaldean Church and the Assyrian Church of the East*. It seems clear, therefore, that the attribution of the anaphora to Addai and Mari, the "Apostles of Mesopotamia," should be taken seriously.

An Anaphora without the Narrative of Eucharistic Institution. An analytical study of the *Addai and Mari* has helped scholars gaze into its text and slice through the strata of its evolution. In so doing, they have discovered how pertinent elements, including the EPICLESIS, or invocation of the Holy Spirit, were inserted into its text at an early stage. Nevertheless, the Narrative of the Eucharistic Institution (including the actual words of Jesus) was never part of its authentic tenure, as witnessed by all ancient manuscripts. Meanwhile, the Western doctrine, following the Council of FLORENCE in its *Decretum pro Armenis* (1439), adopted the position that the Words of Institution are a constitutive part of the consecration of the elements. In particular, the words "this is my body ... this is my blood" are considered to be an essential part of the sacrament.

The Mesopotamian Church of the East expressed in its main anaphora all the constitutive elements of the sacramental Eucharist, according to the scriptural tradition and its own apostolic heritage. There is an explicit intention in this text to fulfill the command of Lord, given at the Paschal Supper, to "do this" in memory of him, and thus offer his body and blood in the manner that he then instituted. This tradition was transmitted to the Church through ecclesiastic and liturgical tradition. In the Epiclesis, the celebrant of the *Addai and Mari* calls for the Holy Spirit to "come and rest upon this Oblation of your servants and bless it and sanctify it, that it may be for us, O Lord, for the pardon of debts and the forgiveness of sins, for the great hope of resurrection from the dead and for new life in the kingdom of heaven with all of those who have pleased you." Here, as in many other eastern anaphoras, the Epiclesis, which constitutes the last segment of the *Addai and Mari*, expresses the completion of the consecration (*Quddasha*) of the Offerings.

As far as contemporary liturgical use is concerned, the Chaldean Catholic Church, adjusting itself to the general practice of the Church universal, has already inserted the Institutional Narrative into the anaphora, bringing the *Addai and Mari* in line with its other two anaphoras. The ASSYRIAN CHURCH OF THE EAST,

however, while belonging to the same apostolic tradition, preserves the original version without the Narrative. This brings up questions of dogmatic, liturgical, and ecumenical relevance: Is it because it is deficient that the *Addai and Mari* does not include the Narrative, or because it is archaic? Likewise, is the absence of the Narrative the mark of liturgical imperfection or the remnant of a primordial and apostolic time? Finally, is it valid and proper for the Catholic Church to accept the *Addai and Mari*, as used by the Assyrian Church, as a valid contemporary Eucharistic celebration, though only in a selected ecumenical context and for pastoral needs?

Pertinent Questions and an Authoritative Response. These questions are of fundamental relevance to the Catholic doctrine as it relates to Eucharistic validity. They also presuppose a basic understanding of the Paschal Supper, as reported in the Scriptures, in regard to a number of basic points. First, regarding the words "this is my body ... this is my blood," which are uttered concomitantly with Communion, as reported in the four accounts (1 Cor 11:23–26; Lk 22:14–20; Mt 26:26–29; Mk 14:22–25), can one presume that Jesus did not consecrate until the moment of Communion? Second, since the blessing-thanksgiving occurs prior to the utterance of the holy words, how should its efficacy be considered when those holy words were not yet pronounced? Indeed, all of the apostolic Eucharistic liturgies, Eastern and Western, perform the breaking and signing as they are dealing with the consecrated body and blood. Is this not done because it follows the pattern set by Jesus at the supper?

Finally, does the command to "do this" refer to the above-stated holy words only, so that the ordained celebrant of the Eucharist must reiterate, *in persona Christi*, those very words for a valid consecration, or can we better understand this command to the holy Apostles, in adherence to the scriptural accounts, as referring to all of the components of the Eucharistic supper in its entirety ("he took, blessed, gave thanks, broke, and gave, saying")? If this is the case, then these holy words are the core and substance of the Eucharist, to be celebrated and fulfilled *in persona Ecclesiae*, according to each of the apostolic traditions, in memory of him, as the given order dictates, in the sense that the celebrant, as an ordained minister of the Church, consecrates, by the power of the Holy Spirit and offers *hic et nunc* the Eucharistic sacrifice, connecting this present act of the Church with the founding act of the Lord in an explicit way. Indeed, the two acts, as much as they are connected, are distinct: one is the founding act of the Lord in the Paschal Supper; the other is the sacramental act of the Church in her living context. The holy words express the substance of both acts.

With all of this in mind, the comprehensive question regarding the *Addai and Mari* is this: Is it a valid prayer of consecration without the inclusion of the cohesive text of the Narrative among its sections, even though it explicitly refers to the Words of Institution and contains all its elements in a ritually celebrated form? The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, under the prefecture of Cardinal RATZINGER, tackled this issue, as presented by the Council for Christian Unity under the presidency of Cardinal Kasper. It then issued, with the personal approval of Pope JOHN PAUL II, a decision of historic relevance in October 2001 It was decided that the *Addai and Mari*, in its genuine version, is a valid Eucharistic prayer of Consecration, because "the words of Eucharistic Institution are indeed present in the *Anaphora of Addai and Mari*, not in a coherent narrative way and *ad litteram*, but rather in a dispersed euchological way, that is, integrated in successive prayers of thanksgiving, praise and intercession" (Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity 2001).

SEE ALSO ADDAI AND MARI, SS.; ARAMAIC LANGUAGE; CHALDEAN CATHOLIC CHURCH (EASTERN CATHOLIC); DIDACHE; DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE; EUCHARIST (BIBLICAL DATA); EUCHARIST IN CONTEMPORARY CATHOLIC TRADITION; HOLY SPIRIT, GIFTS OF; LORD'S SUPPER, THE; MESOPOTAMIA, ANCIENT; SACRAMENTAL THEOLOGY; SACRAMENTALS; TALMUD.

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ADENAUER, KONRAD

The father of the German Federal Republic; b. Cologne, German Empire, January 5, 1876; d. Rhoumlndorf, German Federal Republic, April 19, 1967.

Konrad Adenauer (1876–1967) was instrumental in the founding of post–World War II Germany's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and chaired the organization from 1950 to 1966. He served as federal chancellor from 1949 to 1963, was a member of the Bundestag from 1949 to 1967, and served as German foreign minister from 1951 to 1955. Adenauer is remembered chiefly as the leader who piloted his nation through the first half of the Cold War, rescuing Germany from the humiliation of defeat in World War II and establishing a new status for the nation through membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and through Germany's key role in European union.

Adenauer formed his political views during the decades before Adolf HITLER's national socialist dictatorship. Representing the Catholic CENTER PARTY, in 1906 Adenauer was elected to the Cologne City Council. In 1917 he became Lord Mayor, a position he maintained until 1933. As one of the up-and-coming Center Party figures, Adenauer held other offices in the Rhineland Diet and the Prussian Parliament, positions he surrendered when the Nazis came to power. With his second wife (his first, Emma Weyer, died in 1916), Auguste "Gussie" Zinsser (1895–1948), Adenauer lived a private life during the Third Reich, although the two suffered harassment and, in 1944, arrest by the Gestapo in the wave of oppression that followed Claus von Stauffenberg's (1907–1944) assassination attempt on Hitler.

After the war, as chancellor, Adenauer's relations with the Catholic Church assumed more urgency. His work as a Catholic political figure, however, was somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, he considered himself Europe's premier Catholic statesman, and when the HOLY SEE bestowed on him the honor of the Order of the Golden Spur in 1956, the act was done at his insistence. On the other hand, in his study of German church-state relations, Frederic Spotts noted that Adenauer's "deep religious feelings ... did not translate into concern for [the Catholic Church's] public interests" (Spotts 1973, p.171).

Adenauer was careful that the postwar CDU did not identify with ROME as closely as did the old Center Party. He therefore seriously courted Protestant voters (his second wife was, in fact, a convert from Protestantism), and he opposed the few attempts by Center Party veterans to revive that organization in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Adenauer worried that his obvious Catholic devotion would be misunderstood, especially by Protestants, as political subservience. Such concerns surfaced in his June 1951 trip to Rome, his first state visit abroad as chancellor. Not only did the trip hold great significance for postwar Germany's efforts to reintegrate itself into the family of nations; the Eternal City also embodied, for Adenauer, Western Christian civilization itself. He blissfully recorded that a stroll through the city's Pincio and Piazza del Popolo was "the loveliest moment" of his life (Schwarz 1997, vol. 1, p. 621).

The climax of that Roman sojourn came in his meeting with Pope PIUS XII. Adenauer's advisers had counseled against kneeling before the pontiff, but the chancellor later confessed, "When the double doors opened and the Holy Father stood before me in all his glory, I was on my knees before I even knew where I was" (Schwarz 1997, vol. 1, p. 621).

At home, Adenauer consequently maintained a respect for, but a distance from, the German Catholic Church, preferring that its clergy refrain from politics. Leaders of the hierarchy, such as Cardinals Michael von FAULHABER and Josef Frings (c. 1887–1978), expressed frustration with Adenauer on cultural and social issues, despite his concern for Germany's and Europe's moral health and Christian sensibilities. The chancellor's promotion of television did not sit well, for instance, nor did his surrender in the battle for confessional schools. Some relationships, however, could be very personal. In his later years, the chancellor relied on his son, Monsignor Paul Adenauer (1923–2007), for advice on Catholic issues and as an unofficial link to Rome, notably through Robert Leiber (1887–1967), the influential Jesuit and confidante of Pope Pius XII.

The issue of anticommunism cemented Adenauer's relations with the Catholic Church. In that sense, both the German hierarchy and the Holy See saw in him a steadfast ally. This mutual determination surfaced clearly in his warm relationship with Pope Pius XII. It suffered, however, when Angelo Roncalli took the throne as Pope JOHN XXIII. Adenauer suspected the sincerity of John's anticommunist vigilance and disdained his openness, in

1963, toward socialist participation in Italy's government. The chancellor also maintained misgivings over the Second Vatican Council and was particularly suspicious of the two leading German representatives, Cardinal Frings and Cardinal Julius DÖPFNER. Adenauer's meeting with Pope John in January 1963 depressed him. As he later confessed to the American secretary of defense, Robert McNamara (1916–), "I knew Pius XII and thought a lot of him. He was a distinguished man. John was a catastrophe, however" (Schwarz 1997, vol. 2, pp. 493–494).

SEE ALSO COLD WAR AND THE PAPACY; EUROPEAN UNION AND THE PAPACY; GERMANY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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ADOWA, BATTLE OF

On March 1, 1896, Italy suffered a crushing rout at the hands of Abyssinia in the battle of Adowa (*Adua*), a humiliation that ruined Italian plans for empire there, at least until 1935 to 1936, when the Fascist dictator Benito MUSSOLINI avenged Adowa by conquering the African nation. Italy's force, numbering 20,000 men under the command of General Oreste Baratieri (1841–1901), invaded from its colonial possession of Eritrea and blundered into an ambush, suffering defeat at the hands of 140,000 troops under the command of Emperor Menelik II (1844–1913). Oreste enjoyed superiority in cannon fire, although Menelik possessed greater overall firepower. Perhaps half of the Emperor's troops carried firearms, and the Abyssinians had machine guns whereas the Italians did not. Four thousand five hundred Italian troops and more than 1,000 colonial troops died at Adowa.

The battle ended a nine-year campaign of imperialist aggression that began in 1887 with Italy's defeat at Dogali, a massacre that generally united Italians and briefly afforded a semi-official role to the Catholic Church during an era when it had lost its formal status in the new kingdom. The trauma momentarily relaxed the tensions that had plagued Italo-Papal relations since the unification, the *Risorgimento*, as clergy joined people to mourn the dead of Dogali. Much of Italy's early involvement there, in fact, beginning in the 1840s and 1850s, had been aided by the expertise of Italian missionaries. In the early 1850s, of only twelve Italians living in Abyssinia, more than half were Catholic clergy (Hess 1973, p. 97). Most notable among them was the Capuchin Cardinal Guglielmo Massaia (1809–1889), the HOLY SEE's chief representative from his arrival in East Africa in 1846 until his retirement in 1880.

Adowa, however, was another story because by 1896 Prime Minister Francesco Saverio Crispi (1819–1901), a ferocious anticlerical known internationally for his belligerent imperialist policy, headed the Italian government. Adowa destroyed his political fortunes. The humiliation alienated much of his middle-class support and accelerated the transformation of some of his bases of support, like Milan, into strongholds for his enemies, both Socialists and the growing Catholic political movement. Publications representative of the Holy See, *La Civiltà Cattolica* and the *Osservatore Romano*, condemned Crispi's colonial adventure, and the latter even celebrated the victory of Coptic Abyssinia, a heretical but Christian nation, over an Italy whose flag displayed "the pentarchic sign of disbelieving masonry" (Finaldi 2002, p. 91). A personal letter from LEO XIII to Menelik, furthermore, led to the Church's engagement in successful negotiations for the release of the Italian prisoners. Forty years later, Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia occurred in a much-altered world. The LATERAN PACTS of 1929 had settled many of the outstanding controversies between CHURCH AND STATE, and the Italian clergy generally supported the Fascist war, to the extent that, in very public ceremonies, priests blessed lead wedding bands to replace gold ones that wives had donated to the cause.

SEE ALSO CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA, LA; FASCISM; RISORGIMENTO.

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AFTERLIFE

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I. PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES

Although belief in a continuing or new life after death is widespread among the peoples of the world, profound differences exist among cultural traditions in conceptions of this afterlife; and, even in those societies in which a sharp division between the here and the hereafter is theologically postulated and conventionally accepted, personal variations occur in specific images of the afterlife. Despite the latter, two elements—belief in a final moral judgment of personal conduct in the world and belief in the specific existence of an after-world distinct from this world—define Christian, Christian-influenced, and to a lesser degree Jewish and Islamic conceptions of the afterlife. This article treats within the perspective of the comparative study of religion the differing conceptions found in (1) primitive societies; (2) the Bible; (3) ancient Greece and Rome; (4) ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia; (5) Persia, India, and China; (6) Judaism; (7) Islam; and (8) Christianity.

Generally speaking, primitive peoples do not share the twin assumptions of a final moral judgment of behavior in the world and the specific existence of an afterworld. Accordingly, most anthropologists would not agree with Wilhelm SCHMIDT's assumption of moral judgment and an associated belief in an afterworld as coextensive with primitive MONOTHEISM. Historically, it appears that as society becomes increasingly secularized and, in the literal sense, civilized, the sphere of moral action contracts and grows more complex; correlatively, the idea that the ultimate *loci* of the consequences of morality and immorality occur in the afterworld emerges with great clarity.

Continuity of the Self. Primitive societies are, as Robert Redfield and Paul Radin have indicated, moral at their core; persons relate to each other in a moral nexus, not as contracting partners in a legal, technical, commercial, that is, civilized order. This *sacred* quality of primitive life is evident in the ritually celebrated cycles of birth, death, and rebirth of the person, society, and nature at large. In these primitive rites of passage and ritual dramas, persons may be, for example, conceived as dying to a given status in the world and being reborn into another status, but without destroying the continuity of self. The self is never merely reduced to the status; rather, it is enriched by experiencing the pain of internal growth and diversification. In a sense, the passage of the person through primitive societies can be understood as a progressive spiritualization. In the Winnebago medicine rite described by Radin, the goal is what religious historian Mircea Eliade has called the "perpetual regeneration of the initiate," the "eternal return" to mythical origins, implying an abolition of time and a "reinstatement of the miraculous moment of creation" (Eliade 1964, pp. 319–320). Historical, progressive, lineal time, central to the modern scientific world view and expressed in the Hebraic and Christian cosmogonies (in the Christian context based on the historicity of Jesus), is not a primitive conception.

The cyclic and sacred character of primitive life is similarly evident in the common belief, as among the Anaguta of Northern Nigeria, that an infant is the reincarnation of an ancestral spirit in the grandparental generation; hence, the person who has literally died to the world, begins a new spiritual existence by being reborn. Thus, primitive society itself emerges as the arena of the original drama of creation and transcendence, of Eliade's "irruption of the sacred into the world" occurring in "primordial" time (Eliade 1961, p. 72). The passage through life takes on the aspect of a moral drama, culminating, as among the Winnebago people of Wisconsin, in the initiate's ultimate effort to grasp the meaning of creation and so win eternal life or rebirth. In these rites, the forerunners of the more explicit and historically specific Christian Sacraments, that which Eliade terms a "nostalgia for Paradise" (Eliade 1964, p. 508), for the instant of pure being, is evident.

Identity of World and Afterworld. The antinomies life-death, natural-supernatural, sacred-profane, and spirit-flesh that weigh so heavily in civilized Christian thought are, in primitive societies, largely irrelevant. Life moves on all levels simultaneously. Ordinary events are suffused with sacred meaning, and everything has personality; God, spirits, ancestors—dreamt of, seen, or felt—*exist*. The mode of primitive thinking is existentialist in the most comprehensive sense. Therefore, the split between this world and the afterworld is of little

moment. Where conceptions of the afterlife are present, they typically assimilate, as Franz Boas put it, the "social life of the dead [to] ... the living" (Boas 1940, pp. 606–607). The deceased may maintain an active position in the kinship structure. The afterworld is, with minor exceptions, quite the same as this world; throughout North Asia, as elsewhere, the former is simply a mirror image of the latter. Frequently, the souls of the dead, on their passage to this inverted world, must pass over some obstacle or cross a narrow bridge. But this seems to be related to the psychology of mourning and the consequent need for ritualizing the trauma of separation rather than to a permanent journey to a distinctly conceived afterworld.

Despite the contradictions inherent in certain technical aspects of the primitive view of the afterlife (e.g., the social immediacy of souls versus their indeterminate existence in a double of this world), neither the idea of hell nor of other-worldly reward for moral behavior are important themes in primitive religions. This is true even where, as among the Anaguta, a clear-cut belief in an accessible supreme creator is evident.

SEE ALSO RELIGION (IN PRIMITIVE CULTURE).

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II. THE BIBLE

The Israelites believed in a ghostlike afterlife. According to their ideas, all the dead go to SHEOL, the nether world. Kings and slaves, old and young, "all go to one place" [Eccl 6:6; Ps 88(89):49; Jb 3:13–19; 30:23].

Abode of the Dead. The Babylonians refer in their myths, for example, in the GILGAMESH EPIC, to the abode of the dead as a place under the earth or on the other side of the world sea. The dead reach it by descending into the earth or by traveling to the farthest point west. Before entering, they must cross the underground river or the "waters of death." The Scriptures, too, refer to its locality by the direction in which the dead go, "down to Sheol" (Is 38:18; Ez 31:14; 1 Kgs 2:9). Even the New Testament localizes the abode of the dead in the depths of the earth (Mt 16:18; Lk 16:26; Acts 2:24, 27, 31; Rom 10:7; Rv 1:18; 20:13). According to mythico-dynamic thinking, this realm of death is constantly overflowing its banks. It is present wherever death exercises its sovereignty. Consequently, not only the grave [Ps 39(40):3; 54(55):24; 142(143):7; etc.] and the depths of the earth are linked with it [Ps 62(63):10; 138(139):8; Is 7:11], but also the sea [Ps 68(69):2, 16; Jon 2:4] and the desert (Jer 2:6, 31; Hos 2:5). These "three nonworlds" (Pedersen 1959) are considered manifestations of death and belong to the realm of death. In each diminishing of life, the realm of death disrupts the world of the living. Thus illness [Ps 12(13); 21(22); 29(30); 87(88); etc.], captivity [Ps 141(142); 142(143)], persecution and hostility [Ps 17(18); 143(144)], misfortune, poverty, and hunger are all a foretaste of the descent into Sheol and abandonment by Yahweh. The sinner is already living in Sheol (Ps 9A:16–18).

The texts of the preexilic as well as most of the postexilic books draw a most uninviting picture of Sheol. This realm of death is described as an eternal house (Eccl 12:5) with chambers and rooms (Prv 7:27) and gates [Ps 9A:14; 106(107):18; Jb 38:17; Sir 51:9; Wis 16:13; Is 38:10; Mt 16:18; Rv 1:18], a prison (Eccl 9:10) with bars (Jon 2:7) and bolts and bonds [Ps 115(116):3], the land of oblivion [Ps 87(88):13; 114(115):17], a land whence no one can return (Jb 7:9–10; 10:21; Prv 2:19; Sir 38:21). Sheol is called the "no more" (Is 38:11), destruction [Ps 87(88):12], dust [Ps 21(22):30; 29(30):10; 145(146):4; Is 26:19; Jb 17:16; Dt 12:2]. It is a place of horror [Ps 115(116):3], complete darkness [Jb 10:21–22; 17:13; 18:18; 38:17; Ps 87(88):7; 142(143):3], and remoteness from Yahweh. Even so, Satan does not have any influence in the abode of the dead, but Yahweh controls Sheol through His power [Ps 138(139):8; Jb 26:6; Prv 15:11; Is 7:11; Am 9:2].

State of the Dead. In the Old Testament, death is conceived as the end of the entire living man. Yet this basic conception does not exclude a further existence of the deceased in the realm of the dead, as can be shown by the frequent mention of the dead, of graves, and of funeral customs. For the Israelite, life is life only as it is filled with joy, fortune, wealth, and Yahweh's presence. These marks of life are not present in the deceased, who are referred to as *r*^{e}*pāîm*, the "weak" [Jb 26:5; Ps 87(88):11; Is 14:9] or as those who have descended into the pit [Ps 27(28):1; 29(30):4; Is 38:18; Ez 26:20; 31:14, 16]. In Sheol the dead remain in a state of suspended animation, phantoms of the entire former living man, devoid of all power and vitality (Is 14:10). There is no activity (Eccl 9:10), no pleasure (Sir 14:11–17), no participation in or knowledge of what is happening on earth (Eccl 9:5; Jb 14:12–17; 21:21). In the older books of the Old Testament no doubt exists that the deceased are taken away from the vital union with Yahweh. In the nether world no one praises God any more [Ps 6:6; 29(30):10; 113B (115):17; Sir 17:22–23; Is 38:18b].

However, the older, pessimistic concept of Sheol as the one place for all the dead, irrespective of the moral value of their lives, changes in the later books of the Old Testament. The doctrine of RETRIBUTION gradually leads to a distinction between the lot of the good and that of the wicked [Ez 32:17–32; Is 26:8, 14–21; 66:24; Ps 33(34):22–23; Wis 3:2–10, 19; Prv 14:32]. The just man has hope because he will be rewarded for his work (2 Chr 15:7; Wis 4:7–17, 20). In the writings of the postexilic period, a real change in the attitude toward afterlife is observable in the expectancy of resurrection. Israel's faith in its election by Yahweh and in His mercy and omnipotence, a faith that was justified by His constant intervention in the history of the nation and by its experience of the loving union between God and the pious man, developed into a trust in Yahweh that amounted to an undocumented guarantee of resurrection and immortality. This doctrine developed gradually [Jb 14:14–17; Hos 13:14; Is 25:9; 57:1–2; Wis 1:13–16; Ps 36(37):3–7; 64(65):5a], and Isaiah worked out some of its theological reasonings. One finds it in plain words in Dn 12:1–3; Jb 19:25–27; Is 26:19–21; and 2 Mc 7:9–11, 14, 22–23, 34–36. However, even at the time of Christ, the doctrine of individual resurrection, which was explicitly rejected by the SADDUCEES, was not commonly accepted in Israel (Mt 22:23–34 and parallels; Acts 23:6–10). In the New Testament Jesus clearly affirms the resurrection of the dead in opposition to its denial by the Sadducees (Mk 12:24–27; Mt 22: 29–32). Jesus refers to himself as "the resurrection and the life" (Jn 11:25), and Paul understands the future resurrection as a sharing in the victory Christ over death (1 Cor 15:20–28; Col 2:12). In addition to the future resurrection of the body, the New Testament affirms a distinction between the soul and the body (Mt 10:28; 2 Cor 5:8) that implies the continued existence of the human person as a soul in the afterlife. The just ones who die live in Christ (cf. Phil 1:23); they are destined to become like Christ and see him as he is (1 Jn 3:2). After death all human beings are subject to judgment before God (Heb 9:27; 12:23). The afterlife, then, consists of those who share in the blessed life of the heavenly kingdom with Christ (Mt 25: 34) and those who suffer the torments of hell (Mt 25:41). Some, however, will be saved "but only as through fire" (1 Cor 3:15), an image later understood within Catholic tradition as a reference to posthumous purification or PURGATORY.

SEE ALSO ABRAHAM'S BOSOM; GEHENNA; HEAVEN (IN THE BIBLE); HEBREW SCRIPTURES; HELL (IN THE BIBLE); IMMORTALITY; JUDGMENT, DIVINE (IN THE BIBLE); NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS; RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

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III. ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME

At the outset, from an extrinsic point of view, Greco-Roman beliefs about life after death did not come from a revealed religion; they were not fixed in sacred books, nor were they dictated, maintained, and controlled as dogmas by a religious authority. They were the product of a slow and steady evolution that corresponded closely, although often with marked lags and uncertainties, to the trends or stages in the development of classical culture in general. Belonging as they did to the domain of tenacious traditions no less than to that of innate anxieties and forebodings, they were in no wise monolithic. New beliefs were superimposed on old conceptions without adjustment or elimination. Rites that belonged to an outmoded faith continued to be performed, even when no one any longer understood their precise bearing or original signification. Conceptions that were basically divergent were found not only side by side in a given cultural period but also together, apparently without conflict, in the soul of one and the same individual.

In General. The mingling of markedly diversified ethnic elements, especially in the great Hellenistic and Roman centers, created a mixture of opinions and beliefs that would be difficult to reduce to its primary components. In view of the shortcomings of official religion in the sphere of death and the hereafter, religious conceptions were exposed to the strong influences of old wives' tales, superstitions, and black magic, so that, in the Hellenistic Age and under the early empire, the educated classes abandoned themselves to unbelief, skepticism, or indifference. The masses, who were long isolated from the progress of philosophy and literature, were too deeply engulfed in the precarious conditions of material subsistence to attempt—at least on their own initiative—a separation of religious rites from superstitious practices or of sound religious sentiments from chimerical fictions.

Intrinsically, Greco-Roman views on the life beyond the grave were conditioned by the evolving ideas of ancient man respecting anthropology, the image of the universe, ethics, and human destiny. From the viewpoint of the earliest beliefs on death, the earliest notions on man were neither spiritual nor materialistic in the modern sense of the terms, but simply *human*, in the sense that man did not originally think of himself as a being composed of two principles. The human being was one entity that death did not split into a lifeless body and a surviving soul. The shade in the lower world or the soul in heaven was most commonly only man in his entirety, viewed from the angle of his corporeal dematerialization. The development of the concept of man gradually arrived at an increasingly sharp dichotomy between body and soul. The explanation for the distinction is not to be sought in the different opinions that were held on the nature of the vital principle (breath, blood, heat, eidolon, spark), but rather, on the one hand, in the practice of incineration, which by destroying the body emphasized the soul, and, on the other, in the influence exercised by dualistic currents in philosophy.

The ancient image of the world passed from Earth as a flat disk floating on the waters of Ocean to a universe of concentric spheres in harmonious movement, circumscribed by the sphere of the fixed stars. Yet it did not detach itself from the idea that the earth, where man reigned as master, formed the center of the universe. Since what survived of man did not attain a dematerialization that escaped the category of place, beyond the grave the soul went to the precise region that the scientific image of the world and the ideas on the survival and nature of the soul suggested it be assigned.

Ethical concepts acquired real influence only when death ceased to be considered a mere passage to another world, where the lot of the dead man was simply a repetition of his social condition on earth. Notions of moral responsibility, of personal conscience, of virtuous conduct, and of sinful life did not appear, however, until the individual became conscious of himself. Then he abandoned the idea that life was lived on earth only, and he submitted to moral demands with their inevitable sanctions, whereby he could hope, in an existence beyond the grave, for the justice and recompense that he in vain had expected on earth.

Human destiny was at first confined within the narrow limits of a terrestrial life, from which man escaped only to the extent that he assured the continuity of his family, tribe, and community. When this changed to emphasize the individual, it opened a concept of survival that, in combining the idea of a reward beyond the grave with the notion of an immortal soul, surpassed in both duration and intensity the possibilities of life on earth. Thus, the true life could begin or re-begin only after death, which, far from diminishing the significance of the human soul, sent it back to its heavenly and divine home.

Early and Classical Greek Beliefs. According to a notion that was held for many centuries, the dead man survived in his tomb, so meticulous care was devoted to funerals, funeral furniture and offerings, and the cult connected, on certain days of the year (e.g., at the *Anthesteria* at Athens), with tombs. This was the source too, from Mycenaean times, of the family cult and then

of the community cult of dead men who were especially significant, namely, the *heroes*. Subsequently, society, cut off from its ancestral tombs by emigration, was no longer acquainted with either the cult of the dead or that of heroes. Hence arose the general Greek belief—reinforced by the authority of Homer—that the dead were all found together in the subterranean realm of Hades. In the absence of any moral perspective, Hades was not yet a place of retribution, but rather an exact negative replica of life on earth without the positive features of the physical plane—countryside, light, warmth, color, and sound—or the psychological plane—security, freedom, and joy of existence. In this life, by law of repetition, shades continued the shadow of their earthly sojourn. Minoan religion, however, had postulated the existence of Isles of the Blest, located at the end of the world beyond Ocean, to which the gods transported men of divine lineage while they were still alive. This transatlantic eden of living heroes was subsequently changed into the underworld Elysium of the blessed dead—most probably under the influence of the Mysteries of Eleusis. The initiates, in keeping with the law of repetition, continued to celebrate their joyous feasts in their new abode, while the noninitiates had to be satisfied with a shadowy existence in mire (ἐν βορβόρῳ). This was not yet a form of punishment but a deprivation of true life.

Orphic Conceptions. From the seventh to the sixth century BC, the Orphics took over certain popular beliefs regarding the hereafter and substituted prescriptions of moral purity for the ritual demands of the Eleusinian Mysteries. They spread the idea that noninitiates would be punished in hell for their unworthy lives. From the sixth century, the Orphics also adopted the doctrine of metempsychosis, the transmigration of the soul. They maintained that the soul, divinely immortal and independent of the entombed body in which it was entombed (σῶμα, σῆμα), was able, by upright conduct in successive incarnations, to free itself finally from all dependence on a carnal body. It could then live its own proper and true life in an Elysium, which Orphic teaching (except in Pindar) has not described in detail.

Pythagorean Conceptions. From the end of the sixth century, Pythagoreanism borrowed from the Orphic Mysteries its views on metempsychosis and the popular notion of recompense after death. It thus contributed in its turn to the belief that in the lower world Elysium was reserved for the pious, whereas Tartarus in Hades was a place of punishment for sinners.

Judgment and Reward or Punishment. In the classical period (fifth and fourth centuries BC) the Orphico-Pythagorean belief in the punishment of Hades spread widely, as is evidenced by literature (Aristophanes, Plato) and art (vase paintings). Most people were hardly reached by the philosophical arguments of Plato, who sought to prove scientifically the immortality of the soul, but they were deeply influenced by the mythico-religious representations of a rewarding hereafter, of which they learned from mythology and the mysteries. Thus most probably around 400 BC, the idea of a *iudicium post mortem* took shape, as is known through the writings of Plato and the art of fourth-century, southern Italian, funerary vases. After death every soul appeared before a tribunal in Hades, where a college of three heroes (Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Aeacus) judged it according to its merits. Pious souls were rewarded with Elysian dwellings, those of less perfect conduct underwent a kind of purgatory, and hardened sinners were condemned for all eternity to the tortures of Tartarus.

Hellenistic Beliefs. Plato's affirmation of the divine affinity and immortal nature of the soul ended in the skepticism of the New Academy, whereas EPICURUS, following the atomic theory of Democritus, taught that after death the soul, like the body, dissolved into atoms. The early Stoics recognized in their vital principle, which was related to the fiery ether, a vague form of survival, but it was impersonal and limited in time. With Posidonius and his Platonic leanings, the soul regained true immortality. The mystery religions and the strong Orphico-Pythagorean beliefs in Magna Graecia promised a hereafter to their adherents. This paradise did not so much indicate a low level of morality as it reflected deep longings for felicity unthreatened by trials or death. According to popular belief, which was not influenced by skepticism or by the denials of the educated class, the hereafter was usually located under the earth. This is indicated by metrical epitaphs, curse tablets consigning their victims to the infernal deities, Orphic gold plates found in south Italy, and paintings on funerary vases from the same region. Similarly, the allegorical interpretation of the punishments of Tartarus as worked out by the Pythagoreans had no effect on popular notions of reward or punishment in the next world.

Nevertheless, the progress of Hellenistic civilization brought about marked changes regarding the location of the hereafter. On the one hand, according to new scientific theories on the structure of the earth and the universe, Hades had to be moved either to the dark antipodes of the inhabited earth or to the non-illuminated hemisphere of the world. On the other hand, philosophico-religious teaching on the divine, and therefore heavenly, origin of the soul; astrological cosmology, which turned man's eyes heavenward; the increasing importance of the symbolism of fire and light; and the astral myths telling of great mortals being

changed into stars all exerted an influence on beliefs. Men gradually adopted the revolutionary idea that after death souls were changed into stars or flew off to the starry sky. Under the Roman Empire this lunisolar or astral immortality received support from solar pantheism, but only limited circles were affected. In the leisured class as a whole, skepticism was the rule, whereas the lower strata of the population maintained their previous idea of an underworld Hades.

Early Rome. Primitive Roman beliefs regarding the hereafter were restricted in scope and character. The dead man was placed in a tomb that was built in the form of a house. He led there a weak existence, and the living sustained him by funeral offerings. At the same time he was feared, as evidenced by references to apparitions in dreams, to ghosts, to the role of the *ahori*, or premature dead, and to necromancy. On certain days of the year, the dead had official access to the world of the living by removing the *lapis manalis* covering the entrance to the lower world (*mundus*). In so far as the dead man was a link in the long chain of his *gens*, or clan, he belonged to the divine ancestral spirits, the *Di Parentes*. Mixed in the mass of the dead, he formed a part of the *Lemures*, spirits of the dead who were divided into *Lares* and *Larvae*, which were benevolent or malevolent, respectively. Furthermore, these various connections were all brought under the head of *Di Manes*, to whom specific rites were assigned: the *Parentalia*, *Lemuria*, and *Larentalia*, and later the *Rosalia* and *Dies Violares*.

Before the fourth century BC, the Romans did not have an infernal lower world common to all the dead nor any form of punishment beyond the grave. After this time the Etruscans acquainted them with the Greek representation of Hades, but in the form that the terrifying Etruscan demonology had given it. In the third century BC, Magna Graecia invested this Etrusco-Roman world of the dead, *Orcus*, with all its rich infernal mythology and with all the Orphico-Pythagorean acquisitions to which the Greek genius had given birth. Through the direct contact between the Greco-Oriental and Roman civilizations, all these ideas and beliefs became more and more thoroughly acclimated at Rome. They received a quasi-sacred and definitive expression in the sixth book of Vergil's *Aeneid*.

Greco-Roman Beliefs. From the end of the republic, the Greco-Oriental and Roman worlds fused into a great cultural commonwealth in which the active, general circulation of religious ideas caused various forms of syncretistic religion to flourish. Still, old conceptions persisted, whether they took on a new life under their old patrons (the various philosophies), whether they adjusted themselves to the form and organization of religious practices coming from the East (the mystery cults), or whether they simply maintained themselves against the winds and waves of innovation, firmly anchored as they were in the hearts of the masses (popular beliefs).

Philosophy addressed the problem of the hereafter; Neo-Pythagoreanism (first century BC–second century AD) and Neoplatonism (c. 250–c. 500 AD)—despite some Oriental elements—represented currents and ideas of Greek origin. According to the Neo-Pythagoreans, souls, on being freed from the body, escaped into the atmosphere, where they were purified by the winds before they re-entered their original home, the starry spheres. The Neoplatonists taught that the soul, buffeted in some way between the material many and the spiritual One, had to apply itself to the noble task of regaining suprasensible divine life. The syncretistic teachings of Hermetic literature and of Gnosticism (second and third centuries AD) held in common that the soul, having once been cast into matter, could return to its heavenly source only through true knowledge. Besides the old mysteries, whose promise of immortality was reinforced through contact with Orphico-Pythagorean and Neoplatonic elements, various cults, under a flexible form of mystery religion probably borrowed from the Greek mysteries, honored divinities imported from the East (Cybele-Attis, Isis-Osiris, Sabazios, Mithras) and attracted the emotional devotion of the masses, among whom the earlier native stock was being submerged by cosmopolitan elements.

It is desirable, however, to evaluate the expansion of the philosophico-religious doctrines, which appealed strictly to the intellectual aristocracy insofar as they had not limited their hopes to the immortality of fame, and also to appraise the content of the message of salvation afforded by the mystery religions. Several lofty ideas that belonged to philosophy and the mysteries—freedom from death of the body by resurrection, deliverance from the death of the soul by spiritual rebirth and divine illumination, deification, divine filiation—had little or no influence on the common people before Christianity spread among them. Such ideas acquired their real efficacy, expansion, depth, and, in a certain measure, their existence only through the progress of Christianity.

The popular conceptions, vividly revealed by the metrical funeral inscriptions, indicate that common people were practically impervious to the Pythagorean idea that placed Hades in the sublunary region or in the moon itself and that they had no interest in solar pantheism or in Gnostic teachings on the fall and ascent of souls through the planetary spheres. The old believers clung to the cult of the dead at the tomb and to the idea of a lower world in which the shades lived the barest existence in darkness, although they granted that in rare cases the dead, as a reward for a pious life, enjoyed

in the Elysian Fields a happy existence of eternal feasting. However, as the gods—and light—had their abode in the heavens, the blessed Hereafter belonged to the celestial heights. There the elect received as their portion the immortal happiness that the philosophico-religious teachings, the mysteries of Gnostic coloring, and imperial apotheosis had offered to a select few. Hell, in the modern sense, remained fixed in the traditional lower world; its punishments, to which Christianity made its contribution (e.g., in the *Apocalypse of Peter*), attained a diversity and refinement that emanated less from a conscience motivated by the unfulfilled desire for perfect justice than from the lower level of human thinking, over which neither the noblest pagan ideas nor the Christian gospel of salvation had effective control.

SEE ALSO Cretan-Mycenaean Religion; Etruscan Religion; Greek Philosophy (Religious Aspects); Greek Religion; Hades; Mystery Religions, Greco-Oriental; Neo-Pythagoreanism; Roman Religion; Stoicism; Orphism; Resurrection, Greco-Oriental.

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IV. ANCIENT EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA

The ancient Egyptians were preoccupied with the afterlife. The practice of mummification extends back at least to the early part of the second millennium BC. At first people believed that continued existence in the next life required the preservation of the earthly body. Eventually, many in ancient Egypt came to believe that all dead continued to live in a realm ruled by Osiris, the god of the dead. The Egyptian *Book of Going Forth by Day* (or *Book of the Dead*) might have been composed as early as 1750 BC, though some place it as late as 1200 BC. It testifies to the ancient Egyptian interest in the afterlife and describes how, after death, the soul or heart of the deceased person is weighed on a scale balanced by the "feather of truth" before a tribunal of forty-two judges overseen by Osiris. This postmortem judgment is based on moral behavior during life. After the weighing of the heart, rewards or punishments follow, with complete annihilation sometimes a possibility.

According to ancient Egyptian mythology, Osiris had been drowned in a coffin and later chopped into pieces by his brother, Seth. Isis, the wife of Osiris, miraculously restored him to life, and thus she became the savior-figure of the cult of Isis, which later spread throughout the Greco-Roman world. *The Golden Ass* or *Metamorphoses*, written by Apuleius (c. 123–180 AD), and the work *Concerning Isis and Osiris* by Plutarch (c. 46–120 AD) testify to the interest in the cult of Isis. They also reveal the ancient Greek and Roman desire for a savior and a future life, a desire left unsatisfied by the fatalistic view of the Greco-Roman religions, which ascribed immortality to the gods and mortality to humans.

The ancient Mesopotamians, unlike the ancient Egyptians, did not conceive of a moral judgment of the soul after death. Instead, they believed in a netherworld, called Nergal, which was very similar to the early Hebraic concept of Sheol. In the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, composed between the eighteenth and seventh centuries BC, Gilgamesh conjures up and converses with the shade of his former companion, Enkidu, but this shade is hardly the person he was when alive. Nergal was understood by the ancient Mesopotamians as a gloomy dusty realm of "spirits and defeated gods," "a land in which there was no return, except perhaps for assassinated or wronged persons who might come back briefly to haunt their malefactors" (Smart 1991, p. 249).

SEE ALSO Book of the Dead; Egypt, Ancient; Gilgamesh Epic; Mesopotamia, Ancient.

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V. PERSIA, INDIA, AND CHINA

Belief in a future life was prominent in the Persian religion of Zoroastrianism, which can be traced to the prophetic figure Zarathustra (Zoroaster in Greek) who lived around the ninth or tenth century BC (though some scholars place him in the seventh century BC). The Zoroastrian scriptures affirm both the judgment of the soul after death and a future resurrection of the body. The particular judgment of individuals is depicted as the crossing of a bridge (the Chinvat Bridge) toward paradise. Those who live wicked lives are tossed off the bridge into hell. The righteous souls, however, enter paradise, whereas other souls go to a state of limbo. In the future age (at the end of ordinary time), the souls of the deceased are reunited with their bodies. They then undergo a final judgment. After a final purification, the souls in limbo (and perhaps some of those in hell) enter into paradise. Some, however, are consigned to hell forever, along with Angra Mainyu, the evil spirit, and other demons.

The clear affirmations of life after death, judgment, heaven and hell, and the future resurrection of the body have led some scholars to wonder whether there might have been a Zoroastrian influence on Jewish eschatology through contacts with the ancient Persians, either during or after the Babylonian exile. Some scholars shy away from such speculation. Others, however, believe that it was not until the ancient Hebrews had contact with Persia "that such ideas as resurrection of the dead at the end of the world, a final judgment, the making of a new earth, and heaven and hell became important in the Hebrew scriptures" (Ellwood and McGraw 1999, p. 266).

From a Catholic perspective, it should be noted that PIUS XII, in his encyclical *Humani generis* (1950), acknowledged a possible influence of non-biblical sources on the authors of the Bible. The pontiff, however, stated that, if such sources were employed, the sacred authors made use of them "under the impulse of divine inspiration which preserved them from all error in selecting and assessing the documents they used" (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 3898).

Followers of the main religions originating in India, such as JAINISM, HINDUISM, BUDDHISM, and SIKHISM, all believe in REINCARNATION and the TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS. In their writings the Hindus and Buddhists also speak of numerous hells that some souls pass through on their way to ultimate purification or liberation. Although belief in reincarnation has been linked to some Greek philosophical circles, it is, by and large, a distinctive feature of Indic religious thought. The goal, however, is not to continue living on earth through numerous lives, but to escape the cycle of birth and rebirth (*samsara*) through liberation (Jainism and Hinduism) or the attainment of an unconditioned state (the Buddhist nirvana). Sikhism, which emerged in the sixteenth century AD, was influenced by Muslim monotheism. In spite of the Muslim influence, followers retained their belief in reincarnation as part of the journey toward eternal life with God.

The religions of India have multiple descriptions of the final state of liberation, and, in Buddhism, the state of nirvana is most often described by negation rather than affirmation (i.e., as a state beyond pain and desire). In Hinduism different schools of thought exist as to whether the individual soul is absorbed into the supreme reality (BRAHMAN) or whether the soul retains its own individuality.

Although popular beliefs in life after death existed in ancient China, classical Confucianism never developed a clearly defined eschatology. CONFUCIUS (c. 551–479 BC) did not deny life after death, but he was reluctant to talk about such matters. Instead, he concentrated his efforts on inculcating righteousness and propriety for the present life. The Chinese religion of Taoism (also called DAOSIM) tends toward a naturalism that is not very concerned with personal survival after death. There is talk of immortality, but it seems more focused on a mystical intuition of the way of things (the Tao) than an affirmation of personal, individual existence after death.

Devotional MAHAYANA Buddhism, more than Confucianism and Taoism, provided the Chinese with the image of a "pure land" beyond this life, which is free of pain and defilement and full of light and glory. Moreover, the understanding of the Buddha as a savior-personality, who could provide entrance into the pure land, became very attractive to many Chinese.

SEE ALSO CONFUCIANISM AND NEO-CONFUCIANISM; ESCHATOLOGY, ARTICLES ON; HEBREW SCRIPTURES; HUMANI GENERIS; MYSTERY RELIGIONS, GRECO-ORIENTAL; NIRVĀṆA; PERSIAN RELIGION, ANCIENT; ZOROASTER (ZARATHUSHTRA).

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VI. JUDAISM

Although Judaism is less focused on the afterlife than Christianity and Islam, it has traditionally affirmed the reality of a future Messianic Age and the resurrection of the dead. The Jewish sage Moses Ben Maimon or MAIMONIDES (1135–1204 AD) included belief in the resurrection of the dead in his thirteen articles of faith (Fellows 1998, p. 263). Various passages of the Bible can and have been cited in support of the resurrection of the dead (e.g., Ps 16:10–11; Ezek 37:1–14; Dan 12:1–3), but some of the most prominent appear in the Deuterocanonical books of Wisdom (chapters 1–5) and 2 Macc (chapters 7 and 12). Although not accepted as part of the Hebrew Bible by contemporary Jews, Wisdom and 2 Maccabees provide clear evidence of a Jewish belief in the resurrection of the dead.

In addition to the BIBLE, rabbinical writings and the TALMUD provide ample evidence of Jewish concepts of JUDGMENT, heaven, and hell. In the Messianic Age, those judged as righteous will enter into heaven (*Gan Eden*), which is sometimes described as having five chambers "for various classes of the righteous" (Cohn-Sherbok 1987, p. 27). Although some rabbis consigned all Gentiles *en masse* to hell, the general Jewish consensus is that righteous Gentiles who observe the Noachide Laws (i.e., avoiding idolatry, incest, shedding of blood, profanation of God's name, injustice, and the dismemberment of living animals) will also gain entry into heaven in the World to Come (Cohn-Sherbok 1987, p. 30).

In the Babylonian Talmud, hell is depicted as having seven divisions, each divided into seven more subdivisions, with each of these containing seven rivers of fire and seven rivers of hail. Thousands of crevices, scorpions, and pouches of poison appear in the divisions of hell. Those sent to hell include Jews who disobey the Torah and Gentiles who violate the Noachide Laws.

In modern times, many Jews, including rabbis, have rejected or modified traditional Jewish eschatology. Some contemporary Jews accept the immortality of the soul but raise doubts about the resurrection of the body and the eternity of hell. Others have reinterpreted the Messianic Age in a secular or naturalistic way, viewing it more as a metaphor for a better world in the future. Still others have come to understand "the State of Israel as a substitute for the Messiah himself" (Cohn-Sherbok 1987, p. 32).

SEE ALSO HEAVEN (IN THE BIBLE); HELL (IN THE BIBLE); JUDAISM; MACCABEES, BOOKS OF; WISDOM, BOOK OF.

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VII. ISLAM

The main focus of Islamic eschatology is on the *day of reckoning*, or future judgment, and a future resurrection of the body. Many Muslims believe that the day of reckoning will be ushered in by the return of the prophet, Jesus, as a Muslim and the appearance of Al-Mahdī, the rightly guided one (viewed by Shi'a Muslims as "the hidden imam"). On the day of reckoning, God (Allāh) will judge human beings as worthy of rewards in heaven (paradise) or punishments in hell. Many Muslims also believe that God (Allāh) directs angels to keep records of human deeds, and a person's record of deeds determines his or her fate after death.

Although the focus is on the future day of reckoning and the resurrection of the dead, Islam also affirms the continued consciousness of those who have died.

After death the wicked experience hell in the grave prior to the Day of Judgment and the resurrection of the body. Likewise, after death, the souls of the righteous experience the rewards of paradise, which continue forever after the reunion with their bodies. Following 2:262 and 5:69 of the Qur'ān, some Muslims believe that adherents of other religions can escape hell and enter paradise. Others, however, following 4:56, believe that those who deny the Qur'an as God's revelation will receive severe punishments. Islamic images of paradise and hell are taken from both the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth (the records of MUḤAMMAD's sayings and deeds). These images are very vivid and sometimes sensual. Although all Muslims believe in judgment, heaven, and hell, not all interpret these images in a literal fashion.

SEE ALSO ALLĀH; ISLAM; ISLAMIC TRADITIONS (ḤADĪTH); QUR'ĀN; SHIĪ'ITES.

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VIII. CHRISTIANITY

The scriptural and theological aspects of Christian eschatology are covered in other articles. A few words, however, can be said about the basic Christian understanding of the afterlife.

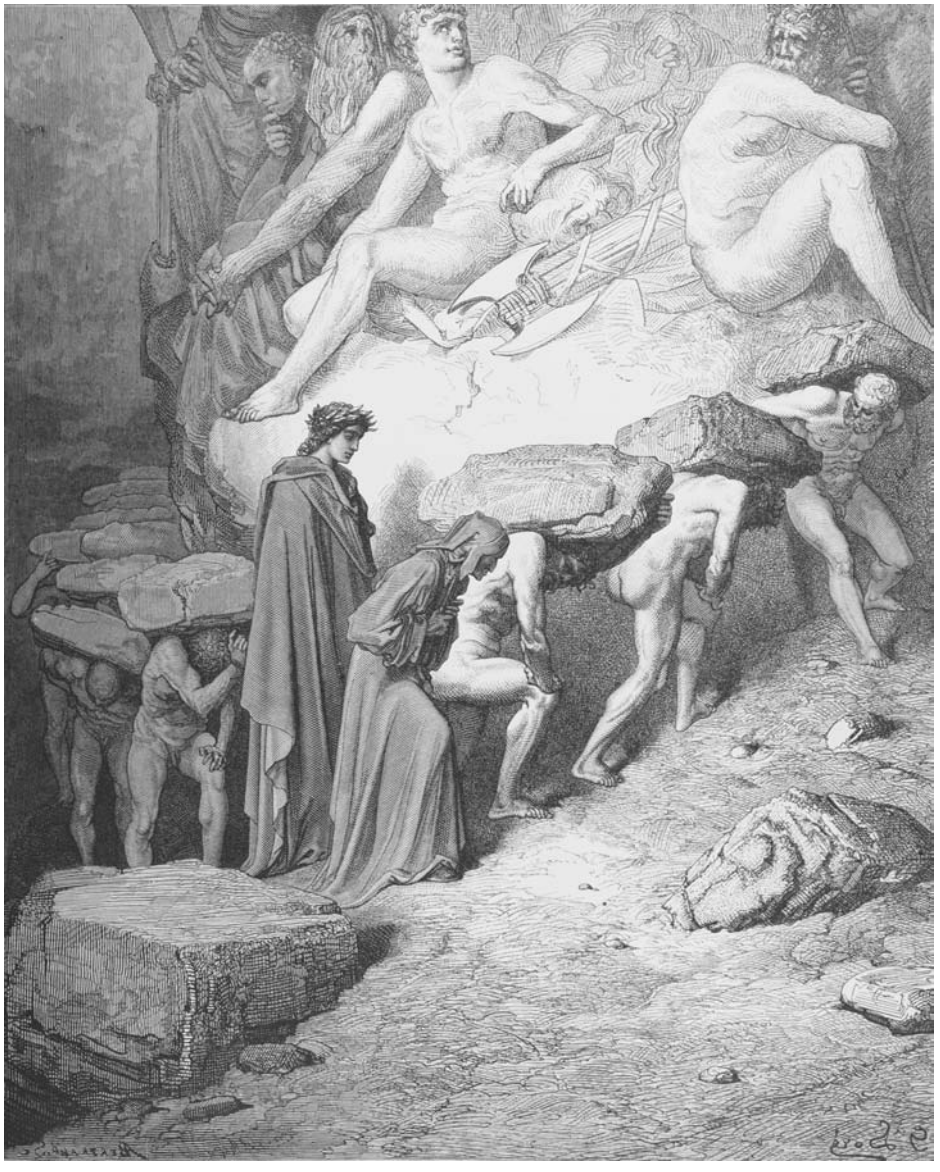
In Christian eschatology a distinction is made between individual eschatology and general eschatology. In individual eschatology the focus is on the fate of each individual after death. The basic topics are the particular judgment, heaven, hell, and PURGATORY. In general eschatology the focus is on the return of Jesus in glory (the PAROUSIA), the end of the world (as humans know it), the RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD, and the final or general judgment.

God judges the souls of all human beings after death individually. Although the New Testament "speaks of judgment primarily in its aspect of the final encounter with Christ in his second coming," it also "repeatedly affirms that each will be rewarded after death in accordance with his faith and works," and "each man receives his eternal retribution in his immortal soul at the very moment of his death" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church* 1997, 1021–1022).

The particular judgment requires the survival of the human person as a SOUL after death. Although the immortality of the individual rational soul was assumed by the Church's life and practice from the beginning, the Catholic Church only formally defined this doctrine in 1513 at Lateran V, in opposition to the Neo-Aristotelians of Padua (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1440). At the particular judgment the human soul is judged worthy of eternal life with God in the communion of the saints (heaven) or judged worthy of eternal separation from the blessed vision of God in hell. Some souls are worthy of heaven but require purification from the temporal effects of SIN before experiencing the BEATIFIC VISION. This process of purification is known as purgatory, a doctrine formally defined by the Catholic Church at the Councils of Florence and Trent (cf., Denzinger-Hünermann 2005; 1304–1305, 1820), though it can be traced to the Church's life and practice from the beginning. The faithful on earth can pray for the souls in purgatory to assist them in their process of purification.

The Catholic Church believes that those in heaven enjoy the blessed vision of God, the beatific vision, which is described in the New Testament as a "face to face" experience of God (1 Cor 13:12) and "seeing God as he is" (1 Jn 3:2). In addition to the beatific vision, they experience communion with all the angels and the just in "the communion of saints" (cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church* 1997, 946–948). The souls in heaven are united with the faithful on earth in "a perennial link of charity," and by means of "an abundant exchange of all good things," the saints in heaven can intercede for those on earth (cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church* 1997, 1475). The souls in heaven enjoy the beatific vision prior to the resurrection of the body, a truth clearly taught by Pope BENEDICT XII in 1336 (cf. Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1000–1001). The resurrection of the flesh, however, is needed because God created the human person as a unity of soul and body. The resurrected body is a transformed and incorruptible body (cf. 1 Cor 15:36–49), but it retains a true continuity with the earthly body. The life of heaven is variously described as a joyful kingdom and a wedding feast (cf. Mt 25:10, 34), but the exact nature of heaven remains mysterious (cf. 1 Cor 2:9; Is 64:3). Although all in heaven are full of joy, the Church teaches that there will be degrees of glory among the blessed, corresponding to their merits (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1305).

The final consummation of the kingdom after the glorious return of Jesus likewise remains mysterious. After the resurrection of the dead, God's wisdom and justice throughout history will be revealed in the general



A Christian's View. *Dante speaks to Oderisi who labors under the weight he is forced to carry while in Purgatory.* **THE BURDEN OF PRIDE, FROM 'THE DIVINE COMEDY' (PURGATORIO) BY DANTE ALIGHIERI (1265-1321) ENGRAVED BY ANTOINE VALERIE BERTRAND (B.1823) C.1868 (ENGRAVING), DORE, GUSTAVE (1832-83) (AFTER)/PRIVATE COLLECTION/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY**

or final judgment (cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church* 1997, 1040–1041). The visible cosmos will be transformed, and there will be "the new heaven and the new earth" (Rev 21:1) freed from the limitations of sin and death.

Hell is described as "the state of definitive self-exclusion from communion with God and the blessed" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church* 1997, 1033). The New Testament describes hell as a state in which the worm does not die and the fire is not extinguished (Mk 9:48). It is likewise depicted through images of darkness and wailing and gnashing of teeth (Mt 13:42; 24:51). The chief suffering of hell is the pain of loss experienced by "the separation from God, in whom man alone can possess the life and happiness for which he was created and for which he longs" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church* 1997, 1035). Positive punishments or pains are also experienced in hell, and it is generally acknowledged that these sufferings differ in proportion to the sins of the damned. In spite of some early Christian denials of the eternity of hell, the Catholic Church teaches that the punishments in hell are everlasting (cf. Denzinger-

Hünermann 2005, 801; *Catechism of the Catholic Church* 1997, 393, 1035).

SEE ALSO COMMUNION OF SAINTS; ESCHATOLOGY, ARTICLES ON; HEAVEN (IN THE BIBLE); HELL (IN THE BIBLE); JUDGMENT, DIVINE (IN THE BIBLE); JUDGMENT, DIVINE (IN THEOLOGY); LATERAN COUNCILS; TRENT, COUNCIL OF.

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AGGIORNAMENTO

Aggiornamento (a commonly used Italian word meaning *updating*) was made popular by Pope JOHN XXIII, who used the term to indicate a program of change, renewal, and modernization in the Catholic Church. *Aggiornamento* was to become a hallmark theme of his pontificate. In his announcement of the coming ecumenical Council of Vatican II to the group of cardinals gathered at the basilica of St. Paul Outside the Walls on January 25, 1959, the PONTIFF declared that there can be no genuine Catholic renewal in the twentieth century without a serious pursuit of Christian unity. Authentic *aggiornamento* also required a new openness to secular culture that would enable the Church to present the GOSPEL message in a way that is more intelligible and appealing to modern people. At the same time the POPE assured his audience that this program of updating and "adaptation" to the secular world was never to be at the price of endangering the purity and integrity of the Church's teaching. For Pope John XXIII his call for *aggiornamento* and renewal was based on a deep pastoral concern for an effective preaching of the Gospel. At the same time any dialogue with modernity, he insisted, must remain totally loyal to "the sacred patrimony of truth received from the Fathers."

During his opening speech to the Council fathers on October 11, 1962, he further elaborated on the implications of *aggiornamento* by encouraging theologians and church scholars to make use of "the methods of research" and the "literary forms" of modern thought. To dispel any confusion about this task, Pope John carefully distinguished for his audience the "the substance of the ancient doctrine of the deposit of faith" from "the way in which it is presented." On this basis he proposed new forms of theological expression, provided they did not in any way dilute doctrinal substance. But even in matters of erroneous teaching, the pontiff urged the Council fathers to prefer "the medicine of mercy" to the "severity" of condemnations. These papal directives reflected the pastoral spirit with which Pope John intended to guide the Council.

Pope John XXIII had from the start attributed his decision to convoke the Council to a special "illumination" of the Holy Spirit. In contrast to those he referred to as "prophets of gloom," he believed that Divine Providence was leading the world to a "new order of relations," requiring a new openness on the part of the Church. He saw this openness as an opportunity for a more positive dialogue with the secular world and envisaged the coming Council as the beginning of a "new Pentecost." The council's task, he insisted, would be to "read the signs of the times" and to guide the Church to respond responsibly to the special challenges and possibilities of the modern world. *Aggiornamento* (renewal and modernization) was to be the Church's answer to the challenge.

Despite Pope John's consistent attempts at clarification and assurance, the Council fathers from the outset held sharply conflicting views and valuations of *aggiornamento*. While some saw it as an ingenuous and dangerous accommodation to the secular culture, others understood it to signify a deep spiritual renewal of the Church for the sake of the Gospel. These differing views continue to prevail in the Church of the twenty-first century.

As the Council progressed from the 1962 opening, its view of *aggiornamento* crystallized around the triad of inner Church renewal, dialogue with the modern world, and the promotion of unity among the Christian churches. Pope John XXIII, after having successfully steered a large, pluralistic group of sometimes hesitant fellow bishops through the first session of the ecumenical council, died in June 1963, before the second session began.

In his opening address at the beginning of the second session, John's successor, Pope PAUL VI, enthusiastically embraced the task of completing the Council and reiterated his commitment to the Council's goals. While some critics were not convinced that the new Pope consistently supported Pope John's modernizing vision through the rest of the Council sessions, Pope Paul's closing address on December 8, 1965, plainly reflected the spirit of *aggiornamento*, as he sent the bishops forth

to spread the "good news" to the world "in a language accessible to all people."

Similarly, when Cardinal Karol Wojtyla, archbishop of Krakow, ascended the papal throne as JOHN PAUL II in October 1978, he immediately expressed his determination to continue the work of the Council. He even took as his papal name both John and Paul, to express his continuity with the two conciliar popes. His book *Sources of Renewal: The Implementation of Vatican II* (1979) recognized the Church's special debt to the Holy Spirit for the great gift of the Council. In his Apostolic Letter of 1994, *Tertio Millennio Adveniente*, in preparation for the millennial Jubilee celebration, he described the Second Vatican Council as a providential event and called for a communal examination of CONSCIENCE on the Church's fidelity to "the authentic spirit of Vatican II."

Social scientists, theologians, and historians have varying assessments of how consistently Church leadership has continued on the path of *aggiornamento* since the end of Vatican II. History suggests, however, that Church renewal and reform are never completed tasks—*ecclesia semper reformanda*.

SEE ALSO CONSCIENCE, EXAMINATION OF; MODERN MEDIA AND THE CHURCH; MODERNISM; MODERNISM, OATH AGAINST; PENTECOST; SECULARISM; TERTIO MILLENNIO ADVENIENTE; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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ALBERIONE, JAMES, BL.

Also known as Santiago Alberione or Giacomo Alberione; founder of the Pious Society of St. Paul, Alba, Italy; b. April 4, 1884, San Lorenzo di Fossano (Cuneo), Italy; d. November 26, 1971, Rome, Italy; beatified by Pope John Paul II, April 27, 2003.

James Alberione, the fourth of Michael and Teresa Allocco's six children, expressed a desire to be a priest from an early age. At the turn of the century, following hours of prayer, James felt the call to serve God and the Church, so he entered a seminary at age sixteen. He was ordained on June 29, 1907, and served at the Seminary of Alba, where he assisted with catechesis, preaching, and conferences.

Father Alberione's inspiration was the Apostle Paul, and he believed that, like Paul, God had called him to preach the GOSPEL to all people. He wrote two books that expressed his thoughts on communicating God's message using modern methods: *Notes on Pastoral Theology* (1912) and *Woman Associated to Priestly Zeal* (1911–1915). He also strongly supported the idea of involving women in the apostolate.

On August 20, 1914, he founded the Pious Society of St. Paul. With the help of Teresa Merlo (1894–1964), he began the Daughters of St. Paul the following year. His health failed in 1923, but he had a miraculous recovery that he attributed to St. Paul, and he was able to continue his work. Father Alberione went on to establish three more female congregations—PIOUS DISCIPLES OF THE DIVINE MASTER (1924), Sisters of Jesus the Good Shepherd (Pastorelle Sisters, 1938), and Queen of the Apostles Institute for vocations (Apostoline Sisters, 1959). His new institutes became known as the Pauline Family; their primary focus was holiness of life, followed by holiness of doctrine.

To spread God's message, Father Alberione used magazines; he started more than a half dozen periodicals for priests, laity, and even children. He also established branch houses throughout Italy as well as abroad and founded secular institutes for the consecrated life—St. Gabriel the Archangel, Our Lady of the Annunciation, Jesus Priest, and the Holy Family. In spite of painful scoliosis, he attended VATICAN COUNCIL II (1962–1965). In 1969 Pope PAUL VI gave Father Alberione the cross *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice*, and in 1971 the pope visited Father Alberione shortly before the priest died. On June 25, 1996, Pope JOHN PAUL II declared Father Alberione venerable and, on April 27, 2003, declared him blessed for his humble, tireless service and his heroic virtues.

Feast: November 26.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; PAUL, APOSTLE, ST.; ST. PAUL, PIOUS SOCIETY OF DAUGHTERS OF.

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ALLENBY, EDMUND

British Field Marshall during WORLD WAR I and High Commissioner for Egypt and Sudan following the war; b. April 23, 1861, Nottinghamshire, England; d. May 14, 1936, London.

Allenby was educated at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. He married Mabel Chapman, and by all accounts the marriage was an exceptionally happy one. They had one child, a son, Horace Michael Hynman (Michael), who was killed in action in France on July 29, 1917.

Allenby's first commission, in 1882, was with the Sixth Inniskilling Dragoons who were stationed in South Africa during the Second Boer War. He earned a reputation there for strict discipline, uncompromising integrity, and military efficiency, that would remain with him for the rest of his life and earn him the nickname, "The Bull."

When World War I broke out in Europe in 1914, Allenby initially served in France. In 1917 he was selected to replace General Sir Archibald Murray as Commander in Chief of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force. Allenby arrived in Cairo on June 28, 1917, where his characteristic strict disciplinary requirements, resolute bearing, and immediate presence among his men quickly earned him their respect and loyalty.

After successfully driving the enemy from Gaza and Beersheba in November 1917, Allenby focused his attention on the city of JERUSALEM, which had been in the hands of the Turks since 1517. Before arriving in PALESTINE, Allenby had studied the history of the area in depth and was intimately familiar with the failed strategies of the CRUSADES and of Richard *Coeur de Lion*. He decided that success could be achieved only if the advance continued unabated without allowing the enemy time to prepare a defense. Allenby's offensive continued unabated until Jaffa, the seaport of Jerusalem, was taken on November 16.

Allenby desired to avoid fighting in Jerusalem itself; therefore, rather than advance directly on the holy city, he instead ordered his troops to surround the city and force an evacuation. Jerusalem was evacuated and surrendered by the Turks on December 9, 1917. Allenby entered the city on foot, and in his official proclamation to the city's inhabitants he stated that under his command "every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, pious bequest or customary place of prayer of whatsoever form of the three religions will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faiths they are sacred." (Gardner 1965, p. 162.)

In addition to being a man of large stature and commanding presence, Allenby delighted in drawing and sketching, literature, poetry, the study of language, history, archeology, and zoology. While not himself a religious man, he nevertheless harbored a lifelong curiosity about religion and especially the Catholic faith, as two of his closest friends, Fr. Knapp, his Boer War chaplain, and a French mother superior, were Catholic.

Upon Allenby's death in 1936, the *New York Times* wrote: "In the history of the human race his name will be permanently written as Allenby, the deliverer of the Holy Land. It is likely that in the English-speaking world no name among those of all who held high command will be so long remembered."

Allenby died on May 14, 1936, and his ashes are buried at Westminster Abbey.

SEE ALSO OTTOMAN TURKS; PALESTINE, PAPAL POSITION TOWARD.

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ALLENDE, SALVADOR

Chilean president, 1970–1973; b. Valparaiso, Chile, July 26, 1908; d. Santiago, Chile, September 11, 1973.

Salvador Allende was a Socialist leader from an upper-middle class background. He had already a long career in Chilean politics at the time of his election to the presidency in 1970. In 1933 he founded the Chilean Socialist Party, and four years later, in 1937, he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies. In 1943 he was elected secretary general of the Socialist Party. He ran for president in 1952 as a candidate for the Socialist Party, but he lost to Carlos Ibañez. In 1958 he ran for president again, but this time he lost to Jorge Alessandrini, the Conservative-Liberal candidate. Six years later, in 1964, a third attempt ended in defeat when the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei was elected president.

In October 1969, Allende created the organizational committee of Unidad Popular (UP, or Popular Unity), an alliance of Marxist and leftist political parties. Three months later he was named the presidential candidate of the alliance. In September 1970 Allende finally won the presidency, and a month later the Congress ratified his election.

Soon after assuming power, Allende launched a series of socialist reforms, including the nationalization of the copper mining companies, private banks, and a number of industries. There were strong negative reactions to these reforms, both nationally and internationally. In December 1971, reacting to the internal social unrest, the government decreed a state of emergency and instituted a curfew in the Chilean capital of Santiago. Truckers, traders, and professional workers went on strike in August 1973 in an attempt to force Allende to resign. Only a month later, however, on September 11, 1973, the Chilean military, under the leadership of General Augusto Pinochet, orchestrated what Brian Loveman has called a "well-coordinated, brutal and highly successful military movement that ended the UP government and resulted in the death of President Allende" (Loveman 2001, p. 257).

Allende and the Church. Prior to Allende's election, the Catholic bishops of Chile were conflicted about the prospects of an Allende government. Many were optimistic about the idea of a democratic socialism that respected all forms of religious beliefs and defended the rights of the poor. At the same time, however, many were unsure about the intentions of the Marxist members of Allende's coalition, who were essentially anticlerical and atheist. While there was no open endorsement by the Church hierarchy, there were sectors of the Church that voted for Allende and openly collaborated with the government. Similarly, while there was no open condemnation from the Church's hierarchy, nor any confrontation between the Church and Allende's government, conflicts between them inevitably arose.

One of the issues that created conflict between the Church and Allende's government was the issue of education in public schools. The Church reacted strongly against the government's initiative to supervise Catholic schools that received funds from the state, and it also argued against an initiative of educational reform called Escuela Nacional Unificada (Unified National School), which was announced in March 1973. The Church complained that the initiative did not take into consideration the values of the majority of Chileans, who were overwhelmingly Christian and rejected any type of ideologization of the educational system. The government responded by saying that the plan was designed by experts who were Marxist, Christian, and Rationalist, thus guaranteeing its pluralistic nature. In the end, the many other problems facing the government led Allende to abandon the initiative and avoid conflict with the Church.

During the time of Allende's presidential term, the Chilean Conference of Catholic Bishops made several statements on various issues, such as the participation of priests in politics; the position of the Church toward *Cristianos por el Socialismo* (Christians for Socialism), an association of radical Catholic priests and lay people; the differences between Christianity and Marxism; and various conflicts dominating Chilean society. Specifically, there was an elaborate document called "Gospel, Politics and Socialisms," which became internationally famous and was translated into four languages. This document symbolized the progressiveness of the Chilean Church, while at the same time it made clear the Church's rejection of any kind of totalitarian Marxist regime.

The Church hierarchy was aware of the social conflicts that the new government created in Chilean society, and it called upon Chileans to avoid any kind of civil war or confrontation that would jeopardize the peace in the country. In particular, Raul Cardinal Silva Enriquez, the archbishop of Santiago, stood as a powerful voice of the Church. His actions and declarations had a profound impact on public opinion and Chilean Catholics.

Initially some Catholic bishops reacted favorably to the military coup that ended Allende's government, believing that it meant the end of the Marxist threat. Once they became aware of the systematic repression and brutal nature of the subsequent regime, however, which included the arrest, torture, and execution of Catholic priests, most Chilean bishops openly rejected Pinochet's government.

SEE ALSO CHILE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; LATIN AMERICA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; POLITICS, CHURCH AND; MARX, KARL; RATIONALISM.

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ALLOCUTION, PAPAL

Allocution comes from the Latin word, *allocutio*, which means an address, a speech, or a discourse. As used by the ancient Romans, it denoted a speech given by a military commander to his troops. In reference to papal addresses, it has both a more formal and less formal usage. In its more formal usage, a papal allocution is an address given by the POPE to the cardinals gathered together in a secret CONSISTORY. Although given in secret by the pope to the cardinals, these formal allocutions are often later made public.

Historically, some of these formal papal allocutions have concerned serious matters of state: for example, PIUS XII's 1802 allocution on the French Concordat and his 1808 allocution on Napoleon's policies toward the Church (Fanning 1907, p. 325). PIUS IX's allocution to the College of Cardinals of April 29, 1848, is also historically significant. In this address he made it clear that he would not allow the Papal States to join in the war against Austria. BENEDICT XV's allocution to the cardinals of December 24, 1917, likewise deserves mention as an eloquent papal plea for peace. Although many of these formal papal allocutions have concerned political matters, some have concentrated on moral issues. For example, in his allocution to the College of Cardinals of December 23, 1933, PIUS XI warned of the dangers of the growing use of sterilization in various countries.

In its less formal usage, the term allocution has been applied to any address given by the pope for a special purpose or to a specific audience. Thus, PAUL V's July 26, 1611, discourse to the legate of the King of Spain is referred to in Latin as *Allocutio legato regis hispaniae destinata* (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1997a). This particular allocution was not given in a consistory of cardinals, but delivered to the Spanish monarch's legate to explain the liberty permitted in teaching matters concerning the aids of GRACE, following the conclusion in 1607 of the famous *Congregatio de auxiliis* that examined the competing Jesuit and Dominican positions on grace, divine foreknowledge, and PREDESTINATION.

In the twentieth century the PONTIFF most associated with important allocutions is PIUS XII. Among his better-known allocutions were those given to newlyweds in the years 1939 to 1942 in which he underscored the indissolubility of marriage, and he warned of the dangers of DIVORCE. Pius XII also gave important allocutions to the Roman Rota in 1940, 1941, 1944, and 1946, in which he also emphasized the indissolubility of marriage and the need for rigor in determining cases of marital invalidity.

In his 1968 ENCYCLICAL *Humanae vitae*, PAUL VI cites several of the more prominent allocutions given by his predecessor, Pius XII. Among these are Pius XII's allocution to the Italian medico-biological union of St. Luke (November 12, 1944), his allocution to the Conference of the Italian Catholic Union of Obstetricians and the Italian Catholic Union of Midwives (referred to as the *Allocution to the Midwives* (October 29, 1951), and his allocution to the National Congress of the Union of Catholic Jurists (December 6, 1953).

The 1951 *Allocution to the Midwives* of Pius XII is one of the most frequently cited papal allocutions. In this address the pontiff reinforces Catholic condemnations of ABORTION, sterilization, and CONTRACEPTION. He accepts the "lawful" restriction of conjugal relations to "the natural sterile periods" for serious motives arising from "medical, eugenic, economic, and social 'indica-

tions'" (Byrnes 1963, no. 622, p. 419). Pius XII points to procreation and the education of children as the primary end of marriage "as an institution of nature" (*come istizuzione naturale*), but he notes that the conjugal act between husband and wife cannot be reduced "to a mere organic function" (Byrnes 1963, no. 637, p. 427). Moreover, he goes on to say that the Creator has decreed that husband and wife "should experience pleasure and happiness of body and spirit" in the marital act (Byrnes 1963, no. 643, p. 430).

Today, papal allocutions are more commonly referred to as addresses, discourses, or speeches in English, and equivalent terms (e.g., *Ansprachen*, *discours*, *discorsi*, and *discursos*) are used in other vernacular languages. Although papal allocutions, whether delivered before the College of Cardinals or some other audience, normally do not receive as much attention as papal constitutions, exhortations, or encyclicals, they still are authentic expressions of the ordinary papal Magisterium. Thus, the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH in its Commentary on its August 1, 2007, *Responses to Certain Questions of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops Concerning Artificial Nutrition and Hydration* cites JOHN PAUL II's March 20, 2004, *Address to the Participants in the International Congress on Life-Sustaining Treatments and Vegetative State: Scientific Advances and Ethical Dilemmas* as an authoritative document of the HOLY SEE that provides moral guidance on the issue in question.

SEE ALSO APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS; APOSTOLIC EXHORTATION; CARDINALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; CONCORDAT OF 1801 (FRANCE); CONGREGATIO DE AUXILIIS; DOMINICANS; JESUITS; MAGISTERIAL DOCUMENTS; MARRIAGE LEGISLATION (CANON LAW); NAPOLEON I; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM).

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ALPANDEIRE, LEOPOLDO DE, BL.

Known in religion as Leopoldo de Alpandeire Sánchez Márquez and as Leopoldo from Alpandeire; also known as Francisco Tomás Márquez Sánchez and Francisco Sánchez Márquez; professed lay brother; b. June 24, 1866, Alpandeire, Málaga, Spain; d. February 9, 1956, Granada, Spain; beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI, September 12, 2010.

Baptized Francisco Tomás Márquez Sánchez, Leopoldo de Alpandeire grew up in the village of Alpandeire in Spain. His parents, Diego Sanchez Marquez and Jerome Francisco Tomás, had several children, including some who died young. This farming family raised their children in the FAITH and provided an example of humility. Young Francisco modeled his parents' Christian virtues and was known for his good heart and kindness to the poor.

At the age of thirty-three, he left his birthplace and traveled to Granada, where he joined the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin on November 16, 1899, and took the name Leopoldo. He dedicated himself to meditation and imitation of the CROSS and PASSION of Christ. The following year he made his first profession, and he took his vows on November 23, 1903. During this time he served as a gardener in the orchard, where he spent time in prayer. He was also known as a beggar for the poor as he went throughout Granada, collecting and distributing alms and praying for those he met.

Although he suffered from various ailments, including a hernia and bleeding feet, pain did not hold him back from his charitable duties. He continued to serve in this way until the age of eighty-nine, when, after suffering a fractured femur, he could walk only by leaning on two canes. He died a few years later at ninety-two.

Several miracles attributed to Fray Leopoldo by those who visited his tomb led to the process for his BEATIFICATION, which began in 1961. He was declared VENERABLE on March 15, 2008. On December 19, 2009, Pope Benedict XVI approved the decree recognizing a miracle, and the recognition of beatification was scheduled for September 12, 2010. Known for his humility, simplicity, kindness, and mercy, Fray Leopoldo provided a model for others to encourage them to follow the path of goodness.

SEE ALSO CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); FRIARS.

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ALPHONSUS DE LIGUORI, ST.

Theologian, founder of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, bishop, DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH; b. Marianella, near Naples, Sept. 27, 1696; d. Pagani, near Salerno, Aug. 1, 1787.

Evangelization of the poor is what constituted the very heart of the life of Alphonsus de Liguori. He never tired of deepening his own perception of the merciful love of the Redeemer, and took for himself the viewpoint of the poor and abandoned. He then outlined a proposal for Christian living that accentuates the universal call to HOLINESS.

Life. Alphonsus was the eldest son of Giuseppe de Liguori, of a noble and ancient Neapolitan family and an officer of the royal navy, and Anna Cavalieri. After receiving his early education at home under the care of tutors, he was enrolled in 1708 at the University of Naples, where he studied until January 21, 1713, when at the age of sixteen he received his doctorate *in utroque jure*. He practiced at the bar for some years, leading all the while an exemplary Christian life under the direction of the ORATORIANS.

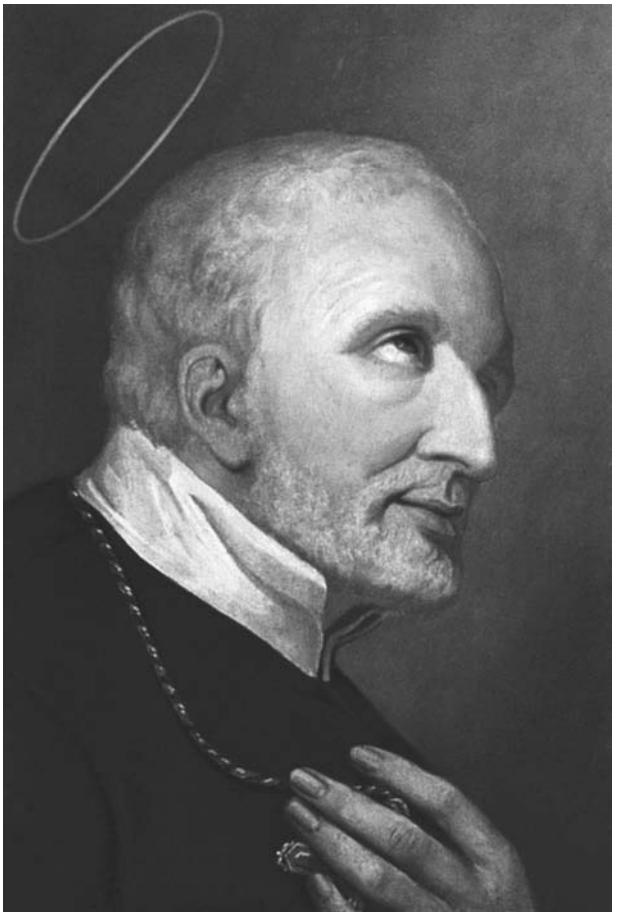
When charged in 1723 with the defense of the interests of the Duke of Gravina against the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he lost confidence in the justice of his client's cause, perhaps in consequence of intrigues. Shocked by this experience, he renounced the world and put on clerical dress, on October 23, 1723. He began his theological studies at home under the direction of Don Giulio Torni and joined a group of secular priests (the Congregation of the Apostolic Missions), in whose missionary activities he took part from 1724.

Ordained on December 21, 1726, he devoted himself in a special way to the work of hearing confessions and PREACHING. In 1727 he was among those who promoted the Evening Chapels (*Cappelle Serotine*), an association of workers and artisans formed for the purpose of mutual assistance, religious instruction, and works of apostolic zeal. In 1729 he left his home and took up residence in the College of the Holy Family, known also as the Chinese College, founded in Naples by Matteo Ripa. There he devoted himself to the pastoral ministry by giving missions and working in the church connected with the college.

After a sojourn at Scala and providential meetings with Thomas Falcoia (1663–1743) of the society of Pii Operarii, who was made bishop of Castellamare di Stabia in 1730, and with Sister Maria Celeste Crostarosa (1696–1755), he took an effective part in the foundation at Scala of the Institute of the Most Holy Savior. This institute, an order of contemplative nuns who envisioned their lives as being a *living memory* of the Savior's Love, was approved by BENEDICT XIV in 1750.

On November 9, 1732, Alphonsus founded at Scala, under the direction of Bishop Falcoia, a congregation of priests under the title of the Most Holy Savior (known, after 1749, as the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer). It was intended as an association of priests and brothers living a common life and sharing a desire to follow Jesus CHRIST, continuing his mission of preaching the divine word above all to the poor and abandoned. This congregation was formed with a special view to the needs of country people, who so often lacked the opportunities of missions, catechetical instruction, and spiritual exercises. Therefore Alphonsus placed his congregation's houses among the poor and abandoned.

Alphonsus gave himself to the work of the missions, to the organization of his congregation, and to the



Liguori, St. Alphonsus de (1696–1787). *This Doctor of the Church centered his work on the evangelization of the poor and abandoned.* © **INTERFOTO/ALAMY**

composition of his rule. His first companions deserted him, but he stood firm and before long vocations increased in number and new foundations multiplied; among the earliest were Villa Liberi (1734), Ciorani (1735), Pagani (1742), Deliceto (1745), and Materdomini (1746).

On February 25, 1749, Benedict XIV by his brief *Ad pastoralis dignitatis fastigium* approved the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. Alphonsus was elected superior general for life at the general chapter held that same year. In consequence of the hostility of Marquis Tanucci and of the government, which was opposed to religious orders, Alphonsus could not obtain the royal exequatur in Naples to the brief of Benedict XIV. A royal decree of December 9, 1752, gave limited assurance to the future of the institute, which at the time was extending its activity in the Papal States and in Sicily. Alphonsus governed his congregation, preached missions, and busied himself in writing and other apostolic work.

Alphonsus was appointed bishop of Sant'Agata dei Goti and was consecrated in Rome, on June 20, 1762. As a bishop he soon distinguished himself for his work of reform. He put a stop to abuses, restored churches, fought for the liturgy, reformed his seminary, visited his diocese, promoted missions and often took a personal part in them, and exercised charity toward all, especially during the great famine of 1763–1764. He kept an eye on the government of his congregation, which at the general chapter of 1764 adopted the completed constitutions, and continued with his writing. He was stricken in 1768 with a painful illness that made the pastoral ministry difficult; he offered his resignation from his see, and it was accepted by Pius VI in 1775.

Alphonsus then retired to Pagani, where he devoted himself to the governing of his congregation. Troubles concerning the rule caused by authorities of the Kingdom of Naples saddened his last years. The future of the congregation seemed precarious after the suppression of the JESUITS. He negotiated through an intermediary with the government to obtain its approbation, but the rule approved by the king and imposed on the congregation—the *Regolamento*—differed notably from the rule approved by Benedict XIV. The HOLY SEE, in its struggle with the Kingdom of Naples, took their canonical status away from the houses in the kingdom and gave to the houses in the Papal States their own superior. Alphonsus died before the reunion of the two branches of his congregation, which subsequently expanded to the whole world.

Beatified on September 15, 1816, by PIUS VII, canonized May 26, 1839, by GREGORY XVI, and declared Doctor of the Church by PIUS IX in 1871, Alphonsus was finally made patron of confessors and moralists by PIUS XII, on April 26, 1950.

The Man. Ardent, of delicate sensibility, tenacious of will, and profoundly intelligent, Alphonsus was given more to practical thinking than to pure speculation. He had to a rare degree an awareness of the concrete, a sense of the practical. In his relationship with others he combined nobility of manner with smiling good humor and affability and benevolence toward all, especially the poor.

The WILL OF GOD, obeyed even in its most crucifying demands, was the only rule of his life. His PRAYER attained the summit of union with God, but it also expressed itself in apostolic action. He could in fact be described as a mystic of action. All his activity is explained by his determination to consecrate himself to the work of the Redemption and to the salvation of men. In this cause he employed all his artistic gifts. He was a talented musician and composed, in the style of

the great Neapolitan school of the eighteenth century, a duetto of merit called *Duetto tra l'anima e Gesù Cristo*. He composed *Tu scende dalle stelle*, the lovely Christmas hymn that is still the most popular of Italian carols. In his *Canzoncine spirituali* he expressed in authentic poetry the sentiments of his mystical soul. An excellent picture of his psychology and intimate life can be gathered from the three volumes of his letters (Rome 1887–1890).

Missions. Popular missions were for Alphonsus the means par excellence of procuring the salvation of souls. As a member of the Congregation of Apostolic Missions he took part in missionary work before he was a priest. His apostolate intensified with his ordination, and still more with the foundation of his congregation, which was dedicated above all to the care of the poor and abandoned. It is estimated that he gave no fewer than 150 missions, and he himself once acknowledged that he had had thirty-four years of missionary experience. As a bishop he promoted missions in his diocese, and until his death he remained interested in the work.

Alphonsus borrowed many of the elements of existing systems of conducting missions, but two features marked his own: (1) its concern that in the general structure of the mission and in the plan of the sermons there should be a continual adaptation to the concrete situation of the faithful; and (2) its effort to assure the perseverance of the participants by putting a major stress upon the love of God as the principal motive for conversion, and by calling for "renewals of the mission" to be preached some months after a mission. In order better to achieve these two special features, Alphonsus wanted the houses of his congregation to be located among the poor and abandoned.

Writing. No complete listing of the literary productions of St. Alphonsus is possible. Between 1728 and 1778 there appeared 111 works, and in addition to these there were posthumous publications. As to editions and translations, Maurice De Meulemeester in 1933 counted 4,110 editions of the original texts (402 appeared before the death of Alphonsus) and 12,925 editions of translations into sixty-one languages. Since that time the number has continued to grow.

Works on Preaching. Alphonsus's principal work in this field was his *Selva di materie predicabili* (1760), a complete treatise on sacerdotal perfection, the pastoral work of the missions, and the substance and form of preaching. In addition to this he published *Lettera ad un religioso amico ove si tratta del modo di predicare* (1761), in which he insisted on the necessity of preaching the gospel in a simple manner, without superfluous ornamentation, so that all, even the simplest of men, could understand the preacher. Mention should also be made of his sermons, and especially the *Sermoni compendiati per tutte le domeniche del anno* (1771), which were much admired by Newman.

Spiritual Works. Alphonsus's spiritual works were markedly ascetical in character, but were solidly founded upon theology. They were the fruit of his interior life and of his preaching. The point of departure for his spirituality was the revelation of the love of God for man. Contrary to the teaching of the Jansenists, Alphonsus asserted that God offers to every man the possibility of SALVATION and of sanctification. This consists essentially in the loving response that man makes to the gift of God's love.

To man turning toward God and detaching himself from creatures and the disordered impulses of CONCUPISCENCE, Alphonsus presented the themes proposed by St. Ignatius in the First Week of the *Spiritual Exercises*: death, judgment, heaven, and hell. Such was the subject of his *Apparecchio alla morte* (1758) and of the *Via della salute* (1766). But the supreme motive of the Christian's love for God is Christ, the perfect revelation of God's love for man.

The spirituality of St. Alphonsus was resolutely Christocentric. In his works devoted to the mysteries of Christ—*Santo Natale* (1758), *Riflessioni ed affetti sopra la passione di Gesù Cristo* (1761), *Riflessioni sulla passione di Gesù Cristo* (1773), and *Novena del Cuore di Gesù* (1758)—it is always the love of Christ that is emphasized, a love that man must requite by loving Christ in return. The most perfect synthesis of this spirituality is to be found in the *Pratica di amar Gesù Cristo* (1768), written in the manner of a commentary on the hymn of charity of St. Paul (1 Cor ch. 13).

The love of God is not authentic if it does not express itself—here one can recognize the characteristically Alphonsian propensity for concreteness—in doing the will of God in the state and condition to which one is called. Hence the importance of the choice of state. Alphonsus developed this doctrine for all the states of life in his little work *Uniformità alla volontà di Dio* (1755). A fortiori, this principle is applicable to particular vocations: sacerdotal, as in the above mentioned *Selva*; and religious, as in *Avvisi spettanti alla vocazione* (1749) and *La vera sposa di Gesù Cristo* (1760–1761), a complete treatise on religious perfection.

What means did God give to Christians to attain holiness? The Sacraments, first of all. Alphonsus insisted particularly upon PENANCE and the EUCHARIST. In his volume *Del sagrificio di Gesù Cristo* (1775) he studied the essence of the MASS and the means of participating in it fully. Against the Jansenists he recommended frequent Communion. Devotion to the Blessed Sacra-

ment occupied a place of prime importance in his spirituality. His book *Visita al SS. Sacramento* (1745) became a best seller and went through forty editions during his lifetime. It gave to the practice of the visit a form that thenceforth became classic and definitive, and by means of it generations of Christians have come to find the nourishment of their daily prayer in the Eucharistic presence.

Prayer has a place of central importance in the economy of salvation and sanctification. Alphonsus gave magisterial treatment to the topic in what was, from the theological point of view, his most important work, *Del gran mezzo della preghiera* (1759). The first, and ascetical, part shows the absolute necessity of prayer for salvation. The second, and theological, part is directed against the Jansenist teaching on salvation and predestination. God wills the salvation of all men; Christ died for all; God gives to all the grace necessary for salvation, and one will certainly be saved if one corresponds with it.

Faced with Jansenism and the teaching of the different theological schools, Alphonsus expounded his own understanding of GRACE. On the one hand there is an efficacious grace necessary for salvation; normally this acts by a kind of moral movement, determining infallibly by its own intrinsic power the consent of man's will, but leaving his liberty intact. But there is also a sufficient grace, which is truly active and gives man the power to perform psychologically easy acts in the order of salvation, such as that of imperfect prayer. One who corresponds with this sufficient grace will necessarily obtain efficacious grace. But sufficient grace is fallibly active. Man can fail to correspond with it and so in effect deprive himself of it. How is this grace fallibly active? St. Alphonsus never pretended to resolve this question explicitly; it is a point upon which one is simply referred to the conclusions of the commentators. F. MARIN-SOLA, OP, and J. Maritain have proposed possible metaphysical extensions of the Alphonsian doctrine.

As in other matters, St. Alphonsus was inspired by a number of authors and incorporated their teaching into his own view of the problem. But if, in fact, he often cited H. NORIS and Claude-Louis de Montaigne, the continuator of H. TOURNELY, he went back beyond these and other immediate sources to the scholasticism of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and to St. AUGUSTINE. In regard to this last-mentioned source, F. Cayré wrote in *Patrologie et histoire de la théologie* (vol. 3, Paris 1944): "Never did anyone bring together so compactly and so accurately the thought of St. Augustine on prayer and its necessity. The bishop of Sant'Agata was only an echo of the bishop of Hippo on this subject. ... He had the genius to read with surprising clarity what the intellectual Jansenists had neglected in the writings of St. Augustine" (p. 294).

The object of Christian prayer was first the love of God—that is, the fulfillment of His will—then perseverance in that love, and finally the grace to pray always. Among the forms of prayer recommended by the saint were liturgical prayer (for which in 1774 he edited an Italian translation of the psalter *Traduzione de' Salmi e Cantici*) and mental prayer. For him mental prayer was morally necessary to assure the effective practice of prayer and consequently for perseverance in the grace of God, progress in charity, and union with God. The extremely flexible and easy method of mental prayer described in a number of his works led to the little masterpiece *Modo di conversare continuamente ed alla familiare con Dio* (1753). Alphonsus would not hesitate to lead a disciple who corresponded with the grace of God to the height of mystical union with God by means of infused prayer.

The Virgin Mary appears in all the spiritual works of Alphonsus. To her he devoted the most elaborate of his books, *Le glorie di Maria* (1750), which is one of the great works of Catholic Mariology. Replying to L.A. Muratori's criticism of the deviation of Marian devotion, Alphonsus firmly established the role of Mary in the history of salvation and solidly based devotion to her on theology. By the grace of the Redeemer immaculate in her conception (by his argumentation Alphonsus helped prepare the way for the definition of this dogma by PIUS IX), Mary directly cooperated in the redemption of the world effected by Jesus on Calvary; she is the Co-Redemptress and consequently the universal, but not exclusive, mediatrix of grace. Through her one obtains especially the grace of prayer, and thus prayer to Mary leads to Jesus. St. Alphonsus considered authentic devotion to Mary an assurance and sign of salvation. *Le glorie di Maria* had an enormous influence on the nineteenth century and contributed to the great development of Marian devotion at that time.

In the development of his spiritual teaching Alphonsus was inspired by the spiritual writers of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries and freely incorporated things gathered from them into his own writings. In the *Biblioteche predicabili* and the *Prontuarii* he drew abundantly from these writers, the authors most frequently cited being the Jesuits Alfonso RODRIGUEZ, G.B. SCARAMELLI, and J.B. SAINT-JURÉ, who transmitted to him the spirituality of the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius, and the spiritual doctrine of SS. TERESA OF AVILA, FRANCIS DE SALES, and, in lesser measure, John of the Cross.

Dogmatic Works. Alphonsus's dogmatic works were composed for the most part during his episcopate, and

are principally works of controversy. With a pastoral end in view, Alphonsus refuted the principal errors of his time and addressed himself to unbelievers for the purpose of showing them the truth of the Catholic religion. He resorted to psychological and moral as well as to intellectual arguments, wishing to reach the whole man.

His *Verità della fede* (1767) is divided according to a threefold purpose, a structure not common in apologetical works of the time. For materialists he sought to prove, against the arguments of HOBBES, LOCKE, and SPINOZA, the existence of a personal God and the spirituality of the SOUL; for theists, he showed both the necessity of a revealed religion and the truth of the Christian religion; for Christians separated from the Church, he argued that the Catholic Church was the only Church of Christ authenticated by the signs of truth. He stressed the necessity of a supreme authority in the Church provided with the privilege of INFALLIBILITY. This theme was developed in the *Vindiciae pro suprema pontificis potestate contra Febronium*, printed in 1768 under the pseudonym of Honorius de Honoriis. He brought decisive support to the doctrine of the infallibility of the pope, which VATICAN COUNCIL I was to recognize.

His *Opera dommatica contro gli eretici pretesi riformati* (1769) took the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent and expounded their theological import as opposed to Protestant doctrine. These studies show that Alphonsus was an excellent dogmatic theologian. In his *Trionfo della Chiesa ossia istoria delle eresie colle loro confutazioni* (1772) he traced the history of heresies and their refutation through the centuries from antiquity to Jansenius and Molinos.

In his *Condotta ammirabile della divina Providenza* (1775) he expounded his views on the history of salvation and on the unity and perpetuity of the Church in the manner of the *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* of Bossuet, but in a fashion that made his thought much more accessible to the generality of Christians.

Moral Works. A third of the writing of Alphonsus was devoted to MORAL THEOLOGY, and this fitted smoothly into place in the ensemble of his pastoral and spiritual thought. Writing with an eye on the daily pastoral necessities of the ministry, he elaborated his moral theology for the use of his religious and of priests engaged in pastoral work, especially that of the confessional. It complemented his spiritual doctrine inasmuch as it searched out the will of God in all the circumstances of life.

His great work in the moral field was his *Theologia moralis*, which began as simple annotations on the *Medulla theologiae moralis* of H. BUSENBAUM (1st ed., 1748); in the second edition (1753–1755) it became more properly the work of Alphonsus himself, although it adhered to the plan of the *Medulla* and the *Institutiones morales*. With the appearance of the third edition (1757), the *Theologia moralis* in three volumes took on its definitive aspect. Alphonsus, however, labored unceasingly to perfect the successive editions (4th ed., 1760; 5th, 1763; 6th, 1767; 7th, 1772; 8th—which Alphonsus considered definitive—1779; 9th, 1785). From 1791 to 1905, the date of the critical edition by P. Gaudé, there were sixty complete editions.

In 1755 Alphonsus published his *Pratica del confessore per ben esercitare il suo ministero*, which constituted the soul, so to speak, of his great work on moral theology. The *Istruzione e pratica per un confessore* (1757), translated into Latin under the title *Homo apostolicus*, was an original work, the most perfect, perhaps, of all the writings of the saint for its unity of tone and the firmness of its thought; it was intended as an example of what a manual of moral theology ought to be. *Il confessore diretto per le confessioni della gente di compagna* (1764) was written by the bishop of Sant'Agata for the priests of his diocese.

A series of notes and "dissertations," eighteen in all, devoted to probabilism and the exposition of Alphonsus's system of morality, was published between 1749 and 1777. The most important of these was entitled *Dell'uso moderato dell'opinione probabile* (1765). Certain of these papers were written against the theories of Giovanni Vincenzo Patuzzi, OP, with whom Alphonsus engaged in vigorous controversy.

The work of St. Alphonsus contained numerous citations, as did all the works of moral theology of the time. In the *Theologia moralis* more than 800 authors were cited, and the number of citations amounted to 70,000. All could not have been made at firsthand. No moralist after 1550 escaped Alphonsus's attention. His work, therefore, provides a complete panorama of the literature of moral theology of that time. His most immediate sources were St. THOMAS AQUINAS, LESSIUS, SANCHEZ, Castropalao, LUGO, LAYMANN, Bonacina, Croix, Roncaglia, Suarez, SOTO, Collet, CONCINA, and most especially the *Cursus moralis* of the Salmanticenses.

Equiprobabilism. Alphonsus gave much time to the elaboration of a system of his known as EQUIPROBABILISM, which sought to steer a middle course between PROBABILISM and PROBABILIORISM. Having used F. Genet (1640–1703), a probabiliorist, as his guide at the beginning of his missionary experience, Alphonsus was won over to ordinary probabilism in practice. But he was not satisfied with it. Beginning in 1749 he wrote a series of dissertations on the subject. His thought became

definitively fixed between 1759 and 1765, during his controversy with Patuzzi, which proved to be a fruitful experience for Alphonsus and provided him with an occasion for the consolidation of his thought. From 1767 to 1778, when his literary activity came to an end, he was constrained to veil his thought somewhat because of the anti-Jesuit persecutions, but he did not modify it substantially.

Equiprobabilism, opposed to both lax and rigorous moral positions, was not a compromise between the two poles, but a higher equilibrium. In recognizing the obligation of the certainly more probable opinion in favor of the law, Alphonsus recognized also the law as a moral value. Rejecting probabilism as a universally valid and mechanically applicable solution for cases of conscience, Alphonsus proclaimed the necessity of a personal decision of CONSCIENCE. In cases in which two equiprobable opinions, one favoring the law and the other liberty, are presented, Alphonsus left man free to make his own decision, and at the same time affirmed the moral value of human liberty. MAN, who is created to the image of God, imitates his Creator in doing good freely. In support of his system, St. Alphonsus appealed to E. AMORT and St. Thomas. A.G. Sertillanges, in *La Morale de saint Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris 1942), has said of it: "Equiprobabilism, properly understood, can rightly pass for a Thomist solution" (p. 401).

In Alphonsian moral theory the study of the concrete circumstances of action rules out the mechanical application of a system, however sound it may be. Always disposed to prefer reason to the authority of moralists, he resolved most of his cases in terms of intrinsic evidence and in the light of Christian charity and prudence. In this way, as JOHN PAUL II mentioned in *Spiritus Domini*, his 1987 apostolic letter commemorating the 200th anniversary of the death of the saint, Alphonsus is "responsible for the renewal of moral theology; through contact with the people he encountered in the confessional, especially during his missionary preaching, he gradually and with much hard work brought a change in his mentality, progressively achieving a correct balance between rigorism and liberty" (*L'Osservatore Romano*, English edition [August 17, 1987]: 4).

Influence. The influence of St. Alphonsus on moral theology has proved durable, and the practical direction traced by him has been substantially adopted by the Church. Among the major events in the history of the Church in the nineteenth century was the progressive rallying of moralists and of the clergy to the moral thinking of St. Alphonsus. In eliminating RIGORISM, in facilitating access to the Sacraments, Alphonsus infused a new youth into Christianity. In France the penetration of Alphonsian thought was perhaps more rapid than elsewhere. Among its propagators in that country were Jean Marie de Lamennais; Bruno LANTERI, the apostle of Turin; and Cardinal Gousset, Archbishop of Reims, who evoked in 1831 a response by the Sacred Penitentiary favorable to Alphonsian moral theology. The Curé d'Ars mitigated his rigor after coming to know Liguorian principles. At the same time the Swiss, Belgians, Germans, and Spaniards welcomed Alphonsian moral doctrine, with the proclamation of St. Alphonsus as a Doctor of the Church lending encouragement to the movement. To the criticism of the system by A. BALLERINI, S.J., the Redemptorists responded with a voluminous dossier, *Vindiciae alfonsianae* (1873). Among the manuals of moral theology written by Redemptorists were those of J. AERTNYS, C. Marc, and, in the United States, A. KONINGS. Many of the manuals used in the seminaries of Europe and America either adopt the Alphonsian system or are marked by its influence in their solutions of cases.

It can be said that the influence of St. Alphonsus on Catholicism in the nineteenth century was very generally and very deeply felt. What he had written contributed to the definition of the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and of the infallibility of the pope. He did much to shape the form that popular devotion took, especially devotion toward the Eucharist and the Virgin Mary. His teaching on prayer reached even beyond the Church to thinkers such as Kierkegaard. He defended the Church against rationalism and enlightened despotism. Above all, he gave Jansenism in its practical form a blow from which it could not recover. His spirituality recalled the great message of the love of God for all men; his moral doctrine, inspired by the Gospel, made it possible for Christians everywhere to deal with perplexities that had to be faced if they were to adjust successfully to the world in which they found themselves.

SEE ALSO ASCETICISM; BEATIFICATION; DOGMATIC THEOLOGY; HOLINESS, UNIVERSAL CALL TO; IGNATIAN SPIRITUALITY; IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA, ST.; JANSENISM; MISSION AND EVANGELIZATION IN CANON LAW; MISSION AND EVANGELIZATION, PAPAL WRITINGS ON; MISSION AND MISSIONS; MISSION HISTORY, I: CATHOLIC; RECONCILIATION, MINISTRY OF; RULE OF FAITH; SERMON.

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ALUMBRADOS (ILLUMINATI)

A number of groups in history have been referred to as *illuminati* or "the illumined ones," including groups from the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. The term *Alumbrados*, however, is given to the adherents of a Spanish pseudo-mysticism of the sixteenth century and deriving from their claim to act always under the immediate ILLUMINATION of the Holy Spirit. The name was first so used in a letter from a Franciscan friar to Cardinal XIMÉNEZ DE CISNEROS in 1494. The movement itself was but a recurrence of the bizarre parody of true MYSTICISM that is never long absent from the Church in the world. Proximately, its sources would most probably be found in the VOLUNTARISM of medieval Teutonic theology and in the Averroistic strains of Arabian mysticism, as well as in Reformation ANTICLERICALISM. The movement was confined mostly to the Dioceses of Cadiz, Seville, and Toledo. Its doctrines, which are known in later times chiefly in the form of opinions condemned by the INQUISITION in 1525, 1574, 1578, and 1623, seem to have infected all classes of people.

In sixteenth-century Spain many were intrigued by visions, ECSTASY, and other unusual phenomena. The Alumbrados, however, favored a form of "mystical passivity" known as *dejamiento* or abandonment (Kavanaugh 1989, p. 73). The original leaders of the Alumbrados were the Franciscan sister Isabel de la Cruz and her lay assistant, Pedro Ruiz, who began organizing devotional centers in Alcalá, Toledo, and other Spanish cities. Isabel and Pedro were arrested in 1524 on suspicions of HERESY and possible sympathies to LUTHERANISM, which the Inquisitors in Spain were determined to suppress. It was believed "that Lutheranism and Illuminism, though fundamentally different, were closely connected since both movements emphasized internal religion at the expense of outward ceremony" (Kavanaugh 1989, p. 73). In 1525 the Inquisition in Toledo condemned a list of forty-eight propositions of the Alumbrados. In 1529 the book *Diálogo de doctrina cristiana*, by Juan de VALDÉS (c. 1490–1541), was condemned for supposed "Illuminist" traits. Valdés left Spain for Naples, Italy, where he formed a circle of like-minded "Spiritualists," including the one-time Franciscan, Bernardino OCHINO (1487–1564).

Suspicions of possible *Alumbradismo* affinities in St. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA (c. 1491–1556) led to his being both interrogated "for Illuminist practices and forbidden to preach for three years" (Kavanaugh 1989, p. 73). During the time of the Council of TRENT (1545–1563), the Dominican theologian Melchior CANO (c. 1509–1590) was particularly concerned with protecting authentic Catholic spirituality from the Illuminist dangers found chiefly in the "rejection of vocal prayer and meditation," a total passivity of the mind and the soul during contemplation, and a repudiation of meditation "on Christ and the creation" (Sluhovsky 2007, p. 109). In addition, there was widespread suspicion of immorality, fueled by the "antinomian" tendencies of some of the Alumbrados, which gave them a sense of liberty from the moral law (del Carmen 1971, p. 1383). The

accusation of antinomianism would later surface with respect to the QUIETISM of Miguel de MOLINOS (1628–1696).

It is important to distinguish an authentic affirmation of the spiritual path of illumination from the aberrations of the Alumbrados. For the latter, perfection consisted in a form of abandonment that considered "vocal prayer, rites and ceremonies, the use of images, and the religious life" as either "hindrances or useless" (Kavanaugh 1989, p. 73). The great Catholic mystics have never repudiated such practices. The basic flaw in the teaching of the Alumbrados lay in the exaggerated importance they attached to mental prayer. They held that mental prayer is commanded by divine law, and that in it all other precepts are fulfilled. Thus not even attendance at Mass, obligations arising from CHARITY, or obedience to lawful authority must be allowed to impede the existence of mental prayer. This devotion was described simply as the recollection of God's presence, in which there is no discursive movement of the mind, no meditation properly so called, and no reflection on mental images such as the Sacred Passion or humanity. It is by the practice of this quietistic prayer of nothingness that the soul arrives at a state of perfection in which its faculties are so submerged that the soul can no longer act. To one constituted in this highest degree of spirituality, there comes the ravishment of the Spirit, so that in ecstasy the soul sees the divine essence, beholds the Blessed Trinity even as the elect in heaven do. When this beatifying vision has been achieved, all the properties of beatitude logically follow. The soul is freed from the weakness of wounded nature; it is rendered impeccable; it is, in short, consciously confirmed in grace. Thus elevated, a man does not act as of himself; willingly or unwillingly he is moved by the illumination of the Spirit.

In the moral order, such principles could lead only to catastrophe. The investigations of the Inquisition provide a sordid account of the grossest carnal sins indulged in by the "perfect" under the guise of "communications of the Holy Spirit and divine love between souls." As a result of these shocking disclosures, it is not surprising that the Inquisition's judgment of the type of mysticism practiced by the Alumbrados was extremely unfavorable. Certainly the hypercritical attitude of some of the theologians of the next century toward even true spirituality was a result in no small degree of the aberrations of the Alumbrados.

Some have linked the rejection of Alumbradismo to "the growing unease" in sixteenth century Spain over "the participation of unlettered and unsupervised laymen and laywomen in the new forms of interiorized interactions with the divine" (Sluhovsky 2007, p. 108). While there might be some truth to this, it is more likely that the Alumbrados were condemned for their claims of exemption from works of penitence, ASCETICISM, the practice of the virtues, meditation on the humanity of Christ, and the need for submission to ecclesiastical authority (del Carmen 1971, p. 1385). Many Catholic mystics have counseled the need for abandonment to God (e.g. Jean-Pierre de CAUSSADE, 1675–1751), but the Alumbrados, like the later Quietists, fell into the dangers of antinomianism and spiritual elitism, which are signs of pseudo-mysticism rather than authentic spirituality.

SEE ALSO ANTINOMY; BEATIFIC VISION; FRANCISCAN SISTERS; GOD (HOLY SPIRIT); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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AMERICA

Once the Jesuit community in the United States had agreed to establish a weekly magazine, and that its headquarters would be on Washington Square West, in New York City, it then needed to determine the name of the publication. After hundreds of predictable but unacceptable proposals, Rev. Thomas Gannon, S.J., a former Provincial, suggested the name *America*, which was "immediately adopted," according to Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., in his memoir, *The Manner Is Ordinary*.

The Mission of the Journal. The first issue of *America* appeared on April 17, 1909. An "Editorial Announcement" outlined the scope, objective and character of the magazine as a national Catholic weekly that would meet the needs of the time. The new publication replaced an American monthly, the *Messenger*, and it was intended as an American version of an English Catholic weekly, the *Tablet*. The "Editorial Announcement" also stated:

> Among these needs are a review and conscientious criticism of the life and literature of the day, a discussion of actual questions and a study of vital problems from the Christian standpoint, a record of religious progress, a defense of sound doctrine, an authoritative statement of the position of the Church in the thought and activity of modern life, a removal of traditional prejudice, a refutation of erroneous news, and a correction of misstatements about beliefs and practices which millions hold dearer than life.

In the inaugural issue, the editors of *America* also stated that the weekly was begun "at the earnest solicitation of members of the Hierarchy and of prominent priests" and Catholic laymen, "and not a few non-Catholic." "It goes without saying," they concluded, "that loyalty to the Holy See, and profound respect for the Wishes and views of the Catholic Hierarchy, will be the animating principle of this Review." For much of its history, this pledge of loyalty and profound respect did indeed constitute *America*'s animating principle.

Finally, the weekly promised not only to record Catholic achievement, but also to discuss questions of the day affecting religion, MORALITY, science, literature, and the arts. The editors also vowed to suggest principles that might help find solutions to the vital problems "constantly thrust upon our people."

As a major part of its mission, *America* undertook the defense of the doctrines and institutions of the Church. In the 1920s, the weekly was apprehensive that prohibition (the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution) might prevent the use of wine at the Mass. These fears proved groundless, however.

The KU KLUX KLAN was another matter. Curiously, *America* at first dismissed the Klan as a threat in its issue of October 1, 1921. But then Oregonians elected a Klan-backed governor, and passed a Klan-supported referendum that required all the state's students to attend public schools. In effect, all private schools, including religious schools, military academies, and others, would be forced to close their doors. However, in 1925 the Supreme Court declared the Oregon school law unconstitutional.

The threat to Catholic schools reappeared after World War II in the guise of an organization called Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State (now called Americans United for Separation of Church and State, and hereafter referred to as Protestants United). The organization was founded in 1947, and it charged that the Catholic Church maintained a theory of the relation between church and state that was "incompatible with the American ideal." The group's statement was laced with barbs against the Church's "aggressions," "assaults," and "encroachments" on the principle of separation of CHURCH AND STATE.

America's editors responded to these charges in the January 24, 1948, issue by asking Protestants to "give up the scare-technique" and "the appeal to fear." They also reminded Protestants to appreciate the real enemy of American democracy, which they identified as the "progressive secularization of American society." Finally, *America* averred that the Protestant group's "entire case" was based on an "unwarranted and biased" interpretation of the Constitution's first amendment. What especially irked Protestants United was the appointment of an American representative (Myron C. Taylor) to the Vatican, and that Catholic school children in some states shared bus transportation and free textbooks with other school children.

Aside from warding off assaults on Church doctrines and institutions, *America*, inspired in good measure by Pope Leo XIII's encyclical *Rerum novarum* "On Capital and Labor" (1891), followed a progressive path on domestic political issues. Actually, aside from affirming the right of workers to join unions (May 25, 1912), and favoring New York's pioneering Workmen's Compensation Act (December 27, 1913), the weekly largely ignored the early twentieth-century reform era.

However, *America*'s largely laudatory obituary of President Franklin D. Roosevelt (April 28, 1945) offers evidence that the weekly embraced the New Deal. After reciting a long list of New Deal reforms—including the National Labor Relations Act, the Social Security Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the Home Owners Loan Corporation Act—*America* concluded that, but for Roosevelt, these laws "would not be in existence." It was also averred that such legislation was "the concrete realization of American society's corporate obligation to practice the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy."

The Post–World War II Era. In post–World War II America, the Jesuit weekly resumed its progressive journey, approving of compulsory health insurance (January 15, 1949) and, in general, supporting President Harry S. Truman's domestic program (January 8, 1949). Moreover, *America* endorsed the attainments of President Lyndon B. Johnson's administration (as well as those of the 89th Congress). Among these achievements were an elementary and secondary school assistance law, an aid-to-Appalachia measure, and Medicare. *America* also applauded the passage of the 1965 Voting Act (August 21,

1965). In addition, *America* stayed true to its initial goals by discussing literature, science, and the arts. Moral considerations weighed at least as heavily in these discussions as artistic or informational merit.

On its fortieth anniversary, in 1949, *America* received a congratulatory telegram from Pope PIUS XII, as well as letters of commendation from both the members of the American hierarchy and the Superior General of the Society of Jesus. But a half century later, with Rev. Thomas J. Reese as editor-in-chief, this acclaim was transformed into disapproval.

Under Reese, *America* published articles on both sides of a variety of subjects, including sensitive Church issues such as gay priests, embryonic stem-cell research, and the responsibility of Catholic politicians in dealing with ABORTION and same-sex unions. As far as members of the American hierarchy and the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH (then under Cardinal RATZINGER) were concerned, such topics were not debatable. The upshot was that Reese was asked to resign, which he did in June 2005. His resignation has been widely interpreted as a result of pressure from Rome.

Editors-in-chief of *America*

Rev. John J. Wynne, S.J. 1909–1910
Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J. 1910–1914
Rev. Richard H. Tierney, S.C. 1914–1925
Rev. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. 1925–1936
Rev. Francis X. Talbot, S.J. 1936–1944
Rev. John LaFarge, S.J. 1944–1948
Rev. Robert C. Hartnett, S.J. 1948–1955
Rev. Thurtson Davis, S.J. 1955–1968
Rev. Donald R. Campion, S.J. 1968–1975
Rev. Joseph A. O'Hare, S.J. 1975–1984
Rev. George W. Hunt, S.J. 1984–1998
Rev. Thomas J. Reese, S.J. 1998–2005
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SEE ALSO JESUITS; MODERN MEDIA AND THE CHURCH; RERUM NOVARUM; TABLET, THE.

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AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, PAPAL STANCE TOWARD

The VATICAN was formally neutral during the Civil War (1861–1865), although Pope PIUS IX was prepared to offer his services to mediate a conflict he rightly judged as horrendously destructive. (In 1860, in a total white population of roughly twenty-eight million, 638,000 Union and Confederate fighting men lost their lives—more than 2 percent of the total white population.) Moreover, as the conflict persisted, opinion, as expressed in segments of the Roman press, conveyed a suspicion of the Lincoln administration's intentions, while showing sympathy for the Confederacy. Even Pius IX, perhaps motivated by frustration more than anything else, chastised the Union. Thus, in late 1863, the Pope rebuked the North for failing to make the requisite concessions to "restore peace and tranquility"(Lalli and O'Connor 1971, p. 22). That having been said, there was little chance that the Vatican would have recognized the Confederacy.

The central objective of Union diplomacy during the Civil War was to avert foreign interference that might result in the partition of the United States. This policy targeted principally Great Britain and France. Still, Union Secretary of State William H. Seward (1801–1872) did not neglect lesser powers. In particular, Seward saw special value in approaching the Vatican, because he was convinced that "Rome, to a degree hardly comprehended in this country, is protected by a veneration of large portions of mankind for his Holiness as the expander of faith and the guardian of religion" (Alvarez 1983, p. 227). Doubtless, Seward was also aware that more than three million Catholics lived in the sundered nation.

The Union and the Vatican. At the beginning of the conflict in America, the Vatican supported the Union. In September 1861 Cardinal Giacomo ANTONELLI, the Vatican secretary of state, told the United States minister to ROME that Catholics, as loyal American citizens, harbored a natural concern for the internal discord in their nation. Again, in June 1862, Pius IX remarked approvingly of the mission of Archbishop John HUGHES of New York to promote the Union cause throughout Europe. In taking this position, both the HOLY SEE and cardinal may well have had in mind the loss of the bulk of the Papal States in the 1859–1860 war of Italian unification. The pope observed, for example, that "it had been the maxim of the Catholic Church to support constituted authority and just laws" (Alvarez 1983, p. 229). As the North fought to restore the Union, so the pope lamented this confinement to Rome and its immediate environs.



North versus South. *Fighting at the battle of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, July 3, 1863.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES**

The Vatican and Lincoln administration were linked, too, by their mutual opposition to the Maximilian regime in Mexico. In June 1862, the French government, under Emperor Louis Napoleon Bonaparte III, installed Maximilian (1832–1867), archduke of Austria, as Mexico's monarch. To the Lincoln administrators, when France placed Maximilian in power, it violated the Monroe Doctrine (1823). During the Civil War the Union government could do little more than issue tame protests, and, of course, reject Napoleon's entreaties to recognize the Maximilian emperorship. After the Confederacy defeat in 1865, the United States protested more vigorously, and in March 1867 the last of the French troops departed Mexico.

The pope's problem with the Maximilian regime was not resolved as successfully. At first Maximilian attempted to win over Mexican liberals. He retained many of the reforms of the previous Republican government. At the outset, differences between the imperial government and Rome seemed irreconcilable. The Holy See, as Arthur Blumberg points out in "The Mexican Empire and the Vatican, 1863–1867," demanded the "renunciation of the Law of Reform," "the reestablishment of the religious orders," "the restitutions of churches and of convents" and of "ecclesiastical property which had been taken," and "full liberty of the church in the exercise of its rights and of its sacred ministry" (1971, p. 4).

Maximilian's counterproposals made Catholicism the state religion and provided that the nation would pay the clergy. The emperor, however, required the church to transfer to the state all property previously nationalized by the republic. Other issues, such as which of the religious orders, previously suppressed, were to be revived, Pius IX and Maximilian would decide jointly. And there matters rested. Months of further negotiations proved fruitless. When Maximilian finally realized that he could not satisfy Mexican liberals, he shifted to the right and accepted Pius IX's demands. But the emperor had waited too long. With the demise of the Confederacy, Maximilian's days, as the Holy See recognized, were numbered, and the Vatican ignored his "conservative solutions," as Blumberg has observed. Blumberg concludes his article by remarking: "There was to be no peace with the church for Maximilian of Mexico" (p. 19).

The Confederacy and the Vatican. In any event Cardinal Antonelli coupled his favorable view of the Union with a careful avoidance of any act that the Lincoln administration might understand as lending support to the Confederacy. Occasional misunderstandings arose. Thus, Pius IX, when answering a letter from Jefferson Davis (1808–1889), president of the Confederacy, addressed him as the "illustrious and Honorable Jefferson Davis," some Americans concluded that the pope was offering recognition to the Confederacy. This was not Pius IX's intention. As Judah P. Benjamin (1811–1884), the Confederate secretary of state, appreciated, the pope was merely being courteous. And Rufus King (1814–1876), the Union representative in Rome, assured Secretary of State Seward that the pope's reply was "a simple act of courtesy and devoid of any political design or significance" (Stock 1933, p. 287). Actually, Confederate diplomacy at the Vatican had two goals: to lessen or, better still, eliminate Union recruitment of Irish Catholics for the Union army (The recruits were lured by bonuses of $500, $600, and $700); and, of course, to win papal recognition of the Confederacy.

Ambrose D. Mann (1801–1889), a Virginian and veteran diplomat, was sent to Rome to deal with the recruitment issue. The pope was shocked when Mann told him that Catholic recruits were situated in the most exposed places, where they were massacred. Pius IX and Cardinal Antonelli were also dismayed at the "unchristian" way immigrants were lured into the Union army. Mann judged his effort a success. "I have reason to believe," he wrote to Judah P. Benjamin, "that what I have said in high places in relation to Irish emigration to New York were words in season." Mann, however, had badly misjudged the situation. As Kerby A. Miller points out in *Emigrants and Exiles*, "in 1863–1864, poor harvests, rural distress and political unrest in Ireland combined with voracious American demands for soldiers and wartime laborers" inspired "a dramatic resurgence of departures; in each year over 94,000 Irish sailed to the United States" (1985, p. 347).

Following Mann, the Confederacy sent Bishop Patrick LYNCH of Charleston, South Carolina, as its representative to the Vatican. As recounted by David C.R. Heisser in "Bishop Lynch's Civil War Pamphlet on Slavery," Judah Benjamin instructed Lynch, a committed Confederate, to seek recognition, and to enlighten "opinions" and "mold impressions" of European rulers (1998, p. 681). Lynch's monthly stipend was $1,000, plus $500 for travel expenses. Lynch was a recognized leader of the American Catholic Church. He had studied for the priesthood in Rome and had also achieved a doctorate there. Slipping past the Union naval blockade, he arrived in Rome in June 1864 and, in an interview with Cardinal Antonelli, disclosed the Confederacy wish for recognition. On July 4 Pius IX received the bishop as a church official, but not as a Confederate emissary. The pope offered his services as a mediator and voiced opposition to immediate emancipation. Still, Pius IX hoped "something might be done" about an "improvement [in the slaves' position] and [progress] to a gradual preparation for their freedom at a future opportune time" (Heisser 1998, p. 682). Lynch, it might be added, made no progress toward recognition.

Lynch's major achievement was to publish a pamphlet (in French, German, and Italian) defending SLAVERY and the Confederacy. Lynch, a slaveholder himself (he possessed ninety-five slaves; other Southern Catholic and Protestant churchmen also owned slaves) had to overcome strong anti-slavery feelings in England (where, in 1772, a judicial decision abolished slavery) and elsewhere in Europe. The bishop depicted slavery as an institution of mutual obligation between masters and slaves, with the former having Christian obligations toward their slaves. Among those duties were to furnish their bondsmen with food and shelter, and to foster and support their slaves' marriages as well as their "families' integrity" (Heisser 1998, p. 684).

Lynch believed that visitors to the South, including travelers, novelists, "philanthropists and fanatics," had misrepresented the facts about the South. The poorly informed thought of the South as a "slumbering volcano" on the verge of a slave uprising. The progression of the war had shown otherwise. Even after the Emancipation Proclamation (1863), the slaves largely continued to work for their owners. "I do not believe that five out of a thousand," wrote the bishop, "have voluntarily gone over to the Yankee armies." Moreover, in Lynch's view, the slaves were better off in the New World than in Africa. In America the bondsmen could "at least obtain a knowledge of the true God, and might save their souls." And, insisted Lynch, the way to their salvation was through the Catholic Church (Heisser 1998, p. 684).

The bishop's tract caused a debate, although not as great as he had anticipated. Actually, the pamphlet received mixed reviews. But whether his booklet was praised or condemned, Lynch decided his assignment in Rome was completed, and on December 24, 1864, he resigned. Both Mann and Lynch had failed as diplomats, because Pius IX had not recognized the Confederacy nor, despite his willingness to do so, had the pontiff been called upon to mediate the conflict. Whether the bishop's tract changed any minds is an open question.

Lynch's pamphlet does not seem to have had much effect on Pius IX or his secretary of state. The pope was not only opposed to slavery, but, at least initially, was partial to the Union. In June 1862 he remarked that "it has been the maxim of the Catholic Church to support constituted authority and just laws." The pontiff was

also pleased "that under the Constitution of the United States all forms of religious worship are placed under equality" (Stock 1933, p. 321). And, in late 1864, Rufus King, the resident Union minister in Rome, quoted the pope as saying that "he could never as a Churchman and the head of the Catholic Church, lend any sanction or countenance to the system of African Slavery" (Stock 1933, p. 321).

As for Cardinal Antonelli, in October 1862 he insisted on "his conviction that in rejecting all ideas of concessions or compromise" with its "domestic enemies, this government [of the United States] is pursuing its proper and necessary policy." In May 1864 the cardinal also asserted "that he as a Catholic must wish that slavery was abolished, but that it must be done by slow degrees." And in August 1864 the secretary of state perceived that the "so-called Confederate states had sought an unconstitutional remedy for their alleged wrongs, and were endeavoring to dissolve by force, a union consecrated by law" (Stock 1933, p. 260).

The Response of the Roman Press. Nonetheless, certain portions of the Roman press criticized the Union. As Alvarez points out, when news of the Emancipation Proclamation reached Rome, the response was distinctly unfavorable. The unofficial newspaper of the Vatican, *L'Osservatore Romano*, viewed the proclamation as a reckless and dishonest war measure that liberated no slaves but encouraged a slave insurrection in the South. Moreover, *L'Osservatore Romano* and the prestigious Jesuit journal, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, portrayed the Civil War as a desperate and faithless struggle by the North to chasten the South. And according to Alvarez, "the Roman press reflected sentiments that were spreading in ecclesiastical circles" (Alvarez 1983, p. 240).

Conversely, for European powers, specifically Great Britain and France, the Emancipation Proclamation changed the nature of the Civil War from a conflict to restore the Union to one to eradicate slavery. From that point on, diplomatic recognition of the Confederacy by these powers became improbable.

The Union effort was depicted by *L'Osservatore* as an "unjust war" waged on "unfair terms" for "uncivilized motives." The United States, according to the publication, was no longer battling to sustain the Union, but rather was seeking vengeance—even the "extermination of the South." And after 1863, *L'Osservatore* contrasted the Confederate army as "perfectly disciplined" and the Union army as "discouraged, disorganized and decimated by disease and desertions." The generals of the rival armies were also contrasted: Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885), the Union general, was compared to Attila, "the scourge of God," and Robert E. Lee (1807–1870), the Confederate general, as the "Scorpio of the South," as cited in Lalli and O'Connor (1971, p. 33).

The unfavorable attitude in *L'Osservatore* remained unshaken by the progress of the Union forces. The newspaper misunderstood the implications of the Union victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg in July 1863. These two triumphs represented a turning point in the Civil War. That they were followed by further Union—albeit bloody—victories in 1864 did not affect *L'Osservatore*'s pro-Confederate posture, though, according to Rufus King, the Union representative in Rome, the "fighting qualities displayed by our troops in Virginia have made a wonderful impression upon the public mind in Europe" (Stock 1933, p. 306). Even news from New York, describing the retreat of the army of Northern Virginia in March 1865 before the relentless advance of the Union army, *L'Osservatore* derided as based on reports by Northern newsmen with lively imaginations. As a result, when Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Courthouse on April 22, 1865, the editors of the publication were dumbfounded at the "enigmatic" manner in which the Union had triumphed in a war they had expected the Confederacy to win. Needless to say, the Roman press was out of touch with reality.

The Vatican's Response to the War. The Vatican did not make the same error. It is true that Pius IX was deeply disturbed at the appalling loss of life and was disappointed when the Lincoln administration rejected his offer of mediation. Both of these concerns explain his periodic bouts of irritation with the Union. But because of his respect for the constitutional integrity of the United States and his abhorrence of slavery, no real likelihood existed that Pius IX would have recognized the Confederacy.

The Papacy on Slavery. Finally, it is worth noting that neither the Holy See nor his secretary of state had taken a public position on slavery at the outset of the Civil War, although Pope GREGORY XVI in his 1839 encyclical, "In supreme apostolatus fastigio," had expressed criticism of the slave trade. The Civil War prompted Pius IX to declare his opposition to slavery. However, fearful of the racial turmoil that might attend the immediate freeing of the slaves, Pius IX favored gradual emancipation.

SEE ALSO NAPOLEON III; WAR, MORALITY OF.

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AMERICAN REVOLUTION, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND

Roman Catholicism was one of the favorite bugbears of the American Revolutionary era. Boston, the cockpit of revolt, was founded by Puritans, and there in particular a fascination with "popery" and its villainies was firmly linked to a more appropriate but still exaggerated fear of Britain's imperial despotism and moral rot. John Adams (1735–1826), in his *Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law* (1765), argued that the hated Stamp Act discouraged reading and was therefore an attempt to degrade literate Yankees to the level of Europe's Catholic peasantry. On "Pope's Day," neighborhood boys put aside their ritual torments of Guy Fawkes to vandalize the homes of tax collectors. The king's concessions to his French Canadian subjects in the Quebec Act (1774) were regarded by his very English but increasingly difficult subjects south of Canada as intolerable measures.

The animosity was genuine—and so intense as to dominate our understanding of relations between the young United States and the HOLY SEE. But any such understanding would be incomplete to the point of falsehood. The animosity was rather one-sided. The Catholic hierarchy took a milder view of the United States; it saw in North America an opportunity for the Church to grow without the political encumbrances typical of European states, Catholic or Protestant. Moreover, American animosity itself ebbed as well as flowed. In the early national period, anti-Catholicism was necessarily abstract: Catholics were but one percent of the population. The abstraction could be trotted out in gaudy array at moments of stress—at the approach of the Revolution, for example—but the satisfactory conclusion of America's contest with Britain allowed certain fears to be closeted.

Rome's View of America. Peace, and the confirmation of American independence, came in 1783. Pope PIUS VI's instructions to Giuseppe Maria Doria Pamphili (1751–1816), his nuncio in Paris, were optimistic. He hoped that, at the urging of King Louis XVI (1754–1793) of France, language protecting the "free exercise and the maintenance of the Catholic religion" might be included in the treaty that formally ended America's Revolutionary War. The instructions further speculated that the extended deployment of French troops in North America had improved its people's opinion of the Church. The next year saw significant connections forming between the republic and the VATICAN. The ports of the Papal States were opened to vessels flying the Stars and Stripes, and Fr. John CARROLL (1735–1815) became the prefect responsible for the care of Roman Catholics living in the United States. The latter step deserves special attention. The grounds for the decision say much about Rome's view of America generally, and the decision, once made, moved early national Catholicism in a definite direction, one that ran comfortably parallel to the trajectory of North America's civic and religious traditions.

Before the Revolution, Roman Catholics living in Britain's American colonies were under the supervision of the vicar apostolic in London. Unlike their compatriots in Parliament and Whitehall, the holders of that office in the crucial decades of the eighteenth century, the Bishops Benjamin Petre (1672–1758) and Richard Challoner (1691–1781), were more than ready to cede authority to an American wing of the hierarchy. That a distinctly Anglo-American episcopacy remained a dream in the colonial period is no surprise: Americans successfully resisted the installation of an Anglican (and thus Protestant) bishop in their midst; a Catholic bishop, especially one countenanced by an aggressive imperial government, would not have enjoyed a warm welcome. This is why Britain's support, via the Quebec Act, of Bishop Jean-Olivier Briand (1715–1794) and Canadian Catholicism was so offensive to Yankee sensibilities. And yet, from the perspective of Rome and the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide, Canada was a promising model for a Church that needed to manufacture strengths from seeming weakness.

France lost Canada when it lost the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). French Canadians became the subjects of a Protestant king, yes, but one who could afford to be forgiving, at least at the colonial margins of his empire. In this situation, the focus of the Church and its adherents was necessarily (and, to the missionaries of the Congregation, refreshingly) spiritual. The Ro-



Cold Crossing. *George Washington, first president of the United States of America following the victory in the War of Independence, pictured crossing the Delaware River on a boat en route to the Battle of Trenton.* **POPPERFOTO/GETTY IMAGES**

man hierarchy would have similar hopes for the United States, which were Protestant by confession and culture but, at the national level (and that was a key qualification), constitutionally tolerant.

The Role of John Carroll. John Carroll inclined to moderation as well, and, for this and other reasons, the Church in the United States was fortunate to have him as its first prefect, bishop, and then archbishop. Carroll was born to privilege in Maryland, the only colony in mainland British America other than Quebec where Catholics had social and numerical weight. Educated by JESUITS at home and abroad, Carroll joined the Society of Jesus as a novice in 1753 and was ordained a priest in 1761. He spent nearly fifteen years studying and teaching at Jesuit colleges in Liège, Bruges, and Bologna. Many of his pupils were English gentry and nobility, and he chaperoned one young Catholic squire on his grand tour of Europe. With the suppression of his order in 1773, Carroll took refuge in the castle of Lord Arundell, the Catholic peer, before returning to Maryland in 1774. This was not the background of a revolutionary firebrand, and Carroll's connections with England would survive the crisis then looming. When, for example, Carroll was raised to the episcopacy in 1790, he chose to stage the ceremony in the private chapel of another great house, Lulworth Castle in Dorset.

Carroll was, nevertheless, a good patriot when the time came to make a choice about America's independence from Britain. In 1776 he accompanied Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) to Canada, where it was thought Catholic inhabitants, so recently subject to the British, might rise in rebellion alongside their American neighbors. These appeals fell on deaf ears, in part because British rule proved so gentle, as indeed American rule over its Catholic citizens would prove to be after the war's end. Failing in its original purpose, the mission to Canada had one noteworthy result: Franklin came to like the priest and recommended him when the American Church needed a leader.

In 1784 Franklin was in Paris, enjoying a brilliant success in social and diplomatic circles. He had played a chief role in negotiating an end to the Revolutionary War. Now the papal nuncio approached the American about what was to be done for Catholics in the young republic. They could no longer be led from London. Might they be directed by Frenchmen? There is some evidence that such a policy was contemplated by the Church hierarchy, by Franklin, and—not at all surprisingly—by the arch-intriguer Charles-Maurice de

TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD (1754–1838). In short order, however, a different line was taken and a native prefect, John Carroll, was named. The Congregation of the Propaganda Fide and its head, Leonardo Cardinal Antonelli (1730–1811), saw the wisdom of choosing a superior from among the people to be served. Rome could not hope to revive its temporal glories in North America; it had to adapt itself to the landscape. John Carroll understood this and followed a conciliatory path, but this American strategy was guided from the beginning by the missionary instincts of Pius VI's papacy.

The turbulent period ahead would find many continental Catholics peering wistfully across the Atlantic, to an overwhelmingly Protestant nation where Catholicism could nonetheless be safely practiced (and even expand) without legal hindrance, Jacobinical hatred, or Bonapartist manipulation. Pius VI was of course one victim. The United States placed its first consul in the Papal States just before Pius's final humiliation. Giovanni Battista (or, as he was known in America, John Baptist) Sartori arrived in Baltimore, Carroll's diocese, with a letter of introduction from Cardinal Antonelli. He then risked the good favor of his patrons by marrying a Shaker girl from Pennsylvania—an unorthodox move, but this was an unorthodox country. Bishop Carroll smoothed the situation over, assuring the head of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide that all proper forms had been observed. In 1797 Sartori was back in Italy, as first U.S. consul in lands governed by the Holy See. Within months, that government collapsed before the ambitions of the French and their puppet Roman Republic. The U.S. secretary of state, Timothy Pickering (1745–1829), wrote Sartori to tell him that, though Americans were the republican sort who respected the right of self-government, it was not at all clear that authority in Rome extended beyond the range of French cannon. This circumspection was typical of official American opinion about the Papal States and their rivals during those difficult times.

Back in the United States, John Carroll's career and the career of his Church continued their steady progress. While the attitudes of the Propaganda Fide were aligned with those that came naturally to Carroll—a Maryland cleric devoted to the separation of church and state—he was at first wary of the oversight the Congregation claimed over him. He feared that it would be confused with foreign intrusion. For similar reasons, he was pleased that his appointment to the episcopacy was delayed; his elevation in 1790 was, however, largely unattended by controversy in the dominant Protestant culture, as was his appointment as archbishop in 1808. Most of his arguments were with Catholics: difficult priests and lay trustees who held Church property. To promote Catholic education, Carroll encouraged SULPICIANS, DOMINICANS, and his still-suppressed fellow Jesuits to establish colleges and seminaries in the United States. He effected a partial restoration of the Jesuit order in 1805, well in advance of its redemption worldwide.

By doing so, and by maintaining—across the Revolutionary divide—useful links to the English Catholic community, Carroll demonstrated a sympathy with geopolitical trends that brought Catholic concerns into at least occasional harmony with those of Anglo-American statesmen. These men were anxious to combat French power, and to the extent that Roman Catholics were similarly inclined, the Church might be of use. This was the period when King George III (1738–1820) and his government decided to subsidize Henry Cardinal York (1725–1807), the last Stuart pretender to the English throne. By this generosity, a great schism in British politics was healed. The safely Protestant Hanoverians had displaced the Catholic Stuarts; now they paid their bills and eased the embarrassments Cardinal York shared with his pontiff. The conduit for the funds, Sir John Coxe Hippisley (1746–1825), curried favor with the once and future Jesuits gathered in Italy, in the hope that such men might be deployed in Spanish America, first against the decadent Bourbons and then against the French menace that held Spain, Rome, and—it seemed—half the world in its grip. In these plots, the British were joined, at the end of the eighteenth century, by adventurers in the United States who calculated that a war with the Franco-Spanish regime might open South America to commercial exploitation and to political reform modeled, conveniently, on the Anglo-American example of balanced representative government.

Of course, the collapse of the Bonapartes restored Catholic confidence in ways not always acceptable to Americans. Fears that the Holy Alliance might try to quash the republican rebellions in Spanish America contributed to the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. The United States need not have worried. Its declaration of hemispheric independence was guaranteed by British interests and naval might, and the repeated victories of republican armies discouraged direct interference from abroad. Popes LEO XII, PIUS VIII, and GREGORY XVI were conservatives, but they were in the end realistic about Spanish American developments. The Vatican began to erect distinctly national ecclesiastical structures in the republics well before its official recognition of those states in 1835.

Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Boston. The United States was changing as well. Here again, the case of Boston is instructive. No colonial town was more determined in its anti-Catholicism, and the onset of the American Revolution promised to confirm Yankees in their prejudices. But the war and its aftermath provoked

new thoughts. A rising generation of politicians and intellectuals were not intimidated by the "Romish" mystique. At Harvard College, a circle of friends that included Rufus King (1755–1827), the future senator and ambassador to Great Britain, Royall Tyler (1757–1826), America's first successful playwright, and John Trumbull (1756–1843), whose paintings grace the Capitol rotunda, found time between their poems and tipples to wonder about the exotic characters passing through Cambridge. Some of them, they hoped, were proscribed Jesuits plotting their return to influence. These young Yankees, along with a great many others, joined the Continental Army and fought at the side of their French allies—Catholics almost to the last man—whose aid was indispensable to the American cause.

At war's end, there was anxiety about the nation's weakness and wayward purpose, but there was also a lightening of mood. The spartan rhetoric of the 1760s and 1770s was set aside, and a broad cross section of elites adopted a more cosmopolitan perspective. In Massachusetts, the longstanding ban on theatrical entertainment was at last allowed to expire. One reason for this change was that Boston needed to appeal to visiting strangers, to citizens of the world accustomed to a more open society. This was the Boston that proved so hospitable to Jean-Louis Lefebvre de CHEVERUS (1768–1836), who arrived as a missionary priest in 1796 and left—unhappily but at the insistence of King Louis XVIII (1755–1824)—in 1823, by which time he had been a bishop, New England's first, for fifteen years.

Cheverus and his flock benefited from a confluence of circumstance: Bostonians, and in particular the wealthiest and most articulate, were shedding their parochial attitudes; the outrages of the French Revolution made traditional Catholicism quite attractive by comparison; and Catholics were still too few in number to frighten anyone. Cheverus was on excellent terms with Boston's better Protestant clergy and its Federalist intelligentsia. At the turn of the century, a new home for the town's Catholics was constructed under the supervision of Charles Bulfinch (1763–1844), the star architect of the Federal era and the designer of the Massachusetts State House. Boston's Church of the Holy Cross was built with money collected in parishes up and down the Atlantic coast, but Protestant Yankees contributed a quarter of the necessary sum. Congressmen, ministers, and China merchants graced the list of donors. And at the top of the subscription was President John Adams, who gave $100. In his *Dissertation*, he had vilified Catholics for their slavish ignorance; thirty-five years later, he had become their patron.

Cheverus was particularly beloved by Boston's privileged women, and around him gathered a circle of Yankee bluestockings. These were the ladies who entrusted their Protestant children to the care of Catholic religious, who came to New England to build on Cheverus's strong foundation. Of course they also came to serve the swelling numbers of Catholic immigrants. This demographic shift signaled an end to the era of moderation. Yankee workers feared that they would lose their jobs to cheap Irish labor, and they despised the mollycoddling of Catholicism by the upper middle classes. This resentment led to the burning of the Ursuline Convent outside Boston in 1834 (the convent school was full of Protestant girls from "good" families) and to the explosive nativism of the Know-Nothings.

Strengthening of United States–Vatican Relations. As anti-Catholic sentiment swept through the United States, the papacy again faced a stern test at its very heart. When the Roman Republic was proclaimed in 1849, the American consul, Nicholas Brown, enthused about its prospects and its "love of liberty." Brown's replacement, Lewis Cass Jr. (1814–c.1879), was already on his way. He carried with him ministerial rank and a cautious set of instructions from the secretary of state, James Buchanan (1791–1868). Echoing his predecessor Pickering fifty years before, Buchanan urged Cass to withhold his support from the Roman Republic. In 1850 PIUS IX returned to his palace, and he personally thanked the American ambassador for the considerable aid, both moral and financial, that he and his Church had received from the United States and its citizens. The pope knew that, while the nation remained Protestant in its leadership and orientation, more and more of its people were of his faith. In the United States, Catholics could increasingly exercise republican power.

SEE ALSO ANTI-CATHOLICISM (UNITED STATES); CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES (LEGAL HISTORY); UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE PAPACY.

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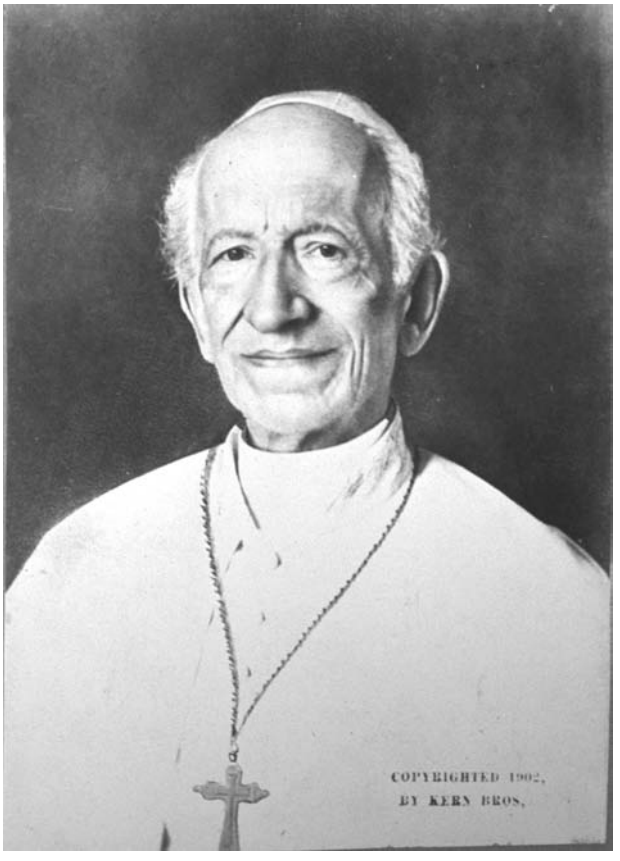
AMERICANISM

Americanism is the name given to certain ideas criticized by Pope LEO XIII in his 1899 apostolic letter *Testem benevolentiae nostrae* (*Witness to Our Good Will*).

As early as the 1860s a group of New York priests calling itself the Accademia met regularly to discuss the future of the Church. They were frustrated by what they considered its foreign and outdated characteristics and to some extent looked to the Episcopal Church as a model for adapting Catholicism to American culture. They doubted, for example, the relevance of MONASTICISM and wanted a vernacular liturgy.

The Accademia had no direct affect on the Church in America, but by the 1880s American bishops and priests were divided between those who advocated greater Catholic participation in American public life and conservatives who thought America was Protestant and tainted with the liberalism condemned in the SYLLABUS OF ERRORS of Pope PIUS IX.

The so-called Americanist movement was led by Archbishop John IRELAND of St. Paul, Minnesota; Bishops John Joseph KEANE of Richmond, Virginia; John Lancaster SPALDING of Peoria, Illinois; and Denis Joseph O'CONNELL, rector of the North American College in Rome. The leaders of the conservatives were Archbishop Michael Augustine CORRIGAN of New York City; Bishop Bernard John MCQUAID of Rochester, New York; and the German bishops of Wisconsin. Cardinal James GIBBONS of Baltimore endeavored to keep peace between the two groups, although he was inclined toward the Americanists and regularly extolled the virtues of American society.



Pope Leo XIII (1878–1903). *Born Count Vincenzo Gioacchino Raffaele Luigi Pecci, as pope, he led the charge against Americanism.* **THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS**

The division extended to the faculty of the new CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, of which Keane in 1888 became the first rector. The chief conservatives at the university were Monsignor Peter Joseph SCHROEDER and Abbé Georges Périès, and the liberals included Thomas Joseph BOUQUILLON, who wrote a pamphlet defending the American system of education; Charles P. Grannan (1846–1924); and Edward Aloysius PACE.

In the press, the *New York Freeman's Journal*, the *Northwestern Chronicle* of St. Paul, and the *Western Watchman* of St. Louis supported Ireland. The *Review* of Chicago (later of St. Louis), edited by Arthur PREUSS; *Church Progress*, edited by Condé Benoist PALLEN of St. Louis; and most of the German Catholic newspapers opposed the Americanists.

Ethnic Divisions. On one level the split was along ethnic lines. In 1886 certain German priests, led by Father Peter M. ABBELEN of Milwaukee, presented a petition to the VATICAN protesting the treatment of foreign language groups and national parishes in the

United States. Ireland and Keane published a refutation of the petition. Gibbons called a meeting of archbishops to protest it, and it was rejected by the Vatican. (The overwhelming majority of American bishops at the time were Irish. Only in the province of Milwaukee were Germans regularly appointed.)

In 1890–1891 certain European societies interested in immigrants to the United States, under the chairmanship of Peter Paul CAHENSLY, petitioned Rome for better representation of foreign nationalities in the American hierarchy. Archbishop Ireland, who thought Germans were unsuited to hold episcopal office, again protested.

However, the division was not simply between foreign-born and native-born: Except for Spalding, all the Americanist leaders had been born in Ireland, whereas Corrigan was a native of Newark, New Jersey.

Massive immigration had both vastly increased the size of American Catholicism and provoked a nativist backlash. Ireland felt intensely frustrated by the Church's immigrant character, even to the point of longing for the early days of the Republic, when the Church had been much smaller but also more American. The Americanists minimized anti-Catholic sentiment, especially as it existed in the Republican Party, and discouraged organized Catholic efforts to combat it.

Democracy. Americanism was elusive because in some ways it was a matter of mood or personality. The Americanists, especially Ireland, tended to be exuberant and optimistic, formulating ambitious plans, while their opponents often showed conventional ecclesiastical caution.

Behind this lay a judgment about American culture itself. The Americanists viewed the country with sometimes extravagant hope, as admittedly Protestant and liberal but as also ripe for conversion, if the appropriate methods were used. America was the guiding star of the modern world, showing the way to more backward European nations. The Americanists sometimes maximized the differences between the Old World and the New, as when Keane and Spalding forcefully denied that medieval ideas still had relevance.

In a way, the movement developed into a religious version of the political doctrine of Manifest Destiny, as when O'Connell hailed Ireland: "For this you were born ... to be the instrument in the hands of Providence to spread the benefits of a new civilization over the whole world" (O'Connell 1988, p. 392).

One of the most controversial aspects of the Americanists' program was their enthusiasm for the American system of separation of church and state, something that Pius IX had seemingly condemned. That enthusiasm aroused particular suspicion because they urged the American solution on European Catholics and seemed to ignore the way in which liberalism on the Continent was often openly hostile to the Church.

Despite his devotion to the idea of church-state separation, Ireland was a skilled navigator of political waters. He became involved in secular politics to achieve his ecclesiastical goals when, over Corrigan's vehement objections, he openly supported a priest's candidacy for public office in New York State.

At a meeting of the National Educational Association in 1890, Ireland praised the public schools and expressed regret that there had to be separate Catholic schools. When he inaugurated the Stillwater Plan and FARIBAULT PLAN to get state aid, he was accused of being opposed to parochial schools, which had been mandated by the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore. He had to go to ROME to clarify his position.

Ireland openly supported the Republican Party, partly to counter the loyalty of so many Catholic immigrants to the Democrats but mainly because the Republicans were the party of an expansive capitalism that Ireland saw as the engine of dynamic growth in the nation.

Because of the Civil War, the Republicans were also, in the eyes of many, the party of patriotism. (Ireland had been a Union chaplain in the war.) In the presidential campaign of 1884 a prominent Republican hurled the famous accusation that the Democrats were the party of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion," but Ireland continued to support the Republicans. He strongly endorsed the Spanish-American War in 1898, despite efforts by the HOLY SEE to avert it, although afterward he protested what he thought were efforts by the American government to hamper the Church in the Philippines.

Americanism in Rome. At the archbishops' meeting in 1892, the papal legate, Archbishop Francesco SATOLLI, endorsed Ireland's program for Catholic schools. The next year Satolli announced the formation of the APOSTOLIC DELEGATION to the United States in Washington, with himself as the first delegate—a move that a number of bishops disapproved, including the conservative leader Corrigan.

Later in 1893 Satolli appeared in Ireland's company at the World's Fair (Columbian Exposition) in Chicago, although he refused to take part in the World's Congress of Religions, in which Ireland, Keane, Gibbons, and other Catholics participated against the wishes of the conservatives. But two years later the delegate announced that Rome had forbidden Catholic participation in further such ecumenical activity.

Satolli gradually turned against the Americanists. In 1895 O'Connell was forced to resign as rector of the NORTH AMERICAN COLLEGE, followed the next year by Keane's enforced resignation from the rectorship of

the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA. Keane's supporters in the university in turn brought about the resignation of Schroeder, whom they accused of being the chief factor in the rector's removal.

Americanism in France. Progressive Catholics in France admired Ireland and Gibbons, and in 1894 Abbé Félix Klein (1862–1953) published a translation of Ireland's speeches. Ironically, it was in France where the Americanist movement came to a climax, through another book, *The Life of Father Hecker*, by Walter ELLIOTT.

Isaac Thomas HECKER, the son of German immigrants, was born a Lutheran but became a spiritual seeker who explored several religious movements, including New England TRANSCENDENTALISM. Eventually he became a Catholic, entered the REDEMPTORISTS order (from which he was dismissed on charges of disobedience), and then founded his own religious community (without vows), the PAULISTS.

As their name indicated, the Paulists were devoted to the evangelization of American society. Hecker thought that the Catholic doctrine of freedom of the will, in contrast to the pessimism of classical LUTHERANISM and CALVINISM, would appeal to Americans. However, he also thought the Church needed to adapt itself in certain ways to American culture.

Elliott, himself a Paulist, published his biography of Hecker, *The Life of Father Hecker*, in 1891, with an introduction by Ireland. In 1897 a French translation included an enthusiastic preface by Klein, who called Hecker the priest of the future and lauded the American Catholic way of life. In a speech in Switzerland around the same time, O'Connell, serving as the Roman agent for the Americanist bishops, also extolled Hecker's Americanism, stressing his acceptance of American democracy and of relations between church and state.

Elliott's book received wide notice in French religious circles, and there followed a series of sermons in Paris by JESUITS who attacked what they considered certain dangers to the Church, especially "Father Hecker's Americanism." Articles along the same line appeared in the conservative Catholic press, which ridiculed the claim that Hecker exemplified the priest of the future. Abbé Charles Maignen (b. 1858) found further evidence of Americanist doctrines in Keane's 1893 address to the Congress of Religions in Chicago.

Maignen then published *Études sur l'Américanisme, Le Père Hecker, est-il un Saint?* (*Studies in Americanism, Is Father Hecker a Saint?*), for which he obtained the IMPRIMATUR of the Master of the Sacred Palace in Rome. Some interpreted this as papal approval of the book. The controversy spread also to Belgium, Germany, and Italy, where it became implicated in the dispute over the temporal power of the PAPACY.

Condemnation. Leo XIII opposed the move to put the Hecker biography on the Index of Forbidden Books and instead appointed a committee of cardinals to study the question; the committee reported adversely on Americanism. The pope softened the report so that no specific person was accused of holding the condemned doctrines, and ordinary political and social Americanism were exempted from disapproval. Although Gibbons and Ireland both tried to prevent it, *Testem benevolentiae nostrae* was officially issued on January 22, 1899.

The Hecker biography was withdrawn from sale. Ireland, Keane, and Klein immediately submitted but denied that they held the condemned doctrines. Gibbons, to whom the letter was addressed, denied that any educated American Catholic held them, while the conservative bishops in the United States thanked the pope for saving the American Church from dangerous ideas.

Although the papal letter was a setback, the Americanist bishops continued to have influence for two more decades. Keane became archbishop of Dubuque, Iowa, and O'Connell became rector of the Catholic University and later bishop of Richmond, Virginia.

The basic principle of the censured Americanism was that the Church should modify her doctrines to suit modern civilization and to attract converts, passing over some less attractive doctrines and adapting the Church's teachings to popular theories and methods. Leo summarized five specific errors: that external spiritual direction was no longer necessary; the extolling of natural over SUPERNATURAL, and active over passive, virtues; religious vows were not compatible with Christian liberty; and that a new method of apologetics had to be adopted.

Significance of Americanism. Leo XIII never called Americanism a heresy, nor did its proponents intend any attack on Catholic doctrine. Leo also did not condemn separation of church and state but warned that it should not be absolutized. The pope carefully excluded from condemnation the legitimate use of the word *Americanism* to signify "the characteristic qualities which reflect honor on the people of America" (*Acta Sanctae Sedis*, XXXI (1899), p. 474).

As much as anything, Americanism was controversial because its proponents were in the habit of making grand rhetorical gestures whose precise meaning was left uncertain, as in Spalding's rousing exhortation "Church and Age, unite!" (Appleby 1992, p. 8). Clearly they wanted some kind of adaptation of the Catholic faith to American culture, but they did not have a carefully thought out program and were vague as to what was or was not subject to legitimate change.

Neither did they have a theology. Ireland and Spalding once met the French modernist priest Alfred LOISY,

who was disappointed that the two American prelates seemed to have no ideas beyond that of the separation of church and state. Ireland had invited Loisy to teach at his seminary, but after the French abbé was condemned as a modernist, the Minnesota prelate strongly supported the Holy See.

There was a bridge between Americanism and theological MODERNISM in that both movements urged openness to the world and dismissed aspects of Catholicism as outmoded hindrances to the Church's credibility. Most Americanists did not cross that bridge, but several American priests of that era became modernists. The Paulist William Sullivan (d. 1944), the Jesuit William Fanning (d. 1920), and the pioneer Josephite John R. Slattery (1851–1926) all came to doubt particular Church teachings and left the priesthood, Sullivan becoming a Unitarian minister.

Testem benevolentiae nostrae has sometimes been seen as destroying a golden opportunity for the Church in America. Ironically, however, it came at precisely the moment when the Church was entering its period of greatest growth and influence, a period that would last into the 1960s and that in many ways was sustained by precisely the things, such as ULTRAMONTANISM, that the Americanists found most frustrating.

This growth occurred above all because, while attracting large numbers of converts, the Church successfully catechized the immigrants and over time helped to assimilate them to their new country, whereas—usually unspoken and perhaps largely unthought—the Americanist program aimed to reach a cultural elite and thereby to convert the nation from the top down (many of the early Paulists, for example, were converts from distinguished Protestant families).

Americanism perhaps had a lasting effect in terms of American Catholics' deep conviction that their faith and their citizenship were fully compatible—the "superpatriotism" for which later they would sometimes be criticized.

SEE ALSO CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES (LEGAL HISTORY); CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, U.S.; TESTEM BENEVOLENTIAE.

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ANACLETO GONZÁLEZ FLORES AND NINE COMPANIONS, BB.

Mexican martyrs; d. 1927–1931; beatified November 20, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

On November 20, 2005, at Jalisco Stadium in Guadalajara, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins, the prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, celebrated the BEATIFICATION of thirteen Mexican martyrs, including Anacleto González Flores and nine companions. Pope Benedict XVI appeared via video and said of the martyrs, "They are a permanent example for us, an encouragement to give concrete testimony of our own faith in today's society."

Anacleto González Flores. Anacleto González Flores, born in Tepatitlán, Jalisco, in 1888, was a Mexican journalist, lawyer, organizer of Catholic lay action, and a Third Order Franciscan. As a young man, Anacleto taught history and literature while organizing worker groups on Catholic social principles. From 1914 to 1916, he formed a series of Catholic study circles inspired by various thinkers, including Mahatma GANDHI. By 1916, Anacleto had become a local leader, known as El Maestro, in the Asociación Católica de la Juventud Mexicana (ACJM) or the Catholic Association

of Mexican Youth, a national organization aimed at restoring a Christian social order in Mexico.

After the government closed the Conciliar Seminary of Guadalajara, Anacleto organized a group, called the Catholic Committee of Defense, to defend endangered religious institutions. The group was reestablished in 1925 as Unión Popular, or United Front. He also edited the weekly *Gladium*, which had a circulation of 100,000.

When in 1926 the national government under President Plutarco Elías Calles (1877–1945) enforced laws intolerant to the exercise of religion, Anacleto, in the national newspaper *El País*, called upon Catholics to passively resist these regulations. He then led the ensuing protests. Calles responded with redoubled violence and persecution of Catholics. Anacleto assisted the Liga Nacional Defensora de la Libertad Religiosa (National League for the Defense of Religious Freedom), which spearheaded the Cristeros Rebellion, so-called from the cry of the Catholic guerrilla warriors, "Viva Cristo Rey" (Long live Christ the King). Anacleto worked from the home of the Vargas González family, who were ACJM associates, but he was discovered and arrested on April 1, 1927. After being brutally tortured, he was bayoneted and shot.

His Companions. José Dionisio Luis Padilla Gómez (b. Guadalajara, Jalisco, December 9, 1899), a member of ACJM, was arrested, beaten, and sentenced to execution on April 1, 1927, along with Anacleto and others. Luis knelt in prayer as he was shot.

The brothers Jorge Vargas González (b. Ahualulco de Mercado, Jalisco, September 28, 1899) and Ramón Vargas González (b. Ahualulco de Mercado, Jalisco, January 22, 1905) were members of ACJM. The Vargas González family helped protect priests and seminarians, and had given refuge to Anacleto González Flores. On April 1, 1927, Jorge and Ramon were arrested, tortured, interrogated, and executed, along with Anacleto.

José Luciano Ezequiel Huerta Gutiérrez (b. Magdalena, Jalisco, January 6, 1876) was an organist and remarkable singer, and a father of ten children. He and his brother Salvador (b. Magdalena, Jalisco, March 18, 1880), a mechanic and a father of twelve, were arrested on April 2, 1927, after visiting the body of Anacleto González Flores. The police tortured Ezequiel into unconsciousness when he refused to divulge the location of priests who were in hiding. The next day, he and his brother were taken to the cemetery of Mezquitán and killed.

Miguel Gómez Loza (b. Tepatitlán, Jalisco, August 11, 1888), a member of ACJM, had established a national congress of Catholic industrial, commercial, and agricultural workers. Miguel advocated nonviolent resistance to the persecution. After Anacleto's execution, Catholic leaders appointed him governor of Jalisco. On March 21, 1928, he was arrested and executed.

Luis Magaña Servín (b. Arandas, Jalisco, August 24, 1902) was a member of ACJM. He loved the Church, studied social issues, and joined an artisan union. As a pacifist, Luis offered spiritual and material assistance to the resistance. On February 9, 1928, Luis's brother was arrested. Luis voluntarily took his brother's place as prisoner and was executed.

José Sánchez del Río (b. Sahuayo, Michoacán, March 28, 1913) was captured during a battle on February 5, 1928, when he was fourteen years old. Soldiers tortured him by cutting the skin off his feet and forcing him to walk on salt. José was commanded to deny his faith, but the teenager shouted back: "Long live Christ the King!" He was executed in Sahuayo, Michoacán, on February 10, 1928.

Fr. Ángel Darío Acosta Zurita (b. Naolinco, Veracruz, December 13, 1908) was ordained in April 1931 in Veracruz. He taught children and was dedicated to the Sacrament of Penance. On July 25, 1931, Fr. Darío was shot in Assumption, Veracruz, by soldiers operating under the "Tejeda Law," which restricted the number of priests. Fr. Darío was martyred only three months after his ordination.

Feast: April 1 (Anacleto González Flores).

SEE ALSO GUADALAJARA (MEXICO), MARTYRS OF, SS.; MEXICO (MODERN), THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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ANAGNI

Located on a hill, 1,500 feet above sea level and thirty-five miles south of ROME in the Lazio region, Anagni had been the favorite summer resort of several Roman emperors seeking to escape the heat and disease of the city; in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, it became a secondary papal residence. A walled town in the Roman imperial period, Anagni gained from the popes its Romanesque cathedral, built between 1071 and 1105, and a papal palace. The town rose in importance during the High MIDDLE AGES, as it was the birthplace of four popes—INNOCENT III (1198–1216), GREGORY IX (1227–1241), ALEXANDER IV (1254–1261), and BONIFACE VIII (1294–1303). The only English pope, ADRIAN IV (1154–1159), died there, and the town was also the setting for several important events in the struggle between papacy and empire.

In 1160, Pope ALEXANDER II excommunicated the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, in Anagni's cathedral; it was there also, in 1176, that a reconciliation was begun with the *Pactum Anagninum* (the Agreement of Anagni), which was the prelude to the Peace of Venice in 1177. Lotarius di Conti, of the powerful Conti family, became Pope Innocent III and made Anagni the first stop on an impressive "quasi-regal progress" throughout the Patrimony, which was intended to reassert papal power and ensure peace between important cities (Bolton 2005, p. 41).

Another member of the Conti family, Ugolino di Conti, became Pope Gregory IX and, in a spectacular ceremony on September 29, 1227, in Anagni cathedral, excommunicated the Holy Roman Emperor FREDERICK II on the grounds that he had abandoned his crusade; torches were shaken, cast down, and finally extinguished by the prelates. The reconciliation between Gregory IX and Frederick II in September 1230 also took place at Anagni, after the emperor had secured JERUSALEM, NAZARETH, and BETHLEHEM for Christianity through negotiation with the Egyptian sultan, Al-Kamil (1180–1238). Rinaldo de Jenne, another Anagni native and nephew of Gregory IX, who became Pope Alexander IV, won fame for his canonization at Anagni in 1255 of CLARE OF ASSISI.

Benedetto GAETANI, a member of a minor noble family of Anagni, served as a canon in the cathedral, eventually becoming Pope Boniface VIII. His elevation met opposition from French cardinals; the French king, PHILIP IV (the Fair; 1285–1314); and the powerful COLONNA family, strong supporters of the previous pope, CELESTINE V, whom Boniface had imprisoned after his abdication. When Philip granted himself the right to tax the French clergy, Boniface promulgated his famous papal bull, *Unam Sanctam* of 1302, which declared papal supremacy. Philip reacted first by calling an assembly, which issued twenty-nine inflammatory accusations against the pope, including magic, heresy, infidelity, immorality and causing the death of Celestine V, and then by sending an expedition to Anagni to arrest Boniface and remove him from office. The king's advisor, Guillaume de Nogaret (c. 1265–1313), along with Sciarra Colonna (d. 1329) and 2,000 mercenaries, attacked the palaces of the pope and his nephew on September 7, 1303, in what has been called the Outrage at Anagni. The pope was captured and was reportedly slapped by Sciarra Colonna, an episode that became known as *Schiaffo di Anagni* (Anagni's Slap). The capture of the pope inspired Dante to write in the *Divine Comedy*: "the new Pilate has imprisoned the Vicar of Christ" (*Purgatory* XX, vv. 85–93). The people of Anagni expelled the invaders and released the pope but, elderly and distraught, he died in Rome in October 1303.

The outrage at Anagni saw the beginning of a decline not only for the doctrine of papal supremacy—what C. Warren Hollister called "the antithesis of Canossa"—but also of the town itself, especially after the transfer of the papal court to AVIGNON (Hollister and Bennett 2006, p. 263). Anagni once again became the battlefield between a pope and a secular ruler in 1556, when it was besieged, bombarded, and sacked during the conflict between Pope PAUL IV and King PHILIP II of Spain; the town walls were then refortified by Pope PIUS IV in 1564.

SEE ALSO DANTE ALIGHIERI; FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, ROMAN EMPEROR; UNAM SANCTAM.

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ANGLICANORUM COETIBUS

On November 9, 2009, the HOLY SEE made public the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION *Anglicanorum coetibus* of Pope BENEDICT XVI, providing a canonical structure for Anglicans wishing to enter into full communion with the Catholic Church. The constitution, dated November 4, 2009 (the memorial of St. Charles BORROMEO), was preceded by an October 20, 2009 "Note" of the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH (CDF) explaining that the Apostolic Constitution was a response by the Catholic Church "to the many requests that had been submitted to the Holy See from groups of Anglican clergy and faithful in different parts of the world who wish to enter into full visible communion." Since the early 1980s such requests had been previously handled under a pastoral provision approved by JOHN PAUL II in 1980 that allowed small groups of Anglicans to form parishes (and in one case a diocese) that celebrated Mass according to a special Anglican use of the Roman MISSAL. This pastoral provision likewise allowed some former Anglican married clergy to be dispensed from the requirement of celibacy and be ordained Catholic priests.

In the years preceding *Anglicanorum coetibus*, petitions for full Catholic communion on the part of Anglicans had been growing considerably, including requests from some twenty to thirty Anglican bishops (*Catholic News Service*, October 20, 2009). The reasons for these requests include decisions on the part of some Anglicans to ordain women to the priesthood and the episcopacy as well as "departures from the common biblical teaching on human sexuality ... by the ordination of openly homosexual clergy and the blessing of homosexual partnerships" (CDF Note, October 20, 2009). According to the CDF, the purpose of *Anglicanorum coetibus* is to provide the more stable structure of Personal Ordinariates, "which will allow former Anglicans to enter into full Catholic communion while preserving elements of the distinctive Anglican spiritual and liturgical patrimony" (CDF Note, October 20, 2009).

On October 20, 2009, the same day as the CDF's "Note" was issued, Vincent Gerard Nichols, the Catholic archbishop of Westminster, and Rowan Williams, the Anglican archbishop of Canterbury, issued a joint statement making clear that the Apostolic Constitution would not hinder the commitment of the Catholic Church and the ANGLICAN COMMUNION to the ongoing dialogue and work of the ANGLICAN/ROMAN CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION (ARCIC) and the International Anglican Roman Catholic Commission for Unity and Mission (IARCCUM). This joint statement likewise noted that the Apostolic Constitution was "further recognition of the substantial overlap in faith, doctrine and spirituality between the Catholic Church and the Anglican tradition."

John Paul II originally established something like the canonical structure of Personal Ordinariates, provided by *Anglicanorum coetibus* and its *Complementary Norms*, for the pastoral care of members of military forces via his 1986 Apostolic Constitution, *Spirituali militum cura*. According to Fr. Gianfranco Ghirlanda, S.J., a canon lawyer and rector of the Pontifical GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY, Personal Ordinariates are "specific ecclesiastical jurisdictions which are similar to dioceses" that are set up for "the spiritual good" of certain groups of the faithful (Ghirlanda, November 9, 2009). In the case of *Anglicanorum coetibus*, the Personal Ordinariates are meant to provide pastoral care for "lay faithful, clerics and members of Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life, originally belonging to the Anglican Communion and now in full communion with the Catholic Church, or those who receive the Sacraments of Initiation within the jurisdiction of the Ordinariate" (*Anglicanorum coetibus*, [AC] I no. 1). Those who are baptized Catholics outside of these Ordinariates "ordinarily are not eligible for membership, unless they are members of a family belonging to the Ordinariate" (AC, *Complementary Norms*, article 5 no. 1).

The canonical structure of a Personal Ordinariate is not the same as a Personal Prelature because the latter is made up of only "priests and deacons," and lay people may only dedicate themselves "to the apostolic works of a personal prelature by agreements entered into with the prelature" (*Code of Canon Law*, 1983, canon 296). The

Personal Ordinariates set up in light of *Anglicanorum coetibus* likewise cannot be compared to particular ritual Churches such as the Eastern Catholic Churches because "the Anglican liturgical, spiritual and pastoral tradition is a particular reality within the Latin Church" (Ghirlanda, November 9, 2009). With regard to liturgical celebrations, *Anglicanorum coetibus* stipulates: "Without excluding liturgical celebrations according to the Roman Rite, the Ordinariate has the faculty to celebrate the Eucharist, the other Sacraments, the Liturgy of the Hours and other liturgical celebrations according to the liturgical books proper to the Anglican tradition, which have been approved by the Holy See" (AC, III). The liturgical celebrations of the Ordinariates will, therefore, be Anglican adaptations of the LATIN RITE, similar or identical to those already used by some existing groups of former Anglicans since the pastoral provision of 1980.

The canonical structures made possible by *Anglicanorum coetibus* go beyond the *Pastoral Provision* of 1980 because the Personal Ordinariates will possess what in canon law is known as a "public juridic personality," and they will be comparable in most respects to dioceses (cf. AC, I no. 3). These Ordinariates will be governed by an "Ordinary appointed by the Roman Pontiff," who will function like a bishop of a diocese, though he can be a priest and not a bishop (AC IV). Those who ministered as Anglican deacons, priests, and bishops can petition for Catholic ordination, and their ordinations will be absolute, not conditional, following the ruling of the 1896 Bull, *Apostolicae curae*, of Pope LEO XIII on the invalidity of Anglican ordinations. The discipline of clerical celibacy of the Latin Church will be retained as a rule (*pro regula*), but petitions can be directed to the Roman PONTIFF, "as a derogation from can. 277 no. 1, for the admission of married men to the order of presbyter on a case by case basis, according to objective criteria, approved by the Holy See" (AC, VI no. 2). Ministers who are unmarried must submit to the norm of clerical celibacy, following canon 277 no. 1 of the 1983 *Code of Canon Law* (AC, VI no. 1). Former Anglican bishops who are married can petition for ordination as Catholic priests but not as bishops because of the ancient and long-standing tradition of both the Catholic Church and the separated EASTERN CHURCHES. Former Anglican bishops, however, can petition to participate in meetings of conferences of bishops "with the equivalent status of a retired bishop," and they can request permission "from the Holy See to use the insignia of the Episcopal office" (*Complementary Norms*, article 11 nos. 3–4).

The Personal Ordinariates for former Anglicans who have entered into full Catholic communion "are erected by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith within the confines of the territorial boundaries of a particular Conference of Catholic Bishops in consultation with that same Conference" (AC, I no. 1). The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* serves as "the authoritative expression of the Catholic faith professed by members of the Ordinariate" (AC, I no. 5). The Personal Ordinariates are subject to the CDF "and the other dicasteries of the Roman Curia in accordance with their competencies" (AC, II). They are governed by "the norms of universal law," the constitution *Anglicanorum coetibus* and its *Complementary Norms* "as well any specific Norms given for each Ordinariate" (AC, II).

The power (*potestas*) of the ordinary of the Personal Ordinariates is, according to canonical language, ordinary, vicarious (i.e., exercised in the name of the Roman pontiff), and personal (AC, V). This power is "to be exercised jointly with that of the local Diocesan Bishop in those cases provided for in the Complementary Norms" (AC, V). Thus, the ordinary "must maintain close ties of communication with the Bishop of the Diocese in which the Ordinariate is present in order to coordinate its pastoral activity with the pastoral program of the Diocese" (*Complementary Norms*, article 3). After consulting with the local diocesan bishop and with the consent of the Holy See, the ordinary may erect "personal parishes for the faithful who belong to the Ordinariate" (AC, VIII no. 1). The ordinary is assisted by a "Governing Council" consisting of at least six priests (AC, X, nos. 1–2). He "is a member of the respective Episcopal Conference" (*Complementary Norms,* article 2 no. 2), and he is required to go to ROME every five years for an *ad limina Apostolorum* visit to the Roman Pontiff and the Holy See (AC, XI).

In terms of clergy, the ordinary is responsible for presenting to the Holy See requests for "the admission of married men to the Ordinariate" (*Complementary Norms,* article 6 no. 1), but those "who have been previously ordained in the Catholic Church and subsequently have become Anglicans, may not be accepted for Holy orders in the Ordinariate" (*Complementary Norms,* article 6 no. 2). Candidates for priestly ordination in the Personal Ordinariates "will receive their theological formation with other seminarians at a seminary or theological faculty" in consultation with the local diocesan bishop or bishops concerned (*Complementary Norms,* article 10 no. 2), but provisions should be made, either by a special seminary program or house of formation, "for the purpose of transmitting Anglican patrimony" (*Complementary Norms,* article 10 no. 2).

Many have praised *Anglicanorum coetibus* as an important ecumenical step toward the full reconciliation of Anglicans with the Catholic Church. Others have been more guarded in their assessment because of

concerns over how the Constitution might affect current Catholic-Anglican relations (*Catholic News Service*, October 22, 2009). The Swiss theologian, Hans KÜNG, in a published editorial, condemned the Constitution as an example of "the Vatican thirst for power" and an effort to restore "the Roman *imperium*" (*The Guardian*, October 27, 2009). The VATICAN newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, denounced Küng's editorial as inaccurate and "far from reality" (*L'Osservatore Romano*, October 29, 2009).

SEE ALSO AD LIMINA VISIT; ANGLICANISM; APOSTOLICAE CURAE; CANON LAW, 1983 CODE; CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; CURIA, ROMAN; LITURGY OF THE HOURS; ROMAN RITE.

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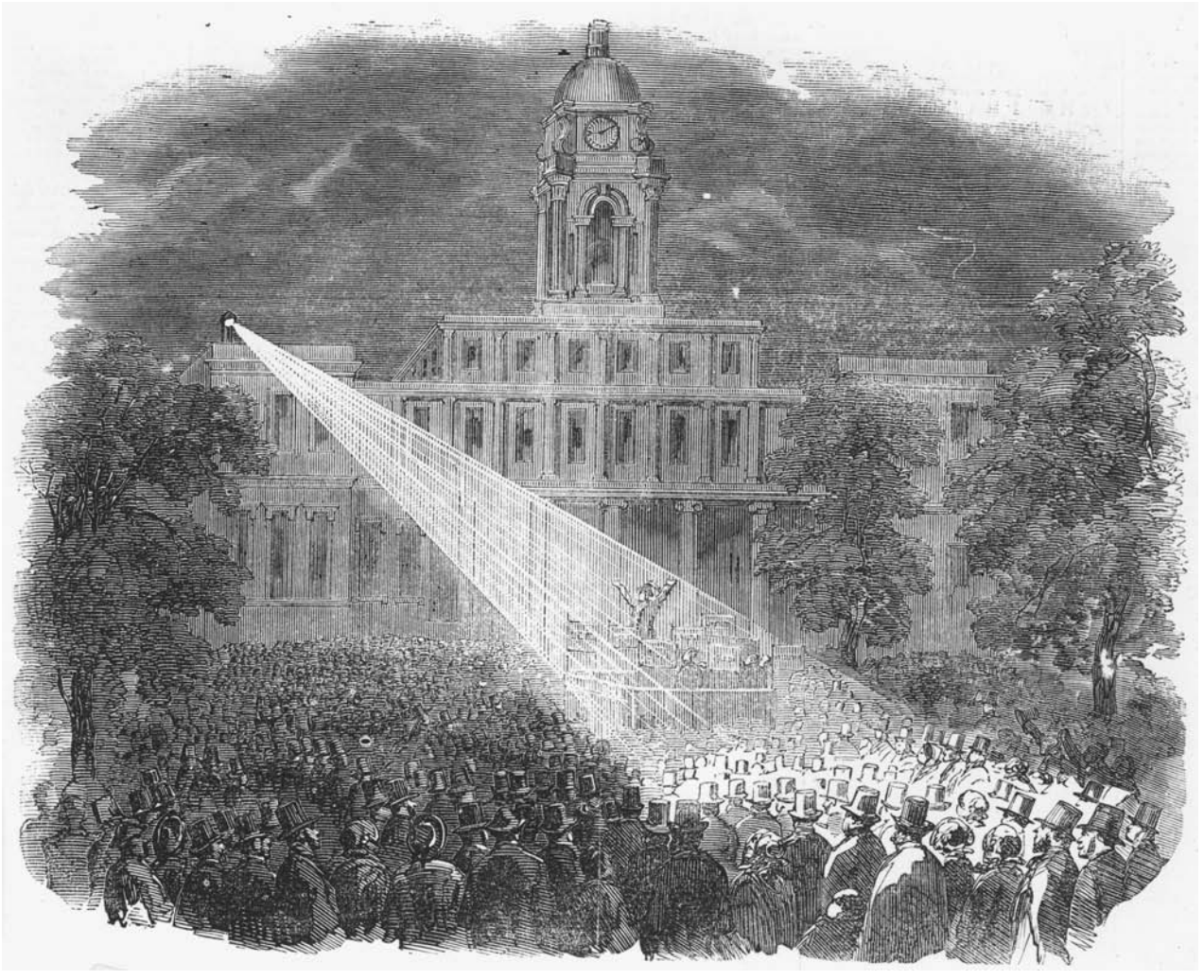
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ANTI-CATHOLICISM (UNITED STATES)

Although the United States has long prided itself on its separation of church and state and its tradition of religious freedom, it has always suffered from various forms of bigotry, including anti-Catholicism and ANTI-SEMITISM. Anti-Catholicism, as well as nativism, was inherited from England, where it had long flourished, particularly in light of the many wars that nation had with France and Spain. The result was that, in almost all the American colonies, Catholics were the victims of discriminatory laws. In general, they were excluded from the suffrage (voting) and from holding political office.

Colonial History. In a 1974 book, the historian Ray Allen Billington (1903–1981) highlighted an 1842 Virginia law that disenfranchised all Catholics and threatened any priest who entered the colony with expulsion after five days. Even in Maryland, which was founded by the Catholic Lord Calvert in 1632 and was originally open to all, by 1675 only Protestants were allowed to hold office. Massachusetts barred all Catholics, particularly singling out the JESUITS, who were threatened with execution if they returned after having been expelled, and in 1659 the colony forbade the celebration of the hated Catholic holiday of Christmas.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England, with its anti-Catholic Bill of Rights prohibiting the ascension of Catholic kings, strengthened the anti-Catholic movement in the colonies. In New York, the Duke of York appointed the Catholic Thomas Dongan as governor in 1682, who signed a charter of Liberties granting religious toleration. Following the Glorious Revolution, in 1689 the Protestant population in New York rose up, and Jacob Leisler, a bitter anti-Catholic, seized power and called an assembly that expelled all non-Protestants from office and passed a law denying the suffrage to their coreligionists. Though Leisler was superseded by the new governor, Henry Sloughter, the latter continued the anti-Catholic rules. Further, at the end of the century, laws were passed threatening any priest coming into the colony with life imprisonment, while those sheltering such priests were liable to a fine of 250 pounds and three days in the pillory.



Know-Nothings. *A torchlight meeting of the Know-Nothings in New York City. Formally called the American Party, the Know-Nothings received their name from their practice of secrecy, claiming to "know nothing" when questioned about their politics. The party discriminated against immigrants and Roman Catholics, opposing all foreign influences.* **MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES**

In New Hampshire, according to a 1680 law, only Protestants could vote, and in 1696 all inhabitants were required to take an oath that included a declaration against the pope and the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion. In North Carolina, in 1896, toleration was extended to all Christians except Papists. Rhode Island and Pennsylvania constituted exceptions, but even in Pennsylvania, after the Glorious Revolution and upon the order of the new English government, an oath was imposed upon office holders requiring them to specifically abjure the doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION, the adoration of MARY and the saints, and the sacrifice of the Mass (the celebration of the Eucharist consisting of wine and bread, the blood and body of Jesus Christ). Though the legislature protested, it was forced to comply. In addition, the order, which was repeated in 1701 and 1703, barred Catholics from holding office.

During the eighteenth century, wars with France and Spain stiffened the anti-Catholic prejudice. In 1701, New Jersey proposed that only Catholics should not be exempt from penal laws concerning religion. In Delaware, only Protestant organizations, including churches, could receive or hold real estate. In Maine, a Roman church was burned, and in Maryland, a 1704 act forbade any Catholic priest from exercising his duties and levied a tax of 20 shillings on Irish servants imported into the colony. In 1743, Connecticut denied toleration to Papists, and many colonies disarmed them.

The Revolutionary Period. The influence of the Enlightenment on the American Revolution and the arrival of the French as allies during the Revolution caused enough of a decline in bigotry to enable the writers of the U.S. Constitution, in the First Amendment, to

forbid Congress from interfering with religious liberty. Nevertheless, several states still included anti-Catholic provisions in their own constitutions, with Massachusetts and Connecticut not abolishing their Congregational state religion until 1818 and 1834, respectively. Meanwhile, the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, passed during the so-called Quasi-War with France, gave the president the right to expel foreigners. Moreover, the period required for naturalization was extended from five years to fourteen years.

Bigotry reached new heights in the 1830s. Numerous anti-Catholic publications appeared at this time, the most notorious of which was the *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery of Montreal* by Maria Monk, the alleged story of a girl mistreated in a Montreal convent. Samuel F.B. Morse, the inventor of the famous code, published anti-Catholic letters in which he charged that European monarchies wanted to send Catholic immigrants to the West to subvert American democracy. Lyman BEECHER, a clergyman famed for his oratory (and the father of Harriet Beecher Stowe), echoed these accusations in *A Plea for the West* (1835), in which he also denounced the influence of Catholic schools on American children. In the meantime, anti-Catholicism had turned violent. In 1834 a mob burned the Ursuline Convent in Charleston, Massachusetts, after a rumor spread that a nun was being held at the cloister against her will.

Immigration and the Know-Nothings. The growth in immigration, especially of Irish Catholics, tended to increase the existing bigotry against their faith. This manifested itself particularly in connection with a struggle over the reading of the BIBLE in schools, with Catholics objecting to the use of the King James Version. As a result of this controversy, the American Republican Party was founded in New York in 1843. The new party advocated a series of anti-Catholic laws, including the lengthening of the naturalization period to a twenty-one-year probationary period, the repeal of an 1842 law allowing each city ward to select its own education commissioners, and the election and appointment of none but native-born citizens to public office. The party spread to several other places, notably Philadelphia, where a riot broke out in 1844, resulting in the destruction by fire of two Catholic churches.

The increase in immigration also led to the establishment of the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, a secret organization whose members came to be called "Know-Nothings" because their usual answer to questions about the group was "I know nothing." Taken over by a similar group, the Order of United Americans, the organization grew rapidly. Its members had to be native-born American Protestants and believe in resisting Catholic influence. The group got involved in politics in 1853 and 1854, supporting candidates who shared its views, and by 1855 it openly called itself the American Party, though it was commonly known as the Know-Nothing Party. It achieved considerable success, particularly after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, when it attracted many former Whigs, especially in the South.

In 1854 the Know-Nothings captured the legislature and governorship of Massachusetts, and by 1855 all of New England except Maine and Vermont was under its control. Hoping to win the presidency in 1856 on a Union-saving platform, the party nominated the former president Millard Fillmore, but many of its antislavery members deserted to join the Republican Party. Though Fillmore captured over 21 percent of the vote, the party gradually declined after the election.

During the lead-up to the Civil War, sectionalism became a stronger force than nativism, though the latter never disappeared entirely. In the postwar period there was a revival of nativist sentiments, though during Reconstruction the original KU KLUX KLAN was more concerned with blacks and white Republicans than Catholics or Jews. The AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION (APA) was founded in Clinton, Iowa, in the 1880s. The organization quickly expanded, claiming some half a million members in 1893, after William J. Traynor became the leader of the order. Members had to take an oath pledging they would never vote for any Catholic, and the group's propaganda included a forged encyclical by Pope LEO XIII that allegedly absolved all Catholics from loyalty to their countries. Meant to prove the existence of a popish plot, which had long been a fear of the nativists, this forgery led to riots in 1894. Despite this early success and growth, the APA soon lost influence, and it had passed out of existence by 1911.

The Twentieth Century. Nativism took on a racial perspective during the twentieth century, so that nativist factions often tended to classify those from various Catholic nations, such as Italians and Poles, as inferior. In 1915, William J. Simmons founded a new Ku Klux Klan near Atlanta, Georgia. Like the original Klan, Simmons's group directed their ire against Negroes, but they soon expanded their attacks to include Catholics and Jews. The Klan grew rapidly in the 1920s, and by 1923 it had reached a membership of some three million. Its influence was so strong that delegates at the 1924 Democratic Convention were afraid to condemn it.

This was a period of extreme nationalism that saw the passage of various immigration restriction acts. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1921 set up a quota of only 3 percent of the total number of each immigrant group living in the nation, based on the 1910 census. The 1924 Immigration Act, which replaced the temporary 1921 law, reduced quotes still further, to 2 percent

of the number of each group in the nation in 1890, and quotas were now to be based on national origin. The total annual quota was reduced from 358,000 to 164,000. These quotas finally went into effect in 1929, and they only increased the discrimination against Catholics and Jews. Although it had been argued that the very nomination of a Catholic for president in 1928 was a sign of a decline in bigotry, there is no question that Alfred E. Smith was defeated in part because of his religion.

After 1929, anti-Catholicism began to decline. This trend culminated in the 1960 presidential election, which saw a Catholic, John F. KENNEDY, elected president of the United States. Nevertheless, it has been estimated that Kennedy lost a million and a half votes because of his religion.

The survival of anti-Catholicism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has been characterized as a liberal aberration. In his book *The New Anti-Catholicsm: The Last Acceptable Prejudice* (2003), Philip Jenkins argues that it is especially prevalent among academics and scholars connected with colleges, universities, or other institutions of learning, and among some important journalists, for example, Tony Kushner, George Seldes, and Daniel J. Goldhagen, and others. Its extent and impact are questionable, however, and the surviving branches of the Ku Klux Klan tend to be anti-Semitic rather than anti-Catholic. To combat anti-Catholicism, Father Virgil C. Blum, a Jesuit, founded the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights in 1973. The organization is dedicated to the right of Catholics to participate in American public life without defamation or discrimination.

The main supporters of nativism have historically been lower middle-class or skilled working-class people, although the twenty-first century manifestation has attracted academics and social leaders. The fears upon which the nativists relied in the past were generally ideas of a popish plot and the alleged submission of Catholics to the Vatican rather than to Washington. The presence of such sentiments throughout U.S. history demonstrates that the nation has never been as free from bigotry as is sometimes assumed.

SEE ALSO AMERICANISM; ANTICLERICALISM; ANTI-JUDAISM; CATHOLIC LEAGUE; KNOW-NOTHINGISM; NATIVISM, AMERICAN; UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS (USCCB); UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE PAPACY; URSULINES.

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ANTI-JUDAISM

Anti-Judaism is prejudice against Jewish peoples based on their distinctive religious practices, resulting in political and legal measures against the practice of JUDAISM and the social and civil rights of Jews. Dating back to the pre-Christian Greco-Roman world, some scholars understand it as a precursor to—but distinctive from—ANTI-SEMITISM, the term coined in the writings of German journalist Wilhelm Marr in 1879 to describe hostility toward Jews on the basis of supposed biological (or racial), political, cultural, and economic differences between Jews and their Gentile neighbors in an increasingly secularized Europe. Other scholars argue that centuries-old anti-Judaism and nineteenth-century-born anti-Semitism, while distinctive from one another in the root causes of their anti-Jewish animosity, differ not at all in their deadly effect on Jews.

While singular instances of anti-Judaic prejudice and polemics can be found in pre-Gospel Greek and Roman literature, systematic hostility toward Jews dates back to differing interpretations of the CRUCIFIXION, at Roman hands and in the Roman form of CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, of the Jewish RABBI Jesus of Nazareth on Golgotha. According to the Christian New Testament in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, written circa AD 65 to 95—and this particular account comes from the Book of Matthew—the Jewish rabbi Jesus of Nazareth was arrested by "a large crowd armed with swords and clubs, [who had been] sent from the chief priests and the elders of the people" (Matthew 26: 47, *NIV Study Bible*).These CHIEF PRIESTS and elders of the

people would likely have come from two Jewish sects: SADDUCEES, the Jewish priestly ARISTOCRACY in Roman-occupied PALESTINE; and PHARISEES, the rabbinical and scribal class of legal experts. During the lifetime of Jesus of Nazareth, Palestine was ruled by HEROD ANTIPAS, TETRARCH of Galilee and Perea. The provinces of Samaria, Judea, and Idumea were ruled by a Roman prefect. Pontius PILATE was one such prefect, ruling over Judea. Ultimate authority lay with ROME. Sadducees and Pharisees struggled with one another and also against other sects within Judaism, including that led by John the Baptist in Perea (the *Baptism Movement*) and Jesus of Nazareth in Galilee (the *Kingdom Movement*), for supremacy. The young religious leader and rabbi Jesus of Nazareth was taken before the Sanhedrin, a Jewish legal body of that day, who, according to the Book of Matthew, "came to the decision to put him to death" (Matthew 27:1, *NIV Study Bible*).

Unauthorized to carry out capital punishment, the Sanhedrin brought him before the Roman governor of Judea, Pontius Pilate. The following is an account from the Book of Matthew:

> While [the Roman judge] Pilate was sitting on the judge's seat, his wife sent him this message: "Don't have anything to do with that innocent man..." but the chief priests and the elders persuaded the crowd to ... have Jesus executed... "What shall I do, then, with Jesus who is called Christ?" Pilate asked. They all answered, "Crucify him!" "Why? What crime has he committed?" asked Pilate. But they shouted all the louder, "Crucify him!" When Pilate saw that he was getting nowhere ... he took water and washed his hands in front of the crowd. "I am innocent of this man's blood," he said. "It is your responsibility." All the people answered, "Let his blood be on us and our children!" (Matthew 27:19–25, *NIV Study Bible*).

As is well known, what followed was the crucifixion, at Roman hands, of the Jewish rabbi Jesus of Nazareth on Golgotha. This particular rendering of the death of Jesus of Nazareth contained the kernels of what some scholars have traditionally called "Christian anti-Judaism," or prejudice against the Jewish peoples based on the false charge of deicide, the murder of Jesus of Nazareth.

Verbal assaults on the Jews as a whole people date to the first century AD and first appeared as a pattern in the Gospel of John and the writings of Saint Paul. Gathering force over the first three centuries, the writings of Saint AUGUSTINE of Hippo (AD 354–430) and other Church fathers demonstrate clear animosity toward Jews and Judaism. Attacks on Jews as a notable pattern of Christian behavior date to the fourth century AD, during the rule of the Roman Emperor Constantine, and for politically expedient reasons. The fourth century also marked the birth of the SERMON genre known as *Adversus Judeaos*, pitting Christian against Jew and claiming the Church as the *true Israel* and best characterized by Saint John CHRYSOSTOM (AD 349–407), patriarch of CONSTANTINOPLE and Father and DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH. Ritualized Christian violence against Jewish peoples dates to the First Crusade, the military expedition bound for the Holy Land in the spring of 1096. The Crusades marked both mass murder of entire Jewish communities, especially in the Rhineland, and an intensified anti-Jewish polemic that colored the next millennium. Europeans in the medieval era commonly believed that Jews were "servants of the Devil." All over Europe, Gentiles expelled Jews: from England in 1290, from France in 1394, from Prague in 1400, from Vienna in 1421, from Spain in 1492, and from Portugal in 1497. In 1516 the Papal States were the first to establish a Jewish GHETTO, the term *ghetto* itself named after an unused foundry near which Venetian Jewry was required to settle. Mass murder of Jews took place in northern France and Germany in 1096, during the Black Plague between 1348 and 1350, in Spain in 1391, in Ukraine between 1648 and 1656, and in a series of pogroms in Russia from 1871 to 1906, to cite only some examples.

At the same time, Christian doctrine taught that Jews were not to be forcibly converted, but were to exist as a witness to the truth of Christianity (exceptions to this include some forms of the INQUISITION). Pope GREGORY I decreed that Jews "ought to suffer no injury in those things that have been granted to them." In short, Christian doctrine promoted the survival of Jews, but under restricted and usually poor conditions. By the MIDDLE AGES, accusations were commonplace against Jews as the cause of Christian misfortunes—as devotees of an illegitimate RELIGION, as perjurers, as extractors of excessive interest from Christian clients in the disdained occupation of money-lending, as not fully human (examples being Christian imaginings of Jews as having hooves, horns, or tails), or as murderers of Christian children and drinkers of their blood. The first accusation of ritual murder (that Jews required the blood of a Christian child for ritual purposes, especially for the baking of matzo at Passover) arose in Norwich, England, in 1150. Accusations of ritual crucifixions, cannibalism, profanation of the Host, and, by the time of the Black Plague, poisoning of wells, were not officially supported by the PAPACY at this time, but certain steps taken by the HOLY SEE in Rome facilitated their acceptance. For example, the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 decreed distinctive clothing for Jews and instituted the Inquisi-

tion, directed against Christian heretics, including those Jews who had freely or had been forcibly converted to Christianity but then returned to their original FAITH (*Los conversos* or *Marranos*).

After the eleventh century, increased enforcement of the prohibition against Christian engagement in USURY (interest taking) and the growth of artisan guilds exclusive to Christians placed Jews outside of the economic mainstream and forced them into frowned-upon occupations such as money-lending. Reformation leader Martin LUTHER, disappointed in his failure to convert Jews to Protestantism, published *On the Jews and Their Lies* in 1543, repeating medieval anti-Jewish notions but also explicitly preaching violence. The Catholic COUNTER REFORMATION saw the revival of the Inquisition, which addressed the supposed danger of the MARRANOS, Jews who (often forcibly) had been converted to Christianity but were suspected of (or were) continuing to be faithful to Judaism. The Jesuit order, founded in 1534 to spearhead the defense of the Roman Catholic Church, instituted the "purity of blood" test, restricting membership in their order to those of proven Christian parentage.

In the year 1791, in the course of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, Jews in France and French-occupied territories were, for the first time in modern European history, granted full civil rights. The French Revolution marks the onset of a critical turning point in the history of Jew-hatred. As the ENLIGHTENMENT, SECULARISM, and the movement for Jewish equality moved from west to east in Europe and emancipation spread, Jews began, for the first time, to enter Christian society. Systematic anti-Semitic literature appeared first in France, published not only by anti-revolutionary Catholic conservatives but also by left-wing anti-capitalist radicals. With the outbreak of the revolutions of 1848, anti-Semitism became a pan-European phenomenon that equated Jews with economic dominance, political radicalism, as controlling of the media, as engaged in a world conspiracy, and as culturally and even racially distinct. Organized anti-Semitism in the form of mass politics emerged in this atmosphere, meaning, specifically anti-Semitic political parties.

Whatever its label, all anti-Jewish teaching in the Catholic Church was formally repudiated under the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council (Vatican II), opened under Pope JOHN XXIII on October 11, 1962, and closed by Pope PAUL VI on December 8, 1965. The Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions (*Nostra aetate*), one of sixteen documents emerging from Vatican II, decreed "the Church... decries hatred, persecution, displays of anti-Semitism, directed against Jews at any time and by anyone" (4).

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SEE ALSO ANTI-SEMITISM; CHURCH, HISTORY OF, II (MEDIEVAL); CONSTANTINE I, THE GREAT, ROMAN EMPEROR; CONVERTS AND CONVERSION; CRUSADES; EPISTLES, NEW TESTAMENT; FATHERS OF THE CHURCH; GENTILES; GREEK PHILOSOPHY; GREGORY (THE GREAT) I, ST. POPE; HOLOCAUST (SHOAH); JESUITS; JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS; JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE; JOHN, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; JOHN THE BAPTIST, ST.; LATERAN COUNCILS; LUKE, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; MARK, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; MATTHEW, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS; PASSOVER, FEAST OF; PAUL, APOSTLE, ST.; REFORMATION, PROTESTANT (ON THE CONTINENT); RESPONSA, JEWISH; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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ANTI-SEMITISM

Anti-Semitism in its broadest sense is a prejudice against Jewish peoples that has existed since the separation of Christianity from JUDAISM. Prior to its nineteenth-century forms (political, economic, cultural, racial, eliminationist), anti-Jewish prejudice is defined as disdainful, religion-based, and sometimes politically and legally enforced ANTI-JUDAISM. Other scholars argue that centuries-old anti-Judaism and nineteenth-century-born anti-Semitism, although distinctive from one another in the root causes of their anti-Jewish animosity, differ not at all in their deadly effect on Jews.

French Revolution: A Turning Point. In the year 1791, during the course of the FRENCH REVOLUTION, Jews in France and French-occupied territories were, for the first time in modern European history, granted full civil rights. The French Revolution marks the onset of a critical turning point in the history of Jew hatred. As the ENLIGHTENMENT, SECULARISM, and the movement for Jewish equality spread from west to east in Europe, and as emancipation grew, Jews began for the first time to enter Christian society as equals. Systematic anti-Semitic literature appeared first in France, published not only by antirevolutionary Catholic conservatives but also by left-wing anticapitalist radicals.

Anti-Semitism as a Phenomenon. With the outbreak of the revolutions of 1848, anti-Semitism became a pan-European phenomenon that equated Jews with economic dominance, political radicalism, as controlling of the media, as engaged in a "world conspiracy," and as culturally and even racially distinct.

Organized anti-Semitism in the form of mass politics emerged in this atmosphere, meaning anti-Semitic political parties. The term *anti-Semitism* first appeared in the writings of German journalist Wilhelm Marr (1819–1904) in 1879 to describe hostility toward Jews on the basis of what he considered irreconcilable racial differences between Jews and their neighbors in an increasingly secularized Europe. Two important books, David Kertzer's *The Popes Against the Jews* (2001), and Frank J. Coppa's *The Papacy, the Jews, and the Holocaust* (2006), describe the print campaigns against Jews during the pontificate of Pope LEO XIII and carrying on in milder form through the eve of World War II. Journals closely associated with the HOLY SEE, *L'Osservatore Romano* and *La Civiltà Cattolica*, as well as some forty major Catholic newspapers and periodicals, published writings about Jews characterized by modern forms of political, economic, cultural, and racial anti-Semitism. Coppa notes that Popes Leo XIII and PIUS X did not encourage the clerical print campaign against Jews and worked successfully to soften it; distanced themselves from statements or demonstrations of open hostility toward Jews; and harbored few such sentiments personally. Yet, Kertzer argues that Leo XIII allowed his secretary of state, Mariano RAMPOLLA DEL TINDARO to actively support the Austrian Christian Social Party, which was heavily characterized by its anti-Semitism. Neither Pope LEO XII nor Pope Pius X publicly repudiated the again-popular blood libel charge, even when approached to do so.

Twentieth Century and the Holocaust. In the twentieth century, the Great Depression and the simultaneous rise of European fascism and Nazism in Germany (although anti-Semitism was by no means absent in communist-ruled countries) opened the door to the use of anti-Semitism as a rallying cry for the disaffected. It was a ladder by which ambitious members of the lower middle and middle classes could further their careers and economic circumstances in regimes ruled by right-wing dictators. It was also a political platform on which those who agreed on little else could agree on their distaste for Jews.

Nor were Christians immune to anti-Semitism. The killing grounds of the HOLOCAUST (SHOAH) were predominantly Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christian territories: Austria, the Balkans, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Ukraine, and Yugoslavia. Christians, then, were guilty of more than anti-Semitic notions; they were also guilty of participation in the murder process itself.

In his quantitative study of 1,581 men and women involved in the Nazis' attempted GENOCIDE, Michael Mann (2000) concluded that among Holocaust perpetrators, a majority came from Catholic regions. Historian Aleksander Lasik's (1994) study of Auschwitz Schutzstaffel (SS) men showed that Catholics were more likely to become perpetrators than were their Protestant counterparts. Doris Bergen (1996) notes that Protestants and Orthodox Christians, too, served in the SS alongside Catholics and anti-Christian neo-pagans. They took part in mass shootings of Jewish and Slavic civilians, worked as guards in concentration camps, and, as bureaucrats, coordinated expulsions, imposed mass starvation, and ordered deadly labor assignments. In the postwar period, a massive campaign for clemency, spearheaded by members of the Catholic and Protestant hierarchy in Germany and supported by the Holy See in ROME, tried to argue that such men did not deserve the punishments meted out to them in postwar war crimes trials. They were "good men," argued thousands of letters, caught up in a criminal regime, but not criminals themselves.

Regarding the response of the Holy See to Nazism and its anti-Semitism specifically, knowledge is not yet conclusive due to ongoing research in the recently released Vatican Secret Archives for the 1922–1939

period (fully opened in 2006) and the still-sealed materials for the wartime and postwar period spanning the papacy of Pope PIUS XII. Even so, debate has raged since 1963, the year marking the appearance of Rolf Hochhuth's (1931–) play *Der Stellvertreter* (*The Deputy*). Here, historians will have to await the proper scrutiny of the documentation to render a proper history of the Holy See, the European churches, and the Nazi and Axis regimes with regard to their anti-Semitic ideology and concrete disenfranchisement, incarceration, ghettoization, and murder processes.

Repudiation of Vatican II. Whatever its label, all anti-Jewish teaching in the Catholic Church was formally repudiated under the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council (Vatican II), opened under Pope JOHN XXIII on October 11, 1962, and closed by Pope PAUL VI on December 8, 1965. VATICAN COUNCIL II's *Nostra aetate* (Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions), of 1965, is understood by some scholars as the culmination of changes that began as early as the Holy Office's 1928 condemnation of Friends of Israel, which stated explicitly that the Holy See "particularly reproves hatred against a people once chosen by God, known as anti-Semitism" (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 20 (1928): 103–4, cited in Coppa, p. 147).

In the encyclical *Humani generis unitas* (The Unity of the Human Race), drafted in 1938 during the papacy of Pope PIUS XI but never issued, the authors made the following statement admonishing faithful Roman Catholics not to "remain silent" in the face of racism: "The struggle for racial purity ends by being uniquely the struggle against the Jews" (galley copies of La Farge's copy of *Humani generis unitas*, cited in Coppa 2006, pp. 169–170).

In what has now become a famous audience with a group of pilgrims from the Belgian Catholic Radio in September 1938—and moving away from decades-earlier prejudiced commentary about Jews evident in his correspondence while serving as papal nuncio to Poland—Pope Pius XI would utter the famous phrase, "Anti-Semitism is a hateful movement, with which we Christians must have nothing to do.... Through Christ and in Christ we are the spiritual descendents of Abraham.... Spiritually, we are all Semites" ("La Libre Belgique," September 14, 1938, cited in Cavaglion and Romagnani 1988, pp. 130–131; Zucottti 2000, p. 45). *Nostra aetate*, one of sixteen documents emerging from Vatican II, decreed "the Church ... decries hatred, persecution, displays of anti-Semitism, directed against Jews at any time and by anyone"(section 4, paragraph 7, *Nostra aetate: Declaration On the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions*, 1965).

Although anti-Semitism as a specifically Christian phenomenon linked to pre-Vatican II Christian history has declined markedly since the late 1960s, it is again resurgent in the world today, in both secular and religious circles. Contemporary anti-Semitism is often expressed in the vilification of the state of ISRAEL as a "Nazi" state that does not have the right to exist.

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SEE ALSO CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA, LA; HUMANI GENERIS UNITAS; JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS; JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE.

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APOSTOLIC DELEGATE

Since the Council of ARLES, in 314, and that of Nicea in 325, popes have occasionally appointed clergymen as legates (from the Latin *legare*, meaning to send) as agents to secure the interests of the HOLY SEE and act as their representatives to secular regimes; to Churches outside ROME; and to ecclesiastical and political assemblies, congresses, and councils. As a result of this long-established appointment of representatives to secular and ecclesiastical bodies, the PAPACY has a diplomatic tradition reaching back more than 1,600 years.

Official papal relations were maintained on and off with a series of secular rulers throughout the MIDDLE AGES and the early RENAISSANCE. Later, when a balance of power emerged first in Italy and then in Europe, with the papacy also taking part in the development of diplomacy to monitor events in the other states, the role of papal representation was regularized and clarified. Soon after the outbreak of the FRENCH REVOLUTION in 1789, Pope PIUS VI reasserted this right of the Roman PONTIFF to delegate ecclesiastics to places the pontiff could not go, where they could exercise authority on his behalf.

Legates and Nuncios. Papal agents were gradually differentiated on the basis of the tenure of their appointment. Some—in the past always a CARDINAL—were legates assigned the limited task of attending a council, conference, celebration, or other activity, representing the POPE personally as though they came from his side (*a latere*). The legates *a latere* have traditionally been charged to undertake a specific purpose—for example, Cardinal Costantino Patrizi was dispatched to France to baptize the Prince Imperial in 1856 on behalf of the pope—but others were assigned a more permanent role at one of the courts or countries. Pope ALEXANDER VI is generally credited with the establishment of permanent representatives. With the passage of time another division was concretized during the pontificate of Pope GREGORY XIII. It differentiated between legates whose responsibilities were not only ecclesiastical but also political and diplomatic (in rank corresponding to secular ambassadors) and those who were officially assigned to purely religious matters. The first were labeled nuncios (from the Latin *Nuntius*, or envoy), and the latter were christened apostolic delegates; they were dispatched to countries unwilling to have diplomatic relations with the papacy.

Although the religious unity of Europe was disrupted by the course of the THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618–1648) and the Peace of WESTPHALIA (1648), which terminated the war, the Church's sovereignty in international relations was recognized and the privileged position of its diplomatic representatives, or nuncios, preserved. This was confirmed by a protocol of the Congress of Vienna in June 1815, which established that the nuncio, irrespective of his seniority, took precedence over other ambassadors and served as dean of the diplomatic corps. This privilege was mitigated somewhat by the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, sponsored by the UNITED NATIONS. Article 16 of this agreement allowed, but did not mandate, making the papal nuncio the dean of the diplomatic community, even when others were his seniors in service. Whatever their rank, through these nuncios, the popes had direct access to the heads of the various governments. This access allowed them, over the centuries, to exchange ambassadors with the independent dynastic and national states, participate in international affairs and congresses, and mediate international disputes from time to time. It recognized only in part the sovereignty and supremacy that Pope PIUS XI posited in *Quas primas* (December 1925), in which he proclaimed that the Vicar of the Redeemer rightfully exercised authority not only over Catholics but also over all nations and societies in making laws and governing peoples to provide for their SALVATION.

Envoys Extraordinary. Pius XI lamented that this right was too often forgotten. Indeed, after Westphalia not all the countries that preserved diplomatic relations with Rome proved willing to recognize the precedence of the papal representatives, which the Church then regarded as an established right sanctioned and supported by the international community. To convey its displeasure, the Holy See initially responded by terming its representative to these "recalcitrant states" that did not recognize their primacy as "envoys extraordinary," revealing that Rome regarded the situation as temporary and looked forward to a change of course. Unfortunately, the title of envoy extraordinary was used to describe papal representatives assigned a limited and specific task as well as apostolic delegates assigned both a political and a religious role. In an attempt to clarify matters, a 1916 directive of the Vatican Secretariat of State replaced the term *envoy extraordinary* to describe a nuncio not recognized as head of the diplomatic corps, calling for such a representative to be listed as an internuncio—still indicating to some that he was waiting for official recognition of his privileged status. Unfortunately, the new terminology created additional confusion because internuncio was also used to describe a transitional or temporary head of a nunciature while awaiting a permanent replacement.

Another attempt at clarification occurred after 1965 when the term *pronuncio* was attached to these papal representatives not accorded priority. However, because this term had formerly been used to describe the representatives to the "great" nunciatures of Paris, Madrid, and the Imperial Court when their terms expired, some confusion and consternation continued. Clarification occurred only after 1991, when the Vatican abandoned its special terminology for nuncios not accorded precedence. Finally concluding that some states would not recognize the privileged position of their representatives, and perhaps even questioning the advantage of exercising this diplomatic deanship, the use of such descriptions as envoys extraordinary, internuncios, and pronuncios previously applied to some nuncios, was dropped in favor of the generic nuncio.

Apostolic Delegates. No such clarification was needed in the nomenclature, if not the practice, of the representatives sent to countries that did not have formal diplomatic relations with the Holy See, which at the end of the nineteenth century represented the majority of states. These papal agents are described in canon law as *delegati sedia apostolicae*, or apostolic delegates. They have been most often dispatched as papal representatives to the Church and bishops of countries without official relations with the Holy See and therefore are without official status in its diplomatic corps. There was a real need for an alternative form of representation in 1878 following the death of Pope PIUS IX, who had come into conflict with the modern diplomatic world by his *Syllabus of Errors* (1864), his encouragement and support for the Vatican Council's Proclamation of Papal INFALLIBILITY (1870), and his self-imposed imprisonment in the Vatican (1870–1878). Indeed, at his death the Holy See preserved diplomatic relations with only fifteen states: seven in Europe (including Bavaria, which was no longer an independent state but part of united Germany) and the remaining eight in South America. The Holy See did not have diplomatic representatives in London, Berlin, St. Petersburg, or Washington, D.C.

Refusing to recognize the Kingdom of Italy (the Counter-Risorgimento), embroiled in conflict with anticlerical forces in Republican France, and troubled by Bismarck's KULTURKAMPF, the new pope, LEO XIII, sought to end the Vatican's diplomatic isolation and to do so had recourse to the broader use of apostolic delegates.

Because the apostolic delegate is officially and technically charged only with internal ecclesiastical affairs, he does not require state sanction, although Leo XIII's Vatican always prudently sounded out governmental reaction as well as that of the national hierarchy before appointing an apostolic delegate. This cautious procedure has been followed by most of his successors. In the past apostolic delegates, like nuncios, have been titular archbishops without residential sees. Most have been named cardinals, as have the ten apostolic delegates to the United States from Francesco Cardinal SATOLLI (1893–1896) to Pio Cardinal LAGHI (1980–1984). However, under the most recent revision of the Code of Canon Law (canons 362–367), the office of apostolic delegate need not be filled by an archbishop.

Unlike nuncios, who exercise both political and religious functions, technically the sole responsibility of the apostolic delegate pertains to ecclesiastical issues on behalf of the Holy Father. Among other things, these delegates assess the progress of the Church in the area of their supervision, providing reports and suggestions to the pope for improvement, and present candidates for the episcopate to the Holy See. However, without papal authorization these agents have no power to intervene in local Church affairs or take action against individual prelates. Apostolic delegates, like the nuncios, receive their training in the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy, which prepares the diplomats of the Holy See. (This academy was founded in 1701 by Pope CLEMENT XI as the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics and is often deemed the West Point of the Vatican Civil Service.) They thus have the training, if not the legal mandate in most instances, to involve themselves in diplomatic matters. However, on occasion the Holy See has dispatched apostolic delegates to deal with a specific problem or issue in countries with which it has diplomatic relations but chooses for any of a number of reasons to bypass the nuncio. Assigned both an ecclesiastical and a political role, these delegates are given the added title of envoy extraordinary and accredited to the government as well as the Church.

Over the years a number of these apostolic delegates exercising a dual role have been dispatched to South American countries. For example, Pietro GASPARRI, papal secretary of state from 1914 to 1930, when he earlier served as papal delegate in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, exercised a diplomatic as well as a religious role. Some believe that the fact that the archives of the apostolic delegations have remained closed for some eight decades, as have most papers of the nunciatures, reflects the sensitive political responsibilities of the former as well as the latter.

In turn the traditional apostolic delegates have been assigned to countries where the Catholic population is small, such as states whose population is largely served by the Oriental Churches; to localities where the Church remains officially in a missionary stage, true until recently for a number of African territories; and to

countries that do not recognize the Church's membership in the international community, which was true of the United States until 1984, when the United States and the Holy See established full diplomatic relations. Unlike the nuncios, who report to the Holy Father by means of the Cardinal Secretariat of State and the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, apostolic delegates first report to the congregation in charge of the affairs of the country to which they have been sent. A number of delegates report to the Sacred Congregation for the EASTERN CHURCHES, whereas the remaining delegates fall under the supervision of Congregation for the PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH, subsequently named the Congregation for the EVANGELIZATION OF PEOPLES.

Although the traditional apostolic delegates were established to deal with internal religious issues, from time to time the papacy has employed them as well to deal with political matters. For example, Francesco Satolli, appointed apostolic delegate to the United States in 1893 at the direction of the papal secretary of state, Cardinal Mariano RAMPOLLA DEL TINDARO, engaged in correspondence between Mexico, Guatemala, and the Holy See to resolve differences between these states. He acted as a diplomatic emissary rather than simply as a papal representative to the Church and the faithful of the United States. The success of his efforts encouraged the introduction of apostolic delegations in Guatemala, Mexico, and Canada during the course of the following decade. Thus in 1899 Pope Leo XIII dispatched an apostolic delegate to Canada with instructions to seek a reconciliation between the largely conservative Catholic hierarchy and the liberal Canadian regime. His efforts, however, proved futile. Equally unsuccessful were the attempts of the apostolic delegates to the United States, Pietro Fumasoni Biondi (1922–1933) and Amleto CICOGNANI (1933–1959) at the behest of Pius XI, to silence the anti-Semitic "radio priest" Charles COUGHLIN in the 1930s. This failure once again revealed the limitations of papal authority within the civil sphere. Other political efforts of the apostolic delegates have been more successful, including the February 1971 approval by the respective apostolic delegates to the United Kingdom and the United States of the Vatican's ratification of the International Treaty Limiting the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Expanded Presence of the Papacy. These and other activities of the nuncios and apostolic delegates reveal that the successors of Pius IX have enhanced and expanded the international presence of the papacy. This was especially true during and after World War II. Although the United States had had an apostolic delegate in Washington since 1893, at the war's outbreak President Franklin D. Roosevelt called for closer relations with the Holy See. Unable to establish full diplomatic relations because of the prevailing anti-Catholicism in the country, Roosevelt dispatched a personal representative to Pope PIUS XII, who the pope likened to an envoy extraordinary. Roosevelt's representative proved useful in keeping the pope from denouncing American cooperation with the Soviet Union in the war against Nazi Germany, while providing papal support for the United Nations envisioned by the American president.

In the postwar period following Pope JOHN XXIII's opening of VATICAN COUNCIL II (1962–1965), his call for *aggiornamento*, or updating of the Church, and efforts at reconciliation with the modern world, combined to improve the international image of the papacy. This positive picture continued during the long pontificate of the popular first Polish pope, JOHN PAUL II, and provided dividends in the extraordinary expansion of the papacy's diplomatic outreach. At the opening of the new millennium it had nunciatures in some 170 states as well as the European Union. The Holy See also had representation to more than two dozen international groups and nongovernmental organizations, such as the Arab League and the United Nations. In Africa alone the Holy See had over fifty nunciatures, from Algeria to Zimbabwe, with another fifty in Europe, from Albania to the Ukraine. The remaining nunciatures are found in the Americas, Asia, and Oceania. Only a few states, some Muslim and others communist, either for religious or ideological reasons had no formal relations with the Holy See. This extraordinary expansion was achieved at the expense of the apostolic delegations, whose number decreased, even if their role and importance did not.

SEE ALSO AGGIORNAMENTO; ANTI-CATHOLICISM (UNITED STATES); DIPLOMATICS, ECCLESIASTICAL; EUROPEAN UNION AND THE PAPACY; LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE PAPACY; LEGATES, PAPAL; NICAEA I, COUNCIL OF; NUNCIO, APOSTOLIC; PONTIFICAL ACADEMIES; QUAS PRIMAS; SYLLABUS OF ERRORS; UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE PAPACY; VICAR OF CHRIST.

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ARAFAT, YASSER

Palestinian political leader, b. August 24, 1929, in Cairo, Egypt; d. November 11, 2004, in Clamart, France.

Commonly known as Yasser (or Yasir) Arafat, Abd al-Rahman Abd al-Rauf Arafat al-Qudwa al-Husseini was born in Cairo, Egypt. However, for some time he claimed that he had been born in JERUSALEM. Controversy, even regarding his place of birth, characterized the life and political career of Yasser Arafat.

In Kuwait, on October 10, 1959, Arafat and other supporters of the movement to create an independent Palestinian state following the 1948 creation of the state of ISRAEL formed an organization named Harakat al-Tahrir al-Filastiniyya. The first initial of each word in the organization's name, taken in reverse, spells "Fatah" (meaning "conquest"). However, in an effort to be as inclusive as possible of all Palestinians, Fatah was to be commonly named or referred to as the "Palestinian Liberation Movement." This preceded the creation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

In May 1964, with the sponsorship of Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, the PLO was formed. Its charter was adopted as its constitution, and with it came the creation of the Palestine National Council (PNC), as well as the creation of a PLO treasury and military. Ahmad Shuqeiri, who came from a wealthy Palestinian family and who had previously served in the governments of more than one Arab regime, was picked by Nasser to be the first leader of the PLO. However, Arab infighting within the PLO, along with Egypt's defeat by the Israelis in the 1967 Six-Day War, ultimately afforded Arafat the opportunity to gain control of the chairmanship of the PLO's Executive Committee at the February 1969 meeting of the PNC. Chairman Arafat would remain head of the PLO until his death.

In 1971 Arafat made Lebanon, specifically Beirut, his and the PLO's base of operations. Throughout the 1970s the PLO engaged in repeated military conflicts with Israel. U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (1973–1977), along with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (1974–1977 and 1992–1995) would not negotiate with Arafat concerning peace in the Middle East as long as the PLO continued to engage in terrorist attacks upon Israel and refused to accept U.N. Resolution 242 of November 1967, which called for Israel to return all of the territories it had captured during the Six Day War as well as "a just and lasting peace in which every state in the area [could] live in security" along with "a just settlement of the refugee problem." Arafat and the PLO continued to refuse to recognize the state of Israel's right to exist until the negotiation of the Oslo Accords in 1993.

In June 1982, believing that the PLO had been behind the assassination attempt of an Israeli government official, Israel launched a military invasion into southern Lebanon that resulted in the deaths of several thousand people living in the area. The invasion became an issue of grave concern to Pope JOHN PAUL II. On September 14, 1982, in spite of an apparent U.S. and U.N. negotiated settlement of the conflict, a random bomb explosion killed the Christian president-elect of Lebanon along with seven colleagues. The following day, September 15, 1982, Pope John Paul II became the focus of worldwide attention when he invited Arafat, who was in Rome at the time, to a meeting with him at the Vatican. The two men met for thirty minutes. After the meeting, Arafat and the pope issued a joint statement condemning the use of terrorism. The meeting of the two men was highly controversial. In the view of many, Arafat did not appear to believe the PLO attacks on Israel were actually acts of terrorism. Israel also vehemently denounced the pope's meeting with Arafat as akin to what it perceived as questionable papal actions during the HOLOCAUST. Violence once again erupted across southern Lebanon as Israeli troops reentered the area. By the end of September 1982, U.S. President Ronald Reagan sent U.S. Marine forces into southern Lebanon in yet another attempt to end the violence within the region. However, no lasting peace was achieved in the region by this action.



Vatican Visit. *Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Chairman Yasser Arafat poses with Pope John Paul II during an audience at the Vatican.* **© GIANNI/SYGMA/CORBIS**

Through their meetings, Yasser Arafat and Pope John Paul II worked together to forge a historic bond between Catholics and Palestinians. The pope met with Arafat a total of twelve times before Arafat's death in November 2004. After their initial meeting in 1982, most notable was the pope's visit to Arafat's headquarters in Bethlehem as part of his 2000 pilgrimage to the Holy Land. At that meeting Arafat presented the pope with a special medal in recognition of the pope's support for Palestinian independence. The two men met for the last time in October 2001, at which time the pope counseled Arafat that all parties should lay down their weapons and continue to engage in negotiations in order to settle their existing conflicts.

During his May 2009 visit to the Holy Land, Pope BENEDICT XVI stated his solidarity with "all the homeless Palestinians who long to be able to return to their birthplace, or live permanently in a homeland of their own." Alongside the West Bank security wall, the pope added, "In a world where more and more borders are being opened up—to trade, to travel, to movement of peoples, to cultural exchanges—it is tragic to see walls still being erected.... How we long to see the fruits of the much more difficult task of building peace!"

Shortly after meeting with Pope John Paul II for the last time in October 2001, Arafat's Ramallah compound was surrounded by Israeli tanks. Arafat lived the remaining years of his life virtually imprisoned there. After becoming ill and falling into a coma in late 2004, he was taken to France. He died in a hospital outside Paris, in Clamart, France, on November 11, 2004. He was seventy-five.

SEE ALSO PALESTINE; PALESTINE, PAPAL POSITION TOWARD.

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ARCHE, L'

The term *l'arche* is French for "the ark" and refers to Noah's Ark. This is an appropriate name because L'ARCHE is an international federation of faith-based communities where people with and without intellectual disabilities share life together. The "ark" also represents a place of safety in societies that are unwelcoming of people with disabilities.

L'ARCHE was founded by Jean VANIER, a Canadian honored for his social and spiritual leadership. In 1964, wanting to respond to the suffering of people with intellectual disabilities who were shut away in institutions, often in terrible conditions, Vanier invited two men with intellectual disabilities to live with him in a small house in the village of Trosly-Breuil, France. Thus, L'ARCHE was at the beginning of the de-institutionalization movement. This pioneering gesture also reflected a new vision of living together in community that emerged with Vatican II.

Growth and Vision. Vanier's little community grew quickly as young people came to help as live-in assistants, as more homes were opened, and as more people with intellectual disabilities were welcomed. Vanier and the assistants recognized that the people whom they came to help had particular gifts. The conviction that relationships in such communities are mutually enriching remains central to the CHARISM of L'ARCHE.

New communities were founded as assistants returned to their home countries. In 1972 L'ARCHE Erie became the first L'ARCHE community of Vanier's communities to be established in the United States. In 1974 the International Federation of L'ARCHE Communities was formed. As of 2008 there were more than 130 of these communities in 35 countries on 6 continents including 44 communities in the United States and Canada.

While L'ARCHE communities reflect their local cultural milieu, they are united by the same vision and what the L'ARCHE charter describes as "the same spirit of welcome, sharing, and simplicity." They share a common commitment to help each person grow to full potential and to ensure that those who have intellectual disabilities can have a legitimate place in society and contribute their gifts—gifts that can break down barriers and help to build a more compassionate society. Each community is autonomous with its own board of directors and with policies that abide by local government regulations. Regional, national, and international L'ARCHE offices provide support and ensure that the communities are operating according to the values of the L'ARCHE charter. The sixteen communities of L'ARCHE in the United States receive varying amounts of government funding and are separately registered charities.

Five years after its founding, an Anglican couple started a L'ARCHE community in Toronto, Canada. A year later, a group of Hindus and Christians formed a board and opened the first L'ARCHE in India. Thus, while founded in the ROMAN CATHOLIC tradition and maintaining strong Roman Catholic connections, it soon became clear that L'ARCHE would be ecumenical and interfaith in ways representative of the composition of local populations around the world.

The spirituality of L'ARCHE is lived out simply in day-to-day relationships where assistants frequently encounter the presence of GOD in those who are poor in worldly terms but often rich in the gifts of the heart. These communities are faith-based but open to people of any faith or of no particular faith. The charter stresses that each person should be supported to grow in his or her own faith tradition. The faith expression of individual communities is lived out locally in relationships with churches and other faith groups from which its members come. At the international level L'ARCHE maintains a regular dialogue on mutual concerns with church representatives from Protestant, Anglican, and Roman Catholic communities. A L'ARCHE delegation meets annually with the Pontifical Council for Christian Unity, the Pontifical Council for Inter-religious Dialogue, the Pontifical Council for the Laity, and recently, the Pontifical Council for Pastoral Care and Health. The Pontifical Council for the Laity ratifies the nomination of a bishop as a formal liaison with L'ARCHE.

From the beginning L'ARCHE has been rooted in relationships and in creating family-like homes. Learn-



Community Life. *Members of L'Arche Vancouver preparing lunch.* COURTESY OF L'ARCHE CANADA

ing new skills, participating in society, and engaging in meaningful and dignified work or day program activities are recognized as important aspects of developing self-esteem. The communities also create around them mutually enriching larger communities of friends, families, and supporters.

While maintaining its own unique charism over the years, L'ARCHE has incorporated best practices in the field of social services for people with intellectual disabilities including normalization, social role valorization, inclusion, and asset-based thinking, which focuses on the ways a city or a neighborhood benefits from the presence of people with disabilities, seeing them as assets and not liabilities. Its excellence as a service provider is widely recognized. L'ARCHE is held up as a model and invited to contribute to policy development.

In March 2006, the results of a Canadian government two-year study of housing options for people with developmental disabilities appeared in *Research Highlights*, a bulletin of Canada's national housing agency (the Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation [CMHC]), and named L'ARCHE as "the only group home that was identified as a best practice" (p. 3). Later that year a *Washington Post* article referred to L'ARCHE as operating "what many in the mental disabilities field consider some of the planet's best and most humane

group homes" (Fisher 2006). At the same time L'ARCHE is gaining recognition not only as a social service but also as a movement that, through living out its vision and values, helps shape both church and society for the better. In response to requests from educators, some L'ARCHE entities, such as L'ARCHE Canada, have prepared educational packages that teach about inclusion and appreciation of diversity, for use in high school civics and social studies classes, guidance, and for church adult and young people's groups.

SEE ALSO MERCY, WORKS OF; PERSON (IN PHILOSOPHY); PERSON (IN THEOLOGY); PONTIFICAL COUNCILS; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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ARMY OF MARY

The Army of Mary, an association excommunicated by the Catholic Church in 2007, originated as a pious association in Quebec, Canada, in the early 1970s. Its foundress, Marie-Paule Giguere of Lac-Etchman, Quebec, believed that she was the reincarnation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Giguere claimed to receive inner locutions informing her that the Virgin Mary in her being was "coeternal with God," and that although once a historical person, the Mother of Jesus had now been reincarnated and was dwelling in Giguere herself. The foundress inordinately joined her false Marian beliefs to the legitimate apparitions of the Lady of All Nations in the Netherlands, which were declared to be of supernatural origin (*constat de supernaturalitate*) by Bishop Josef M. Punt of Haarlem-Amsterdam on May 31, 2001.

In its self-description, the Army of Mary states that its goal is to "bring together souls of good will resolved to live, with Mary, the Christian Life to its perfection in all the demands of the duties of their state." The association was originally established in Canada, and it went on to expand into the United States and Central America.

Cardinal Louis-Albert Vachon of Quebec revoked the Army of Mary's approval as a Catholic association in 1987, after a committee of theologians investigated the group's writings. In 2001 the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a doctrinal note confirming that the teachings promoted by the Army of Mary were contrary to fundamental doctrines of the Church. In 2003 the HOLY SEE appointed pontifical commissioners for the priests associated with the Army of Mary, in efforts of seeking reconciliation. In March 2007 Canadian Cardinal Marc Ouellette issued an official warning that the Army of Mary had excluded themselves from the Catholic Church, that several of their doctrinal teachings were false, and that the association was not to be supported by the Catholic faithful.

On July 11, 2007, the Vatican Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH issued a declaration of EXCOMMUNICATION to all participants of the Army of Mary, after extensive consultations with the Canadian bishops and the Holy See's Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life. Despite repeated warnings by the Canadian bishops, including the local ordinaries of particular members, some members of the Army of Mary had recently participated in invalid ordinations and liturgical rites.

SEE ALSO CANADA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; OUR LADY OF ALL NATIONS.

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ARNÁIZ BARÓN, RAFAEL, ST.

Trappist OBLATE mystic; b. April 9, 1911, Burgos, Spain; d. April 26, 1938, San Isidro de Dueños, Palencia, Spain, April 26, 1938; beatified September 27, 1992, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized October 11, 2009, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Rafael Arnáiz came from a socially prominent family and was the eldest of four children. As a boy, he was educated by the JESUITS, and from a young age he manifested an interest in art and spirituality. During a summer he spent with his uncle and aunt, the duke and duchess of Maqueda, he was introduced to the Trappist (Ordo Cisterciensium Reformatorum seu Strictioris Observantiae) Monastery of San Isidro de Dueñas in Palencia. In 1930 he went to Madrid to study architecture. After being dismissed from military service, he gave up architectural studies, and in 1933 he joined the TRAPPISTS.

Rafael chose this path not because of hardship or failure, but out of positive devotion to God, who had bestowed on him so many gifts. Just four months after entering the monastery, diabetes mellitus forced him to leave and return home for treatment. Between 1935 and 1937, amid the strife of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), Rafael made several trips between his home and the monastery. Due to his health problems, Rafael was not permitted to become a monk when he finally returned to the monastery; he was made an oblate instead. Another attack of the same disease brought about his death at the age of twenty-seven. He is remembered for his continual search for unity with God and for his spiritual writings, which have attracted pilgrims to his grave at San Isidro.

In 1989, at the World Youth Day in Santiago de Compostela, Pope John Paul II pointed to Br. Rafael as a contemporary model for young people. The same pope beatified him in Rome on September 27, 1992. In his HOMILY, the pope commented that during Bl. Rafael's brief but intense monastic life, he provided an example "of a loving and unconditional response to the divine call." Pope Benedict XVI canonized Rafael on October 11, 2009, and in his homily he referred to the many letters Br. Rafael wrote during his time at the monastery. They provide great insight into the spiritual journey of the young man who, in the pope's words, "continues with his example and actions to offer us an attractive path, especially for young people who are not content with little but aspire to the full truth, the ineffable happiness which is attained through God's love."

Feast: April 26.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939).

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ASCENSIÓN DEL CORAZÓN DE JESÚS, BL.

Baptized Ascensión Nicol Goñi, also known as Florentina Nicol Goñi; cofoundress of the Dominican Missionary Sisters of the Rosary; b. March 14, 1868, Tafalla, Navarre, Spain; d. February 24, 1940; beatified May 14, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

As a teen Ascensión Nicol Goñi, the youngest in a family of four, attended St. Rose of Lima, a Dominican boarding school, where she experienced a desire to become a religious. She waited a year to enter the novitiate at the monastery of St. Rose in Huesca, Spain, because she wanted to be sure of God's call. A year later she professed her vows and became a teacher.

In 1913, after the Spanish government took over the school where she worked and expelled the teachers, the forty-five-year-old Mother Ascensión embarked on a new venture that took her to the wilds of Peru. A group of sisters traveled to South America, and Mother Ascensión and two other sisters spent almost four weeks trekking the Andes and sailing down dangerous rivers to reach their destination. They were the first to make this perilous journey. After they arrived, they opened a girls' school. In addition to teaching children, they aided the sick and helped the poor and needy at the jungle mission of Porto Maldonado. The sisters traveled by canoe or mule to reach the people they served, and Mother Ascensión's heart went out to the women she served. She worked to aid them and assist in their advancement.

On October 5, 1918, Mother Ascensión and Bishop Ramon Zubieta, O.P., founded the Dominican Missionary Sisters of the Rosary. Mother Ascensión was appointed superior general and served in that capacity for twenty-one years, making many apostolic trips to Peru and Europe, as well as one to China.

Along with Mother Marianne COPE, Mother Ascensión was declared "Blessed" on May 14, 2005, and Pope Benedict XVI called them both "exemplary witnesses of the charity of Christ." Cardinal José Saraiva Martins presided over the BEATIFICATION and praised Mother Ascensión's missionary endeavors, particularly her self-sacrifice and willingness to endure hardship for the sake of apostolic fruits. He also emphasized that her charity and heart for others had been passed on to her religious daughters. The ceremony took place on the eve of PENTECOST, so Mother Ascensión's actions were compared to those of the apostles who, having received the gifts of the Holy Spirit, went forth and proclaimed the GOSPEL to every nation.

Feast: February 24.

SEE ALSO DOMINICAN SISTERS; PERU, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The Asssociation of Catholic Colleges and Universities (ACCU) was organized by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Thomas James CONATY, rector of the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA. Fifty-three delegates from among the 102 Catholic colleges in the United States attended the first meeting, which was held April 12 to 13, 1899.

This first conference set the tone for those to follow. After a Mass at St. James Church in Chicago, the assembled delegates met for a day and a half to discuss in

a candid manner the curricular core of Catholic higher education, its place in society, its relationship to business interests, and the problem of students drifting toward secular colleges. In an executive session the association appointed Conaty as its president and only officer and named a standing committee of six presidents (all priests) to draw up a constitution and bylaws and to consider options for unifying admission criteria, curricula, and teaching methods.

At this time most Catholic colleges were fragile institutions. Of the 129 Catholic men's colleges founded in the United States before 1875, 64 percent had ceased operations by 1899. An additional 14 colleges founded after 1875 had failed by the time of the association's inaugural meeting, mostly because of low enrollment, financial shortfalls, and growing governmental pressures on private colleges. The delegates adopted a resolution, "to condemn all unwarranted State interference with private rights and privileges" ("The Conference of Catholic Colleges" 1899, pp. 121–123).

Conaty similarly organized Catholic seminaries and parochial schools, and in 1904 the Catholic Educational Association (later the NCEA) was formed, with the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities embedded as the College Department. From 1918 to 1929 the College Department became the Department of Colleges and Secondary Schools. In 1935, no longer a part of secondary education, it became the College and University Department. After a period of dramatic growth in Catholic higher education, in 1978 the association reclaimed its original name while remaining under the auspices of the NCEA. Finally, in 2000 the association resumed independent status as a separate tax-exempt association headquartered in Washington, D.C.

The History. Kathleen Mahoney has written that the association's history is divided into three periods ("One Hundred Years," 1999). The first two decades focused on internal collegiate affairs including purposes, curricula, viability, pastoral concerns, and tensions between Catholic colleges and universities. By the middle of this period the association was equally concerned that more than twice as many Catholics were attending non-Catholic colleges as Catholic institutions. Nevertheless, the Church hierarchy declined to direct Catholics toward Catholic colleges as it had done for Catholic schools. A spurt of colleges founded by women's religious congregations led the College Department to establish a section on Catholic Colleges for Women in 1917.

The association's second period, from World War I to the early 1960s, emphasized relationships with the broader academic community, the federal government, and Catholic secondary education. Responding to a national drive toward uniform accreditation standards, the College Department determined in 1918 that only thirty-eight Catholic men's colleges and fourteen women's colleges met its own standards and that most institutions remained small. In 1920 Catholic institutions were educating 5.6 percent of the nation's college students, but as late as 1926 only eighteen Catholic colleges had three hundred or more undergraduate students. At the same time, from 1923 to 1927, graduate enrollment increased by 70 percent at the master's level and 83 percent at the doctoral level, leading the College Department in 1927 to form a Committee on Graduate Studies.

Concerns about quality remained throughout this middle period of the association. By 1938, 76 percent of Catholic colleges met secular accreditation standards, and this achievement allowed the College and University Department to abandon its own accreditation process but not its concern about Catholic curricular content. By 1950 Catholic institutions were educating 11 percent of the nation's college students and in many respects had joined the mainstream of American higher education. However, as Msgr. John Tracy Ellis concluded in 1955, Catholic colleges and universities were not yet of a standard sufficient to make significant contributions to society's intellectual life.

The third period of the association, which is still in progress, is one of dramatic expansion coupled with pronounced self-scrutiny. VATICAN COUNCIL II, concurrent with a period of civic unrest, ushered in an era of unprecedented change in Church, society, and higher education. The College and University Department responded vigorously to the challenges and opportunities of LAICIZATION, rapid growth, secularization, competition, government regulation, and several high-profile academic-freedom cases. In 1966, on the heels of the Reverend Charles Curran case at The Catholic University of America, the College and University Department established a Committee on Academic Freedom. The next year Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC, president of the University of Notre Dame, convened a group of twenty-six leading Catholic educators and bishops to draft a paper titled "The Nature of the Contemporary Catholic University." Popularly known as the "Land O'Lakes Statement," the paper asserted that Catholic universities must enjoy "autonomy and academic freedom in the face of authority of whatever kind, lay or clerical, external to the academic community itself" (Gallin 1992, p. 7). The International Federation of Catholic Universities encoded this principle in its 1972 document "The Catholic University in the Modern World," which the Holy See's Congregation for Catholic Education received with reservations.

Government and Church oversight of Catholic higher education mounted during the 1970s and beyond. Federal largesse, fueled by the Higher Education Act of 1965, brought extensive new regulation. In

addition, several states, notably New York, threatened to withdraw funding for church-related colleges. The College and University Department responded by providing legal counsel and legislative advocacy. Soon after, Church authorities began to systematically push back against SECULARIZATION. In 1983 the new Code of Canon Law brought all Catholic colleges, even those established with civil charters, under the authority of the Church hierarchy. Led by Alice Gallin, O.S.U. (1980–1992), and later Monika K. Hellwig (1996–2005), the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities organized regional, national, and international conversations about the mission and autonomy of its member institutions. These dialogues at times became strained, especially in connection with juridical elements of Pope JOHN PAUL II's apostolic letter *Ex corde ecclesiae* (1990) and the process to devise norms for its implementation in the United States. The dialogue continued from the mid-1980s, when *Ex corde ecclesiae* first circulated in draft form, through 2000, when implementation guidelines for the United States were approved by the Holy See. Some contentiousness remained thereafter, but structured dialogue with the Holy See essentially ended in 2000. Much of the history of this period is contained in the association's journal, *Current Issues in Catholic Higher Education*, published since 1980.

Today the association represents 200 of the nation's Catholic colleges and universities plus nearly two dozen international affiliate universities. Through its annual conference, peace and justice initiatives, Rome Seminar, workshops for faculty and administrators, research and consultation services, quarterly online newsletter *Update*, and Web site, the association strengthens Catholic higher education in the United States and serves as its collective voice.

SEE ALSO CURRAN, CHARLES; EDUCATION (PHILOSOPHY OF); EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (HIGHER) IN THE UNITED STATES; EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (K THROUGH 12) IN THE UNITED STATES; ELLIS, JOHN TRACY; HESBURGH, THEODORE MARTIN; NATIONAL CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION (NCEA).

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ASSUMPTION, RELIGIOUS OF THE

(Religieuses de l'Assomption, RA; Official Catholic Directory #3390) The Religious of the Assumption is a congregation of teaching sisters with papal approbation (1888), founded in 1839 by St. Mother MARIE EUGÉNIE DE JÉSUS (Anne Eugénie Milleret de Brou, d. 1898, beatified February 9, 1975 by Pope Paul VI; canonized June 3, 2007 by Pope Benedict XVI) at Paris, France, where the Generalate is located.

The congregation is semicontemplative, combining elements of prayer with an active ministry of the transformation of society through Christian education, catechetical, and mission work. In the lifetime of the founder, the congregation grew from a single community of five young women in Paris to become a well-recognized and robust religious order, establishing itself in France, England, Spain, Italy, the Philippines, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. The sisters arrived in the U.S. in 1919, establishing the first community in Pennsylvania, where the provincialate is located. In the U.S., the congregation is engaged in education, spiritual direction, youth formation, counseling, campus ministry, and pastoral and social outreach. In 2009 there were 1,198 sisters in 165 houses located in 34 countries in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 487).

SEE ALSO ASSUMPTION OF MARY; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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ATOMIC ENERGY

The turn of the twentieth century witnessed the first scientific research into the potential of atomic energy. Discoveries by Marie Curie (1867–1934), Ernest Rutherford (1871–1937), and Albert EINSTEIN advanced the understanding of atomic structure, radioactivity, and quantum mechanics and raised hopes that the controlled splitting of the atom would bring great benefits to humankind. Naturally occurring radioactive elements such as uranium and various isotopes, if properly mined, processed, and concentrated, held the promise of releasing great quantities of energy that might provide for many human needs.

But military applications preceded any civilian benefits when various powers participating in the Second World War attempted to develop an atomic bomb for combat. In the end, the United States pioneered the process of successful nuclear fission. American scientists in 1939 engineered the first self-sustaining chain reactions and contributed to the secret Manhattan Project. This led to the testing and subsequent deployment of atomic bombs against Japan at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. The nuclear explosions over those two cities killed hundreds of thousands of civilians and concluded WORLD WAR II. Later military uses of atomic energy included the development of nuclear submarines as well as advanced hydrogen and neutron bombs. Beyond the days of the nuclear rivalry between the United States and the former Soviet Union, more countries joined the formerly exclusive "nuclear club" by testing nuclear warheads and long-range delivery systems.

Dawn of the Atomic Age. The atomic age dawned in earnest in the 1950s, with a tide of optimism regarding many possible civilian applications for nuclear technologies: for low-cost power generation to replace fossil fuels, for medical purposes such as X-rays and radiation therapy, and for industrial uses such as the preservation of foods through irradiation.

In subsequent decades enthusiasm diminished as the dangers of nuclear energy came to the fore with the 1979 accident at Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island nuclear power plant and the 1986 release of radioactive fallout at the Chernobyl nuclear reactor in Ukraine. Although neither incident involved the nightmare scenario of a full-scale nuclear meltdown, critics of the nuclear industry pointed to each mishap as evidence of a systemic breakdown in safety and evacuation procedures. Subsequent decades have witnessed far less ambitious plans for the growth of nuclear power, with a marked reluctance on the part of all nations in the nuclear club to locate atomic plants near heavily populated areas. Ongoing concerns about exposure to nuclear radiation, the uncontrolled production of fissionable materials, and the storage and disposal of radioactive waste products with extremely long half-lives prompts significant opposition to the nuclear industry.

Worldwide anti-nuclear protests garnered much attention throughout the 1970s and 1980s, as a populist movement emphasized the short-term hazards and long-term risks of continued reliance on nuclear power plants. In response, advocates of atomic power continue to tout nuclear energy as cleaner and more reliable than fossil fuels such as coal, petroleum, and natural gas, and less likely to contribute to global climate change. As scientific evidence of global warming due to carbon dioxide emissions mounted after the turn of the twenty-first century, many nations supported the use of non-fossil fuels such as nuclear materials. A key phrase in all such debates on alternative energy sources is *environmental sustainability*. Commentary on the crucial issue of providing for burgeoning world energy needs has increasingly employed this new metric in evaluating the merits of nuclear power and its proper place in generating electricity for residential and commercial use. Debates over national and international energy planning have generally hinged upon perceived trade-offs between safety concerns and ecological preservation. Some energy experts are eager to include nuclear energy among the eco-friendly alternative technologies, while others sharply oppose nuclear energy as neither sustainable nor renewable in the same sense as solar and wind-generated power. So far, international opinion has arrived at no clear consensus on the wisdom of greater reliance on nuclear energy to meet growing world demand.

Ethical Considerations. Ethical treatments of the topic of atomic energy tend to distinguish sharply between civilian and military uses, and Catholic social teaching on the topic follows this pattern. Regarding nonmilitary purposes, official Church voices generally express measured enthusiasm for the peaceful employment of nuclear energy. For instance, Pope JOHN XXIII's 1961 encyclical *Mater et magistra* listed "the discovery of atomic energy" as a key sign of human progress in our age (no. 47). Catholic leaders in many countries have also expressed reservations about potential dangers of

unchecked nuclear technology, particularly health effects of exposure to radiation due to mishaps in the nuclear industry.

The two categories of military use of nuclear weapons are actual use and deterrence. The criteria of the just war theory appear to rule out any justifiable use of nuclear weapons. Like all weapons of mass destruction, nuclear bombs fail the traditional moral tests of proportionality and noncombatant immunity. The difficulty of containing the effects of nuclear weapons and the great likelihood of escalation of any nuclear conflict suggest the inherent immorality of crossing the nuclear threshold in combat. The Vatican II document *Gaudium et spes* (no. 80) expresses the Church's "unequivocal and unhesitating condemnation" of any acts of war or any weapons that are incapable of discriminating between military and civilian targets. Even the use of smaller, tactical nuclear weapons appears inherently indiscriminate and therefore morally objectionable because of their destructive effects on civilian populations and the natural environment. The nuclear bomb earns its name as the *ultimate weapon* and renders obsolete many traditional categories for justifying the limited use of force.

But if the actual use of such weapons is morally out of bounds, can society still justify the deployment of nuclear bombs and missiles as deterrents against aggression? Can a nation threaten to do what it is morally forbidden to do? Especially in the context of the Cold War, Catholics frequently referred to the matter of nuclear deterrence policy as the hardest question of all, because the seeming success of such an approach in preventing shooting wars was matched by its inherent character as a balance of terror. Ever since the ROMAN EMPIRE relied upon the dictum, "if you seek peace, prepare for war," people of conscience have found morally unsatisfying the argument that true peace can be based on shared fears of annihilation, as the Cold War doctrine of "mutually assured destruction" (M.A.D.) professed.

Catholic Church Stance. When the UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS studied these questions, it reached conclusions that constituted a sharp critique of American foreign and defense policy. Thus, the 1983 Pastoral Letter *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response* offered a strictly conditioned acceptance of any deterrence strategy that routinely targets civilians. Such practices may be tolerated only as long as good-faith efforts are proceeding to eliminate the necessity of nuclear weapons. In light of their follow-up document, *The Harvest of Justice Is Sown in Peace* (1993), and several other prominent statements supporting arms control and reductions in nuclear weaponry, the U.S. bishops have staked out a highly principled stance as consistent advocates for drastic changes in the nuclear status quo.

The VATICAN has also contributed to the ongoing debate over the morality of nuclear deterrence. Pope PAUL VI pleaded for arms reductions throughout his pontificate, sending extraordinary messages to special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly that dealt with nuclear disarmament in 1965 and 1978. JOHN PAUL II also frequently offered appeals for arms control, both before and after the fall of COMMUNISM in 1989. The HOLY SEE and Vatican commissions have frequently called attention to the scandal of the arms race that robs the poor of desperately needed resources. Other Catholic voices echo their concerns. For example, the prominent American monk Thomas MERTON was an early advocate of nuclear disarmament and wrote eloquently against the waste of valuable resources by stockpiling nuclear warheads. Catholic pacifists, such as Gordon Zahn (1918–2007) and James Douglass, and activist organizations, such as Pax Christi and the Catholic Worker, have advocated the reduction and even elimination of nuclear weapons.

Differing Opinions Among Catholic Scholars. By way of contrast, the community of Catholic scholars is rather divided between doves and hawks. Certain theologians exhibit great aversion to the continued use of nuclear weapons as deterrents, while others appear more comfortable with the nuclear status quo. Representatives of the former category include David Hollenbach, Thomas A. Shannon, and Joseph Fahey, who emphasize the imperative of active peacemaking and the dangers of reliance on deterrence, even after the Cold War. In the latter category are Michael Novak and George Weigel, who promote the model of a balance of power as the best guarantor of stability and protection for the freedoms of Western society. They emphasize nations' rights to self-defense and are suspicious of the internationalist idealism displayed by the "peace bishops" and by Pope John XXIII in his 1963 encyclical *Pacem in terris*.

The seeming clash of opinions among Catholic scholars regarding the deterrent effects of nuclear weapons should not obscure underlying points of agreement. Nobody sincerely espousing a worldview shaped by Catholic social teaching wishes to see a single nuclear warhead unleashed anywhere in the world, with either offensive or defensive intention. Similarly, even considering the range of legitimate opinions on the use of force in general, no parties to the conversation within the Catholic community would deny the basic principle that nations possess a right to self-defense and self-determination as well as immunity from intimidation at the hands of aggressors. Any nation possessing nuclear weapons will, *ipso facto*, incorporate some degree of

nuclear deterrence into its defense posture. Finer questions naturally arise regarding the active targeting of nuclear missiles at the territories and even cities of potential aggressor nations, as well as the official rhetoric surrounding national defense strategies.

Beyond divergent theological analyses of the morality of the bluff and how it relates to a nation's actual intentions to use the weapons in its possession, much of the disagreement within Catholic circles centers on matters related primarily to ecclesiology, particularly to reflection on the proper role of the Church in society. The Catholic debate over the ethics of nuclear deterrence reflects larger and deeper disagreements regarding preferences in the Church position on all public policies that inherently involve moral compromises. Is the proper role of the Church consistently to cling to the moral high ground, even at the sacrifice of some measure of realism in its policy recommendations? Or is it allowable for Church voices to lend legitimacy to a defense strategy that contains major ethical compromises, justified in the name of necessity? For Catholic voices to remain credible and constructive, they must maintain a careful balance between the prophetic and the practical, as the U.S. bishops achieve in *The Challenge of Peace*. Neither excessive capitulation to considerations of *realpolitik* nor an exaggerated sentimentalism in defense policy will serve the Church and the world well. While it is not hard to forge agreement on the eventual goals of disarmament and a world free of nuclear weapons, the Catholic theological community will likely continue to display a variety of interim ethics on the subject of nuclear deterrence.

International Atomic Energy Association. Since 1957, the UN-sponsored International Atomic Energy Association (IAEA) has promoted the safe and peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The IAEA has spearheaded worldwide cooperation for nuclear safety and security involving nations and non-state actors alike. The Catholic Church has frequently expressed its support for the work of this international agency in recent decades, perhaps most notably in Pope BENEDICT XVI's ANGELUS Address of July 29, 2007, which celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the IAEA. The following year, Archbishop Dominique Mamberti (in his capacity as secretary for the Holy See's Relations with States) delivered a groundbreaking address at the 52nd General Conference of the IAEA, held in Vienna. In his statement on behalf of the Vatican delegation, Archbishop Mamberti linked the work of the IAEA to the Catholic social teaching principle of solidarity ("a more lively sense of belonging to the one human family") and the more recently articulated obligation regarding the "responsibility to protect" (no. 1). The hopes of Catholics and all people of good will for a future free of nuclear destruction lie with such international agencies that advocate for nuclear nonproliferation, test-ban treaties, and strategic arms limitation agreements. Such initiatives may move society closer to the vision of a world where atomic power is used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

SEE ALSO ATOMIC WEAPONS "NUCLEAR," HISTORY AND MORAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING; ATOMISM; CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT; CHALLENGE OF PEACE, THE; COLD WAR AND THE PAPACY; COMMON GOOD AND CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING, THE; MATER ET MAGISTRA; PACEM IN TERRIS; PAX CHRISTI INTERNATIONAL; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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ATOMIC WEAPONS, "NUCLEAR," HISTORY AND MORAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING

The adjective *nuclear* means "pertaining to the nucleus of an atom." A nuclear bomb is a weapon that derives its destructive power from energy released from an atom's nucleus through either *fission* or *fusion*. Nuclear fission is the process by which an atom splits into smaller fragments, and nuclear fusion the process by which multiple atomic nuclei fuse together to form a heavier nucleus. In both cases energy is released. In harnessing this energy for use in a weapon of mass destruction, hundreds of trillions of nuclear fissions or fusions must be made to occur within a very short period of time.

The first generation of nuclear weapons were fission bombs. In the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima (nicknamed "Little Boy"), uranium-235 (U^{235}) was used (the number 235 because its nucleus contains 143 neutrons and 92 protons). The Nagasaki bomb (nicknamed "Fat Man") used plutonium-239 (PU^{239}). U^{235} and PU^{239} were chosen because of their propensities to undergo fission (the nuclei of other elements are more stable and do not easily split).

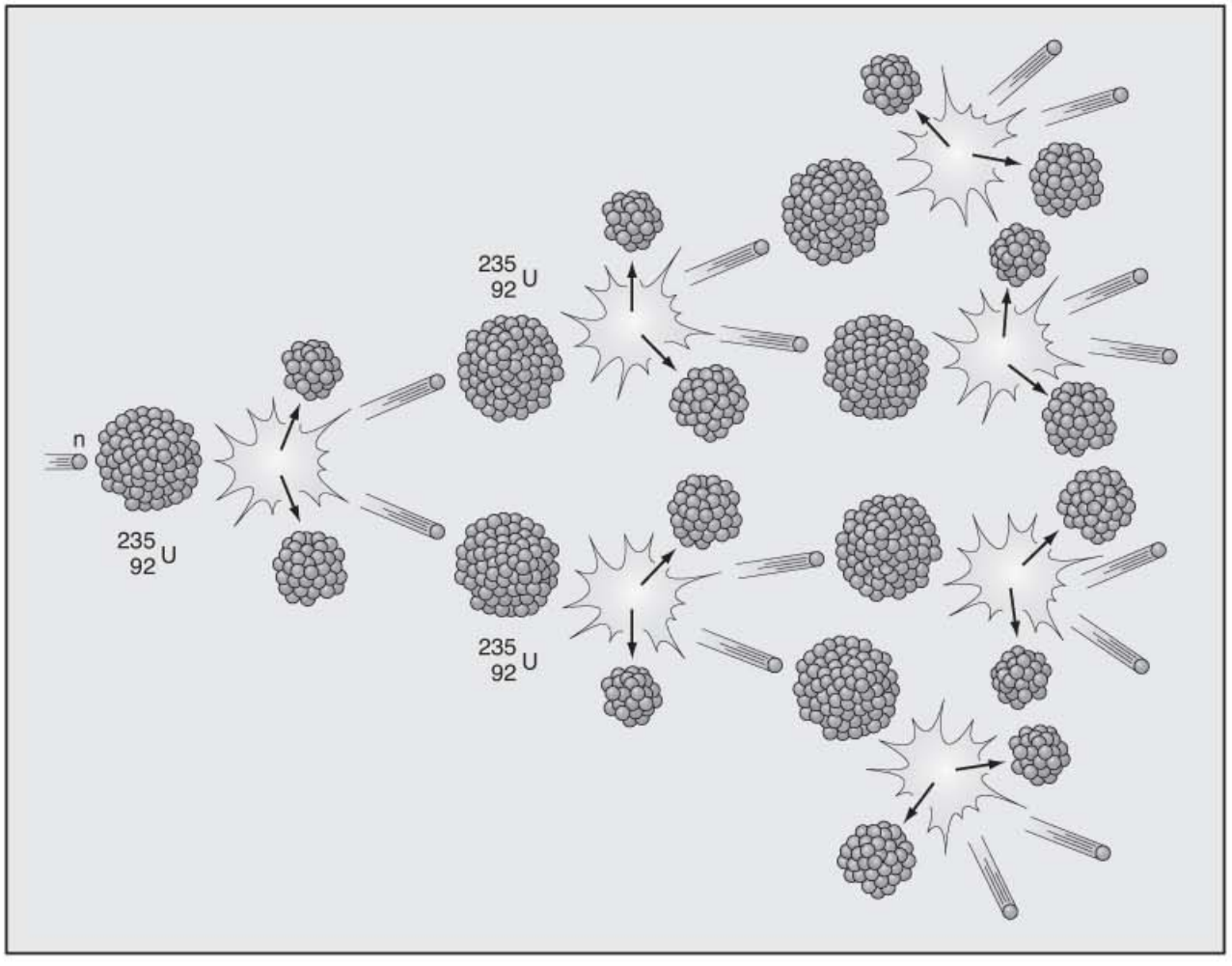
Consider fission in U^{235}. If a single free neutron penetrates the U^{235} nucleus, the nucleus splits releasing fragments that include two or three more free neutrons plus 200 MeV (million electron volts) of energy: (U^{235} + n → fission + 2 or 3 n + 200 MeV). The two or three free neutrons then collide with two or three more U^{235} atoms, causing each nucleus to split. With each generation the number of fissions increases exponentially. In eighty generations about 6×10^{23} fissions (or one mole) occur if a self-sustaining chain reaction can be generated. This releases approximately 2.3×10^{13} joules of energy, equivalent to about 5,500 tons of TNT. A chain reaction in a piece of U^{235} the size of a grain of rice can generate energy equivalent to three tons of coal or fourteen barrels of oil. The Little Boy atomic bomb contained 64 kilograms of U^{235}. (Fat Man contained 6.2 kg of enriched plutonium.)

After WORLD WAR II, a second generation of more powerful nuclear weapons was developed using energy released through nuclear fusion. The process of fusion involves combining, or fusing, multiple nuclei of lighter elements, such as the hydrogen isotopes tritium and deuterium, into more stable heavy elements. Corresponding to the generation of the new, more stable nucleus is the liberation of significant amounts of energy. But extremely high temperatures are required to drive the fusion process. And so fusion weapons, also called *thermonuclear weapons* (or *hydrogen bombs*), combine in rapid succession both fission and fusion reactions. An initial, or primary, fission stage generates the necessary high temperatures to ignite the secondary fusion stage, which in turn liberates more neutrons to fuel further fission reactions. The yield of energy of this type of weapon is theoretically limitless. Whereas the two bombs dropped on Japan each had yields of 15,000–20,000 tons of TNT, thermonuclear weapons can generate explosive yields equivalent to hundreds of millions of tons of TNT.

History of Nuclear Weapons. In 1898 French physicist Pierre Curie and his Polish wife, Marie Curie, discovered the radioactive elements radium and polonium. They found the elements radiated energy at a rate greater than any chemical process could account for. In 1905 German physicist Albert EINSTEIN (1879–1955) published his Special Theory of Relativity, which helped explain the relationship between mass and energy. He proved that the amount of energy in an object equals its mass multiplied by the square of the speed of light (186,282 miles per second) showing that a small amount of matter can yield an enormous amount of energy.

In 1932 British physicist James Chadwick, assistant to the famous experimental physicist Ernest Rutherford, confirmed the existence of the neutron: it possessed no electrical charge and so could pass through the electrical barriers of a nucleus and penetrate the nucleus itself. Atomic physics was turning to the question of how to compel the nucleus to give up its enormous energy. According to the account of historian Richard Rhodes, that same year Leó Szilárd, a Hungarian-American physicist, who later was assigned to work on the Manhattan Project, wrote: "If I wanted to contribute something to save mankind, then I would probably go into nuclear physics, because only through the liberation of atomic energy could we attain the means which would enable man not only to leave the earth but to leave the solar system" (Rhodes 1986, p. 25). Two years later, Szilárd submitted the first patent for a method for generating a self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction (i.e., a nuclear explosion). In 1938 three German scientists, Otto Hahn (1879–1968), Lise Meitner (1878–1968), and Fritz Strassmann (1902–1980), demonstrated that when a uranium atom is bombarded by a single free neutron the atomic nucleus splits; in the process it emits additional free neutrons (nuclear fission).

On August 2, 1939, on the eve of the start of World War II, Albert Einstein reluctantly sent a letter to President Roosevelt informing him of rapid advances in German attempts to purify uranium-235 and its potential for producing a super-bomb. The letter prompted Roosevelt to form a committee to investigate the military implications of atomic research. In Septem-



A Nuclear Chain Reaction. *Shown here is the successive fissioning of ever-increasing numbers of uranium-235 atoms.* ILLUSTRATION BY ARGOSY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF GALE, A PART OF CENGAGE LEARNING

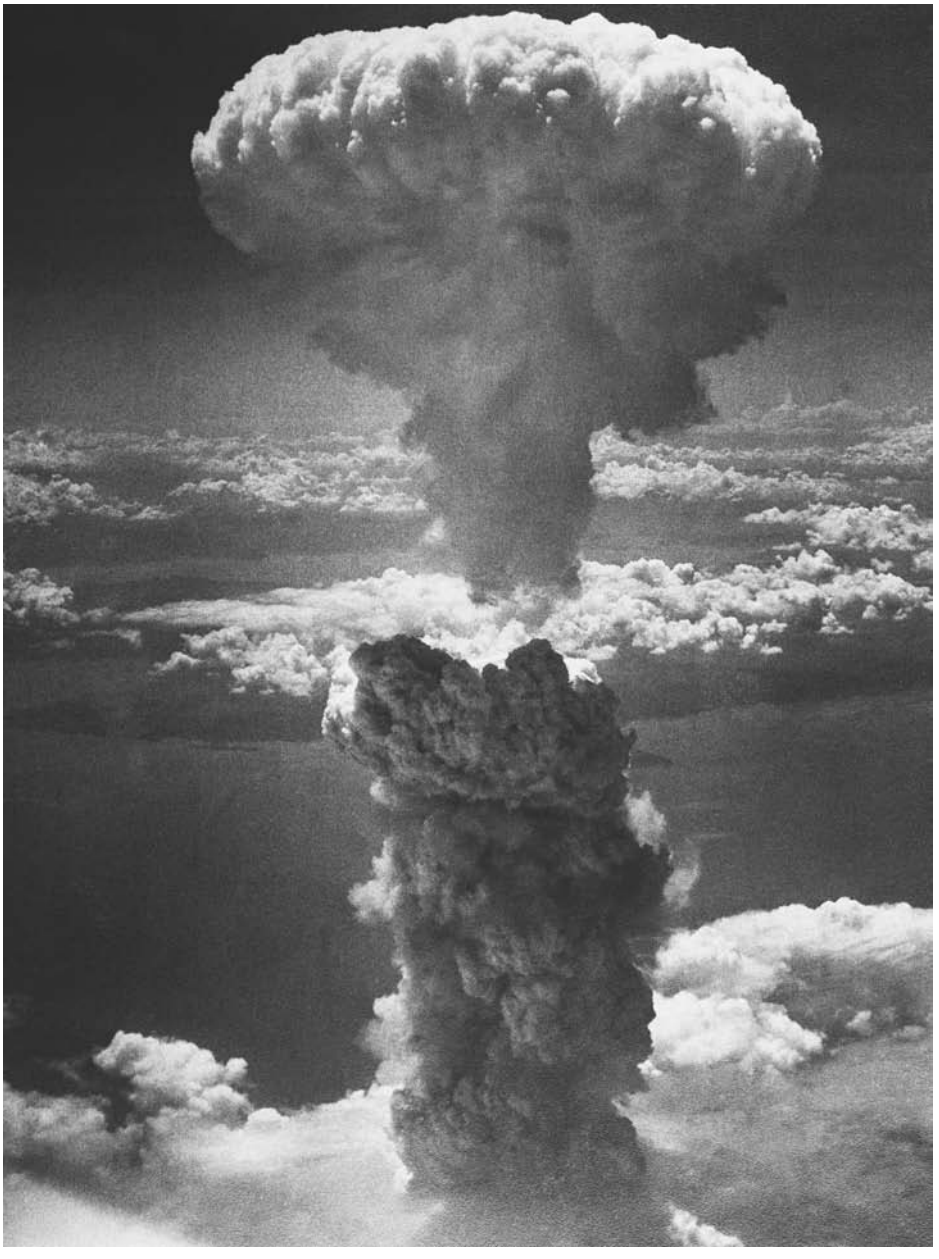
ber 1942 the president formed the Manhattan Project to secretly build an atomic bomb before the Germans did. He placed it under the directorship of Robert Oppenheimer. In December 1942 two members of the project, Enrico Fermi and Leo Szilárd, demonstrated the first self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction in a lab under the squash courts at the University of Chicago. Oppenheimer, though encouraged by the project's success, is said to have quoted the Bhagavad Gita: "I am become Death, the destroyer of worlds." Kenneth T. Bainbridge, the gruff physicist and director of the test, told Oppenheimer, "Now we're all sons of bitches." Two and a half years later during the dawn of July 16, 1945, the first atomic bomb, named Trinity, was detonated at a remote site near Alamogordo, New Mexico, illustrating in horrifying graphics the validity of Einstein's famous equation, $E = MC^2$.

Three weeks later, on August 6, 1945, the B-29 Superfortress bomber named *Enola Gay* dropped a four-ton atomic bomb ("Little Boy") on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. The one bomb killed an estimated 90,000 people. Three days later, on August 9, a bomb ("Fat Man") containing several pounds of plutonium was dropped on Nagasaki. It left 40,000 dead. In both cities, the overwhelming majority of dead were civilians. Six days later, on August 14, Japan surrendered to the Allied Powers, officially ending the Pacific Campaign and hence World War II.

Over the next forty-five years, the United States and its allies challenged the Soviet Union and its allies in a race to create the most nuclear weapons. At its peak in the 1960s, the United States had approximately 32,000 nuclear weapons in its arsenal. On July 1, 1968, a *Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons* (NPT) was signed at Washington, London, and Moscow, and it entered into force in 1970. Its three main provisions included commitments to nonproliferation, disarmament, and the peaceful use of nuclear technology. The

NPT contains the only international, multilateral agreement with any binding commitment to nuclear disarmament. It was extended indefinitely at its twenty-five-year review conference in 1995. The next review conference is scheduled for May 2010. Presently there are 189 countries party to the treaty, five of which possess nuclear weapons: the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia, and China (the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council). Israel, India, and Pakistan each possess nuclear weapons, and none is an NPT signatory. North Korea withdrew from the NPT in 2003. With the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, the process of decommissioning rapidly accelerated, although thousands of nuclear weapons still exist.

Catholic Teaching. The Catholic Church has steadfastly opposed the spread and use of nuclear weapons. Catholic



Fat Man. *A mushroom cloud towers 20,000 feet above Nagasaki, Japan, following a second nuclear attack by the United States on August 9, 1945. The bombing—which took place three days after the first nuclear attack on Hiroshima—was followed by Japan's surrender on August 14, bringing an end to World War II.* © **BETTMANN/CORBIS**

opposition began even before the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As early as February 1943, PIUS XII expressed the Church's grave concern about weapons of a type that could cause "a dangerous catastrophe for our entire planet" (February 21, 1943). The Church's explicit advocacy for abolition of nuclear weapons began soon after World War II. In 1953 Pius XII, while acknowledging the principle of the legitimate self-defense of nations, called for an international agreement to "proscribe" (*proscrire*) "ABC warfare" (i.e., atomic, biological, and chemical warfare) (October 19, 1953). He repeated the call in his Easter address of 1954. Turning his attention to the "new, destructive armaments unheard of in their capacity for violence," he wrote: "But, if everything is peace and joy in heaven, here on earth the cold hard facts are quite otherwise." He warned that such weapons "could cause the total extermination of all life, animal and vegetable, and of all the works of man over ever-widening regions." And he vowed to "tirelessly endeavor to bring about, by means of international agreement … the effective proscription and banishment of atomic, biological and chemical warfare" (April 18, 1954).

In September 1954 Pope Pius asked whether warfare using atomic bombs is "permissible as a matter of principle." His affirmative answer was qualified by four normative conditions: *just grounds*, *necessary self-defense*, *last resort*, and *discriminate use*. A nation has just grounds when it is faced with "an obvious, extremely serious, and otherwise unavoidable violation of justice." Even still, it cannot be justified unless and until recourse to this type of war "is deemed absolutely necessary as a means of self-defense"; further still, "every possible effort must be made to avert it through international agreements"; finally, its use must be strictly limited to defense against injustice and necessary safeguarding of "legitimate possessions"; if it ends as "the pure and simple annihilation of all human life within the radius of action," then "its use should be rejected as immoral" (September 30, 1954). The fourth principle, discriminate use, has carried most weight in the Church's subsequent moral analyses of nuclear weapons.

In his Christmas Radio Message of 1955, Pope Pius called on nations and their leaders—as "an obligation in conscience"—to support international conventions that will advance a threefold aim: (1) "renunciation of experimentation with atomic weapons"; (2) "renunciation of the use of such"; and (3) "general control of armaments." He starkly described a future where such conventions are eschewed:

> This is the spectacle offered to the terrified gaze as a result of such use: entire cities, even the largest and richest in art and history, wiped out; a pall of death over pulverized ruins, covering countless victims—their limbs burnt, twisted and scattered—while others groan in their death agony. Meanwhile the specter of a radioactive cloud hinders survivors from giving any help, and inexorably advances to snuff out any remaining life. There will be no song of victory, only the inconsolable weeping of humanity which in desolation will gaze upon the catastrophe brought on by its own folly (December 24, 1955). (cf. Benedict XVI, January 1, 2006)

Pius's successor, Pope JOHN XXIII, in his famous social encyclical of 1963, *Pacem in terris*, criticized the enormous global expenditure on armaments by developed countries—the "vast outlay of intellectual and material resources"—which ends up diverting needed social assistance away from underdeveloped countries (*PT*, 109; see also *Mater et magistra,* nos. 203–204). He rejected the belief that a balance of nuclear arms is the only means of assuring peace (*PT*, 110). Although he reluctantly agreed that "the monstrous power of modern weapons does indeed act as a deterrent," he said he feared "that the very testing of nuclear devices for war purposes can, if continued, lead to serious danger for various forms of life on earth" (no. 111). Following his predecessor, Pope John taught that "nuclear weapons must be banned" by a "general agreement … on a suitable disarmament program" and an "effective system of mutual control" (no. 112). He famously stated that because of the "terrifying destructive force" of modern weapons, "it no longer makes sense to maintain that war is a fit instrument with which to repair the violation of justice" (no. 127). In October 1965 Pope PAUL VI, repeating the message of his two predecessors, called on the member states of the United Nations to support comprehensive disarmament of "the terrible weapons that modern science has given you" (October 4, 1965) (cf. *Address of Benedict XVI,* April 10, 2008).

In 1965, drawing on Pius XII's teaching on necessary self-defense, Vatican II maintained in *Gaudium et spes* (*GS*) that the "massive and indiscriminate destruction" threatened by the new "scientific weapons" goes "far beyond the bounds of legitimate defense" (no. 80). The Council condemned "*bellum totale*" ("total war"), which it defines as "any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities or of extensive areas along with their population." To intend such destruction, the Council taught, "is a crime against God and man himself. It merits unequivocal and unhesitating condemnation" (no. 80; cf. *CCC*, no. 2314, Wilton Gregory, August 6, 2004).

Early in his pontificate, in June 1982, Pope JOHN PAUL II, following his predecessors as well as a 1981 recommendation of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, urged an assembly at the United Nations to follow

through with a nuclear arms reduction plan that is "balanced, simultaneous and internationally controlled" (June 7, 1982, no. 8); see *PAS*, October 7–8, 1981). To further support progressive disarmament, the HOLY SEE, in its capacity as a Permanent Observer to the United Nations, ratified the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty on February 25, 1971; it ratified the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty on July 18, 2001. In 1997, Archbishop Renato Martino, representing the Holy See, urged the U.N. Committee on Disarmament, in the Vatican's strongest admonition to date, to renew its effort in favor of nuclear disarmament:

> Nuclear weapons are incompatible with the peace we seek for the 21st century. They cannot be justified. They deserve condemnation. The preservation of the Non-Proliferation Treaty demands an unequivocal commitment to their abolition.... This is a moral challenge, a legal challenge and a political challenge. That multiple-based challenge must be met by the application of our humanity (October 15, 1997).

The U.S. bishops addressed nuclear weapons in their 1968 Pastoral Letter *Human Life in Our Day*, their 1976 statement *To Live in Christ Jesus: A Pastoral Reflection on the Moral Life*, and their 1983 Pastoral Letter *The Challenge of Peace God's Promise and Our Response*. In *Human Life in Our Day*, the bishops lament the "anti-life direction of technological warfare" illustrated in the destructive capacity of nuclear weapons, which "would leave entire cities intact, but totally without life" (no. 103). Recalling Pius XII and Vatican II's condemnation of total war, they reaffirmed the Council's call for "reciprocal or collective disarmament" (no. 107). In *To Live in Christ Jesus* they taught that the "first imperative" on those with nuclear weapons "is to prevent their use" (p. 34, quoted in Weigel, *Tranquillitas Ordinis*, p. 258). In the *Challenge of Peace* the bishops condemned "counter-population warfare," what Pius XII and Vatican II called "total war" (no. 147). They likewise condemned any "retaliatory action" using nuclear weapons that would not discriminate against the lives of the innocent (no. 148). On initiating a war using nuclear weapons, they stated: "We do not perceive any situation in which the deliberate initiation of nuclear warfare, on however restricted a scale, can be morally justified" (no. 150). They expressed grave skepticism on the question of a "limited" strategic use of nuclear weapons because of their uncertainty as to whether such weapons could ever be used without indiscriminately killing the innocent (no. 179).

In August 2005 William S. Skylstad, president of the UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS (USCCB), in a letter on the sixtieth anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, wrote: "No matter how noble the ends of a war may be, they cannot justify employing means or weapons that fail to discriminate between noncombatants and combatants" (August 2, 2005). Bishop Howard Hubbard, addressing the U.S. Secretary of State in April 2009, went a step further: "Nuclear war is rejected in Church teaching because the use of nuclear weapons cannot insure noncombatant immunity" (April 8, 2009). Although what consistently has been rejected has not been nuclear war per se, but its indiscriminate *use*, his statement does express the increasing unconditional opposition within the American hierarchy toward the use and possession of nuclear weapons.

The Holy See on Nuclear Deterrence. The Catholic Church has never explicitly condemned the build up of nuclear weapons and provisional targeting of hostile nations for purposes of deterring acts of alien aggression. It has, however, been a constant antagonist against the logic of nuclear deterrent strategy; *GS*, n. 81, gives a clear expression of this position: "the arms race is an utterly treacherous trap for humanity" (Vatican II, *GS*, no. 81). We should also note that in condemning the type of retaliation that nuclear deterrent strategy usually threatens (e.g., in *GS*, n. 80, "the destruction of entire cities", *GS*, no. 80) Church teaching justifies a moral rejection of deterrent strategy under most concrete circumstances.

In June 1982 Pope John Paul II stated that nuclear deterrent strategy as a stage in a process toward complete disarmament "may still be judged morally acceptable." He insisted, however, that this is no more than a minimum "which is always susceptible to the real danger of explosion" (June 7, 1982, no. 8). The *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, after repeating Vatican II's condemnation of total war (no. 2314), taught that accumulating arms as a means of ensuring peace risks aggravating the causes of war, increases the danger of escalation, impedes efforts to aid countries in need, and thwarts international development (no. 2315; cf. 2329). In May 2005, the Holy See, again addressing the United Nations, said that "the time has come to re-examine the whole strategy of nuclear deterrence." Further:

> When the Holy See expressed its limited acceptance of nuclear deterrence during the Cold War, it was with the clearly stated condition that deterrence was only a step on the way towards progressive nuclear disarmament. The Holy See has never countenanced nuclear deterrence as a permanent measure, nor does it today when it is evident that nuclear deterrence drives the development of ever newer nuclear arms,

> thus preventing genuine nuclear disarmament. (Celestino Migliore, May 4, 2005)

The United States Bishops on Nuclear Deterrence. The U.S. bishops have also long been critics of nuclear deterrence strategy. In *Human Life in Our Day*, without condemning the deterrent, they "seriously question[ed] ... the advantage to be gained by nuclear superiority" which only causes an escalation of the weapons resulting in a situation which is neither more stable nor secure (no. 113). The bishops pledged a "united effort toward forming a climate of public opinion for peace" and called on Catholics and all people of good will to pray for peace (nos. 114, 116). In 1979 John Cardinal Krol, on behalf of the U.S. bishops' conference, taught that, "Catholic dissatisfaction with nuclear deterrence and the urgency of the Catholic [ethic] demand that the nuclear arms race be reversed."

The bishops' most developed reflections on deterrence are made in their Pastoral Letter *The Challenge of Peace*. They stated that, "although we acknowledge the need for deterrence, not all forms of deterrence are morally acceptable." In particular they rejected policies that violate the principle of noncombatant immunity: "It is not morally acceptable to intend to kill the innocent as part of a strategy of deterring nuclear war" (no. 178). In light of the principle, they question the legitimacy of U.S. deterrent policy. Accepting uncritically the reply of "government officials" that U.S. policy does not target civilian populations as such, and conditioning their response on the grounds that the deterrent policy is practically consistent with the principle of proportionality, the bishops concluded: "These considerations of concrete elements of nuclear deterrence policy ... lead us to a strictly conditioned moral acceptance of nuclear deterrence." They followed their statement with a caveat: "We cannot consider it adequate as a long-term basis for peace" (no. 186; see also note 81).

In November 1993, on the tenth anniversary of *The Challenge of Peace*, the U.S. bishops wrote: "We must continue to say *No* to the very idea of nuclear war. A minimal nuclear deterrent may be justified only to deter the use of nuclear weapons" (November 17, 1993; no. E, 9, a, 1). Nearly five years later, in June 1998, seventy-five U.S. bishops, speaking for themselves and not for the conference, published a statement flatly rejecting U.S. deterrent policy:

> This [present deterrent policy] is clearly not the interim policy to which we grudgingly gave our moral approval in 1983.... We cannot delay any longer. Nuclear deterrence as a national policy must be condemned as morally abhorrent because it is the excuse and justification for the continued possession and further development of these horrendous weapons (June 1998).

Although this unconditional judgment was never explicitly adopted by the bishops' conference, some have argued that the logic in their statement in *To Live in Christ Jesus*, that "not only is it wrong to attack civilian populations, but it is also wrong to threaten to attack them as part of a strategy of deterrence" (p. 34, quote from Weigel, *Tranquillitas Ordinis*, 258), implies as much for the effective U.S. deterrent policy of the past several decades.

As recently as July 2009, the Archbishop of Baltimore, Edwin O'Brien, publicly reaffirmed the now twenty-six-year-old judgment of *The Challenge of Peace* on the limited acceptability of nuclear deterrent strategy: "[D]eterrence only has moral meaning in light of the goal of deterring the use of nuclear weapons as we work for a world without nuclear weapons" (July 29, 2009).

In *The Challenge of Peace*, the bishops referred to what they called the "political paradox of deterrence." They rhetorically asked: "May a nation threaten what it may never do? May it possess what it may never use?" (no. 137) Some have argued that had they pressed the moral logic of these questions, they might have been stricter in their opposition to the deterrent. One threatens what one wants another to believe one will do if the other does what one uses threats to avoid. Unless one is bluffing, one is ready to do what one threatens. But if doing something is immoral, then threatening to do it is immoral if one is prepared to act on the threat. Since U.S. deterrent policy is clearly no elaborate bluff, the United States is ready to obliterate extensively populated regions of the enemy's territory, which is never legitimate to do. How, then, can threatening to do this be legitimate, even as a stage toward nuclear disarmament? The French bishops responded elliptically in 1983 that "threat is not use," and the German bishops in the same year that an "emergency set of ethics" might justify temporarily tolerating a threat that would be immoral to carry out (Hollenbach 1989, pp. 59–60).

Moral Theology. Catholic theology too has analyzed the problem of nuclear war from the principle of noncombatant immunity. The influential Jesuit moral theologian John C. Ford, S.J., in an important essay published in 1944 in *Theological Studies*, set forth a practical conclusion central to any ethical deliberation over the legitimacy of military intervention: "the obliteration of great sections of cities ... means the abandonment of that distinction [between combatants and noncombatants]" (Ford 1970, p. 39); Ford, consequently, condemned the allied decision in World War II to carpet-bomb civilian German cities. Following a similar logic, Ford's predecessor in moral theology at

The Catholic University of America, Redemptorist theologian Francis J. Connell, C.Ss.R., harshly condemned the bombing of Hiroshima: "The destruction or maiming of hundreds of thousands of innocent persons," he wrote, "has inflicted a permanent blot of shame on the United States" (pp. 47–48). David Hollenbach has argued that the allied decision in World War II to subject civilian centers to obliteration bombing "provided a precedent for the development of strategies of counter-population nuclear warfare" (Hollenbach 1989, p. 63).

In 1961 the eminent Protestant ethicist Paul Ramsey likewise argued that intent to kill innocents was at the center of the moral analysis of nuclear war: "all-out nuclear war [Pius's "total war"] would be both *directly willed* and *directly done* as a means"; this, Ramsey maintained, "is murder" (Ramsey 1961, p. 51). John Courtney MURRAY in the same year agreed that if war includes an "unlimited use of nuclear force," as would be the case in a policy of final retaliation, then its use "is immoral" (Murray 1961, p. 14); but he was still confident at the time that skillful statesmen could craft a policy of genuinely "limited war" using nuclear weapons (Murray 1961, p. 15). In his 1985 book, *The Logic of Deterrence*, the Oxford moral philosopher Anthony Kenny argued that some use of nuclear weapons might be consistent with the principle of noncombatant immunity. Nevertheless, the risk of escalation posed by every use is too high to justify any use.

The American theologian who exercised most influence over the views on nuclear weapons expressed in *The Challenge of Peace* (*COP*) was Rev. J. Bryan Hehir, the associate secretary of the United States Catholic Conference's Office of International Justice and Peace from 1973 to 1984. Hehir supported a rejection of the use of nuclear weapons against civilian populations, as well as any national nuclear first-strike policy. He also shared the bishops' "extreme skepticism" that, given the danger of imminent escalation, even the use of small yield nuclear weapons could ever be morally legitimate; but, with the bishops, he drew short of nuclear pacifism. In the view of George Weigel, Hehir's influence over the *COP* epitomized in the bishops' statement: "We believe it is necessary, for the sake of prevention, to build a barrier against the concept of nuclear war as a viable strategy for defense" (no. 140), in other words, prevention is the first imperative.

Weigel, who has shifted the center of moral analysis over the permissibility of nuclear weapons from the principle of noncombatant immunity to the "larger context" of what he has referred to as "the interpenetration of morality and politics," harshly criticized Hehir's influence over the bishops' views on nuclear war. In his 1987 book *Tranquillitas Ordinis*, Weigel argued that their pastoral letter:

> represented a continuation of the abandonment of the classic Catholic heritage [on just war theory].... "The Challenge of Peace" was a decisive moment in that process, because it involved the adoption, by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, of key themes of abandonment that had become pervasive in American Catholicism in the years following the Second Vatican Council. (p. 280)

A most grievous offense against the Catholic heritage, as conceived by Weigel, was Hehir's and the bishops' altering of the primary locus of moral consideration over the legitimacy of nuclear weapons: from a discussion of the duties of public authority to maintain the "tranquility of order" within the community of sinful men and women whose common good it is charged with upholding, to a "survivalist" approach that begins with the destructive capacity of the weapons themselves. The idea that physical human survival is the highest good to be pursued—the view that Weigel has charged the bishops, influenced by Hehir, with holding—"is not a theme compatible with Catholic ethics" (p. 281); he refered to it as "a survivalist antiethic" (p. 282), which leads to a naively "unilinear approach" to resolving complex problems of international conflict. According to Weigel, "Given Hehir's influence on the American hierarchy, his thought and work have been the crucial vessel through which the abandonment of the heritage was completed, not by activists or intellectuals or journalists, but by the Catholic bishops of the United States and their public policy agency, the United States Catholic Conference" (p. 324).

Michael Novak made similar criticisms of *COP* in his 1983 essay *Moral Clarity in the Nuclear Age*. According to Novak, the bishops presented a naively optimistic view of the international situation, failed to incorporate a frank assessment of the communist threat, and were unwilling to see that given real world conditions, the use of nuclear weapons might sometimes be justifiable. Additionally, their vocal call to public authorities for immediate bilateral agreements to "halt the testing, production, and deployment of new nuclear-weapons systems" (*COP*, no. 191, §1), pertained to prudential matters beyond their authoritative competency to teach, which is limited to matters of faith and morals: "[I]f the bishops voted for *halt*, they did so precisely not as bishops but as U.S. citizens." Consequently, Novak asserted that U.S. Catholics "are fully entitled to dissent" (p. 110). He believed that acting upon the bishops' admonition would be tantamount to abandoning the duty to the innocent and to the U.S. Constitution.

Perhaps the most systematic philosophical treatise on the problem of nuclear war was proposed by John Finnis, Joseph Boyle, and Germain Grisez (hereafter

FBG) in their 1987 volume, *Nuclear Deterrence, Morality and Realism*. Here the central moral question considered is whether U.S. and U.K. deterrent policies are consistent with the exceptionless moral norm that it is never morally legitimate to intentionally kill the innocent: Do the U.S. and U.K. nuclear threats entail an intent to kill the innocent? "Innocent," they said, is not construed as morally "guiltless," but rather as pertaining to noncombatants. Combatants are those whose behavior, because involved in a gravely unjust threat to a just social order, Western common morality assimilates "to the behavior of those guilty of capital crimes." Innocents, therefore, are those who, on account of their behavior, are not subject to capital retribution:

> During warfare, members of the enemy society are engaged in many and diverse behaviors. Some of those could not be used to help verify the proposition, 'That society is at war with us'. Those engaged only in such performances are clearly non-combatants. Combatants are part of the remaining members of the enemy society. (p. 89)

FBG have argued that the Western deterrent, on account of its integral threats of "city swapping" and "final retaliation," includes necessarily a wrongful conditional intention to kill innocents:

> In any case where those who threaten ... are not bluffing, what they intend to do is what they threaten to do, and what they threaten to do is what they desire the other to fear from the actions they are threatening to carry out. Massive destruction of people including non-combatants is part of Western leaders desire the Soviet leadership to fear and take steps to make it fear. Since what they desire the other side to fear is what they threaten, and (unless they are bluffing) what they threaten is what they intend, they intend the killing of innocents. (p. 92)

Reflecting realistically on the consequences of the alternative, FBG have argued that because maintaining the deterrent entails maintaining the immoral intent to kill innocents, the United States (and the United Kingdom) "ought to renounce nuclear deterrence. They should do so at once. They should do so even though their unilaterally initiated renunciation would almost certainly go unreciprocated by the Soviets" (p. 329). In this they have followed the moral judgment against population targeting articulated by G.E.M. Anscombe in "Christians and Nuclear Weapons" (p. 238). Confronting the commonsense objection that their argument is perverse and unrealistic and makes the norm against killing innocents "a blackmailer's charter" (pp. 329–330), FBG have replied:

> The objections ... mistake the human significance of strict negative precepts. These are grounded in the dignity of the human person, for they protect the well-being—for example, the lives, the fidelity to basic commitments, and other goods—of real people. They do so ... by requiring unconditional respect for it on the part of anyone whose chosen act might directly destroy or harm that well-being in some basic aspect. Those who have adhered to these precepts have always been liable to destruction by the ruthless and unscrupulous who could be resisted or appeased only by atrocities. (330)

Although this conclusion seems harsh, it can be argued that this is no more than an implication of the moral truth, taught by St. Paul (e.g., Rom 3:8) and the whole Catholic moral tradition (until the advent of proportionalism), that evil should never be done so that good may come of it (see Rom 3:8). As John Courtney has written in his 1961 essay "Morality and Modern War": "a general annihilation, even of the enemy ... would be worse than injustice; it would be sheer folly.... If it means an honorable defeat, surrender may be morally tolerable... In contrast, annihilation is on every count morally intolerable." (p. 13)

SEE ALSO Catechism of the Catholic Church; Pacem in Terris; Paul, Apostle, St.; Proportionality, Principle of; Vatican Council II.

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Scholar, historian; b. January 16, 1914, Ixelles, Belgium.

A foremost contemporary Catholic scholar, historian, and leading authority on the history of Catholic social teaching, Canon Roger Aubert was born in Ixelles, Belgium, on January 16, 1914. He completed his secondary school studies in Greek and Latin at the Institut Saint-Boniface (today the Institut Saint-Boniface-Parnasse) in 1929 at the age of fifteen. He received his doctorate in History in 1933 from the University of Louvain and then pursued studies in theology at the Major Seminary in Malines, where he was ordained a priest in 1938. Between 1939 and 1945 Aubert earned the titles of bachelor, master, and doctor in theology at Louvain and became a canon in 1951. He was, in succession, a professor at the Major Seminary in Malines and at Louvain University, where, as of 2010, he was professor emeritus. An unequaled specialist in the history of the Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Aubert has published more than 500 books, articles, and encyclopedia entries. A tireless scholar, who also helped edit the extensive *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, he has been made doctor honoris causa by numerous universities, including Nimègue, Milan, Tübingen, and Graz.

Aubert's Publications. In 1952 the revered *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* came under the aupices of Professor Aubert, who ensured both its academic expansion and financial development. Published by the University of Louvain, the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* is considered the standard for all scholarly work in Church history. Covering the entire history of Christianity, the *Revue* has a voluminous bibliography of more than 60,000 notices. Much of the success of the *Revue* is due to Aubert's leadership.

Aubert's writings and syntheses include such significant publications as *The Church in a Secularized Society* (1978), *The History of Vatican I* (1964), and his major contribution to the monumental *Histoire de l'église*, titled "Le Pontificat de Pie X" (1952). His 800-page work, *Catholic Social Teaching: An Historical Perspective*, is considered the most comprehensive written on that

subject. An authority on Joseph Cardinal Mercier (*Le Cardinal Mercier (1851–1926): Un prelat d'avant-garde; Les deux premiers grands conflits du Cardinal Mercier avec les autorites allemandes d'occupation*), he has also written about Giacomo Cardinal ANTONELLI.

It has been noted that the best overview of historical theology remains Aubert's *Handbuch fur Kirchengeschichte* (1973), and also much acclaimed is his overview of nineteenth century LIBERALISM, "The Church in the Age of Liberalism" (1981) in *The History of the Church* (vol. 8). Indeed, no other historian in Catholic circles enjoys the reputation of Aubert. Some of his other major and notable works in French and English include: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (1999), *La fonction de l'origine en sciences humaines* (1983), *The Christian Centuries: A New History of the Catholic Church*, *The Church between Revolution and Restoration*, *The Church in a Secularized Society*, *The Church in the Industrial Age* (1981), *Historical Problems of Church Renewal*, *and Prophets in the Church*.

Aubert's Contributions. Described as theologically liberal and ecclesiastically moderate, Aubert served as a theologian for the Second Vatican Council. During and after that Council, and later with Avery Cardinal DULLES and John Courtney MURRAY as well as a host of others, he defended the view that the council document *Dignitatis humanae* (Declaration on Religious Freedom) was a harmonious adaptation of, rather than a correction of, previous Catholic teaching. As the leading historian on Catholic social teachings, Aubert, beginning particularly with his studies on the background of Pope LEO XIII's encyclical *Rerum novarum*, has posited that such teachings rest on two fundamental anthropological principles: the dignity and sacredness of the human person, and the social nature of the person. In tracing the background to *Rerum novarum*, Aubert sees the beginnings of modern Catholic social teaching in earlier Catholic writings (pre-Leonine—before the beginning of the pontificate of Leo XIII in 1878), with antecedents as far back as the eighteenth century and then particularly in the nineteenth century, with such writers as Félécité Lamennais (Aubert has put forth, too, that, had the First Vatican Council not been interrupted in 1870, it might have taken up the social question). In that context Aubert emphasizes the initial teaching of "all for the people, nothing by the people," which underscores an earlier paternalistic approach to social questions (in citing Lamennais's journal, *L'Avenir*, Aubert notes that the writers should have been more careful in presenting the principles of democracy and liberty for assimilation into Church doctrine). Aubert has also demonstrated that an important starting point for nineteenth century Catholic social teaching was in Germany with the bishop of Mainz, Wilhelm Emmanuel, Baron von Ketteler, who wrote the significant *The Worker Question and Christianity* in 1864. An authority on Bishop von Ketteler, Aubert has demonstrated how that cleric was the first to present the social question as a problem of justice, not charity, and even to face the necessity of basic reform.

Catholic Social Teaching. Aubert sees modern Catholic social teaching as being articulated through papal, conciliar, and episcopal documents and, in his voluminous writings, a number of distinct areas or major themes clearly emerge. In accord with Aubert's interpretation, the bishops of the United States in a June 1998 statement expressed these themes thusly:

Emphasizing the life, sanctity, and dignity of the human person to underscore all the principles of social teaching, making this a statement against materialism, cloning, and capital punishment.

Appealing to family and community participation as a corrective to excessive individualism and as an affirmation of the role of government and other institutions in protecting human life and dignity and promote the common good.

Upholding rights and responsibilities, insisting that according to Catholic tradition both are necessary.

Providing options for the poor and the vulnerable, especially in contemporary society where divisions between rich and poor are deepening. This is in accord with the scriptural text of Matthew 25.

Upholding the dignity and rights of workers, particularly their right to engage in productive work, to receive decent and fair wages, to organize and unionize, to own private property, and to exercise economic initiative.

Believing in the solidarity of the human race, in spite of national, ethnic, ideological, and economic differences. The writings of Pope JOHN PAUL II (*Sollicitudo Rei Socialis No. 38*) especially emphasize this aspect of Catholic social teaching.

Caring for and protecting GOD's creation, particularly in a time of environmental conflict. Such care and protection of the Earth and all its inhabitants is indeed cited as an article of Catholic faith.

Aubert also posits that papal encyclicals and writings on Catholic social teaching that began with *Rerum novarum*, the principles of which were reiterated in Pope PIUS XI's *Quadragesimo anno* (1931), had already become more democratic during the pontificate of Pope BENEDICT XV (*Annus iam pelnus*, 1920), who authorized the establishment of the Italian Popular Party. This change

was evident during the reign of Pope PIUS XII, who opened the door somewhat to democratic participation, and particularly during those of Popes JOHN XXIII (*Mater et Magistra*, 1961), PAUL VI (*Populorum progressio*, 1967), and JOHN PAUL II (*Sollicitudo rei socialis*, 1987). It continued, too, in the writing of Pope BENEDICT XVI, as put forth especially in his 2009 encyclical, *Caritas in veritate*, on social justice.

Sometimes classified as a thinker who is theologically liberal and ecclesiastically moderate, Aubert has also insisted in his writings on the need for a wide understanding of Socialism and the Socialist Movement, so as to better understand the Catholic Social Movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Even though a few may have questioned some of his conclusions (one cannot, however, fault Aubert, who in 1950 put forth Catholic society of Quebec as a model for a modern Catholic social order, for not foreseeing the rapid secularization of that region in the 1960s and 1970s), his erudition remains beyond reproach and his influence on more than one generation of Catholic historians and thinkers clearly must be acknowledged.

SEE ALSO CARITAS IN VERITATE; KETTELER, WILHELM EMMANUEL VON; LAMENNAIS, HUGUES FÉLICITÉ ROBERT DE; MATER ET MAGISTRA; MERCIER, DÉSIRÉ JOSEPH; POPULORUM PROGRESSIO; QUADRAGESIMO ANNO; RERUM NOVARUM; SOLLICITUDO REI SOCIALIS; VATICAN COUNCIL I; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU

Auschwitz was the principal Nazi concentration camp where Jews, Poles, Slavs, and Gypsies were killed during World War II. It was located near the Polish village of Oświęcim, about 33 miles from Kraków.

Establishment and History of Camp. When established in 1939, Auschwitz functioned primarily as a transit center for some 10,000 Poles who were to be sent to Germany as forced laborers. On April 27, 1940, Schutzstaffel (SS) leader Heinrich Himmler (1900–1945) ordered the construction of the concentration camp. In 1941, Himmler directed Rudolf Höss (1900–1947), who had gained experience at the Dachau and Sachsenhausen camps, to enlarge Auschwitz into the major camp for the Final Solution (Hitler's plan to annihilate the Jews of Europe) because of its ready railroad connections and its isolation from populated areas. Auschwitz played a unique role in the Nazi policy of mass murder. The five other death camps were Chelmno, Belzec, Sobibor, Majdanek, and Treblinka.

Auschwitz was soon expanded to include Birkenau, where most of the killing was to take place. The first thirty prisoners were German criminals whose job it was to control the future inmates. The first 728 Polish political prisoners arrived on June 14, 1941. The technical problems that arose in the creation of physical facilities to kill so many people led to experimentation with gas vans and the improvement of crematoriums. In September 1941, the first test of gassings using a pesticide known as Zyklon B (hydrogen cyanide) occurred, after which the SS had crematoriums built. Opened in October 1941, Birkenau became one of the three main camps in the Auschwitz complex. The first of forty subsidiary camps, it became known as Auschwitz II. In January 1942, the killing of Jews began at Birkenau, initially in two gas chambers located in converted houses. By spring 1943, four new gas chambers went into operation at Birkenau, producing 6,000–8,000 corpses in 24 hours. It is estimated that some two million people were killed at Auschwitz-Birkenau between 1942 and 1944. Through 1943 and 1944, more than 90 percent of the hundreds of thousands of Jews brought to Auschwitz were sent to the gas chambers. As trainloads of Jews arrived at the camp, two SS doctors examined the prisoners, making immediate decisions about which were fit to work and which were condemned to be gassed. After undressing and being told that they were to be deloused, the condemned were gassed to death in less than 15 minutes. Their bodies were stripped of valuables and burned in the crematoriums.

For those who lived, each day was a nightmare. Inmates arose at 5 A.M., the food was meager and caused diarrhea, and prisoners were worked to death. Guards laughed when they shot at women carrying children, and they taunted prisoners, saying that death would be their only way out of Auschwitz. Prisoners were routinely rousted from their barracks for medical inspections presided over by the notorious Dr. Josef Mengele (1911–1979), who arrived in May 1943 to become the camp physician. At the inspections he could send to the gas



Moment of Prayer. *Pope Benedict XVI prays in front of the monument for the victims of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp in Oświęcim, Poland, Sunday, May 28, 2006.* **AP IMAGES**

chambers those who showed weakness or disease. He also performed heinous medical experiments.

Auschwitz was part of a vast industrial complex that included hundreds of German factories in the industrial region of Upper Silesia. Satellite camps came into existence, and the network included as many as three dozen locations. The German business I.G. Farben established factories where it produced synthetic oil and rubber. After the SS itself, I.G. Farben was the second-largest employer at Auschwitz; the Upper Silesian Hydrogenation Works was third, followed by Krupp industries. Employed in the I.G. Farben factories were camp laborers, hired Poles, and British prisoners of war. As many as 150,000 slave laborers died there.

As the Russian army approached in August 1944, the Nazis began to dismantle the camp, evacuating prisoners to Germany. On October 7, 1944, Jewish prisoners revolted and managed to blow up Crematorium IV; 450 were killed.

The total number of prisoners sent to Auschwitz was more than 1.3 million, out of which some 200,000 survived. About 90 percent of those who died at Auschwitz were Jews, including 46,000 from Czechoslovakia, 69,000 from France, 55,000 from Greece, 438,000 from Hungary, 60,000 from the Netherlands, and 300,000 from Poland. The remaining non-Jewish victims included 75,000 Poles, some 20,000 Gypsies, 15,000 Soviet prisoners of war, and 25,000 people of other nationalities.

Atrocities Revealed. There was reluctance among the Allies, the VATICAN, and the Jews themselves to believe the reports of Nazi atrocities in the extermination camps. As the Final Solution entered into full swing in 1942 in the camps of Auschwitz, Majdanek, and Treblinka, it took some months before the first information began to reach the West. In the summer of 1942, Myron Taylor (1874–1959), the U.S. envoy to the Vatican, informed Pope PIUS XII that Jews were being massacred in Eastern Europe. At first, the Vatican expressed skepticism that such barbarous behavior was true. The most important source for information of the atrocities at Auschwitz came through an escaped Jewish prisoner, Rudolf Vrba (1924–2006), whose detailed report—known as the Ausch-witz Protocol—revealed the horrors of Auschwitz to U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt (1882–1945),

British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965), and Pius XII. When the Soviet Red Army liberated Auschwitz-Birkenau on January 27, 1945, the Nazis abandoned the camp, leaving behind some 7,000 survivors and considerable evidence of their crimes, which made the death camp the symbol of the Nazi attempt to extinguish European Jewry.

Auschwitz-Birkenau as Symbol. The memory of Auschwitz became complicated in the following decades as it changed within a cultural and political framework. Not only was Auschwitz the site of Germany's most heinous crimes against the Jews, but also against Poles, Gypsies, Russians, and others. Liberated by the Soviets and located behind the Iron Curtain, Auschwitz also became a socialist shrine honoring the socialist hero and resistance fighter. For the Jews, the German name Auschwitz became the symbol of the HOLOCAUST (SHOAH), whereas the Polish name Oświęcim became a core symbol of Polish martyrdom, representing the attempt by the Nazis to physically and culturally annihilate the Polish nation. Finally, a Christian meaning was given to the memory of Auschwitz, through which the pope reframed it as a national Catholic symbol.

Pope John Paul II and Reconciliation. During the pontificate of JOHN PAUL II, Christian-Jewish relations were dramatically improved through his efforts at reconciliation. These efforts began with his visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau during his historical pilgrimage to Poland in June 1979. At the pope's Mass at Birkenau he described the camp as Poland's Golgotha, which emphasized a Polish national and Catholic perception of the past. The pope appropriated a Christian triumphalist interpretation that the Jews had died there shouldering Christ's CROSS. He also proclaimed the universal lessons of Auschwitz in a Christian framework that conflicted with Jewish interpretations of Auschwitz. The visit initiated Polish Catholic and Jewish conflicts, which started a battle of symbols, a virtual star-and-cross war that lasted into the 1990s. Nevertheless, the pope reverently halted before the monuments to the victims inscripted



The Children of Auschwitz-Birkenau. *This tragic image, taken from a post–World War II Soviet film, shows a group of captive Jewish children standing between two rows of barbed-wire fence in the concentration camp.* **UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM (USHMM)**

in many languages and in prayerful meditation commended them to divine mercy.

The picture of John Paul II kneeling before the Jewish memorial recognizing their tragic experiences in Auschwitz was an important step in raising Christian esteem for the Jewish people. He also honored the memory of Catholics martyred there, such as the Franciscan priest St. Maximilian KOLBE, who gave up his life for another prisoner in August 1941, and Edith STEIN, the Jewish convert who became a Carmelite nun and was canonized a saint in 1998. Stein had died because she had been born a Jew, but the pope claimed her as both a Jew and a Christian martyr of charity. Although the pope pleaded for ATONEMENT, he did not accept any responsibility for the Church and its popes for the Holocaust. Nonetheless, it signified his deep commitment to reconciliation between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people.

The pope expressed the wish that a place of PRAYER and penance could be established to atone for the murder of 1.5 million Jews, in addition to a quarter of a million non-Jewish Poles. In response, a CONVENT of Carmelite nuns was established at the gate of Auschwitz as a sign of atonement, and a 25-foot-high cross, which the pope had used when he celebrated Mass there, was planted. Not surprisingly, these were found to be offensive to Jewish sensibilities.

Pope John Paul II, however, continued his efforts to improve relations with the Jewish people. On numerous occasions he admitted the Church's historic responsibility for the persecution of the Jews. In 1986 he met the chief RABBI of ROME, Elio Toaff (1915–). He became the first pontiff to visit a SYNAGOGUE and deplored discrimination against the Jews by earlier popes. In his meetings with Jewish leaders he reiterated his condemnation of ANTI-SEMITISM and emphasized his fraternal SOLIDARITY with Jews as "elder brothers." In 1994 he prompted the Vatican's recognition of ISRAEL. That year he hosted the Papal Concert to Commemorate the Holocaust, to which he invited some 200 Holocaust survivors.

Vatican Remembers. In 1998 the Vatican Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews released its report *We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah*, which called the HOLOCAUST (SHOAH) an "unspeakable tragedy that cannot be forgotten." The report was part of the pope's efforts to prepare the Church for the celebration of the millennium and an expression of sorrow and repentance for past sins. In the preface the pope expressed hope that the document would "help to heal the wounds of past misunderstandings and injustices." *We Remember* admitted that the prejudices of Christians probably made Nazi persecution of the Jews easier, admitted to the failures of Christians "to give assistance" to persecuted Jews, and generally repented for the "errors and failures" of Catholics. The document correctly did not assign blame for the Shoah to the Church as an institution, refusing to follow the example of earlier explicit apologies made by German and French bishops that acknowledged what the Germans called "the Church dimension" of the cataclysm (*We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah*, IV).

Many Jews were disappointed that the Church did not take more responsibility and were saddened by the ringing defense of Pope Pius XII and his diplomacy during the war. Nonetheless, such criticisms of Pius XII tended to ignore the postwar thanks that Jewish leaders expressed to the pope for the thousands of Jewish lives that were saved through his efforts.

During John Paul II's pilgrimage to the HOLY LAND in March 2000, the pontiff broke new ground, both theologically and politically. When visiting Yad Vashem, the Jewish memorial of the Shoah, John Paul II continued his prayer "begging forgiveness and the conversion of hearts" (John Paul II, Message, p. 2).

Along with many other bishops who joined in the prayers of Pope John Paul II at Auschwitz in 1979 was Archbishop Joseph RATZINGER of Munich-Freising. He decided to come again on a pilgrimage of remembrance and reconciliation when he became Pope BENEDICT XVI to implore the grace of reconciliation from GOD and then from all those who suffered at Auschwitz. The pope recalled the anguish of the biblical psalmist DAVID and the victims of the Holocaust who cried out, asking how God could have permitted the slaughter and evil of the Shoah. Benedict called on all mankind to implore God to bring out the goodness and love in men's hearts and peace in the world. The pope ended his pilgrimage of remembrance and reconciliation to the "Valley of Darkness" with a prayer, the Twenty-Third Psalm of David.

SEE ALSO ANTI-JUDAISM; GENOCIDE; GERMANY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; HITLER, ADOLF; JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS; JOHN PAUL II AND INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE.

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AVE MARIA TOWN, AVE MARIA UNIVERSITY

Ave Maria University is a coeducational institution of higher education in the Catholic tradition with a main campus in the southwestern Florida town of Ave Maria, situated in a rural area between the cities of Naples and Immokalee. It also has a branch campus in San Marcos, Nicaragua. As of 2010, the Florida campus of Ave Maria featured an undergraduate education with a liberal arts core and offered degrees in the liberal arts disciplines as well as biology, economics, and political science; it also had a graduate program in theology. The university had plans to develop programs offering preprofessional training at its Florida campus. As of 2010, the Nicaragua campus provided undergraduate students with a set of core courses and offered degrees in the liberal arts disciplines, along with courses and degrees in the psychological and social sciences and business administration. From its founding, Ave Maria has made its strong Catholic identity a priority, taking special guidance from Pope JOHN PAUL II's apostolic constitution on Catholic universities, *Ex corde ecclesiae* (1990). According to its mission statement, Ave Maria aims at "creating and maintaining an environment in which faith informs the life of the community and takes expression in all its programs." The university has also adopted the 1989 "profession of faith," formulated and issued by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, in which the NICENE CREED is reaffirmed and a commitment to abide by Church teaching in faith and morals is stated.

Founding in Michigan and First Few Years. On March 19, 1998, Ave Maria Institute was founded in Ypsilanti, Michigan, and began offering classes in September of the same year, with an enrollment of forty full- and part-time students and five faculty members. From the very beginning to the present day, the school has received a significant amount of its funding from Thomas S. Monaghan, the founder and former chief executive officer of Domino's Pizza, Inc.

So that the institution could begin awarding baccalaureate degrees, Ave Maria Institute soon became Ave Maria College, and a four-year program was developed. The Nicaragua campus was acquired in 2000 from the University of Mobile in Alabama, as a means of promoting Catholic higher education in Central America.

That same year an agreement was reached with St. Mary's College in Orchard Lake, Michigan, that made the latter a part of a new institution to be called Ave Maria University, which would also encompass Ave Maria College. The agreement, organized in part with the apparent goal of accelerating the institution's accreditation process, gave the board of Ave Maria effective control of St. Mary's and provided the Orchard Lake school with needed financial support. For various reasons, however, this arrangement proved to be short-lived. Ave Maria College was never fully integrated into the proposed university and eventually the relationship with St. Mary's was dissolved.

In 2001 members of the theology department at the Michigan campus of Ave Maria College founded the Aquinas Center for Theological Renewal, with the purpose of helping to reinvigorate Catholic academic theology by drawing on the thought of St. THOMAS AQUINAS in new ways and with an interest in promoting ecumenical dialogue. Through its conferences and publications, the Aquinas Center has significantly contributed toward a stimulating intellectual environment at Ave Maria.

Also in 2001 Ave Maria launched the Institute for Pastoral Theology, which offers graduate studies at the master's level at various sites throughout the United States. The program's faculty travel to several cities, including St. Louis, Phoenix, and Minneapolis, to teach monthly courses in theology. The Institute's first administration and faculty members had run a similar program at the University of Dallas, until they felt pressured by the administration there to leave and subsequently resigned from their positions.

Between 2001 and 2002 the college submitted various proposals to the Ann Arbor Township planning commission in efforts to move the Michigan campus from



The Oratory. *Located at the center of Ave Maria University, the Oratory's distinct architecture can be seen from just about everywhere on the AMU campus.* **COURTESY OF AVE MARIA UNIVERSITY**

Ypsilanti to Domino's Farms, a large corporate office park owned by Monaghan in nearby Ann Arbor. After the commission rejected the proposals, Monaghan and college officials and advisors began considering other locations for the campus, and eventually settled on southwest Florida.

Move to Florida. The decision to move the Michigan campus to Florida was made after Paul J. Marinelli, the head of Barron Collier Companies, a southwest Florida landowner and developer, heard that Monaghan was looking for a new site for the school and contacted him, offering to donate 750 acres of farmland between Naples and Immokalee. The offer was eventually accepted. While the new site of the institution was being constructed, the college relocated to a small interim campus in Naples, where it began holding classes in the fall of 2003.

Also in 2003 Ave Maria College officially changed its name to Ave Maria University. In order for the university to receive a license from the State of Florida to operate under this new title, the Institute for Pastoral Theology was moved to the interim campus in Naples, and the university began a master's program in education. While the education program was discontinued in 2004, that same year a new graduate theology program launched, offering both master's and doctoral degrees.

In the summer of 2007 the university moved operations to the 1,000-acre permanent campus in the town of Ave Maria. A large three-story library, an academic building with classrooms, laboratories, and faculty offices, a student union, five dormitories, and a central utility plant make up the campus as of 2010. The design of the campus buildings is inspired by the prairie style of the famous American architect Frank Lloyd Wright, whose work is greatly admired by Monaghan.

The university received full accreditation from the American Academy of Liberal Education in June 2008, and in December of that year it was awarded candidate status by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. As of 2009, Ave Maria had not yet received recognition as a Catholic institution by the Diocese of Venice, Florida, under whose jurisdiction it falls. At the time of the printing of this entry, Ave Maria was in discussions with the local ordinary, Bishop Frank Dewane, to gain such recognition.

Enrollment at the Florida campus increased steadily between 2003 and 2009. At the beginning of the 2009–2010 academic year a little over 700 undergraduate and graduate students were enrolled, not including 111 students enrolled in the Institute for Pastoral Theology. The number of full-time faculty teaching at the Florida campus at the beginning of the 2009–2010 academic year was forty-six, with forty-five possessing doctoral degrees in their fields.

In its current organizational structure the university is governed by a board of trustees. A chancellor, appointed by the board, functions as the institution's chief executive officer. The chancellor in turn appoints a president, who functions as the chief operations officer, along with a chief academic officer and a chief financial officer. Monaghan currently serves as Ave Maria University's chancellor and Nicholas J. Healy Jr., a former maritime lawyer and administrator at Franciscan University in Steubenville, Ohio, serves as president. John E. Sites is the university's chief academic officer and Paul Roney, a former corporate treasurer of Domino's Pizza, Inc., is its chief financial officer.

Controversies. Not unlike many institutions of higher education, especially younger ones, Ave Maria has had its share of controversies. The following two are the perhaps among the more significant ones.

The move to Florida was a source of considerable wrangling, as it was not supported by a number of students and faculty members, some of whom alleged that Monaghan had an obligation to keep the Michigan campus open indefinitely because the move to Florida was not part of the institution's original plan. Polemics over the issues surrounding the move found their way into the Catholic press and even caught the attention of the secular national media, being reported in such publications as the *New York Times*. To accommodate students who wished to complete their studies in Michigan, the campus in Ypsilanti was kept open with a reduced staff until the spring of 2007.

Perhaps even more controversial than the move to Florida was the sudden firing in March 2007 of the university's provost, Fr. Joseph D. Fessio, a well-known Jesuit priest and friend and former student of Pope BENEDICT XVI, due to what a university press release characterized as "irreconcilable differences over administrative policies and practices." Possibly responding to widespread protest among students, faculty, and benefactors, the day after Fessio was fired, the university rehired him to serve in a nonadministrative capacity, as "theologian-in-residence." This affair also received a good deal of attention in Catholic and secular media, probably owing to Fessio's prominence. Fessio was dismissed from the university again in July 2009.

The Town of Ave Maria. When Paul Marinelli contacted Monaghan in 2002 to offer land for a new campus, he told Monaghan that the Barron Collier Companies would also be interested in building a town around the university. In 2001 the Florida legislature established the Rural Land Stewardship Area program to meet the growing needs for residential development in the state's rural areas in a way that would be environmentally sensitive and not imperil Florida's agricultural industry. Marinelli hoped to develop several thousand acres of land owned by the Barron Collier Companies between Naples and Immokalee along the lines provided by the program. He saw the new university as a possible catalyst for the growth of a new town.

Monaghan had originally planned to build the university in north Naples but was unable to do so because the spotting of an eagle's nest on the proposed site prompted concerns about wildlife protection laws. He initially turned down Marinelli's offer because the new site seemed too far inland. But after further study he decided to accept the offer and join with Barron Collier Companies in building the new town.

The official groundbreaking ceremony for the town and university took place on February 17, 2006, and a first phase of construction was completed in the summer of 2007, when the town's first residents arrived and its first businesses opened.

While the 2008 nationwide real estate crash seemed to have some effect on the town's growth, residential and commercial construction continued, albeit at a slower pace.

In 2009 the town had six different residential areas, two parks, a golf course, over a dozen private businesses, an emergency medical facility, a commercial park, and a grammar and college preparatory school, the Rhodora J. Donahue Academy of Ave Maria.

The town's center, a mixture of residential and commercial property, is constructed around an oratory. The 120-foot tall church has a stone façade and steel flying buttresses and roof. It is based on a traditional basilica form and seats 1,100. The church's cornerstone was laid on March 25, 2006, and it was dedicated by Bishop Dewane of Venice on March 31, 2008. The Diocese of Venice, which administers the oratory, has conferred on it the status of a "quasi-parish."

As of 2009 the town of Ave Maria had approximately 550 residents, not including the students of Ave Maria University.

SEE ALSO EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (HIGHER) IN THE UNITED STATES; EX CORDE ECCLESIAE.

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AVENIR, L'

The French newspaper *L' Avenir* (The Future), which first appeared on October 16, 1830, was founded by the liberal thinker and cleric Hugues Félicité-Robert de LAMENNAIS (1782–1854). It was published in collaboration with others who were drawn to his ideas. Known as the Congrégation de St. Pierre this group met at Lamennais's estate at La Chênaie and included such clerics and laymen as Prosper GUÉRANGER (1805–1875), a religious priest; Charles de COUX (1787–1864), an instructor at the University of Louvain; René ROHRBACHER (1789–1856), a Church historian; Henri LACORDAIRE (1802–1861), who helped restore the Dominican Order in France; Charles de MONTALEMBERT (1810–1870) a future parliamentary leader during the July Monarchy; Olympe-Philippe GERBET (1798–1864), the bishop of Perpignan; and Alexis-François Rio (1797–1874), the author of *De la poésie chrétienne* (1836).

The masthead of *L'Avenir* bore the phrase "Dieu et la Liberté" (God and Liberty), and in its pages the Abbé de Lamennais (he had been ordained a priest in 1816) defended Catholicism against the encroachments of the government. He also supported ULTRAMONTANISM against GALLICANISM, and he pushed his own system of thought, which espoused "the common sense of humanity" over rationalistic philosophy.

In their articles, Lamennais and his collaborators also called for the separation of CHURCH AND STATE, freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom of CONSCIENCE (including freedom of religious choice), universal suffrage, and a limitation on workers' hours. They sought, in their own words, "the Christian emancipation of the people." On church and state relations, the editors noted in the issue of December 7, 1830, that "we firstly ask for the freedom of conscience or the freedom of full universal religion without distinction or without privilege; and by consequence, in what touches us, we Catholics, for the total separation of Church and State."

In a real sense, *L'Avenir* represented not only the philosophic and theological positions of Lamennais, but also the spirit of LIBERALISM of the era. The year 1830 saw the July Revolution in France, which brought the liberal Orleans monarchy into power, and the Belgian Revolution, which brought about that nation's independence in the name of liberty and national freedom. Both events inspired Lamennais to found *L'Avenir*, and it is in that context that the thought and writings of Lamennais and his colleagues—who were sometimes known collectively as the "L'Avenir movement"—should be understood. Their newspaper was to be the voice of an international coalition of active Catholics, or, as they wrote in *L'Avenir*, a "Holy Alliance of Peoples."

The July Revolution began in 1830 with the "Three Glorious Days" of July 27, 28, and 29, which put an end to the reign of the reactionary King Charles X and led to the proclaiming of the July Monarchy of King Louis-Philippe. Under the regime of Charles X, freedom of the press, among other rights, was suppressed. In particular, the restrictions of the Ordinances of Saint-Cloud, or the July Ordinances, which were signed into law on July 25, 1830, brought the political crisis to a peak. In defiance of these restrictions, banned newspapers were published and uprisings, many led by journalists, workers, and students, occurred throughout Paris.

In Belgium, meanwhile, in August of that same year, the Belgian Revolution erupted. Aided by French intellectuals as well as armed forces, the Belgians rose up against the Protestant Dutch king, William I. The leading forces behind this revolution were the Belgian Catholic clergy and Belgian liberals. At first they simply called for greater autonomy, but the Belgian Revolution soon became a national struggle for full independence. International pressure helped Belgium become an independent state, and a constitutional monarchy was established.

In France, meanwhile, Lamennais rejoiced in the departure of the Bourbon king, Charles X. Lamennais would have preferred a republic, but he was hopeful that the new July Monarchy would uphold the rights of the Church and support his own struggle against Gallicanism. Lamennais also hoped to achieve a social triumph for the Catholic Church in France by allying it with the causes of social justice and public liberties. He had already, in the Congrégation de St. Pierre, established

a religious society whose purpose was to uphold Catholic THEOLOGY and support Rome.

In a book titled *Progrès de la Révolution et de la guerre contre l'Eglise*, which he published in 1829, Lamennais attacked the king and the bishops, the latter for their Gallicanism and their compromises with opponents of the Church (p. 26). In breaking with the monarchy, Lamennais sought the attainment of political liberty and equal rights. He called this liberty a "catholicizing liberalism," and he believed it was essential for bringing about the triumph of the truths of SALVATION (p. 30). Lamennais's statements in *Progrès de la Révolution et de la guerre contre l'Eglise* upholding religious freedom and a Church free of state interference were also used to support the revolution in Catholic Belgium against the Protestant Dutch monarchy.

Following the bold statements made in *L'Avenir*, however, particularly those in support of liberal Christianity and the separation of church and state, Lamennais's orthodoxy became suspect. To rectify this, he went to ROME in November 1831, accompanied by Lacordaire and Montalembert, to bring his case before Pope GREGORY XVI. He had been welcomed there in 1824, when Pope LEO XII had considered making Lamennais, who was then arguably the most celebrated cleric in France, a cardinal. Now, however, to appease Rome until the matter was settled, he suspended publication of *L'Avenir* before departing for the HOLY SEE. After waiting four months and receiving no definite response, he left Rome in March 1832. In time, however, the pope responded with the encyclical *Mirari vos*, which was promulgated on August 15, 1832. Without expressly naming Lamennais, the pontiff condemned the ideas that had been put forth in *L'Avenir*, particularly freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the need to regenerate Catholicism, the right to revolt against monarchs, DEMOCRACY achieved through revolution, and the emphasis on "natural" virtues. The pope called these ideas "absurd, and extremely dangerous for the Church" (Maclear 1995, p. 55).

Lamennais's philosophy and apologetics, as put forth in *L'Avenir* and his other writings, were seen by the pope as favoring skepticism and denying the validity of individual reason, with the emphasis given instead to general reason. The Catholicism that Lamennais sought to create was viewed by Rome as a different religion. His theology was seen as being based on the ideas of Jean-Jacques ROUSSEAU, which were derived from an Enlightenment concept of naturalism. In addition, Lamennais's theology was thought to be based on a palingenesist concept of "renewal" founded on the vision of a new era for mankind beginning in the modern age, which was labeled the "Third Age of Humanity." This concept had already gained popularity in the nineteenth century, particularly among positivists such as Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1832), Charles Fourier (1772–1837), Barthélemy Enfantin (1796–1864), and Auguste COMTE (1798–1857). The revolutionary and nationalist Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872) had also called on Lamennais to lead the regenerated priesthood that would be the vanguard of this new era.

Mirari vos also condemned religious pluralism and religious indifferentism. Later popes would cite the encyclical in their condemnations of freemasonry, and the document has been seen as the first papal statement against MODERNISM. The ideas put forth by the Abbé de Lamennais are also considered to have re-emerged in the liberal Catholicism of the 1850s and 1860s, in the French Sillon movement of the 1890s and 1900s, and in the integral HUMANISM of the 1930s. The palingenensist evolutionism of Teilhard de CHARDIN (1881–1955) has been viewed as representative of this system of thought, and the LIBERATION THEOLOGY of the mid- to late twentieth century is also considered by some to be based on activist theories similar to Lamennais's original theses.

Following Rome's condemnation, Lamennais stated that, out of deference to the pope, he would not resume the publication of *L'Avenir*. He returned to his retreat at La Chênaie, but in his private correspondence he continued to profess the ideas that had been put forth in his earlier published writings. In response, Rome demanded full adherence to *Mirari vos*. Lamennais refused to submit, and by December 1833 he had abandoned most of his clerical role and duties. Eventually, he would forgo all outward signs of a profession to Christianity. In May 1834, in response to the encyclical, he published *Paroles d'un croyant*. Arguing strongly against the established order, he denounced what he called the "conspiracy of kings and priests against the people" (Maclear 1995, p. 44). Pope Gregory XVI quickly condemned this work in the encyclical *Singulari nos*, in which he called the book "small in size, but immense in wickedness" (Maclear 1995, p. 57). He also censured Lamennais's philosophical system of thought. *Singulari nos* was in fact a direct condemnation both of Lamennais, who was excommunicated, and his writings and philosophical system. The pontiff was also troubled by Lamennais's vision of a church-state separation. Instead of a liberated Church, Rome believed such theories would lead to the control of both the secular and religious by secularist demagogic forces.

Abandoned by most of his colleagues, Lamennais still continued to write, particularly articles for the liberal journals *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Revue du Progès*, and *Le Monde*. He also published a series of pamphlets, including *Le Livre du peuple* (1839), *L'Esclavage moderne* (1839), and *Du passé et de l'avenir du peuple* (1841), and others. In these writings, he criticized the authorities

and the establishment and put forth his views on the future of democracy. For another work, *Le Pays et le Gouvernement* (1840), he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

Between 1841 and 1846, Lamennais published a treatise on metaphysics titled *Esquisse d'une philosophe*, in which he proposed that God, man, and NATURE be studied only in the light of reason, rejecting the divinity of Christ and the concepts of eternal punishment and the SUPERNATURAL order. The section on AESTHETICS is considered one of his best pieces of writing. Lamennais was also inspired by the revolutionary happenings of 1848, and he was elected as a deputy for Paris in the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies. He also briefly published a revolutionary newspaper, *Le Peuple constituant*. The coup d'état of 1851, however, ended his political career, and he died in 1854, still unreconciled with the Church.

SEE ALSO BENEDICTINES; DOMINICANS; FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; FRENCH REVOLUTION; PRIESTHOOD IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION; RATIONALISM; SECULARISM.

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AVIAT, FRANCESCA SALESIA, ST.

Baptized Léonie (Leonia); educator, co-founder of the Sister Oblates of St. Francis de Sales; b. September 16, 1844, Sezanne, France; d. January 10, 1914, Perugia, Umbria, Italy; beatified by Pope John Paul II, September 27, 1992; canonized by Pope John Paul II, November 25, 2001.

Léonie Aviat was born in the French region of Champagne and educated at a school of St. FRANCIS DE SALES, the Monastery of the Visitation in Troyes, which was the source of her lifelong commitment to Salesian spirituality. Léonie wanted to join the VISITATION NUNS, but her family opposed her vocation. In 1858 her spiritual director, Father Louis Alexander Alphonse BRISSON, opened in Troyes a center to educate young women working in the industrialized textile mills, and he was inspired to invite Léonie to join him in these efforts.

While visiting a factory in her native city, Sezanne, Léonie, too, was inspired by God with a desire to counsel and guide young workers. She joined Father Brisson in 1866, and in turn he suggested that she found a women's religious congregation. In 1868 the young Léonie moved in this direction as she took the habit and received the name Francesca Salesia.

The first sisters of the new community took their vows in 1871, the same year in which Sister Francesca prayerfully wrote in her personal notes: "Saint Francis de Sales, you have chosen me to be at the head of this little group; give me your spirit, your heart.... Grant me a share of your union with God and of that interior spirit which knows how to do everything in union with Him and nothing without Him." The following year she was elected Superior General of the new congregation that would be known as the Sister OBLATES OF ST. FRANCIS DE SALES.

Under Mother Aviat's guidance, the Sister Oblates grew both in their numbers and their works. They established several parochial schools and a boarding school for young women in Paris, which Mother Aviat led for eight years. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Mother Aviat also labored to expand and develop the congregation across Europe and in South Africa and Ecuador.

Due to anti-Church legislation adopted in France at the turn of the twentieth century, in 1903 Mother Aviat moved the headquarters of the congregation to Perugia, Italy, where she began the order anew, composed its constitution, and in 1911 received the approval of Pope Saint PIUS X. She died at sixty-nine.

She was declared venerable in 1978 and beatified in 1992. At her beatification Pope JOHN PAUL II noted that Mother Aviat "dedicated her life to educating young working women." The miracle approved for her canonization involved the spontaneous cure of a fourteen-year-old Pennsylvania girl's paralyzing spinal cord condition, after a novena prayed by local sisters of her order. Pope John Paul II canonized her, along with three others, in Rome on November 25, 2001, and in his homily he emphasized her dedication to prayer as the source of her power "to persevere to the end of her life in the life of faith, desiring to be led by the Lord: 'O my God, let my happiness be found in sacrificing my will and my desires for you!'"

Feast: January 11.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SALESIANS.

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B

BADANO, CHIARA, BL.

Also known as Luce Badano; laywoman; b. October 29, 1971, Sassello, Savona, Italy; d. October 7, 1990, Sassello, Savona, Italy; declared VENERABLE by Pope BENEDICT XVI, July 3, 2008.

The only child of truck driver Ruggero Badano and his wife, Maria Teresa Caviglia, Chiara Badano enjoyed sports and outdoor activities. As a nine-year-old, she joined the FOCOLARE MOVEMENT. In 1988 the teenaged Chiara supervised a group of children going to Rome for a Gen 4 meeting. Around this time, she changed her name to Luce, meaning "light."

Not long afterward, she learned she had cancer in her shoulder. She was still determined to become a missionary, but once the cancer invaded her spine, she could not walk. Realizing that she would not be able to travel, she did her missionary work at home by praying for her family and friends. She refused medication so that she could share Christ's pain on the CROSS.

She died a few weeks before turning nineteen. As reported by the Focolare Movement, shortly before her death she encouraged others: "Don't cry for me. I am going to Jesus. At my funeral I don't want people to cry, but rather to sing with all their voices." To this end, she helped her mother plan her funeral in the style of a wedding celebration.

Pope Benedict XVI declared her venerable on July 3, 2008. The following year, on December 19, he issued a proclamation of a miracle attributed to her intervention, which was requisite for her subsequent beatification in 2010. At the time of the publication of this entry, a date had not been set for her beatification.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION.

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BAKER, DAVID AUGUSTINE

Mystic and spiritual writer; b. David Baker, December 9, 1575, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, Wales; d. August 9, 1641, London.

Raised in an Anglican family of Catholic sympathies, Baker attended OXFORD and became a lawyer and the recorder of Abergavenny; but by his own account he was a "practical atheist" who lived a somewhat debauched life until 1600, when he was saved from plunging off a collapsed bridge by what he regarded as a miracle.

After careful study of religious questions he became a Catholic in 1603, his parents soon following. Having met several BENEDICTINES, and because he wished to

follow a way of life of "moderate severity," he entered that order, making his NOVITIATE at Padua, where he was professed in 1605 and took the name Augustine (Austin) after the apostle of the English. He moved back and forth between England and the Continent and was ordained at Rheims in 1613.

For a time he was chaplain to a nobleman in England. In London he met Siegbert Buckley, an elderly monk who had belonged to the Marian Benedictine establishment of WESTMINSTER ABBEY and had recently been released after many years in prison. It was through Buckley that the exiled monks on the Continent retained their link with the Marian foundation, and in the 1620s Baker researched the history of the English Benedictines in order to demonstrate that connection. For that purpose he was given access to the manuscripts of Sir Robert Cotton, which later became the basis of the British Museum, and in the process he became acquainted with some of the leading antiquaries of the day—John Selden, Henry Spelman, and William Cambden. His research resulted in the valuable historical study *Apostolatus Benedictorum in Anglia*.

While in England he also gave legal advice to the poor and to his fellow Benedictines, and he made some converts, not through theological disputation but simply by urging individuals to pray and seek the will of God earnestly. But Baker himself felt keenly that he was not living as he was supposed to live.

When the English Benedictine congregation was officially restored in 1619, he was the first to affiliate with St. Laurence at Dieulouard, France, the continuation of the Westminster community that eventually became Ampleforth Abbey. Over time he had connections with three of the forerunners of modern English Benedictine life—Dieulouard, where he spent little time; St. Gregory's, Douai, which became Downside Abbey; and the convent of English nuns at CAMBRAI, the forerunners of Stanbrook Abbey.

While chaplain in a country house, he spent as much as six hours a day in prayer but, as he later complained, had no spiritual guidance and was not at all sure that he was on the right path. After one experience of what he called "passive contemplation," he suffered from prolonged spiritual aridity and spent some years following set prayer formulae that he found unsatisfying. Even in monasteries, the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius Loyola dominated spiritual direction at the time, and it was this structured approach that Baker found deficient.

He was a chaplain to the nuns at Cambrai from 1624 to 1633, and it was during that period that for the first time he began to write about the spiritual life and serve as a director of souls. Stating that the nuns lacked adequate spiritual books in English, he translated the *Cloud of Unknowing* and the works of Jan van RUYSBROECK, Johannes TAULER, THOMAS À KEMPIS, Richard ROLLE DE HAMPOLE, and Walter HILTON, books that apparently legitimized for him the kind of prayer that he had fleetingly experienced but then abandoned. Now he taught the nuns that the highest prayer requires going beyond all words, images, and conscious thoughts, and he drew on both his own experiences and those of the nuns to produce a flood of practical guides to the spiritual life, especially the disciplining of the WILL.

Most of the nuns, notably Gertrude More, a descendant of St. Thomas More, were strongly drawn to Baker's approach. But others were resistant, supported by the convent's official chaplain, Francis Hull (also a Benedictine), who promoted the structured kind of prayer that Baker considered unsuitable for contemplatives, while Hull in turn thought that Baker encouraged too much reliance on an "inner light." In 1633 the English Congregation of the Benedictines formally investigated Baker's approach and vindicated him.

Despite this vindication, tensions remained, and Baker and Hull were both transferred. Baker was sent to Douai, where he wrote formal theological defenses of contemplation and received a stream of visitors interested in that life. In 1636 he wrote a book arguing that missionary activity created difficulties for the monastic life, a book that was used by the president of the English Congregation, Rudisind BARLOW, to support his own misgivings about the mission. But when Baker attempted to distance himself from Barlow's position, misunderstandings arose between them. At both Cambrai and Douai there were also tensions over what was regarded as Baker's aloofness from community life, his propensity for spending most of his time in his cell and not participating in general community activities.

All his life Baker suffered from ill health, including consumption and a stomach ailment that prevented him from eating properly. But in 1638 the poverty of the Douai monastery, because of the THIRTY YEARS' WAR, led to Baker's assignment to the English mission that both he and Barlow had questioned, an assignment that was possibly a vindictive act by his superiors. He returned to London, but news of the Douai conflict caused the English Benedictine provincial to ignore him. Baker lived in various private houses, barely evading the pursuivants, as CHARLES I's somewhat relaxed policy toward Catholics was replaced by Puritan aggressiveness. He died almost alone, as he had said he wished to do.

Baker left behind an immense body of somewhat disorganized writings, so that most published editions of his work are compilations made by others. He was perhaps the last representative of the English mystical tradition, although more than two centuries separated him from that tradition's great age. Aside from personality conflicts, he was at odds with some of his contemporaries because he consciously represented the medieval mystical tradition as against the prevailing COUNTERREFORMATION spirituality, and later in the seventeenth century he was suspected of QUIETISM. His work remains to some extent controversial.

SEE ALSO ANGLICANISM; CONTEMPLATION; CONVERTS AND CONVERSION; DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; DOUAI (DOUAY); IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA, ST.; MORE, GERTRUDE; MORE, SIR THOMAS, ST.; MYSTICISM; PURITANS; SPIRITUAL EXERCISES.

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BALICKI, JAN (JOHN), BL.

Baptized John Adalbert; rector and professor of theology at Pontifical GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY; b. January 25, 1869, Staromiescie, Poland; d. March 15, 1948, Przemysl, Poland; beatified August 18, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

John Adalbert Balicki was born into a poor family, but his parents had strong faith and moral values. He completed twelve years of schooling in his hometown and went on to the diocesan seminary, Przemysl of the Latins, in 1888.

After his ordination on July 20, 1892, Fr. Balicki spent about a year as assistant pastor in the parish of Polna before attending the Pontifical Gregorian University. There, he took classes in the morning and devoted his afternoons and evenings to prayer and inspirational readings, particularly the works of St. THOMAS AQUINAS. He completed his studies at the university in 1897 and became a theology professor as well as prefect of studies at Przemysl.

In 1927 Fr. Balicki, a humble man, did not want to accept the position of vice-rector at Przemysl, but he obeyed a request that he do so. The following year he was appointed rector. He prayed about every decision and carefully considered each candidate. Fr. Balicki readily followed the steps he recommended to others for a more saintly life: taking life seriously, being self-critical and constantly open to self-improvement, and having unshakable confidence in prayer, a joyful spirit, a love of SUFFERING, and praise for God's MERCY.

Health problems led him to resign in 1934, but, for the next five years, Fr. Balicki heard confessions and counseled those in need of spiritual guidance. Many were touched by his gentleness and open heart.

WORLD WAR II divided the city in 1939. Fr. Balicki chose to remain in the more dangerous side occupied by the Soviets. He hoped to keep the seminary going but instead ended up living in a room in the bishop's residence, where he remained after the war ended and the city was reunited in 1941. Six years later, Fr. Balicki died of pneumonia and tuberculosis.

Polish immigrants lauded his HOLINESS, and those who asked John Adalbert to intercede for them said their prayers were answered. On December 22, 1975, Cardinal Wojtyła requested that Pope PAUL VI acknowledge Fr. Balicki as an example for other priests. Fr. Balicki was venerated on December 19, 1994, by Pope John Paul II. On August 18, 2002, Fr. Balicki was beatified along with twelve other religious. Cardinal José Saraiva Martins, prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, praised these beati as a "gift of the Spirit for our time."

Feast: March 15.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; INTERCESSION; KAROL WOJTYŁA: EARLY YEARS; POLAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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BALTIMORE CATECHISM

The *Baltimore Catechism* (1885) was the first catechism endorsed by the Catholic hierarchy for use in parishes throughout the United States. Archbishop James Cardinal GIBBONS, its chief proponent, hoped that it would replace a multitude of catechisms used in immigrant communities. The *Baltimore Catechism* became the standard teaching text for children in most dioceses. A revised version was issued in 1941, but it fell out of use after Vatican II.

History of Catechisms. The catechism first took shape in the late Middle Ages as a printed set of instructions to priests for offering oral instruction in church teachings to their parishioners. The *Roman Catechism* (1566), promulgated by the Council of TRENT (1545–1563), attempted to establish a uniform and orthodox set of teachings approved by the pope. By the nineteenth century, the *Roman Catechism* was one of at least one hundred in use throughout the Catholic world despite the fact that Popes BENEDICT XIV and CLEMENT XIII recommended the adoption of a uniform catechism for all Catholics. Empress MARIA THERESA OF AUSTRIA imposed a single catechism throughout Austria and Bohemia, and NAPOLEON I did the same in France. Thus, questions over standard catechisms became linked to linguistic and cultural traditions, the central authority of the papacy, and the development of the nation-state.

At the first Vatican Council (1869–1870), bishops from around the world considered establishing a single text for teaching, although a strong minority defended diversity. Jean Pierre Marcellin Augustin VEROT, the sole American to participate in these discussions, favored a single catechism for the United States. Like him, the vast majority of Catholics in America were recent immigrants, and he hoped that a single catechism would draw them together into a more unified community. However, he admitted that bishops in the United States had so far been unable to agree upon a standard text.

The earliest catechism published in the United States was written by John CARROLL, the first Catholic bishop there. The *Carroll Catechism* (1785) adopted Richard CHALLONER's 1759 abridgement of the *Doway Catechism* (1649) written by Henry Tuberville (c. 1607–1678), a member of the community of British Catholics in exile in Douai. The *Doway Catechism* had set the pattern for future catechisms written in English by taking the form of questions and answers and by addressing the challenges of being Catholic in a predominantly Protestant society. While Carroll drew from British precedents, many bishops and priests in the newly independent United States were French, German, or Irish. Like their parishioners, immigrant clergy members brought their own catechisms with them to America. In the Southwest, Spanish and Latin American catechisms predominated.



Gibbons, James Cardinal (1834–1921). *This Archbishop and first Chancellor of The Catholic University of America was the driving force behind the creation of the Baltimore Catechism.*
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The bishops who met in the First Provincial Council of Baltimore, for two weeks in October 1832 to set standards throughout the United States, deplored the "promiscuous" use of "unapproved catechisms and prayer books" (quoted in Marthaler 1995, p. 113). Seeking to impose homogeneity on a diverse set of Catholic practices, they directed the preparation of a new American catechism to be approved by the pope. However, the decree was not implemented and American bishops continued to publish and use a variety of catechisms. Further attempts to create a single, American catechism were made by the First Plenary Council of Baltimore (1852) and the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866) but they, too, failed.

The Baltimore Catechism. In 1884 Archbishop Gibbons, the director of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, convened a committee of bishops to study the issue. The committee recommended the adoption of a standard catechism in English, to be translated into foreign languages as necessary. The report further recommended that whenever possible, the catechism be taught to children in English.

Monsignor Januarius DE CONCILIO, pastor of St. Michael's Church in Jersey City, New Jersey, prepared the catechism in cooperation with Bishop John L. SPALDING of Peoria, Illinois. The final text was approved on April 6, 1885, by Archbishop John Cardinal MCCLOSKEY of New York and Archbishop Gibbons of Baltimore and published that year as *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine, Prepared and Enjoined by the Order of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore*.

Drawing from existing catechisms in circulation in America, the seventy-two-page *Baltimore Catechism* posed and answered 421 questions organized under three broad headings: Creed, Sacraments, and Commandments. Several months later, Spalding published an abridged version, known as the *Baltimore Catechism No. 1*.

The *Baltimore Catechism* generated little enthusiasm among the American priests and bishops who were to use it as the basis for religious education. The most pointed criticisms came in a series of articles in *Pastoral Blatt*, a German-language monthly from St. Louis, which characterized the *Baltimore Catechism* as dull, monotonous, and weak in its theology. The anonymous author further complained that the catechism had been published prior to receiving approval from the Congregation for the PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH and that the final version had not been sent to the bishops for review. Despite these criticisms (and the continued publication of new catechisms), most dioceses adopted the *Baltimore Catechism* and generations of Catholic schoolchildren committed its questions and answers to memory in preparation for their first communion.

The Revised Catechism. Revisions of the catechism, under official discussion since 1896, were undertaken in the 1930s under the direction of Reverend Francis J. CONNELL, a professor of moral theology at the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA. *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine* was issued in June 1941. This revised version of the *Baltimore Catechism* expanded the number of questions to 499 and added a chapter on the LORD'S PRAYER. It also reordered the sequence of presentation to Creed, Code, and Cult. An updated version of *Baltimore No. 1* was issued several months later. An expanded version for use by adults known as *Baltimore No. 3* appeared in 1949.

The revised *Baltimore Catechism* met with criticism, especially for its failure to take into account changing approaches to the Scriptures, the rise of the liturgical movement, and the evolution of the understanding of the sacraments. Many parishes began supplementing or replacing the *Catechism of Christian Doctrine* with alternative catechisms, or dispensing with the genre entirely by encouraging learners to pose their own questions about the meaning of faith and the practice of Catholicism.

The *Baltimore Catechism* had a strong influence in the creation of an American Catholic culture. It fell out of use after Vatican II (1962–1965), which embraced diversity in Catholic teachings and shifted the emphasis of religious education away from memorization of questions and answers toward more individual explorations of faith. However, additional catechisms continued to be published in the United States and throughout the Catholic world. In 1992 Pope JOHN PAUL II introduced a new *Catechism of the Catholic Church* to bring greater unity to Catholic teachings, while recognizing the ongoing value of local catechisms for religious instruction.

SEE ALSO CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; CATECHISMS; CREED; CULT (WORSHIP); DOGMA; LITURGICAL CATECHESIS.

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BATIFFOL, PIERRE

Catholic Church historian and theologian; b. Toulouse, France, Jan. 27, 1861; d. Paris, France, Jan. 13, 1929.

Pierre Batiffol studied at the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris from 1878 to 1882. In 1884 he was ordained to the priesthood. He continued his studies at the Université Catholique de Paris (now the Institut Catholique de Paris), an institution founded by Monseignor Maurice d'Hulst (1841–1896) in 1875, and at the École des Hautes Études. He was a student of Louis DUCHESNE, whose philological and historical-critical approaches (cf. *Liber Pontificalis*) deeply impressed Batiffol. During this period, Batiffol's sympathy for this approach resulted in a sincere friendship with Marie Joseph LAGRANGE, who would become the founder of the École Biblique at Jerusalem. For a short period, Batiffol also studied at Berat (Albania) and ROME (1887–1889), where he was influenced by the ideas of the archaeologist Giovanni Battista de ROSSI. During his stay at Rome, Batiffol was the chaplain of Saint-Louis des Français.

When the historical-critical approach to the Bible was influencing Catholic exegesis, Batiffol started his academic career, while also serving as a chaplain at the Parisian Collège Sainte-Barbe. The new approach was marked by a return to the study of original languages and considered aspects of such disciplines as archaeology and philology. Within the context of these developments, Batiffol, who aimed at rediscovering the Patristic foundations of theological teaching, concentrated on the history of the Early Church, with a special interest in the history of the LITURGY and the PAPACY. From 1889 to 1892, he published his doctoral dissertations *L'Abbaye de Rossano, contribution à l'histoire de la Vaticane* and *Quaestiones Philostorgianae*. During the same period, his *Studia patristica* appeared. Batiffol's *Histoire du bréviaire romain* (1893), a critical reconstruction of the BREVIARY's historical development, methodologically much in line with Duchesne's *Les origines du culte chrétien* (1889), became a standard study in the field and was translated into English.

However, Batiffol's *Eucharistie*, published in 1905, is better known. Although the book was written as a critique of Protestant theologians such as Friedrich Loofs (1858–1928), it was put on the INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS in 1907. After thorough revision and, finally, with ecclesiastical approval, the book was republished in 1913. Because of his *Histoire du bréviaire romain*, Batiffol was appointed as rector of the Institut Catholique de Toulouse in 1898, and because of this appointment, he became a domestic prelate of the POPE in 1899. But he had to withdraw from this position in 1907, and he returned to the Parisian Collège Sainte-Barbe. Although his work was condemned in the anti-Modernist sphere of Pope PIUS X, Batiffol was firmly opposed to the Modernist movement and one of its leading figures, Alfred LOISY, professor at the Institut Catholique de Paris when Batiffol studied there.

At Paris, Batiffol, who, in a sense, was rehabilitated when appointed as a titular canon of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, continued to teach (not only in Paris, but also in Strasbourg) and publish. He maintained an effort to hold together historical and theological approaches, a position which, at the time, was not evident (in Catholic circles, separation of the two approaches was considered to be the safest position; Batiffol believed in the development of a so-called positive THEOLOGY). Publications such as *L'Église naissante et le catholicisme* (1909), *La paix constantinienne* (1914), and *Le catholicisme de saint Augustin* (1920) received international appreciation. Batiffol also participated in the MALINES CONVERSATIONS and represented the pope at the conference on historical sciences at Oslo in 1928. Batiffol was also one of the co-founders, or first collaborators, of academic journals such as *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*. When Batiffol was rector of the university at Toulouse, this journal clearly preferred a historical approach to theological research over a speculative one. Batiffol also helped to found *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes* (founded in 1910; its publication was interrupted by World War I) and *Revue biblique* (explicitly invited by Lagrange).

SEE ALSO CATHOLIC BIBLICAL EXEGESIS SINCE VATICAN II; CHURCH, HISTORY OF, I (EARLY); EXEGESIS, BIBLICAL; LIBER PONTIFICALIS; PATRISTIC THEOLOGY.

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BATTHYÁNY-STRATTMANN, LÁSZLÓ, BL.

Also known as Ladislao or Ladislaus; layman and surgeon; b. January 20, 1870, Dunakiliti, Hungary; d. January 22, 1931, Vienna, Austria; beatified March 23, 2003, by JOHN PAUL II.

The sixth of ten boys, Ladislaus Batthyány was born into a family of the Hungarian nobility; he later inherited the title *prince* and the name Strattmann. When he was six years old, his family moved to Austria because of flooding in Dunakiliti. His parents divorced when he was young. At age nine, he was sent to a Jesuit boarding school. Three years later his mother died.

As a small boy, Ladislaus dreamed of becoming a doctor and helping the poor. When he was old enough, he wanted to enter medical school, but his father suggested he study subjects that would help him maintain the family property. He complied by taking agriculture and science classes, so he did not begin his medical coursework until 1896, at the age of twenty-six.

On November 10, 1898, he married a countess, Maria Teresa (Theresia) Coreth, with whom he had thirteen children. In 1900 he graduated from the University of Vienna with a medical degree. Two years later he opened a small hospital, where he worked first as a general practitioner, then as a surgeon and eye doctor.

During WORLD WAR I, the hospital was enlarged to accommodate wounded soldiers. After he inherited his uncle's castle and the title of *prince* in 1915, Ladislaus converted one wing of the castle into an ophthalmology hospital. Although he was highly recognized as a specialist in the field, he not only provided free treatment to those who could not pay but also paid for their prescriptions and even gave additional financial assistance to those in need. He helped many patients but considered himself only an instrument in the process. He gave God the glory for his patients' healing. Each of his patients received a free book about the faith, *Open Your Eyes and See*, and a picture of our Lord. His patients, whom he cared for as well as his own family, often called him a saint.

Near the end of his life, he was hospitalized with cancer. Though he was in constant pain, he continued to thank God for his many blessings. Batthyány-Strattmann died on January 21, 1931, one day after his sixty-first birthday. "In fidelity and charity" had been his life's motto.

On March 23, 2003, in the presence of Pope John Paul II, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins praised Batthyány-Strattmann as a "good Samaritan to hundreds of sick people" during the BEATIFICATION of eight people from the countries of Poland, Italy, Spain, and Hungary.

Feast: January 22.

SEE ALSO HUNGARY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; JESUITS.

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BATTISTA DA VARANO, CAMILLA, ST.

Also known as Camilla da Varano and Battista Varano and Battista Varani; foundress of the monastery of St. Clare in Camerino, Italy; b. April 9, 1458, Camerino, Macerata, Italy; d. May 31, 1524, Camerino, Macerata, Italy; cultus confirmed by Pope GREGORY XVI, April 7, 1843; beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI, December 19, 2005.

Baptized Camilla, Battista da Varano was the daughter of Prince Giulio Cesare da Varano and his young wife, Cecchina di Mastro Giacomo. An intelligent child, she loved singing and dancing, but after a sermon on the PASSION touched her, she determined to shed a tear every Friday. Thus began her remembrance of GOOD FRIDAY and Christ's suffering.

Though her parents initially opposed her vocation, twenty-three-year-old Camilla eventually entered the POOR CLARES of Urbino on November 14, 1481. A few years later she made her profession, taking the name of Sr. Battista on January 4, 1484. She founded the monastery at Camerino, which her father funded. After founding another monastery in Fermo in 1505, she returned to Camerino.

Her faith was greatly tested by physical suffering and temptations, but the greatest trial was the death of her relatives during Cesare BORGIA's revolt in 1502; she prayed, nonetheless, for those who had killed them. Mystical experiences and visions comforted her, and she recorded her religious thoughts in prose and verse. Rather than dictating these to others, she wrote them out herself. The pages reveal her great learning, her nostalgia for court life, and her passion for the divine. Some of her recollections were published as *True Devotion to the Passion from the Writings of Battista Varani* in London in 1924.

When she died in 1524, her funeral was held in the courtyard of her father's palace. Pope Benedict XVI issued a proclamation of a miracle attributed to her INTERCESSION on December 19, 2009, leading to her canonization in 2010. At the time of the publication of this entry, a date had not been set for her beatification.

SEE ALSO CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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BEATIFICATION

Beatification refers to a papal declaration that permits a particular diocese, region, nation, religious institute, or group to venerate publicly a person who has died with a reputation for HOLINESS. A beatified person is granted the title "Blessed," and can be venerated with a public cult, which usually consists of a MASS and office in the person's honor, which may sometimes even be permitted for the universal Church. However, beatification is limited in its effects; for example, a blessed may not be the titular patron of a church except by apostolic indult (see USCC, *Norms Governing Liturgical Calendars*, 1984, p. 47).

Formal beatification is a positive declaration, following a canonical process, that a person did practice heroic virtue, or suffered a true martyrdom, and after death worked authentic miracles upon being invoked in prayer. Besides witnesses' testimony to the person's virtues, evidence of a first-class miracle is required, though this requirement may be waived in the case of a MARTYR. *Equivalent beatification* is the silent consent of

the Church, aware of, yet not opposing, the public cult given one of its children over a long period of time.

Beatification may be understood as a preliminary step toward canonization as a saint, though not all those beatified are canonized. The process of beatification, therefore, falls under the same ecclesial legislation that pertains to the causes of the saints. Originally, beatification was not distinguished from canonization except by the limits imposed on the public cult. When the veneration of the holy person had spread beyond a local region and had become universal, the tacit or express consent of the pope to the public veneration became "ipso facto canonization" (Ortolan 1923, p. 494).

Development of the Beatification Process since the Middle Ages. In the MIDDLE AGES, the process of canonization became more formal and centralized, and Pope ALEXANDER III (r. 1159–1181), in 1171, "reserved the process of canonization to the Holy See" (Bunson 2009, p. 132). The decree of Alexander III also applied to the process of beatification, which had earlier been handled by local bishops. In 1588 Pope SIXTUS V (r. 1585–1590) established the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and he gave this congregation the authority to oversee the processes of beatification and canonization. Pope URBAN VIII (r. 1623–1644) promulgated more precise rules, and Pope BENEDICT XIV (r. 1740–1758) provided even more detailed procedures and theological analysis in his five-volume work titled, *De servorum Dei beatificatione et de beatorum canonizatione* [On the Beatification of the Servants of God and the Canonization of the Blessed]. This monumental work served as the principal guide for the Sacred Congregation of Rites for close to two centuries, and its basic points were incorporated into the 1917 Code of Canon Law. Pope PIUS XI (r. 1922–1939) established a "historical section" of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1930, which was entrusted with examination of "historical cases" of saints and blesseds—that is, those for which there were no living witnesses to testify to the person's sanctity and heroic virtue. In 1969 Pope PAUL VI (r. 1963–1978), by virtue of his 1969 apostolic constitution, *Sacra Rituum Congregatio*, divided the Sacred Congregation of Rites into two distinct dicasteries, the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, with the latter authorized to deal with the processes of beatification and canonization.



Beatification Ceremony. *Celebrated inside St. Peter's Basilica, this ceremony was in honor of the beatification of a group of African beati, Rome, Italy, 1965.* © **DAVID LEES/CORBIS**

In 1983 Pope JOHN PAUL II (r. 1978–2005) promulgated his apostolic constitution, *Divinus Perfectionis Magister*, which was accompanied by the *New Laws for the Causes of Saints*, issued by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. These documents provided clear procedures for the role and duties of bishops regarding causes for beatification and the competence of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints with respect to these causes. The *New Laws* also specified the roles of the petitioner for the cause (the one who advances or promotes the cause for beatification and/or canonization) and the postulator (the one who follows the course of the inquiry with diocesan or eparchial authorities and who must reside in Rome during "the Roman phase" of the cause). In 2007 the Congregation for the Causes of Saints issued its instruction, *Sanctorum Mater*, which provided even more detailed norms for conducting diocesan or eparchial inquiries into the causes of the saints. Greater clarity was given into the processes for ancient as opposed to recent causes, as well as the roles of episcopal delegates, promoters of justice, notaries, medical experts, witnesses, and theological censors.

The Procedure for Beatification. Basically, the process for beatification begins with the gathering of evidence of heroic virtue and sanctity regarding a person recognized as having these qualities during his or her life. Ordinarily, the petition for beatification cannot be presented until

five years after death, and it is the bishop of the diocese in which the individual died who should make the petition. Once the petition has been initiated, the person under consideration is called a "Servant of God." After the Congregation for the Causes of Saints issues a formal decree of heroic virtue, the Servant of God is honored by the title "Venerable." The Congregation can also issue formal decrees recognizing martyrdom. At least one miracle must be verified before a Venerable can be beatified, though, as noted above, the requirement for a miracle can be waived in the case of martyrs.

Once a decree recognizing a miracle has been given, a date for the beatification can be set. John Paul II wished all beatifications to have the Roman Pontiff presiding, either in Rome or during an apostolic visit of the pope. Pope Benedict XVI (r. 2005–), however, approved a communiqué issued by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints on September 29, 2005, which changed this policy. Henceforth, the pope will preside at all canonizations, but beatifications ordinarily will take place in the diocese of the newly beatified or some other suitable place (though beatifications can still take place in Rome for special reasons). The liturgy and rite of beatification "will be celebrated by a representative of the Holy Father who will normally be the Prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints."

The Question of Infallibility. Traditionally, canonizations have been judged to be definitive and, therefore, infallible declarations of the pope pertaining to "secondary objects of infallibility" (see Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Commentary on the Concluding Formula of the Professio Fidei*, 1998, no. 11). Beatifications, though, have usually not been understood as infallible for two reasons: first, because the Roman Pontiff is only permitting veneration on a limited scale rather than mandating it for the universal Church, and second, because (according to the former process) a new examination of the cause takes place prior to canonization (Ortolan 1923, p. 495). Traditionally, therefore, a beatification was not understood to be infallible, but it would involve moral certainty of its truth, and to deny it would at least be temerarious. With the more rigorous requirements now in place for beatifications, the argument might be made that beatifications are also protected by the Holy Spirit and, therefore, infallible. After all, would the Holy Spirit allow the Church to confirm a miracle and authorize veneration of a Blessed in heaven in an erroneous fashion?

SEE ALSO INTERCESSION; CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); RITES, CONGREGATION OF; SAINTS AND BLESSEDS; VENERABLE; VIRTUE, HEROIC.

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BEAURAING (BELGIUM), APPARITIONS OF OUR LADY OF

The apparitions of Our Lady of Beauraing in the Walloon (French-speaking) province of Namur, southern Belgium, emphasize the need for constant PRAYER, the value of sacrifice, and the Blessed Virgin Mary's ongoing INTERCESSION for the conversion of sinners. The central focus of this series of thirty-three apparitions is the golden heart of the Immaculate Virgin Mary as a symbol of unfailing heavenly love.

Five children from two families testified that Mary had appeared to them nearly every evening from November 29, 1932, until and including January 3, 1933. At the time of the visions, none of the seers had reached the age of majority: Andrée Degeimbre was fourteen, her sister, Gilberte nine; Fernande Voisin was fifteen, her sister Gilberte thirteen, and their brother, Albert, eleven. The reports of the apparitions faced vigorous opposition, aimed primarily at the seers themselves who, far from devout, actually were known for their pranks. That none of them entered religious life in adulthood also invited later criticism, especially in view of the path taken by St. Bernadette SOUBIROUS (1844–1879), seer of LOURDES (1858), and Sr. Lúcia de Jesus Rosa Santos (1907–2005), principal seer of FÁTIMA (1917).

The First Apparition. Gilberte Voisin attended an academy of the Religious of Christian Doctrine. The other four children used to meet, then go together to the academy to walk home with Gilberte after dismissal at 6:30 each evening. The children, often given to high spirits and mischief, were known to play pranks along their way, ringing doorbells and on one occasion even starting up an automobile parked in the street. On the evening of November 29, 1932, just after ringing the bell at the academy, Albert Voisin turned away from the door to speak to the girls; he noticed beyond the trees in the school garden a luminous shape hovering in the air above the railway bridge across the road from the school gate. Immediately, he cried out: "Look! The Virgin is walking along the bridge!" This direct identification, by a child seer, of the vision with the Blessed Virgin Mary is altogether unusual. Nevertheless, Albert himself and the other three children insisted, when carefully questioned shortly thereafter, that these were the words he had spoken. Other children similarly favored by Marian apparitions did not at once recognize the figure as the Virgin Mary.

Turning to the place indicated by Albert, the three girls saw a woman walking back and forth above the bridge. She had joined her hands, and as she walked, the children noticed the outline of her knees beneath her white tunic. A cloud supporting the woman eighteen inches above the bridge concealed her feet. The children excitedly rang the bell again and pummeled the door with their fists. The portress, Sr. Valeria, expressed her annoyance, but the children pointed to the walking figure. The sister saw nothing. Gilberte Voisin then emerged from the school, and claimed without any prompting by the other children to see the lady walking atop the bridge. Now frightened, the children ran home, first to the Degeimbre house, where their tale was dismissed as another prank. The Voisin children proceeded to their own residence, where they too faced ridicule upon reporting their tale. That evening, Gilberte Degeimbre, according to her widowed mother, talked in her sleep, remarking, "How lovely she is!"

Subsequent Apparitions. The next evening the four children went to collect Gilberte Voisin from school, but refrained from the usual games of doorbell-ringing. All five children, upon arriving home, reported the same vision, again claiming that they had seen Our Lady. The parents greeted the report with skepticism, and the mother of the Degeimbre girls, Germaine Degeimbre, announced that she would accompany them on the following evening. In fact, she accompanied them with another daughter and five other people. Once the four children, walking ahead of the group, had reached the gate of the school, they began shouting that they saw Our Lady, this time standing nearly on the ground beside a hawthorn inside the school gate. Golden rays shone as from a diadem on the Lady's head. In disbelief, Mrs. Degeimbre thrashed about the bushes with a stick; finding nothing there, she directed the children to approach the door of the school. Once Gilberte emerged from the school, the five children claimed to see the Blessed Virgin by a holly bush. They reported that the Lady spread her arms toward them in the manner of the priest at Mass turning to the congregation with the greeting "Dominus vobiscum" (the Lord be with you). She then disappeared. As the group was leaving, the children saw her again over the shrubbery.

Upon their return home, Mrs. Degeimbre invited the Voisin children's mother, Marie Louise Voisin, to go with her to the school to see whether she could see anything. They and three of the children proceeded to the school. Arriving there around 8:00 p.m., December 1, the children reported seeing the Virgin standing on an arched branch of the hawthorn. Seemingly thrown to their knees, they prayed several Hail Marys in high-pitched voices quite different from their normal ranges. Now favorably disposed to the report and to the attitude of the children, Mrs. Voisin approached the parish priest and dean, Leon Lambert, and related the story.

The headmistress and superior, Mother Theophile Lannoy, S.D.C., forbade the children from collecting Gilberte Voisin from school on December 2. Instead, the superior herself escorted Gilberte home. On returning to the academy, she locked the gates and turned two ferocious dogs loose in the yard. Later that evening, Marie Louise and her husband, Hector Voisin, joined by two friends, came to the school with the five children. Just outside the locked gate, the children knelt down and prayed as they beheld the Virgin standing in the hawthorn tree. Prompted by the adults, Albert asked, "Are you the Immaculate Virgin?" He reported that the vision nodded and extended her arms. Upon asking her, "What do you want of us?" Albert said that the Lady replied, "Be very good." The children assured the figure

in glowing terms that they would do as she asked. Meeting an employee of the school on their way home, the group returned to the school gate. On arrival, the children saw the Lady and prayed several Hail Marys while kneeling on the cobblestones on the street. The same dialogue took place between Albert Voisin and the Lady of the vision, with the Lady probing the sincerity of Albert's reply that he really would be good.

On December 3, the superior of the school forbade the children to return to the school that evening. The children complied with the ban, but by the next day, under pressure from the parents, the superior lifted the ban. The children turned up at 6:30 p.m. on December 4. This time, the Lady awaited them. In response to Albert's request that the Lady heal a paralytic friend, Joseph Degoudenne, and the blind uncle of Andrée and Gilberte Degeimbre, she directed them to bring the afflicted to the schoolyard on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, four days later. To Fernande's query concerning whether a chapel ought to be built on the site, the vision replied in the affirmative. Later that evening, Albert returned to the school gates with a Mr. Joseph Dereppe, who carried his ten-year-old daughter Paulette. The girl suffered from an ulcerated leg. At Albert's request for a cure of the poor girl, the Lady smiled and vanished. For weeks the girl experienced no change, but by February 15, 1933, her sores had disappeared and she walked without pain.

During an apparition on December 6, Albert mentioned that the Lady was wearing a rosary on her right arm, but that the beads were partially hidden in the folds of her dress; neither was the cross visible. On this occasion the children actually prayed a rosary during the vision, something they had not done heretofore. The other seers likewise reported seeing the rosary suspended from the Lady's right arm. Thereafter the rosary would figure in the apparitions of Beauraing. Although according to the seers the Lady made no mention of the rosary in her remarks to them, they took its presence on her arm as a sign of its importance. They did not always pray the rosary during the apparitions, but often prayed it while awaiting the appearance of the Lady.

Meanwhile, various solicitors and priests began to question the seers after subsequent visions. Crowds accompanied the children to the school grounds on December 8, the feast of the Immaculate Conception. By 6:30 p.m., a crowd of approximately fifteen thousand surrounded the site of the apparitions. The Lady appeared and stayed for the length of a ROSARY. No miracles took place, but the children for the first time fell into a state of ECSTASY. Physicians tried various means of inflicting pain or distracting their attention, but the children remained motionless. The Lady gave no utterance. Nor did she appear again until December 13 and 14, saying nothing on either occasion. After a lapse of several days, the Lady appeared once again. At the prompting of the clergy, the children asked the Lady on December 17 what she required of the priests. The reply consisted of only two words: "a chapel."

She appeared again on December 19 and 20. To the question posed on December 21 regarding her identity, the Lady replied, "I am the Immaculate Virgin." Albert did not see her on the following two occasions (December 22 and 23), although the other children reported seeing the Lady. On the latter occasion, Fernande asked the purpose of the apparitions; the answer came, "So that people will come here on pilgrimage." On Christmas Eve, the Lady remained silent to the question, "Why will you not give us proof if you are the Immaculate Virgin?" Although she appeared neither on Christmas nor on December 26, the Lady did appear on December 27, and on December 28 she announced that "Soon it will be my last visit."

During the apparition on December 29, the Lady opened her arms before disappearing. Fernande reported a golden heart on the Lady's breast surrounded by rays of light. The rest of the children reported seeing the golden heart during an appearance on December 30. Fernande recalled that on the second manifestation of the golden heart, the Lady told her, "Pray, pray often." Henceforth, the golden heart featured in the remaining apparitions.

On December 31, 1932, the Lady appeared three times to the children, first at the usual time, but twice more when the children returned later to the school garden. On January 1, 1933, Gilberte Voisin reported that the Lady had told her, "Pray continually." During the vision of January 2, the Lady promised that she would entrust a private message to each of the children on the following day.

The Final Apparition. A crowd of some twenty-five thousand turned up on January 3, for what was assumed to be the last apparition at Beauraing. Fernande, however, reported that she did not see the Lady on that occasion. The other children did not disclose the private message that the Lady allegedly had confided to them. She uttered further remarks, however, to two of them. To Andrée Degeimbre, the Lady stated: "I am the Mother of God, the Queen of Heaven. Pray continually." To Gilberte Voisin, the Lady said, "I will convert sinners." After the Lady disappeared, Fernande, feeling excluded, remained behind as the other four made a visit to the Lourdes shrine elsewhere on the grounds. Upon hearing a sudden explosion like a thunderclap and seeing a flash of light, Fernande fell to her knees. The Lady reappeared and asked her, "Do you love my Son? Do you love me?" Upon Fernande's affirmative reply, the Lady commanded, "Then sacrifice yourself for me."

This was the last of the visions. To each of them individually the Lady had bidden farewell. One of the children concluded that, "The lovely days are over."

Official Recognition of the Apparitions. Accounts of cures and conversions circulated. Among the first conversions were Mr. and Mrs. Hector Voisin, who had neglected the sacraments for years. Perhaps the most dramatic was that of the editor of the Belgian Communist daily, *Le Drapeau Rouge* (The Red Flag), who became a Dominican tertiary and brought the LEGION OF MARY to Belgium. In 1935 the diocese of Namur established a commission to investigate the events reported at Beauraing. In 1943 the bishop of Namur, André-Marie Charue, authorized the cult of Our Lady of Beauraing and allowed religious ceremonies to take place on the site of the apparitions. He reserved his final judgment on the authenticity of the apparitions. In 1949 Bishop Charue officially recognized the apparitions of Our Lady to the five children of Beauraing. The decision, approved by the Holy Office, rested on the scientific investigation of the healing of two women suffering from incurable diseases. The visions of Beauraing constitute the second series of Marian apparitions in the twentieth century to be recognized officially by the Catholic Church. (Those at Fatima in 1917 mark the first; those in 1933 at Banneux, southeast of Liège in Belgium, mark the third.)

In 1947 the first stone of the chapel requested by the Lady was laid on land adjoining the site of the apparitions. Although the school grounds remain the center of the devotion, most of the ceremonies related to Our Lady of Beauraing take place at the Domain of Mary. This large parkland had been the site of the Chateau de Beauraing, destroyed by fire in the nineteenth century. The park accommodates the crowds of pilgrims too numerous for the modest site of the apparitions.

The feast of Our Lady of Beauraing is August 22. This date, the octave of the Assumption, was assigned in 1944 by Pope PIUS XII as the feast of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, to commemorate his consecration of the world to Mary's Immaculate Heart on that day in 1942. The feast of the Immaculate Heart of Mary afforded a fitting occasion to commemorate Our Lady of Beauraing, renowned for her golden heart. Nevertheless, in 1969 Pope PAUL VI transferred the feast of the Immaculate Heart of Mary to the Saturday following the moveable solemnity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Instead, August 22 henceforth would mark the feast of the queenship of Mary. This coincides well with Beauraing in view of Mary's self-identification there as "queen of heaven."

All five seers married and raised families, a fact frequently used against the authenticity of the Beauraing apparitions. Nevertheless, they lived faithfully their vocation to marriage and family life. On May 18, 1985, Pope JOHN PAUL II visited Beauraing, meeting Gilberte Voisin and Andrée and Gilberte Degeimbre. He thereby confirmed his own approval of the apparitions and of the later vocations of the visionaries. Albert Voisin died on December 23, 2003.

The Messages of Our Lady of Beauraing. The messages of Beauraing are threefold: prayer, sacrifice, and the conversion of sinners. The Marian dimensions of the apparitions include Mary's utter freedom from sin as the Immaculate Virgin, her love symbolized by the golden heart, and her powerful intercession as queen of heaven for the conversion of sinners. The last aspect particularly underscores her role as mediatrix of graces, understood in subordination to Christ her Son, the sole mediator between God and humanity.

SEE ALSO BELGIUM, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; HAIL MARY; IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, QUEENSHIP OF.

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BELTRAME QUATTROCCHI, LUIGI AND MARIA CORSINI, BB.

First married couple beatified together; Luigi: b. January 12, 1880, Catania, Italy; d. November 9, 1951, Rome; Maria: b. June 24, 1884, Florence, Italy; d. August 26, 1965, Serravalle, Italy; beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II in Rome on October 21, 2001.

The beatification of Luigi and Maria Corsini Beltrame Quattrocchi was the first joint beatification of a

married couple in the history of the Church. The couple was married for fifty years and had four children, two of whom became priests (and concelebrated the Mass of BEATIFICATION with the pope) and one of whom became a religious sister. Husband and wife died at different times, and so John Paul II, in another historic move, declared that their feast day would be the date of their wedding anniversary. Luigi was a lawyer who rose to the highest levels of the Italian legal system. Maria was a teacher, nurse, writer, and catechist. Both were active in Catholic lay organizations. Together, they also actively engaged in helping those in need.

In addition to creating a family life marked by an atmosphere of peace and regular Catholic devotion, the couple heroically risked the death of Maria Corsini by refusing to abort a medically hazardous pregnancy that threatened her life. Through the intercession of the couple a young Italian man with a circulatory disorder was healed, and John Paul II recognized this event as the requisite beatification miracle.

John Paul II's homily of beatification stressed how Luigi and Maria concretely anticipated the universal call to HOLINESS, which would later be strongly emphasized in the Second Vatican Council, by educating their children on the path of following Jesus Christ and by engaging in a rich spiritual life. The pope articulated the historic nature of this joint beatification:

> The riches of faith and love of the husband and wife Luigi and Maria Beltrame Quattrocchi, are a living proof of what the Second Vatican Council said about *the call of all the faithful to holiness,* indicating that spouses should pursue this goal, "*propriam viam sequentes*," "following their own way" (*Lumen gentium*, n. 41). Today the aspiration of the Council is fulfilled with *the first beatification of a married couple:* their fidelity to the Gospel and their heroic virtues were verified in their life *as spouses* and *parents*.

Cardinal José Saraiva Martins, then prefect of the Congregation of the Causes of Saints, noted that the couple "made their family an authentic domestic Church, open to life, prayer, witness of the Gospel, the social apostolate, solidarity with the poor, and friendship."

Feast: November 25.

SEE ALSO APOSTOLATE AND SPIRITUAL LIFE; HOLINESS, UNIVERSAL CALL TO; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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BENEDICT XIV-I AND BENEDICT XIV-II, ANTIPOPES

Two men assumed this name in the years following the end of the Great Schism or Avignon Residency (1378–1417) at the Council of CONSTANCE. They were Bernard Garnier (1425–c. 1429) and Jean Carrier (1430–1437). Technically speaking, Garnier and Carrier were counterantipopes, for they both contested the standing of an established ANTIPOPE. Minor figures even in their own day, they represented a continuing line of succession of antipopes in Avignon that began with the elections of the antipopes CLEMENT VII (1378–1394) and BENEDICT XIII (1394–1423), but which split following the election of Antipope CLEMENT VIII (1423–1429).

The careers of Bernard Garnier and Jean Carrier must be set against the complicated last phase of the Great Schism (1378–1417). As recognition for him waned across Europe, Benedict XIII ended his days in exile in the castle of Peñsicola in Valencia, under the protection of King Alfonso V of Aragon. The day before his death on May 23, 1423, Benedict XIII appointed four loyal followers as cardinals to perpetuate the Avignon succession. Such appointees by antipopes are today referred to as pseudo-cardinals. They were Julián Lobera y Valtierra, a chaplain and scribe of Apostolic Letters in

the diocese of Tarazona; Ximeno Dahe, an auditor of the papal chamber; Domingo de Bonnefoi, a Carthusian and prior at the monastery of Montealegre near Barcelona; and Jean Carrier, the man most instrumental in electing Bernard Garnier as the first Antipope Benedict XIV, and who later took up the same mantle and name.

Jean Carrier was probably from Espalion in the Pyrenees. Trained as a canon lawyer, Carrier became involved in a 1406 uprising against the archbishop of Toulouse, Vital de Castelmourou. On September 1, 1412, Benedict XIII gave Carrier right to the revenues from the Priory of Cabannes in the diocese of Tortosa; he also held a post as priest in the diocese of Albi. In 1413 Carrier became a councilor to Bernard VII, count of Armagnac; in time, Carrier became chaplain for the count's successor, Jean I. He also received control of the church in Lombers, and then the archdeaconate of Saint-Antonin in the diocese of Rodez on March 28, 1413, after Benedict XIII ousted the incumbent, Michel del Bès, for supporting Antipope JOHN XXIII at the Council of Pisa. In January 1415 Carrier received the office of apostolic collector in the dioceses of Auch and Rodez, where Bernard Garnier worked as his assistant. On December 31, 1417, Benedict XIII gave Carrier the right to receive the oath of office for Vital de Mauléon, named as the new bishop of Rodez; he also showered additional clerical offices and favors on Carrier, such as the Priories of Lédergues and Balsac. Carrier's active support of Benedict XIII earned him a condemnation by Pope MARTIN V on July 24, 1420. Carrier sought protection in the count's castle in Tourène, which nuncios sent by Martin V besieged, but to no avail. Along with three others, Carrier received from the dying Benedict XIII for his loyalty the cardinal's mitre with the title of Saint-Étienne-le Rond and a post as priest of S. Stefano al Monte Celio.

Carrier was unable to attend the conclave that elected the Antipope Clement VIII on June 10, 1423, due to the siege of Tourène. He finally escaped in December and made his way to Peñíscola. He refused to recognize Clement VIII on the grounds of corruption and SIMONY; Clement VIII in turn imprisoned him briefly in Peñíscola until the count of Armagnac asked for his return to France. Carrier continued his machinations by assembling several theologians and canon lawyers in Toulouse to contest Clement VIII's election, declaring that he alone had the authority to appoint the pope. On November 12, 1425, he brought a notary and several witnesses together in Armagnac to help him name and consecrate Bernard Garnier as Benedict XIV.

Bernard Garnier was a minor clergyman in the diocese of Rodez. He is first mentioned in the record on July 15, 1412, when he received an apostolic benefice. The next year he became vicar of the archdeacon of Millau, Guirard Calhol. In 1414 he showed up at the papal court in Avignon as the legal representative of Bertrand Déodat to settle a dispute over revenues attached to the Priory of Saint-Saturnin de Creissels. Antipope Benedict XIII granted him additional favors, such as the Priory of Saint-Martin des Faux on November 20, 1418, and the privilege to choose his own confessor. In 1419 the antipope designated him as Jean Carrier's assistant apostolic collector. Martin V condemned him along with Carrier as schismatics in July 1420. In 1425 Garnier became SACRISTAN in the cathedral chapter of Rodez and received from Jean I, count of Armagnac, an office responsible for managing comtal properties in Rouergue just two days before his secret election as pope on November 16, 1425, by Carrier. The first Benedict XIV became known as the "hidden pope" because Carrier did not initially disclose his action to anyone. He and Garnier took shelter in the castle of Jalenques under the protection of the count, who was excommunicated and stripped of his lands. Carrier divulged the existence of Antipope Benedict XIV to the count on January 29, 1429, who, in turn, mentioned him in a letter to JOAN OF ARC. Garnier abandoned his claim to the papacy in 1429 and disappeared until 1437, when he reappeared in the diocesan register as a church beadle and as sacristan. In 1450 Jean d'Estaing, a churchman from Lyon, contested his office as sacristan before the Parlement of Toulouse due to his past support of Jean Carrier. Garnier denied the charge completely, stating that he only served the count of Armagnac. He lost anyway.

Before Garnier abdicated in 1429, he elevated four men to serve as pseudo-cardinals. One was Jean Farald, while the other three remain obscure. These four pseudo-cardinals met in 1430 as a conclave to elect Jean Carrier as Garnier's successor. Carrier took the name of his predecessor, who he effectively rendered illegitimate, and thus became the second Antipope Benedict XIV. Jean Carrier in turn created six pseudo-cardinals. They included Pierre Tifane and Pierre Tranier. After he reconciled with Pope Martin V, the count of Armagnac expelled Carrier from Jalenques. Carrier then took refuge in Puylaurens until his capture in 1433 by the count of Foix, who imprisoned him in the comtal castle in Foix until his death in 1437.

The pseudo-cardinals created by Carrier met in 1437 to designate his successor. These reputed successors are sometimes referred to as the "imaginary antipopes" of the Viaur, a remote region of grottoes and gorges in southern Languedoc. The first was Pierre Tifane, who took the name Benedict XV from 1437 to 1470, and Jean Langlade, who supposedly served as Benedict XVI from 1470 to 1499. It is clear that Jean Farald, along with Jean Moysset and Guilhem Noalhac de Jouqueviel, longtime supporters of Antipope Benedict XIII, preached in the Viaur valley into the 1450s. Pierre Tranier's father, Jean, a blacksmith, came to be considered a PROPHET

by their followers among the peasantry. They were particularly active in the hamlet of Flauzins in the parish of Lescure-Jaoul. Farald came on occasion to hear confession and give communion. Authorities in Rodez finally cracked down on these dissidents, who were arrested at a clandestine meeting in a mill in Soulayrié in 1467. Tried and convicted as heretics, they perished at the stake in Rodez. So ended the movement, such as it was, associated with the Antipopes Benedict XIV.

SEE ALSO AVIGNON PAPACY; CARTHUSIANS; WESTERN SCHISM.

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BENEDICT XVI, POPE

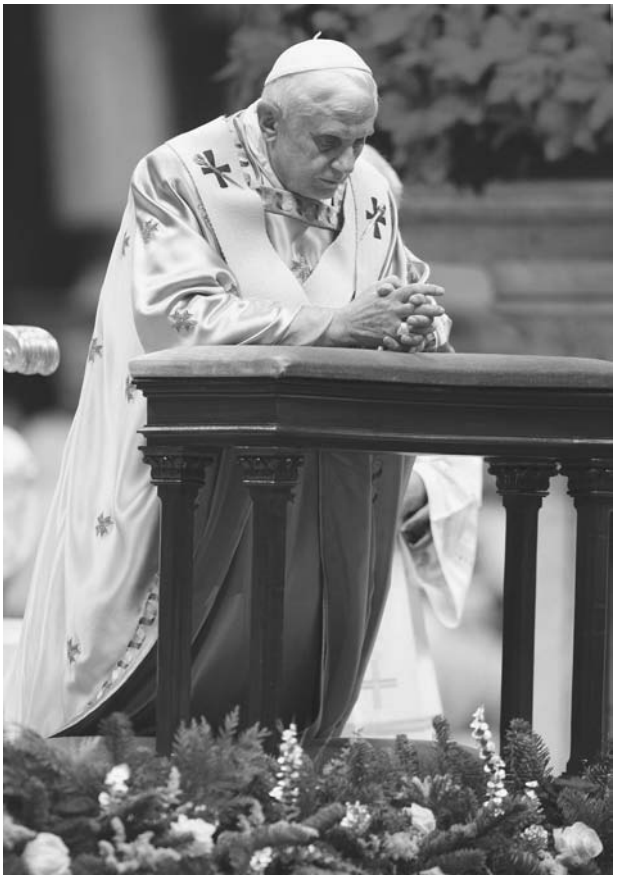
Pope, theologian; b. Joseph RATZINGER, Marktl am Inn, Germany, April 16 (Holy Saturday), 1927; elected pope April 19, 2005.

Benedict XVI grew up in Bavaria as the youngest of three children of a police commissioner. His family was opposed to Adolf HITLER's Nazi ideology, and his father took an extended sick leave so as not to be required to implement Nazi regulations. Ratzinger's school teachers were also inclined to take an anti-Nazi stance, and he was later to write that it seemed to him that an education in Greek and Latin antiquity, such as his teachers had, created a mental attitude that resisted seduction by totalitarian ideology.

In 1939 Ratzinger entered the minor seminary of St. Michael in Traunstein, something he found difficult because he was not made for regimented boarding-school life, and, as the youngest of the students, he was also the least able sportsman. However, the seminary was soon converted into a military hospital, the playing fields were lost, and in lieu of field sports, the boys were taken on hikes and fishing trips which were more appealing to his contemplative nature.

At the age of fourteen he was signed up as a member of the Hitler Youth by his seminary superiors, though he was never required to attend meetings, and the Nazi ideology occupied nothing but a negative place in his intellectual formation. In 1943, at the age of sixteen, he was called up for military service. He spent the last two years of WORLD WAR II in various military appointments, first at an antiaircraft battery near Munich, then as an infantryman on the Hungarian border, and finally as an American prisoner-of-war near Ulm. Ratzinger has written that he never fired a single shot during this period of military service, and he actually deserted the army prior to his being taken prisoner by the Americans. He narrowly escaped execution for desertion by SS officers who allowed him safe passage because they believed him to be wounded. He was carrying one of his arms in a sling.

After the war Ratzinger entered the seminary of Freising, and in 1947 he began theological studies at the Herzogliches Georgianum associated with the University of Munich. During this period of his life, the writers who influenced him included Romano GUARDINI, Josef



Midnight Mass. *Pope Benedict XVI kneels to pray as he celebrates the Christmas Midnight Mass in St. Peter's Basilica at the Vatican, early Monday, December 25, 2006.* **AP IMAGES**

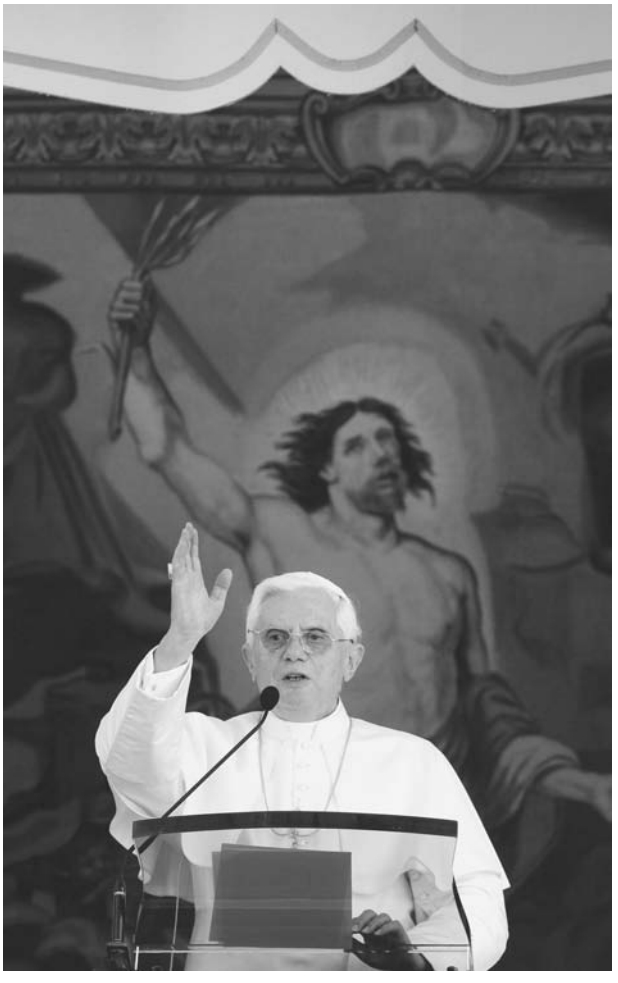
Pieper, Peter Wust, Theodor Häcker, and John Henry Cardinal NEWMAN. He also studied the thought of Martin HEIDEGGER, Karl JASPERS, Friedrich NIETZSCHE, Ludwig Klages, Henri BERGSON, Theodore Steinbüchel, and Martin BUBER. He has described the encounter with Buber's PERSONALISM as a spiritual experience that left an essential mark, especially as it resonated with his studies of St. AUGUSTINE.

On the Feast of Sts. Peter and Paul in 1951 he was ordained a priest, along with his brother Georg. His doctoral dissertation, defended in 1953, was titled "The People and the House of God in Augustine's Doctrine of the Church"; and his postdoctoral thesis, or *Habilitationsschrift*, offered an examination of St. BONAVENTURE's theology of history. The latter was the subject of some internal faculty controversy as it was highly critical of the then-dominant Suárezian account of revelation.

Vatican II. In his thirties Ratzinger attended the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) as a *peritus* (theological consultant) to Josef Cardinal Frings of Cologne. In those years he was representative of a younger generation of scholars who were frustrated by what they called the Roman school of theology, a form of neoscholasticism that did not allow much room for the use of conceptual frameworks built on other than scholastic categories. Ratzinger was never enchanted by preconciliar scholasticism, which he found to be too dry and impersonal. In contrast, he found that within the works of St. Augustine, "the passionate, suffering, questioning man is always right there, and you can identify with him" (Ratzinger 1997, p. 61). His former seminary prefect, Alfred Läpple, has said that SCHOLASTICISM "wasn't his beer" (Valente and Azzardo 2006, p. 60).

At the Council, Ratzinger played an important role in the drafting of *Dei Verbum*, which in part can be read as a vindication of arguments made in his controversial thesis on the theology of history. He was also a member of the subcommission responsible for drafting Articles 22 and 23 of *Lumen gentium* and a member of the team responsible for redrafting the schema on the Church's missionary activity. It is suspected that he drafted the speech delivered by Cardinal Frings on November 8, 1963, in which the cardinal was strongly critical of the procedures of the then Holy Office, which was subsequently reorganized and renamed the Sacred Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH by PAUL VI.

During these years he was associated with other young *periti* who were also critical of the Roman schools of theology. These included Karl RAHNER, S.J., Hans KÜNG, and Edward SCHILLEBEECKX, O.P. He collaborated with Rahner on *Dei Verbum*, and in 1966 they jointly published *Revelation and Tradition*. However, this alliance was short lived and did not survive the 1960s.



Papal Blessing. *Pope Benedict XVI blesses the faithful during the Angelus noon prayer from the balcony of his summer retreat of Castel Gandolfo in the hills overlooking Rome, Sunday, July 29, 2007.* **AP IMAGES**

By the early 1970s a definite cleavage had developed between two groups of leading theologians, which came to be associated with the names of the journals in which they published. One group, centered around the journal *Concilium*, included: Rahner, Küng, Johann Baptist Metz, Yves CONGAR, O.P, Schillebeeckx, Paul Brand, Franz Böckle, and Gustavo GUTIERREZ. Ratzinger was for a time a member of the *Concilium* board. He has described it as an attempt to establish itself, on the model of the ancient rights of the Sorbonne, as the true center of teaching and teachers of the Church. He believes that this aspiration was buried at the fifth anniversary congress in Brussels in 1970 when divisions began to appear among Rahner, Congar, Schillebeeckx, and Küng. The second group was centered around the Swiss theologian Hans Urs von BALTHASAR, Henri de LUBAC, M.J. Le Guillou, Louis Bouyer, Jorge Medina,

and Ratzinger. Together in 1972 they founded the *Communio* journal, which came to be published in sixteen languages. This involvement with the establishment of *Communio* followed upon the success of his first book, *Introduction to Christianity*, which was a bestseller published in 1968 and later translated into seventeen languages.

In 1969, in Herbert Vorgrimler's *Commentary on the Documents of the Second Vatican Council*, Ratzinger published an extensive critique of the treatment of freedom and anthropology in the Conciliar document *Gaudium et spes*. He argued that while the document offered a daring new theological anthropology which was to be celebrated, the presentation of the anthropology was poor, and indeed he went so far as to observe that some of the language in the section on FREE WILL was "downright Pelagian" (p. 138). The sections of the document he strongly affirmed were those owing their inspiration to the work of Henri de Lubac, particularly de Lubac's *Catholicism*, which he described as "a key reading event" that gave him "a new way of looking at theology and faith as such" (Ratzinger 1998, p. 98).

Academic Posts and the Episcopacy. As one of the most prolific theologians of his generation, Ratzinger held positions at the University of Bonn (1959–1963), the University of Münster (1963–1966), the University of TÜBINGEN (1966–1969), and the University of Regensburg (1969–1977), and in 1992 he was appointed an associate member of the Académie Française in the section for moral and political sciences. However, his life as a full-time professor came to an end in 1977 when he was made a bishop and cardinal by Paul VI.

As Archbishop of Munich-Freising (1977–1981), Ratzinger was a prominent defender of the dignity and sacredness of human life. He delivered many homilies against ABORTION, and he also took part in street demonstrations against the treatment of workers and intellectuals associated with the Polish anti-Communist trade union, SOLIDARITY. He was active on ecumenical fronts, respected by Lutheran scholars, and he was also interested in the problems of the Church in Latin America. He assisted with raising money for the missions in Ecuador, he organized conferences with nonbelievers, and he extended hospitality to the local Jewish community. Every year on the Feast of St. Korbinian he presided at a meeting with young people who were invited to question him about the Church's teachings.

The Prefect. In 1981 he was called to Rome by Pope JOHN PAUL II to become the prefect for the Sacred Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, the President of the INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL COMMISSION, and the President of the PONTIFICAL BIBLICAL COMMISSION. In 1985 he participated in the Synod called to reflect upon the reception of the Council, and out of this meeting came the decision to publish a new *Catechism* or compendium of Catholic teaching. Ratzinger played a major role in its composition and presided over its release in 1992. In 1985 he allowed himself to be interviewed by the journalist Vittorio Messori, and this collection of very frank reflections on the state of the Church in the postconciliar era, marketed as *The Ratzinger Report*, became another international bestseller.

Ratzinger's early years as prefect were dominated by the problems of the Church in Latin America and the general influence of the Latin American liberation theologians. He was especially critical of the CHRISTOLOGY of those associated with the LIBERATION THEOLOGY movement, and this culminated in the release of two documents, the "Instruction on Certain Aspects of the 'Theology of Liberation'" (1984) and the "Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation" (1986).

Ratzinger's concern to defend the ontological priority of the universal Church over that of the local church was manifest in his "Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on Some Aspects of the Church Understood as Communion" (1992). Questions about the nature of the Church flowing from some terminology of the conciliar documents were also addressed in the document *Dominus Iesus*, presented by Ratzinger in 2000. This declaration began with the observation that the Church's missionary proclamation is endangered by relativistic theories that seek to justify religious pluralism. It declares that the Catholic faithful are required to profess that there is historical continuity—rooted in the APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION—between the Church founded by Christ and the Catholic Church. Moreover, the Church, constituted and organized as a society in the present world, subsists in the Catholic Church, governed by the successor of Peter and by the bishops in communion with him. The words "subsists in" come from the Conciliar document *Lumen gentium*. In *Dominus Iesus*, it is stated that with this expression the Second Vatican Council sought to harmonize two doctrinal statements: on the one hand, that the Church of Christ, despite the divisions which exist among Christians, continues to exist fully only in the Catholic Church; and on the other hand, that outside of her structure, many elements can be found of sanctification and truth—that is, in those churches and ecclesial communities which are not yet in full communion with the Catholic Church.

In 1994 John Paul II's *Ordinatio sacerdolatis: Apostolic Letter on Reserving Priestly Ordination to Men Alone* was released with the strong support of Ratzinger. In his many references to this issue, he emphasizes that

the Jews stood out in the Old Testament world as being the only religious group without priestesses, and he believes that this is theologically important. In 1995 Ratzinger issued a response to questions about the doctrine contained in *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis*, stating that the teaching belongs to the deposit of the faith and has been taught infallibly by the ordinary and universal Magisterium and confirmed by the pope.

Prominent theologians whose works were the subject of warnings by the Sacred Congregation during his period as prefect include: Schillebeeckx, who promoted the idea that nonpriests might in some circumstances be able to validly perform a consecration; Charles CURRAN, who rejected the teaching against CONTRACEPTION and who was subsequently removed from his post at The CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA; Tissa Balasuriya, O.M.I., who rejected the doctrine of ORIGINAL SIN, supported the ordination of women, and held heretical views on Christ's redemptive role; and Roger Haight, S.J., whose works were held to contain errors in Christology. Archbishop Marcel LEFEBVRE was also excommunicated for ordaining bishops without the consent of the pope.

Of the many documents released by the Sacred Congregation during Ratzinger's prefecture, the more prominent ones addressed problems in the area of sexual morality. These included: a "Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons" (1986); an "Instruction on Respect for Human Life in Its Origin and on the Dignity of Procreation" (1987), clarifying the Church's position on assisted fertilization techniques and other biomedical issues, and reaffirming the teaching that an embryo is human from the moment of conception and that conception is moral only in the context of sexual intercourse within marriage; a "Note Regarding the Moral Rule of *Humanae vitae* and Pastoral Duty" (1989), stating that couples who find the teaching difficult to follow are deserving of love and respect, but nonetheless contraception is always an "intrinsically disordered act"; "Some Considerations Concerning the Response to Legislative Proposals on Nondiscrimination of Homosexual Persons" (1992), saying that it is not unjust to take sexual orientation into account in certain situations such as adoption, service in the military, and the employment of teachers.

In 1994 he issued a "Letter to Bishops Regarding the Reception of Holy Communion by Divorced and Remarried Members of the Faithful," affirming that those who are divorced and remarried cannot receive Holy Communion. In 2003 he issued "Considerations Regarding Proposals to Give Legal Recognition to Unions Between Homosexual Persons," reaffirming Church teaching requiring compassion for homosexuals, but opposing legal recognition of homosexual unions.

Also in 2003 he issued a "Doctrinal Note on the Participation of Catholics in Political Life," in which he held that while Catholics are free to choose among the various strategies offered by political parties for promoting the common good, they may not claim that such a freedom permits them to support abortion or EUTHANASIA.

While prefect for the Sacred Congregation, Ratzinger continued to publish academic works, including *The Feast of Faith* (1986), *A New Song for the Lord* (1996), and *The Spirit of the Liturgy* (2000); and as chairman of the Pontifical Biblical Commission he presided over the drafting of two significant documents: "The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church" (1993) and "The Jewish People and their Sacred Scriptures in the Christian Bible" (2002). These built on principles set out in *Dei Verbum*, as well as the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* of LEO XIII and *Divino afflante Spiritu* of PIUS XII.

Benedict XVI. On April 19, 2005, Ratzinger was elected pope after a short conclave, and he took the name Benedict XVI. His first encyclical, *Deus caritas est* (2005), began with a reiteration of the central theme of his thesis on the theology of history, that being Christian is not the result of an ethical choice or a lofty idea, but the encounter with an event, a person, who gives life a new horizon and a decisive direction. He also developed the theological understanding of the relationship between *eros* and *agape* and launched an assault on the Nietzschean claim that Christianity had killed *eros*. While not adding anything substantially new to the Church's social teaching, the encyclical nonetheless made the point that love must always be a component of Christian social welfare.

A second encyclical, *Spe salvi,* was released in 2007. It offered a reflection on the theological virtue of hope and contemporary secularist variations on this theme, including the Marxist and liberal notions of progress and scientific rationality. According to these secularist versions of hope, redemption is no longer expected from faith, but from a newly discovered link between science and praxis. There is now a faith in progress itself, where progress is interpreted as the application of scientific principles to overcome various forms of human dependency. This change has in turn given rise to new conceptions of reason and freedom which appear to hold out the hope of a new and perfect human community. Pope Benedict stated that it is not science, but love, that redeems humanity, and thus salvation is a social enterprise. Henri de Lubac's ecclesiological masterpiece, *Catholicism*, is cited as a source of understanding of this point. Pope Benedict also used the encyclical as an opportunity to reaffirm the Church's

teaching on the existence of an intermediate state between heaven and hell, usually called PURGATORY. Here he affirmed the idea of some recent theologians that the fire which both burns and saves is Christ himself, the Judge and Savior.

The inadequacy and errors of a secularist notion of progress was also a central theme of the third encyclical of the pontificate, released in July 2009. Entitled *Caritas in veritate*, it offered a synthesis of the Trinitarian anthropology of *Gaudium et spes* and the subsequent social teaching of Paul VI and John Paul II, and it called for a reform of the United Nations and the economic institutions of international finance. The core theological ideas were all present in Ratzinger's essay on the notion of human dignity in *Gaudium et spe*s, written in the late 1960s. The intellectual center of the encyclical is found in the statement that "a humanism which excludes God is an inhuman humanism" since "life in Christ is the first and principal factor of development." Secularist notions of development have fostered government policies which are hostile to the more spiritual elements of human life, including relationships of reciprocal self-giving in love. The pope lamented that in the name of human development abortion is encouraged and international aid is linked to the acceptance of contraceptives. He argued that there exists a "human ecology" which links the life issues to the issues commonly associated with social justice.

Benedict's first apostolic visit was to Cologne for the August 2006 WORLD YOUTH DAY celebrations attended by an estimated one million pilgrims. A collection of his homilies delivered on the occasion was published in *God's Revolution: World Youth and Other Cologne Talks* (2006). Later in 2006 he returned to Germany and delivered an academic address at the University of Regensburg titled "Faith, Reason and the University: Memories and Reflections." Although the lecture was critical of both the place accorded to religion in Western liberal theory and the place accorded to reason in Islamic thought, and although the subtext of the speech was that both Western liberalism and Eastern Islam share a common voluntarist philosophical starting point (for one the will of the individual, for the other the will of Allah), the response of many Muslims was to treat the speech as a direct attack on Islam. From Islamic quarters there was almost no acknowledgement that the pope had been equally critical of Western liberalism and was imploring all peoples of good will to critically examine the relationship between religion and reason. These themes were central to a collection of his essays published as *Truth and Tolerance: Christian Belief and World Religions* (2004).

Further apostolic visits have included a trip to Brazil in May 2007 for the Fifth General Conference of the Latin American and Caribbean Bishops and the canonization of the first Brazil-born native saint, Fr. Antônio de Sant'Ana GALVÃO; a trip to the United States in April 2008, which included an address to the United Nations and a meeting with the leaders of the Jewish community in New York; a trip to Sydney in July 2008 for the second World Youth Day of his pontificate; a visit to LOURDES in September 2008 to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the apparitions of the Virgin to St. Bernadette; and in March 2009 he made his first papal visit to Africa, traveling to Cameroon and Angola to meet with political and Church leaders and visit centers of charitable work. The international media coverage of this African trip was dominated by the pope's statements on HIV/AIDS, to the effect that this tragedy cannot be overcome by money alone or through the distribution of condoms, but rather what is required is a spiritual and human awakening and friendship for those who suffer. In May 2009 the pope visited the Holy Land, including Christian sites in Jordan. This trip also included a Mass at Mt. Precipice in Nazareth, Vespers in the Grotto of the Annunciation, and visits to the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre and the Armenian Apostolic Church in JERUSALEM, and a meeting with the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem.

In *Sacramentum caritatis* (2007), his first apostolic exhortation, he took up themes in his prepapal liturgical works. He stated that "participation [in the Mass] does not refer to mere external activity during the celebration but to a greater awareness of the mystery being celebrated" and "active participation is not equivalent to the exercise of a specific ministry." He also stated that "everything related to the Eucharist should be marked by beauty" (II, 41).

In a prepapal essay, Benedict had stated that all rock music should be excluded from the liturgy, "not for aesthetic reasons, not out of reactionary stubbornness, not because of historical rigidity but because of its very nature," while in *The Feast of Faith* (1986) he argued that "utility music"—that is, music promoted for its popularity and pedagogical usefulness—is unworthy of use for liturgical purposes.

In line with his many statements on the problems of postconciliar liturgical practices, on July 7, 2007, Benedict issued the *motu proprio, Summorum pontificum*, which contained the ruling that the Roman Missal promulgated by Paul VI is to remain the ordinary expression of the *Lex orandi* (Law of prayer) of the Catholic Church of the Latin rite, but nonetheless, the Roman Missal promulgated by St. PIUS V and reissued by Pope JOHN XXIII is to be considered as an extraordinary expression of that same *Lex orandi*, and must be given due honor for its venerable and ancient usage.



Visit to the Holy Land. *Pope Benedict XVI visits the Western Wall, Judaism's holiest prayer site, in Jerusalem's Old City on May 12, 2009. The Pope visited holy sites in Jerusalem at the heart of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.* © **RONEN ZVULUN/EPA/CORBIS**

Relationship to John Paul II. On all the major issues during the quarter-century pontificate of John Paul II, the pope and Ratzinger, as prefect for the Sacred Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, stood shoulder to shoulder. However, while anthropology and the meaning and purpose of human sexuality and human dignity might be regarded as key themes in the papacy of John Paul II, with Benedict XVI it is more likely that the key themes will be ECCLESIOLOGY, liturgy, and revelation. Benedict has taken on board his predecessor's accounts of what went wrong with contemporary conceptions of truth and goodness, and he adds to them an account of the contemporary predicament of beauty and the relationship between truth and love. The two papacies are likely to provide a study in harmonious contrasts.

In January 2009 Pope Benedict released from the penalty of EXCOMMUNICATION the four bishops who had been illicitly ordained in 1988 by Archbishop Lefebvre, the leader of traditionalist groups who opposed the liturgical changes of the pontificate of Paul VI and doctrinal elements of the teaching of the Second Vatican Council. This gesture did not mean a return to full communion with the Church of the traditionalist groups since, as Pope Benedict stated in the *motu proprio, Ecclesiae unitatem* of July 2009, "doctrinal questions remain and until they are clarified the Society [of St. Pius X] has no canonical status in the Church and its ministers cannot legitimately exercise any ministry." In lifting the decrees of excommunication the pope was intending to remove all possible pretexts for infinite arguing in his negotiations with leaders of the Society of St. Pius X. In the process he suffered the humiliation of discovering after the event, that one of the four bishops, Richard Williamson, is a HOLOCAUST (SHOAH) denier. In an apologetic letter to the bishops of the world the pope wrote that a gesture of reconciliation to one ecclesial group had turned into its very antithesis, "an apparent step backwards with regard to all the steps of reconciliation between Christians and Jews taken since the Council—steps which my own work as a theologian had sought from the beginning to take part in and support." He added that the pain caused to the Jewish people by this event is something he could only "deeply deplore."

In 2007 the pope published the first volume of his work *Jesus of Nazareth*. He emphasized that this was a

private academic work that did not carry with it magisterial authority. In the introductory section he offered some reflections on the general theme of scriptural hermeneutics, which was taken up again in 2008 at the SYNOD OF BISHOPS on the Word of God. He emphasized that scriptural exegesis is not only a literary phenomenon, but a movement of one's whole existence under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. In 2008 he also announced a special Pauline Year to encourage the study of Pauline scripture and theology. This was followed in 2009–2010 by the Year of the Priest in celebration of the 150th anniversary of the birth of St. John VIANNEY, the patron saint of parish priests.

SEE ALSO ANTHROPOLOGY, THEOLOGICAL; CARITAS IN VERITATE; CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; CATHOLIC-MUSLIM DIALOGUE; COMMUNIO; DEUS CARITAS EST; DOMINUS IESUS; GERMANY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; HERMENEUTICS, BIBLICAL; HOMOSEXUALS, PASTORAL CARE OF; JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (PUBLIC); LITURGICAL MUSIC, HISTORY OF; LITURGICAL MUSIC, THEOLOGY AND PRACTICE OF; NEOSCHOLASTICISM AND NEOTHOMISM; PELAGIUS AND PELAGIANISM; REVELATION, THEOLOGY OF; SOCIAL THOUGHT, PAPAL; SPE SALVI; SUMMORUM PONTIFICUM; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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BENEDICT OF NURSIA, ST.

Monk, saint; name also given as Benedict of Norcia (or Nursia); b. Norcia, Italy, c. 480; d. Monte Cassino, Italy, c. 547–554.

Considered the father of Western MONASTICISM, Benedict was born in the Umbrian town of Norcia, Italy, the son of a noble family. His twin sister, Scholastica, also became a famous figure in the history of the Catholic religious orders.

Like most boys of his status and time, Benedict was sent to ROME for his education, the focus of which was rhetoric. He left school because the morals of his classmates disgusted him, and left the city lest its morally degrading environment infect him as well. For the next several years, he lived in small villages in the Umbrian hillsides. Near the village of Subiaco, Benedict encountered a hermit named Romanus, who became his spiritual counselor. Benedict remained in semiseclusion with Romanus for three years. Over this time, Benedict's reputation for holiness spread throughout the region.

The community of monks at Vicovaro, sited on a cliff overlooking the Anio (now Aniene) River, invited Benedict to succeed their ABBOT, who had just died. Benedict at first refused, convinced that they would resent his firm leadership. They persisted and he agreed. His insistence on obedience angered them, and they attempted to murder Benedict, but failed. He returned to Subiaco.

His celebrity continued to grow, and young men who wanted to become monks came to settle near his cave. Young men from all walks of life—rich and poor, young and old, Roman and barbarian—desired to learn HOLINESS from him. Benedict seems to have become more sure that the cenobitic (in community), rather than the eremitic (hermitic), life was best for Christian monks, and so he built twelve wooden buildings, each with space for twelve brothers, to serve as residences for his followers. He abandoned this project after a priest named Florentius joined the band and tried to subvert his authority. He decided that his followers must obey him without question, and that meant a change in the structure of his MONASTERY.

Sometime around 530, Benedict moved his monks from the neighborhood of Subiaco to the promontory of Monte Cassino, where locals still worshipped at an ancient temple to the Roman god Apollo. He destroyed the temple and erected a Christian monastery on the site. Unlike the numerous dwellings at Subiaco, Monte Cassino had but one residence, under the supervision of a PRIOR and deans. In addition to ruling his monastery, Benedict also preached to the local citizens and ministered to the sick and poor of the district.

Benedict probably began to write down his famous monastic rule (Rule of St. Benedict) after the move to Monte Cassino, although the prologue to the rule clearly indicates that he had been thinking about the best life for Christian contemplatives all along. He was convinced



Dream of St. Benedict. *Fresco, Eremiti Church, Padua, Italy.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI/ THE PICTURE DESK, INC.**

that monks should live closely together (a rejection of some earlier, Eastern models), and that their lives should be committed to obedience to the abbot, regular PRAYER, and manual labor, all of which were to inculcate the indispensable virtue of HUMILITY, the foundation of all other Christian virtues. Benedict insisted on strict obedience to the abbot. Ironically, the authority he invested in abbots also gave the rule its famous flexibility. He repeatedly enjoined the abbot to consider carefully the dispositions and circumstances of each individual brother and tailor his ministrations to him accordingly. Other officers of the monastery, such as the prior, the gatekeeper, and the cellarer, helped the abbot and relieved him of some of the monastery's responsibilities.

Of course, constant prayer also cultivated the virtue of humility. Thus, the Divine Office "before which nothing else should come" Benedict called the OPUS DEI (work of God). The Divine Office consisted of the recitation of all 150 Psalms each week, over the course of MATINS, LAUDS, prime, tierce, sext, nones, VESPERS, and COMPLINE—the eight meetings for communal prayer—each day and night in the monastery. Readings from "uplifting" texts accompanied each meal.

Besides prayer, Benedict's monks were to work, earning their living by the sweat of their labor. They tilled, sowed, and reaped their lands and tended their herds. They maintained their own kitchens and workshops.

Medieval biographers believed that Benedict died around the year 547, but twentieth-century scholarship has speculated that he may have lived another decade. He was buried on the site of the altar of Apollo that he had destroyed when he first arrived at Monte Cassino. His sister, the nun Scholastica, preceded him in death; the two were buried side by side.

The spread of Benedict's Rule took some time. Of course, monasteries in central Italy soon followed it, and a number of Frankish monasteries adopted a hybrid of his rule and that of the Irish missionary Columban (c. 543–615). Benedict's Rule became the standard in Western monasticism following the great CAROLINGIAN REFORM movement, which was initiated by Emperor Louis the Pious (778–840) and his associate BENEDICT OF ANIANE. At the Synod of Aachen (816–817), Louis declared that all monasteries in his realm should follow Benedict's Rule. Benedict of Aniane enforced the emperor's decree. Another era of invasions interrupted

this reform, but by about the year 1000, Benedict's Rule had replaced other rules in the Frankish kingdoms. Fidelity to Benedict's Rule, furthermore, served as the linchpin of most monastic reform movements, such as the Cluniac and the Cistercian, until the turn of the thirteenth century.

The Catholic Church has commemorated Benedict on two dates, March 21 and July 11, the latter being his current feast day in the Roman calendar of saints. The monks of Monte Cassino had since about 720 commemorated Benedict on March 21. July 11 commemorates the supposed translation of his RELICS to the Abbey of Fleury in France. There is no agreement now about where his true relics may be. In 1964, Pope PAUL VI named him the patron saint of Europe, and on his election to the PAPACY in 2005, Joseph RATZINGER opted for the regnal name of BENEDICT XVI, almost certainly in honor of the great MONK.

SEE ALSO BENEDICTINE ABBEYS AND PRIORIES IN THE U.S.; BENEDICTINE RULE; BENEDICTINES; CISTERCIANS; CLUNIAC REFORM; MONTE CASSINO, ARCHABBEY OF; PATRON SAINTS; SUBIACO, MONASTERIES OF; SYNODS, EARLY CHURCH.

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BENEDICTINES, OLIVETAN

(OSB, Official Catholic Directory #0200) A monastic order whose Latin title is *Congregatio Sanctae Mariae Montis Oliveti Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*. The Olivetan Benedictine monks, easily distinguished by their white habits, have belonged to the Benedictine Confederation since 1959. They were established in the 14th century by St. Bernard TOLOMEI (canonized on April 26, 2009, by Pope Benedict XVI) along with two companions, Ambrogio Piccolomini and Patricio Patrici, in 1313. Tolomei wanted to withdraw from the world and its distractions in order to be able to give himself more fully to God. He decided to settle in a place of solitude called Accona (about 12 miles from Siena, Italy), where he later founded the Abbey of Mount Olivet, so named to remind those who lived there of Christ's sorrowful Passion.

St. Tolomei advocated a very austere asceticism, to the point that he was called to Avignon for an audience with Pope John XXII (1249–1334) to answer to a charge of HERESY. He was found innocent of the charge, but was given the BENEDICTINE RULE to follow in place of his own unique brand of asceticism. Tolomei lived by that Benedictine rule faithfully for the rest of his life. The congregation was approved by Clement VI (Jan. 21, 1344).

The monks, most of whom are priests, profess solemn vows and pursue a semicontemplative, monastic life, giving special attention to liturgical solemnities. They also engage in active ministry, particularly in teaching and retreat work. The monasteries of the congregation, each ruled by an elected abbot or a prior, are independent of one another, but are subject to the abbot general, who is also the abbot of the motherhouse, the Abbey of Mount Olivet.

The Olivetans came into existence during a period of decline in Benedictine monasticism, adopted a form of government suitable for the correction of abuses, and restored a rigorous observance of the rule. The reform spread rapidly, first in Tuscany, then in all of Italy, where, by the end of the 14th century, some 50 Olivetan monasteries were flourishing under the protection of popes and bishops. While the growth of the congregation continued into the 17th century, when there were nearly 2,000 monks in about 100 monasteries, monastic discipline deteriorated, especially because noblemen entered the monasteries without true vocations. The political disturbances and suppressions of the 18th and 19th centuries brought grave harm to the order, but from these misfortunes there emerged some outstanding monks who worked for a restoration of the congregation in Italy. Foundations, never before successful, were established outside of Italy, first in France (late 19th century), then in Austria, Brazil, and Lebanon (early 20th century). Houses were founded in Belgium, England, and Mexico. The U.S. foundations include Holy Trinity Monastery (St. David, AZ), Our Lady of Guadalupe Abbey (Pecos, NM) and the Benedictine Monastery of Hawaii (Waialua).

SEE ALSO BENEDICTINE ABBEYS AND PRIORIES IN THE U.S.; BENEDICTINES; MONASTICISM; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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BERGSON, HENRI LOUIS

French philosopher who rejected the exaggerated scientism and mechanistic evolutionism of the nineteenth century and advanced a new theory of EVOLUTION acknowledging the spiritual dimension of man; b. Paris, October 18, 1859; d. Paris, January 4, 1941.

Educated at the Lycée Condorcet and the École Normale Supérieure, where he distinguished himself in mathematics and physics, Henri Louis Bergson turned to PHILOSOPHY, receiving the *agrégé* (a degree qualifying a teacher for the highest positions) in 1881. After teaching at Angers and Clermont-Ferrand, he returned to Paris in 1888 to teach at the Lycée Henri Quatre and the École Normale Supérieure. At the Collège de France he held the chair of the history of philosophy from 1900 to 1921, attracting huge crowds to his lectures by the beauty and eloquence of his language and by the extraordinary appeal of his message. In 1917 he had a lengthy talk with Woodrow Wilson urging him to intervene in World War I. He became a member of the Académie Française in 1918, was elected president of the International Commission for Intellectual Cooperation after World War I, and received the Nobel Prize for literature in 1927.

Although born of Jewish parents, Bergson grew up without RELIGION and began his philosophical career as an enthusiastic follower of Herbert SPENCER. However, his attempts to give a full and accurate account of REALITY led him to abandon Spencer's evolutionary theory, and the subsequent development of his thought brought him closer and closer to Catholicism. In his will he confessed his moral adhesion to the Catholic Church and revealed that he would have become a convert had he not felt obliged to remain with his Jewish brethren, then being persecuted under HITLER. Shortly before his death he arose from his sickbed to appear for the registration of Jews in Paris. A Catholic priest said the prayers at his funeral, as he had requested.

Philosophy. Although deeply influenced by evolutionism and EMPIRICISM, Bergson rejected the narrow conception of MAN and of the world characteristic of scientific POSITIVISM, and sought to continue the tradition of MAINE DE BIRAN and Félix Ravaisson (1813–1900). His philosophy constitutes a defense of spirit against MATERIALISM, INTUITION against RATIONALISM, FREEDOM against DETERMINISM both physical and biological, creativity against MECHANISM, and philosophy against SCIENTISM. Beginning with the "intuition of duration" (time as a lived experience which cannot be measured), which is the dominant idea in his philosophy, Bergson offered a renovated empiricism and a new and profoundly original doctrine of evolution

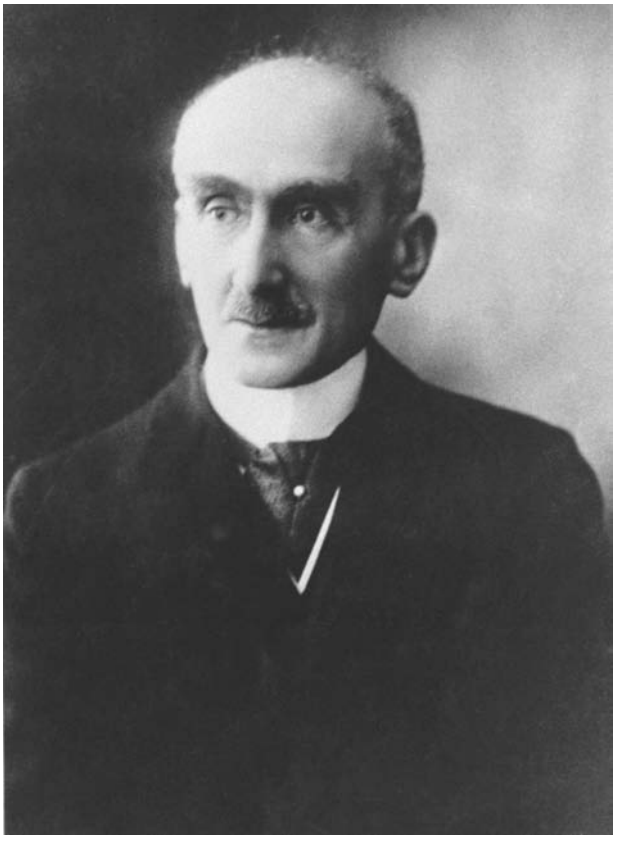
Bergson claimed people have an immediate knowledge of their own CONSCIOUSNESS; in this they intuit a reality that is always in process. By spending time with an other they can develop a similar knowledge of (feel for) this other. In contrast, their SENSES and INTELLECT work only with the outer appearance of things. This gives them the practical knowledge they need to survive, that is, science. But this practical knowledge should not be the basis of philosophy/METAPHYSICS. SCIENCE knows in terms of BEING, of the common properties of things, and of what can be repeated. While the immediate data of consciousness knows a reality that is always BECOMING, always unique (no individual's mind is the same as another's), and can never repeat (people cannot have the same experience twice as the memory of the first stays with them). Mechanism and determinism are seen as philosophies based only on the intellect and so have no ability to elucidate what humankind knows immediately: life, one's self, FREE WILL, becoming, and GOD.

The true philosophy dispenses with all ready-made concepts to come to an intuition of one's self enduring in TIME. To communicate this intuition the philosopher must invent new words and employ those images best suited to suggest the inexpressible. Although Bergson rejected the prevailing empiricism, it was not because it placed too high a value on experience. Bergson believed that all philosophical problems must be solved according to the experimental method, since only experience can give CERTITUDE. An integral empiricism, however, must admit not only the knowledge of matter, but also all that man knows through INTROSPECTION, all the vague

suggestions of consciousness, all that is revealed in the intuition of duration.

To start with the intellect's view of reality meant for Bergson to attempt a reconstruction of life and movement out of concepts appropriate only to inert matter. He sought to reverse the order and to start with life and movement grasped in intuition. Life (or consciousness) is then seen to be the primordial reality, and matter but its degradation. From this fresh perspective, reality appears to be ever moving and growing, a ceaseless flux. It is essentially dynamic, qualitative, creative, and unpredictable. To know existing things as they really are is to grasp them intuitively, that is, *sub specie durationis*. The implications of this approach to reality so impressed William JAMES that he hailed it as a new Copernican revolution comparable in its significance for philosophy to that of G. BERKELEY or I. KANT.

Principal Works. Bergson's leading ideas are encompassed in four principal works. In *Time and Free Will* he showed that free will is the most evident of facts and that its denial follows upon the confusion of succession with simultaneity, duration with intensity, and quality with quantity. In *Matter and Memory* he proved that spirit as well as matter exists. By demonstrating that consciousness is not identical with cerebral activity, he paved the way for a PROOF of the survival of the SOUL after DEATH. In *Creative Evolution*, his most famous work, he showed that the mechanistic interpretation of evolution is not justified by the facts. Viewing the data of evolution in the light of his intuition of duration, he described the evolutionary process as the forward thrust of a great spiritual force, the life impulse (*élan vital*), rushing through time, insinuating itself into matter, and producing the various living forms culminating in man. Its movement is not predetermined but creative, ever generating novel and unpredictable forms. *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion* represents the full flowering of Bergson's thought. MORALITY and religion are traced back to their double source in the evolutionary process. Bergson distinguished two separate moralities and religions—the open and closed moralities, the static and dynamic religions. Closed morality pertains to social cohesion. It is static and rooted in social pressure, the morality of a group enclosed upon itself. It represents a halt in the evolutionary process. Open morality transcends the group to unite all mankind in a common brotherhood. It is progressive and creative, a forward thrust of the *élan vital*. Whereas closed morality and static religion originate in the instinct for survival, open morality and dynamic religion are inspired by the moral heroes, saints, and mystics, those superior representatives of the human race who, like a new species, foreshadow the future condition of man. They draw man upward to a higher spiritual level by their vision of human destiny and of God, the source of all LOVE. It is in the experience of the mystics that Bergson found the most convincing evidence for the existence of God.



Bergson, Henri (1859–1941). *This Frenchman was a Nobel Prize winner and well-respected intellectual.* **THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS**

Influence and Critique. Bergson's manner of philosophizing—his repugnance for DEFINITION and for a technical vocabulary and his method of attacking each problem separately—did not lend itself to the formation of a Bergsonian school. Yet his influence on twentieth-century thought has been profound. Among the philosophers whose works reflect a significant influence of Bergson are Édouard LE ROY, Maurice BLONDEL, Max SCHELER, Maurice Pradines (1874–1958), and Jean Paul SARTRE. Many Catholic scholars, notably Jacques MARITAIN, Étienne GILSON, Pierre TEILHARD DE CHARDIN, and Gabriel MARCEL, though voicing disagreements, acknowledged with GRATITUDE his great inspiration. Bergson's influence is also discernible in the thought of numerous scientists, including Alexis Carrel (1873–1944), Pierre Lecomte du Noüy (1883–1947),

and Ilya Prigogine (1917–2003; Nobel in Chemistry in 1977); in many literary works, including those of Marcel Proust (1871–1922), Charles PÉGUY, George Bernard Shaw (1856–1950), Nikos Kazantzakis (1883–1957); in some schools of painting (e.g., Henri Matisse [1869–1954]); and in music. From the start his books gained unprecedented fame. Appealing to a wide reading public, they were translated into many languages; however, after the middle of the twentieth century his works were not widely read.

Acclaimed by many of his contemporaries as the long-awaited liberator from the tyranny of materialism, mechanism, and determinism, Bergson was criticized by some for stopping short of the Christian conception of God, CREATION, the human soul, and free choice. From the viewpoint of Christian doctrine, Bergson's philosophy remains at best—and in spite of his intentions perhaps—ambiguous and incomplete. For the primacy of being as a reality accessible to intellect, he substituted the primacy of becoming as a reality accessible only to intuition. His depreciation of reason necessitated the denial that the existence of God can be rationally demonstrated. Man's approach to God can be only through the intuitive experience of the mystic, he said. God is described as Love and Creative Energy, but since the relationship between Creative Energy and the *élan vital* is never clearly defined, the distinction between God and creatures remains blurred. The depreciation of rational knowledge also led Bergson to base one source of morality on social pressures and the other source on inspirational individuals. He allowed to reason no essential role in moral obligation, seeing its function as merely to formulate and coordinate moral rules and to assure their logical consistency.

Furthermore, giving priority to becoming over being forced Bergson to deny the substantiality of the soul and to define soul as a duration or PARTICIPATION in the *élan vital*. While upholding the distinction between soul and body, he was unable to avoid a dualistic position in fixing their mutual relationship. A champion of free will, Bergson rejected all forms of determinism, yet he regarded freedom not as the rational determination of a human act but as the spontaneous bursting forth of vital energy from the depths of the SELF, a creative but nonrational ACT expressive of the total PERSONALITY. To the Catholic philosopher or theologian such points of criticism, together with a misunderstanding of the SUPERNATURAL character of Christian MYSTICISM, represent important deficiencies in Bergson's thought. Yet no evaluation of his philosophy that is limited to pointing out its metaphysical inadequacies will render it full JUSTICE. It must also be seen as the sincere and arduous endeavor of a great soul to discover the TRUTH, a spiritual itinerary from materialistic mechanism to the God known and loved by the Christian mystics.

SEE ALSO LIFE PHILOSOPHIES; PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE; THEOLOGY, NATURAL; TIME.

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BERKENBROCK, ALBERTINA, BL.

Virgin and MARTYR for chastity; b. April 11, 1919, São Luís, Imaruí, Santa Catarina, Brazil; d. June 15, 1931, São Luís, Imaruí, Santa Catarina, Brazil; beatified October 20, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

In a tragic replay of the martyrdom of St. Maria GORRETTI, Blessed Albertina was a twelve-year-old Brazilian girl of German descent murdered in the course of an attempted rape. In the case of Blessed Albertina, the assailant was an employee of her father who, by trickery, lured her into an isolated wooded area. She resisted so strongly that the assailant slit her throat. The assailant eventually confessed that he had murdered Blessed Albertina because she resisted his rape attempt. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. A midwife who examined Albertina's body confirmed that the rape was effectively resisted.

Her devout family provided the religious instruction in which Albertina excelled and a Christian environment that fostered purity and kindness, thus serving as the foundation for her youthful courage and heroism. She had special devotions to the Virgin Mary and St. ALOYSIUS GONZAGA, the patron of youth. She endured childish teasing with patience and kindness. She spoke of the occasion of her first Holy Communion as "the happiest day of her life." In multiracial Brazil, Albertina befriended other children regardless of skin color and also shared her food with the poor, including her future murderer and his children.

The Mass of BEATIFICATION was celebrated in Brazil by Cardinal José Saraiva Martins. In his homily the cardinal noted the background that led to such strength of character and devotion to purity: "Her family, persons of profound faith and sincere devotion, educated her from the very beginning in the truths of the faith and in the principles of Christian morality, infusing in her a lively sense of closeness to Jesus and to a virtuous life." The cardinal also noted that her short life speaks forcefully to our times:

> Our innocence, our belonging to God, our holiness, need today the strong and tenacious voice of Blessed Albertina, who told her murderer: "I do not want sin." She did not want to lose her most precious possession; she could not trade it for the great good of her own life; she could not betray the One who had called her into existence.

If canonized, Blessed Albertina would be the first native-born saint from Brazil, where her tomb is already a pilgrimage site.

Feast: June 15.

SEE ALSO Brazil, The Catholic Church in; Mary, Blessed Virgin, Devotion to.

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BERNADETTE OF LOURDES, ST.

Saint; Marie-Bernarde Soubirous, called Bernadette, Sister Marie-Bernarde; b. Lourdes, France, January 7, 1844; d. Nevers, France, April 16, 1879.

Bernadette Soubirous was the eldest child of a peasant family in LOURDES, a small village in the Occitan region of France. She is best known for the eighteen apparitions she reported the Blessed Virgin Mary made to her from February to July 1858, and which are the source of the great veneration of Our Lady of Lourdes and the major pilgrimage site of the same name.

Family Life and Education. Bernadette, as she was always known, was the daughter of a poor miller, François Soubirous, and his wife Louise, a laundress. There were five other children. This was a time of economic hardship in the region. Droughts had destroyed the harvest and a cholera epidemic ravaged the area, almost claiming Bernadette's life (she was never really a healthy child). All in the family sought employment, especially after the mill closed and they had to move to a much humbler dwelling. Bernadette herded sheep and sometimes waited tables in her Aunt Bernarde's tavern.

In January 1858, she began attending the school run by the Sisters of Charity in Lourdes and Catechism classes in preparation for her First Holy Communion. Many hagiographers report her difficulty with her studies, but this could have been due to the fact that all the classes were in French rather than the local dialect, with which Bernadette was more familiar.

Visions at the Grotto. The Fortnight of Apparitions, as it is sometimes known, and which formed the central event of Bernadette's life, began on February 11, 1858, while she was gathering firewood with her sister and a friend at the grotto of Massabielle outside Lourdes. At that time, Bernadette, after crossing the stream at the site, heard a sound that she described as a gust of wind. She then had a vision of what she termed was "a beautiful young lady," clad in white with a blue band and golden roses at her feet, standing in a niche in the rock. The lady beckoned Bernadette to come closer, and together, with their rosaries, the lady and Bernadette each made the sign of the cross and prayed. The vision lasted about fifteen minutes. The others present stated that they saw nothing.

Bernadette reported the vision to her family; her mother tried to dissuade her from returning, but then relented. The second apparition, on Sunday, February 14, Bernadette, accompanied by the other two girls, brought a bottle of holy water. Again, while praying, Bernadette saw the lady. She sprinkled the holy water, saying: "If you are from God, stay. If not, go away." The lady continued to smile lovingly. At the third apparition, on February 18, Bernadette was accompanied by some people from the village. She again saw the lady, who told her, "I promise to make you happy, not in this world, but in the next." The lady also said that she wished to see many others come to the site. The fourth apparition occurred on February 19, at which time Bernadette was accompanied by her aunt and several others. On February 20, with a larger group, Bernadette had her fifth vision of the lady. On Sunday, February 21, at the sixth apparition and before a crowd of about 100 people, Bernadette was told by the lady to "pray for sinners." Later that day, Bernadette endured a long interrogation by the local police commissioner, Jacomet, and her father made her promise never to return to the grotto.



St. Bernadette Soubirous (1844–1879). *Born to a peasant family, Bernadette is one of the most well-known Catholic visionaries in the world.*

On February 23, after her confessor told her that no one can stop her from returning, her father relented and Bernadette had her seventh vision. At that time, the lady instructed her: "Go to the priests and tell them that I want a chapel built here." During the eighth apparition on February 24, with 200 to 300 people present, Bernadette appeared very sad and, on her knees, repeated the word *penance*, doing so, as the lady instructed, as penance for sinners.

Spring Begins to Flow. At the ninth apparition, on February 25, the lady, Bernadette said, told her "one last secret." The lady then told her to go and drink in the spring and eat the grass growing nearby, while pointing to the floor of the grotto. Bernadette saw only muddy water, and tried with her hands to dig deeper. She found water and washed and ate some grass. Some there, see-

ing her do this and being covered with mud, thought she was mad or perhaps a fraud, but soon the spring flowed copiously and in time, its waters would be called miraculous. Later that day, Bernadette had to undergo an intense interrogation by the public prosecutor, but she stood by her words.

At the tenth apparition, on February 27, some 800 people were present, and Bernadette again drank the spring's water and ate the grass growing nearby. The eleventh apparition occurred on February 28, at which time 1,150 people were present, including the chief of the Gendarmerie from Tarbes, who was impressed. In the afternoon there was another interrogation by the Imperial Procurator. For the first time, a priest was also present; he later stated that this was truly a spiritual experience. The headmaster of the local senior school also questioned her and concluded that she did have the VISIONS. On March 1, the twelfth apparition took place. An estimated 1,500 people were present and watched Bernadette again drink and wash at the spring. At the thirteenth apparition, on March 2, with approximately 1,650 people present, the lady requested that Bernadette "go and ask the priests to build a chapel," saying, "I want the people to come here in procession."

The Lady's Name. Bernadette's pastor, Father Peyramale, was so scornful that she forgot to mention the chapel and told him only of the request for the procession. She returned later that evening to tell him and the other priests there, at which time Father Peyramale told her that she must first ask the lady her name. Early on the morning of March 3, from 3,000 to 4,000 people assembled at the grotto, but nothing occurred. That afternoon, however, with perhaps 100 present, Bernadette saw the lady. She asked her name, as the parish priest had requested, but the lady smiled and said nothing.

Bernadette returned to the priest who, although still scornful, repeated his request. March 4 was the date of the last of the fifteen days mentioned at the third apparition. This time, approximately 20,000 had come to the grotto. The police, with local reinforcements, were there to keep order. Bernadette remained for three quarters of an hour and then went to the parish priest to tell him that the lady only smiled when asked her name and again made her request for a chapel to be built. After this, Bernadette did not return to the grotto for 20 days, feeling no strong desire to do so. She spent the time studying at school and preparing for her FIRST COMMUNION.

On Thursday, March 25, she returned, having felt the urge to do so. She was accompanied by members of her family and the chief of police. Bernadette remained entranced as she looked at the lady, and this time, after asking three times, was finally given her name. The lady's reply was, "I am the immaculate conception." Although this was a clear confirmation of the doctrine that had been proclaimed in 1854 by Pope PIUS IX, the phrase itself was most likely unknown to Bernadette.

On April 7, Bernadette came again to the grotto and carried, as usual, a lighted candle. In her RAPTURE upon seeing the lady, she let the flames touch her hand. But, as was testified by the local physician, Dr. Dozous, who was present, there was no sign of pain, burns, or injury. He was convinced that the visions were real. After this, there was a long pause in the apparitions until July 16. On that day, Bernadette again felt a great longing to go to the grotto and arrived at about 8 p.m. The area, meanwhile, had been fenced off by the authorities. Bernadette knelt, with her aunt Lucille, on the opposite bank of the Gave River, which flowed in front of the grotto area. Some say she was in a state of ECSTASY, and she later told her aunt that she had seen the lady, who never had appeared so beautiful.

Joins Sisters of Charity. After the Fortnight of Apparitions, fatigued by being the center of much unwanted attention, Bernadette returned to the Sisters of Charity hospice school, where she continued her schooling. She remained an honest, devout, and humble person who endured with great patience all investigations of her statements and visions by clerical and secular authorities.

Later, at age 22, Bernadette joined the Sisters of Charity at Nevers under her given name as Sister Marie-Bernarde. Before she left Lourdes and her family, she visited the grotto of Massabielle one more time. Bernadette spent the rest of her brief life at Nevers, serving as an assistant in the infirmary—she had said that she loved to care for the sick—and then as SACRISTAN, while continuing her life of piety, humility, and prayer. She also took great joy in embroidering beautiful altar cloths and vestments for the clergy. Forbidden to speak of her visions within the community, she was given humble and menial tasks by her Mother Superior. She accepted these humiliations cheerfully. But, always weak, she later had a severe asthma attack and asked for water from the spring of the Lourdes grotto. Her symptoms disappeared and never again returned.

Illness, Death, Canonization. Later, when she suffered from tuberculosis of the bone in her right knee she did not ask for the healing waters. This illness would eventually take her life.

While at Lourdes, Bernadette had observed the pilgrimages already being made to the grotto, but after coming to Nevers she did not return for the major event

of the consecration of the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception, which took place in 1876.

After her death, in 1879, Bernadette was interred at the convent at Nevers. In 1909, the Church and the Bishop of Nevers allowed her body to be exhumed in the presence of representatives of the postulators of the cause for her canonization, as well as physicians and a representative of her religious community. They found the body to be incorrupt. Bernadette's body was reinterred. In 1925, after another such exhumation, Bernadette was beatified. She was canonized in 1933 by Pope PIUS XI, who cited her exemplary life of piety, simplicity, and prayer. Her feast day is celebrated on April 16 and in France on February 18. Saint Bernadette is the patron of Lourdes and of the ill.

SEE ALSO IMMACULATE CONCEPTION; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, ARTICLES ON; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, ICONOGRAPHY OF; MYSTICISM.

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BERNARD OF CORLEONE, ST.

Baptized Philip (Filippo) Latini; Capuchin lay brother; b. February 6, 1605, Corleone, Sicily; d. January 12, 1667, Palermo, Sicily; beatified by Pope Clement XIII, April 29, 1768; canonized by Pope John Paul II in Rome, June 10, 2001.

Philip was the third of six children born to Leonardo and Francesca Latini, who owned a small vineyard and raised a virtuous family. He received no formal schooling and supported his widowed mother as a cobbler. In a town garrisoned by mercenaries employed by Spain, he learned swordsmanship so well that his name became legendary throughout Sicily. He wielded the sword, however, only in what he called Christian causes, especially the defense of women and poor peasants oppressed by the town's soldiers. His conversion to the religious life was occasioned when, at the age of twenty-seven, he gravely wounded an adversary who had repeatedly challenged him to a duel. Shaken by the incident, he begged the man's forgiveness, and the two went on to become friends.

Philip entered the novitiate of the Capuchin Order at Caltanissetta on December 13, 1631, as a lay brother, taking the name Bernard. He lived in several friaries in the province, where he attended to a number of duties, including cooking, laundry, and caring for the sick. He was devoted to the Blessed Sacrament and would often visit the tabernacle at night and stay until the other friars arrived in the morning.

Although endowed with gifts of contemplation and miracles, he is best remembered for heroic penance. His fasts and macerations recall the desert fathers. He is frequently depicted burning his mouth with a brand snatched from the kitchen fire, a penalty he inflicted on himself for an unkind word to a confrere. He spent the last fifteen years of his life in Palermo, where he died at sixty-one. Many miracles have been reported at his gravesite.

Bernard was beatified by Pope CLEMENT XIII on April 29, 1768. On July 1, 2000, a miracle attributed to his intercession was approved, opening the way for his canonization, which ultimately occurred in ROME on June 10, 2001. In his homily, Pope JOHN PAUL II noted Bernard's exceptional life of prayer: "Those who knew him agreed in testifying that 'he was always at prayer,' 'never ceased to pray,' 'prayed constantly'.... From such an uninterrupted conversation with God, which found in the Eucharist its ongoing impulse, he drew the lifeblood for his courageous apostolate, responding to the social challenges of the time, with all their tensions and disquiet."

Feast: January 12.

SEE ALSO FRANCISCANS, FIRST ORDER; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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BÉRULLE, PIERRE DE

Cardinal, diplomat, theologian, mystic, spiritual writer, founder of the French Oratory, leading figure in the French school of spirituality; b. Chateau de Sérilly, between Sens and Troyes, France, February 4, 1575; d. Paris, October 2, 1629.

Born of an old and distinguished family, Bérulle was brought up from infancy in a deeply religious environment in which he developed with such remarkable precocity that at the age of seventeen he was considered a master of the spiritual life. He was educated by the JESUITS and at the Sorbonne, and he was ordained June 5, 1599. That same year he was named honorary almoner of King HENRY IV. In 1607 the king proposed to make him tutor to the Dauphin, but Bérulle declined. He also refused repeated and pressing offers of commendatory prelacies and bishoprics, preferring to devote himself entirely to spiritual direction, controversy with Protestants, and the promotion of reform among religious communities. The AUGUSTINIANS, BENEDICTINES, and FEUILLANTS were among the beneficiaries of his efforts in this last sphere. In his zeal for a spiritual restoration, Bérulle undertook long and difficult negotiations to introduce the Carmelite nuns of the Teresian reform into France. He, together with André Duval and Jacques Gallemant, was put in charge of these religious by PAUL V, but in spite of his spiritual influence upon them, he encountered difficulties and resistance with regard to disciplinary matters and the vow of servitude.

After 1605 Bérulle took an interest in the decrees of the Council of TRENT concerning the education of the clergy. This led him to found in Paris the Oratory of Jesus, usually known as the French Oratory, modeled after the Oratory of St. Philip NERI. This undertaking was a great success, and the Oratory quickly spread to other places. By the time of Bérulle's death he had established seventeen colleges, and his engagement in this work brought him into much disagreeable conflict with the university and the Jesuits.

As confidant and counselor of Queen Marie de Médicis and as friend of Louis XIII, he was a powerful influence for good at court. Besides his work as peacemaker (he effected a reconciliation between the queen and her son, Louis XIII, in 1620), he engaged in political activity of importance and conducted a number of diplomatic missions for the king. In this he was motivated chiefly by religious rather than nationalistic considerations. He desired to reunite Christians in an effective struggle against Protestantism. Hoping for the conversion of England, Bérulle supported the marriage of Henriette, sister of Louis XIII, to the Prince of Wales, the future CHARLES I of England, conducted the negotiations with Rome for the dispensation for the marriage, and accompanied the queen to Great Britain. He refused in 1629 to sign the treaty of alliance with England and the Low Countries because he could not abide the thought of France entering into a compact with Protestants against Catholic Spain. Nevertheless, the policy of alliance with the Protestants prevailed, and this put an end to Bérulle's political activity. He fell into disgrace, and Cardinal RICHELIEU wanted to have him sent from France.

Although he was deeply involved in political affairs, Bérulle remained essentially a contemplative, as is apparent in the many spiritual works that he composed. For the most part these were composed for the occasion, were hastily written, and have the appearance of being unfinished drafts. They are discourses and effusions that express the ardor of his faith rather than treatises in the strict sense. He was eminently a man whose orientation was spiritual; his speculation was joined with prayer in an indistinguishable act of adoration (*see* M. Dupuy, *Bérulle, une spiritualité d'adoration*, Tournai 1964). His principal works were *Discours de l'état et des grandeurs de Jésus* (1623, 2^{e} partie 1629); *Élevations à Jésus-Christ sur sa conduite ... vers S. Madeleine* (1625); *Bref discours de l'abnégation intérieure* (1597); *La Vie de Jésus* (1629), and the collected *Oeuvres de piété* (184 opuscula, ed. G. Rotureau, Paris 1944).

The spirituality of Bérulle is a rich synthesis of various mystical currents: the *via negativa* of the Rheno-Flemish School, the Carmelite emphasis on interior purification, the devout humanism of St. FRANCIS DE SALES (1567–1622), and the Ignatian focus on the concrete events of Christ's life. These influences combined with a deep Augustinian sense of human brokenness and dependence on God to produce what is sometimes called "the French School" of spirituality. This school revolves around a number of dominant themes:

1. the human sense of servitude before the grandeur and glory of God, the most Holy Trinity;

2. the consequent obligation to render adoration to God;
3. the INCARNATION as the supreme mystery of divine glory and self-abasement;
4. adherence to the mysteries of Christ's life;
5. mystical subsistence in Christ, the head of the Mystical Body;
6. Christ as priest and victim and the need for priestly HOLINESS; and
7. devotion and servitude to Mary in order to facilitate the most intimate adoration of her divine Son.

Bérulle's emphasis on the intimate union of Jesus and Mary prompted him to encourage the members of the Oratory to take a special vow of servitude or slavery (*esclavage*) to Jesus and Mary (cf. O'Carroll 2000, p. 80). This vow involves a complete offering of self to Jesus and Mary, entrusting one's soul to their care in a spirit of servitude and humility. St. Louis-Marie GRIGNION DE MONTFORT (1673–1716), influenced by the Oratorians, promoted a similar vow. For Bérulle, Mary exemplifies the qualities of HUMILITY and adoration by her perfect submission to the will of God. It is Christ, however, who provides the most sublime example of adoration when, as supreme high priest, he offers himself historically at CALVARY and eternally in heaven by his everlasting sacrifice to the Father. Christians, therefore, must renounce themselves and adhere to Christ, by undergoing self-abnegation or *anéantissement* (the process of being made into nothing).

Bérulle had an enormous influence on French spirituality of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Those influenced by him directly include his fellow Oratorians, François BOURGOING (1585–1662), Charles de CONDREN (1588–1641), Guillaume GIBIEUF (1591–1650), Jean-Baptiste Masillon (1663–1742), and also St. John EUDES (1601–1680), who was an Oratorian until he founded the Congregation of Jesus and Mary in 1643. Jean Jacques OLIER (1608–1657), the founder of the SULPICIANS, had Bérulle's disciple, Charles de Condren as his spiritual director, and Louis TRONSON (1622–1700), the Sulpician spiritual writer, was a follower not only of Olier but also of Condren and Bérulle. The French Carmelites, Madeleine de Saint-Joseph (1578–1637) and Marie de L'Incarnation (of France not Quebec, 1599–1672), were close associates of Bérulle. Others influenced by Bérulle include St. VINCENT DE PAUL (1581–1660), St. Margaret Mary ALACOQUE (1647–1690), Jacques Bénigne BOSSUET (1627–1704), François FÉNELON (1651–1715), Nicolas MALEBRANCHE (1638–1715), Louis THOMASSIN (1619–1685), St. Louis-Marie Grignion de Montfort (1673–1716), and St. Jean-Baptiste DE LA SALLE (1651–1719).

Many people who knew Bérulle testified to his holiness. Bourgoing noted that "God was with him in all his ways; Jesus Christ was speaking and acting in him" (Molien 1937, p. 1579). Madeleine de St. Joseph observed that "it seemed he could only act for Jesus Christ, thinking and speaking only of him and his mysteries" (Thompson 1989, p. 193). St. Vincent de Paul described Bérulle as "one of the holiest men I have known,"(Cochois 1963, p. 61) and St. Francis de Sales proclaimed that Bérulle is "all that I would desire myself to be"(Cochois 1963, p. 61). Pope URBAN VIII (r.1623–1644) greatly admired Bérulle and once said of him: "This is not a man but an angel" (Molien 1937, p. 1579). Urban VIII also made Bérulle a cardinal in 1627 and praised him as "the apostle of the Incarnate Word" (Pereira and Fastiggi 2006, p. 206).

Cardinal Bérulle reportedly asked God to allow him to die in service at the altar. This request was granted when he collapsed and died while celebrating Mass on October 2, 1629, prompting Bourgoing to proclaim: "His death was the consummation of his perpetual sacrifice" (Molien 1937, p. 1579). Bourgoing, who become the superior of the French Oratory in 1641, introduced Bérulle's cause for BEATIFICATION in 1648, during the pontificate of INNOCENT X (r.1644–1655). A total of forty-five miracles were attributed to Bérulle's INTERCESSION, but subsequent allegations of ties to JANSENISM interrupted the process. The Jansenists not only made use of some writings of Bérulle; they also inscribed his name on their devotional calendar, which likewise included the names of Francis de Sales, Jane Frances de CHANTAL, and Bishop Bossuet (Molien 1937, p. 1579). Bérulle's friendship with the young Jean DUVERGIER DE HARURANNE (1581–1643), the Abbé de Saint-Cyran and future Jansensist leader, might have been a factor. Defenders of Bérulle, however, note that he died over a decade before the Jansenist controversy erupted in the 1640s, and he can hardly be blamed for the way others used his writings. Moreover, close disciples of Bérulle, such as Bourgoing, were among the strongest opponents of Jansenism. In light of these factors, some have suggested that the cause for Bérulle's beatification should be revived.

SEE ALSO CARMELITE SISTERS; CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE; DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST; SPIRITUALITY, FRENCH SCHOOL OF.

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BESSETTE, ANDRÉ, ST.

Baptized Alfred; thaumaturgist and member of the Brotherhood of the Holy Cross; b. Saint-Gregoire d'Iberville (southeast of Montréal), Québec, Canada, August 9, 1845; d. Montréal, January 6, 1937.

Alfred, the eighth of twelve children of Isaac Bessette and Clothilde Foisy, was sickly and left orphaned by the age of twelve. He unsuccessfully attempted various occupations as a smith, cobbler, and baker. During the U.S. CIVIL WAR, he did manual labor in mills and on farms in New England, where he learned English. He returned to Montréal in 1867 and was accepted as a Holy Cross postulant despite his precarious health and illiteracy. With the help of Bishop BOUGET of Montréal, Brother André professed his vows on December 27, 1870.

Bessette gained a reputation as a healer during his many decades as porter of Notre Dame College (Montréal). His devotion to St. Joseph, patron of the Universal Church, led him to build St. Joseph's Oratory atop Mont Royal in Montréal, using only the money he had collected himself to fund the project. The first small chapel (15' by 18') erected in 1904, was enlarged in 1908 and 1910. The cornerstone for a new crypt church—to hold 1,000 people—was laid in 1917, but the roof was not added until 1936. The oratory, where Blessed André served as guardian for thirty years and is buried, was solemnly dedicated as a minor basilica in 1955. He was beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II on May 23, 1982. On December 19, 2009, following the approval of a miracle, the Holy See announced that Bessette would be canonized by Pope BENEDICT XIV. As of the printing of this entry, a canonization date had not been set.

Feast: January 6 (U.S.A.).

SEE ALSO HOLY CROSS, CONGREGATION OF; JOSEPH, ST., DEVOTION TO; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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BETANCUR (BETHANCOURT), PEDRO DE SAN JOSÉ (PETER OF ST. JOSEPH), ST.

Franciscan tertiary, missionary, founder of charitable institutions and the Hospitaler Bethlehemites; b. May 16, 1619, Villaflores, Chasna, Tenerife Island, Spain; d. April 25, 1667, Guatemala City, Guatemala; beatified by Pope John Paul II, June 22, 1980; canonized by John Paul II, July 30, 2002.

Although Pedro was descended from Juan de Bethencourt (c. 1360–1422), one of the Norman conquerors of the Canary Islands, his immediate family was very poor, and his first employment was as the shepherd of the small family flock. In 1650 he left for Guatemala, where a relative had preceded him as secretary to the governor general. His funds ran out in Havana, and Pedro paid for his passage from that point by working on a ship. He landed in Honduras and walked to Guatemala City, arriving there on February 18, 1651. He was so poor that he joined the daily bread line at the Franciscan friary. In this way he met Friar Fernando Espino, a famous missionary, who befriended him and remained his lifelong counselor. Through Friar Fernando, Pedro was given work at a local textile factory, which enabled him to support himself, but which also employed criminals condemned by the courts.

In 1653 he entered the local Jesuit college of San Borja in the hopes of becoming a priest. Because he lacked the ability to study, he was soon forced to give up this dream. In the college, however, he met Manuel Lobo, S.J., who became and remained his lifelong confessor.

Friar Fernando invited him to join the Franciscan order as a lay brother, but Pedro felt God was calling him to remain in the world. Hence, in 1655 he joined the Third Order of St. Francis and took the tertiary habit as his garb. By this time his virtues were widely recognized in the city. In 1658 María de Esquivel's hut was given to him, and Pedro, remembering the experiences of his first desperate days in Guatemala, immediately began a hospital for the convalescent poor (*Nuestra Señora de Belén*, Our Lady of Bethlehem), a hostel for the homeless, a school, and an oratory. From then on all his time was dedicated to alleviating the sufferings of the less fortunate. He begged alms with which to endow MASSES to be celebrated by poor priests; he also endowed Masses that were celebrated at unusually early hours so the poor would not have to miss Mass because of their dress. He also had small chapels erected in the poorer sections, where children received instruction. Each year on August 18, he gathered the children and had them sing the Seven Joys of the Franciscan Rosary in honor of the Blessed Mother, a custom that passed to Spain, but today remains only in Guatemala. He inaugurated the Christmas Eve custom of imitating St. Joseph in search of lodgings for the Blessed Mother. Throughout his life, Pedro's spiritual meditation centered on the Child of BETHLEHEM.

In his works he was joined by men and women who were similarly inspired by the charity of Christ to give aid and comfort to the sick, the poor, and the less fortunate. These individuals formed the communities of the Bethlehemite Brothers and the Bethlehemite Sisters, for which Pedro formulated a Rule that was dedicated to active service and centered on the practices of prayer, fasting, and penance.

The gentle, kind man known as "St. Francis of the Americas" died peacefully in his hospital at the age of forty-one, hoping that his companions would carry on the many works he had begun. He is entombed in the Church of San Francisco in the old section of Guatemala City. Interest in his cause was renewed by the 1962 publication of his biography by Francisco VÁZQUEZ DE HERRERA.

Pope JOHN PAUL II honored Pedro's joyful service and humility by beatifying him in ROME on June 22, 1980. The same pope canonized him in Guatemala City twenty-two years later on July 30, 2002. In his homily the Holy Father commented on the intersection of contemplation and action evident in his life:

> Brother Pedro modeled his spirituality in this way, particularly in contemplation of mysteries

of Bethlehem and of the Cross. If, in the birth and childhood of Jesus, he immersed himself deeply in the fundamental event of the Incarnation of the Word—which led him to discover spontaneously, as it were, the face of God in man—then, in meditating on the Cross, he found the strength to practise mercy heroically with the lowliest and most deprived.

Feast: April 26.

SEE ALSO BETHLEHEMITES; FRANCISCANS, THIRD ORDER SECULAR; JESUITS; NORMANS, THE.

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BEYZYM, JAN (JOHN), BL.

Servant of the lepers of Madagascar; b. May 15, 1850, at Beyzymy Wielkie in present-day Ukraine (formerly Poland); d. October 2, 1912, in Fianarantsoa, Madagascar; remains moved to Krakow, Poland, in 1993; beatified August 18, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II in Krakow, Poland.

Blessed Jan began his work as a Jesuit priest teaching in Jesuit schools in Poland for seventeen years. In middle age he received and responded generously to a call from God to become an apostle to the lepers of Madagascar, a large island off the southeastern coast of Africa. Reminiscent of the life of Blessed Teresa of Calcutta, he left at the age of forty-eight the secure and familiar life of teaching in Catholic schools and began an entirely new apostolate for those living in the most miserable conditions. In Madagascar he found the lepers living in horrible conditions of isolation and suffering premature death due to poor diet and hygiene. The official Vatican biography records that "[s]everal times he fainted" when he began his work for the lepers. Through prayer he eventually overcame his strong repulsion at the sight of the sick to whom he ministered: "One must be in constant union with God and pray without respite. One must get used little by little to the stench, for here we don't breathe the scent of flowers but the putrefaction of bodies generated by leprosy."

Around 1903 he began efforts to build a hospital for lepers on the island. By 1911 the hospital was built, in spite of numerous obstacles. He was able to raise the needed funds from donors in Europe. The hospital still serves lepers today and is dedicated to Our Lady of Czestochowa. His Vatican biography fittingly describes Blessed Jan as "a contemplative in action in the style of St. Ignatius" for both men combined tireless action to meet organizational challenges with a life of prayer. Blessed Jan was also particularly devoted to the Virgin Mary in his apostolate. In his BEATIFICATION homily, John Paul II emphasized the integration of Blessed Jan's spirituality and his works of mercy: "The charitable work of Blessed Jan Beyzym was an integral component of his fundamental mission: bringing the Gospel to those who do not know it. *This is the greatest gift of mercy*: bringing people to Christ and giving them the opportunity to know and savour his love."

Feast: October 2.

SEE ALSO APOSTOLATE AND SPIRITUAL LIFE; IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA, ST.; JESUITS; MADAGASCAR, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO; MOTHER TERESA OF CALCUTTA, BL.; POLAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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BIRAGHI, LUIGI, BL.

Monsignor, cofounder of the Institute of the Sisters of Saint Marcellina (Marcellina Sisters), Cernusco sul Naviglio, Italy; b. November 2, 1801, Vignate (Milan), Italy; d. August 11, 1879, Milan; beatified April 30, 2006, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Luigi, the fifth of eight children, entered the seminary at Castello sopra Lecco at the age of twelve. He went on to distinguish himself in studies at the seminaries in Milan and Monza. Fr. Biraghi was ordained in Milan on May 28, 1825, and he subsequently taught at the seminaries in Castello sopra Lecco, Monza, and Seveso. He became the spiritual director of the Milan seminary in 1833.

A highly intelligent, well-educated historian and archeologist, one of Msgr. Biraghi's great achievements was the creation of the Institute of the Sisters of Saint Marcellina (Marcellina Sisters). Believing that the family was the foundation of society and that women anchored the family, he advocated a theory that emphasized education in science and culture combined with religious studies. Collaborating with Marina Videmari, who was his spiritual student and would become the first mother superior of the Institute, Msgr. Biraghi opened a college for young women in Cernusco sul Naviglio in 1838. Students who could pay, did so; however, an education was available to applicants from even the poorest families. The institute was placed under the protection of St. Marcellina, sister of St. AMBROSE, to whom Msgr. Biraghi was deeply devoted. The method of study proved so successful that in 1841 a second college opened in Vimercate. Msgr. Biraghi dedicated himself to the growth of the colleges and mentored students and teachers alike.

In addition to the accomplishments associated with the institute, Msgr. Biraghi's talents as a scholar and diplomat were recognized throughout his life. In 1841 he became a founder and editor of the periodical *L'amico cattolico*, established in Milan. In 1855 he was named a doctor of the famed Biblioteca Ambrosiana and an honorary canon of the Basilica of Saint Ambrose, both in Milan; he became Vice-Prefect of the Ambrosiana in 1864. Upon the request of Pope PIUS IX, Msgr. Biraghi acted as a mediator among factions of clergy in Milan who were at odds over support for a united Italy. In 1873 the monsignor was named DOMESTIC PRELATE to Pope Pius IX; he learned of the appointment as he was planning the opening of the sixth Marcellina college in Chambéry, France. Marcellina Sisters have also established their presence with schools and other charitable institutions across the globe, including in Switzerland, England, Albania, Canada, Mexico, and Benin. The Congregation numbers about 850.

Feast: August 11.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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BISMARCK, OTTO VON

German statesman, known as the "Iron Chancellor," who played a major role in the unification of Germany; b. Schönhausen (near Magdeburg), Prussia, April 1, 1815; d. Friedrichsruh (near Hamburg), Germany, July 30, 1898.

Otto von Bismarck's father was a Prussian Junker (nobleman), and his mother was a member of a

bourgeois family that had served the Prussian monarchy. Baptized in the Protestant faith, he was indifferent to religion in his youth. As an adult, he became an adherent of a pietistic form of LUTHERANISM. In 1832 he began studies at the University of Göttingen, and he later went on to the University of Berlin, but he faired poorly at both institutions.

After serving in the Prussian Diet and as ambassador to Russia, Bismarck was appointed as the Prussian prime minister and foreign minister by King Wilhelm I on September 22, 1862. He maneuvered Denmark, Austria, and France into a series of three wars (the last being the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871) that secured Prussian expansion. With the unification of Germany in 1871, Wilhelm I of Prussia became the Kaiser (emperor) of Germany, Bismarck became the German chancellor, and Prussia became the dominant region within the German Reich (empire).

Called a "White Revolutionary" by the German historian Lothar Gall, Bismarck brought about sweeping changes while preserving the power of the crown and Prussia in changing times. A master strategist, he pursued ever-changing domestic and foreign alliances. He established the "League of Three Emperors," consisting of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, in 1872. In domestic affairs, he relied on liberal support until about 1880. He relentlessly endeavored to isolate and weaken those groups that he saw as enemies of the empire, notably socialists and Catholics. His tactics could be enlightened, as in the introduction of the first comprehensive system of health insurance and other benefits, or autocratic, as in the antisocialist laws and the *Kulturkampf* laws, which were aimed at Catholics. Bismarck served briefly as chancellor under Wilhelm I's successors, Friedrich III and Wilhelm II. Bridling under Bismarck's heavy hand, the latter dismissed Bismarck in 1890.

Relations with the Papacy and with German Catholics. Bismarck's relations with the PAPACY were molded by a fear of both Catholic resurgence and papal alliance with Austria and Polish minorities. The beleaguered papacy was involved in a struggle to confront challenges on various fronts, notably the *Risorgimento* (unification of Italy) and the dissolution of the Papal States, as well as growing secularization across Europe. Pope PIUS IX (1846–1878) promulgated the ENCYCLICAL *Quanta cura*, which contained the famous "SYLLABUS OF ERRORS," on December 8, 1864, and the doctrine of papal INFALLIBILITY (defined at Vatican I) on July 18, 1870. Bismarck saw these as a threat to state power in Prussia, where the Catholic Church had greater freedom than elsewhere in Europe.

Bismarck, like many other Germans, feared ULTRAMONTANISM, a political current that placed papal doctrine above temporal authority. The formation of the Catholic-based CENTER PARTY in 1858 was worrisome to Bismarck, particularly because he saw it as a center of resistance to Prussian rule in southern and southwestern Germany. He saw the Center Party as pro-Austrian and an ally of particularism among Polish subjects of Germany and the inhabitants of (previously French) Alsace-Lorraine. The emergence of Catholic labor unions was an additional worry. Between 1868 and 1871, he appealed to the pope to use his influence to halt Catholic "subversion" and to rein in the Center Party.

The *Kulturkampf*. The *Kulturkampf*, a series of discriminatory measures aimed at Catholics and the Catholic Church, has been attributed not only to a questioning of Catholic loyalty to the German Empire, but also to cultural factors and political opportunism. Liberals coined the term *Kulturkampf* (culture war) to describe the struggle between liberals defending the "achievements of modern culture" and Catholics who were supposedly resisting progress. Bismarck was swayed, not so much by liberal convictions, but by political opportunism and the prospect of winning liberal and bourgeois support.

Open hostility between Bismarck and the pope arose on May 2, 1872, when the latter refused to accept Cardinal Gustav von Hohenlohe of Bavaria as ambassador to the Vatican. Hohenlohe had once been in the pope's good graces, but he emerged as an opponent of papal infallibility. In response, Bismarck declared, "Have no fear, we are not going to Canossa, either in body or in spirit" (Chadwick 1998, p. 261), a reference to the subjugation of the Holy Roman Emperor to papal authority in the Middle Ages.

A broad palette of anti-Catholic legislation was enacted between 1871 and 1875. Some of these laws affected the entire empire, while some were restricted to Prussia. The first laws, notably those dictating state inspections of private schools and compulsory civil marriage, merely guaranteed the separation of CHURCH AND STATE. Others ensured state supremacy over the Church. Clergymen could be imprisoned for two years for political statements "endangering public peace," for example. The JESUITS and other orders were expelled from Germany at this time. Under the "May Laws" of 1873, clergymen were required to be German, to attend a university, and to pass state examinations. In addition, appointments to ecclesiastical offices had to be approved by provincial governors, and Church officials could be fined, imprisoned, or removed from office by the state.



Between Berlin and Rome. *Bismarck and Pope Leo XIII playing chess, 1875.* © **BILDARCHIV PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ/ART RESOURCE, NY**

Catholics put up steadfast resistance to this onslaught. Bishops closed seminaries; ecclesiastical office were left vacant; churchmen refused to conform and were imprisoned; confiscated Church property was repurchased by loyal Catholics, who donated it back to the Church; and there were Catholic riots and demonstrations. Support for the Center Party increased dramatically. On February 5, 1875, Pope Pius IX issued an encyclical, *Quod nunquam*, declaring the May Laws invalid and urging clergy to obey God, not man. In response, the German state suspended most of its annual subsidy to Catholic dioceses and clerics unless Church officials pledged to abide by *Kulturkampf* legislation, autonomous administration and the right to communicate with ROME and to make ecclesiastical appointments were denied the Church, and all religious orders not engaged in hospital work or teaching were abolished. Bismarck forced through these draconian laws over the resistance of members of the Prussian government, who feared the laws could be turned against Protestants.

The *Kulturkampf* lost momentum in the 1870s, when Bismarck turned against a new foe: the socialists. Pius IX died in 1878, and most of these laws were rescinded under an agreement with the new pope, LEO XIII. In the end, Bismarck was unable to force either German society or the Catholic Church to bow to his will. However, some believe that the *Kulturkampf* set the stage for later state-sponsored persecution of minorities, notably the Jews.

SEE ALSO AUSTRIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; GERMANY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; KULTURKAMPF; RISORGIMENTO.

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BLACK MASS

The Black Mass is the central ceremony of the phenomenon known as SATANISM. This "mass" may be defined as the adoration of the figure known in the BIBLE as the DEVIL or SATAN, though of course its "religious" nature has been disputed by some scholars. Modern Satanism was created at the Versailles court of LOUIS XIV (1638–1715), in the circle operating around Catherine La Voisin (d. 1680) and the defrocked Catholic priest Father Guibourg (1603–1683; his first name is not mentioned in the seventeenth-century sources). La Voisin and Guibourg invented both the term and the reality of the Black Mass, which was devised as a parody of the Roman Catholic Mass. La Voisin was burned at the stake in 1680 and Guibourg died in jail in 1683. Small rings celebrating Black Masses by imitating what they had read of the Paris group were subsequently discovered in France, Italy, and Russia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the 1880s, the reporter Jules Bois (1868–1943) and the novelist Joris-Karl Huysmans (1848–1907) explored the French occult underworld, and in 1891 Huysmans (who later converted to Catholicism) published his best-selling novel on Satanism, *Là-bas* (Down There), which included one of the most famous literary descriptions of a Black Mass. The work may have been based on the novelist's real-life experiences with small Satanist groups in both France and Belgium. Most subsequent Black Masses of the twentieth century are derived from Huysmans's novel, rather than from an alleged tradition of pre-nineteenth century Satanic groups. Indeed, no complete ritual of a Black Mass precedent to the publication of *Là-bas* has survived.

Several modern groups have introduced new and quite creative elements in their Black Masses, most of them derived from the writings and ceremonies (which included a "Gnostic Mass") of the British magus Aleister Crowley (1875–1947). Crowley occasionally made use of Satanic imagery and is still regarded by many as the founding father of contemporary Satanism. He was, however, a "magical atheist" who did not believe in the actual existence of Satan. Thus, although he has been influential on later Satanic movements, he cannot be regarded as a Satanist in the most technical sense of the term.

Anton Szandor LaVey (1930–1997), who founded the Church of Satan in San Francisco on April 30, 1966, had joined a Crowleyan group in 1951, and through this milieu he came into contact with movie director Kenneth Anger (b. 1927). In 1961, they established an organization known as the Magic Circle, which gradually evolved into the Church of Satan. After LaVey's death in 1997, the Church of Satan split into half a dozen separate organizations, whose combined worldwide membership was less than 1,000 at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

LaVey's Church did not literally believe in the existence of the Devil. It was more an idiosyncratic and militantly anti-Christian human potential movement, and it was devoted to the exaltation of human beings, who, having been freed from religious superstitions and the false Christian notion of SIN, would eventually be able to enjoy life and flourish. LaVey's Black Mass was a sort of psychodrama in which, through various profanations of Christian symbols and transgressive sexual activities, participants symbolically affirmed that sin does not exist. The use of a naked woman lying on a table as an "altar" and the desecration of a Catholic host were already central features of the Black Mass described by both the judges in the Guibourg-La Voisin case and by Huysmans. In addition to these elements, LaVey added many sexual features. While LaVey claimed not to encourage the theft of consecrated hosts (the hosts were instead "magically" consecrated by LaVey himself), other Satanic groups have been persuasively accused of stealing hosts from Catholic churches. What remains central in all Black Masses is a systematic "inversion" of the Catholic pre–Vatican II ritual, whereby Jesus Christ is derided and insulted rather than praised, and all praise is reserved for Satan. Only a handful of Satanic groups, however, still celebrate the Black Mass in Latin.

During what sociologists called the "ritual abuse scare" of the 1980s (as many as two thousand cases of Satanic ritual abuse of children were investigated between 1983 and 1992, with only a handful of convictions), the theory of a secret Satanic network celebrating thousands of Black Masses and connected with Masonic lodges emerged. In 1994, two official reports—one by the National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect, and one by the sociologist Jean S. La Fontaine on behalf of the U.K. government—concluded that stories of Satanic (or "Masonic-Satanic") ritual abuse were largely figments of the accusers' imaginations. In subsequent years, the number of court cases involving allegations of ritual abuse during Black Masses sharply decreased.

The debate on the ritual abuse scare should not be confused with discussions of adolescent Satanism. There is little doubt that there are gangs of teenagers performing some sort of homemade Black Mass (copied from

comics, books, or movies, or downloaded from the Internet), which often involve drugs and occasionally involve serious violence. In these cases, it is difficult to determine whether drug- and gang-related violence or Satan worship are mostly responsible for crimes perpetrated within the context of these juvenile "Black Masses," which are very different from the elaborate rituals of the Church of Satan and other similar organizations.

SEE ALSO ATHEISM; COMMUNION UNDER BOTH SPECIES; EUCHARIST IN CONTEMPORARY CATHOLIC TRADITIONL; GNOSTICISM; JESUS CHRIST (IN THEOLOGY); OCCULTISM; TRIDENTINE MASS; WITCHCRAFT.

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BOCCARDO, LUIGI, BL.

Priest, founder of the Sisters of Christ the King, Torino, Italy; b. August 9, 1861, Moncalieri, Italy; d. June 9, 1936, Torino; beatified April 14, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

The seventh of nine children, Luigi was the younger brother and godson of Giovanni Maria BOCCARDO (beatified May 24, 1998, by Pope JOHN PAUL II), also a priest. In 1875 Luigi began religious training in Torino (Turin), and he was ordained on June 7, 1884.

As a seminary student, Luigi was mentored by his older brother, who was spiritual director of the seminary's philosophy students, and by Giuseppe ALLAMANO, founder of the CONSOLATA MISSIONARIES (beatified October 7, 1990, by Pope John Paul II). In an early assignment, Fr. Boccardo witnessed a devastating cholera outbreak in Pancalieri while working with Giovanni Maria, who had become a parish priest there. In the aftermath, the elder Boccardo founded the Congregation of the Poor Sisters of Saint Gaetan to assist the stricken populace. In 1886 Fr. Boccardo was assigned to the Ecclesiatical Boarding School of OUR LADY OF GOOD COUNSEL in Torino, where he was reunited with Giuseppe Allamano; the priests worked together for thirty years. Among his many duties as vice-rector and spiritual director for the school, Fr. Boccardo counseled and advised newly ordained priests from all parts of the diocese on issues of MORAL THEOLOGY.

In January 1914, upon the death of Giovanni Maria, Fr. Boccardo became the superior general of the order his brother had established. The priest who had principally worked as an academic mentoring and teaching seminary candidates and priests now supervised the activities of hundreds of women, assigned to dozens of convents, who served children, the elderly, and the sick in schools, hospitals, and other public facilities. Fr. Boccardo met this difficult challenge of leadership and, in December 1919, was also assigned the task of running the Institute for the Blind, which was in serious financial straits. Through his efforts, the institution recovered and thrived.

In 1934 Fr. Boccardo founded the Sisters of Christ the King, an offshoot of the Poor Sisters of Saint Gaetan, for a group of women who had been refused admission to other religious societies because they were blind. The newly formed contemplative group prayed for the Church, clergy, and those in need. The elderly priest also embarked on the great mission of constructing a church near the two institutions he directed. The Shrine of Christ the King was consecrated on October 24, 1934.

In addition to his other achievements, Fr. Boccardo was a prodigious letter writer. His correspondence with clergy and laypersons fills seven volumes and spans thirty-five years.

Feast: June 9.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE; DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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BOLSHEVISM

Bolshevism is the ideology of the Russian revolutionary party that overthrew the Provisional Government in October 1917, and established the world's first Communist government. The origins and development of Bolshevism are closely linked to the work of Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), a lawyer and professional revolutionary active in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP), a revolutionary party inspired by the ideas of Karl MARX. Marxist or Social Democratic ideas had first entered Russia in the 1880s, leading to a small, clandestine movement that took overt political form with the foundation of the RSDLP in 1898. At the Second Congress of the RSDLP held in London in 1903, the party fragmented into two factions. These factions were thereafter known as Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, based on the roots of the Russian words for *majority* and *minority*. After several attempts at reunification failed, the split was formalized in 1912, when a separate Bolshevik party was formed.

Bolshevism and Menshevism shared a common Marxist belief in an inevitable proletarian revolution that would create a stateless communist society, but the philosophies differed in important ways. Shaped by Lenin's prolific writings, especially the influential pamphlet *What Is to Be Done?*, finished in 1902, Bolshevism came to be identified with the advocacy of a centralized and highly disciplined party of professional revolutionaries, a different entity than the loosely organized mass revolutionary party defended by Mensheviks. Bound by the principle of democratic centralism, which Lenin defined as "freedom of discussion, unity of action," the party was to serve as a revolutionary vanguard to lead the working classes toward power. The Bolshevik party was indeed more cohesive than its socialist rivals, the Mensheviks or the Social Revolutionaries. But it would be erroneous to see the Bolshevik party as rigidly controlled by Lenin or devoid of internal ideological controversies. From the disputes among the Bolshevik émigré community of the pre-1917 period, featuring accomplished Bolshevik theoreticians, such as Aleksandr Bogdanov (1873–1928), to the Worker's Opposition that questioned Lenin during the early years of Soviet power, ideological disputes were a hallmark of Bolshevism. Yet, they were also accompanied by an ultimate deference to Lenin's position as leader of the party.

Revolutions of 1905 and 1917. The revolutionary consciousness of urban workers and peasants during the revolution of 1905 caught both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks by surprise. At the height of the revolution, workers created a self-governing institution, the *soviet* (workers' council), while across large areas of Russia, peasants rose and seized their landlords' estates. Although the revolution ultimately failed in overthrowing the Russian monarchy, it created a legacy of worker self-rule that would be revived after the successful revolution of February 1917. It also provided Bolshevism with another important ideological tenet relevant to a country that was still overwhelmingly peasant: the belief in the possibility and necessity of a revolutionary alliance between workers and peasants, which went against traditional Marxist contempt for the revolutionary potential of the peasantry.

The February revolution of 1917 that led to the abdication of Nicholas II (1868–1918) was not expected by revolutionaries, but this time they were better prepared to seize a favorable political opportunity. Through a revived Petrograd Soviet, workers and their advocates became a de facto shadow government. But whereas the moderate socialist parties ended up as major partners in the Provisional Government that succeeded the deposed tsar, Lenin guided the Bolsheviks away from this policy of "dual power," insistently calling for the proletariat to overthrow the Provisional Government. Whereas the moderate socialists found themselves tangled in the defense of an unpopular war, the Bolsheviks gained great popularity through their steady opposition to WORLD WAR I, the ongoing war that had hastened the end of the Russian monarchy. The Bolsheviks' consistent opposition to the war gave them an issue that resonated with the Russian urban masses in the summer and fall of 1917.

Under simple but effective banners such as *Land, Peace, and Bread!* and *All Power to the Soviets!*, the Bolsheviks gained popular support, especially in the urban centers of Moscow and Petrograd (St. Petersburg), and obtained majorities in the *soviets* of these two cities. On November 7, 1917, claiming to act on behalf of the *soviets*, they overthrew the Provisional Government in Petrograd and moved to consolidate control throughout the vast Russian Empire. Opposition came from many quarters—monarchists, businessmen, liberals, even socialists—and it was only after three years of a bloody and cruel civil war that the Bolsheviks were able to establish themselves as rulers of Russia.

As the Russian Civil War raged and the Bolsheviks desperately held on to power, Bolshevism took on increasingly authoritarian, even militaristic, overtones. Popular positions from 1917 were diluted or abandoned. Worker control of factories gave way to party control of factories; *soviet* democracy as represented by various socialist parties gave way to a one-party state, and a powerful secret police grew from a supposedly temporary feature of Bolshevik rule. Party leaders and activists defended these changes as necessary for political survival. Critics of the Bolsheviks argued that these were logical

conclusions of the authoritarian tendencies inherent in Lenin's view of an elite revolutionary party leading the masses. The authoritarian urge eventually spread to the party itself, and in 1921 the Tenth Party Congress banned factions within the party.

Bolshevism and Religion. Despite a few initial nods in the direction of religious tolerance, the Bolsheviks followed a policy of extreme SECULARISM. In 1918 the new Soviet government allowed the election of a new patriarch to lead the Orthodox Church, the first since Peter the Great (1672–1725) had abolished the patriarchate in the early 1700s. However, following the death of Patriarch Tikhon in 1925, the government prevented the election of a new patriarch until 1943, when WORLD WAR II compelled the government to temporarily relax its anti-religious policies. Throughout the 1920s churches were closed or nationalized to serve as worker clubs, museums, or storage sites. Propaganda posters played on deep-seated and widespread anticlerical feelings in Russian society and regularly depicted gluttonous priests working together with capitalists and foreign enemies of the revolution. The late 1920s and early 1930s in particular marked a period of heightened anti-religious persecution, best embodied in the activities of the League of the Militant Godless. All major religions alike—Orthodox, Protestant, and Catholic Christianity, JUDAISM, ISLAM, and BUDDHISM—felt the wrath of the government's persecution.

Rise of Leninism. With the Bolsheviks in power, the term *Bolshevism* gradually gave way to the term *Communism* in Russian political usage. In 1919, at a time when the new regime was fighting for its very survival, the Bolshevik Party was renamed All-Russian Communist Party, a conscious break with the social democratic roots that the party shared with the Mensheviks and the international socialist movement. In 1925 the party became known as the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik), a reflection of the multi-ethnic nature of the recently established Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Lenin's death in 1924 at a relatively early age deprived Bolshevism of its leading theoretician and pragmatic leader. It ushered in an increasingly bitter power struggle for succession among his closest collaborators, especially Leon Trotsky (1879–1940), Nikolai Bukharin (1888–1938), and Josef STALIN. By the end of the 1920s, Stalin had outmaneuvered his rivals and positioned himself as Lenin's heir by identifying his political platform with the set of ideas now known as *Leninism*, which was elevated to the level of political dogma.

As the revolutionary struggles of 1917 to 1921 receded, Bolshevism became increasingly identified with the pre-revolutionary period or the early years of the Soviet Union. As Stalin consolidated his power, older party members were perceived to be a threat to the highly suspicious, if not paranoid, dictator. Known as *Old Bolsheviks*, they were prominent targets of the mass political repression and executions that devastated Soviet society in the mid and late 1930s. Stalin cast prominent party members and former rivals—such as Bukharin, as well as Lev Kamenev (1883–1936) and Grigorii Zinoviev (1883–1936), two veteran Bolsheviks—as prominent villains in the show trials of the 1930s and sentenced them to death. Exiled in Mexico, Trotsky was assassinated by a Stalinist agent in 1940. Nevertheless, the term Bolshevik was not removed from the ruling party's official name until the Nineteenth Communist Party Congress of 1952, when it was dropped in favor of the designation, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

Khrushchev and Brezhnev. Following Stalin's death in March 1953, his successor, Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971), sought to disassociate the CPSU from the excesses of Stalinist rule, while preserving the basic foundation of Communist rule. After the closing ceremonies of the Twentieth Communist Party Congress in February 1956, he delivered a secret speech to a group of specially selected delegates, where he publicly criticized the repression of Old Bolsheviks and the extensive system of labor camps known later as *gulags*, labeling them as deviations from Communist principles and blaming them on Stalin's efforts to build a "cult of personality." An inconsistent campaign of de-Stalinization followed, aimed at reducing Stalin's mark on COMMUNISM and the Communist party, while restoring Lenin and Leninist ideals to their previous primary positions. While Khrushchev's reform was welcomed by some elements of Soviet society, especially the intelligentsia, influential members of the Communist party saw it as erratic and ultimately removed him from leadership in October 1964, and replaced him with Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982).

By the 1960s the ideological debates that had been a hallmark of Bolshevism in the pre-revolutionary period and of Communism in the first decade of Soviet power had long disappeared from Russian and Soviet political life. During Brezhnev's long tenure as General Secretary (1964–1982), an aging leadership consolidated its hold on key levels of power in the Communist Party and state bureaucracies. It successfully blocked an overdue reform of the Soviet economy and political system suffering from the strains of a costly arms race with the United States, low economic productivity, nationalist pressures in the non-Russian republics, and generational tensions similar to those faced by Western countries.



Four Bolshevik Leaders. *Lenin's successors in power in the Soviet Union, on their way to a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Comunist Party, are seen in June 1925, in Moscow. From left are: Josef Stalin, Alexei Rykov, Lev Kamenev, and Gregory Zinoviev.* **AP IMAGES**

Decline of Communism. It fell to Brezhnev's eventual successor, Mikhail Gorbachev (1931–), a reformist younger leader who ruled from 1985 to 1991, to preside over a period of rapid and dramatic change in the Soviet Communist system that ultimately led to its demise. Timid and unsuccessful economic reforms known as *restructuring* (*perestroika*) were accompanied by a more far-reaching political and cultural openness (*glasnost*). Although non-Communist political parties were not yet legalized, nationalist, reformist, and democratic coalitions took shape in Russia and many of the other Soviet republics. Their very existence questioned the foundations of Communist rule as defined by Lenin in the revolutionary era: one-party rule and a leading role in Soviet society. A final attempt by conservative forces in the Communist party and the state security apparatus in August 1991 to reverse the momentum of change by overthrowing Gorbachev was poorly executed and defeated, opening the way for the emergence of Boris Yeltsin (1931–2007), a reformist Communist who had been elected president of the Russian republic of the Soviet Union.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991 marked the end of formal Communist rule in the lands of the former Soviet Union. In many former Soviet republics, Communist leaders weathered the transition to post-Soviet life by reinventing themselves as nationalist or democratic leaders. In Russia proper, Communists, now under the banner of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF), went into opposition as the single largest party, contesting several elections in the 1990s, but never gaining a majority of votes. In matters of religion, the end of Communist rule led to a period of relative religious freedom. The Russian Federation redefined itself as a multi-confessional state of four major faiths (Russian Orthodoxy, Islam, Judaism, and Buddhism). Previous restrictions on religious practice were either abolished or relaxed, churches and temples

were rebuilt or reopened, and seminaries were once again allowed to train religious in unrestricted numbers. This religious pluralism, however, did not extend equally to all religious denominations. Non-Orthodox Christians, in particular Catholics and members of evangelical Protestant denominations, complained of limits and restrictions on their ability to practice, although in this case these came not from the ruling party or the state, but rather from religious authorities zealous to protect their newly restored powers.

SEE ALSO MARXISM; ORTHODOX AND ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; RUSSIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; TIKHON, PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW.

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BONHOMME, PIERRE, BL.

Priest, founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of Our Lady of Calvary, Gramat, France; b. July 4, 1803, Gramat; d. September 9, 1861, Gramat; beatified March 23, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

A pious and scholarly child, Pierre was called to his vocation at an early age. He began religious training in 1818 and was ordained on December 23, 1837, at the major seminary of Cahors. The Church faced great challenges in the aftermath of the FRENCH REVOLUTION; its political influence had waned, and the number of clergy had declined. Young Fr. Bonhomme understood the need to revitalize the relationship between the Church and the community. Returning to Gramat, and ultimately assuming the duties of parish priest, his early work included establishing secular schools for boys as well as an academy for those preparing to enter the seminary. He created a group called the Children of Mary to support and encourage the community's young women, whose members in turn performed many social services in the town. To further address the great need of the sick and elderly in Gramat, Fr. Bonhomme established a facility to care for them. In 1933 he founded the Congregation of the Sisters of Our Lady of Calvary to staff this institution; members of the Children of Mary were among the order's first initiates. The diocese of Cahors granted approval for the order in 1834.

While continuing his work at the parish in Gramat, Fr. Bonhomme, a gifted speaker, preached throughout the surrounding region, convincing many young women to join the congregation he had established. In 1836, after attending a Trappist retreat, Fr. Bonhomme considered joining a contemplative order; the diocese hierarchy refused permission, and the devoted priest continued his community and missionary work. Although tireless preaching and the harsh climate of the Lot region had threatened his voice previously, in 1848 Fr. Bonhomme lost his voice completely and was diagnosed with a disease of the larynx. He could no longer speak in public, but he continued the work of the congregation by setting up new communities throughout France. These groups established schools for deaf children and deaf-mutes (including those in Mayrinhac-Lentour and Paris) and worked among the mentally ill and the poor. Fr. Bonhomme dedicated the remainder of his life to completing a Rule for the congregation and identifying opportunities for the sisters to expand their work.

From a humble start, the congregation has expanded its presence to France, Brazil, Argentina, Guinea, Ivory Coast, and the Philippines, and it presently has about 250 members.

Fr. Bonhomme is the first priest from the diocese of Cahors to be beatified. At his BEATIFICATION, Pope John Paul II declared, "May Fr. Bonhomme encourage us to become familiar with Scripture, to love our Savior in order to be his untiring witnesses by our words and our life."

Feast: September 9.

SEE ALSO FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); TRAPPISTS.

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BONIFACIO (DI PIRANO), FRANCESCO GIOVANNI, BL.

Priest and MARTYR; b. September 7, 1912, Piran, Istria (now Croatia); d. September 11, 1946, Villa Gardossi, Istria (now Croatia); beatified October 4, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

The second of seven children born to a poor family, Francesco entered the seminary at Capodistria at the age of twelve. He was ordained a priest in the Cathedral of San Giusto in Trieste on December 27, 1936. Don Francesco became parochial vicar in Cittanova soon after, and in 1939 was appointed to Villa Gardossi, a town of about 1,300 people situated between Buie and Grisignana. The community was very poor; Don Francesco worked tirelessly to provide for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people.

On September 8, 1943, Italy announced its surrender to the Allied forces. Istria, which had remained largely unaffected by the war, became a key location in the struggle between the German occupying army and remnants of the Italian fascists and the Communist partisans of the Yugoslav Liberation Front, led by Josip Broz Tito. When the war ended in 1945, the Communist government of Yugoslavia claimed most of the area. Don Francesco had spent the difficult years between 1943 and 1945 protecting the population from aggression from both the fascists and the partisans. With the end of the war and the rise of COMMUNISM, the Catholic Church came under attack. Don Francesco continued his ministry and his work with the lay organization Azione Cattolica (CATHOLIC ACTION). His unwavering faith and vocal objection to the repression of the Communist regime made him a target of the new government.

There is little known about the actual events surrounding Don Francesco's murder. He disappeared on the night of September 11, 1946. It is believed that he was killed that night and his body disposed of in a *foiba* (a kind of sinkhole found in the area). The *foibe* massacres, as they are commonly called, were murders committed in Istria in the years following the Italian surrender. Much about the killings remains unresolved and uninvestigated; indeed, there is no consensus on facts as basic as the number of victims. Since there were no direct witnesses to Don Francesco's death or abduction, some have questioned Pope Benedict XVI's decision to grant BEATIFICATION.

Despite controversy surrounding the manner of Don Francesco's death, there is no doubt as to his devotion to the Church and dedication to the people he served. At the beatification ceremony, which took place in the Trieste cathedral in which he was ordained, Archbishop Angelo Amato invoked the sacrifices of modern day martyrs living under oppressive regimes throughout the world. Don Francesco's brother Giovanni, eighty-six, was present to witness Don Francesco's elevation.

Feast: September 11.

SEE ALSO CROATIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; FASCISM;WORLD WAR II.

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BORGIA, CESARE

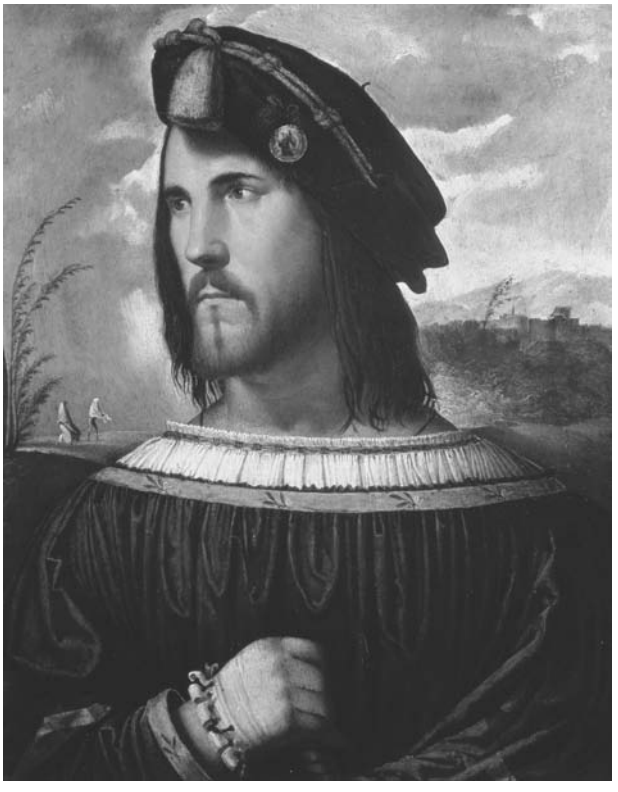
Duke of Valentinois and Romagna, model for MACHIAVELLI's *The Prince*; b. circa 1475, likely in Rome; d. March 12, 1507, Viana, Navarre, Spain.

Cesare Borgia led a colorful, often violent life that sheds light on the RENAISSANCE papacy. Cesare's career

reflects the prominent role of familial interests at the papal curia and the more secular orientation of its ambitions. Cesare was the illegitimate son of Cardinal Rodrigo de Lanzol y Borja, who became Pope ALEXANDER VI in 1492, and Vannozza de' Cattenei, a longtime mistress about whom little is known. He was brother to Gioffre Borgia and Giovanni Borgia, both of whom also served in papal government, as well as the notorious Lucrezia Borgia, and he was half-brother to Pedro Luis de Borja and Girolama de Borja.

The Borgia family came from Spain to Italy in the mid-fifteenth century when the Aragonese took control of the Kingdom of Naples. After studying law in Perugia and Pisa, Cesare embarked on a career in the Church. He became bishop of Pamplona by age fifteen and cardinal three years later. In 1497 Cesare's brother Giovanni, who was captain general for the papacy, suddenly died. Suspicions fells on Cesare, who had a dalliance with his sister-in-law, Sancha of Aragon. The next year, Cesare became the first person ever to resign from the cardinalate in order to pursue a military career. He soon became a brilliant mercenary warlord (*condottiero*). Louis XIII of France named him duke of Valentinois in return for his support during the French invasion of Italy in 1499. The duchy earned him the enduring sobriquet "Valentino." Cesare cemented his ties with France through marriage with Charlotte d'Albret, sister of John III, king of Navarre, on May 10, 1499. They had a daughter, Louise Borgia (1500–1553), while Cesare fathered no fewer than eleven illegitimate children with other women.

Alexander VI initially supported Ferdinand of Aragon, whom Cesare, acting as papal legate, crowned king of Naples in 1497. Despite his priestly office, Cesare even hoped to marry Ferdinand's daughter, Carlotta, but was cruelly rejected. But the pope soon played a double game by also currying favor with the French. French intervention in Italian affairs in the 1490s had led to the collapse of the MEDICI regime in Florence in 1494, and then the ouster in 1499 of the duke of Milan, Ludovico SFORZA. As a result, a vacuum of power was created in central and northern Italy that Pope Alexander VI hoped his family could fill. Accordingly, Alexander and Cesare set out on a policy both to expand the Papal States and create a territorial base for the Borgia family under Cesare's tutelage. Alexander used his powers of appointment to depose all the bishops in Romagna and the Marche in order to clear the way for men loyal to him. He also stacked the College of Cardinals with new cardinals for a price that helped Cesare hire leading mercenary *condottieri*, such as Oliverotto da Fermo, Gian Paolo Baglioni, Vitellozzo Vitelli, and Giulio and Paolo ORSINI. Cesare also later hired Leonardo da Vinci as a military engineer to consult on fortification construction and sieges. Alexander entrusted Cesare with command of the papal army. He set his sights on conquering the towns of Imola and Forlì, ruled by Caterina Sforza, in the Romagna just southeast of Bologna to secure the main road to Rimini. His success led to his appointment to the lucrative post of *gonfaloniere* of justice for the Papal States.



Borgia, Cesare (1475–1507). *Ruthless and cunning, Cesare served as the inspiration for Machiavelli's ideal of the qualities necessary to be a great ruler.* **ALTOBELLO MELONI/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY/GETTY IMAGES**

This initial momentum set the stage for Cesare's phenomenal rise that so astounded Machiavelli and his contemporaries. Cesare drove Giovanni Sforza, who was married to his sister Lucrezia, out of Pesaro and later had him murdered; he also ousted Pandolfo MALATESTA from Rimini, and forced Astorre III Manfredi to surrender Faeza. Cesare soon had Manfredi murdered, too. These vicious victories secured Cesare's lines of communication and control across Romagna, over which his father made him duke in 1501. Cesare's administration, while often harsh, nonetheless brought order to this unruly region and won the admiration of Machiavelli, who convinced Piero Soderini, the *gonfaloniere* of Florence, to hire Cesare to besiege Piombino, a key port town near the island of Elba. Rather than hand Piombino over when it fell in 1502, Cesare claimed the

lordship as his own as he eyed the conquest of Tuscany. Meanwhile, Louis XII of France gave Cesare command of the main French expeditionary force sent to drive the Aragonese out of southern Italy. In June 1501 he defeated forces under Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna at the sieges of Naples and Capua. With his grateful French allies controlling lands to the south of the Papal States and a weakened and isolated republican regime in Florence, little stood in the way of Borgia control of all of central Italy except for the tiny independent lordships, such as the Montefeltros in Urbino and Varanos in Camerino in the Marche. In June 1502 Cesare captured these places by stealth rather than force, and soon set his sights on the main prize in Romagna, the city of Bologna, nominally under the papacy. However, several of his *condottieri*, such as Oliverotto da Fermo and Vitellozzo Vitelli, conspired with local deposed lords to foment revolts against Cesare's domination. In December 1502, facing imminent defeat, Cesare famously tricked them into agreeing to a meeting at the castle of Senigallia to discuss reconciliation. They arrived, and on New Year's Eve he had them strangled—a masterpiece of deceit singled out by Machiavelli in chapter seven of *The Prince*.

Machiavelli saw in Cesare's meteoric career the precarious nature of worldly success based on good fortune and bravura. Cesare owed his success primarily to the papal patronage dispensed by his father. Just as he planned to invade Tuscany in summer 1503, Cesare suffered a double stroke of bad luck when both he and his father fell gravely ill. Alexander VI died on August 18, while Cesare remained bedridden in the CASTEL SANT'ANGELO. The ensuing conclave of cardinals was fairly evenly divided between Borgia clients and an opposition faction led by Cardinal Giuliano DELLA ROVERE, a longtime enemy of the Borgias. Still weakened by his illness, Cesare agreed in late September both to the election of a compromise candidate, Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, who took the name Pope PIUS III, and to quit Rome to return to Romagna to quell a revolt. However, Pius III died three weeks later, which paved the way for the elevation of Della Rovere as Pope JULIUS II, nicknamed *Il Papa Terribile*. Julius II wasted no time in eliminating Cesare from the scene and confiscating his lands for the Papal States. Cesare was soon arrested near Perugia in Umbria by his erstwhile lieutenant, Gian Paolo Baglioni. Exiled to Spain in 1504, Cesare was briefly imprisoned but soon escaped in 1506 to take up a military post under his brother-in-law, King John III of Navarre. On March 12, 1507, Cesare died a soldier's death at the siege of Viana; he was a mere thirty-one years of age. Even the disposition of his remains aroused controversy in the centuries ahead. They were initially entombed beneath the altar of the Church of Santa Maria in Viana until the local bishop had them exhumed in 1537 for reburial in an unconsecrated site for notorious sinners outside the church. There they remained until 2007, when the Archbishop of Pamplona, the diocese Cesare held as a teenager *in absentia*, finally consented to moving them inside the church where they now attract the attention of tourists and history enthusiasts curious about this iconic Machiavellian prince.

SEE ALSO CARDINALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; CHURCH, HISTORY OF, III (EARLY MODERN: 1500–1789); CURIA, ROMAN.

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BOSSILKOV, EVGENIJ, BL.

Bishop, first blessed of Bulgaria, and first martyr of the Communist era; b. Belene, Bulgaria, Nov. 16, 1900; d. Sofia, Bulgaria, Nov. 11, 1952; beatified on March 15, 1988 by Pope John Paul II.

Given the name Vincent at birth by his LATIN-RITE family, he took the name Evgenij (Eugene) after receiving the habit of the Passionist congregation in Ere (Belgium) in 1919 where he had gone for novitiate and further seminary studies after his minor seminary years in Oresh and Rousse in Bulgaria. He was ordained to the presbyterate in 1926 and sent to Rome for further education at the Pontifical Institute for Eastern Church Studies (P.I.O.S.) where he received a doctorate after defending the thesis "The Union of the Bulgarians with the Church of Rome at the Beginning of XIII Century" (1931). Bossilkov returned to Bulgaria, where he was assigned first to the office of Bishop Damian Theelen of Nicopolis (Rousse) and later put in charge of St. Joseph's parish in the large Catholic village of Bardarski Gheran (1934). Bossilkov initiated a new style in dealing with parishioners, often going well beyond strictly spiritual needs, reaching out toward non-Catholics, especially among the intellectual and professional leaders through-

out the country. He played soccer with the youth (for which petition has been made to name him patron of soccer) and hunted in the countryside with the adults.

After the Communist takeover in September of 1944, Bossilkov suffered the limitations imposed by the atheistic regime on the country and on the Church in particular. Documents indicate that he was shadowed by the intelligence service of the Communist underground long before the end of the war. When Bishop Theelen died in 1946, Bossilkov was appointed an administrator of the diocese. The following year he was named bishop. During this period, he worked closely with the apostolic delegate, Francesco Galloni, until the latter's expulsion from the country in December of 1948. At that point, persecution of the Church was escalated; all Catholic institutions were separated from the Church, religious orders were disbanded, and many priests and religious were arrested, questioned, and sent to prison. In 1952 a series of trials, some behind closed doors, deprived the Church of practically all able clergy.

In one of the trials, held September 30 to October 4, thirtyseven ecclesiastics were sentenced to prison, while four—Bl. Kamen VITCHEV (beatified May 26, 2002 by Pope John Paul II), Bl. Pavel DJIDJOV (beatified May 26, 2002 by Pope John Paul II), Bl. Josaphat CHICHKOV (beatified May 26, 2002 by Pope John Paul II, and Bishop Bossilkov—received death sentences. The evidence brought up during the examination of Bossilkov's cause shows that the real grounds for his harsh sentence was his refusal to head a schismatic national church. Half a century elapsed before documents could be produced (1992) that proved the execution had been carried out late in the night of Nov. 11, 1952. Bossilkov's grave is unknown, though his blood-stained shirt and pectoral cross were later returned to his family.

The canonization process was initiated in the West by the order of the Passionist Fathers in 1985. However, the regime in Bulgaria, not having recovered from the international uproar over their alleged connection with the attempt on the life of the pope (May 13, 1981), put great pressure on the Bulgarian bishops in the country. They in turn convinced church authorities in Rome to suspend the process (December 1985). When the political climate changed and normal diplomatic relations were established between Bulgaria and the Holy See in the summer of 1991, Bishop Samuil Djoundrin of Bossilkov's native diocese made formal petition that the process be resumed. Bossilkov was beatified March 15, 1988, by Pope John Paul II.

In his Homily during the Mass of Bossilkov's beatification, John Paul II said that this holy man,"became the Church's radiant glory in his country. A fearless witness to the Cross of Christ, he is one of the many victims sacrificed by atheistic communism in Bulgaria and elsewhere, in its plan to destroy the Church."

Feast: November 13.

SEE ALSO BULGARIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; COMMUNISM; PASSIONISTS.

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BOURGET, IGNACE

Second bishop of Montreal, Canada; b. October 30, 1799, Saint-Joseph-de-Lévis, Canada; d. June 8, 1885, Montreal.

Bourget attended secondary school in Quebec and began his work in theology there, finishing it in Montreal under J.J. Lartigue, the auxiliary bishop to whom he was secretary. When Montreal became a diocese (1836), Bourget was named vicar-general; the following year he was consecrated coadjutor bishop, and in 1840 he succeeded to the see.

His first concern was to obtain the priests and institutions needed in Montreal. He entrusted the direction of its Grand Seminary to the SULPICIANS. In 1841 he went to Europe and obtained the services of several OBLATES OF MARY IMMACULATE (1841), JESUITS, and Religious of the Sacred Heart (1842), and nuns of the Good Shepherd from Angers (1844). He also made arrangements for the introduction of other religious

institutes: the Clerics of St. Viator and the Fathers, Brothers, and Sisters of Holy Cross (1847). He founded two institutes of charity—the SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE (1843) and the SISTERS OF MERCY (1847)—and two institutes of instruction: the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary (1844) and the Sisters of St. Anne (1848). He also welcomed into the diocese the Brothers of Charity of Gand (1865). He embraced and fostered the work of two earlier Canadian foundations: the Congrégation de Notre Dame (1698) and the GREY NUNS (1738).

Although a decisive man of action, Bourget was a great believer in prayer; he himself led a life of regular, meditative prayer and collaborated in the foundation of a Canadian contemplative institute, the Sisters of the Precious Blood (1861). He also established the Carmelites of Reims in Montreal (1875). His zeal was not limited to his own diocese, and he sent out to the poorest of the dioceses, and especially to the missions of the Pacific coast, numerous secular priests, monks, and nuns. "The best means of preserving the Faith," he said, "is to propagate it far and wide."

In concord with many bishops of his time, he favored ULTRAMONTANISM, or papal supremacy, and he had to withstand heavy attacks from liberals and the supporters of GALLICANISM of the period. When the Cathedral of St. James the Greater burned down, he purchased property closer to the new business center of the burgeoning city and erected in its stead a one-third-size replica of St. Peter's in the Vatican. Between 1868 and 1870 he raised four regiments of Papal Zouaves for the defense of Pope PIUS IX during the RISORGIMENTO.

Ten years after the foundation of Laval University at Quebec (1852), he tried to obtain an independent Catholic university for his episcopal city. Although his fifteen-year effort was unsuccessful in the short term, he advanced all the arguments that ultimately led to the establishment of the independent University of Montreal (1920).

Bourget recognized and defended the crucial role played by the Catholic faith in shaping and maintaining the cultural and political identity of French Canada as a distinct society within an increasingly Anglo-Protestant nation. His robust leadership, particularly in the areas of education, health care, and even the law, guaranteed the autonomy of the Catholic Church against those influences seeking to enforce assimilation in the wake of confederation (1867). His vision gave rise to a characteristically French-Canadian Catholicism that flourished in the civil province of Quebec until the late 1960s and the so-called Quiet Revolution.

No less important was the struggle he waged for the spiritual well-being of Montreal. By virtue of a privilege dating from the seventeenth century, which he himself had confirmed in 1843, the Seminary of Montreal was empowered to minister in perpetuity to the entire city as a single parish. Because of the rapid increase in the city's population (to 100,000 in 1860), this privilege became more burdensome than useful. In 1865 ROME granted Bourget the right to establish new parishes in the city in accordance with the needs of the faithful, thus enabling the Diocese of Montreal to progress at the same rate as the rest of the country during the second half of the nineteenth century. The dramatic rise in church attendance from roughly 30 percent in 1840 to well over 90 percent by the time of his death in 1885 can largely be credited to his zeal and industry. The prestige and the reputation for sanctity that accrued to him during his lifetime did not cease with his death; in 1903 a monument was erected to him in front of the cathedral, and his remains are interred in a marble tomb in the center of the bishops' mortuary chapel. Despite various informal initiatives over the twentieth century to promote his candidacy for BEATIFICATION and canonization, a formal cause has yet to be introduced by the Archdiocese of Montreal.

SEE ALSO CANADA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; CARMELITES; HOLY NAMES OF JESUS AND MARY, SISTERS OF THE; NOTRE DAME, SISTERS OF THE CONGREGATION DE; PRECIOUS BLOOD SISTERS; ST. ANNE, SISTERS OF; ST. PETER'S BASILICA; VIATORIANS; ZOUAVES, PAPAL.

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BOY SCOUTS

The Boy Scouts—the most successful voluntary association of the twentieth, or American, century—was in fact a creature of the British Empire. Of course, so too was the United States of America, where scouting became a characteristic activity of youth. The founder of the organization was Robert Baden-Powell. Although later raised to the peerage, Baden-Powell was not born into a baronial family. Indeed, he was not even born a Baden-Powell (he was born Robert Stephenson Smyth Powell), but his mother thought the hyphenated surname suited her social ambitions. Her son Robert was not so grasping, but his social unease certainly informed the character of the Scouts. The old language of rank and deference did not ring true in modern ears, but young working-class and lower middle-class boys were still in need of discipline. Progress, though welcome, brought with it decay, and this was further complicated by the international crises that defined the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Baden-Powell's birth and death years were critical moments in British history: He was born in 1857, the year of the Indian Mutiny, when the British Empire faced down its greatest challenge, and he died in 1941, when the imperial mantle was passed on to American shoulders. Baden-Powell was a scholarship boy at Charterhouse, one of the kingdom's best public schools and one of its formative upper-class institutions. He thrived there but failed his OXFORD entrance exams. He went straight into the army, receiving a lieutenancy in the 13th Hussars, one of its poshest regiments. Baden-Powell's background and abbreviated education were liabilities, and he chafed against extravagant regimental tradition. Postings in India and Africa encouraged him to propose and practice a more flexible style of soldiering, one suited to the frontier but also to modern manners. His *Aids to Scouting* was published in 1899, when he was commanding the garrison in besieged Mafeking, South Africa. The siege lasted over two hundred days, and news of Baden-Powell's successful resistance was one of the highlights of an otherwise dispiriting Boer War.

Much of the Boy Scouts' prodigious growth can be attributed to Baden-Powell's celebrity, for Mafeking had made him a national hero. He did not invent the Scouts out of whole cloth, however. Boys' Brigades, often sponsored by churches, were already mustering in British cities, and the urban demand for frontier reinvigoration must be recognized as a key to scouting's appeal. Some of these brigades, along with select branches of the YMCA, began to use *Aids to Scouting* as an organizational tool. Hearing of this, the author thought he might patent his own brand of demilitarized scouts. He developed the brand in conversations with other youth organizers, including Ernest Thompson Seton, the nature illustrator and leader of the Woodcraft movement. Seton would be the first chief scout of the Boy Scouts of America, though he quickly became disillusioned with Scouting's continued martial aspect.

Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* was published in 1908. Both it and the organization for which it was scripture were galloping successes. The Boy Scouts offered hierarchy without the seemingly antiquated trammels of class. Not for nothing are Scouts' achievements marked by "merit badges." In an age of decay, the Scouts were to be models of hygiene, efficiency, and patriotism. Observers wondered—and wonder still—if Scouting was a cousin to the uniformed, right-wing parties of interwar Europe. Baden-Powell admired the early MUSSOLINI, but then so did Winston Churchill. The founder of the Scouting movement resisted attempts to turn it into a cadet branch of national service, however. The organization eventually outgrew its military roots, and by the eve of the Second World War there were 5 million Boy Scouts and "Girl Guides."

This growth would continue after the war, especially in the United States, but challenges loomed. The Boy Scouts were members of a private corporation that assumed a public role. The relationship of public and private was now described by the language of rights and adjudicated by litigation. The Scouts were tested by this scrutiny, just as most religious bodies would be. Some Roman Catholics had been suspicious of Scout religiosity, but a greater number were enthusiastic about an organization that combined discipline (the better for maintaining ethnic and religious identity) with a vague but unimpeachable patriotism.

Those associations—like the Scouts and the churches—that tried to be representatively American while following restrictive and exclusionary policies have become increasingly controversial. For churches, the contentious issues have been their schools and the public money routed into them by subsidized busing and the vouchers attractive to many educational reformers. For the Boy Scouts, the issue has been discrimination. Can they, for example, keep acknowledged homosexuals out of their leadership ranks? The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Boy Scouts of America v. Dale* (2000), has said that they can. To some observers, such attention creates an image very different from that of the Scouts of yesteryear. Others, even more critical, have used the Court's decision to question the Scouts' ability to be what they once assuredly were: the representatives of a vigorous modernity.

SEE ALSO CATHOLIC YOUTH ORGANIZATION; HOMOSEXUALS, PASTORAL CARE OF.



Jamboree. *Thousands of Boy Scouts render the Scout salute as they recite the Pledge of Allegiance during the Boy Scout Jamboree, Sunday, July 31, 2005, at Fort AP Hill in Bowling Green, VA.* **AP IMAGES**

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BOYS TOWN

Fr. Edward FLANAGAN (1886–1948) founded a home for abandoned boys in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1917, which quickly grew to become known as Boys Town, one of the largest and most influential childcare facilities and programs in American history. The original site, a rundown mansion that initially housed only five boys, was replaced by a bigger home within a year and then a much larger 160-acre farm in 1921. The program's success and rapid expansion led the state of Nebraska to incorporate Boys Town as an independent village in 1936, at which time it received its own post office. The Hollywood movie *Boys Town* followed in 1938, giving Fr. Flanagan's mission international recognition. In the years following World War II, the Nebraska facility continued to grow, new programs were launched throughout the United States, and Fr. Flanagan became a renowned international figure, influencing the creation and identity of new programs for orphaned and abandoned children around the world. In the 1970s Boys Town began to admit girls in crisis, who soon comprised about half its population, and it also diversified its services to meet the changing needs of abandoned, abused, neglected, and otherwise troubled children. In the twenty-first century Boys Town continues to provide a variety of important residential and non-residential services directly to thousands of children and families each year, as well as sponsoring training and educational programs that indirectly influence hundreds of thousands more.

Early History. Edward J. Flanagan was born in Roscommon, Ireland, in 1886 and immigrated to the United States in 1904. He was ordained a Catholic priest in 1912 and was assigned to St. Patrick's Church in



Roughhousing. *Father Flanagan, founder and director of Boys Town settlement (2nd row, 2L), crouching over to enjoy watching visitor Jack Dempsey putting up dukes with a little boy resident, as a huge group of boys watch from above on steps.* **ARAL/PIX INC./TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES**

Omaha, Nebraska, the following year. It was there, as a young priest, that he observed the enormous hardship and vile social conditions experienced by disenfranchised agricultural workers, who often ended up unemployed and homeless in cities like Omaha. He also observed that significant numbers of newly arriving immigrants were in similarly dire straits—many, like himself, from Ireland. Flanagan quickly focused on the need to help the children of these two groups, particularly the troubled boys who frequently became juvenile delinquents. Throughout his life Fr. Flanagan asserted that love could overcome hatred and often philosophized that "I have never really met a boy who wanted to be bad." In this regard he was quite a progressive social reformer, continually emphasizing the importance of environmental factors and the need for early intervention in solving pressing social problems.

Fr. Flanagan borrowed ninety dollars from an anonymous donor to purchase a dilapidated mansion in downtown Omaha in 1917. His work began with five orphaned boys that he rounded up from the neighboring streets, and he quickly developed an open-door policy, welcoming homeless and severely troubled boys regardless of their religious, ethnic, or racial identities. The boys attended school during the day and, after school, athletic and musical programs kept them out of trouble. Only a year later, finding that he needed a larger facility, Father Flanagan moved to yet another aging building, this one a former boarding house. Again, demand quickly dictated the need for a larger site, and in 1921 he obtained the former Overlook Farm, a 160-acre site on the outskirts of Omaha that had several buildings and extensive farmland, which could be used to grow food to feed the boys. Despite enormous financial challenges, Boys Town had become a reality.

In the 1930s Boys Town's population grew into the hundreds, leading the state of Nebraska to create Boys Town as an official village. Fr. Flanagan refused to surround his facility with fences, insisting repeatedly that it was a home, not a prison. As success stories spread far

and wide, Hollywood producers approached Fr. Flanagan in 1937 about making a movie about the home. At first he was skeptical and rejected initial offers but, when presented with the script of the movie that would be made in 1938, he finally accepted. MGM studios donated 5,000 dollars to Boys Town for the rights to Fr. Flanagan's story. The movie told the tale of Whitey Marsh, a fictional character *mélange* who ended up transformed by his Boys Town experience. Mickey Rooney (1920–), an established star, played Whitey, and an even mightier Hollywood icon, Spencer Tracy (1900–1967), played Fr. Flanagan. Shot on site, the film became an instant box-office blockbuster that remained popular with audiences seven decades later. Tracy followed Fr. Flanagan in his daily activities for a week to study and impersonate him as accurately as he could. The phenomenal success of the movie contributed enormously to the recognition of Boys Town and to the far-reaching influence of its philosophy.

The Mission Expands. At the conclusion of World War II, President Truman called on Fr. Flanagan to aid in global reconstruction. While continuing to direct Boys Town, Father Flanagan traveled to Asia and Europe to advise in American and international efforts to establish quality care for the millions of children orphaned and impoverished by the horrors of war. Exhausted from overwork, Fr. Flanagan suffered a fatal heart attack in Berlin in 1948. He was buried in Boys Town, and his funeral drew international sorrow. President Truman visited his grave a few days later.

Msgr. Nicholas Wegner succeeded Fr. Flanagan as director (1948–1973) and oversaw the expansion of facilities and programs at Boys Town; among the most innovative was the Boys Town National Research Hospital. By the early 1970s Boys Town had a residential population of approximately 900 boys, and its ideas and practices were being emulated throughout the world.

The 1970s brought new needs and trends to the care of America's most troubled children, and once again Boys Town was on the cutting edge of innovation and progress. Under the directorship of Msgr. Robert Hupp (1973–1985), dormitories were replaced by smaller units, designed to replicate a family-home environment, in which married couples managed each unit of boys. In 1979 Boys Town began admitting girls. Under the direction of Fr. Valentine Peter (1985–2005), programs were created in fourteen states and the District of Columbia. In addition to maintaining residential programs, a plethora of services were also created for troubled youths and their families, and vast training and educational programs for both families and professionals were launched. Fr. Stephen Boes succeeded Fr. Peter as director in 2005.

SEE ALSO ADOPTION (IN THE BIBLE); FILM, THE CHURCH AND; NEBRASKA, CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MISSION AND MISSIONS; ORPHAN (IN THE EARLY CHURCH); SOCIAL JUSTICE.

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BRADER, MARÍA CARIDAD, BL.

Foundress, Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Mary Immaculate, Tùquerres, Colombia; b. August 14, 1860, Kaltbrunn, Switzerland; d. February 27, 1943, Pasto, Colombia; beatified March 23, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

The only child of Joseph Sebastian Brader and María Anna Karolina Zahner, María Josefa Karolina grew up in a home that valued both devotion to God and secular education. Highly intelligent, her parents enrolled her in the best schools possible. She excelled first in her hometown and later at the Maria Hilf Institute in Alstätten, run by the Sisters of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis, where she ranked first among the intermediate students. Though encouraged to pursue further studies, in 1880 she entered the cloistered convent at the Maria Hilf Institute, taking the name Mary Charity of the Love of the Holy Spirit, or Sister Caritas. On August 22, 1882, she professed her final vows.

Because of her advanced education, Sister Caritas was assigned to the convent school, where she taught until she was presented with the opportunity, newly available to cloistered nuns, to do missionary work. Among the first and most enthusiastic of the volunteers,

on June 19, 1888, the young nun, with a group of six others led by the convent's mother superior Maria Bernarda BÜTLER (canonized by Pope BENEDICT XVI on October 12, 2008), left Switzerland for Chone, Ecuador. Sister Caritas taught catechism to the children of that area until 1893, when she was transferred to a mission in Tùquerres, Colombia. The physical area was vast, including many types of terrain and climate; the majority of the population lived in abject poverty. Recognizing the need for more missionaries to serve the region adequately, that same year Sister Caritas and German priest Fr. Reinaldo Herbrand founded the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of Mary Immaculate in Tùquerres.

Originally composed of young Swiss women, members of the local population soon joined the new order. Reflecting her own upbringing, Mother Caritas, leader of the new congregation, encouraged the sisters to get the best training and education possible so as to serve the community to the greatest extent possible. She emphasized the need to balance an active life in the world by prayerful devotion to God and absolute acceptance of the Franciscan precept of poverty. Mother Caritas served as mother superior to the congregation from 1893 to 1919, and again from 1928 to 1940. The Holy See granted approval to the Franciscan Sisters of Immaculate Mary in 1933. The sisters continue their work in South America, Central America, the United States, Switzerland, Romania, Mali, and Benin.

At Mother Caritas's BEATIFICATION, Pope John Paul II stated that her life was a "[b]eautiful lesson of a missionary life dedicated to the service of God and of neighbor."

Feast: February 27.

SEE ALSO COLOMBIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; FRANCISCANS, THIRD ORDER REGULAR; FRANCISCAN SISTERS; POVERTY, RELIGIOUS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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BRANDO, MARIA CRISTINA, BL.

Baptized Adelaide; foundress of the Sisters, Expiatory Victims of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament (Oblation Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament), Casoria (Naples), Italy; b. May 1, 1856, Naples; d. January 20, 1906, Casoria; beatified April 27, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Born to a wealthy Neapolitan family, Adelaide Brando was the daughter of Giovanni Giuseppe and Maria Concetta Marrazzo. Her early life was marked by tragedy, as her mother died days after Adelaide's birth. Uninterested in material things, the devout child attended Mass daily, took a vow of perpetual CHASTITY at the age of twelve, and openly articulated her desire to become a saint. Adelaide was prevented from following an early vocation, first by her father's refusal to grant permission for her to enter the convent, and later by her own poor health, which included chronic bronchitis. In 1876, with the approval of her father, she entered the monastery of the SACRAMENTINE NUNS and assumed the name Sister Maria Cristina of the IMMACULATE CONCEPTION. Soon after, poor health forced her to leave the monastery and return to the care of her family.

This setback did not deter Maria Cristina from her vocation. In 1878 she and her half-sister Concetta, who had left the POOR CLARES, moved into a house run by the Teresiane Sisters of Torre del Greco. There Maria Cristina worked to found a new religious order that reflected her devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. Thus was born the Congregation of the Sisters, Expiatory Victims of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, dedicated to the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. In 1892 Maria Cristina and seventy-six adherents founded what would become their mother house in Casoria, north of Naples. She built a small cell next to the church where she spent each night, seated in a chair, praying and being close to the Blessed Sacrament. On July 20, 1903, the Vatican granted approval to the congregation, and later that year, Maria Cristina, now mother superior, took perpetual vows along with many of her sisters.

The congregation, also known as the Oblation Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, is dedicated to service and charity for all those in need, especially children. Mother Maria Christina wrote that love of God and of others formed "two branches that originated from the same trunk." In addition to practicing contemplative devotion of the Blessed Sacrament, the sisters have

established schools and orphanages, and they provide care to children and the elderly and infirm in Italy, Brazil, Columbia, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

At her BEATIFICATION, Pope John Paul II declared, "Her desire to take part in Christ's passion, as it were, 'overflowed' into educational works, for the purpose of making people aware of their dignity and open to the Lord's merciful love."

Feast: January 20.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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BREVIARY

The breviary is the liturgical book containing the psalms, chants, readings, and orations (prayers) that constitute the Divine Office or canonical hours. Breviaries were used by monks and clergy in the West since the eleventh century and continued to be produced as manuscripts and later as printed books until the reforms following the Second Vatican Council, when the reformed *Breviarium Romanum* was published as the *Liturgia Horarum* (*Liturgy of the Hours* in the English version). The term *breviary* has also been used in an extended sense to designate the Divine Office itself. Using this sense of the term, general histories of the breviary may describe the structure of the Office and trace its history from its formative period before the sixth century to its standardization as the secular (or Roman) Office, normally observed by clergy, and the monastic Office. The focus of the present entry is the breviary in its strict sense as a liturgical book.

Breviaries bring together texts and sometimes music that had originally been found in diverse books used for the observance of the hours in the secular and monastic Office traditions: psalters containing the psalms, canticles, and other components of the ordinary Office; hymnaries and antiphonaries containing the chants used at the individual hours over the course of the year; various books containing the readings from Scriptures, patristic homilies, and saints' lives; and collectars containing the orations and short readings. These diverse Office books continued to serve a purpose and were still produced after breviaries began to appear, but the emergence of the breviary enabled all the components of the Office to be integrated in a single book.

Through examinations of large numbers of manuscripts, scholars in the past century have refined some of the earlier views concerning the breviary's original function, but there is still some uncertainty and some disagreement about which surviving books should be called breviaries. Although the Latin term *breviarium* means an abridgment or summary, in medieval usage it could refer to any compilations, and, conversely, other terms were often used for books that are now classified as breviaries. One usage of the term found in southern Italy by the beginning of the twelfth century is notable: a group of manuscripts containing various combinations of Office books also include an ordinal labeled *breviarium sive ordo officiorum per totam anni decursionem*, which concisely indicates the chants, readings, and orations used at the hours during the course of the year. The ordinal is not a breviary in what would become the standard sense, but both provide a means of setting out all the elements of the hours in context. An ordinal, however, contains only cues indicating the psalms, chants, readings, and prayers; in breviaries these are written out in full.

Diversity in the form and organization of early breviaries can make it difficult to compare their contents, since they may present similar repertories of chants and readings in fundamentally different ways. Certain primitive breviaries kept in distinct sections what had originally been found in separate books, but the fully formed breviaries that began to appear in the eleventh and twelfth centuries had all the elements integrated and presented as they were to be recited during the individual hours over the course of the year. This includes chants, readings, and orations proper to particular days in the liturgical year as well as items repeated each day or week (as part of the distribution of the 150 psalms and ordinary chants over the course of the week) and items shared by a number of saints' feasts (*Commune sanctorum*). Different arrangements could be used for combining proper and repeated items in a single volume.

Consequently, while some differences among breviaries reflect differences in their intended usage or in the actual selection of texts sung or recited at the hours, others simply reflect the diverse ways in which breviaries could be organized.

The most complete breviaries include a calendar indicating the dates of the fixed feasts, tables for determining the dates of the moveable observances, a Psalter containing the psalms and ordinary or seasonal material, a *Temporale* presenting the proper texts for the hours in the liturgical year (normally beginning with Saturday VESPERS before the first Sunday of ADVENT), a *Sanctorale* presenting the proper texts for saints' feasts of the year, and the *Commune sanctorum* as well as some additional contents. The *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* may be divided into winter and summer parts to form two-volume breviaries, and modern breviaries have separate volumes for winter, spring, summer, and autumn.

The more significant differences among breviaries pertain to their usage. Since the ninth century, the Roman and Benedictine Offices had become the standard traditions throughout much of the West for the observance of the hours by clergy and monks respectively. These two Office traditions for the most part used the same texts and both had the psalms distributed over the week at Nocturns, LAUDS, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and COMPLINE, but the psalms were distributed in different manners and the structure of the hours was not the same (for instance, at Nocturns on Sundays and feasts, the monastic Office has twelve lessons and responsories instead of nine). A monastic breviary can therefore be easily distinguished from a secular breviary. Within each tradition, some breviary manuscripts include music with the text of each chant while others supply just the text, and some are large choir breviaries while others are small portable breviaries. The latter often entailed the omission of some material and shortened readings, and it has been associated with the growth of the private recitation of the Office.

Further changes in the Roman Office were made possible by the production of reformed breviaries, in particular the thirteenth-century *Breviary of the Roman Curia*, adopted and developed by the FRANCISCANS; the *Breviary of Pius V* (1568); and the *Breviary of Pius X* (1911), which instituted a new weekly distribution of the psalms, superseded in turn by the four-week distribution over the five hours of the *Liturgia Horarum* (1971).

As the breviary had become synonymous with the Office *per se*, by the end of the MIDDLE AGES it began to be used even in Office traditions that had never utilized this type of book. In Milan, Ambrosian breviaries first appeared during the fifteenth century, and the revival of the Old Spanish Office in Toledo was made possible by the 1502 publication of a breviary compiled from early *libri mistici* of the Old Spanish rite.

SEE ALSO AMBROSIAN RITE; ANTIPHON; BOOK, THE PRINTED; CANTICLES, BIBLICAL; CHANT BOOKS, PRINTED EDITIONS OF; CURIA, ROMAN; FEASTS, RELIGIOUS; HOMILY; HYMNARY; LITURGICAL BOOKS OF THE ROMAN RITE; LITURGICAL CALENDAR, I: CATHOLIC; LITURGICAL MUSIC, THEOLOGY AND PRACTICE OF; LITURGICAL YEAR IN ROMAN RITE; LITURGY OF THE HOURS; PIUS V, POPE, ST.; PIUS X, POPE, ST.; PRAYER; PSALMS, BOOK OF; PSALTERS, METRICAL; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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BUCKLEY, WILLIAM F., JR.

American conservative author, commentator, and political activist; b. New York City, November 24, 1925; d. Stamford, Connecticut, February 27, 2008.

One of America's great Roman Catholic conservative icons, William Frank Buckley Jr. was a versatile public figure who helped create modern conservatism as an intellectual and political movement, and did so with wit and charm. His goal was to make conservative ideas respectable and politically persuasive, which he accomplished by way of his biweekly journal, *National Review*, his syndicated newspaper column, *On the Right*, his weekly television program, *Firing Line*, some fifty volumes of writings, and his political activism. He was a controversial critic of liberalism and a defender of individualism, religion, and capitalism. Buckley received numerous and diverse awards for his work, including the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1991).

Born the sixth of ten children in a well-off family of English-Irish descent, Buckley enjoyed an intense private Catholic education in Mexico, England, and France. He loved music, the outdoors, and especially sailing. After high school and two years in the army, Buckley entered Yale University in 1946 to study political science, economics, and history, and graduated with a B.A. with honors. In 1950 he married Patricia Austin Taylor (1926–2007), and fathered one son, Christopher.

Buckley's intellectual career began in earnest in 1951 with his first book, *God and Man at Yale*, in which he criticized his alma mater's curriculum as collectivist and antireligious and contrary to a true liberal education. At the same time, he began a two-year stint with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as a political-action specialist in Mexico City.

It was Russell KIRK's *The Conservative Mind* (1953) that greatly inspired Buckley's conservative vision. Shortly after its publication, in 1955, Buckley founded and began editing *National Review*, an exceedingly popular magazine intended to fuse a diverse spectrum of principled conservative viewpoints, including those of traditionalists, Catholic intellectuals, libertarians, constitutionalists, free marketers, and ex-Communists. These writers sought to engage modern liberal collectivism, make conservative ideas respectable, and influence national affairs in a more intellectual and public manner. This effort succeeded in the 1960s as conservatism shifted from an intellectual to an organized political movement that promoted the presidential candidacies of Barry Goldwater (1909–1998), Richard Nixon (1913–1994), and Ronald Reagan (1911–2004). In the process, Buckley launched a national student activist group, Young Americans for Freedom (1960), founded the New York Conservative Party (1961), began a popular and long-running syndicated column, *On the Right* (1962), and ran for mayor of New York City (1965).

Buckley returned anew to his role as conservative commentator with the launching of his famous public affairs television show, *Firing Line* (1966–1999). Each week Buckley, with a strong intellectual bent, interviewed prominent intellectuals and public figures in a leisurely yet robust manner. This forum exemplified Buckley's notion that in order to convince, one needed to debate and not merely preach. The program ran for over thirty-three years and won conservatism a wide and diverse audience.

Buckley was a devout Catholic. Though critical of the liturgical reforms (especially music) brought about after VATICAN COUNCIL II, his love of the faith never waned, as he revealed especially in his book *Nearer, My God: An Autobiography of Faith* (1997). In this late work, Buckley offers an erudite and moving personal reflection on Roman Catholicism and his own lifelong Christian pilgrimage.

SEE ALSO MODERN MEDIA AND THE CHURCH; POLITICS, CHURCH AND.

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BUDDHISM

The complex of religious beliefs and philosophical ideas that has developed out of the teachings of the Buddha (Sanskrit, "the Enlightened One"), the honorific title of the founder of Buddhism, the north Indian prince Siddhārtha Gautama. Beginning as a contemplative discipline for human deliverance from suffering, it acquired the characteristics of a nontheistic religious system with a message of transcendent insight for both laity and monastics. The claim that Buddhism is more a philosophy along the lines of STOICISM than a religion seems not to correspond to the richness of early Buddhist culture. Both archeological and textual evidence tends to support the view that Buddhism always had monasticism, a cult of relic veneration, and a doctrine of supramundane liberation accessible through moral and meditative praxis. Various schools emerged from an early date, largely as a result of debates within the monastic communities over the rules of monastic conduct, differences in assessing spiritual attainment, and ways of describing the subject of spiritual experience (the person).

Beginning in the first century BC, a complex of lay and monastic movements coalesced into a new form of Buddhism that referred to itself as the Bodhisattvayāna ("vehicle of the bodhisattvas") or MAHĀYĀNA ("great vehicle"), in contrast to the earlier set of schools (traditionally numbered as eighteen) referred to disparagingly as the HĪNAYĀNA ("little vehicle"). One of the early "Eighteen Schools," the Sthaviravāda ("doctrine of the elders"), survived over the centuries to become the Theravāda, to this day the bearer of the Pali canonical tradition in south and Southeast Asia. Buddhism is primarily a system of SOTERIOLOGY in which a broad spectrum of spiritual practices can be employed to bring about enlightenment (*bodhi*). The characteristic symbol of Buddhism is the "Wheel of the Law" (*Dharma-Cakra*), which symbolizes the basic teachings of the Buddha.

The geographic expansion of Buddhism in many regions of ancient India, the Himalayas, China, Southeast Asia, Korea, central Asia, and Japan coincided with its ideological evolution in response to the inculturation of the earliest Buddhist teachings. The emergence of sectarian movements, the appearance of the Great Vehicle, the proliferation of lay and monastic practices, the development of systematic thought including logic and ethics, and the embrace of some forms of tantrism in the Buddhist Vajrayāna ("vehicle of the thunderbolt," sometimes considered a "third yāna") reflect the richness of historical Buddhism. Since the Buddhism of each country assumed various forms and characteristics, it is helpful to treat them on a regional basis.

INDIA

Even before the lifetime of the historical Buddha (c. 563–483 BC) Indian society and religion were undergoing extensive transformations. A sudden population increase, urbanization, the rise of a monetary economy, and the founding of centralized kingdoms in place of traditional tribal and clan society led many to question the traditional religious sacrifices of the Vedas. Many began thinking about the fate of the individual after death, leading to various attempts to formulate the doctrines of REINCARNATION and KARMA, in order to explain how conduct in a previous lifetime could bear fruit in the sufferings or advantages of the present lifetime. These speculations gave rise to new religious movements, of which Buddhism and JAINISM are the most noteworthy institutional survivors. The proponents of these new ways of thinking were wandering mendicants who renounced the normal system of family and social ties in order to devote themselves to MEDITATION and philosophical discourse. Not all of these movements accepted religious or nonmaterial explanations for human destiny; some entirely denied the existence of karmic consequences, reincarnation, and the soul.

Buddha. During the same period, from perhaps the ninth to the sixth century BC, Brahmanical Vedism showed its own capacity for development and adaptation by inspiring esoteric or symbolic interpretations of the ancient sacrificial system. The earliest Upaniṣads, such as the Chandogya, build upon the system of Vedic commentarial literature (the *Brahmaṇas*) to elaborate an overarching theological system. However, some pre-Vedic intellectual currents of thought revived in the Indian subcontinent, nurturing new forms of critical thinking based on the notion of liberation from cyclic or infracosmic existence. These systems taught that even the gods were within the cosmic cycle of rebirth driven by previous conduct (*karma*) and that true liberation can only be attained outside cyclic existence (*saṃsāra*).

In this way, Indian thinkers articulated their own discovery of TRANSCENDENCE and SALVATION. According to tradition, one of these systems of salvation was discovered by Gautama Siddhārtha (c. 563–483 BC), the son of Śuddhodana and Māyā Gautama, born at Lumbinī in what is now southern Nepal. At twenty-nine, having encountered the "Four Signs" (an old man;



Yogic Songs. *Milarepa holding a yak horn.* **COURTESY OF FRANCIS TISO**

a dying man; a corpse; a world-renouncing wanderer) that thrust him into a profound interior crisis, he renounced his princely rank, his wife, and his child to seek deliverance from the suffering inherent to human existence. After six years of practicing both extreme self-mortification and deep meditation in the Upaniṣadic mode, he decided to chart his own path and sat under the Bodhi Tree at Bodh Gayā, where he reached both enlightenment and liberation from the endless round of birth and rebirth (*samsāra*) by discovering the origin of suffering and the way to conquer it. Once recognized by disciples as an enlightened being, he came to be known as the sage of the Śākya clan (*Śākyamuni*), the "Awakened One" (*Buddha*).

In the course of forty years of teaching before his passing (*parinirvāna*) at Kuśinagara, the Buddha formulated his doctrine and the rules for his orders of monks and nuns. He taught that suffering could be conquered by the knowledge and practice of the "Four Truths that Pertain to the Noble Ones" (*caturāryasatya,* erroneously but commonly translated as "The Four Noble Truths"): (1) Human existence is suffering, which (2) is caused by desire, and (3) can be overcome by the elimination of desire which is achieved (4) by means of the practice of the "Eightfold Path." The Path consists in (1) right knowledge of the Four Truths; (2) right resolve to curb malice; (3) right speech, true and kind; (4) right action, meaning to refrain from killing, stealing, and sexual misconduct; (5) right livelihood, which meant that one could not earn one's living in a trade that by its nature involved bringing harm to others, such as the sale of weapons, poisons, slaves, livestock, and so on; (6) right effort; (7) right mindfulness, or awareness, of the body, of feelings, of the state of mind, and of phenomena; (8) right meditation, which consists of four steps: isolation resulting in joy, meditation causing inner peace, concentration producing bodily happiness, and contemplation coming to maturity in habitual detachment from contrasting mental states, such as happiness and sorrow.

The Buddha remained faithful to the prevailing thought of his day by affirming the reality of rebirth in higher or lower states of life based on the moral quality of one's accumulated karma. However, he denied the existence of a permanent, unchanging self (*ātman*) that goes from body to body and life to life. It was self-contradictory, he said, to assert that the true self is an indivisible entity ensconced within the body which nevertheless is swept along in a sequence of rebirths by the force of accumulated karma. It was better not to think of the human person as an ongoing entity at all, but as an interdependent dynamic process whose relation to its own previous lives was one of continuity rather than identity. Thus, his followers came to see all living beings as aggregations of processes, both physical and mental (the five "*skandhas*": bodily form, consciousness, sensation, cognition, and mental constructions) that, just as firewood keeps the fire going, are kept self-perpetuating by desire. Thus, the point of spiritual practice is to end the process (a goal called "*nirvāṇa*," or "extinguishing") by subverting its root cause.

Early Order and Councils. According to the *Vinaya* (the monastic rule, constituting one of the oldest bodies of legislation still in force), any male who was not sick, disabled, a criminal, a soldier, a debtor, or a minor lacking parental consent could enter the order as a monk. The initiation ceremony comprised the renunciation (*pabbajja*), the arrival, and the pledge to keep the four prohibitions against sexual intercourse, theft, taking life, and boasting of superhuman perfection. The initiated was bound to observe the ten abstentions, that is, from killing, stealing, lying, sexual intercourse, intoxicants, eating after midday, worldly amusements, accepting gold or silver, and using cosmetics and adornments, and luxurious mats and beds. Initiation, abstentions, and vows bind a monk for the time he remains in the order. In practice, there are monks who keep the vows for life, and there are many Buddhist laymen who have lived the

monastic life temporarily in accordance with custom. Daily exercises of the monks comprise morning recitation of the Buddha's teachings (originally from memory), outdoor begging, morning study sessions, a midday meal followed by rest and meditation, and evening chanting. Fortnightly exercises consisted, for laity, in observing the eight ascetic precepts (*uposatha*), and, for the monastics, in making a private confession of sins to another monk, followed by the penitential recitation of the *Patimokkha Sutta* (Sanskrit: *Pratimokṣa*).

At the entreaty of his foster mother, Mahāprajāpatī, Buddha founded a second order for nuns. Moreover, he established a third order, this one for lay people, who were obliged only to abstain from killing, stealing, lying, intoxicants, and fornication. But they were exhorted to practice kindness, clean speech, almsgiving, religious instruction, and the duties of mutual family and social relations. Lay followers may take up these vows and practices either during restricted periods of retreat or for life.

According to traditional sources, sectarian tendencies gave rise to diversity of views. To resolve the disagreements, a first council was held at Rājagrha shortly after the Buddha's passing, where the authorized version of the Buddha's discourses (*buddhavacana*), *Dhamma* and the *Vinaya*, were fixed. A hundred years later a second council took place at Vaiśālī to attempt a settlement of ten questions concerning monastic discipline, which led to the first major schism in the Buddhist order. In the centuries that follow, Pali and early Sanskrit traditions report on the existence of at least eighteen early Buddhist sects, the surviving representative of which is called the Theravāda, the "doctrine of the elders" which is prevalent in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia. Northern Buddhist tradition holds that a fourth council was held at Jālandhara in Kashmir about AD 100 to authorize the addition of Sanskrit scriptures to the canon (the Theravāda tradition speaks of a Fourth Buddhist Council held in Tambapanni, Sri Lanka, a century earlier to preserve the Pali Canon).

Aśoka, Apostle of Buddhism. Conscience-stricken at the horrors of a war for the unification of northern India, King Aśoka (273–231 BC) embraced Buddhism. He then abolished the royal hunt and meat at court banquets. He also issued a series of edicts carved on stone pillars or highly visible rock sites embodying Buddhist rules of conduct and justice, spread the Buddhist faith through embassies, governed with piety and wisdom, and convened a third council at Pāṭaliputra in 247. In 240 he became a monk, but without abdicating his royal office. He required his officials to give moral training to their subordinates, to promote piety among people of all sects, and to prevent unjust punishments. He sent his brother (or son) Mahinda and other missionaries to spread the faith in Sri Lanka and another group to western Asia, Macedonia, and Epirus (north of Greece along the Adriatic). Only the mission in Sri Lanka was successful. However, it is important to note that during the latter part of the Hellenistic period, Buddhist thought subsequently exerted some influence on the Gnostic and Manichaean sects. ASCETICISM and missionary movements left an enduring mark in India, whence Buddhism spread throughout Eastern Asia.

Rise of Mahāyāna. Following the lifetime of Aśoka, the ideal of the Buddhist teacher/missionary gained ascendancy in the expanding world of the DHARMA. The movement known as Mahāyāna (the "Great Vehicle") developed the early Buddhist ideal of the *bodhisattva,* a being who is actively engaged in the path to becoming a fully enlightened Buddha, a world-teacher. The Great Vehicle exalts the heroism of such a being, who compassionately vows to liberate all beings using a variety of skillful means. Mahāyāna philosophers also elaborated a new approach to the nature of reality, emphasizing the radical impermanence and interconnectedness of all things as "voidness" or "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*). The early Buddhist *Arhat,* who attains *nirvāṇa* by focusing on single-minded effort, is not forgotten. In fact, the Arhats are venerated by Mahāyāna Buddhists. However, for the Mahāyāna, the path to Buddhahood is held up as a nearly universal ideal. Gautama was regarded as one of a series of enlightened manifestations of cosmic Buddhahood, each of whom accumulated merit related to both wisdom and compassion so as to liberate other beings. Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* became, in some instances, the objects of ritual veneration, often because of their vows to provide Pure Lands for devotees after death where enlightenment will be attained more easily under their direct guidance. Hence, the adherents of the new doctrine called it the Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) to salvation, to distinguish it from early Buddhism's focus on the liberation of the ascetic individual. Monasteries were the home of sectarian movements and scholarly debate within the spectrum of Buddhist culture. In some monasteries, as reported by Chinese pilgrims to India, the early Buddhist Vinaya would govern observance for all monks, while some monks focused on the earlier teachings on meditation and others on the Mahāyāna approach. As the survey of regional Buddhism illustrates, exclusive sectarian adherence was a feature favored by political interference, and not by monastic communities left to pursue their own regimen.

In the second century AD Nāgārjuna founded the School of the Middle Path (*Mādhyamika*) to provide a dialectically powerful line of reasoning supportive of the view of the Great Vehicle. Since all phenomena are impermanent and interdependent, there are no perma-

nent substrates to perceived objects. Everything that exists does so in relation to other existent things, never in isolation. This radical "openness" of phenomena is called *śūnyatā* ("voidness" or "emptiness"), by which is meant radical mutual dependency, not nihilism. To realize this in contemplative practice is to "awaken" to enlightenment. Enlightenment thus encompasses and transcends both *Nirvāṇa* and cyclic existence (*saṃsāra*). In this understanding, a Buddha is not restricted to the dimension *of Nirvāṇa. Rather*, a fully enlightened Buddha (*samyaksaṃbodhi*) can act compassionately within cyclic existence. The *Yogācāra* ("Practice of Mental Discipline") School, founded by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu in the fourth and fifth centuries, propounded that all phenomena are received in the mind through eight kinds of awareness bound to the bodily and mental systems of sense perception. This school explored the psychology of perception in considerable detail. Thus, there is the object of sense perception, the organ that is capable of perceiving the object, the internal receptacle that receives the stimulus of perception, and the mental faculty that identifies the object. Finally, the mental faculties associated with each of the five senses are coordinated by a superior mental faculty that integrates the data of perception. The *Yogācāra* (also known as *Cittamatra*, "In Accordance with Mind Alone") provides yogic training manuals for the meditator, that establish a coherent system of spiritual practice, based on this model of the mind, maturing in fully enlightened Buddhahood for the benefit of all beings. Full enlightenment manifests in a dimensional triad (the Trikāya: The Triple Body of the Buddha) consisting of the absolute in itself (*Dharmakāya*), the absolute as sublime communion among Bodhisattva forms (*Saṃbhogakāya*), and the absolute as embodied in earthly Buddhas (*Nirmāṇakāya*). Aśvaghoṣa (first century AD) developed the system in a form that greatly influenced China and Japan. For him the essence of things consists in the oneness of the totality of things; ignorance of the totality results in being grasped by the illusory phenomenal world, while recognition of the vision of totality actualizes the only true reality, Buddhahood, awakening from the "embryo of the Enlightened One" (*Tathāgatagarbha*) present in all beings possessing sense perceptions. As understood by the later Chinese and Japanese traditions, salvation in Aśvaghoṣa's system is attained by faith in the Buddha Amitābha ("having infinite light"), allowing rebirth in his Pure Land after bodily death.



Prayer Wheels. *Tibetan Buddhist prayer wheels, Rumtek Monastery, Gangtok, Sikkim, India.* © **JEREMY HORNER/CORBIS**

Decline in India. In the eleventh century Buddhist institutions were still strong in Kashmir, Orissa, and Bihar, but with the establishment of the Muslim power in 1193, and the destruction of major monastic centers of learning such as Nālanda and Vikramaśīla, these disappeared from north central India. Some elements survived in parts of eastern and northern India under the Pala Dynasty, and some teaching centers may have been active as late as the sixteenth century, when Tibetan masters sponsored expeditions to locate masters and texts. There is considerable debate on the sociology and demographics of the historic decline of Buddhism in India. There is fragmentary evidence to support ongoing tension with the Hindu majority, such as the historic memory of dramatic public debates between Hindu and Buddhist scholars. In addition, tantric masters such as the "Eighty Four Mahāsiddhas" seem to have been conversant with Shaivite and Buddhist ritual and yogic traditions; these trends flourished in Nepal, central Asia, and Tibet, but may have blurred the distinction between Hindu and Buddhist identity. Newari Buddhism in the valley of Nepal may represent a survival of the kind of Buddhism present in Pala Dynasty-India in the high medieval period: monasticism and scholarship reliant on the sponsorship of wealthy patrons within a caste-defined population of devotee families, often of artisan and merchant status.

SRI LANKA

The narrative reproduced here is derived almost wholly from the fifth-century BC chronicle, the *Mahāvaṃsa*, and later supplements composed up until modern times, often known collectively as the *Cūlavaṃsa*. Recent scholarship has suggested that these texts promote the perspective of one of the sects (nikāya), the Mahāvihāra fraternity, which sought to be the sole voice of Theravāda orthodoxy in Sri Lanka, over and against the allegedly corrupt Abhayagiri and Jetavana communities. Thus, it is prudent to consider these histories to be "traditional" in spirit, rather than scientific. When Mahinda and Sanghamittā, son and daughter of King Aśoka, introduced Buddhism into Sri Lanka about 250 BC, they met King Devanampiya Tissa at a place called Mahindatale (now Mihintale), near the capital Anurādhapura. Having been moved by sermons and portents, the king and his subjects embraced the Buddha's Dharma. Some days later the minister Avittha and his brothers joined the monastic community (*saṃgha*); when Mahinda's sister arrived from India, she validly admitted many Sri Lankan women to the order of nuns. In his capital King Tissa then erected shrines and monasteries, notably the Mahāvihāra or Great Monastery, which remained the stronghold of orthodoxy for centuries. In compliance with Mahinda's directives, in order to give the Dharma a firm foundation, he convened the council of Thuparama so that the sacred books might be committed to memory and in turn taught by native monks.

While there is little doubt that some Sinhala rulers were exclusively Buddhist and that there were several significant Tamil invasions from south India, it seems that Sinhala kings patronized both religions. Moreover, so-called Hindu gods have been worshipped by Sinhala Buddhists since ancient times. The *Mahāvaṃsa*'s claims that the Sinhalas are the island's "natives" and that the Tamils are always "outside invaders" do not reflect historical reality, since Tamils probably occupied the island at least as far back as the Sinhalas did.

Military operations led by Tamils concluded the first phase of Buddhist rule under the kings Uttiya (207–197 BC), Mahāsiva (197–187 BC), and Suratissa (187–177 BC). The kingdom returned to Buddhist rule under Dutthagamani (177–101 BC), who expelled the invaders, reorganized the island, spread the Dharma (i.e., Buddhist teachings), and built the Lohapaṣada and Mahāthupa monasteries, where a golden image of Buddha and statues of Māra, Brahmā, and many other Hindu deities were displayed. This was followed by a troubled period of invasions, famine, and uprisings that forced many monks to flee to India and Malaya. When the monks returned to their monasteries under King Vattagamani Abhaya (29–17 BC), there was a tendency to favor learning over spiritual practice. The king built the Abhayagiri monastery for Mahātissa and his monks, who had helped to repulse the insurgents, but the monks of the Mahāvihāra reproved Mahātissa for his familiarity with laymen, and a schism ensued within the monastic Sangha. In some respects, historic conflicts and nationalism have contributed to the ferocity of the current civil war between the Singhalese and Tamil populations.

The Pali Canon and Commentaries. The monks of the Mahāvihāra feared that Buddha's teachings, thus far committed only to memory, could perish with the monks in wars, famines, and their attendant miseries, or be altered through deviant mental processes among those monks entrusted with recital. At the rival Abhayagiri monastery, and elsewhere in Sri Lanka, the *Mahāyāna* school had acquired popularity. Accordingly, 500 monks convened (this is the Pali Fourth Council held at Tambapanni) at the Aluvihāra near Matale to write down the *Tipitaka* (Three Baskets): *Sutta Piṭaka* (Buddha's sermons), *Vinaya Piṭaka* (monastic rules), and *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* (treatises), the whole forming a canon in Pali of scriptural texts for the Theravāda School (one of the "Eighteen Schools" recognized in early Buddhist sources) which predominated in Sri Lanka; this corpus is the basis for the present Pāli Canon. The writing of the

canon at a distance from the king's capital city bespeaks the disciplinary and doctrinal rift between the two rival monasteries. The appearance of the written canon gave rise to further controversies, the compilation of Sinhalese commentaries, and a deeper cleft among rival schools. The context of a dispute between the two groups over the interpretation of the *Vinaya,* presided over by King Bhatiya (AD 38–66) and settled by a polyglot minister, gives evidence that the *Mahāyāna* monks at Abhayagiri were already using Sanskrit versions of the canon. Under Vohāratissa (AD 269–291) the *Mahāyāna* monks upheld the *Vaipulya Piṭaka* (a classic collection of early Mahāyāna texts) as containing the true teaching of the Buddha, but the king thought otherwise and had their books burned. During the reign of Mahānaman (412–434) Buddhaghosa wrote the *Visuddhimagga* (The Way of Purification), a thorough exposition of Theravāda Buddhism, and translated most of the Sinhalese commentaries on the canon into Pāli.

Tamil insurgency once again drove the native dynasty and its religion from the northern tip of Sri Lanka. But in the eleventh century King Vijaya Bahu restored the dynasty and requested the Myanmar Buddhists to validate monastic initiation in Sri Lanka. In 1165 his successor called a council to put an end to divisions in the *Saṃgha*, but after his death the Tamils rose to power. Subsequent occupations by the Portuguese (1505) and Dutch (1658) damaged the position of Buddhism, and in the eighteenth century monastic ordination lineages again died out, only to be revived when the king obtained ten Thai monks to validate the succession and establish the Thai school. Finally, before the British displaced the Dutch in 1802, the Amarapura school was founded through valid initiation in Myanmar. Other revived schools (*nikāya*) include the Siyam and Rāmañña; forest dwelling monks constitute a separate *nikāya.* In the late nineteenth century Sri Lankan Buddhists sought for a way to respond to the criticisms of Buddhism coming from aggressive Christian missionaries. After the Panadura controversy, in which Buddhist monk Rev. Migettuwaththe Gunananda Thera performed well in a public debate with a Christian missionary, Sri Lanka was ready for a Buddhist revival. Taking note of these efforts, the American Colonel H.S. Olcott, one of the founders of the Theosophical Society, provided valuable guidance in the institutional renewal and modernization of Sri Lankan Buddhism. His erstwhile disciple, Anagarika Dharmapala, emerged as the chief inspiration of the renewal, the institutional base of which was guaranteed by the creation of two very influential monastic universities, Vidyodaya and Vidyālaṅkara.

Beliefs, Order, and Cult. The religious system of Sri Lanka joins the rigor of monastic observance in accordance with the canon to a wide range of popular traditions and practices. In addition, elements taken from within the canon itself (e.g., such Vedic deities as Indra/Śakra) and from the surrounding Hindu and animist culture continues to influence the Buddhism actually practiced by the people. This hybrid system began to be weakened by Christian influence after the Portuguese colonization in 1505. Hybridization was further weakened by "Theosophical" Buddhism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and by public education more recently. In the classic system the world is thought to be protected by the Four Kings (*lokapāla*) who rule the six heavens immediately above the human world (*mānuṣaloka*). Yama is the Lord of the Underworld, a realm of eight divisions, each subdivided into many sections. Māra, the tempter, prevents people from attaining virtue. Four evil destinies or "rebirths" (*apāya*) are the result of humans' succumbing to his temptations: hell beings, animals, hungry ghosts (*peta*), and titans (*asura*). Above the human realm are the rebirths among the gods, some of which abide in refined material bodies, and others of which abide in the formless world of the immaterial Brahmās. All these states of existence are within the cosmic cycle, however. The entire purpose of the Dharma and the Vinaya is to liberate beings from the cosmic cycle of karma and rebirth.

The backbone of Buddhism is the order of monks (*Saṃgha*) adhering to the rules of the *Vinaya* and able to practice the disciplines of the Dharma. Postulants may enter the novitiate at the age of twelve through the ceremony of tonsure and investiture of the yellow robe (*pabbajja*). At twenty they may take full monastic profession (*upasampada*). They spend the day in domestic work, reading the canon, meditating, begging for food, instructing children in the scriptures, healing the sick by charms and chants, and reciting protection *sūtras* (*Paritta*) to ward off the malevolent spirits. A monk can set aside his vows without any negative consequences.

There are many forms of popular worship. Objects of veneration include RELICS and images of Buddha. Religious celebrations are marked by the ritual veneration (*pūjā*) of Buddhist and Hindu deities and spirit-beings. Perhaps the most popular rites today is *pūjā* to Bodhi trees, believed to be cuttings from the only surviving offshoot of the original Bodhi tree in Bodh Gaya. The Buddhist canon may be recited with the intent to placate or exorcize demonic forces.

Modern educated Sri Lankans associate Buddhism, often layered with scientific commentary and theosophical elaboration, with the greatness of Sri Lanka's past and the national prestige of the present. It is also true that Sinhalese Buddhism as a hybrid system is criticized

by certain modernist monks and thinkers who are embarrassed by the elements that they deem to be mere "popular superstition."

CHINA

Buddhism first entered China sometime during the first century AD, probably with foreign traders who came into China via the Silk Road or from the maritime route along the southeastern seaboard. For the first two centuries or so, it existed primarily among immigrant settlements, while slowly making its presence known among the native Chinese population. As interest grew during the second century, a few monks began translating scriptures into Chinese. Notable among these were An Shigao and Lokakṣema.

With the fall of the Han dynasty in the early third century, interest in Buddhism among the Chinese increased as the unstable political situation inspired people to seek for new answers. At the same time, the division of China into kingdoms north and south of the Yangtze River gave Buddhism a different character in these two regions. In the north, greater proximity to the central Asian trade routes to India meant that Buddhism in this region had a greater number of Indian and central Asian monks and meditation teachers, and so it tended to emphasize religious practice over textual study. In addition, from the early fourth century to the late sixth, the north was under non-Chinese rule. These "barbarian" rulers favored Buddhism, and many monks served as court advisors, giving Buddhism in the north a more overtly political character. It was during this period that the central Asian monk Kumārajīva arrived in 402 and opened his translation bureau in the north, producing some of the finest translations from Sanskrit, many of which are still considered the standard. His rendering of Indian Mādhyamika texts led to the foundation of the Sanlun (or "Three Treatise") school that specialized in Madhyamika philosophy.

Many of the literati had fled the troubles of the north and migrated to the Southern Kingdoms, bringing with them their emphasis on literary skill. In addition to this, the Northern Kingdoms blocked their access to the living traditions of India and central Asia, and so the south developed a more literary approach to Buddhist study. During this time, Daoan (312–385) produced the first catalogue of Buddhist scriptures, and he and his disciples worked to produce critical editions of scriptures and treatises, and to develop principles for their translation into Chinese. Also, the dissemination of Buddhist texts and teachings among the educated elite led to a prolonged exchange of ideas between Buddhism and Taoism, during which Buddhism absorbed and modified many Taoist ideas.

Other significant figures of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms period include Daosheng (360–434), a great textual scholar; Lushan Huiyuan (344–416) and Tanluan (476–542), who helped establish the Pure Land teachings; the Sanlun master Sengzhao (374–414); and the great translator Paramārtha (499–569), whose translations of Indian mind-only literature paved the way for the future establishment of the Faxiang school.

China was reunified by the Sui dynasty in AD 581, but the ruling house was quickly toppled by the Tang dynasty in 618. The Tang dynasty held power for almost 300 years, and this period represents one of China's golden ages. Buddhism flourished during the first two centuries of this dynasty, only to suffer severe setbacks after legal proscriptions in 845. Increased affluence and patronage enabled many original thinkers and practitioners to establish schools of Buddhism more in keeping with Chinese cultural and intellectual patterns and less dependent upon preexisting Indian schools of thought. Examples include Zhiyi (538–597), who founded the Tiantai school; Fazang (643–712), who consolidated the Huayan school; and the various meditation masters who established Chan as a separate school that transmitted the Buddha-mind directly from master to disciple "outside of words and scriptures." Daochuo (562–645), Shandao (613–681), and others continued building up the Pure Land movement, extending Tanluan's teaching further. During this time Xuanzang (c. 596–664) traveled in India for sixteen years and brought back many texts, which he translated into Chinese. After Kumārajīva, he is considered the second of the greatest translators in Chinese Buddhist history. He concentrated on Indian Yogācāra thought, and, building on the foundation laid by Paramārtha, founded the Faxiang school.

The Tang period saw great doctrinal innovations. Both the Tiantai and Huayan schools extended the doctrine of universal Buddha-nature from living beings to encompassing all of nature. Thus, even nonsentient things were said to have this aspect, as encapsulated in the slogan "even grass and trees attain Buddhahood." For Tiantai, all of reality manifested the Buddha-mind, which meant that all of nature could be one's teacher. Based on this, it espoused the idea of the complete interpenetration of all particular phenomena with the noumenal substrate of all reality, characterized as the "middle-way Buddha-nature." Unique to the Tiantai school was the idea that this noumenal reality had defiled as well as pure aspects. Zhiyi justified this by asserting that the world needed to manifest genuine evil as well as good for sentient beings to make progress toward Buddhahood. As he put it, a man cannot become a great general without an enemy army.

The Huayan school agreed that the substrate of reality had Buddha-nature; in fact, the world was a manifestation of the primordial Buddha Vairocana. However, it differed from the Tiantai School by denying that ultimate reality could manifest defiled or evil aspects. Evil and impurity were projections of unenlightened minds upon a pristine, luminous substrate that contained no evil at all. Later, during the Song dynasty, some Tiantai scholars adopted this position, leading to a major doctrinal controversy.

Prosperity brought its own difficulties. As the numbers of ordained clergy increased, the government became concerned about the revenue and labor pool that would be lost due to the clergy's tax- and labor-exempt status. In addition, ever since Buddhism's inception in China some traditional Confucian scholars had decried it as a foreign religion that violated basic Chinese values, especially the loyalty that all citizens owed to the state and the filial piety that sons and daughters owed their parents. Also, Taoists sometimes saw in Buddhism an antagonist and competitor rather than a colleague. In the past, the government instituted ordination examinations and state-issued certificates to control the size of the *sangha*, and twice during the Northern and Southern Kingdoms period the state had suppressed Buddhism (in 446 and 574). In the year 845 the Tang court was incited to suppress Buddhism once again, and for three years it pursued this policy of razing monasteries and temples, forcing clergy back into lay life or even killing them, and burning books, images, and properties. Unlike the previous two persecutions, this suppression happened in a unified China and affected all areas. Scholars are in agreement that this event marked the end of Buddhism's intellectual and cultural dominance, as the *sangha* never recovered its former glory, though numerically and economically Buddhism recovered and grew. The Tiantai and Huayan schools experienced some revivals thereafter, but lost most of their vigor. The Pure Land and Chan schools, being much less dependent upon patronage and scholarship, fared better and became the two dominant schools of Buddhism in China thereafter. After the persecution, Chan communities experimented with new teaching methods that circumvented conventional teaching and inculcated a dramatic, instantaneous experience of enlightenment. The leading figures in this movement were Huineng (638–713), Mazu Daoyi (709–788), Baizhang Huaihai (749–814), Huangbo (d. 850), Linji Yixuan (founder of the Linji school, d. 866), and the two founders of the Caodong school, Dongshan Liangjie (807–869) and Caoshan Benji (840–901).

After the Tang, the intellectual vigor of Buddhism was eclipsed by the rise of Neo-Confucianism (itself deeply influenced by Buddhist philosophy and practice) in the Song dynasty. Nevertheless, there were significant figures and movements during this time. Many figures worked to reconcile the very different outlooks and methods of the Chan and Pure Land schools, notably Yongming Yanshou (904–975) and Yunqi Zhuhong (1532–1612). The latter was also part of a revival of Chan in the latter half of the Ming dynasty that also included Zibo Zhenke (1543–1603), Hanshan Deqing (1546–1623), and Ouyi Zhixu (1599–1655). All agreed that Pure Land and Chan, though differing in method, strove toward the same goal, though Hanshan and Zibo still tended to define this goal in Chan terms. Zhixu, however, emphasized Pure Land teaching almost exclusively and came to be regarded as one of the patriarchs (*zu*) of this school.

The Song dynasty also saw the development of Chan and Pure Land into their final forms during the premodern period. During this time, Chan lineages were recorded and standardized, with the authors of the Chan genealogies generally enjoying state or local lay patronage and privileging their own lines of masters. The collections of *gong'an* (Japanese: *kōan*) made their appearance and popularized the "Chan master" as a literary character who exhibited a level of wildness and "crazy wisdom" that appealed to an increasingly literate reading public. Comparisons of this literature to known writings of figures such as Mazu Daoyi demonstrate that in reality, Chan masters were very conventional and accomplished monks, but the literary trope took the public's imagination and has held it to this day. In Pure Land many monks, primarily affiliated with the Tiantai school, organized large-scale meetings for the recitation of the Buddha Amitābha's name, bringing the Pure Land school to its greatest efflorescence. Since Chinese Buddhism is largely nonsectarian in nature, Pure Land practice of some kind became normative for almost all Chinese Buddhists, whatever other practices they might undertake.

The Ming and Qing dynasties fostered interest in the Tibetan Vajrayāna traditions, but in general this was a period of reserve for Chinese Buddhist institutions. Buddhism remained strong in the central eastern seaboard. At the end of the nineteenth century there was a revival of Buddhism, then seen as a part of the Chinese heritage that could be brought out to counter Western culture's claims of superiority. During the early years of the twentieth century figures such as Ouyang Jingwu (1871–1943) and the monk Taixu (1889–1947) sponsored new editions of the scriptures and advocated a modernized educational system that would bring Buddhism into alignment with modern currents of thought.

The Communist victory in 1949 cut short the revival of Buddhism, as the new regime tried to undercut all societal support for religion in general. The Cultural Revolution proved a catastrophe for Buddhism during

the 1960s and 1970s, as Red Guards destroyed many temples and treasures, and clergy were forced to return to lay status and submit to reeducation. However, after the death of Communist leader Mao Zedong in 1976 and the passing of many of his allies, the government has grown more tolerant, and many monasteries are back in operation. Currently, the Chinese Buddhist Association is a thriving organization, and Chinese universities sponsor the academic study of Buddhism. To what extent Buddhism will recover from the setbacks of the Mao era still remains to be seen.

Although formal schools did exist throughout the history of Buddhism in China as listed above, they rarely came into direct conflict with each other, being seen as alternative "gates" set out for practitioners of differing circumstances and temperaments. The most common form of practice is that of Pure Land, wherein Buddhists invoke the name of Amitābha Buddha in order that they might gain rebirth in his Pure Land, called Sukhāvatī, upon their death. With this as a basis, they might also practice Chan meditation, chanting of scriptures, and other practices in order to build up merit.

In addition, there are popular practices such as the *fahui*, or "Dharma-meetings" of various sorts. Some are seasonal, such as those that take place at the spring and autumn festivals, and the Ghost Festival that takes place on the fifteenth day of the seventh lunar month in which sūtras are recited for the deceased. Other events are sponsored by private patrons, such as the "Ocean and Land Dharma Meeting" (*shuilu fahui*) and the "Release of the Burning Mouths" (*yuqie yankou*), both long and very complicated ceremonies intended to better the circumstances of the patron's deceased ancestors.

JAPAN

Buddhism first arrived at the imperial court in Japan during the sixth century, when a Korean delegation brought a Buddha-image and some scriptures as gifts for the emperor. During the earliest period, the court and aristocratic families understood Buddhism as a variant of their native religion, and used it primarily as a way to cure illnesses and gain supernatural protection for the nation. Prince Shōtoku (572–621) is credited with being among the first to see Buddhist teachings as distinct from the native cults and to have understood Buddhism to some degree on its own terms. He is thought to have composed commentaries to several scriptures, and he fostered a program of rapid temple construction.

The Nara Period (710–794). During the Nara period, Buddhist activity took place on two fronts: The clergy were trying to understand the newly imported texts, while the government put Buddhist rituals and organizations to work for the welfare of the state. As to the first, the so-called Six Schools of Nara Buddhism comprised groups of clergy who concentrated on the texts and thought of six different Chinese schools: (1) the Sanron school focused on Sanlun (*Madhyamaka)* teachings in the lineage of Nāgārjuna; (2) the Kegon school took up Huayan studies; (3) the Ritsu school concentrated on monastic precepts and ordinations; (4) the Jōjitsu school studied Satyasiddhi doctrines of the fourth-century Indian scholar Harivarman and his lineage (possibly influencing Prince Shōtoku's *Sangyō Gisho*); (5) the Hossō school dealt with Faxiang (consciousness-only) teachings, which are based on the Yogācāra teachings from later in the career of the late-fourth-century Indian philosopher Vasubandhu; and (6) the Kusha school read the *Abhidharmakośa*, an encyclopedic summary of Buddhist philosophy in the Sautrāntika tradition expounded early in his career by Vasubandhu. The few scholar-monks who engaged in these studies mostly lived in the capital and were housed in the main temple there, called the Tōji. Outside of this government-sponsored establishment, a few self-ordained practitioners left society and lived in the mountains performing austerities or magical services for ordinary people. In addition to the scholarly activity in the capital, the principle activity of clergy was to perform rituals on behalf of the imperial family and the aristocracy.

The Heian Period (794–1185). The Heian period saw a movement of Buddhism away from government centers and out among the people, although this movement fell far short of a full-scale popularization of the religion. During this time both Saichō (767–822) and Kūkai (774–835) journeyed to China to deepen their knowledge of Buddhism. Saichō went to study Tiantai doctrines, but while waiting for a ship to take him home, he encountered a monk who practiced esoteric (or tantric) rituals. After a short period of training and the conferral of the proper initiation, he returned to Japan and settled on Mt. Hiei, where he established the Tendai school to be a successor to the Chinese Tiantai school. However, because the real patronage came from the performance of esoteric rituals, he divided this new school's focus between the exoteric doctrines of Tiantai and esoteric ritual performance. In addition, he asked for and received permission for his school to ordain its own monks independently of the Ritsu School, making use of a set of "bodhisattva precepts" rather than the usual monastic precepts, a unique Japanese approach that had a long-range impact on the style of monastic life.

Meanwhile, Kūkai went to China exclusively to receive training in esoteric (Vajrayāna) texts and rituals, and the Shingon School that he established on Mt. Kōya



Modern Japanese Buddhism. *Buddhist Peace Shrine, dedicated to the dead of World War II, Kyoto, Japan.* © **RIC ERGENBRIGHT/ CORBIS**

upon his return concentrated solely on esoteric Buddhism, and for a time outshone the Tendai school in patronage and popularity.

The relationship between Buddhism and its assembly of Buddhas and bodhisattvas and the Shintō pantheon continued to concern many in Japan, and during the Heian period the theory known as *honji-suijaku*, or "original nature and provisional manifestation," came to dominate. According to this theory, the local *kami* of Shintō were manifestations of various Buddhas and bodhisattvas that appeared in Japan to teach the people and protect the nation. In this way, both religions could be accommodated in a single institution that incorporated both Buddhist and Shintō personnel and practices (the *jingūji*, or "shrine-temple").

The Kamakura Period (1185–1333). By the opening years of the Kamakura period, however, the Tendai school was the largest and most powerful of the eight schools in existence at that time, and its broad focus on both doctrinal and esoteric study and practice, as well as its laxity, corruption, and militancy (as seen in its infamous "monk-soldiers," or *sōhei*), made it the font of reform movements and schools. The following figures emerged from Tendai to establish new schools:

1. Pure Land: Hōnen (1133–1212) founded the Jōdoshū; Shinran (1173–1262) the Jōdo Shinshū; and Ippen (1239–1289) the Jishū.
2. Zen: Eisai (or Yōsai, 1141–1215) founded the Rinzai School, which took its lineage of Dharma-transmission from the Chinese Linjii school; and Dōgen (1200–1253) the Sōtō school, derived from the Chinese Caodong lineage.
3. Nichiren (1222–1282) founded the Nichiren School, which asserted the primacy of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Myōhō Renge Kyō*) over all other scriptures and recommended the constant repetition and praise of its title as the sole means of salvation.

In addition to the formal establishment of these schools and their institutions, the tradition of asceticism continued under the name *shugendō*, or "the way of experiential cultivation." Drawn primarily from the ranks of Tendai and Shingon esoteric clergy, practitioners

lived in the mountains and practiced by fasting, austerities, Vajrayāna rituals, and long, arduous journeys through the mountains that covered as much as fifty miles in a single day.

Ashikaga and Tokugawa Periods (1392–1868). By the end of the Kamakura Period, Buddhism was a significant presence at all levels of Japanese society. In the fifteenth century, Jōdo Shinshū (Pure Land sect) adherents formed popular leagues called *ikkō ikki*, which rose up in rebellion against local aristocratic rule in Kaga and in 1488 took control of the province themselves. In 1571 the *shōgun* Oda Nobunaga, distrustful of the enormous landholdings and secular power of Buddhist monasteries, attacked and razed the headquarters of Tendai on Mt. Hiei, dispersing its *sōhei* once and for all. He also suppressed many other Buddhist establishments. Interestingly, the pervasive presence of Buddhist institutions was also employed as a source of strength for the government. For instance, after the ban on Christianity in 1612 and the subsequent expulsion of Christian missionaries, the government required all citizens to register with local Buddhist temples beginning in 1640, effectively coopting these institutions as a census bureau.

Buddhism's close cooperation with and support by the government in this way undermined discipline and purpose in the monastic community, although a few notable figures stand out as masters who are still taken as influential exemplars: Takuan (1573–1645), Bankei Eitaku (1622–1693), and Hakuin (1685–1768) in the Zen school, and Rennyo (1415–1499) and Shimaji Mokurai (1838–1911) of the Pure Land school, to name a few. However, as the Tokugawa period drew to a close in the early nineteenth century, the real locus of religious vitality was in CONFUCIANISM and various intellectual and spiritual renewal movements within Shintō. In addition, the first appearance of the so-called New Religions such as Tenrikyō (founded 1838) offered real competition for the loyalty of the peasants and the middle classes.

The Meiji and Modern Periods (1868–). When the Meiji emperor succeeded in restoring real political and executive power to the imperial family in 1868, one of his first acts was to abrogate the *honji-suijaku* understanding of the relationship between Buddhism and Shintō, declaring the two systems to be essentially distinct. He declared a persecution of Buddhism during the first decade or so of the Meiji period, but the attack galvanized Buddhists, and they successfully demanded recognition under the new constitution. At the same time, Buddhist chaplains who accompanied Japanese troops in China, Korea, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia, as well as missionaries who traveled to America and Europe to participate in the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions and to settle abroad, gave Japanese Buddhism an international presence. While all schools of Japanese Buddhism came to Hawaii and the American mainland with the large numbers of immigrants at that period, ZEN had the most success in making an impression on Euro-American culture. The expansion of Japanese Buddhism in various forms accelerated after WORLD WAR II through both immigration and conversion among Europeans, Americans, and other non-Japanese.

At the same time, social changes taking place in modern Japan have fostered the development of many Buddhist-derived "New Religions," most of which sprang from offshoots of the Nichiren school and its devotion to the *Lotus Sutra*. Examples include the Nichiren Shōshū and its now-independent lay branches, the Sōka Gakkai (founded 1930; reorganized 1975), and Risshō Kōsekai (1938).

Contemporary Japanese Buddhism is a combination of the old and the new: Even the most ancient of the Nara schools continues to coexist alongside the newest of the "New Religions." The Sōtō and Jōdo Shinshū schools are the largest of the traditional schools. Although Buddhism remains a vital part of Japanese life and culture, that very integration reflects a certain loss of vitality, particularly of the older schools. Buddhist scholars complain of "shoshiki Bukkyo" or "funeral Buddhism," in which Buddhist adherence is in evidence only at the time of a person's death. Buddhist scholarship remains strong in Japanese universities, and movements such as the "Kyoto School" of philosophy have contributed to Buddhist-Christian dialogue internationally.

TIBET

The form of Buddhism to be described here pervades the entire Tibetan/Himalayan cultural region, an expanse of land that stretches far beyond the borders of the area legally organized as "Tibet" by the government of China, and includes Mongolia (Outer and Inner), Xinjiang Province in China, Nepal, Bhutan, Ladakh, Lahul, Darjeeling, and the Kalmuk and Buryat regions of the former Soviet Union.

The earliest records use the term *mi chö* (religion of humans) to refer to the practices of the ordinary people, which included shamanistic practices and an animistic worldview, and was aimed at the propitiation of ancestors, deities, and demons that inhabited the natural world. The indigenous religion of this area is referred to as *Bön*, although the term covers more than one form of religion and may have already incorporated elements of central Asian religions before state sponsorship of Vajrayāna Buddhism in the eighth century. In older records,



Buddhism in Tibet. *A pair of stupas at the monastery of Gyantse in Southern Tibet.* COURTESY OF FRANCIS TISO

the word *bön* indicates a kind of priest who did funerals and ancestor rites, especially for the royal house. In later centuries, the term *bön po* came to refer to practitioners of a religious tradition that, while distinct from Buddhism (or *chö*, i.e., Dharma), preserves a very similar approach to meditation, ritual, philosophy, monasticism, and scriptures. The claim of the old chronicles that the Bön religion had already incorporated a fully developed contemplative system before the arrival of Buddhism in Tibet is being taken seriously in recent scholarship, taking into account archeological discoveries of texts and images in central Asia.

Inception of Buddhism and the "First Dissemination." The Tibetan Buddhist chronicles, or *chos 'byung*, are a record of the history of Tibetan religion in continuity with the narratives both historical and legendary of Indian Buddhism. Dramatizing this connection, the claim is made that a Sanskrit Buddhist scripture descended from the sky into the court of king Lha Tho tho ri gnyan btsan (pronounced "Lha Totori Nyentsen," b. circa AD 173), although other sources say it arrived with a delegation from India. Better documentation is available for the importation of Buddhism under the great military ruler Srong btsan sgam po (pronounced "Songtsen Gampo," circa AD 618–650). Under his leadership, the Tibetan empire expanded to many areas where Buddhism was already active, and through two of his political marriages to princesses from Nepal and China, Buddhism came into the court as his wives brought their own spiritual advisors with them. It may be debated whether Srong btsan sgam po himself ever "converted" to Buddhism, but he certainly respected his wives' piety and supported their efforts to build temples in key strategic locations. These buildings were intended to consecrate certain geographical features in order to bring the land itself, and the deities of localities, into harmony with Buddhism.

As part of his program to enhance Tibetan culture, Srong btsan sgam po sent emissaries to Kashmir to learn Indian languages and culture. Some of the scholars he sent remained in this region for many years and devised a written script for Tibet based on the northern Indian Gupta script. They also studied and utilized rules of Sanskrit grammar to regularize Tibetan usage. This laid the groundwork for highly accurate translations of Sanskrit Buddhist texts in the ensuing decades.

The first devout Buddhist king was Khri srong lde btsan (pronounced "Trisong Detsen," c. AD 740–798). He invited the Indian Buddhist sage Śāntarakṣita to Tibet, but upon the monk's arrival, a series of natural calamities gave the Bön priests at the imperial court an opportunity to oppose the importation of Buddhism on the grounds that it angered the local guardian deities and presented a danger to the country. As Śāntarakṣita left, he advised the king to call the nonmonastic tantric adept Padmasambhava (reverently referred to as Guru Rinpoche by all Tibetan Buddhists) to court, as the latter's skills as an exorcist could pacify the local deities.

Padmasambhava arrived in Tibet not long afterward and demonstrated his ability to defeat the anti-Buddhist spiritual forces of Tibet, embodied in dramatic geographical sites and in the violent, mutable climate of the plateau that is called "The Roof of the World." With the spirits pacified, Śāntarakṣita was able to return with his disciple Kamalaśīla. With royal sponsorship, the two Indian monks and Guru Rinpoche established the first Tibetan monastery at Samye in AD 775. Shortly after, perhaps in 779, seven Tibetan nobles were ordained as Buddhist monks, an event remembered as the inception of monastic Buddhism in Tibet. With monastic scholarship in place, it became possible to translate Buddhist scriptures systematically into Tibetan under royal sponsorship. King Trisong Detsen sent young monks abroad for language study, and also invited monk-scholars from India, Kashmir, and China to assist with translation efforts.

The presence in the court of monks from these various areas ensured that doctrinal controversies would arise, and so in 792 the king arranged for a debate to be held in Lhasa between proponents of the Indian model of practice that involved a slow and arduous process of removing defilements and errors from the mind over a long period of time, and the Chinese Chan position of "sudden enlightenment" that held that one can break through to enlightenment in an instant. While most scholars doubt that such a debate ever took place or that the issue was settled all at once, the fact remains that in

the long run the Indian view prevailed, and Chinese-style Buddhism lost its foothold among the Tibetans, becoming the standard exemplar of erroneous views of enlightenment in Tibetan polemical literature.

It is said that the Tibetan translations preserve many texts no longer extant in their original Sanskrit perfectly, not only because Tibetan grammar had already been systematized along Sanskrit lines, but because under the reign of King Ral pa can (pronounced "Relbachen," reigned 815–836), the translation bureaus operating in Tibet set standards and translation equivalences and revised the grammars, dictionaries, and scripts to facilitate the accurate representation of Sanskrit expressions and concepts. This constitutes the period of the "old dissemination" of Buddhism, and the texts produced in this period continue to be favored by the Nyingma (elders') School.

Ral pa can's lavish support of Buddhism and his lack of skill in government angered many, and he was assassinated by two ministers. His successor Langdarma (reigned 838–841) vigorously persecuted Buddhism, but without much success outside the immediate environs of the capital. He was assassinated in turn, marking the end of Tibet's period of empire.

The "Second Dissemination." Local rulers throughout the Tibetan regions maintained an interest in Buddhism, however, and interchanges with Indian monks continued. During this period, King Btsan po 'khor re (pronounced "Tsenpo Khoré," late tenth century) of the western region of Gugé became a monk and sent many young monks abroad, as well as inviting Indian monks to Tibet, thus beginning the period of the "second dissemination." The greatest of the visitors was the Bengalese monk Atiśa (982–1054), who arrived in 1042. Atiśa was the foremost Buddhist scholar in India, and a master of both monastic and tantric practices. While in Tibet, his personal authority allowed him to correct deviations from Indian standards. He also composed the treatise *Lamp for the Path to Enlightenment*, a work important for its ordering of both scholastic doctrine and tantric ritual into a single system. His disciples founded the first fully scholastic lineage of Tibetan Buddhism, called the *bKa' gdams pa* (pronounced "Kadampa") Order. Other monastic orders emerged in this period. The Nyingmapa continued to flourish due to the periodic discovery of treasure texts said to have been hidden by Guru Rinpoche. The Sakyapa carried on some of the Nyingma practices, adding new elements of scholarly rigor to their training program. The Kagyupa were founded by Marpa and Milarepa to propagate the yogic achievements of the Indian Mahāsiddhas.

The period of Mongol suzerainty (roughly spanning the thirteenth century) saw the rise of Buddhism's political power as the khans looked to religious leaders such as Sakya Pandita for advice and mediation with the Tibetan aristocracy. In this period of the ascendancy of the Sakyapa Order, many monasteries began to have their own private armies. The Mongol armies were called upon as allies by warring factions in this and later periods. The Mongol period also saw the compilation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, principally under the direction of the great scholar Bu ston (1290–1364). The power of the Sakyapa Order remained strong in southern Tibet, but gave way to the Phag mo dru hierarchs in central Tibet during the fourteenth century. The Phag mo dru set aside the Sino-Mongolian elements of Tibetan polity, substituting the classic native symbolism of the imperial era.

During the late 1300s and early 1400s, the great scholar-yogin Tsong Kha pa (1357–1419) set about reforming Tibetan Buddhism, building upon the structure of the bKa' gdams pa scholars, the esoteric practices of the Kagyu yogins, and the canonical studies of Bu ston. His efforts gave rise to the *dGe lugs pa* (pronounced "Gelukba"), or "System of Virtue" school. The school's scholarly rigor and strict adherence to monastic discipline soon won it the patronage of the aristocracy; their encouragement of popular religious festivals won over the masses. In 1578 the dGe lugs leader bSod nams rgya mtsho (pronounced "Sönam Gyatso," 1543–1588) visited the Mongol chieftain Altan Khan, who was impressed with him and gave him the Mongolian title *Ta le bla ma*, pronounced "Dalai Lama," meaning "Ocean-like Guru." It was not uncommon for Chinese and Mongol leaders to grant honorary titles to Tibetan hierarchs from all schools. The Dalai Lama succession is considered to be an incarnation of the bodhisattva of compassion, Avalokiteśvara. Because of the political ascendancy of the dGe lugs Order, the Dalai Lama was the head of state of Tibet, beginning with triumph of the Great Fifth of the line in 1642. All but the Sixth Dalai Lama were monks, ruling a dual bureaucracy consisting of parallel monastic and aristocratic hierarchies. The dGe lugs Order is itself headed by the Ganden Tripa (the abbot of Ganden monastery, near Lhasa).

The latest great turning point for Tibetan Buddhism came with the Communist takeover of China in 1949, followed by the invasion of Tibet in 1951. At first the Chinese Communist Party tried to coopt the current Dalai Lama in order to facilitate control of the territory, but the relationship became impossible to maintain, and the Dalai Lama fled across the border into India in 1959. Since that time, Tibetan Buddhism, which barely survived the Chinese Cultural Revolution, has flourished in diaspora, as monks and nuns in Tibet itself have been imprisoned and tortured and monasteries destroyed. In

Tibet today, the monastic life and lay religious observance survives in remarkable variety, along with strong resentment of the forced union with the People's Republic of China. The exile, since 1959, of the Dalai Lama and many other Buddhist lamas and leaders has also enabled Tibetan Buddhism to spread to all parts of the world, and is today one of the most widespread forms of Buddhism among European, Australian, and American adherents.

Practices. Tibetan Buddhism since the time of Padmasambhava has taken Indian Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism as its primary sources for doctrine and practice. Influenced by the lineages transplanted to Tibet from the great north Indian monastic universities, each school has created its own systematic mixture of a highly refined meditation system, tantric ritual, and scholastic philosophy. The young monks are trained over a number of years in the ritual practices, and their studies are perfected through the formal practice of debate, usually under the auspices of a monastic community. However, lay practitioners have always been held in high esteem and have made landmark contributions to the development of Himalayan tantric (Vajrayāna) Buddhism. Through rigorous philosophical training, the adept gains understanding of the Middle Way approach of the great Mahāyāna thinkers of the past. Depending on inclination and aptitude, the disciple learns the liturgical texts and ritual gestures of particular tantric systems. The more advanced adept, under the supervision of a guru, carries out the external rituals and internal visualizations to generate his own body-mind complex as a deity (more precisely, as a Saṃbhogakāya form). Having attained a degree of proficiency, the practitioner is able to engage in more demanding psychophysical exercises bringing about one's transformation as a fully enlightened Buddha. In some of the tantric cycles, sexual union is visualized as the Saṃbhogakāya embodiment of the realization of voidness (equivalent to the feminine form of "wisdom") and the fulfillment of skillful means (the male form) as "compassion." The adept will typically make use of painted scrolls on which the various deities and their realms (Pure Lands; mandala palaces) are depicted in order to train the mind to visualize these forms in their entirety. However, once these visualizations of the deity body are stabilized within the adept's own body, more subtle exercises with the energy channels of the yogic body are applied. Ultimately, boundaries are dissolved through formless meditation. All of these spiritual disciplines are employed with the intention of disclosing the Buddha nature inherent in the human body-mind complex to an increasingly thorough degree. In this way, the advanced adept becomes capable not only of attaining enlightenment, but also of generating himself as a saving, compassionate being capable of intervening for the benefit of others along the way. For a fully enlightened Buddha, the boundaries between cyclic existence and enlightenment melt away, enabling decisive soteriological engagement with the world of beings, beyond the limitations and boundaries of any particular form.

Tibetan Buddhism, like other regional expressions of the Dharma, has distinguished itself through the arts, particularly in the context of ritual performances of the various tantric deity cycles. Sacred dance is highly developed and used for major liturgical celebrations. Some specialist Tibetan monks are widely renowned for their chanting, which employs vocal techniques that enable them to sing several overtones simultaneously. Monastic and lay artisans are renowned for techniques in butter sculpture and sand painting, both arts that intentionally employ perishable materials in order to emphasize the impermanence of all phenomena. Finally, there are well-articulated conventions of painting and sculpture in more permanent media, such as gilded bronze and scrolls painted in brilliant tempera colors.

KOREA

Buddhism was introduced into the Korean peninsula when the local tribes were first consolidating into three large kingdoms (Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla), and when Chinese religion, writing, calendrics, and so on were making inroads into Korean culture. Official histories give the date of Buddhism's introduction as AD 372, when a Chinese monk arrived in Koguryŏ bringing scriptures and images.

The Unified Silla Period (668–918). Silla came to prominence in the sixth century, and Buddhism became the official court religion under King Beo pheung (reigned 514–539), who used it as part of an ideological campaign to justify the newly established institution of kingship. He strengthened Korean ties with China and sent delegations of young men there to study Buddhism. The Unified Silla period also marked one of the high points of Korean Buddhist art.

During the early Unified Silla period, scholar-monks such as Wŏnhyo (617–686), Ŭisang (625–702), and Wŏnch'uk (631–696) took advantage of the peace and stability to travel to China and work with eminent masters and translators, returning to Korea to share the fruits of their study. Through their efforts, Korean Buddhism absorbed scholastic forms of Buddhist thought such as Huayan (Korean: Hwaŏm), Consciousness-only (Chinese: Weishi; Korean: Yusik), and *tathāgata-garbha* thought, and also took in more popular forms, most notably Pure Land (Korean: Chŏngt'o). Wŏnhyo in

particular contributed to the systematization of scholastic Buddhism into an overarching structure called "t'ong pulgyo" or "unified Buddhism," and disseminated Pure Land practice widely among the masses.

During this period in China, the Chan or meditation school was coming to prominence, and its methods and teachings began filtering into Korea during the seventh century. However, it was during the period of instability and upheaval at the end of the Silla period, beginning about 780, that the Chan School, known in Korea as Sŏn, came into its own. During this period many students of Hwaŏm and other intellectual schools began traveling to China to study Sŏn, while the government established a system of interlinked official temples to foster Sŏn practice.

The Koryŏ Period (918–1392). T'aejo, the founder of the Koryŏ dynasty, was a devout Buddhist and even left instructions to his heirs stating that the success of the nation depended upon the vitality of Buddhism. With governmental backing, the monasteries engaged in extensive economic activity, and even retained private armies to protect their interests. Such extensive material resources permitted the publication of the entire Buddhist canon between 1210 and 1231. When the woodblocks from this first printing were destroyed by Mongol invasions in 1232, a new set of blocks was ordered, which were completed between 1236 and 1251. Some 81,000 of these blocks remain stored at the Haein-sa on Mt. Kaya in southern Korea.

Buddhism's political and economic power was accompanied by increasing worldliness and corruption. In addition, the schools of doctrinal study and meditation had difficulty defining their unity, and they often quarreled very publicly. This situation led monks such as Ŭichŏŏn (dates unknown) and Chinul (1158–1210) to initiate efforts at reform and definition. The former, a prince of the royal court, remained too partial to the doctrinal schools to have much success, but the latter, through both scholarship and meditative attainment, did bring about some degree of unity. He drew upon the Chinese master Zongmi's (780–841) pioneering work to effect his synthesis and also spread the method of *kōan* practice among Sŏn adherents. Later figures such as T'aego Pou (1301–1382) continued his efforts and strengthened Sŏn. Nevertheless, Buddhism in the latter part of the Koryŏ went into a decline as corruption and decadence worsened, setting the scene for Buddhism's formal suppression.

The Chosŏn Period (1392–1910). The fall of Koryŏ in 1392 and its replacement by the heavily pro-Confucian Yi dynasty spelled the end of Korean Buddhism's golden age and the beginning of a period of persecution and declining influence. Anti-Buddhist measures were adopted, including a halt to new temple construction, restrictions on ordinations, the actual closing of monasteries in urban areas and their gradual isolation to remote mountain sites, and the proscription of travel by monks and nuns. In the end, monastics were forbidden to enter cities altogether. The panoply of doctrinal and meditative schools in existence at the end of the Koryŏ were reduced to only two: doctrinal study and Sŏn. By the early twentieth century, only the latter remained.

The Japanese Annexation (1910–1945). In August 1910 the Japanese government officially annexed Korea. Ironically, this development actually helped bring an end to Buddhism's long suppression. Since the Japanese saw Buddhism as a common element with Korean culture, they demanded the lifting of many of the restrictions imposed on the clergy by the Yi dynasty. Monks and nuns could freely travel and enter cities once again, and new temples could be constructed closer to population centers. However, Japanese favor proved a mixed blessing: The Japanese also exerted pressure on Korean monks and nuns to abandon their distinct ways of life and practice in order to adopt Japanese Buddhist practices, and to give up much of their institutional independence. The most contentious issues concerned clerical marriage and the addition of wine and meat to the diet, trends that had marked Japanese Buddhist life for some time. Some monks (though no nuns) adopted the new style, while others did not, thus setting the stage for the conflicts that ensued during the postcolonial period.

After the War (1945–present). With the Japanese withdrawal in 1945, conflict broke out between monks who had taken wives and abandoned many of the normal monastic precepts, and those who had not. These latter insisted upon the full restoration of celibacy and the strict enforcement of traditional rules, and they further insisted that the former group relinquish control of monastic properties. The reformers, consolidated under the now-dominant Chogye Order, eventually won out after several court battles, legislative victories, and open hostilities. Thus, after a painful transition period, married monks left the monasteries, and monastic life returned to earlier standards.

After that, the Chogye Order has overseen the revival and revitalization of Korean Buddhism. Some bitterness broke out in the late 1980s and early 1990s between Buddhists and Protestant Christians (the latter group having grown dramatically over the previous hundred years), leading to the burning of some temples;



Vietnamese Buddhism. *Vietnamese Spring Festival, Hanoi, Vietnam, 1999.* **AP IMAGES**

but overall, Buddhism has once again taken its place as an integral and harmonious part of Korean society.

VIETNAM

The history of Buddhism in the territory now covered by the country of Vietnam dates back at least to the second century AD. Its territory was under Chinese hegemony through the tenth century, but materials relating the history of Buddhism during the period of Chinese dominance are scarce. Stories dating from this period show the presence of monastic Buddhism, and present tales of scripture-chanting, the erection of images, and the miraculous intervention of monks. Early records also indicate that the late Han-dynasty governor of Jiaozhou, Shi Xie (Si Nhiep), had a large number of Chinese and central Asian monks in his entourage. Official Chinese court records speak of eminent and accomplished monks from Jiaozhou who made their way to the northern capitals, showing that there were sufficient resources there for them to receive detailed training in doctrine, scripture, and meditation; there are also records of foreign monks who settled in Jiaozhou to carry out translation activities. The monk Yijing (635–713), a traveler and historian, mentions that several of them, having taken the southern maritime route to and from India, stopped off in Jiaozhou.

In many respects, Buddhism in Vietnam during this period was simply an extension of Chinese Buddhism. However, there was another strain of Buddhism active in the area at this time. Waves of Indian cultural exports had made their way across Southeast Asia, penetrating as far as Indonesia, and Theravāda forms of Buddhism were among these. Many people in the southern part of Vietnam were more influenced by this form of Buddhism than by Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhism, and so Vietnam came to be the meeting place for the two streams: Mahāyāna going north from India along the Silk Road, down into China, then into Vietnam; and Theravāda going south along the seacoasts through Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia, and into Vietnam. Vietnamese Buddhism, as a result, is a unique mixture of Mahāyāna and Theravāda forms.

By the time Vietnam achieved independence from China in the tenth century, Buddhism had been an integral part of the cultural landscape for over 800 years. The first emperor of independent Vietnam, Dinh Bo Linh, put together a system of hierarchical ranks for government officials, Buddhist monks, and Daoist priests

after ascending to power in AD 968. Thereafter, Buddhist monks were part of the national administration, serving the ruler as advisors, rallying the people in times of crisis, and attending to the spiritual needs of the masses.

It was the Lý Dynasty (1010–1225) that willingly coopted diverse elements in its task of constructing a national culture and identity. In this climate, many schools of Buddhism were able to exist side-by-side and compete in an open religious marketplace, further facilitating the intermingling of Mahāyāna and Theravāda forms. Archaeological evidence also indicates that tantric Buddhism had also made its way into Vietnam during this time (stelae with mantras inscribed on them have been discovered). During this time, Buddhism also became more widely disseminated among the common people, as monks came into villages and "converted" local deities, ancestors, and culture heroes to the religion and declared them now "protectors" of the Dharma. This move worked to unify the disparate local cults under the Buddhist umbrella, and it aided in the unification of the country.

In return, the Lý kings supported Buddhism lavishly: giving stipends to eminent monks, erecting and refurbishing temples, and sending envoys to China in search of scriptures. In this way, new developments in Chinese Buddhism were noted in Vietnam, particularly with the importation of Chan works. This created a dichotomy between an older form of Buddhism that was highly syncretistic and incorporated many elements and practices under its umbrella, and a newer Buddhism that inclined to a purer Chinese nature, centered mostly on Chan.

Chan study and practice became more entrenched under the Tran dynasty (1225–1400), although the older forms also remained vital. Tran rulers sponsored the establishment of the first actual schools of Buddhism in Vietnam, beginning with the Truc Lam (Bamboo Grove) Chan School founded by the third Tran king. Missionary monks also arrived continuously from China, bringing both the Lin-chi and Ts'ao-tung Schools into Vietnam, and they found a ready audience among the Tran aristocracy.

In the fifteenth century, the Vietnamese began to conquer and absorb parts of Cambodia, strengthening the interchange between the Vietnamese Chan of the elites and the Theravāda teachings and practices of the Cambodians. The country took its current shape during the eighteenth century, and the country's unique blend of schools of Buddhism was fixed from that time. The French occupation of Indochina, which gave the different ethnic groupings of the land a common tongue, facilitated further interchange between different forms of Buddhism.

During the early twentieth century, many educated Vietnamese began abandoning Mahāyāna Buddhism, which seemed superstitious, in favor of Theravāda Buddhism, which, influenced by Sri Lankan modernism, seemed more pragmatic. An instrumental figure in this evolution was Le Van Giang, who studied Theravāda meditation with a Cambodian teacher, took the name Ho-Tong, and came back to Vietnam to build the first formal Theravāda temple near Saigon. From this headquarters he began actively disseminating Theravāda Buddhism in the local language and produced translations of the Pāli scriptures into Vietnamese. The Vietnamese Theravāda Buddhist Sangha Congregation was formally established in 1957, making what had formerly been an element dispersed throughout Vietnamese Buddhism into a formal school to rival the Chinese-style Chan schools.

During the Vietnam War Buddhist monks were active in efforts to bring hostilities to a close, and many of them immolated themselves publicly to protest the war. Others went abroad to propagate Vietnamese Chan, notably Thich Nhat Hanh. With postwar political stability, an uneasy working relationship characterizes Vietnamese Buddhism's present status under the regime.

MYANMAR (BURMA)

By ancient tradition, Theravāda Buddhism was introduced into Myanmar by two of Aśoka's missionaries from India. Centuries later Indian teachers came via Nepal and Tibet to spread Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. Nevertheless, King Anawrahta (AD 1044–1077), who unified Myanmar, adopted Theravāda as the state religion, placed restrictions on Mahāyāna sectarians, inaugurated the era of temple building, and appointed his religious adviser as superior general of the order. Although disorganized by the Mongol occupation of 1287 and subsequent Shan raids, the order was revived by Dammazedi (1472–1492), who sent monks to Sri Lanka to secure valid monastic investiture. In 1871 King Mindon Min convened the fifth Buddhist council in Mandalay, but with the British annexation of Upper Myanmar in 1885, Buddhism ceased to be the state religion.

Belief. The Burmese and the Shan Buddhists believe in the "Four Truths" of early Buddhist discourse, the requital of actions, the acquisition and sharing of merits, ethics based on the Dharma, rebirth and *nirvāṇa,* the canon, impermanence, and nonsoul. Typically, they adhere to both the preexisting animistic belief system

and cult of the ancestors for assistance with worldly concerns, as well as the Buddhist belief that gods and spirits are of no ultimate soteriological help on the journey to liberation. Traditionally, the Burmese approach to Buddhism is frankly syncretic, leaving considerable room for spiritual and ethical discipline, social activity, and indulging in more personal contact with the spirits to affirm the full round of their religious sensibilities.

Order and Cult. Burmese monasticism is organized according to that of Sri Lanka. Any male over seven years of age may join the order as a novice (*koyin*). After initiation (*upazin*) a monk must observe the 227 monastic rules. Every morning young monks and novices go out to beg for their daily food. The monks perform certain daily exercises, assemble fortnightly for their gathering for the confession of faults (*uposatha*), and in the rainy season (*wa*) make their annual retreat. Monks well-versed in meditation practices such as *vipassana* abstain from devotional practices, but may allow the distribution of blessed metallic amulets to their followers.

Buddhism in Myanmar has neither a formal head nor a centralized organization. Every village has a monastery (*kyaung*) with a monk (*pongyi*) in charge and a nearby pagoda. Worship at the shrines is reverential, and apart from a few community exercises it is individual. Devotions and private petitions to the Buddha are popular among the masses. Many pray hoping for a blessing in return, and others repeat Buddha's words with a pure heart as a means of acquiring merit. The veneration of images, relics, and spirits is popular. The New Year Feast (*Thingyan*) celebrates the annual visit of the king of the spirits, Thagyamin. The beginning of the rainy season is marked by devotions, floats of *nats* (spirits), and a show of Buddha's birth-stories (*zat*). The end of the season commemorates Buddha's return from the Tawadeintha heaven.

Despite the lack of a central leadership and organization, most Myanmarese are devout Buddhists deeply attached to the monastic order.

THAILAND

Theravāda Buddhism was introduced probably by Aśoka's missionaries some time after 245 BC and superimposed on the native ANIMISM. In the first centuries AD the country was Hinduized, and it was later influenced by Mahāyāna. Since 1057, however, a modified version of early Buddhism, that is, classic Theravāda, has prevailed over Mahāyāna. However, the stele of King Rama Kamheng of 1292 records the presence of two of the early Hīnayāna schools (traditionally numbered at eighteen). About 1360 Rama Thibodi, founder of the Ayuthia monarchy, believing that it was necessary to get a validation of monastic initiation, sent an abbot to Sri Lanka to enter the order and thus secure the valid succession. King Boromoraja II captured Angkor, the Cambodian capital, and brought back its statesmen and brahmans (1431). Twenty-nine years later his successor used these Cambodian leaders to reorganize the national administration and ceremonial and to establish himself as the divine Buddhist king (*Buddha rājā*), after Cambodia's divine Hindu kings (*Devarājā*). Buddhism remained the state religion, but it exhibited the marked influence of HINDUISM and animism. After the fall of the Thai kingdom in 1767, its restorer, Rama I (1782–1809), upheld the national religion, showed devotion to the order, displayed zeal in temple building, promoted the revision of the canon, and published the legal corpus, *Phra Dharmaśāstra*. In its first volume appeared the Indian Code of the patriarch and seer Manu, dealing with the creation of the world, the state of the soul after death, and the customary law concerning religion, caste, and society. Rama IV (1851–1868) strove to rid the Thai version of Theravāda of animistic, Mahāyānistic, and Brahmanic accretions and reorganized the order. Rama VII (1925–1935) established an ecclesiastical board within the ministry of education, and was made "Upholder of the Faith" by the constitution of 1932, a title reaffirmed by subsequent constitutional drafts.

Order and Ritual Practices. Although Thai monasticism had derived inspiration, instruction, and valid succession from the order of Sri Lanka, the order had not been centralized because of the Hinduization of the country and the political absolutism dating back to 1460. However, Rama IV, initiated into Western scholarship by Catholic and Protestant missionaries, introduced a hierarchical structure into the order, patterning it after Catholic religious orders. Accordingly, authority was vested in a patriarch assisted by fifteen councilors, forming together the supreme chapter. Four leaders were provided for the Mahānikaya School and four for the Dharmayuthika School, and under each there were four subdivision leaders. For each of the ten circles there was an administrator, and provincials served the seventy provinces. Superiors were constituted for the 407 districts, abbots for the precincts, and priors for the temples and monks.

Boys of twelve or more could enter the monastery as pupils. Novices were admitted at any age and for any length of time, but could not become monks before twenty. Monks were exempt from military service. They received jurisdiction to initiate others, as well as titles of their own from the ecclesiastical board. Most of the

temples had a monastery, and both were generously endowed by the faithful and the government. The initiation rite showed a combination of Mahāyāna, early Buddhist, and animistic elements. Upon initiation each monk received a credential booklet marked with his name; in this he was to keep his own vital statistics, right thumbprint, his picture, the name of his parents, initiator, and teachers, and the records of his transfers, examinations, positions, legal charges, and laicization.

Public worship was conducted by the monks. They were to reserve the morning service to themselves, except on the four *uposatha* days set for the laity. In formal services a leader addressed an invocation to the *devatas* (minor deities) and *nāgas* (serpents) borrowed from Hinduism. The rainy season retreat (*vassa*) was marked with rites and pageantry of Buddhist and Hindu flavor. Some of the life-cycle rites (birthday, tonsure, wedding, and funeral) contained Brahmanic features but were conducted by Buddhist monks with charms, amulets, invocations for good fortune, and the sprinkling of magic water. Despite the orthodox doctrine of impermanence and impersonality, most people believed that their good deeds and Buddha's grace could be applied for the repose of the souls of the departed. Rites celebrating national holidays are conducted by Brahmans and Buddhists in a mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism.

Buddhist Action. Thai Buddhism, which is well organized and state supported, has at its disposal the schools, the press, and the state broadcasting system. It freely borrows methods of action from other religions, especially Catholicism. In 1928 the king sanctioned the *Buddhamāmaka* oath, an adaptation of Catholic confirmation, to be taken by students going abroad. The ritual, although inspired by Catholicism, is a mixture of Buddhism and Hinduism. In 1929 Buddhist religious instruction was introduced into all state schools. The Young Buddhists Association (1933), the Buddha Dharma Association (1934), and similar societies promote Buddhist action among the laity. Buddhism is rooted in Thai history, culture, and psychology and remains the soul of the nation.

CAMBODIA

After centuries of rivalry with Hinduism, the religion of the Buddha became established in Cambodia. By the first century AD the inhabitants, known as the Khmers, had been Hinduized under rulers of Indian and Indonesian descent. However, the conservative Buddhism of Myanmar was accepted by the Khmers in the third century and flourished along with sects worshipping the Hindu deities Siva and Vishnu. Moreover, according to an inscription of 791 recording the erection of an image of the Buddhist Lokeśvara (*Avalok iteśvara*), Mahāyāna had been introduced into Cambodia, probably tinged with Vajrayāna and the influences of the cults of various Hindu deities. Jayavarman II (802–854), the founder of a kingship at Angkor, called his realm Kambudja, established the cult of the divine king (*Devarājā*), deriving his authority from Siva, and, at the expense of Buddhism, upheld a form of Hinduism based on the *Purāṇas,* or treatises on cosmogony and Vedic mythology.

Spread of Buddhism. Hinduism continued to be strong when Indravarman (877–889) began the construction of a magnificent capital at Angkor, Siva's *linga,* a phallic symbol in stone of his divine authority. His son and successor Yasovarman I (889–900) built temples for the various sects of Siva, Vishnu, Brahmanic Yoga, and Mahāyāna. This religious eclecticism gradually disappeared when Jayavarman VII (1181–c. 1200), a devout Mahayanist, turned the *Devarājā* cult into that of the *Buddharājā,* the divine Buddhist ruler. In Sri Lanka his son studied *Hīnayāna*, which he introduced into Cambodia. Because of its popular appeal and the monastic school system, Theravāda eventually became the predominant religion. After 1350 the religious life was so disrupted by Thai invasions that in 1423 Cambodian monks repaired to Sri Lanka to be reinvested, to ensure valid succession and reorganization of the order in accord with orthodox Buddhism. When in 1460 Cambodia lost its independence to Thailand, Theravāda, largely because of Thai influence, remained the dominant religion.

Belief, Order, Cult. Cambodian Buddhism is a fusion of the predominant Theravāda with archaic ancestor and ghost worship, Brahmanism, and Mahāyāna. Its Hindu COSMOGONY, detailed in the sacred books *Trey-Phet* and *Kampi Preas Thomma Chhean,* comprises *Prohm* (*Brahmā*), the eternal, uncreated, and uncreating absolute; the universe of countless triads of worlds (*chakralaveal*) and stars that are worshipped as deities; three categories of paradises; and great and small purgatories where the departed atone for their faults and are reborn on earth or in paradise. The pantheon contains four major Buddhas, including Gautama; *Mettrey* (*Maitreya*), the Buddha that will come at the end of time; countless Brahmanic deities; and all the heavenly beings. The universe is full of spirit entities that are invoked and propitiated by the Cambodians in time of need or fear. Although the core of Cambodian Buddhism is Theravāda, the monks tend toward a nontheistic approach to the austere *śamatha* and *vipassana* meditations, whereas the people are adept at syncretizing elements of all religions that have crossed the land.

The order is territorially divided into two regions and subdivided into provinces, each with from ten to twenty monasteries and temples, under the jurisdiction of a superior general. The monastic rules, exercises, and privileges are the same as those found in the Thai order. The monastery, where most Cambodian males spend some time in study and meditation, forms the center of religious and social activities. Each village has its temple. The cult includes court ceremonies, holiday rites, private devotions, propitiations, exorcisms, and conjurations against sickness and evil.

EUROPE AND AMERICA

Buddhism arrived in Europe and America in two different ways. First, there have been communities of immigrants into the United States, Australia, and the countries of Europe who have brought Buddhism with them and established communities aimed at their needs. Second, there have been Westerners who have converted to Buddhism, or whose writings drew inspiration from Buddhism, thus preparing an intellectual climate favorable to the conversion of others.

Immigrant Groups. Chinese immigrants began coming to the West Coast of the United States during the gold rush of 1848, and later to assist in building the transcontinental railroads. The companies in China that arranged for their transportation and employment also took responsibility for building temples in areas of high Chinese concentration. These temples were typically Chinese temples that encompassed the range of the "three teachings" of Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, and the few monks who came from China served the communities as ritual specialists. By the end of the nineteenth century many buildings in San Francisco, New York, and other cities had a Chinese temple on the top floor.

Japan had been officially closed to all foreign contact since the beginning of the seventeenth century, but after the forced opening of Japan by Commodore Perry in 1854, the government began allowing Japanese to travel abroad. Many went to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations, and a Jōdo Shinshū priest arrived in 1889 to serve their needs and provide funeral services. Japanese living on the mainland at this time tended to leave Buddhism behind in an effort to adapt. However, as a part of the internment experience of Japanese-Americans during World War II, the Jōdo Shinshū established congregations on the West Coast and in the Midwest, grouped together as the Buddhist Churches of America, which continues to cater principally to Japanese community needs. Many Japanese workers also came to South America, and the first Buddhist temple for Japanese immigrants was established in São Paulo, Brazil, in 1932.

Other groups have also established Buddhist temples and monasteries for the benefit of their people living abroad in the West, such as the Thai monastery (Wat Carolina Buddhajakra Vanaram) in Bolivia, North Carolina, and Vietnamese temples in the United States, Canada, and Europe.

Western Convert Groups. By and large, the majority of native Westerners who convert to Buddhism have embraced one of three traditions: Tibetan (both dGe lugs pa and the older orders such as the Nyingmapas, Kagyupas, and Sakyapas), Japanese (Zen, both Soto and Rinzai; and increasingly, Soka Gakkai, along with some Jodo Shinshu converts), and Theravāda from a variety of Southeast Asian traditions. A wider Western awareness of and interest in Buddhism dates back two centuries, to the colonization of India and the activities of Sanskrit scholars who began making and disseminating translations of classic texts. The ideas sparked interest among Western intellectuals such as Emerson, Thoreau, and other New England transcendentalists, as well as European romanticists such as Friedrich Schlegel, who were influenced by Sir Edwin Arnold's epic poem on the life of the Buddha, *The Light of Asia*, published in 1879, and the Theosophist Henry Steele Olcott's *A Buddhist Catechism*, published in 1881. Arnold himself cooperated with Anagarika Dharmapala (1864–1933) to found the Maha Bodhi Society in England and India in 1891 with the intent of reviving Buddhism in India. This partly inspired the movement to bring the Indian *dalit* castes into Buddhism, led by B.R. Ambedkar (1891–1956).

A real turning point was reached when the World Parliament of Religions opened in Chicago in 1893, bringing several significant Asian Buddhist figures to America, such as Soyen Shaku and Dharmapāla. Several of them remained in America after the close of the Parliament and continued missionary activities in many major cities. Dharmapāla opened the American chapter of the Maha Bodhi Society in 1897.

Early in the twentieth century, a handful of Westerners became sufficiently enthusiastic about Buddhism to travel abroad to seek monastic ordination, while others remained at home and founded Buddhist societies, such as the British Buddhist Society, founded in 1924 as a lodge within the Theosophical Movement, from which it broke free within two years. In the United States, Japanese Zen missionaries began arriving and working among non-Asian American populations, but met with little success until the 1950s, when D.T. Su-

zuki (1870–1966) began reaching a wide audience through his writings and talks. In Europe, the largest convert groups were to be found in England and Germany, but significant centers are now well-established in France, Switzerland, Italy, and parts of Eastern Europe.

The end of World War II marked a watershed in the dissemination of Asian Buddhism among non-Asian groups. More Asian missionaries came to the West, and Westerners themselves began gaining credentials as teachers and masters within Asian traditions. At this time, Buddhism began making its first inroads into Australia as well. The swelling number of missionaries and teachers meant a growing plurality of styles of Buddhism, and more converts adopted it as a holistic religious commitment rather than as an intellectual alternative. Since the 1970s, the number of Buddhist centers and groups in Western countries has risen dramatically, although it should be noted that, by approximately 1990, only in the United States and Australia did the number of Buddhists exceed 1 percent of the population among Western nations listed in Baumann's 2000 article.

Western Buddhist Movements. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the dichotomy between immigrant and Western convert groups became blurred. As the children of immigrants become increasingly westernized, and as children of converts are raised as Buddhists, the outlook of the groups tends to converge, leading to forms of Buddhism that are neither simple transplants of Asian traditions nor Western appropriations of such.

Generally, Buddhist groups in the West tend to consist of educated, middle- to upper-class populations. Their generally modernist outlook leads some of them to abandon aspects of traditional Asian Buddhism that strike them as "superstitious," such as rites for the dead, veneration of relics, practices intended to create merit, and the transference of this merit to improve the status of deceased family members, and even the ideas of karma and rebirth, in some circles. They also have abandoned aspects of Buddhist practice that connected it with traditional communities, such as the alms-begging round and monastic ordinations that functioned as coming-of-age rites.

Buddhism has also been adapted by these groups (as well as by many that remain in Asia) for the conditions of modernity. Emphasis is more on lay practice than on the need for monastic vows, leading to the establishment of "meditation centers" rather than monasteries. Much attention has been given to the role of women and the bureaucratization of leadership. Even the tradition of meditation, practiced only by a minority of specialists in traditional Buddhism, has come to the fore among lay practitioners, as Buddhism serves more psychological and therapeutic needs. As a result, Buddhism in the West, and around the world, has a tendency to become less devotional and pietistic, and more intellectual, rational, and therapeutic. However, it is also worth noting that there are strong traditionalist movements that encourage intensive retreat practice, devotionalism, and ritual integrity, particularly among Chinese, Tibetan, and Theravāda lineages.

Globalization. One of the effects of the modern period, with its legacy of colonialism and current ease of travel and contact, is an unprecedented globalization of Buddhism. The organization of this article itself suggests that Buddhism grew in discrete geographical areas within self-contained cultures, and so indeed it has throughout most of its history. However, the modern period has seen Tibetan Buddhists interacting with Chinese Buddhists, Sri Lankan Buddhist monks traveling to Taiwan to study Chinese in order to read and translate Chinese Buddhist classics, and Japanese Buddhists living side-by-side with Western Buddhists who take elements from all previous forms and add some of their own. The result has been the weakening of boundaries and the increase in mutual influence, thus creating a global Buddhism that no longer is defined by boundaries, but by openness. In addition, new attention to the role of women in the monastic life has led some nuns to seek full ordination from Chinese lineages in Taiwan, in order to restore the order in other Buddhist lineages throughout the world.

Aside from the more informal cross-fertilization that modern circumstances helped to foster, the contemporary situation has also led to the establishment of Buddhist organizations with transnational constituencies and aims. The most prominent of these is the World Fellowship of Buddhists, founded in Sri Lanka in 1950. In addition to this umbrella organization, individual Buddhist organizations, once purely local in their operations, have established branch offices and centers in other localities and other countries. Examples include Fo Kuang Shan (Taiwan), the Diamond Sangha (United States), and the Insight Meditation Society (Sri Lanka/United States).

SEE ALSO Bodhisattva; Brahman; Communism; Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism; Daoism (Taoism); Gnosticism; Manichaeism; Nirvāṇa; Pali Canon; Shaman and Medicine Man; Shintoism; Theosophy; Vajrayāna (Diamond Vehicle); Yoga.

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BUFALO, GASPARE DEL, ST.

Founder of the Missionaries of the PRECIOUS BLOOD (CPPS); b. Rome, Jan. 6, 1786; d. there, Dec. 28, 1837; beatified on December 18, 1904 by Pope Pius X; canonized on June 12, 1954 by Pope Pius XII.

He was educated at the Collegio Romano and while yet a seminarian he catechized, visited hospitals, and reactivated the Santa Galla hospice for homeless men. After ordination (1808) he took as spiritual director Canon Francesco Albertini, known for his devotion to the Precious Blood, and assisted him in establishing a pious union of the Precious Blood in the church of San Nicola in Carcere. As a canon of the church of San Marco, Gaspare was summoned to swear allegiance to NAPOLEON I when the latter gained control of the STATES OF THE CHURCH. For his refusal he spent about four years (1810–1814) in exile and prison. Returning to Rome, he was assigned by PIUS VII to preaching missions in the Papal States. Encouraged by the pope, Cardinal Cristaldi, and others, he established the Society of the Precious Blood (August 15, 1815) and opened its first house in the monastery of San Felice in Giano (Umbria). He also advised St. Maria de MATTIAS (canonized by Pope John Paul II on May 18, 2003) to found the PRECIOUS BLOOD SISTERS. The rest of his life was devoted to preaching, spiritual direction, and defense of his society against the sharp objections that were made because of its title. Outstanding was his missionary activity in the bandit-infested areas of the Papal States and the kingdom of Naples. Among his friends were St. Vincent PALLOTTI and St. Vincenzo STRAMBI. Pope John XXIII called him the greatest apostle of the Precious Blood.

Feast: January 2.

SEE ALSO PRECIOUS BLOOD, III (DEVOTION TO).

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BÜTLER, MARÍA BERNARDA, ST.

Baptized Verena; missionary; foundress of the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Maria Help of Christians; b. May 28, 1848, Auw, Aargau, Switzerland; d. May 19, 1924, Cartagena, Colombia; beatified by Pope John Paul II in Rome, October 29, 1995; canonized by Pope Benedict XVI in Rome, October 12, 2008.

Verena, born into a Swiss peasant family, completed her education at fourteen and went on to do farm work. As a young woman she fell in love and was engaged to be married, but she heard GOD's call and in turn broke off the engagement. She entered a local convent at eighteen, but returned home when she realized this was not the place God wanted her to be. In her daily activities and prayer, she continued to feel drawn to consecrated life, and, at the suggestion of her pastor, she joined the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Maria Hilf at Altstätten. She was professed as María Bernarda in 1869 and served as novice mistress. Soon after she was elected superior of the convent, in which capacity she served for nine years.

Her enthusiasm prompted Bishop Schumacher (1839–1907) of Portoviejo, Ecuador, to invite her to establish the community's presence in his country. María Bernarda left Switzerland with six sisters on June 19, 1888. In Ecuador she founded communities of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary Help of Christians (*María Ausiliatrice*) in Chone, Santana, and Canoa Ben. In 1985 persecution forced her community into exile in Bahia, Brazil. From there fifteen sisters traveled to Colombia, where they were welcomed by Bishop Eugenio Biffi (1829–1896) of Cartagena, who gave the sisters a wing of the *Obra Pia* women's hospital. While remaining in Colombia, where she continues to be especially remembered and loved, Mother María Bernarda founded communities in Austria and Brazil. At the age of seventy-five, she died after fifty-six years of religious life serving the poor and sick.

A miracle attributed to her intercession was approved on March 26, 1994. When she was beatified, Pope JOHN PAUL II remarked in his homily that Mother María Bernarda "was convinced that the principal virtue is charity, the soul of all other virtues." On October 12, 2008, she was canonized by Pope BENEDICT XVI, who commended her devotion to the Eucharist as well as her obedience to the WORD of God: "she went everywhere proclaiming that the Lord invites all to his banquet; thus allowing others to participate in the love of God to which she dedicated herself with faithfulness and joy throughout her life." She is the first modern Swiss woman to be canonized.

Feast: May 19.

SEE ALSO CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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C

CAESAROPAPISM

The term *Caesaropapism* is a modern usage and has been generally applied to Christian rulers and societies, especially the medieval BYZANTINE EMPIRE. Justus Henning Böhmer (d. 1749), a gifted Protestant canonist who made significant contributions to the history of Catholic canon law, may have been the first to coin it. In his work on Protestant canon law Böhmer discussed two forms of "perverse human long-standing customs" that he considered dangerous for a just society: *papo-caesaria*, in which the church legislated in matters that pertained to the secular state, and *Caesaro-papia*, in which a secular sovereigns promulgated laws that invaded territory that should be the proper jurisdiction of the church. He mentioned that an example of *Caesaro-papia* could be seen in the first book of the Emperor Justinian's book of laws, the *Codex*. Indeed, the first book of Justinian's *Codex* contains a long list of imperial constitutions from the Emperor Constantine to Justinian that regulated ecclesiastical affairs. In contrast to Böhmer's measured definition of "Caesaropapism," later scholars and reference works defined the term very narrowly and deformed Böhmer's careful definition. First, they used it primarily to describe the constitutional structure of the Byzantine Empire between the reign of the Emperor Justinian (d. 565) and the fall of the empire to the OTTOMAN TURKS in 1453. Then they argued that the Byzantine state was a regime in which the sovereign was the head of the church and the state, and that he exercised absolute authority and jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical realm. They defined this form of government as Caesaropapist. In response historians have rightly pointed out that no Byzantine emperor ever held absolute authority over the secular and the ecclesiastical institutions of the empire. Although Byzantine emperors did have extensive jurisdictional power over the church, they rarely promulgated legislation that dictated dogmatic norms. A consequence of this historiographic development has been that Caesaropapism has been discredited as a useful concept for historical analysis.

When he coined the term Böhmer did not define *Caesaro-papia* as a sovereign's absolute authority over ecclesiastical matters, nor did he connect the concept exclusively with Byzantium. He had used Justinian's *Codex* as an example of what he meant by the term. Following Böhmer, it could still be a useful term to describe the authority of a lay ruler to participate in the governance of the church in a society. THEOCRACY can be used to describe a variety of different governing systems in which religious leaders hold secular political power to varying degrees, but no word exists in English or in other languages to define the opposite system of governance. Böhmer's definition of Caesaropapism could fill that lacuna.

King-Priest. The king (*regnum*) and the priest (*sacerdotium*) have always been two centers of power and authority in human society and government. Until modern times the most common form of government in the world unified these two powers in one way or another. In the Judeo-Christian tradition the figure of a priest-king had great antiquity. Melchisedech was a mysterious figure in the book of GENESIS who was described as a priest of the most high God and the king of Salem (Gn 14:18). MOSES was another archetype of the priest-king. Later popes, especially Pope INNOCENT III (1198–1216) and his successors, used Melchisedech to prefigure and to justify papal temporal power. In the high MIDDLE AGES popes did exercise extensive secular power in the papal states (*Patrimonium Petri*). In those lands the popes

were theocratic rulers. In several Muslim lands today theocratic governments are in place.

The figure of the king-priest also had deep roots. In the ancient world rulers often held religious as well as secular duties and powers. For the development of the concept of Caesaropapism, the king-priest, Rome is of great importance. The title and authority of the *Pontifex maximus* (Great Priest) over Roman religious institutions gradually began to be taken over by secular rulers during the late Roman republic. The first to do so seems to have been Julius Caesar who was elected *Pontifex maximus* in 63 BC by the Roman senate. As the Roman state was transformed into a monarchy, in addition to their other titles, emperors adopted the title of *Pontifex maximus*. When the first Christian emperor, Constantine (306–337), decided to engage in the controversy surrounding the heresy of Arianism, he quite naturally considered it within his imperial authority—because he was the *Pontifex maximus*—to call the Council of NICAEA and to preside over its deliberations. In his mind it was the Christian sovereign's right and duty to guide his Church. Christian emperors continued to use the title of *Pontifex maximus* until the Emperor GRATIAN refused to accept the title in 376 or 379. No later Eastern emperor used the title, and the last vestige of a Christian emperor's connection with Roman religion vanished. Even though the title died, the idea that the Byzantine emperor should play a large role in ecclesiastical affairs did not. At a very early date the bishops of Rome adopted the title, however, and it remained a papal title until modern times.

Eastern Christian World. Within the Eastern Christian world the tradition of the Eastern Roman emperors exercising considerable jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs and institutions that had begun with Constantine continued for centuries. Byzantine emperors did call Church councils and issue extensive legislation that affected the church. The Emperor Justinian (527–565) legislated in many areas of Christian life, most importantly perhaps, in marriage. His laws changed many norms of marriage and divorce. The appointment of the Patriarch of CONSTANTINOPLE needed the emperor's approval. It can be said that in the Eastern Orthodox Christian tradition rulers exercised much more authority and jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs than in the West. The Russian czars, for example, traditionally exercised considerable jurisdiction over the Orthodox Church.

Western Christian World. In the West, Christian rulers also legislated in ecclesiastical matters during the early Middle Ages and exhibited some aspects of a limited Caesaropapism. CHARLEMAGNE (Charles the Great, 768–814) issued a large number of capitularies (laws) that touched many areas of Church discipline. He also involved himself in dogmatic and liturgical questions. Until the twelfth century, Charlemagne's relationship to the Church and the relationship of other Western princes to ecclesiastical institutions were not unusual in the West. The border between secular and ecclesiastical authority was blurred. Kings meddled in the affairs of the Church on a regular basis and thought they had the right to do so. The beginnings of a separation of Church and State in Western Christendom began in the eleventh century, during a period that has been called the Investiture Controversy, the GREGORIAN REFORM Movement, or a "papal revolution." A series of popes from Pope LEO IX to Pope GREGORY VII promulgated conciliar decrees and issued papal DECRETALS that established the independence of the clergy and ecclesiastical institutions from the lay jurisdiction. It took almost two centuries before these new principles were generally accepted by European Christian princes.

The high medieval paradigm of an independent Church lasted until the Protestant Reformation. When he broke away from Rome, King HENRY VIII of England assumed the leadership of the Anglican church. He and his successors remain the titular head of the Anglican church until the present day. Other Protestant sovereigns also exercised jurisdiction over their churches. LUTHER's theology of the "two-kingdoms" dictated that the church had no legislative authority and jurisdiction. Consequently, Protestant princes exercised significant jurisdictional and legislative authority over the churches in their realms.

A similar movement occurred in Catholic countries. From the sixteenth century on, European Catholic princes extracted concessions from Rome that enhanced their control of their national churches. In France and Spain kings reached concordats (agreements) with Rome that granted them far more authority over their national churches than they had ever exercised since the Investiture Controversy. With the Concordat of Bologna in 1516, concluded between the French King Francis I and Pope LEO X, the French king and his successors were granted rights over the appointment of clergy. The king could even restrict appeals to Rome. Historians have called the movement in France to restrict papal authority over the French church and to enhance the rights of French bishops and the French king, GALLICANISM. In 1523 Pope HADRIAN II granted the Spanish king the same right to appoint ecclesiastical benefices as the king of France had obtained. In the eighteenth century, the papacy concluded concordats with Savoy, Spain, and Portugal, granting sovereigns significant authority over ecclesiastical institutions. All of these developments in Latin Christendom can be described as examples of Böhmer's definition of Caesaropapism.

SEE ALSO Canon Law, History of; Constantine I, The Great, Roman Emperor; Investiture Struggle; Justinian I, Byzantine Emperor; Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Churches; Reformation, Protestant (in the British Isles); Reformation, Protestant (on the Continent); Roman Empire.

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CAGOTS

The Cagots (*Agotes* in Spanish) were an ethnic minority in the Pyrenees Mountains who were subjected to a popular racism for reasons that still remain shrouded in mystery. For nearly nine centuries, they were repressed as social pariahs throughout southwestern France (the Basque country, Gascony, the valleys of the Pyrenees, and parts of the Languedoc) and northern Spain (Navarre and Aragon). According to the place and the period, the Cagots were also called *Chrestians* or *Chrestiaas* (before the sixteenth century); *Gézitaings* (after the sixteenth century); *Gahets* or *Gafos* (in Bordeaux, Landes, and Agen); *Agots* (in the French Basque provinces); *Capots* (in Armagnac); and *Agotak* (in Spanish Navarre). Whereas the clergy sometimes strongly condemned their treatment as outcasts, the aristocracy only fuelled popular resentment by exempting the Cagots from taxation.

During the 1300s, the Cagots were regarded with loathing, and even horror. One of the more common names used for them during this period was *Crestia* or *Chrestiaas* or even *Christianus*. These names are all synonymous with "leper" in the Béarnese language of the Pyrenees. By contrast, the name *Chrestians* denotes the Christian followers of ARIANISM, the religion adopted by the LOMBARDS, VISIGOTHS, and Ostrogoths before their conversion to Catholicism in 587. It is possible that when the FRANKS vanquished these once all-conquering Germanic peoples, some of them sought refuge among those outcasts afflicted with leprosy. Nevertheless, they did not cling onto any heretical beliefs. In medieval texts the term *Christianus* is inseparable from *leprosus* and even used in its place.

To add to the confusion, the Cagots were also called *Ghézitaings* (or *Gézitains*), recalling ELISHA's servant Gehazi in the Old Testament. In Bigorre they were labelled *Cascarrots* whereas in Anjou they were referred to as *Capots* or "Swamp People" (*gens de marais*). Finally in Brittany they appear in old documents as *Caqueux*, *Caquins*, or *Caquous*. Many believe that the name Cagot derives from *Canis Gothi* (Dog of a Goth). This belief was fuelled by the notion that they were the descendants of the Visigoths who once occupied southern Europe. Yet while the etymology of the name remains uncertain, their nickname—"Canards" (ducks)—comes from the curious emblem in the form of a red duck foot that they were forced to wear on their clothing at all times.

In contrast to other discriminations based on race, religion, or even language, the persecution of the Cagots remained local and very arbitrary. Victimized by irrational fear, the Cagots were accused of poisoning wells, practicing sorcery, cannibalism, having webbed hands and feet, and having no ears (or, at the very least, no ear lobes). Believed to emit a noxious odor, they are often described in the literature as blond-haired and blue-eyed with a ruddy complexion. Similar to Jews who were forced to wear a yellow "Star of David" by the Nazis centuries later, the Cagots were obliged to wear a distinctive sign, generally a red duck foot, sewn onto their clothes. Regulations dating from 1396 in the town of Marmande stipulate that the "Gahets" should wear a sign in red material sewn onto the left side of their garments.

In France, the Cagots were not permitted family names; instead "Chrestians" or "Cagot" followed their first names. When they died they were buried in a separate part of the local cemetery, if not in an altogether different spot. Although they were Christians, they were obliged to enter the church through doors so low that they were forced to stoop. Once inside, they were relegated to the back of the congregation. When they

were denied access to the church service, the EUCHARIST was handed to them at the end of a long pole.

In Spain, the Cagots were permitted to adopt distinctive family names, although they were forced to remain within their neighborhoods. In fact, they were not spared a single humiliation that the medieval mind could conjure up. Their ghettos, called "Cagoteries," were areas that had formerly been reserved for lepers. They were forbidden from exercising any professions involving earth, fire, and water, yet in an odd twist they often served as healers, surgeons, and midwives. They were permitted to touch wood, and they thus became well known as carpenters. In the days when instruments of torture were made of wood, they also became executioners. They also worked as weavers and rope and basket makers. Until the reign of Louis XIV, they were exempt from paying taxes.

The Cagots' long struggle for dignity and freedom can be traced back to 1513 when a group of Navarran *Agotes* petitioned Pope LEO X for indulgence. In the document, although there is no evidence that they had clung to their beliefs, they admitted to being descendants of the Albigensian Cathar heretics and asked to be forgiven for the sins of their fathers. The Holy Father answered that they should be treated "with the same compassion as other faithful," and he asked Don Juan de Santa Maria in Pamplona to oversee this.

Despite the backing of the Holy Roman Emperor CHARLES V, improvements for the Cagots were halted by a series of lawsuits. Thus a pattern soon developed: The Cagots would win their lawsuits, often with the backing of the clergy and the aristocracy, only to see progress wither away under the discrimination of the local authorities and the general populace. This phenomenon has been well documented by the Spanish historian Maria del Carmen Aguirre Delclaux in her doctoral dissertation *Los Agotes*, published by the Principe de Viana Institute in 1977.

As with the Jews and Protestants, lasting progress for the Cagots came only after the FRENCH REVOLUTION and Napoleon. In 1818 the regional *Cortes* in Pamplona abrogated all of the discriminatory laws dating from the Middle Ages. Finally, it was the Industrial Revolution and the ensuing depopulation of the countryside that led to the real end of this discrimination. The Cagots intermarried with the local populations, and eventually only the term was left as a grim reminder of a nine-hundred-year-old curse.

SEE ALSO ALBIGENSIANS; FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; GERMANIC RELIGION; GOTHS; HERESY; LEPROSY (IN THE BIBLE); LOMBARD LEAGUE.

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CAJETAN (TOMMASO DE VIO)

Scholastic philosopher and theologian, biblical commentator; b. Gaeta, Italy, February 20, 1469; d. Rome, August 10, 1534.

Although baptized Giacomo (James) de Vio, Cajetan came to be named for the city of his birth (Il Gaetano; in Latin, Caietanus). At the age of sixteen he entered the Dominican conventual province of Naples at Gaeta, receiving the religious name of Tommaso. He studied in the priory at Naples, where St. THOMAS AQUINAS had entered the order in 1244. Cajetan took up theology in Bologna and went to Padua in 1491 to complete his studies, where he became a lecturer on metaphysics in the priory and on the Sentences at the university (1493). Padua gave him formative contacts with naturalist interpretations of ARISTOTLE and with a Scotist adversary, Antonio TROMBETTA. At the Dominican general chapter at Ferrara in 1494, he held a successful disputation, with an exchange of ideas with Giovanni PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA. This led to Cajetan's promotion to master in sacred theology by the Dominican Master General. At the invitation of Duke Ludovico Sforza he taught at Pavia (1497–1499), lecturing on the *Summa* of St. Thomas and beginning his monumental commentary on that work. In 1501 Cajetan was called to Rome to serve as procurator general of his Order, with responsibility for the order's dealings with the HOLY SEE. During this time he preached several Advent and Lenten sermons before Popes ALEXANDER VI and JULIUS II. On the death of Master General John Clérée, in 1507, Julius II appointed Cajetan vicar-general of his order. Elected a year later as Master General (1508–1518), Cajetan stressed reform, study, and the common life; settled certain difficulties involving devotees of Girolamo SAVONAROLA; sent the first Dominican missionaries to the New World; and defended the mendicant orders at the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517).

From 1508 until his death Cajetan was deeply involved in ecclesiastical affairs. When consulted about the schismatic Council of Pisa (1511), he urged Julius II to convoke a legitimate council. He ordered Dominicans not to support Pisa and he sent friars to the scene to win over the Pisan clergy and people to the pope's cause. Cajetan published treatises on papal authority against French conciliarists, *De comparatione auctoritatis papae et concilii* (1511), and the Apologia (1512) of this work. At the Fifth Lateran Council in 1512, he spoke at the second session on behalf of a theological notion of the Church in contrast with prevailing political conceptions. He urged ecclesiastical reform, and participated in discussions on AVERROISM and the IMMACULATE CONCEPTION. Cajetan was made cardinal priest of St. SIXTUS on July 6, 1517, and was sent to Germany the following year as legate of Pope LEO X to solicit backing of the German princes for a crusade against the Turks. During his legation to the Augsburg Diet (1518), he was deputed by Pope Leo to bring Martin LUTHER to retract his attack on indulgences. Even though Cajetan prepared for meeting Luther by analyzing the Reformer's theology in fifteen treatises, his effort was unsuccessful. But Cajetan remained in Germany to play a role in the election of the new German emperor in 1519. He first represented to several electors Leo X's opposition to the Habsburg prince, Charles of Spain, but soon after communicated the pope's agreement to his election as Emperor CHARLES V. On March 14, 1519, Cajetan was appointed bishop of Gaeta, his native city. He took part in the consistory of 1520 that prepared Leo X's bull censuring selected assertions by Luther. After the conclave of 1522 elected ADRIAN VI, the new pope sent Cajetan as his legate to Hungary to promote a crusade. After the death of Adrian (September 14, 1523), Cajetan was recalled by Pope CLEMENT VII, who allowed him to devote his full time to study and preparing biblical commentaries. Cajetan experienced the Sack of Rome (May 1527) and, when kidnapped by imperial troops, he borrowed 5,000 ducats to pay the ransom. He went to his diocese until early 1528 to have income for paying the debt incurred. During the last illness of Clement (1534), Cajetan was for some a possible successor, but he himself was gravely ill and died on the morning of August 10, 1534, at the age of sixty-six. He was buried according to his wishes at the entrance of the Dominican church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva so that the faithful might walk over his grave, but since 1666 his remains have been preserved in the sacristy.

Cajetan was a man of prayer and devotion to study, simple and exacting with regard to himself, but broad-minded and generous with regard to others. His sense of the needs of the Church motivated his labors to provide a theology and norms of church reform drawn from St. Thomas and from biblical interpretation based on the original, literal sense of the text.



Giacomo de Vio (1469–1534). *Popularly known as Cajetan, this Scholastic philosopher still influences Catholic social and moral thought.* **THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS**

Writings. Over 150 works, long and short, came from the pen of Cajetan. Most of them can be dated accurately from his habit of indicating at the end of each work the date and place of composition. Apart from acts and official documents, his writings may be grouped under three headings: philosophical, theological, and exegetical.

Philosophical. The commentaries and treatises were the fruit of Cajetan's teaching at Padua, Pavia, Milan, and Rome between 1493 and 1507. They include commentaries on Porphyry's *Isagoge* (1497); Aristotle's logical works and *De anima* (1509, from earlier notes); and on St. Thomas's *De ente et essentia* (1495). Cajetan's *De nominum analogia* (1498) remains a much-studied, but

controversial, treatment of ANALOGY in logic and metaphysics.

Theological. Between 1507 and 1524, while he was Dominican Master General and papal legate, Cajetan remained theologically productive. In short treatises he spoke to moral issues of the day, such as taking interest on banking transactions, and he published responses on selected issues raised by the Protestant Reformation, especially the Roman Primacy (*De divina institutione pontificatus Romani pontificis*, 1520, against Luther) and the Eucharistic real presence (*Instructio nuntii circa errores libelli de cena Domini*, 1525, against Huldrych ZWINGLI). His most important work is the commentary on the *Summa theologiae* of St. Thomas (Part I, completed in 1507; I–II, completed in 1511; II–II, completed in 1517; III, completed in 1520), which made him the pioneer figure in the second flowering of scholastic thought, with influence on the School of Salamanca and John of St. Thomas. Later treatises on issues of Reformation debate, *De sacrificio missae* (1531) and *De fide et operibus* (1532), offer disciplined arguments from Scripture, with the latter work contributing to the Catechism of the Council of TRENT on the influence of Christ the Head on the good works of his members.

Exegetical. Biblical work filled Cajetan's years from 1524 until his death. Setting aside the allegorical and "mystical" interpretations found in patristic and medieval work on the Old Testament, he labored to retrieve the authorial intention, having Jewish assistants explain to him the Hebrew text. For the New Testament, Catejan used the Greek text of ERASMUS. In his exegesis Cajetan rarely mentions Reformation issues or Protestant claims, but regularly contrasts the worldview of scripture with the secularizing Aristotelians who leave no place for God's creation and providential care of humans. Cajetan aimed to foster a "return to the sources" to put theology and preaching on the solid basis of what the mediators of God's revelation actually wrote. Furthermore, biblical examples give Christians, especially religious orders and bishops, numerous admonitions for reforming their lives and ministries. Cajetan's 1527 Psalms commentary, dedicated to Pope CLEMENT VII, includes a new literal translation from the Hebrew into Latin. His commentaries on the Gospels (1527–1528), Epistles (1528–1529), Pentateuch (1530–1531), historical books (1531–1532), Job (1533), and Ecclesiastes (1534) provoked opposition, because he insisted that the Latin Vulgate needed correction in many passages. Cajetan followed St. Jerome not only on the authority of the *hebraica veritas* but also in not accepting the Deuterocanonical books as authoritative. He questioned the authenticity of Mark 16.9–20 and John 8.1–11, while doubting the apostolic authorship of Hebrews, James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude. Cajetan admitted he did not grasp the literal meaning of Song of Songs and Revelation, leaving these books without commentary. This biblical work was attacked by the Dominicans Ambrosius Catharinus, Bartolomé de Medina, and Melchior Cano. After a denunciation by Catharinus, the University of Paris theology faculty prepared a list of twenty-four errors by Cajetan for censure, but at the request of Clement VII no formal judgment was made. However, someone leaked the text and Luther had it published in Wittenberg (*Weimar Ausgabe*, vol. 60, pp. 114–130), adding remarks critical of the Parisian theologians so attached to the traditional Vulgate. Over a century passed before Richard Simon reviewed Cajetan's biblical work appreciatively.

Doctrine. Cajetan stands out as a gifted and influential thinker of the Thomistic tradition. He joined other Dominicans in Cologne, Paris, and Salamanca who replaced the *Sentences* of PETER LOMBARD with the *Summa* of St. Thomas as the basic text of theological instruction. Cajetan exerted wide influence on modern Thomism, both among followers and those who contested his views, especially after Pope PIUS V ordered the publication of Cajetan's *Summa* commentary, albeit with selected omissions of untraditional passages, with the complete works of St. Thomas in 1570. LEO XIII had it included in its entirety in the critical edition of the *Summa* (1888–1906). Little is known about Cajetan's intellectual formation. His polemics with Averroists and Scotists, his sympathy for Renaissance humanism, and his involvement in practical affairs did much to shape his philosophical and theological outlook. His Thomism was not simply a restatement of St. Thomas but a Thomistic approach to problems of his day. Many of the opinions he held are not to be found in St. Thomas but are insights of his own.

In philosophy, Cajetan stressed the Aristotelianism of St. Thomas, at times to the detriment of St. Thomas's originality. Constantly attacking Scotist views of being and abstraction, he presented a concept of being, which though analogical, might be considered too realistic and formalistic, depending as it does on the pseudo-Thomistic *Summa totius logicae*. Those following Cajetan in metaphysics stressed essence and substance, to the detriment of notions of existence (*esse*) and participation that came to the fore among twentieth-century Thomists. Cajetan's doctrine of analogy emphasizes the importance of proportionality. For Cajetan, the proper subject of metaphysics is attained by "formal abstraction" from all matter. In the metaphysical constitution of the person Cajetan posited a special modality (*subsistentia*) to terminate the essence prior to existence. His doctrine of psychological abstraction, while basically Thomistic, he explained in terms of extrinsic illumina-

tion of the phantasms by the active intellect, which operates also within the thinking intellect. On moral topics, Cajetan insists on the intrinsic evil, for persons and humankind, of what God forbids, in contrast to Scotist and Occamist accounts which make God's commands and prohibitions the basis of good and evil.

Cajetan came to hold that the immortality of the human soul cannot be demonstrated by reason. In a sermon in Rome in 1503, Cajetan gave reasons for the soul's immortality from the spirituality of intellectual and volitional functions, much as St. Thomas had done. Commenting on the *Summa* (1a, 75.2) in 1507, he confirmed the validity of St. Thomas's reasoning. But when preparing his *De anima* for publication in 1509, he admitted with AVERROËS that Aristotle had denied the immortality of the personal thinking intellect because of its dependence on phantasms; consequently only the universal active intellect is immortal and separated. However, Cajetan maintained that the immortality of the individual soul could be demonstrated from Aristotelian principles. But in 1527, commenting on Matthew 22, he asserted that immortality is not rationally demonstrable. He repeated this in his commentary on Romans 9 in 1528, listing immortality among mysteries of faith with the Trinity and Incarnation. Commenting on Ecclesiastes 3 in 1534, he asserted that no philosopher has ever demonstrated the immortality of the soul, and that this truth is known only through Christian revelation. The reason for Cajetan's change of view is still far from certain, but Thomists after Cajetan, beginning with the prolific Bartolommeo Spina (c. 1475–1546), have rejected this view as incompatible with the teaching of St. Thomas and Christian tradition.

In his commentary on the *Summa*, Cajetan is a faithful expositor of St. Thomas, in spite of the complexities that he adds. In the first two parts, his principal adversaries are DUNS SCOTUS, HENRY OF GHENT, GREGORY OF RIMINI, PETER AUREOLE, and DURANDUS OF ST. POURÇAIN. In sacramental theology, he criticizes Luther and Zwingli on occasion. In Biblical exegesis, Cajetan shows affinities with humanism, while relating texts to major tenets of doctrine. In the spirit of St. Jerome, aspects of his criticism were in advance of his time. While his farsightedness in biblical interpretation and concerning church reform were little appreciated by his contemporaries, his scholastic theology found immediate response in Italy and Spain. Even in the twenty-first century Cajetan is often a stimulating guide to St. Thomas, while his insights can enrich Catholic dialogue with the Reformation and his modernity impresses on many moral and social issues.

SEE ALSO DOMINICANS; LATERAN COUNCILS; SCHOLASTIC METHOD; SCHOLASTICISM.

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CALL TO ACTION CONFERENCE

The Call to Action Conference was a national assembly sponsored by the Catholic bishops of the United States in connection with the U.S. Bicentennial of 1976. Along with recommendations on social and political issues, the participants, designated by dioceses and Catholic organizations, adopted many concerning issues in the Church. The conference was an important episode in the phenomenon of Catholic questioning and rejection of Church doctrines and laws after the Second Vatican

Council, but negative reactions to its methodology and conclusions made it a setback for the ideal of shared responsibility in the Church.

In anticipation of the bicentennial, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) established a committee to plan and direct the bishops' contribution to the observance. Its chairman was Cardinal John DEARDEN of Detroit, former president of NCCB and its sister organization, the United States Catholic Conference (USCC). Staffing at the national level was provided by NCCB/USCC under the direction of its general secretary, Bishop James S. RAUSCH. The Dearden committee proposed a number of bicentennial-related activities, with the principal one a program called "Liberty and Justice for All," envisaged as a platform for advocacy on behalf of justice and peace.

The plan called for national hearings leading up to a national conference designated Call to Action, a title drawn from a document published ten years earlier by Pope PAUL VI on justice in the world. At the start of the consultation process in February 1975, Cardinal Dearden said the purpose was to determine "how the American Catholic community can contribute to the quest of all people for liberty and justice"; Catholics, he added, should contribute to "the economic, political and cultural betterment of all peoples."

The national hearings were held in Washington, D.C.; San Antonio, Texas; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Atlanta, Georgia; Sacramento, California; and Newark, New Jersey, and involved participation by some five hundred persons who made recommendations to panels, including some bishops. Parish discussions also occurred in a number of places as did diocesan and regional hearings. In all, there were 800,000 parish responses, although it is impossible to tell how many people were involved because many responses came from more than one person and many people participated in more than one response. Material from all these sources was reviewed by eight preparatory committees that produced working papers and recommendations for consideration by the Call to Action Conference.

The conference was held October 20–23, 1976, in a Detroit convention center and was attended by some 1,340 delegates appointed either by the ordinaries of 152 of the 167 U.S. dioceses or by 92 national Catholic organizations, with one delegate per organization. Almost a third of the delegates were priests, including 110 bishops, a little more than a third were women, and half were Church employees. The delegates, meeting in small groups, used the working papers and recommendations of the preparatory committees as bases for discussion, but they exercised a free hand in formulating recommendations of their own (for example, a recommendation endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution). In the end, they produced 29 general recommendations divided into 218 separate items.

By the standards of the time, many of the items struck observers as radical, especially coming from an assembly of Church people gathered under the auspices of the Catholics bishops. Among them were recommendations for returning laicized priests to ministry, ordaining married men and women, accepting lay preachers, allowing freedom of conscience on contraception, adopting a more open attitude toward homosexuality, and letting divorced and remarried Catholics receive communion. Recommendations in the social and political spheres called for amnesty for Vietnam War resisters and for undocumented aliens along with other legislative changes.

Controversy ensued. Archbishop Joseph L. BERNARDIN of Cincinnati, president of NCCB/USCC, said special interest groups had "dominated the conference." Others objected that neither the consultation nor the assembly was representative of American Catholics. Moreover, in devoting so much attention to internal issues in the Church, the conference had gone well beyond the agenda of "economic, political and cultural betterment" originally outlined by Cardinal Dearden. The bishops of NCCB/USCC received the Call to Action recommendations with expressions of appreciation and set up an ad hoc committee to oversee their implementation, but little was ever done.

Unknown to many people, the Call to Action Conference had another purpose besides the stated one: reviving a National Pastoral Council of the Catholic Church in the United States. When the bishops' dual-conference structure, NCCB/USCC, was created in 1966 following VATICAN COUNCIL II, the planners intended that the United States Catholic Conference should evolve into such a body. Significantly, the first president of NCCB/USCC was Archbishop—later, Cardinal—Dearden, who later headed the bicentennial planning. Also part of this development was the National Advisory Council, a body of bishops, clergy, religious, and laity created in 1969 to oversee the civic-political agenda of USCC (and, later, the NCCB as well).

A National Pastoral Council was seen as a body through which a similarly representative group would formulate policy for the Church in the United States in the civic-political arena. The advisory council conducted a feasibility study of the idea culminating in August 1970 in a national conference in Chicago. They concluded that a National Pastoral Council was desirable, but not immediately possible; instead, they recommended that one be in place by the time of the bicentennial.

In January 1973, however, the Vatican's Congregation for the Clergy sent world bishops a letter saying

National Pastoral Councils were not opportune. The Call to Action Conference represented an attempt to create a prototype of such a body without calling it that. Negative reactions to Call to Action frustrated the achievement of that goal.

Call to Action subsequently was appropriated by some Catholics as the name of an organization advocating such progressive causes as the ordination of women to the priesthood, an end to mandatory celibacy for priests, the abandonment of Church teaching on various sexual issues, and changes in Church governance.

SEE ALSO DISSENT; MAGISTERIUM, ASSENT TO THE; UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS (USCCB).

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CANDELARIA OF ST. JOSEPH, BL.

Baptized Susana Paz Castillo Ramirez; foundress, CARMELITE SISTERS of Mother Candelaria (Altagracia de Orituco (Guarico), Venezuela; b. August 11, 1863, Altagracia de Orituco (Guarico), Venezuela; d. January 31, 1940, Porlamar, Venezuela; beatified April 27, 2008, by BENEDICT XVI.

Susana Paz Castillo Ramirez was the daughter of Francisco de Paula Paz Castillo and María del Rosario Ramírez, a hard-working couple dedicated to providing the best education possible for their children. Susana's father died when she was seven, leaving the family in difficult financial circumstances. When her mother died in 1887, the twenty-four-year-old became head of a family that included siblings, cousins, and her mother's godchildren.

In the early part of the twentieth century, Venezuela experienced both natural disaster and political turmoil. In addition to her family duties, Susana assisted in the care of those injured in the earthquake of 1900, and the victims of violence associated with authoritarian rule in the country. In 1903 two doctors founded St. Anthony's Hospital in Altagracia, and Susana, with the encouragement of the parish priest, Fr. Sixto Sosa, helped to set it up and care for the patients. Over time, other dedicated caregivers joined Susana, working at the hospital and living together in a community. This congregation was officially established on December 31, 1910, as a diocesan institute called the Sisters of the Poor of Altagracia de Orituco. The sisters worked under harsh conditions, sustained only by charity until, in 1916, Mother Candelaria of St. Joseph, as Susana had become known, began actively raising funds to finance their efforts. During this campaign she established two new hospitals: one at Porlamar, on Isla de Margarita, called the Hospice for the Abandoned, and a second at Upata.

In 1922 Carmelite priests established themselves in Porlamar at the parish of St. Nicholas of Bari, with the approval of now Bishop Sosa. On January 1, 1925, Mother Candelaria petitioned the Carmelite General for the affiliation of her community, and the group was accepted as the Tertiary Carmelite Sisters, later becoming the Carmelite Sisters of Mother Candelaria. Mother Candelaria professed perpetual vows in 1927 and guided the community until 1937. Though she was very ill upon turning over her duties to a new superior general, Mother Candelaria continued to serve the community as mistress of novices.

A caregiver to the sick, champion of the poor and powerless, and woman of great faith, Mother Candelaria led and served her community by example until her death. In beatifying her, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins praised her piety and humanity, saying that she truly possessed the "art to console." The BEATIFICATION of Mother Candelaria was the first to take place in Venezuela.

Feast: February 1.

SEE ALSO CARMELITES; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); VENEZUELA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE)

All mankind was created in the image and likeness of God. Because of ORIGINAL SIN mankind lost the likeness of God in the soul. The mysterious plan of God was gradually revealed first to the people of Israel and through them to all humanity. God would send His Son the God-man, Jesus Christ as MESSIAH and SAVIOR. Only God could make total satisfaction for the original sin, and only a human being could express sorrow and repentance for the sin committed. Christians are called to participate in the plan of God and to conform their lives to that of Christ. Thus, all men and women are called to be saints. The universal call to HOLINESS is extended by the gracious will of God to all mankind in order that, at the end of this earthly pilgrimage, men and women might live forever in heaven with God.

The holiness that is required for canonization, however, is evidenced in the Christian who either has freely given his life in witness to the faith by accepting martyrdom (a MARTYR) or has practiced all the Christian virtues in a heroic manner and has died a natural death (CONFESSOR). The martyr and the confessor are the object of the grace of God given them for a particular moment in the history of the Church and mankind. The canonized saint has conformed his life more closely to that of Christ by responding to this grace. Having discerned the activity of the Holy Spirit in the Christian, the Church proposes to the faithful the saint as a model for the faithful on how to live the faith and an intercessor before God for their moments of difficulty in this life.

The Catechism of the Catholic Church, n. 828, states: "By canonizing some of the faithful, i.e., by solemnly proclaiming that they practiced heroic virtue and lived in fidelity to God's grace, the Church recognizes the power of the Spirit of holiness within her and sustains the hope of believers by proposing the saints to them as models and intercessors" (*The Catechism of the Catholic Church*, n. 828). This definition makes no reference to the martyr who has followed Christ most closely by imitating the greatest act of love accomplished on CALVARY. A definition more theological in its perspective can be found in the introduction of the Apostolic Constitution *The Divine Teacher and Model of Perfection*, promulgated by Pope JOHN PAUL II (1978–2005) on January 25, 1983. It states: "From time immemorial the Apostolic See ... has proposed, for the imitation, veneration and invocation by the faithful, men and women who are outstanding in the splendor of charity and other evangelical virtues and, after due consideration, has declared them to be among the Saints in the solemn act of canonization." A definition from a canonical perspective may be found in the entry SAINTS AND BLESSEDS.

History. Soon after its beginning the primitive Church venerated the memory of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the ANGELS, who had participated more closely in the salvific work of Jesus Christ. To this was added the apostles who were his closest collaborators in the preaching and spreading of the Christian faith. The Christian faithful soon venerated also the holy men and women of the Old Testament since they too shared in a particular way in the plan of God for the salvation of mankind through Jesus Christ. The Blessed Mother, the apostles, and figures such as David and Elijah of the Old Testament were given the title of "Saint" simply by popular devotion and general acclamation.

Martyrdom was the primordial experience of Church of the first three centuries, which gave rise to what is called the cult or the veneration of the martyrs. The persecution of the early Christians gave rise to the veneration of those who had given witness to the faith, preferring a violent death to denying the faith. (The Greek word for giving witness is *marturein*, which is translated in English as the word "martyr.") Because the martyrs had more closely followed Christ and had given their lives in this bloody manner, the early Christians considered them as models for imitation to likewise attain the crown of victory in heaven. They gathered around their tombs in the catacombs in prayer and in celebration of the Eucharist, and they invoked their aid and INTERCESSION before the throne of God. Three elements are common to this early experience. From a moral standpoint, the martyr was considered an object of veneration by the faithful because he was a model for their imitation, and the martyr was invoked as an intercessor because he was now living in the presence of God. From a liturgical standpoint, the memory of the martyr was venerated by the faithful in a liturgical manner.

In AD 313 the experience of the early Church changed radically. The emperor CONSTANTINE I signed the *Edict of Milan* and proclaimed religious toleration in



Canonization Mass. *Pope John Paul II arrives in St. Peter's Square to celebrate the canonization of Spanish priest Josemaría Escrivá de Balaguer y Albás, October 7, 2002.* © **REUTERS/CORBIS**

the Roman Empire. On the heels of its new found freedom, the early Church began to venerate more heroes of the faith. The canonization or proclamation of an individual as a saint was accomplished by the *translatio corporis* (transfer of the body). The body of the saint was exhumed from the catacombs and solemnly transferred to a BASILICA newly built in his or her honor. There, the RELICS could be preserved and the memory of the saint honored by the faithful in a more dignified and fitting manner. The popular conviction about the holiness of the individual was the deciding factor for his or her canonization. Although there is no historical evidence that any juridical investigation of the sanctity of the individual was conducted by the local bishop, it is safe to conclude that the *translatio corporis* could and would not have been conducted without his express consent.

The vocation of the Christian to follow Christ closely and to attain SALVATION has been a constant in the life of the Church. The Christian is called to practice all the Christian virtues, that is, the theological and CARDINAL VIRTUES, as well as all other virtues connected to them. The Christian worthy of canonization, that is, proposed to the faithful for imitation, intercession, and veneration, is one who has lived all these virtues in a heroic or extraordinary manner. These early centuries saw the beginnings of desert spirituality and monastic life as responses to the vocation to follow Christ in a more radical way, thereby attaining entrance into heaven. St. Benedict, in the West, and St. BASIL, in the East, established rules of Christian living which are still today the keystones of religious life.

From the fifth through the twelfth centuries, canonizations were performed by the local bishop. Some bishops, however, did invite the Bishop of Rome to preside over these ceremonies in order to give greater importance to the saint. It would seem that a parallel theological development occurred. On the one hand, a saint was considered a universal figure because holiness is the vocation common to all Christians. On the other hand, universal jurisdiction in the Church was seen

more and more as the prerogative of the Supreme Pontiff alone. It followed logically then that only the Roman Pontiff could canonize or declare someone a saint.

Papal intervention in this area of Church life became necessary also because of the abuses evidenced in the granting of veneration to individuals. Around AD 1180, Pope ALEXANDER III (c. 1100/1105–1181) wrote to a bishop informing him that he had no right to canonize a monk, whom the bishop had declared to be a martyr after his being killed in a bar-room brawl. In this letter Alexander stated clearly that canonization was the prerogative of the Roman Pontiff alone. Soon after the reservation of canonization to the Roman Pontiff became universal Church law in AD 1234, when Pope GREGORY IX (1227–1241) inserted the letter of Alexander III into the *Decretals*, a collection of laws for the universal Church.

Episcopal canonizations, however, continued unabated for quite some time. On January 22, 1588, Pope SIXTUS V (1585–1590) promulgated the constitution *Immensa aeterni Dei* and thereby established the Roman Curia to assist him in the governance of the Church. The Congregation of Sacred Rites was charged with overseeing the liturgical or ritual life of the Church that included the canonizations of saints. New procedural norms were decreed. In AD 1642 Pope URBAN VIII (1623–1644) published a collection of decrees under the title *Urbani VIII Pontificis Optimi Maximi Decreta servanda in Canonizatione et Beatificatione Sanctorum. Accedunt Instructiones, et Declarationes quas Em.mi et Rev.mi S.R.E. Cardinales Praesulesque Romanae Curiae ad id muneris congregati ex eiusdem Summi Ponitificis mandato condiderunt*.

During the seventeenth century, the theological significance of the saint for the Church remained unchanged. The saint is an object of special veneration by the faithful since he or she is a model for imitation and an intercessor before God, as well as an object of veneration in the liturgical life of the Church. The martyrdom or heroic virtues and the miracles attributed to his or her intercesson were to be ascertained by means of a canonical or investigative process. The decrees of Urban VIII organized and regulated the granting of veneration to the saint. They established rules regarding the process which the local bishop was to follow in order to obtain papal, and thereby universal Church, recognition of those who had been the objects of some form of veneration by the local Church.

The decrees also established regulations regarding cult or veneration, which was prohibited in the cases of those individuals who were not the objects of veneration duly authorized by the pope. The decrees required the bishops to eliminate unauthorized veneration. If for pastoral reasons this were not possible, the already existing veneration could be tolerated. It certainly could not be increased without following the specific process ordered by the decrees leading to canonization by the Supreme Pontiff. This last set of regulations regarding cult or veneration is the only legislation recognized as still in force by the new laws in the causes of saints promulgated in 1983.

The activity of the Roman Congregation during this period of history may be found in the magisterial work of Prospero Lambertini, then Promotor General of the Congregation for Sacred Rites, and later Pope BENEDICT XIV (1740–1758). The historiography *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonizatione* was published in Bologna (Italy) in four volumes in 1725. It describes in detail the canonical procedures in use at the time and presents systematically the theological concepts of martyrdom, heroicity of virtues, the virtues themselves, and miracles.

The twentieth century saw great advancements in historiography and medical science. These developments were incorporated into ecclesiastical legislation in the causes of saints. In 1917 the *Code of Canon Law* was published, and the laws regarding beatification and canonization were codified in canons 1999–2141. There were two distinct processes to obtain the BEATIFICATION and canonization of Servants of God from the Supreme Pontiff. The first process is covered in canons 2037–2124 and deals with the causes of Servants of God who have never been objects of public and ecclesiastical veneration. The second is dealt with in canons 2124–2141 and regards those causes of Servants of God, traditionally called Blessed, who were objects of such veneration, and which were to proceed *per viam cultus* or as an exception made by the *Decrees* of Urban VIII.

In both cases the local bishop initiated the process on his own authority (Ordinary Process). The purpose of this process was twofold: to inform the HOLY SEE (Informative Process) about the existence of an authentic and widespread reputation of holiness (*fama sanctitatis*) or martyrdom (*fama martyrii*), as well as any intercessory power (*fama signorum*) enjoyed by the Servant of God among the faithful, and to verify that there was no preemptive obstacle to the cause in the published writings of the Servant of God. Once these two elements were proven, the Holy See published the *Decree of Introduction of the Cause* and gave the local bishop the authority to gather the evidence on the martyrdom or heroic virtues of the Servant of God (Apostolic Process). This evidence consisted primarily in eyewitness testimony (*de visu*) and hearsay or secondhand testimony (*de auditu a videntibus*). Double hearsay testimony (*de auditu ab audientibus*) was also admitted, whereas documentary evidence was given secondary or adminincular probative value.

The evidence was sent to the Congregation of Sacred Rites, which was charged with preparing a position paper on either the martyrdom (*Positio super Martyrio*) or the heroic virtues (*Positio super Virtutibus*) of the Servant of God. The *Positio*, as it is commonly called, was examined by the theological consultors of the Congregation and finally by its cardinal members. The results of these discussions were presented to the Supreme Pontiff, who alone made the definitive judgment regarding the martyrdom or the heroic virtues of the Servant of God and granted the title of "Venerable." Miracles were required for the beatification of the Venerable Servant of God, and more miracles, which occurred after the solemn beatification, were required for his or her canonization. The eyewitness evidence for miracles was to be gathered in an Apostolic Process instructed by the bishop where the supposed miracle took place.

On February 6, 1930, Pope PIUS XI (1922–1939) published the Apostolic Letter "*Già da qualche tempo*," thereby instituting the Historical Section of the Congregation of Sacred Rites. The duty of this office was to study historical causes the proofs of which were taken from documentary evidence alone. On January 4, 1939, the same Pontiff published the "Norms to be observed in constructing the ordinary processes in historical causes." In such historical causes the Ordinary Process, instructed by the local bishop on his own authority, was the only canonical process. The other evidence in the cause was to be gathered under the direct guidance of the Historical Section.

Miracles were to be investigated according to the norms of canon law. Experts in the specific field of the supposedly miraculous occurrence were to be employed. Their role was to ascertain with moral certitude that there was no scientific explanation for what had taken place. In 1948 Pope PIUS XII (1939–1958) reorganized the norms of canon law and established the Medical Board as an integral part of the Congregation of Sacred Rites.

In 1959 Pope JOHN XXIII (1959–1963) established a Pontifical Commission for the reformation of the *Code of Canon Law*. Since the *Code* contained canons regarding the causes of saints, this reformation was to include also the manner of instructing causes. Legislative changes were to meet two criteria. First, the needs of experts and the desire of bishops to have a more simple process were to be met. Second, the soundness of the investigation was strictly to be maintained.

On March 19, 1969, Pope PAUL VI (1963–1978) published *motu proprio* the Apostolic Letter "*Sanctitas clarior*." He established that, even in recent causes whose proofs are gathered from eyewitness testimony, one process, the Cognitional Process, was to be instructed by the local bishop. In line with the teaching of the Second Vatican Council on SUBSIDIARITY, the local bishop was now able to instruct the Cognitional Process and thereby initiate a case of canonization on his own authority. He could do this, however, only after having first attained permission from the Holy See. On May 8, 1969, Paul VI published the Apostolic Constitution *Sacra Rituum Congregatio*. In place of the Congregation of Sacred Rites, he esablished two Congregations, that for the Causes of Saints and that for DIVINE WORSHIP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

On January 25, 1983, Pope JOHN PAUL II (1978–2005) promulgated the new *Code of Canon Law*, in which only canon 1403 deals with causes of canonization. Paragraph 1 simply states that causes of saints are governed by particular pontifical law. Paragraph 2 affirms that procedural norms of the *Code* are to be applied when the particular pontifical law makes specific reference to it (which the new law never does), or when a question arises about something which, by its very nature, regards the norms of the *Code* (which it does, and fairly often). In the *Code of Canons of the Oriental Churches*, which was promulgated seven years later in 1990, only canon 1057 deals with the causes of saints. It states that the special norms established by the Roman Pontiff are to be observed so that Servants of God may be listed among the saints. Thus, the particular law in the causes of saints is the legislation in force for the Latin Church and for all Eastern Churches.

On the very same day, January 25, 1983, the Supreme Pontiff also promulgated the Apostolic Constitution *Divinus perfectionis Magister* (*The Divine Teacher and Model of Perfection*; hereafter *DPM*). This legislation established the procedural norms for the causes of saints and effected an organic restructuring of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. The pope also gave the Congregation the authority to publish particular norms that would govern the canonical process on the martyrdom or heroic virtues of Servants of God as well as the miracles attributed to their intercession. The Congregation published the *Normae servandae in Inquisitionibus ab Episcopis faciendis in Causis Sanctorum* (*Norms to Be Observed in Inquiries Made by Bishops in the Causes of Saints*; hereafter *NS*) on February 7, 1983.

Procedure. The new legislation presents a number of organic and procedural changes. The terminology employed marks a vast departure from the strictly canonical language of all past legislation. First of all, the process to be instructed by the local bishop is called the "inquiry." This creates the impression that the legislation does not require a juridical process for the attainment of moral certitude regarding the holiness of the Servant of God, but rather a simple administrative act of the bishop. Second, the judge of former legislation is now called the "Episcopal Delegate." This departure from

canonical terminology highlights the fact that the sole judge in causes of saints is the Supreme Pontiff. By the very nature of the office, however, the Episcopal Delegate has all the powers given a judge by universal law in any canonical process. Third, the word "tribunal" is never used. The new law instead speaks of the officials nominated by the bishop to instruct the inquiry. Historical causes, as defined by the legislation of Pope Pius XI, are now referred to as "ancient causes" in order to emphasize the fact that all causes, both recent and nonrecent, have a historical element. Finally, the word "beatification" is never used. The framers of the legislation thought that the canonical institute of beatification could be eliminated without having to change the text of the legislation.

The first procedural change regards the norm established by the Apostolic Constitution *Sanctitas clarior* of Pope Paul VI. *DPM* 1.1 unequivally affirms: "It is the competence of diocesan Bishops or Bishops of the Eastern Rites and others who have the same powers in law, within the limits of their own jurisdiction … to inquire about the life, virtues or martyrdom and reputation of sanctity or martyrdom, alleged miracles" (*DPM* I.1). It is, therefore, the right of the local bishop to initiate a cause of canonization without having first obtained the permission of the Holy See to do so. Before he initiates the cause, however, he must verify its theological foundation (*fumus iuris*), which is the existence of an authentic and widespread reputation of holiness or martyrdom, and of the intercessory power that the Servant of God enjoys among a large portion of the faithful, in accordance with *NS* 3b. It is the prime duty of the postulator of the cause—that is, the canonical representative of the promoter or petitioner of the cause—to conduct thoroughly the investigations into the *fumus iuris* and report his findings to the bishop, who only then may make the decision to initiate the cause (*NS* 3b).

The new legislation reaffirms and thereby definitively establishes that only one inquiry or process is to be instructed by the local bishop. First, the distinction, established by the *Code of Canon Law* of 1917, between causes that proceeded according to cult and noncult, is abolished. Furthermore, the change, effected by the legislation of Pius XI in 1939 regarding historical or ancient causes, and their extension also to recent causes, ordered by the legislation of Paul VI in 1969, is now definitively required in all causes of saints. A cause of canonization, whether recent or ancient, whether it regards noncult or cult, is now to be instructed in two phases. The first phase, which is called the "diocesan" or "eparchial" phase, takes place in the territory where the Servant of God died, in accordance with *NS* 5a. There is also one singular procedure to be followed during the inquiry. First, the documentary evidence, which consists of the published writings and the unpublished writings of the Servant of God, as well as all other documents which regard the cause, is collected, in accordance with *NS* 13 and 14, respectively. Secondly, on the basis of this material the Promoter of Justice of the cause then prepares the questions to be asked of the witnesses, in accordance with *NS* 15a. This procedure highlights another innovation of the new legislation. In contrast to the *Code of Canon Law* of 1917, the new legislation places the probative value of documentary evidence on an equal par with the testimony of witnesses.

The second or "Roman" phase of a cause of canonization is composed of two parts. The first part is that during which all of the evidence, gathered by the local bishop during the diocesan or eparchial inquiry, is studied by a relator together with a collaborator who may be either the Roman postulator of the cause or someone qualified for the task. A "relator" is a new juridical figure, created by the legislation of 1983, whose duty it is to prepare the *Positio* either on the martyrdom or the heroic virtues of the Servant of God. The relator is a member of a College of Relators who represent the major language, and therefore cultural, groups of the world. It is interesting to note that the first *Positio* written in English was that on the heroic virtues of St. Katherine DREXEL, foundress of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Afro-American People. This innovation has also enabled to advance causes from countries with few or no saints, for example, the cause of St. Josephine BAKHITA, a native of Sudan.

The second part of the Roman phase of a cause is that of judgment. Here there is no radical departure from past legislation. If a cause is ancient it must first pass the scrutiny of the historical consultants of the Congregation. All causes, ancient and recent, must be judged by the theological consultants. The results of these meetings are then passed on to the cardinals and bishops who are duly appointed by the Supreme Pontiff as members of the Congregation. If all these results are affirmative, they are brought to the attention of the pope for his final judgment.

His decisions in these matters cover three possibilities. If he declares that the Servant of God either was a martyr for the faith or a confessor of the faith, that is, that he or she practiced all the Christian virtues in a heroic manner, the *Decree on Martyrdom* or *on Heroic Virtues* is promulgated by the Roman Congregation, and the Servant of God is granted the title "Venerable Servant of God." It is not to be found in any legislative text but rather simply the practice of the Holy See that, in the case of the martyr, no miracle is required for beatification of the Venerable Servant of God. Likewise, in the case of the confessor, one miracle, that has occurred after the death of the Venerable Servant of God



St. Katherine Drexel (1858–1955). *A painting of Philadelphia-born Blessed Mother Katherine Drexel. Canonized by Pope John Paul II on October 1, 2000, she is only the second American-born saint.* **WILLIAM THOMAS CAIN/GETTY IMAGES**

and been judged to have been granted through his or her intercession, is required for beatification.

As regards the canonization of all those who are beatified, one miracle, that has occurred after the beatification of the Blessed and been judged to have been granted through his or her intercession, is required for canonization. When all is ready for the canonization according to law, the cause of the Blessed is brought into Consistory. During this solemn celebration, the Supreme Pontiff asks the opinion of the cardinals and bishops who are present in the vicinity of the city of Rome whether he should proceed to the canonization of the Blessed. During one of the Consistories of the early twenty-first century, the canonization of Bl. Damien De VEUSTER, known as Damien of Molokai (Hawaii), a Belgian priest of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, was approved. St. Damien was canonized on October 11, 2009, in Rome, where all canonizations are celebrated by the Supreme Pontiff.

On May 17, 2007, the Roman Congregation published an Instruction entitled *Mother of the Saints* (*Sanctorum Mater*). According to the canonical nature of an instruction, *Mother of the Saints* is neither new legislation nor a correction of the already existing norms, but rather a practical guide for the implementation of already existing norms. It is intended for the bishops and for all those who participate in the diocesan or eparchial inquiry. Its introduction clearly states that its goal is to safeguard the seriousness of the inquiry and "to clarify the dispositions of currently existing laws in the causes of Saints, to facilitate their application and indicate the ways of executing them both in recent and in ancient causes."

A few clarifications provided by the Instruction are important to note. First, it maintains the terminology of the legislation of 1983. The words "tribunal," "judge," and "process" are never utilized. Beatification is quite constantly referred to as an integral and intermediate

part of the whole process that leads to canonization. Second, it reiterates that the inquiry is an authentic process governed by specific canonical norms contained in universal and particular legislation. It is evident from a simple reading of the text that there is only one process for all causes, whether recent or ancient—despite the confusion created by Article 33, §1, which seems to imply that there is a separate process for causes which require the confirmation of cult according to the *Decrees* of Urban VIII. The procedure to be employed in the process is also the same for all causes. All documentary evidence in the cause is to be collected before that of eyewitnesses. Third, the Instruction affirms quite clearly that the local bishop has the authority to initiate a cause of beatification and canonization. Thus, the *nihil obstat* of the Holy See, which is required by *NS* 15c, is not permission of the Holy See to initiate the cause as was once required by former legislation. It is simply a declaration that there is no obstacle to the cause which perhaps is known only to the Holy See. Finally, the juridical nature of the postulator as an *ex parte* participant in the process is more clearly presented. The postulator may offer assistance during the inquiry within the limits allowed by law, but, as stated in Article 19, §2, "may not gather in a juridical manner either the documentary proofs or the eventual oral depositions of witnesses in the cause."

The new legislation in the causes of saints has incorporated the developments of the various fields of human knowledge and the theological insights of previous centuries. The necessity to speed up the process and to maintain the seriousness of the investigation is its goal. Through a canonical process the Church interprets the signs of the times and offers men and women, outstanding in charity and in the other evangelical virtues, for the imitation and veneration of, and invocation by, the faithful. As the introduction of *DPM* states: "Surrounded as we are by so many witnesses, through whom God is present to us and speaks to us, we are drawn to reach His Kingdom in heaven by great virtue"; in short, we are drawn to become saints.

SEE ALSO APOSTLES OF JESUS; BENEDICT OF NURSIA, ST.; CURIA, ROMAN; DECRETALS; DESERT FATHERS; DEVOTIONS, POPULAR; HEAVEN (THEOLOGY OF); MARTYRDOM, THEOLOGY OF; MILAN, EDICT (AGREEMENT) OF; VIRTUE, HEROIC; WITNESS, CHRISTIAN.

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CANOSSA

Canossa is a castle and commune town in the foothills of the Apennines, situated in the northwestern Italian province of Reggio Emilia about eighteen miles from Parma. The castle, which still exists today as ruins, was the famous location of Henry IV's (King of Germany, 1065–1105, Holy Roman Emperor, 1084–1105) extraordinary penance in 1077. Henry stood in the snow for three days waiting for an audience with Pope St. GREGORY VII (1073–1085), in the hope of reversing his EXCOMMUNICATION. The incident was preceded by a flurry of angry letters between the pope and the emperor, and finally each denounced the other at a synod and counter-synod. At issue was the investiture of the clergy, and, ultimately, which of them was to have hegemony in a Christian polity.



Papal Land. *Henry IV of Germany, the Holy Roman Emperor (1050-1106), dressed as a penitent, knocks at the gates of the castle of Pope Gregory at Canossa in 1077.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETY IMAGES**

When the reformer, Hildebrand, was elected Pope Gregory VII in 1073, he had already been a power behind the papal throne for twenty-four years (1049–1073), serving five successive popes before his own twelve years in office. During this time he had steered the papacy from one of its lowest points to one of its highest. In 1045, the Holy Roman Emperor HENRY III had ended the simultaneous and contested rule of three popes, BENEDICT IX, SYLVESTER III, and GREGORY VI. He then oversaw the election of CLEMENT II, who crowned him emperor. Henry III, however, died in 1056, leaving a six-year-old son, Henry. Hildebrand labored during Henry IV's long minority to improve the standing of the papacy, and, by the time he himself became pope, he was in a position from which to make a bid for papal hegemony. At the 1075 Roman Synod during LENT (February 24–28), Gregory decreed that the pope alone could appoint or depose clergy or move them between sees, and he excommunicated five German bishops for simony. The effect of this ruling would perhaps have been felt most keenly in Germany, where many bishops were also powerful feudal lords.

At first Henry sent away the excommunicated bishops, but growing confident after his defeat of Saxon rebels, the young king recalled them. Henry then started to reassert his rights in Northern Italy, significantly nominating a new archbishop of Milan. Gregory wrote to Henry on December 8, 1075, accusing Henry of breach of oath and complaining that the king still retained councilors who were under excommunication. On January 24, 1076, Henry called a synod at Worms, which found that Gregory had forfeited the papal throne. At a council at Piacenza, disaffected bishops from northern Italy were also persuaded to back the deposition of the pope. On February 22, 1076, at the Lenten synod in Rome, Gregory was informed of the proceedings of the Synod of Worms and not only excom-

municated Henry, but also deposed him as king and absolved his subjects of their oath of obedience.

The political climate had changed considerably since 1045. Henry III's deposition of the three popes had been met with considerable popular support, but now it was the emperor who was unpopular, and many German princes were prepared to side with the pope, not least because it furthered their own ambitious anti-regal policies. The German princes met at a diet in Tribur on October 16, 1076, and, although they could not agree on the election of a new German king, they did agree that, if the excommunication was not lifted within a year of its implementation, then Henry's throne would indeed be forfeit. They also asked the pope to come to a diet at Augsburg called for February 2, 1077, to decide the matter.

Henry sent envoys to Gregory, but to no avail, so he decided to appeal in person and set off across the Alps to intercept the pope on his way to Augsburg. Gregory was unsure of the king's intentions and took refuge with his old friend and ally, MATILDA OF TUSCANY, in her strong fortress at Canossa. The fortifications of Canossa were unnecessary, however, because Henry's intentions were not belligerent, but penitential. He may have adopted the penitential hair shirt on his January trek over the Alps, but the notion that he walked barefoot has now been generally dismissed by historians. Henry arrived at Canossa on January 25, 1077, less than a month before the anniversary of his excommunication and permanent forfeiture of his throne. The pope ordered that Henry be refused admittance to the castle, so the king stood outside for three days as a penitent. Although the king's action was severe and almost certainly did involve standing for considerable periods of time in the cold and wearing the penitential garb, there is disagreement regarding whether Henry was permanently on vigil at the gate and whether he was barefoot as well as bareheaded. Many historians now believe that he spent at least some of those three days in the village at the foot of the hill upon which Canossa castle stood. It is important to note that Henry's was a personal humiliation; it was not a formal penance ordered by the pope. Finally, on January 28, 1077, the pope permitted Henry entrance, in part because of the entreaties of Matilda of Tuscany, the king's mother-in-law Adelaide, and Abbot Hugh of Cluny, and in part because he may have been moved by the king's penitential show, but also because his religious obligations meant he could not deny a penitent re-entrance into the Church, whatever his personal misgivings may have been. Contemporary reports say that the king knelt and begged forgiveness and Gregory absolved Henry and received him back into the Church. That evening the absolution was formalized when Gregory, Henry, and Matilda shared Communion in the cathedral of St. Nicholas within the walls of Canossa. Though this Communion signaled the end of Henry's excommunication, it left the matter of his deposition from the throne unresolved.

In March 1077, a small group of powerful German magnates, including the archbishops of Mainz, Magdeburg, and Salzburg, met at Forcheim and repudiated the Salian dynasty and its right of hereditary rule, in favor of election. They then elected Duke Rudolph of Swabia (1025–1080), Henry's brother-in-law, which forced Henry into a civil war. The pope remained somewhat neutral in the civil war until Rudolph's victory at Flarchheim on January 27, 1080, when he decided to excommunicate and depose Henry for a second time. Henry, however, won the civil war, and invaded Rome, forcing Gregory to flee and replacing him with the anti-pope, Clement III, who crowned Henry Holy Roman Emperor in 1084. Gregory died in forced exile in Salerno, withdrawing all his excommunications, except those on Henry and Clement III.

The events of Canossa in 1077, dramatic as they have been, need to be looked at in the context of the wider struggle between papacy and empire, which consumed not just Henry's and Gregory's lives, but those of the men who held those offices for the next two generations. The events of Canossa had a long afterlife and became a defining moment in the nationalist histories of both Italy and Germany. "To go to Canossa" is an expression in several European languages, meaning to submit, often with the connotation of coercion.

SEE ALSO CHURCH AND STATE; HENRY IV, ROMAN EMPEROR; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE; INVESTITURE STRUGGLE.

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CARDINAL NEWMAN SOCIETY

Founded in 1993, the Cardinal Newman Society for the Preservation of Catholic Higher Education is a national organization to renew and strengthen the Catholic identity of Catholic colleges and universities in the United States. The society focuses its work on assisting students, alumni, and school officials; urging fidelity to the Magisterium of the Catholic Church; and researching activities both on campus and in the classroom. It is supported by a broad membership of Catholics in the United States—more than 20,000 in 2007.

The philosophy of the Venerable John Henry Cardinal NEWMAN and Pope JOHN PAUL II guide the Cardinal Newman Society's activities. In *The Idea of a University* (1854), Cardinal Newman argued that the university is dedicated to seeking and transmitting all truth, including the fundamental truths revealed by CHRIST through His Church. In 1990 Pope John Paul II issued *Ex corde Ecclesiae*, the 1990 APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION on Catholic Universities, which established norms required of all Catholic institutions of higher education.

The Cardinal Newman Society seeks to reverse secularizing trends in U.S. Catholic colleges and universities apparent since the late 1960s. In the 1967 Land O'Lakes Statement, twenty-six representatives of nine major Catholic universities argued for "true autonomy and academic freedom in the face of authority of whatever kind, lay or clerical, external to the academic community itself." Efforts to improve Catholic colleges' reputation in academic circles and to secure state and federal funding, in addition to the increasing numbers of non-Catholic students and faculty and conformity to a broad definition of academic freedom, led to a loss of a distinctive Catholic identity at colleges nationwide.

The society publishes *The Newman Guide to Choosing a Catholic College*, which profiles colleges that it considers to be models of faithful Catholic higher education. The *Guide* is one project of the Center for the Study of Catholic Higher Education, the society's research and publication division. The society also advocates CHASTITY on campuses through its Love and Responsibility Program, sponsors campus displays of the Vatican's International Exposition "The Eucharistic Miracles of the World," and promotes Eucharistic adoration for students and faculty.

It is also well-known as a vocal critic of most historically Catholic colleges for perceived patterns of SECULARIZATION evident since the late 1960s. The society has publicly supported the HOLY SEE and the U.S. bishops in the implementation of *Ex corde Ecclesiae*. It advocates THEOLOGY programs that genuinely reflect Catholic teaching and has opposed scandals on Catholic campuses, including those involving dissident speakers and faculty.

The Cardinal Newman Society was founded by Patrick J. Reilly, a 1991 graduate of Fordham University in New York City. In the 1990s, the society supported the U.S. bishops as they developed guidelines to implement *Ex corde Ecclesiae*, publicly countering critics including the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities and the Catholic Theological Society of America. In the early twenty-first century, the society's efforts brought attention to dissident commencement speakers, prompting the U.S. bishops' ban on Catholic institutions providing "awards, honors or platforms" to "those who act in defiance of our fundamental moral principles" (*Catholics in Political Life* 2004). The Cardinal Newman Society helped reduce Catholic campus performances of *The Vagina Monologues* (from 32 in 2003 to 20 in 2008). The society's complaints about the choice of commencement speakers for two New York institutions, Marist College and Marymount Manhattan College, led these institutions to abandon claims to a Catholic identity.

The society is headquartered in Manassas, Virginia. More information is available on the society's Web site.

SEE ALSO ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES; EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (HIGHER) IN THE UNITED STATES; EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (K THROUGH 12) IN THE UNITED STATES; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM).

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CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE

The cardinal secretary of state (the Vatican's secretary of state is always a CARDINAL) is the individual who is appointed by, and works most closely with, the Supreme PONTIFF in the exercise of his universal mission. Correspondingly, the Secretariat of State itself is the most important dicastery of the Roman Curia.

The origins of the Secretariat of State go back to the fifteenth century. In 1487 the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION *Non Debet Reprehensibile* established the Secretaria Apostolica, comprising twenty-four apostolic secretaries, the most preeminent of whom bore the title of *secretarius apostolica*. During the early sixteenth century, Pope LEO X established another position, the *secretarius intimus*, to assist the cardinal who had control of the affairs of state and to attend to correspondence in languages other than Latin, chiefly with the apostolic nuncios who were then developing into permanent diplomatic representatives. However, at this point, the *secretarius intimus* was something of a minor functionary in that the then expanding papal administration was actually led by the "cardinal nephew," one of the pope's relatives elevated to the cardinalate for reasons of *pietas*, or a sense of familial duty, and also to serve as a counterweight to the "crown cardinals" who represented the interests of the various monarchs of the period. Within time, the role and duties of the *secretarius intimus* were absorbed into those of the cardinal nephew who took that title.

It was only in the mid-seventeenth century, at the beginning of the pontificate of Pope INNOCENT X, that a person who was already a cardinal and not a member of the pope's family was called to this high office. In his reforms of 1692, Pope INNOCENT XII definitively abolished the office of cardinal nephew, and the powers of that office were assigned to the cardinal secretary of state. During the course of the eighteenth century, the influence and role of the Secretariat of State increased.

In 1814 Pope PIUS VII, building on the 1793 reforms of Pope PIUS VI, expanded the role of the cardinal secretary of state by establishing the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. At this time, the HOLY SEE was served by one of its most able secretaries of state, Ercole Cardinal CONSALVI. Cardinal Consalvi, who remained a deacon, never having been ordained a priest, had as his greatest achievement the Concordat of 1801 with Napoleon Bonaparte and also assisted in leading the Church through the difficult postrevolutionary period. Noteworthy in that sense too was Giacomo Cardinal ANTONELLI, who served as secretary of state to Pope PIUS IX for three decades and was the effective head of the papal state until its end in 1870. Cardinal Antonelli assumed many of the burdens of state while Pius IX dealt with religious matters and the affairs of the universal Church.

In 1908 Pope PIUS X redefined the role of the various sections of the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs and specified their duties: The first section was concerned essentially with extraordinary affairs, the second with ordinary, and the third, which was until then an independent body, with the preparation of pontifical briefs that were fixed in the Codex Iuris Canonici (Code of Canon Law) of 1917. In his apostolic constitution, *Regimini Ecclesiae Universae* (1967), Pope PAUL VI, in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council, reformed the Roman Curia and with it the Vatican Secretariat of State. The Chancery of Apostolic Briefs was suppressed and the first section for extraordinary affairs was made into a body distinct from the Secretariat of State, to be known as the Council for Public Affairs of the Church.

In his apostolic constitution, *Pastor Bonus* (1988), Pope JOHN PAUL II, in a further reform of the Roman Curia, divided the Secretariat of State into two sections: the Section for General Affairs and the Section for Relations with States, which incorporated the Council for the Public Affairs of the Church. The Section for General Affairs, or First Section, deals with everyday matters of the Supreme Pontiff, in terms both of the universal Church and the dicasteries of the Roman Curia. It enacts the provisions for curial appointments and holds custody of the papal lead SEAL. The First Sec-



Bertone, Tarcisio Cardinal (1934–) *The Vatican Secretary of State blesses the coffins of the victims of the earthquake in Southern Italy during the funeral at the Guardia di Finanza Academy on April 10, 2009, in Coppito, a village near L'Aquila, Italy.* **MARCO DI LAURO/GETTY IMAGES**

tion also attends to relations with the embassies accredited to the Holy See. It supervises the Holy See's official communications agencies and is responsible for the publication of the *Acta Spostolicae Sedis* and the *Annuario Pontificio*.

The Second Section, the Section for Relations with States, deals specifically with matters involving the civil governments of sovereign nations. It is responsible for the Holy See's diplomacy, including the establishment of concordats or agreements with civil governments. The Second Section is also responsible for the Holy See's presence in international conferences, and for providing, by the Supreme Pontiff's order and in consultation with the related discasteries of the Curia, for appointments to particular churches, as well as for their establishment or modification. This section actually had its beginnings as a congregation set up in 1793 by Pope Pius VI to deal with the problems posed for the Church by the FRENCH REVOLUTION.

As the pope's first collaborator in the governance of the universal Church, the cardinal secretary of state is chosen for his loyalty but also for his administrative and organizational skills. Being primarily responsible for the political and diplomatic activity of the Holy See, which has relations with more than 150 states and international organizations, and in some instances representing the Supreme Pontiff himself, the cardinal secretary of state is an individual who is both an outstanding ecclesiastic and expert administrator. If the office is vacant, a non-cardinal may serve as pro-secretary of state until a suitable replacement is found or the pro-secretary is made a cardinal.

SEE ALSO CURIA, ROMAN; VATICAN CITY, STATE OF.

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CARDINAL VIRTUES

The Christian moral life possesses a defined structure. The cardinal, or principal, moral virtues, PRUDENCE, JUSTICE, FORTITUDE, and TEMPERANCE, and the theological virtues, FAITH, HOPE, and CHARITY, supply the basic architecture for this makeup of Christian living.

Aquinas's Contribution. St. THOMAS AQUINAS remains an acknowledged authority for learning about the virtues of the Christian life. He devotes the largest section (the *Secunda secundae*) of his masterwork, the *Summa theologiae*, to a detailed analysis of both the theological and the moral virtues. In his view, the practice of Christian virtue encompasses more than observing the reasonableness espoused by Stoic moral philosophers. Aquinas says the virtues shape the operative powers of the human person in such a way that acting virtuously implies more than following imperatives elaborated within systems of ethical IDEALISM or respecting norms dictated by freestanding practical reasonableness. Catholic moral thought follows Aquinas and recognizes that the virtues form the concrete pattern of Christian existence.

Servais Pinckaers (b. 1925) is a leading contemporary exponent of the prominence the virtues hold in Catholic MORAL THEOLOGY. His work exhibits the continuity between the biblical and patristic teachings on the virtues of the Christian life and the systematic elaboration that Aquinas gives to the cardinal virtues. Aquinas develops a natural law theory that includes treatment of the cardinal virtues (explicitly in *Summa theologiae* 1a-2ae, q. 61); his broad context for the moral life also includes the new dispensation that the grace of the Holy Spirit establishes in those who belong to CHRIST. What remains unique to Aquinas, in contrast to other medieval theologians who discussed the cardinal virtues, is that in *Summa theologiae* he treats the cardinal moral virtues prior to his explicit consideration of the INCARNATION. The significance of this placement emerges from Aquinas's conviction that the moral life possesses its own native intelligibility and that the basic principles of the virtuous life, including the four cardinal virtues, stand open to philosophical reason. Josef Pieper's classic study *The Four Cardinal Virtues* (1966) respects Aquinas's methodological choice and provides a fine summary of his philosophical teaching on the moral virtues.

The Christian believer embraces the life of perfect virtue to the extent that he or she embraces Christ. Conformity with Christ, however, does not exempt the believer from dealing with the ordinary stuff of moral decision making. As the Letter of James reminds us, Christian faith and LOVE compel us to engage in the GOOD WORKS expected of the believer (James 2:14–26). The moral virtues specify these "works." Prudence, for example, remains an essential feature of Christian and human life. This virtue of the practical INTELLECT, *recta ratio agibilium*, shapes each moral choice so that the one who chooses embraces a good that perfects the human person. Pope JOHN PAUL II, in his ENCYCLICAL *Veritatis splendor*, observes that, "only the act in conformity with the good can be a path that leads to life" (II, no. 4, 72). Human maturity therefore can be identified with growth in the virtue of prudence.

Aquinas, in *Summa theologiae*, mentions more than fifty virtues that, drawing on classical sources, he considers necessary for anyone to achieve moral maturity. Following the paradigm set down by Aquinas, the *Catechism of the Catholic Church (CCC)* includes a section on the theological and the moral, or human, virtues (nos. 1803–1845). It is evident, then, that the cardinal moral virtues form an integral part of Catholic moral thought.

Catholic MORALITY is about personal transformation more than about striving to achieve ethical probity. The Church's commitment to a virtue-centered morality distinguishes Catholic moralists from those contemporary thinkers who prefer ethical systems based on the evaluation of the expected consequences of an action or on the creation of moral absolutes by freestanding practical reasoning. The virtues effect in the human person a real modification of the operative powers—intellect, WILL, and sense appetites—so that each of these powers acts promptly, easily, and joyfully toward the embrace of the authentic goods that perfect the human person. The technical name for this modification is *habitus*, an expression that implies both a flexibility and a spontaneity not ordinarily associated with the modern English word *habit*.

Aquinas identifies four powers that are proper to the human person: the intellect, the will, and the two sense appetites: the irascible, or contending, emotions and the concupiscible, or impulse, emotions. He assigns one of the four cardinal virtues to each of these powers. The rational part of man is the seat of prudence; the appetitive part is threefold, namely, "the will, which is the seat of justice, the concupiscible power, the seat of temperance, and the irascible power, the seat of courage" (*Summa theologiae* 1a-2ae, q. 61, a. 2). The use of the word *seat* is a way of expressing the human power or capacity that a virtue modifies and strengthens.

Aquinas also regards the cardinal virtues as overseeing human behavior. Prudence gives direction to human action. "Prudence is 'right reason in action'" (*CCC* 1806). Justice regards operations that involve another: "Justice is the moral virtue that consists in the constant

and firm will to give their due to God and neighbor" (*CCC* 1807). Fortitude, which strengthens the contending emotions, concerns whatever in the person requires strengthening for endurance or enterprise: "Fortitude is the moral virtue that ensures firmness in difficulties in the pursuit of good" (*CCC* 1808). Temperance, on the other hand, concerns everything that involves restraint on the part of the human person. Temperance well tunes the impulse emotions. "Temperance is the moral virtue that moderates the attraction of pleasures and provides balance in the use of created goods" (*CCC* 1809). Aquinas holds for the connection of prudence and the moral virtues with respect to the human good "because no moral virtue can be had without prudence nor can prudence be had if one is lacking moral virtue" (1999, a. 2). Moralists discuss the implications of this principle under the rubric of perfect and imperfect virtue. Perfect acquired moral virtue is found only in the person of one who is rightly ordered to his ultimate end, and so indirectly depends on the gift of divine grace. At the same time, one who sins gravely may retain true but imperfect virtue inasmuch as this virtue is not capable of being ordered to its ultimate end. *Veritatis splendor* takes up this distinction: "The human act, good according to its object, is also capable of being ordered to its ultimate end. That same act then attains its ultimate end and decisive perfection when the will actually does order it to God through charity" (II, no. 4, 78).

The cardinal virtues may be considered hinges (*cardo*) on which the other virtues swing. The cardinal virtues "play a pivotal role" in the moral life (see *CCC* 1805). Put another way, the cardinal virtues are the parent virtues of the other moral virtues whose practice realizes the full truth about what it means to be human. *Veritatis splendor* emphasizes the importance of the virtues for the authentic well-being of humans: "He appropriates this truth of his being and makes it his own by his acts and the corresponding virtues" (II, no. 1, 52).

The tradition of enumerating four cardinal virtues reaches back to the period of the Old Testament. The Wisdom of Solomon 8:7 records: "And if anyone loves righteousness, her labors are virtue, for she teaches self-control and prudence, justice, and courage; nothing in life is more profitable for men than these." The sixteenth-century Thomist commentator Thomas de Vio, Cardinal CAJETAN, writes that the first Church Father to speak about the cardinal virtues is St. Ambrose of Milan (c. 339–397) in his *Expositio super Evangelium secundum Lucam* V, no. 49, 62. Citations of the cardinal virtues also occur in the *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* (I, 15) of St. AUGUSTINE, the influential *Moralia* (II, 49; XXII, 1) of St. Gregory the Great, and in St. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX's, *De consideratione* (I, 8).

Christian Virtues. Catholic moral thought recognizes that a proportion exists between what perfects human nature in itself and the ability of our human powers or capacities to realize this *telos*, or end. Acquired or human virtues enable the person to achieve the optimum of human social existence. But there is something else to consider: "It is not easy for man, wounded by sin, to maintain moral balance" (*CCC* 1810). The infused Christian virtues bring to the cardinal moral virtues and the virtues grouped around them the full power of the Holy Spirit. The Christian virtues are designated as "infused" virtues to distinguish their mode of reception from the acquired moral virtues, which develop through repeated actions, whereas the infused moral virtues are received as a gift of divine grace. No proportion, of course, exists between human nature and the goal of beatific fellowship with God. The infused Christian moral virtues establish this proportion. *Veritatis splendor* speaks about this proportion as "connaturality." Specifically, the encyclical states: "Such a connaturality is rooted in and develops through the virtuous attitudes of the individual himself: prudence and the other cardinal virtues, and even before these the theological virtues of faith, hope and charity. This is the meaning of Jesus' saying: 'He who does what is true comes to the light' (Jn 3:21)" (II, no. 2, 64).

"Do not quench the Spirit," warns 1 Thessalonians 5:19. This text serves as one of many biblical warrants for Catholic teaching about the Christian virtues insofar as they infallibly produce what the spiritual tradition describes as "a spiritual liberty." The *Catechism* summarizes this tradition: "The virtuous man is he who freely practices the good" (1804). St. PAUL makes reference to this basic theological truth in Romans 8: 14–17 when he speaks about those who are led freely by the SPIRIT OF GOD as "heirs" to the Kingdom, although in the same place he also notes the possibility of their losing the divine inheritance by falling back into a spirit of slavery. The cardinal virtues describe authentic Christian liberation. At the same time, the Christian believer recognizes that "being a follower of Christ means becoming conformed to him who became a servant even to giving himself on the Cross (cf. Phil 2: 5–8)" (*Veritatis splendor*, I, 21). The end, or *telos*, of the Christian life here below remains entrance into a sacrificial union with God. The Christian moral virtues constitute so many ways of realizing the blessedness of God's life within our everyday human lives. From this overall perspective about the ultimate end of human life—what one may call perfect felicity or beatitude—charity, as Aquinas and the Fathers emphatically point out, remains the form and the mother of all the moral virtues.

The infused moral virtues are complemented by the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the gospel Beatitudes, and the



The Cardinal Virtues in Art. *Illustration from a Medieval manuscript depicting the four Cardinal Virtues.* © **HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS**

fruits of the Holy Spirit mentioned variously by St Paul. The overall picture of the moral life characterized by the virtues, gifts, and Beatitudes represents an integral moral life. When one virtue predominates in a given individual, the other virtues are present supporting it. Because infused virtue comes from the work of the Holy Spirit, who recreates the whole person, the infused virtues are interconnected. If charity is had, says Aquinas, all of the virtues are had. No independent area can be carved out of the Christian life for the sake of recognizing human autonomy. On the contrary, *Veritatis splendor* insists that "man's genuine moral autonomy in no way means the rejection but the acceptance of the moral law, of God's command" (II, no. 1, 41). Nor can one choose to exclude from the transforming effects of God's grace some specific area of moral behavior under the pretext that certain human emotions or decisions merit an exception from the universal call to holiness. God's grace is always greater than our needs. *Deus semper maior*!

The Virtues Today. During the period of casuistry that developed after the sixteenth-century Council of TRENT, instruction on the cardinal virtues receded from everyday instruction about the moral life, although they retained a place in the specialized treatises on ascetical and mysti-

cal theology that were of interest mainly to professional religious people. Today the cardinal virtues have been restored to their proper place in Catholic moral instruction and life for all people. Witness how the 1998 encyclical of Pope John Paul II, *Fides et ratio*, describes the place the cardinal virtues should hold in contemporary moral theology:

> In order to fulfill its mission, moral theology must turn to a philosophical ethics which looks to the truth of the good, to an ethics which is neither subjectivist nor utilitarian. Such an ethics implies and presupposes a philosophical anthropology and a METAPHYSICS of the good. Drawing on this organic vision, linked necessarily to Christian holiness and to the practice of the human and SUPERNATURAL virtues, moral theology will be able to tackle the various problems in its competence, such as PEACE, SOCIAL JUSTICE, the family, the defense of life and the natural environment, in a more appropriate and effective way. (VII, 98)

SEE ALSO GREGORY (THE GREAT) I, ST. POPE; HUMAN ACT; LIBERALITY, VIRTUE OF; RELIGION, VIRTUE OF; SIMPLICITY, VIRTUE OF; VIRTUE; VIRTUE, HEROIC; VIRTUES AND VICES, ICONOGRAPHY OF.

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CARITAS IN VERITATE

Caritas in veritate (Charity in Truth) is Pope BENEDICT XVI's third encyclical and is his first official social encyclical. Dated June 29, 2009, and promulgated in early July, the release of the encyclical was reportedly delayed to take into account the worldwide economic collapse of 2008 to 2009. Written to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of Pope PAUL VI's 1967 encyclical on development, *Populorum progressio*, the thirty-thousand-plus-word document is composed of an introduction (nos. 1–9), five chapters (nos. 10–77), and a conclusion (nos. 78–79). Like his first two encyclicals, *Deus caritas est* and *Spe salvi*, Benedict centers this deeply theological encyclical on a theological virtue—charity—but in this case its moral implications for development.

Charity, Truth, and Church Social Doctrine. Benedict XVI begins by making clear that development is rooted in the charity in truth of Jesus' life. This love is "the principal driving force" behind all development. Its source is GOD himself (no. 1), as he noted also in *Deus caritas est* (no. 2). Hence the primacy of charity for the Church's social doctrine.

Benedict XVI argues, however, that charity needs to be bonded to the truth not only as *veritas in caritate* (truth in charity; Eph 4:15), but also in the complementary sequence of *caritas in veritate* (charity in truth; no. 2). The pope says charity needs truth to be authentically lived. When divorced from truth, it degenerates into "contingent subjective emotions and opinions" (no. 3). But when "filled with truth," charity can be shared in objective ways that overcome various limitations (e.g., relativism) [no. 4].

Again, Benedict reminds us of charity's source in "the Father's love for the Son, in the Holy Spirit." It is a love "revealed and made present by Christ (cf. Jn 13:1), and 'poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit' (Rom 5:5)." Thus, the Church's social teaching is "*caritas in veritate in re sociali*": the proclamation of CHRIST's love in society (no. 5).

Caritas in veritate takes practical shape in the moral criteria that govern action. Benedict mentions two: justice and the common good. "*Charity goes beyond justice*...but it never lacks justice," which prompts one to respect another person's rights (no. 6). The common good is the good of everyone, "made up of individuals, families and intermediate groups." Working on behalf of it—and today the common good embraces the whole human family—"*is a requirement of justice and charity*" (no. 7).

Benedict intends to revisit *Populorun progressio* "teachings on *integral human development* ... so as to apply them to the present moment" (no. 8). Although

controversial in some quarters when released (e.g., for its use of social science jargon), Benedict pronounces Paul's encyclical "the *Rerum novarum*" of our time. The pope concludes by recalling that the Church does not offer technical solutions to problems. Her mission, rather, is an evangelical one: "*fidelity to truth*, which alone is the *guarantee of freedom* (cf. Jn 8:32) and of *the possibility of integral human development*" (no. 9).

The Legacy of *Populorum Progressio.* In chapter one, "The Message of *Populorum Progressio*" (nos. 10–20), Benedict XVI articulates the enduring principles of the encyclical. The correct viewpoint is the "*Tradition of the apostolic faith*." (no. 10). He reminds Catholics, as did Pope John Paul II in *Solicitudo rei socialis*, of how greatly PAUL VI and the subsequent social magisterium are linked to VATICAN COUNCIL II. From its vision, Paul VI articulated the truths that in the Church's entire existence she is "*engaged in promoting integral human development*" and that "*authentic human development concerns the whole of the person in every single dimension*" (no. 11). Moreover, this development is a vocation and thus needs a transcendent anthropology. This anthropology should also be holistic (no. 76).

Benedict is also concerned that the pre- and post-conciliar social doctrine constitutes "*a single teaching, consistent and at the same time ever new* ... illuminat[ing] with an unchanging light ... new problems" (no. 12). The pope sees how tightly *Populorum progressio* is linked to Paul's overall magisterium. First, Benedict notes that with "*development, understood in human and Christian terms, he identified the heart of the Christian social message*," while proposing Christian charity "as [its] principal driving force" (no. 13).

Pope Benedict XVI also mentions Paul VI's Apostolic Letter *Octogesima adveniens* (no. 14). Here, Benedict addresses, as he will later, the role of technology in development, neither idealizing it nor condemning it. Perhaps the most original and lasting contribution of *Caritas in veritate* is how it definitively connects the social doctrine of the Church with her teachings on human life and sexuality, and evangelization. Paul's encyclical *Humanae vitae* indicated "the *strong links between life ethics and social ethics*"; his Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii nuntiandi* indicated the strong links between evangelization and social ethics (e.g., human advancement) [no. 15].

Benedict devotes sections 16 to 20 to explicating Paul VI's notion of integral human development as a vocation: It requires God (no. 16), freedom (no. 17), and respect for truth (no. 18). It must also be "integral" (i.e., involving the whole man and every man) and include the GOSPEL (no. 18) and the centrality of charity (no. 19). Reform is "urgent," Benedict announces, and a "*consequence of charity in truth*" (no. 20).

In chapter two, "Human Development in Our Time" (nos. 21–33), Benedict reads the signs of the times and asks: Has Paul VI's vision of development been fulfilled? (no. 21). Although billions have been lifted out of extreme poverty, "economic growth has been and continues to be weighed down by *malfunctions and dramatic problems*." As Benedict formulates it in no. 22, world wealth is "*growing in absolute terms, but inequalities are on the increase*." Yet, progress must include more than material advancement; it must be integral (no. 23).

Section 24 evaluates the state's changing role in the context of international trade and finance (i.e., globalization). In number 25, the pope mentions the phenomenon of outsourcing and how it has led to a "*downsizing of social security systems*." He also notes the difficulties of labor unions (cf. no. 64), the positive and negative effects of labor mobility (cf. no. 40), and the problem of unemployment (cf. no. 63). Culture (no. 26; cf. no. 59), hunger (no. 27), respect for life (no. 28), and religious freedom (or its denial) [no. 29; cf. no. 56] are also treated in the context of development. Benedict affirms that only God guarantees "*man's true development*." (no. 29; cf. no. 52).

In numbers 30 and 31, Benedict calls for an interdisciplinary approach to development animated by charity. Section 32 warns against disparities in wealth, calls for "*access to steady employment*," and observes, "*Human costs always include economic costs*," and vice versa. After forty years, progress "*remains an open question*," made more critical in light of the economic meltdown (no. 33). Globalization, though, presents a "great opportunity," but also a great danger (no. 33; cf. no. 42). Therefore, society must broaden "*the scope of reason*" so it can direct "*these powerful new forces*" (no. 33; cf. no. 56).

Principles for Morally Sound and Humane Development. Chapter three, "Fraternity, Economic Development and Civil Society" (nos. 34–42), develops the idea of the "principle of gratuitousness" or gift (no. 34). This challenging but partially developed concept appears in number 35: "*Without internal forms of solidarity and mutual trust, the market cannot completely fulfill its proper economic function*" (cf. nos. 36–39). Although the market is not inherently bad (no. 36), all economic activity is subject to justice (no. 37; cf. no. 45). Benedict calls on businesses to take greater social responsibility, not only for their investors but for every stakeholder who makes a contribution (no. 40). Business, like political authority, involves "a *wide range of values*" (no. 41). The role of the state, according to the pope, seems to be growing in importance.

In Chapter four, "The Development of People; Rights and Duties; The Environment" (nos. 43–52), Benedict argues that rights—to avoid license—presuppose duties (no. 43). He addresses the question of population growth, condemns forced birth control programs, and warns of the dangers of a declining birthrate in many countries (no. 44). He also encourages forms of business that see profit as a means to a more humane economy (nos. 46–47).

Another profound and original aspect of the encyclical is its extended analysis of the environment and nature in the context of development and the energy problem. In short, Benedict calls the Church to stewardship and to view nature as a gift, with an intrinsic teleology (nos. 48–51).

Chapter five, "The Cooperation of the Human Family" (nos. 53–67), begins with a reflection on the "relational" character of the human person—"*the human race is a single family*" (no. 53; cf. no. 55)—one which is meant to be incorporated into the Trinitarian communion of Persons (no. 54). Benedict also discusses the time-honored Catholic social tradition of subsidiarity. He sees it as a curb on an "all-encompassing welfare state" as well as a way to manage globalization (no. 57). Solidarity is its sister principle (no. 58) [e.g., in international aid, no. 60].

Benedict continues by commenting on education and international tourism (no. 61), migration (no. 62), decent work (no. 63), labor unions (no. 64), finance (no. 65), the social responsibility of the consumer (no. 66), and the need for a "world political authority" governed by subsidiarity (no. 67). The latter proposal goes back to Blessed Pope JOHN XXIII's 1963 encyclical, *Pacem in terris*.

In Chapter six, "The Development of Peoples and Technology" (nos. 68–76), the pope returns to the topic of technology and warns of the Promethean spirit that often accompanies it (no. 68). While appreciating its benefits and the dominion it provides man (no. 69), the pope points out its drawbacks, especially when divorced from moral responsibility (no. 70), when abused in bioethics (nos. 74–75), or when understood materialistically to deny the soul and spiritual values (nos. 76–77).

Benedict closes by calling for a "Christian humanism" (no. 78) dependent on prayer and close attention to all aspects of the spiritual life (no. 79). Interestingly, in an authoritative encyclical on the global economy, Benedict does not use the word *capitalism* once, usually preferring the term *market*. His attitude seems to be one of cautious acceptance, with many qualifications. Thus, *Caritas* is definitely a more *Populorum-progressio*-inspired document than a *Centesimus-annus*-inspired one, with the latter more positive toward capitalism.

SEE ALSO CENTESIMUS ANNUS; DEUS CARITAS EST; JOHN PAUL II, POPE; PACEM IN TERRIS; POPULORUM PROGRESSIO; RERUM NOVARUM; SPE SALVI.

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CARLEN, CLAUDIA

American Librarian; b. Detroit, July 24, 1906; d. Detroit, April 19, 2004.

Sr. Claudia entered the Sisters of the IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY on June 30, 1926. Mother Domitilla sent her immediately to study at the prestigious University of Michigan. Instead of earning a degree in mathematics, her superior asked her to earn a Bachelor of Arts in Library Science. Afterwards Sr. Claudia was appointed to Marygrove College in Detroit, where she served as a librarian from 1929 to1944 and Library Director from 1944 to1969.

Sr. Claudia returned to the University of Michigan in 1936 to earn the Master of Arts in Library Science. Her master's thesis, under the direction of Dr. William Warner Bishop, began a path that would eventually lead to the Vatican Apostolic Library. Dr. Bishop received a grant to make the VATICAN LIBRARY more accessible to scholars. Sr. Claudia's thesis became published as a book, *A Guide to the Encyclicals of the Roman Pontiffs from Leo XIII to the Present Day (1878–1937)*.

As Library Director, Sr. Claudia was remarkable at balancing administration with scholarship. While overseeing the building of the new Marygrove College library, Sr. Claudia worked on the writings of PIUS XII; she published a *Guide to the Documents of Pius XII, 1939–1949* in 1951. Later while supervising the development of the college library, she published the *Dictionary of Papal Pronouncements, Leo XIII to Pius XII, 1878–1957* in 1958. In 1963 she was recruited to be the index editor for the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* published in 1967. On this project Sr. Claudia made a significant contribution to library science in the twentieth century, one that would have made her mentor Dr. Bishop proud. After extensive research on indexing methods, Sr. Claudia discovered a way to computerize the indexing process. In the meantime, Sr. Claudia was very active in the CATHOLIC LIBRARY ASSOCIATION of America, serving as its president from 1965 to 1967.

Upon retirement Sr. Claudia was far from finished. Her "retirement" began in 1971 to 1972 when she became a consultant at the Vatican Apostolic Library and at the library for Casa Santa Maria, the graduate house of the NORTH AMERICAN COLLEGE in ROME.

When Sr. Claudia returned from Rome she was invited by the rector of St. John's Provincial Seminary, Msgr. (later Bishop) Robert Rose (1930–), to work in the library. In 1974 Sr. Claudia received the Distinguished Alumnus Award from the University of Michigan School of Library Science.

Sr. Claudia continued her scholarly work and published the monumental *Papal Encyclicals 1740–1981*. This was the first time that a comprehensive collection of the papal encyclicals had been published. It has been translated in many languages since its publication in 1981.

In the late 1970s she began planning the formation of the American Friends of the Vatican Library with Msgr. Francis X. Canfield. The American Friends was approved by Pope JOHN PAUL II in a letter by Cardinal CASAROLI on October 9, 1981. Years later she recounted the founding and development of the AFVL in *The Catholic Library World* (1996). She wrote: "It behooves every Catholic college and particularly every university library to assume some responsibility for aiding and promoting some awareness of the great treasures the Vatican Library is freely making available to scholars from around the world." This organization has raised significant amounts for the Vatican Apostolic Library since its founding.

After St. John Seminary closed in 1988, Sr. Claudia went to the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan to work on another massive project under the direction of Dr. Francis Blouin. In 1998 the *Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See* was published. Sr. Claudia was only 92 years old at the time.

The life of Sr. Claudia reflects the faith, dedication, energy, and love for learning that made this diminutive religious sister a giant among her peers, students, and friends. Near the end of her life she wrote:

> As I look back on my life I see, more clearly than ever before, that my first missioning determined practically everything that I have done throughout these past seventy-one years.... Everything I have achieved for these past years has flowed naturally and happily from this original appointment. In all of this I have truly felt that I was doing what the Lord was asking of me ... but also trusted Him to empower me far beyond my own strength and vision to do what needed to be done.

Sr. Claudia accomplished more in her "retirement" than most people accomplish in their professional careers.

SEE ALSO ENCYCLICAL; ENCYCLOPEDIAS AND DICTIONARIES, CATHOLIC; PRONOUNCEMENTS, PAPAL AND CURIAL.

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CASEY, SOLANUS

Baptized Bernard Francis Casey; Capuchin priest; b. November 25, 1870, near Prescott, Wisconsin; d. July 31, 1957, in Detroit, Michigan, with a reputation for sanctity.

Casey's parents, Bernard James Casey and Ellen Elizabeth Murphy, emigrated from Ireland in the 1850s to the eastern United States. They were married in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1863, took up farming in Wisconsin in 1865, and raised a family of six girls and ten boys.

When he was about seventeen, Bernard left home to work in Stillwater, Minnesota, first on the river logjams, then as a part-time prison guard, and finally as a street car operator. In 1891 he entered the diocesan seminary in Milwaukee to study for the priesthood. After a five-year struggle with studies, his professors suggested that he join a religious order.

Acquainted with the Capuchins in Milwaukee, he entered their community in Detroit and received the name Francis Solanus. He made profession of vows on July 21, 1898, and was sent to the Capuchin Seminary of St. Francis in Milwaukee. Classes there were conducted in German and Latin, which became a constant struggle for the young friar. While his grades were barely passing, the superiors questioned his academic ability for the priesthood. But because of his genuine religious spirit, he was finally accepted for ordination on July 24, 1904. However, he was restricted without faculties for preaching or hearing confessions.

Assigned to Capuchin parishes in New York—Yonkers, Lower Manhattan, and Harlem—as SACRISTAN and PORTER, he dedicated himself to serving the sick and poor. In Harlem people began reporting remarkable favors following his blessings and prayers. When this came to the notice of the provincial, Fr. Benno Aichinger, he ordered Solanus to keep a record of these favors, which Solanus always attributed to the benefits of the holy Masses offered for those who enrolled in the Seraphic Mass Association. In 1924 he was transferred to St. Bonaventure Monastery in Detroit, Michigan. His reputation for HOLINESS soon became known and within a short time people began flocking to the monastery. For the next twenty-one years Fr. Solanus was at the service of people from all walks of life, especially the sick and the poor. Worn out by the daily crowds seeking his help, the superiors transferred him in 1946 to the rural Monastery of St. Felix in Huntington, Indiana. But again people from Michigan and the surrounding states continued to seek him out for prayers and blessings.

Finally, in April of 1956, worn out and suffering from a chronic skin disease, he returned to Detroit. Eighteen months later, after spending about a month in St. John Hospital, his long life was completed. His last conscious act was to raise himself up in bed and exclaim, "I give my soul to Jesus Christ."

Soon after his death a movement began to consider Solanus Casey a candidate for sainthood, and many people visited his burial place praying for his INTERCESSION. A thorough study of his life and virtues, from the testimony of many priests, religious, and lay people who had known him well, was completed in the Archdiocese of Detroit and sent to the Vatican in 1984. After this evidence was examined by the Congregation for Causes of Saints, Pope JOHN PAUL II issued the Decree of Heroic Virtue on July 11, 1995, and declared Solanus VENERABLE.

In the year 2000, the Solanus Casey Center and Museum of memorabilia was built adjacent to St. Bonaventure Church and the tomb of Solanus Casey. It is now an inspiring pilgrimage site where all who come seeking Solanus's intercession can learn from his holy life and example. Located near downtown Detroit, it is open to visitors. Many reports of healings from serious illnesses, attributed to the intercession of Solanus, have been submitted to the Vatican's Congregation for Causes of Saints. For BEATIFICATION there must be evidence of at least one cure that occurred without medical intervention.

SEE ALSO DETROIT, ARCHDIOCESE OF; FRIARS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); VIRTUE, HEROIC.

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CASSANT, JOSEPH-MARIE, BL.

Trappist Cistercian; b. Casseneuil-sur-Lot, France, March 6, 1878; d. Abbey of Sainte-Marie du Désert, France, June 17, 1903; beatified October 3, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Joseph-Marie Cassant desired intensely to become a priest, but was handicapped by an almost total lack of the necessary intellectual endowments. At the age of sixteen, on December 5, 1894, he entered the Trappist Cistercian Abbey of Sainte-Marie du Désert where he received the habit of a choir religious, made his simple profession in 1897, and was solemnly professed on May 24, 1900.

Weak in body, prone to discouragement, and unresponsive by nature to many aspects of monastic culture, this seemingly ungifted monk nevertheless lived in constant and vivid awareness of the essential Christian and monastic realities. Less articulate than THÉRÈSE OF LISIEUX or Charles de FOUCAULD, Joseph nevertheless had the same thirst for the absolute, the same poverty of spirit, and the same intense charity. His unique gift was the humble acceptance of his frailty and complete abandonment to the love and mercy of God. Through both his intellectual and physical weaknesses and later in the midst of great suffering brought about by an incurable bout of tuberculosis that ended his life, he exhibited childlike dependence and trust in the Lord. Drawing his strength through constant meditation of Jesus Christ in his PASSION and upon the Cross, he remained ever faithful, continually proclaiming: "All for Jesus, all through Mary."

With the help of his spiritual father, André Malet (1862–1936, later abbot of the monastery), Joseph had the joy of being ordained on October 12, 1902, and of living the last eight months of his life as a priest. As his illness progressed, he stated, "When I can no longer say Mass, Jesus can take me from this world." On June 17, 1903, at the tender age of twenty-five, Fr. Joseph-Marie passed from this life into the next. On June 9, 1984, Pope John Paul II acknowledged his heroic virtues, and on October 3, 2004, presided at the Mass at his BEATIFICATION. There, the pope spoke of Fr. Joseph-Marie's intense "love for God," which strengthened him through his trials, enabling him to offer "his sufferings for the Lord and for the Church." The pope commended: "May our contemporaries, especially contemplatives and the sick, discover following his example the mystery of prayer, which raises the world to God and gives strength in trial!"

Feast: June 17.

SEE ALSO CISTERCIANS; FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); TRAPPISTS.

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CASTRO, FIDEL RUZ

Cuban President, b. August 13, 1926, Birón Cuba.

Fidel Castro remains one of the most controversial figures in contemporary history, particularly in relation to the Catholic Church. Educated by clergy and raised in a Catholic household and nation, Castro has maintained an interest in religion, particularly LIBERATION THEOLOGY, while repressing those religious aspects he deems counter to the revolution.

The Cuba of Castro's youth had a very small practicing Catholic population despite the fact that the majority of Cubans identified themselves as Catholic. Castro's father Angel, a Galician, was not a practicing Catholic; however, Castro described his mother, Lina, as a woman of faith who prayed the rosary and maintained a shrine in their home. Since the Castro family lived in the rural area of the Oriente, they, like many provincial families, did not regularly attend church because one was not located nearby.

As a child, Castro was educated first by the MARIST, then La Salle, brothers. He developed a respect for their selflessness and work with the poor; however, he resented the physical punishments and discipline that the brothers meted out to their charges. Although his education

served him well, he had a greater thirst for knowledge than what he could receive there. During his final years of high school, he attended a Jesuit school. He admired the JESUITS for their intellectual rigor, their self-sacrifice, and their interest in their students. These Jesuit teachers taught him both ethics and sports. They also imbued him with a sense of nationalism and *Hispanidad*, a sense of pride in Spanish values, and caused him to question the materialism of the Anglo-Saxon world, all of which became prime components of the young man's character. Although the intellectual prowess of the Jesuits impressed him, he disliked their dogmatism.

Despite his Catholic education, Castro became a Marxist-Leninist in reaction to U.S. imperialism, dictatorship, and repression. These beliefs also led many other Cubans to the July 26 Movement. The movement, which gained its name from the revolutionaries' attack on the Santiago de Cuba army barracks on July 26, 1953, began in 1955 once the Castro brothers fled to Mexico after they had been released from prison. From their exile in Mexico, they coordinated with those revolutionaries who remained in Cuba. Many revolutionaries associated Catholicism with Spanish colonialism and foreign powers because many priests were from Spain. The Masons, who led the Cuban independence movement, called for a separation of CHURCH AND STATE. Some 5 to 6 percent of the population identified themselves as Protestant. In the July 26 Movement, these Protestants played a significant role, beginning with Frank País (1934–1957), son of a Baptist minister and a martyr of the revolution (Farber 2006, p. 53). Many leaders of the movement had attended or taught in Protestant schools, such as Mario Llerena (1913–2006), the spokesperson for the July 26 Movement, who had been a Presbyterian seminarian.

After the revolution, Castro's reputation as hostile to the Church began when he expelled foreign and native-born priests in 1961, many of them affiliated with OPUS DEI. The prevailing view of the Church as associated with the elites and ruling class led to further denunciations. Castro argued that the conservative clergy did not serve the poor, but rather the rich. Thus, he argued, they violated the true doctrine of Christ. Despite expelling priests, Castro has argued that he never closed churches.

Nonetheless, out of four million baptized Catholics, only 150,000 regularly attended mass in 1985 (Gott 2005, p. 307). Like much of Latin America, Cuba has grown more religiously diverse, with Protestantism, Santería, Palo Monte, and Abakuá. By the early 1990s, more than one million Protestants worshipped in 900 chapels (Gott 2005, p. 307). In an interview, Castro argued:



Papal Meeting. *Cuban President Fidel Castro greets Pope John Paul II after the Mass celebrated at the Plaza of the Revolution in Havana on January 25, 1998. During the mass, the pope urged the Cuban government to lift restrictions on the Catholic Church.* **AFP/GETTY IMAGES**

> From a political point of view, I think one can be a Marxist without ceasing to be a Christian and can work together with a Marxist Communist to transform the world. What is important in both cases is the question of sincere revolutionaries disposed to abolish the exploitation of man by man and to struggle for the just distribution of riches. (Betto 1985, p. 18)

Castro's remarks were not unique. Other Catholic Socialists and Marxists, whether lay or clergy, have made similar statements. What was unique was that he was the first head of state who formally acknowledged the role of religion in the struggles of Latin America.

In 1998, Pope JOHN PAUL II visited Cuba at the invitation of Castro. Castro met with John Paul in 1996, four years after the state declared itself secular rather than atheist. An ardent anti-Communist, John Paul II also deplored the Western excesses of capitalism, which made him more approachable for Castro. In his opening speech, Castro acknowledged the failures of the Church but also stated: "Your Holiness, I sincerely admire your courageous statements about what happened with Galileo, about the well-known errors of the Inquisition,

about cruel episodes of the Crusades, about crimes committed during the conquest of America and about certain scientific discoveries once the object of so many prejudices and anathemas but no longer called in question." John Paul criticized Cuba for its excesses of divorce, abortion, alcoholism, and drug use. He also challenged the state monopoly over education. However, he publicly condemned the United States embargo describing it as "ethically unacceptable" and "oppressive" (*National Catholic Reporter* February 6, 1998). Despite John Paul's hostility to the theologians that Castro most admired, the state deemed the trip a success.

In 2006, when Castro grew ill, prayer vigils took place for the aging leader. Moreover, two prominent Catholic intellectuals attended him: Leonardo BOFF and Frei Betto (b. 1944). Betto, who had conducted extensive interviews with Castro in the 1980s, described him as undergoing a personal conversion. A prominent Liberation Theologian who was silenced by the Church and ultimately left in 1992, Boff wrote of Castro, "His Marxism is more ethical than political: how to do justice to the poor? He has read a mountain of books, all of them with notes ... I once told him, 'If Cardinal Ratzinger understood half of what you understand of the theology of Liberation, my personal destiny and the future of this theology would be very different'" (*National Catholic Reporter* August 18, 2006).

SEE ALSO BAPTISTS; COMMUNISM; CUBA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MARXISM; PRESBYTERIANISM; RATZINGER, JOSEPH.

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CATANOSO, GAETANO (CAJETAN), ST.

Priest of Reggio Calabria, founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Veronica of the Holy Face (Congregazione delle Suore Veroniche del Volto Santo); b. February 14, 1879, Chorio di San Lorenzo, Reggio Calabria, Italy; d. April 4, 1963, Reggio Calabria; beatified May 4, 1997, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized October 23, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Gaetano Catanoso's parents were landowners who encouraged his faith and vocation. He was ordained in 1902, and gained a reputation for holiness while serving as a parish priest at Pentidattilo. In 1920 he founded a parish confraternity and started a newsletter devoted to the Holy Father. He also used the newsletter to promote the Poor Clerics Association and to encourage vocations.

In 1921 Catanoso was appointed pastor of Santa Maria de la Candelaria, Reggio Calabria, where he founded the Missionaries of the Holy Face and built a shrine in honor of the Holy Face of Jesus. The first members of the congregation—dedicated to charity, prayer for reparation, and catechesis—were clothed in 1935, and their constitutions were approved by the diocese in 1958. To renew spirituality among his flock, Catanoso promoted Eucharistic and Marian devotions, catechesis, and parish missions. He organized teams of priests to conduct these missions in the region. In addition to his parish work (1921–1950), Catanoso served as chaplain to religious institutes, a prison, a hospital, and the archdiocesan seminary. He was declared venerable immediately after his death.

A healing at his INTERCESSION, approved as a miracle on June 25, 1996, led to his BEATIFICATION. During that ceremony, Pope John Paul II observed that Catanoso "worked tirelessly for the good of the flock entrusted to him by the Lord." In the face of each sufferer, Catanoso saw the reflection of "the bloodstained and disfigured face of Christ." Many Italians recognized the "good fragrance of Christ" in their "father," Catanoso, the pope said, and for that reason he was an "eloquent sign of the fatherhood of God."

In April 2004, Catanoso's cause was advanced by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, and he was canonized by Pope Benedict XVI on October 23, 2005. During the canonization Mass, Pope Benedict identified the "soul" of Catanoso's priesthood: daily Mass and Eucharistic adoration. The pope emphasized the unity between Catanoso's devotion to the Holy Face and his devotion to the Eucharist: Catanoso joined these devotions with "joyful intuition.... He would say, 'If we wish to adore the real Face of Jesus ... we can find it in the divine Eucharist, where with the Body and Blood of

Jesus Christ, the Face of Our Lord is hidden under the white veil of the Host.'" The pope also observed that Catanoso had transmitted his spirituality to the congregation he founded—"the spirit of charity, humility and sacrifice which enlivened his entire life."

Feast: April 4.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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CATECHISMS

From the Greek κατηχεῖν (to speak so as to be heard, hence to instruct orally; cf. Lk 1:4; Act 18:25; Rom 2:18; Gal 6:6), a catechism according to an English-speaking and German usage is a manual of Christian DOCTRINE, often in question and answer form (German, *Katechismus*). In Romance languages the term also signifies the act of catechizing, the work of presenting Christian doctrine or an individual lesson, especially to the young (French, *catéchisme;* Italian, *catechismo*).

Patristic and Early Medieval Periods. CATECHISMS (*catecheses*) in the patristic era were traditionally prebaptismal and adult in orientation (e.g., CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, Κατηχήσεις μυσταγωγικαί (Mystagogical Catecheses); John CHRYSOSTOM, Ὁμιλίαι κατηχητικαί (Catechetical Homilies); AUGUSTINE, at the end of *Catech. rud.*, *Sermones* 212–215; RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA, *Commentarius in symbolum apostolorum*). At times these lectures and homilies dealt with the immediate post-baptismal doctrinal needs of new Christians, in which case they were called *mystagogic* or simply *paschal* (e.g., Cyril of Jerusalem, Κατηχήσεις μυσταγωγικαί; Augustine, *Selected Easter Sermons*). Throughout the Carolingian and early and high medieval periods, numerous handbooks were produced that had the Christian formation of clergy and laity as their aim. Among these were the *Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones*, attributed doubtfully to ALCUIN (d. 804; *Patrologia latina* 101, 1097–1144); the ninth-century *Weissenburgensis Catechesis* by Otfried, a MONK of that MONASTERY; the twelfth-century *Elucidarium*, attributed to HONORIUS OF AUTUN (Patrologia latina 172, 1109–1176; cf. Yves Lefèvre 1954); and the ingenious compendium of HUGH OF SAINT-VICTOR in that same century, *De quinque septenis seu septenariis* (Patrologia latina 175, 406–414). These treatises might be called the second layer of adult catechetical formation, suitable for those who could read Latin.

More basic were the catechisms proposed by bishops, emperors, and Church synods to be spoken orally to the unlettered FAITHFUL by those who had the *cura animarum* (care of souls). Among these, which invariably assumed phrase-by-phrase expositions by the clergy of the two baptismal prayers, APOSTLES' CREED and Our Father, and a list of vices to be avoided, would be the *Capitularia* of CHARLEMAGNE (AD 802; Patrologia latina [PL] 97, 247) and his letter (15) to Garibaldus (PL 98, 917–918); the synods of Leipzig (AD 743; PL 89, 822, c.25), Clovesho (AD 747; J.D. Mansi, 12:398, c.10), Frankfurt (AD 794; Mansi 13:908, c.33), AACHEN (AD 802; PL 97,247, c.14), ARLES (AD 813; Mansi 14:62, c.19), Mainz (AD 813; Mansi 14:74, c.45, 47), and TRIER (AD 1227; Mansi 23:31, c.8). The synod of Albi (AD 1254; Mansi 23:836, c.17, 18) required pastors to explain simply the articles of the CREED each Sunday and children to be brought to Mass from the age of seven onward and at the same time to have the *Pater*, *Ave*, and *Credo* explained to them. The Council of Lambeth demanded that this instruction be given by pastors four times a year on feast days, "without any fantastic weaving of subtle adornment" and that it include "the fourteen articles of faith [i.e., the Creed], the Ten Commandments of the Decalogue, the precepts of the gospel, namely the two concerned with charity, the seven works

of mercy, the seven capital sins and their progeny, the seven principal virtues, and the seven Sacraments of grace" (AD 1281; Mansi 24:410). In 1357 the Convocation of York approved a series of ordinances very similar to the canons of the Council of Lambeth published in 1281 that outlined the contents and frequency of catechetical instruction. They were expanded and translated into English verse for the benefit of the clergy who could not understand Latin. Despite the fact that the work became known as *The Lay Folks' Catechism*, it was written primarily to help parish priests instruct the faithful, who in turn were to teach their children. About the same time a council in Lavaur, France, issued a similar catechism (AD 1368; Mansi 26:486). In the Lavaur catechism a summary of the necessity of FAITH comes first; next, a severe charge to the clergy on its obligations to catechize; third, the fourteen articles and seven Sacraments, "on which the whole Christian religion is based." Seven virtues and their opposing vices come after these "truths to be believed." These, together with the seven gifts of the SPIRIT and the BEATITUDES that correspond to them, are the "things that are to be loved," and the seven petitions of the Our Father describe the "things to be hoped for." In the fourteen articles of the Creed, seven pertain to the Deity proper, seven others to the humanity of CHRIST.

Influence of St. Augustine. The scheme of multiples of seven seems to have originated with AUGUSTINE's treatise on the Sermon on the Mount (PL 34, 1229–1308), in which he reduces the beatitudes to seven by identifying the last one in Matthew's GOSPEL with the first. Then he compares them with the seven gifts of the Spirit from the VULGATE version of Isaiah 11 in reverse order; these in turn correspond to the seven petitions in the LORD'S PRAYER. This mnemonic device emerged as supreme in medieval practice via popularizers, such as ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, RABANUS MAURUS, and especially Hugh of St. Victor in *De quinque septenis seu septenariis*. Hugh's "five sevens" are the seven DEADLY SINS, seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer, seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, seven virtues, and the seven Beatitudes.

A second insight of Augustine was his threefold division of all doctrine in his *Faith, Hope, and Charity* (c. AD 422; known as the *Enchiridion*). In it the "confession of faith is briefly summed up in the Creed.... But of all those matters which are to be believed in the true spirit of faith, only those pertain to hope which are contained in the Lord's Prayer" (114), while "all the divine commandments hark back to charity.... Of course the charity meant here is the love of our neighbor" (121). Augustine's extended treatment of the creedal articles (9–113) is in the speculative vein. The petitions of the Lord's Prayer (114–116) are seven in number, "three of which request eternal goods, the remaining four, temporal goods necessary for the attainment of the eternal." The HOLY SPIRIT, it is pointed out, "diffuses charity in our hearts" (121).

Although Augustine entirely subordinates the Decalogue to the twofold commandment of LOVE of GOD and love of neighbor in the *Enchiridion* (117–122), he is often said to have pioneered in presenting the Ten Commandments as a framework for Christian MORALITY (*Catech. rud.* 35.41). The convenient ten headings prevailed in a Mosaic spirit of observance, while Augustine's stress on the Holy Spirit as the finger of God who wrote on the stone tablets and again at PENTECOST was largely forgotten (cf. Rentschka 1905).

Paradoxically, Augustine's best insight survived least well, namely, the *narratio* (narration) of the story of SALVATION in six epochs (*aetates*), of which the seventh was eternity, the Day of the Lord. He develops this idea in two sample introductory catecheses at the end of *De catechizandis rudibus*. The landmark figures of the six ages are ADAM, NOAH, ABRAHAM, DAVID, the Babylonian captives, and Christ, "from [whose] coming the sixth age is dated" (39). Augustine was still in a millenarian phase at this writing (c. 405), but the important matter was his presentation of the Church's faith in a historical framework. He was the first to deal with the life of the Church (the sixth *aetas*) as sacred history in the same sense as the events described in Scripture.

Augustine's greatness as a CATECHIST resided in his musings on the relation between symbol and reality, word and truth, speech and thought. The psychological optimum for the reception of an idea figured largely in his catechetical theory. Lesser teachers, unable to handle his poetic diction or his PSYCHOLOGY, gravitated to his reasoned REFLECTIONS on the mysteries. The result was a rationalized Christianity cut off from its Biblical sources despite the massive use of the BIBLE made by Augustine (42,816 citations from both Testaments according to P. de Lagarde). The catechisms derived from his writings set the tone for Christianity in the West for 1,000 years. In departing from his Biblical and liturgical concerns and concentrating on his rationale of the mysteries, these catechisms created a vacuum of evangelical preaching and catechizing that the Reformers filled.

Middle Ages. Treatises on Christian life, such as Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*, on perfection for the soldier (PL 101, 613–638), continued into the MIDDLE AGES as a genre on the art of living and dying. Among these were *L'Art de mourir* attributed to MATTHEW OF CRACOW, bishop of Worms (1478), *Tafel der Kerstlygken Levens* (1475), and various shepherd's almanacs filled with secular and sacred information, such as the *Compost et Kalendrier des Bergiers* (Paris 1492). From the invention of printing onward, and even before, woodcut il-

lustrations were used both in books and as wall charts (*tabulae*).

St. Thomas Aquinas. St. THOMAS AQUINAS in his various adult catechetical treatises was quite balanced in his concern with Christian behavior. These works were chiefly his *Compendium theologiae*, done on Augustine's pattern of FAITH, HOPE, and CHARITY (1272–1273, broken off when he was only ten chapters into hope and the petition "thy kingdom come") and the *reportatum* (bringing back, report or reproduction) in Latin of fifty-seven of his Italian sermons delivered at Naples during LENT 1273 on the Creed (15), the Lord's Prayer (10), and the law, that is, charity and the Decalogue (32), to which should be added his earlier conferences on the HAIL MARY and a treatise on the Church's Sacraments done for the archbishop of Palermo in 1261. In these lectures, fully scholastic in tone though they were, there was a healthy concern for the revealed mysteries.

Jean Gerson. The next major figure in the history of medieval catechesis is Jean GERSON (1363–1429). Forcibly retired as chancellor of Paris in his last years (1409–1412), Gerson taught catechism in Lyons and continued to write. He is best known for *L'ABC des Simples Gens*, a personal apologia for his engagement in the work of catechizing, titled *Tractatus de parvulis trahendis ad Christum* (*Opera Omnia* 1706, 3.278–291), and *Opus tripertitum* (*Opera Omnia* 1706, 1.426–450) on the Commandments, confession, and dying well. In the last work the attention given to moral precepts is so considerable that the writer's initial concern with the mysteries of faith has shrunk to almost a prologue.

Pre-Reformation. The lectures survived in medieval pulpit preaching until Trent, but the strain represented by Gerson's writing continued much more strongly. Thus, Dietrich Kolde's influential *Christenspiegel* of 1480 was extremely moralistic, as was Johannes Herolt's *Liber discipuli de eruditione Christi fidelium* in 1490. The latter devotes six pages to the Creed, three to the Our Father, and 101 to morality under the headings Commandments, deadly sins, and various moral precepts (cf. Bahlmann 1894, 12; also Göbl 1880).

From the close of the patristic period (i.e., from the ninth or tenth century) through the whole Tridentine era, little was done to relate beatitudes, works of mercy, evangelical counsels, fruits of the Holy Spirit, PRAYER, and almsgiving to the story of salvation as it culminated in the redemptive deed of Christ. Such moral and spiritual qualities are included with *effectus divinitatis* (the divine effect) or *bona redemptionis* (the goods of redemption), and related in a most general way to the works of the Spirit that conclude the Apostles' Creed. Although JUNGMANN's studies in *Pastoral Liturgy* (1962) show the conservative force of medieval culture on folk piety, Rudolf Padberg's *Erasmus als Katechet* (1956) is quite right in describing the entire medieval period as a catechetical vacuum.

Humanism. Late in the fifteenth century a number of humanists, including ERASMUS, tried a different approach. Among their attempts were the brief *Cathecyzon* (c. 1510) by John COLET, dean of St. Paul's and founder of its school, and Erasmus's adult catechism of 1533, *Dilucida et pia explanatio symboli, quod apostolorum dictur, decalogi praeceptorum, et dominicae praecationis* (*Opera Omnia* 1706, 5.1133–1196). By the onset of the REFORMATION the Catholic catechisms in commonest use included books of piety such as the *Liber Jesu Christi pro simplicibus* (1505) and the catechisms of J. Dietenberger (Cologne 1530) and Georg WITZEL or Wicelius (Leipzig 1535).

Luther. The catechism genre took definitive form in the sixteenth century and became a powerful instrument in the cause of reform. In 1529 Martin LUTHER published two catechisms, the *Der kleine Katechismus*, his Small Catechism, and his *Deutsch Katechismus*, which came to be known as *Der grosser Katechismus*, his Large Catechism. Luther's preface to the Small Catechism clearly stated that it was intended for the lower clergy as an instrument to instruct the uneducated laity. It was in the tradition of medieval catechesis, but Luther introduced three notable innovations: First he reordered the sequence, treating the Ten Commandments before explaining the Creed. Second, instead of dividing the Creed into twelve or fourteen articles, he focused on three: the salvific work of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And third, influenced by the BOHEMIAN BRETHREN, he introduced the question-answer method that became a staple in Protestant and Catholic catechisms alike. Luther's Large Catechism is distinguished chiefly by its insight into the daily life of the peasant, its concern with the existential character of the GOSPEL, and its reliance on God's action rather than man's as ultimately effective in the work of salvation.

St. Peter Canisius. CANISIUS, the APOSTLE of Catholic Germany in the Reformation period, produced three handbooks of Catholic faith: *Maior catechismus* (1555), *Minimus catechismus* bound in with a Latin grammar, as Colet's had been (1556), and *Parvus* or *Minor catechismus* (1558). All three were done in Latin first, then in German (*S. Petri Canisii Catechismi Latini et Germanici* 1933–1936). The intermediate one, titled *Capita doctrinae christianae compendio tradita, ut sit ueluti paruus catechismus catholicorum*, became normative in many countries. It was composed of 124 questions and two appendices, one of Scripture texts against heretics and the other a quotation from Augustine on steadfastness in

faith. There were five parts: three on the theological virtues and the matching prayers (or law), a fourth on the Sacraments, and a fifth on "duties of Christian holiness" (the smallest catechism featured sins and the opposing goods in this fifth place). The first four doctrinal sections taught *sapientia* (wisdom), the last, *justitia* (justice). Canisius claimed authorship of the books only in 1566, although publishers had attributed it to him as early as 1559. In 1569 a fellow Hollander named Peter de Buys, or BUSAEUS, produced with Canisius's help a work that supplied more than 4,000 references to Scripture and the Fathers for the *Catechismus maior* (4 vols., 1569–1570); this work is generally known as *Opus catechisticum*, a title given it in its revision by Johannes Hase (Hasius) in 1557.

St. Robert Bellarmine. BELLARMINE produced his *Dottrina cristiana breve* in 1597 [*Opera omnia* (Paris 1874), 12:261–282], a brief handbook derived from his instruction of Jesuit brother cooperators in ROME. It began with the sign of the cross, then went on to the Creed, Our Father, Hail Mary, Ten Commandments, precepts of the Church, counsels, Sacraments, virtues, gifts, works of mercy, gifts of the Spirit, four last things, and mysteries of the ROSARY.

A year later in 1598, motivated by the demands of office in his brief archbishopric of Capua, Bellarmine produced what might be called a teacher's manual of doctrine, *Dichiarazione più; copiosa della dottrina cristiana breve* (*Opera omnia* 1874, 12:283–332). The student is the questioner here, and the teacher, the respondent at length. Bellarmine follows Augustine's three virtues as the way to know what things are *credenda* (believing), *speranda* (hoping), and *amanda* (loving). The Sacraments that follow the threefold listings of obligations above are those means "by which the grace of God is acquired." All the matters that come after "the four principal parts of doctrine," from the theological and moral virtues onward, "help greatly in living in conformity with the will of God."

Other Efforts. The JESUITS Edmond AUGER, writing in France (1530–1591), and Jerónimo Martinez de RIPALDA, in Spain (1536–1618), produced handbooks similar to those above.

The Tridentine Catechism. The Council of TRENT adjourned in 1563, and the catechism its Fathers asked for was ready in Latin (having been composed in Italian) by 1566. A trio of DOMINICANS led by FOREIRO wrote it; a secular priest humanist named Poggianus polished its phrasing. The CATECHISM OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, a manual for parish priests, running to more than 400 pages, is popularly known as *Catechismus romanus*, though the full title in its first edition (Rome 1566) was *Catechismus ex decreto concilii tridentini, ad parochos, pii v et clementis xiii. pontificis maximi iussu editus*. Its fourfold divisions are (1) faith and the Creed, (2) the Sacraments, (3) the Decalogue and the laws of God, (4) prayer and its necessity, chiefly the Lord's Prayer. The restoration of the Sacraments to an integral place in the plan of REDEMPTION rather than as aids to observing the precepts is important; so is the book's heavy reliance on Scripture and the Fathers in place of the metaphysically tinged vocabulary of the scholastics. The general tenor of doctrinal exposition is Augustinian.

Attempts in a humanist vein, such as that of Trent, had been made by Cardinal Stanislaus HOSIUS, *Confessio catholicae fidei christianae vel potius explicatio quaedam confessionis* (Vienna 1561), and by Bp. Friedrich NAUSEA, *In catechismus catholicus libris sex* (Cologne 1543); but all three were fated to lose out in popular exposition to the medieval lists or "truths." Canisius genuinely admired Trent's catechism, but his neater summaries and classifications prevailed. Bellarmine said it was his model, but it is doubtful that he understood the attempt it represented. In fact, the little use (more accurately, the highly selective use) made of it by catechism authors since 1566 is perhaps its most notable feature. There is reason to think this handbook was quite influential in the pulpit over the years, but again, in proportion to the capacities of the priests who used it. It is quite unmarked by a polemical tone once it has mentioned "pernicious errors" in the introduction. The same introduction gives high promise of a thoroughgoing evangelical or KERYGMATIC THEOLOGY that is never realized. The times were simply incapable of it, as a genuine evangelical release overtook the Church in tandem with the zeal of the Protestants (linked in the Catholic mind with heretical positions).

After Trent. Post-Tridentine catechisms were in the mold of those by Bellarmine, Canisius, Auger, and Ripalda in the four chief language groups or in translations from one of the first two.

British, Irish, and American. Laurence Vaux (1519–1585) translated and adapted Canisius in 1567 as *A Catechisme of Christian Doctrine Necessarie for Children and Ignorante People*, deriving additional help from Pedro de SOTO's *Methodus confessionis seu verius doctrinae pietatisque christianae praecipuorum capitum epitome* (1576). What came to be known as the Doway, or DOUAI (DOUAY), Catechism was produced by Henry Turberville (1607–1678), a professor at the English College there, sometime before 1649, the date of a third edition of *An Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine: With Proofs of Scripture for Points Controverted*. The order is

Bellarmine's, but the treatment is Turberville's own. Its tenor is Bible-quoting, polemical, allegorical, and adult. Other British efforts were those of Richard CHALLONER of London (*The Catholic Christian Instructed in the Sacraments, Sacrifice, Ceremonies, and Observances of the Church by Way of Question and Answer*, 1737) and George HAY of Edinburgh (*The Sincere Christian Instructed in the Faith of Christ from the Written Word*, 1781; *The Devout Christian Instructed in the Faith of Christ*, 1783). John LINGARD wrote *Catechistical Instruction on the Doctrines and Worship of the Catholic Church* in 1836. All the above-mentioned were published in the United States until well into the nineteenth century. Abp. John CARROLL abridged Hay's larger works (1772) in a form that contributed verbally to the BALTIMORE CATECHISM. Meanwhile, in Ireland Abp. James Butler (d. 1791) of Cashel produced a catechism (1775) that was revised by order of a Synod of Maynooth (1875) and in that form (1882) recommended itself to substantial borrowings in the United States. Archbishop John McHale (1791–1881) oversaw a bilingual *Christian Doctrine* (1865) for his Irish-speaking diocese of Tuam. Among those in the United States who produced catechisms in the nineteenth century, all of them European-derived, were John Henry MCCAFFREY (Baltimore before 1865) and John Pierre Augustin VEROT (Augusta 1864). The English-language efforts described above were all lineal descendants in the tradition of the "four principal parts of doctrine." When they halted to make a brief explanation, it was generally in the spirit of a work such as Rufinus of Aquileia's *Commentarius in symbolum* or a similar Augustine-derived source.

French. Attempts were made in France in the ENLIGHTENMENT period to follow through on Augustine's two Biblical catecheses in *De catechizandis rudibus*. They included Claude FLEURY's *Catéchisme Historique* (Paris 1683), which is prefaced by a claim of the superiority of the Bible's method of storytelling and a fairly mild disquisition, or treatise, against the usefulness of theology's method in catechetics. Methodologically Fleury presented material in expository lesson form with prayers from the LITURGY interspersed and questions added at the end.

François POUGET, an Oratorian, produced a similar Bible-oriented catechism, *Instructions Générales en Forme de Catéchisme Où l'On Explique en Abrégé, par l'Écriture Sainte et par la Tradition, l'Histoire et les Dogmes de la Religion, la Morale Chrétienne, les Sacramens, les Prières, les Cérémonies et les Usages de l'Eglise* in 1702. Fleury subsequently went on the Index as a Gallican; Pouget, too, because his patron Bp. Colbert of Montpellier was a Jansenist. Both catechisms were unexceptionable. Jacques-Bénigne BOSSUET, bishop of Meaux, produced the Biblical *Le Second Catéchisme* before his formal doctrinal one (*Oeuvres Complètes* 1687, 10).

Italian. Italy broke away from the Bellarmine mold with the *Compendio della dottrina cristiana* by Bp. Casati of Mondov'i (1765). It was in the spirit of the catechisms of Montpellier and Meaux and was probably the work of Canon G.M. Giaccone.

German. Similar forerunners of modern Biblical catechisms appeared in Germany in the nineteenth century, beginning with the *Biblische Geschichte des Alten und Neuen Testaments* by Bernard von OVERBERG (1799). Johann Ignaz von FELBIGER (1785), Christoph von SCHMID (1801), Ignatius Schuster (1845), Gustav MEY (1871), and Friedrich Justus Knecht (1880) all produced Bible histories in which virtuous conduct was excerpted from the Scriptures to illustrate and augment the catechism lesson. Overberg had the larger vision, seeing the Bible as the history of God's gracious concern for human salvation. He was the reformer of the schools of Westphalia and a friend of GOETHE, and he rightly deserves to be named with educators such as Johann H. PESTALOZZI and Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841).

B. Galura, the Bishop of Brixen, studied at the University of Vienna for a year before his ordination—uncommon enough—and tried to come to terms with the spirit of the *Aufklärung* (Enlightenment) in his *Grundsätze der Sokratischer Katechisiermethode* (1793). In a six-volume reform of the plan of theology, *Neueste Theologie de Christentums* (1800–1804), he identified the KINGDOM OF GOD or the kingdom of heaven as the *Grundidee* (foundational idea) of the Bible. In his *Biblische Geschichte der Welterlösung durch Jesum der Sohn Gottes* (1806) Galura (1764–1856) tried to carry on the catechitical spirit of Overberg.

Other important figures were Augustin Gruber, archbishop of Salzburg (1823–1835), who gave lectures to his priests on the Augustinian technique of the sacred *narratio* (narration) and the necessity of inductive explanation before any memorization is required (*Katechetische Vorlesungen*, 1830–1834); Johann Baptist HIRSCHER, who tried to bridge the gap between sacred history and doctrinal formation in his theoretical essay *Katechetik* (Tübingen 1831) and in his larger and smaller Catholic catechisms (Freiburg 1842, 1845); and another professor of the new discipline of pastoral theology, Johann Michael SAILER, whose lectures on that subject (Munich 1788) demanded instruction based on the Bible for concreteness and immediacy, to "form man in the divine life rather than instruct him intellectually." In German-speaking lands the demands of child nature were being heard for perhaps the first time. France had

known something similar through the efforts of the clergy at the parish of Saint-Sulpice, Paris, and of Bp. DUPANLOUP of Orléans (cf. Colomb 1958); but the pedagogic efforts of the Germans, Austrians, and Swiss were much more realistic in their developmentalist theories on the nature of the child.

A number of nineteenth-century catechisms departed from subject matter orientation and centered on the individual's natural concern for himself with questions such as "Why did God make you?" The only clear result was an anthropocentricism. Very shortly the authors returned to a summary of doctrine in theological form with a largely apologetic concern. The great figure in Germany who updated Canisius, but without his Biblical or patristic unction, was Josef DEHARBE, S.J., whose catechism, or *Lehrbegriff* (1847), based on the theological manual of Giovanni PERRONE, had a vigorous history (in German-speaking America, among other places). His work was subsequently revised by Josef Linden, S.J. (1900) and Theodor Mönnichs, S.J. (1925), the latter the so-called German *Einheitskatechismus*.

Toward a Universal Catechism. With every passing year the number of catechisms grew so that in 1742 Pope BENEDICT XIV recommended that Bellarmine's catechism become standard throughout the Catholic world. In 1761 Pope CLEMENT XIII protested against the RATIONALISM of the Enlightenment. He urged a uniform catechetical method that would employ the same words and expressions. In the 1770s Empress Maria Teresa (1717–1780) directed Johann Ignaz von Felbiger to edit a series of catechisms for use in the schools throughout Austria and Bohemia. Emperor NAPOLEON I commissioned and ordered an imperial catechism, to be used "in all the churches of the French empire." There was much support for a uniform catechism at the First Vatican Council. After much debate, and some compromise, the Council Fathers approved the *Schema constitutionis de parvo catechismo* (1870). It directed that a short catechism be drawn up, "modelled after the Small Catechism of the Ven. Cardinal Bellarmine." The stated intention was to "facilitate the disappearance in the future of the confusing variety of other short catechisms." Because of the hasty adjournment of the council, the decree was not promulgated and the project was never completed. There were brief, abortive efforts in the same direction by Pope PIUS X in favor of his own *Compendio della dottrina cristiana* (1905) and likewise by Cardinal GASPARRI with his three-level *Catechismus catholicus*, which Pope PIUS XI praised faintly.

National Catechisms. In the United States the bishops made repeated attempts to reach agreement on a uniform catechism for the whole country. In the wake of Vatican I, they achieved their goal. The *Catechism of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore* (1885) was the fruit of the labors of Januarius de CONCILIO, priest of Newark, New Jersey, and John Lancaster SPALDING, bishop of Peoria, Illinois. It had 421 questions in thirty-seven chapters and more than seventy-two pages. There are no parts: The order is Creed, Sacraments (gifts, fruits, and beatitudes after CONFIRMATION), prayer, Commandments, and last things. A revision of 1941 by the bishops' committee of the CONFRATERNITY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE (CCD), with which the name of Francis J. CONNELL, CSSR, is most closely associated, returned to the order Creed, Commandments, Sacraments, prayer. Both are theological summaries, the latter testifying to little of the theological progress of the intervening fifty-five years. Neither professes any pedagogical concern.

In a similar vein, France produced a national catechism in 1938 that was much criticized for its length and technical vocabulary. A national commission for its revision was set up in 1941, and in 1947 Canons Camille Quinet (1879–1961) and André Boyer authored a much-improved catechism in the form of a pupil text. It is composed of lessons and has a general Biblical-liturgical orientation, though "doctrines of faith" provide the leitmotif, or main theme. Belgium received a revised national catechism unmarked by distinctive features in 1947. The German national *Katholischer Katechismus der Bistümer Deutschlands* appeared in 1955 after having been begun in 1938 and interrupted by World War II. It is intended for children of the upper elementary years and is in four parts, following the schema of the Creed in twelve articles. Almost half the lessons fall under the heading "The Forgiveness of Sins," including TEMPTATION, SIN, the Sacraments, and GRACE. A multivolume teacher's manual, still incomplete, accompanies it. The initial claims in its favor that it fulfilled all the hopes of the kerygmatic renewal have been tempered somewhat by closer examination, but it is unquestionably a significant achievement. It was translated into twenty-two languages within five years of its appearance. Although the catechism is anonymous, the men most closely connected with its production included G. Fischer, H. Fischer, F. Schreibmayr, and K. Tilmann. Austria produced a national catechism conceived along similar lines in 1960, guided by Vienna's director of religious education, L. Lentner. In the late twentieth century, England's bishops began preparing one.

In 1963 and 1964 the Australian bishops published a *Catholic Catechism* for the upper four elementary grades in two volumes with matching teacher's manuals (Sydney). J. Kelly of the Archdiocese of Melbourne was its chief architect. The trend begun in the German catechism reached a relative perfection in the two pupil's books of the Australian product, so much so that national hierarchies faced the question of the MERIT of

expressing the Church's faith in a single, fixed form for school children in these sensitive years. Modern universal literacy is a major consideration. The official catechism rose in a period of near illiteracy, and committing it to memory was largely predicated on that fact. Ecclesiologically, the position that the fixed formularies of the catechism were a faithful reflection of the *fontes revelationis* (sources of revelation), to be coupled, after the Scriptures, with liturgies, creeds, and councils, prevailed for fifteen centuries.

In Holland plans for a new catechism were laid in the 1950s, but under the influence of the Second Vatican Council, the focus changed. *De Nieuwe Katechismus*, published by the Dutch hierarchy late in 1966, was designed for adults. A maelstrom of controversy swirled about *The Dutch Catechism* because its critics, friendly and unfriendly, saw it as reshaping the catechism genre and redefining the task of catechesis. Aimed at adults, it sought to bring the Christian message into dialogue with issues of the contemporary world. When a second edition was published (1968), it had a supplement that addressed the points that Church authorities had found ambiguous in the original edition.

Despite the controversy that surrounded it, the Dutch Catechism became a model for other national catechisms directed toward adults. In 1985 the German Episcopal Conference published a *Katholischer Erwachsenen-Katechismus* (The Church's Confession of Faith: A Catholic Catechism for Adults). In 1986 the bishops of Spain published *Esta Es Nuestra Fe. Esta Es la Fe de la Iglesia* (This Is Our Faith. This Is the Faith of the Church), a work intended for both young people and adults, especially people responsible for catechesis. The following year the Belgian hierarchy issued *Livre de la Foi* (Belief and Belonging), a catechism for adults that the bishops intended as an instrument to aid in the re-evangelization of the country. In 1991 the bishops of France published *Catéchisme pour Adultes*, five years in the making. The Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines approved a *Catechism for Filipino Catholics* that is described as an "adult catechism" in so far as "it provides *a sourcebook* for those who address the typical Sunday Mass congregation of an ordinary Filipino parish" (par. 16).

In the years following the Second Vatican Council many Church leaders, citing the precedent of the Roman Catechism published after the Council of Trent, called for a new conciliar catechism. In response to a formal proposal made at the Extraordinary SYNOD OF BISHOPS assembled to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of Vatican II, Pope JOHN PAUL II appointed a commission of twelve cardinals to oversee the compilation of a new catechism. When John Paul introduced the new CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH with the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION *Fidei depositum* in 1992, he acknowledged that the arrangement of the Four Pillars (Creed, Sacred Liturgy, Christian Way of Life, and Prayer) followed the traditional order found in the Tridentine Catechism. The purpose of the new Catechism was manifold: John Paul wrote that it would "serve as a sure norm for teaching the faith" and provide "the Church's Pastors and the Christian faithful" with "a sure and authentic reference text for teaching Catholic doctrine and particularly for preparing local catechisms." It is a means whereby the faithful can deepen their knowledge of "the unfathomable riches of salvation," an instrument "to support ecumenical efforts" by presenting "the content and wondrous harmony of the Catholic faith," and a reference work for everyone "who wants to know what the Catholic church believes."

The publication of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* shifted emphasis from uniformity to unity. It signaled the abandonment of the quest for a single catechetical text that would be standard throughout the Catholic world. Toward the conclusion of the apostolic constitution *Fidei depositum*, Pope John Paul reiterates that the Catechism "is meant to encourage and assist in the writing of new local catechisms, which take into account various situations and cultures, while carefully preserving the unity of faith and fidelity to Catholic doctrine." Thus, as the number of Catechisms continue to grow, each is marked by variety in style and presentation while at the same time witnesses to the unity of faith transmitted by the Scriptures and proclaimed in the Church's liturgy.

From Vatican II On. The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* was first promulgated in French in 1992, and numerous vernacular translations were made based on the original French text. An English translation of the French appeared in 1994. Meanwhile, work began on the preparation of the Latin *edito typica* (typical edition), approved by John Paul II in his apostolic letter, *Laetamur magnopere*, of August 15, 1997. This Latin edition, thus, became the definitive text of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, and all vernacular translations required some revisions based on this text.

The 1997 edition of the Catechism made a number of changes based on suggestions offered to the special Commission of Cardinals and Bishops chaired by Cardinal Joseph RATZINGER. Among the most noteworthy modifications were: stronger language with regard to the death penalty (*Catechism of the Catholic Church, editio typica*, no. 2267); the description of the homosexual inclination as "objectively disordered" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church, editio typica*, no. 2358); and a tighter definition of lying (*Catechism of the Catholic Church, editio typica*, nos. 2483 and 2508).

At the International Catechetical Congress held in October 2002, many participants expressed a wish for a *Compendium of the Catechism of the Catholic Church*, which would follow a question-and-answer approach. In response to this request, Pope John Paul II asked the Commission of Cardinals for the Catechism to draft such a compendium with the help of various experts in the field of catechesis. When the draft was completed, it was sent to all the cardinals and the presidents of the Conferences of Bishops for review. On June 28, 2005, Pope BENEDICT XVI issued a *motu proprio* approving the publication of the *Compendium of the Catechism of the Catholic Church*, which soon was published in numerous vernacular languages.

The *Compendium* was based on the content of the larger Catechism, but the question-and-answer approach made it more accessible to certain audiences. Moreover, the *Compendium* contained some beautiful artwork and appendices of common Catholic prayers and formulas of Catholic doctrine (e.g., the cardinal and theological virtues).

In his apostolic constitution, *Fidei depositum*, approving the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* in 1992, John Paul II made it clear that this catechism was "meant to encourage and assist in the writing of new local catechisms." In light of this, in 2006 the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops published the *United States Catholic Catechism for Adults*, which had received approval or recognition from the Congregation for the Clergy on November 22, 2005.

The *United States Catholic Catechism for Adults* follows the same four-part structure of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*: The Creed, the Sacraments, Christian Morality, and Prayer. A glossary, a collection of traditional Catholic prayers, and suggestions for further reading appear as appendices. A question-and-answer approach is not followed. Rather, there are brief summaries in each section with shaded boxes containing key passages from the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. There are also shaded boxes providing brief summaries or lists of specific points (e.g., the gifts and fruits of the Holy Spirit). In addition, there are short entries of doctrinal statements and questions for discussion. Various prayers are supplied throughout, and portraits of important figures from Catholic history (especially from the United States, e.g., Blessed Kateri TEKAWITHA, St. Katharine DREXEL, and St. John NEUMANN) are offered as examples of holiness and heroic VIRTUE.

SEE ALSO ABRAHAM, PATRIARCH; ALMS AND ALMSGIVING (IN THE CHURCH); AUSTRIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; BAPTISM, SACRAMENT OF; BOHEMIA, CHURCH IN; CARDINAL VIRTUES; CAROLINGIANS; CATECHESI TRADENDAE; CATECHESIS, GENERAL DIRECTORY FOR; CATECHESIS, I (EARLY CHRISTIAN); CATECHESIS, II (MEDIEVAL); CATECHESIS, III (REFORMATION); CATECHETICAL DIRECTORIES, NATIONAL; CATECHISM, IMPERIAL; CATECHISMS IN COLONIAL SPANISH AMERICA; CATECHUMENATE; COMMANDMENTS, TEN; CONCILIARISM (THEOLOGICAL ASPECT); DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE; DOCTRINE, DEVELOPMENT OF; EXISTENTIAL THEOLOGY; FIDEI DEPOSITUM; GALLICANISM; GREEK LANGUAGE, BIBLICAL; HERESY; HOLY SPIRIT, FRUITS OF; HOLY SPIRIT, GIFTS OF; HOMILY; HUMANISM; INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS; ISAIAH, BOOK OF; JANSENISM; LAITY, FORMATION AND EDUCATION OF; LORD'S DAY, THE; MARIA THERESA OF AUSTRIA; MATTHEW, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; MYSTAGOGY; MYSTERY (IN THEOLOGY); OBLIGATION, MORAL; ORATORIANS; REFORMATION, PROTESTANT (ON THE CONTINENT); SACRAMENTS, ARTICLES ON; SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY; VATICAN COUNCIL I; VATICAN COUNCIL II; VICE; VIRTUE, HEROIC.

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CATHARI

Cathari were members of a medieval sect adhering to a dualistic heresy of Oriental origin that became widespread in Western Christendom after 1150. The present study covers its origins, history, organizations, and disappearance.

Origins. Beginning with the eleventh century, religious life in western Europe had difficulty maintaining an equilibrium, despite the GREGORIAN REFORM movement and the new monastic trends. Some sought to satisfy their aspirations by a return to evangelical poverty and simplicity, from which it was easy to fall into heresy. This was the origin of many sporadic movements superficially labeled Manichaean by contemporaries, but of which little is actually known.

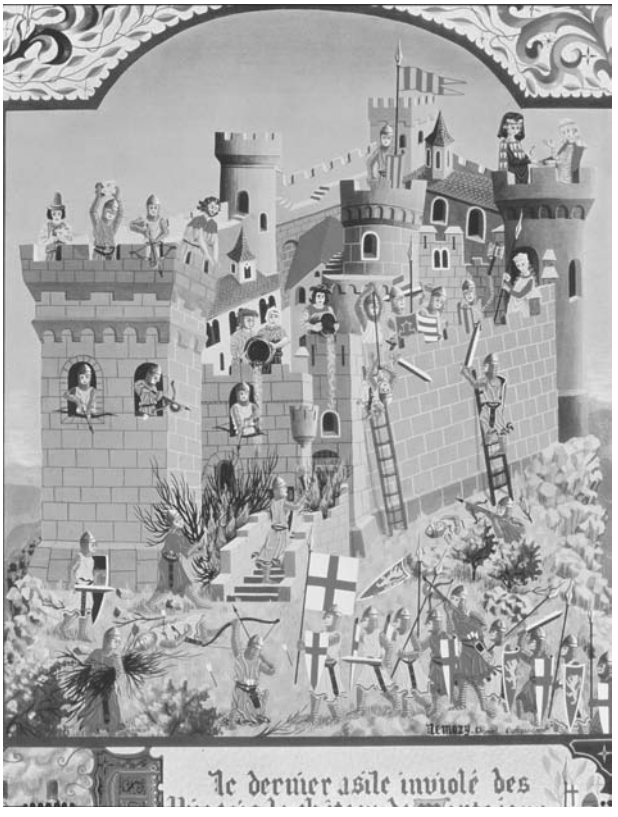
Bogomilism provided these indistinct currents with the doctrinal framework they lacked. Bogomilism itself traced its origin to those Paulician colonies settled in Thrace by the Emperor Nicephorus I (802–811), through which a dualistic and iconoclastic heresy, originally of Armenia, took root in the Balkans. It penetrated into Bulgaria and, during the reign of Czar Peter (927–969), inspired the preaching of the priest Bogomil, who taught contempt for the official Church, held the Sacraments to be useless, rejected the Old Testament, and retained but one prayer, the "Our Father." The world, which was the creation and domain of the devil, was evil. But the DUALISM of the BOGOMILS was not radical, inasmuch as the devil was a rebellious and fallen angel inferior to the principle of GOOD. This heresy is known principally through the *Treatise* of Cosmas the Priest, written in 972. In the early eleventh century, the Bogomils in CONSTANTINOPLE developed a more radical doctrine that admitted complete equality between the principle of Good, that is, the creator of the invisible world, and the principle of EVIL, the creator of the material world. This doctrine was characteristic of the Church of Dragovitsa.

History in Europe. This Eastern heresy was not found in the West until the middle of the twelfth century, when its adherents were called *Cathari* from καθαροί, a traditional name for Manichaeans. Transferred from the Balkan Peninsula principally by knights returning from the second Crusade, the heresy spread rapidly in northern France, through the Rhine countries where Cathari were mentioned in 1163, to southern France (the *Boni homines* of Lombers in 1165). They also spread into Italy around 1176, especially to Milan where many heretics resided. However, there could not have been a Catharist bishop in Italy before 1170.

At first all Cathari in Italy were subject to Bishop Mark, who professed the moderate dualism of the Catharist church of Bulgaria. The arrival of Nicetas, Catharist bishop of Constantinople and an absolute dualist, in Italy soon after 1174, led Mark to transfer to the order of Dragovitsa, which Nicetas represented. Under Mark's successor, John the Jew, the Cathari divided into separate groups. The first was composed of the partisans of absolute dualism, called Albanenses, who organized themselves in the church of Desenzano, south of Lake Garda. They were particularly numerous in Verona. Those who remained faithful to the moderate Bulgarian dualism, the Garatenses, constituted the church of Concorezzo, near Milan. Moderate dualists also came together around the church of Bagnolo, near Mantua, adhering to the order of Esclavonia. Like these, the Catharist churches of Vicenza, FLORENCE, and Spoleto rejected absolute dualism.

In northern France, Catharism was practically limited to Charité-sur-Loire, but heresy made extraordinary strides in the south. Through contact with the Albanenses, absolute dualism was quickly accepted. Soon all heretics in the Midi, both Cathari and WALDENSES, came to be known as ALBIGENSES. By the end of the twelfth century, there were four Albigensian bishops, with sees at Carcassonne, Toulouse, ALBI, and Agen. Around 1225 a church of Razès in the Limoux region was added. With the approval of Pope INNOCENT III, Simon of Montfort launched a crusade (1209–1229) against the Albigensians. The capture of Montségur in 1244, followed by the massacre of its defenders, precipitated the rapid decline of Catharism within France.

Organization. No real unity of doctrine existed among the Cathari, except their agreement on the principle that the visible world was evil. They rejected the Sacraments of the Church, particularly the BAPTISM of water and MATRIMONY. Although absolute dualists recognized a portion of the Old Testament, the great majority of Cathari accepted only the New Testament, which they read in its Catholic version.



Capture of Montségur Castle, France. *Part of the Albigensian crusade of the thirteenth century, twohundred Cathars were burned alive at the site.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE CARCASSONNE/DAGLI ORTI/THE PICTURE DESK, INC.**

Absolute dualists held that Good and Evil constituted two distinct spheres: one the kingdom of the good god who was spiritual and suprasensible; the other, the kingdom of the evil god, creator of the material world. For the moderate dualists, or monarchists, the supreme god had created the invisible heaven, the heavenly spirits who inhabited it, and the four elements, whereas the devil was merely the organizer of the sensible world. The Cathari explained the creation of man by myths: the evil god, or SATAN, had imprisoned spirits in material bodies. The only salutary way to escape this evil world was by the reception of the *consolamentum,* the Cathari's unique sacrament administered by the imposition of hands. CHRIST had come to reveal to men the means of salvation, but not to assume full humanity or to atone for sin by his death on the cross. His earthly life had been merely an appearance.

The Cathar church considered as its members only the Perfect, who had received the *consolamentum*. They were subject to strict poverty and a rigorous ASCETICISM, their diet being completely vegetarian, except for fish. They observed three Lents each year. The Perfect, who for the most part were poor peasants or artisans, were accorded great veneration. In the hierarchy of the Perfect, deacons were above the ordinary Perfect, and at the head was the bishop who was assisted by a *major son* and a *minor son*. The major son succeeded the bishop.

The ordinary Cathari, the Believers, lived according to their beliefs, without fixed rules of morality. It was sufficient for them to believe that the *consolamentum* assured their salvation. During the ceremony of the *melioramentum*, the Believers worshipped the Perfect and listened to their preaching; their chief concern was the reception of the *consolamentum* when in danger of death. Catharism was well received by the lesser nobility, who were poor and in turbulence; by peasants and artisans; and above all by the burghers of the cities who profited from USURY that the Cathari had legalized.

Catharism has long been known only by the refutations found in the works of Catholic authors, for example, ALAN OF LILLE's *Summa*, prior to 1200; the compilations attributed to Bonacursus and Prepositinus of Cremona; and the *Summa* of Rainier of Sacconi in 1250. The *Liber de duobus principiis,* written by an Italian dualist around 1230 [ed. Antoine Dondaine, *Un traité néomanichéen du XIIIe siècle* (Rome 1939)], is now available as well as the anonymous Catharist treatise edited by Christine Thouzellier, *Un traité cathère inédit...* (Louvain 1961).

In refutation of some of the central tenets of Catharism, the profession of faith in the decrees of Lateran IV explicitly affirmed creation of both the invisible and the visible world by one GOD, subordination of the DEVIL to God, the humanity as well as the divinity of Christ, the unity of the Church, and the necessity of the material sacraments of the Catholic Church. Referring to "Moses and the holy prophets" as witnesses to the doctrine of the Trinity, the canon upheld against Catharistic rejection of the Old Testament the validity of Catholic use and interpretation of both the Old Testament and the New. By specifying that all believers receive communion annually, and that their requisite annual confession be made to their own parish priest, canon 21 directed itself against both the Cathari's rejection of the material sacraments and the claims of their clergy. Moreover, the sanctions invoked in canon 3 against heretics in general served to legitimate the harshness of the Albigensian crusade and other subsequent action against the heresy.

Disappearance of the Cathari. By 1250 the church of the Cathari in France was fragmented, and before 1260 the Cathar bishops of Toulouse sought refuge in Italy. There, the entire hierarchy disappeared before the end of the thirteenth century. In the Midi the last strongholds of the heresy, which were in the upper valley of Ariège and in the Carcassonne region, disappeared before 1330; in Italy Catharism died out quietly toward the end of

the fourteenth century. In addition to the inherent weakness of the Catharist principle of passivity, the most vital factor in its disappearance was the example of the MENDICANT orders. The DOMINICANS and FRANCISCANS presented an effective alternative to Catharism, and this rather than the INQUISITION was probably most responsible for the disappearance of the sect.

SEE ALSO ARNOLD OF BRESCIA; CHARITÉ-SUR-LOIRE, ABBEY OF; CISTERCIANS; CLUNIAC REFORM; CRUSADES; HENRY OF LAUSANNE; HERESY, HISTORY OF; NICEPHORUS I, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, ST.; PETER OF BRUYS; POVERTY MOVEMENT; TRINITY, HOLY.

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CATHOLIC ANSWERS

This prominent lay apostolate first arose in an effort to provide a Catholic response to those questioning or attacking Catholic beliefs and practices. The origins of this apostolate lie in the personal experience of a San Diego, California, attorney named Karl Keating, who was spurred to action by fundamentalist Protestant attacks on the Catholic Church. On its Web site, Catholic Answers (CA) provides an account of its transformation into a full-time lay ministry: "In 1988 growing demand and his own burgeoning desire to commit himself to serving the faith led Keating to close his law practice and turn Catholic Answers into a full-time apostolate, with its first office and staff members."

In addition to Karl Keating, many well-known Catholic speakers are also involved in the efforts of CA, including Jimmy Akin, Marcellino D'Ambrosio, Ray Guarendi, Rosalind Moss, Mark Shea, and Tim Staples, among others. CA is listed by the Catholic Diocese of San Diego as an approved Catholic group.

Nature of Its Activities. CA has a broad mission statement that goes beyond the stereotype of narrow apologetic exchanges with critics of the Church:

> Catholic Answers is an apostolate dedicated to serving Christ by bringing the fullness of Catholic truth to the world. We help good Catholics become better Catholics, bring former Catholics "home," and lead non-Catholics into the fullness of the faith. We explain Catholic truth, equip the faithful to live fully the sacramental life, and assist them in spreading the Good News.

This mission statement matches the call of Pope JOHN PAUL II for a New Evangelization that includes reevangelizing Catholics and evangelizing those outside

the Church. CA does not limit its target audience in any way, unlike some who prefer, for example, not to approach others already active in non-Catholic religious communities.

Since its transformation in the 1980s into a full-time apostolate, CA has become a diversified ministry that uses many tools to reach people. These tools include:

1. *This Rock* magazine;
2. A Web site with discussion forums on many topics and a coveted Web address (Catholic.com);
3. An online bookstore selling many apologetic and evangelization resources in different media forms;
4. A radio broadcast seeking to respond to questions about the Catholic faith.

Its Ongoing Importance and Future. With the increasingly dramatic breakdown of any remaining Judeo-Christian consensus over values or lifestyles in the United States, assertive apostolates such as CA may very well be crucial in preventing the disappearance of a distinctive Catholic identity. The threats to this identity can be understood as a problem of cultural assimilation, as the descendants of previous waves of Catholic immigrants have prospered in the United States and have come to participate at every level in all of its cultural, educational, and economic institutions. While recent immigrants manage more easily to maintain a distinctive Catholic or Christian identity (though more than a few actually join other Christian communities), the affluent sons and daughters of earlier immigrants often find it difficult to resist the pressures of cultural assimilation into a secular society marked by moral RELATIVISM. This situation in some ways parallels the Jewish community's longstanding and historic concerns regarding assimilation.

Mere apologetic tit-for-tat will have little impact in such an aggressively secular society. The fundamentalists whose attacks first gave rise to CA are themselves suffering losses from the very same aggressive secularism and cynicism toward anything Christian or religious. Few "seculars" will care about or even understand intra-Christian issues or controversies that have often, unfortunately, pitted Catholics and Protestant evangelicals against one another for centuries. Thus, the broad mission statement of CA—which explicitly seeks to evangelize and empower Catholics to evangelize—is essential for the long-term relevance of its apostolate, beyond the controversies that gave rise to it in the 1970s. In the future, CA may find itself with an approach growing closer to that of C.S. LEWIS, arguably the most able Christian apologist of the twentieth century, who sought to defend the core of Christianity rather than focusing on intra-Christian controversies.

It is noteworthy that the list of speakers involved in CA seems to encompass a legitimate diversity of Catholics loyal to the Magisterium. Its mix of speakers includes at least one person sympathetic to the Catholic CHARISMATIC RENEWAL, while others have no apparent connection to the renewal. Former Protestants and a Catholic of Jewish background are also CA speakers. Such intra-Catholic diversity bodes well for the continued vigor of this important lay apostolate that does not shy away from defending official Catholic teachings.

SEE ALSO APOLOGETICS; APOSTOLATE AND SPIRITUAL LIFE; EVANGELIZATION, NEW; FUNDAMENTALISM; SECULARISM; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM).

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CATHOLIC LEAGUE

The Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights is the largest Catholic organization of its kind in the United States. It was founded in 1973 by a Jesuit priest, Father Virgil Blum. At the time, Father Blum realized that, unlike racial and ethnic minorities in the United States, Catholics could still be treated as second-class citizens because of their religion, and he set out to do something about it. Discrimination against Catholics often took the form of exclusion from certain professions and academic institutions. But eventually this kind of discrimination was replaced by a form of prejudice that consists largely of ridiculing and mocking Catholic belief and practice. In the estimate of the Catholic League, this type of treatment has been especially visible in the arts and entertainment industries.

In 1993, William A. Donohue, Ph.D., became president of the Catholic League. On his watch, the Catholic League has become a media-driven organization, with Donohue making frequent appearances on

television and radio to respond to attacks on the Church from various quarters. The league publishes a newsletter called *Catalyst* ten times a year. Its purpose is to chronicle ANTI-CATHOLIC prejudice in its multiple manifestations. The Catholic League also publishes a thick annual volume that reviews anti-Catholic expressions from the preceding year by category of defamation. *Catalyst* is sent to members of the Catholic League, and the *Annual Report* is mailed to members of the media and the political classes, and both publications are available on the league's Web site.

The Catholic League is funded by membership dues and individual donations. Its annual budget is approximately $3 million and there were about 350,000 members in 2006. In the early days of the league, it was headquartered in Milwaukee, where Father Blum lived at Marquette University as a member of the Wisconsin Province of the Society of Jesus. Since William Donohue assumed the presidency, it has been located in New York City.

The Catholic League has been effective in many of its efforts. Because of protest from the league, ABC's *Nothing Sacred*, a weekly television series about a Catholic priest that debuted in 1997, was cancelled after just a handful of episodes. The League objected to the portrayal of the priest and other dubious material in the ABC show. Likewise, when films such as *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988), *Priest* (1994), and *Dogma* (1999) came to the big screen, the Catholic League vocally opposed them for their offensive depiction of Christ and the priesthood.

In 1999 the Brooklyn Museum of Art featured a collage by Chris Ofili, a black British Catholic artist of Nigerian descent, titled *The Holy Virgin Mary*. This work showed the Black Madonna surrounded by pictures of female genitalia and anuses, with elephant dung splattered all over the canvas. The Catholic League criticized the painting for trampling on good taste and Catholic sensibilities, and it organized a demonstration outside the museum and called for a withdrawal of public funding.

In January 2002, when the clerical sex abuse scandal erupted in Boston and spread to other American dioceses, the Catholic League weighed in by condemning the sordid conduct of a small minority of priests while also defending the Church both against media coverage which was unfair and biased and against district attorneys who overstepped their bounds.

The Catholic League was very active after the release of the film *The Passion of the Christ* in February 2004. In particular, the league argued against charges that the film was anti-Semitic. This was not new territory for the league, however, having defended Pope PIUS XII regularly over the years against the accusation that he failed to do anything to save Jews from the murderous designs of Adolph HITLER.

The league likewise exposed the false premises of the book *The DaVinci Code* (2003), which, among other things, posits that JESUS and MARY MAGDALENE were secretly wed to each other. In 2007, the league played a role in forcing the cancellation of a public display of a naked chocolate Jesus during Holy Week at a New York City hotel.

The Catholic League has been involved in what have come to be known as the "Christmas wars." This term refers to conflicts that have broken out over public acknowledgement of a Christian holiday in what many secularists see as a religion-free public square. The Catholic League has vigorously supported citizens who act in good faith when they file notices of discrimination concerning publicly expressing their religious belief in a pluralistic society.

The Catholic League's policy of tackling the key issues of religion and culture in a responsibly aggressive manner has made it a significant force not only against the marginalization of religion in society, but also in empowering the free exercise of religious rights. To this end, it has emboldened Catholics to have a greater concern for how religion is treated in the public square, helping them to carry out their vocation in the midst of a tumultuous and changing world.

Many U.S. bishops have praised the work of the Catholic League. For example, Cardinal Sean O'Malley, O.F.M. Cap. of Boston, has stated that:

> The Catholic League has done much to ensure that the Church's positions are presented clearly and fairly. Too often those who do not understand the Church or her teachings are the interpreters of the doctrines and events in the life of the Church. The work of the League is important in the mission of the Church which must teach the hard truths of the Gospel in season and out of season. (http://www.catholicleague.org/about.php)

Archbishop Charles Chaput of Denver endorsed the Catholic League in these words: "The Catholic League has the courage to speak up candidly and forcefully for the Church when circumstances call for fighting the good fight. The League should be on every Catholic's short list of essential organizations to support" (http://www.catholicleague.org/about.php).

SEE ALSO CHURCH AND STATE; FILM, THE CHURCH AND; JESUITS; MODERN MEDIA AND THE CHURCH; SEXUAL ABUSE CRISIS.

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CATHOLIC-MUSLIM DIALOGUE

In modern times, the involvement of the Catholic Church in dialogue with Muslims goes back to *Nostra aetate*, the Second Vatican Council document on the relationship of the Church to non-Christian religions. Although in the medieval period, individuals such as Pope GREGORY VII, in his famous letter to Al-Nasir (1285–1340), ruler of Bejaya (in modern Algeria), and St. FRANCIS OF ASSISI had made personal overtures to Muslims, the Church itself made no commitment to pursue dialogue with the followers of ISLAM. Similarly, in the decades before Vatican II, the writings of the French scholar Louis Massignon (1883–1962) and the efforts of the Badaliyya movement in Egypt and Lebanon sought to create a climate of spiritual sharing between Christians and Muslims, but these overtures remained quite limited in scope and had little influence on the Catholic Church as a whole. The growth of Catholic-Muslim dialogue since the time of the Second Vatican Council is discussed below.

Vatican II and Muslims. The immediate precedent to *Nostra aetate* was the 1964 Encyclical of Pope PAUL VI, *Ecclesiam suam* (ES). This letter paved the way for the council documents and introduced the concept of dialogue to a Church that previously had expressed no need for it. The approach of Paul VI to Jews and Muslims anticipates the teaching of *Nostra aetate* and other council documents, referring to "those who worship the one supreme God, whom we also worship. We mean the Jewish people, worthy of our affectionate respect ... and Muslims, who are worthy of admiration for all that is good and true in their worship of God" (ES 107).



Jesuits at the court of Akbar. **© THE TRUSTEES OF THE CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY, DUBLIN**

The *Nostra aetate* (NA) (1965) passage on Muslims set the tone of the document in its opening statement: "The Church regards with esteem also the Muslims." With this expression, the Vatican Council determined the direction of subsequent Magisterial teaching, affirming that esteem for Muslims is a part of the official teaching of the Catholic Church's highest religious authority. *Nostra aetate* presented the reasons for this esteem—Muslims' worship of the One GOD, the Creator of all, who has revealed His WORD to humankind; the desire of Muslims to submit to God's will in the manner of ABRAHAM; their reverence for JESUS as prophet and for his Virgin Mother MARY; and their expectation of the Day of Judgment. The document then notes Muslims' dedication to moral uprightness and mentions

four of the five pillars of Islam: worship of the One God, prayer, almsgiving, and fasting.

The final statement of this short, but dense, paragraph has had the greatest influence on the direction of Christian-Muslim dialogue. Acknowledging that in the course of history "not a few quarrels and hostilities have arisen between Muslims and Christians," the council urges all to move beyond the past to build mutual understanding between the two communities of faith. In a significant conclusion, *Nostra aetate* gives Muslims and Christians a common mission to work together in four key areas of modern life, that is, to promote and preserve "for the benefit of all humankind" peace, social justice, moral values, and true human freedom (NA 3).

The other reference to Muslims in Vatican II documents is found in *Lumen gentium* (LG), the dogmatic constitution on the Church. The document notes that Muslims, "who, professing to hold the faith of Abraham, along with us adore the one and merciful God, who on the Last Day will judge humankind" (LG 16). Thus, while not speaking of dialogue, the document provides a strong theological basis for dialogue by recognizing that Muslims worship "along with us" the One God in a monotheistic tradition that goes back to the faith of Abraham.

The council statements have been criticized for their lack of any explicit reference to the religion of Islam, the revelation of the QUR'ĀN, or the prophethood of MUḤAMMAD. Some Muslims have asked how a statement that remains silent on their religious status, their revealed Scripture, and their prophet Muḥammad could be considered an accurate or adequate expression of their faith. However, the prudent discretion expressed in the council documents can also be regarded in a positive light as an unwillingness to close theological research and discussion on such topics with a premature statement that might prove embarrassing and problematic to later generations. By remaining silent on these key points, the council left open the door for further investigation and clarification in subsequent theological studies and Magisterial teaching.

Secretariat for Non-Christians/Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue. During the council, the Catholic Church took the first tentative steps toward dialogue with Muslims and the followers of other religions by creating in 1964 in the VATICAN a Secretariat for Non-Christians, and within the secretariat a Commission for Relations with Muslims. In 1988 the name was changed to the PONTIFICAL COUNCIL FOR INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE (PCID). In its early years, the secretariat devoted its energies mainly to producing books and journals to give Catholics more objective and sympathetic information about Islam and other religions but, with the exception of high-level delegations to the Vatican from Iran and Saudi Arabia, the secretariat had little direct contact with Muslims.

This situation changed with the appointment of Cardinal Sergio Pignedoli (1973–1980) and then Archbishop Jean JADOT (1980–1984) to head the Vatican Secretariat. Both took an activist approach by visiting Muslims in their home countries and transforming the secretariat into a Roman base for Muslim leaders and delegations on official visits to the HOLY SEE. During the reign of Pope JOHN PAUL II (1978–2005), the secretariat became the pope's personal instrument for pursuing dialogue with Muslims.

In addition to welcoming Muslim delegations to ROME and representing the pope at academic conferences and other dialogue activities organized by Muslims, the PCID initiated seminars with leading Muslim organizations to address theological and social issues. The council held symposia with international organizations such as the Muslim World League, the World Muslim Congress, and the World Islamic Call Society (WICS), and with national Islamic organizations from Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Tunisia, Indonesia, Pakistan, Russia, and Bangladesh. The topics studied included questions of nationalism, violence and religion, human rights and religious freedom, reproduction ethics, religious education, proselytism, the status of women in society, the task of the media in promoting mutual respect, pluralism and the rights of minorities, the challenge of modern secularism, and the role of religions in peacemaking.

Theological Bases for Interreligious Dialogue. Putting the practice of interreligious dialogue on a firm theological basis was one of the main projects of Pope John Paul II and his Vatican departments in the 1980s. Although a number of Catholic theologians had written treatises analyzing the processes and goals of dialogue, the Holy See still had to face the criticism of those who believed that dialogue with Muslims and the followers of other faiths was a compromise with error and incompatible with the obligation to proclaim the Gospel.

Within the space of ten years, the Holy See produced three documents that sought to explain the relationship between dialogue with other religions and the proclamation of Christian faith as well as the role of dialogue in the Church. The 1984 document of the Secretariat for Non-Christians, "The Attitude of the Church Towards the Followers of Other Religions: Reflections and Orientations on Dialogue and Mission (DM)," was followed by the 1991 document "Dialogue and Proclamation: Reflection and Orientations on Interreligious Dialogue and the Proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ (DP)," jointly produced by the same secretariat and the Congregation for the Evangelization

of Peoples and, finally, the papal Encyclical of the same year, *Redemptoris missio* (RM).

These documents took a holistic approach to the mission of the Church. The mission that JESUS CHRIST gave to his followers is a "single but complex and articulated reality" (DP 2). The principal elements of this mission are "presence and witness; commitment to social development and human liberation; liturgical life, prayer and contemplation; interreligious dialogue; and finally, proclamation and catechesis" (DM 13; DP 2). "Proclamation and dialogue are thus both viewed, each in its own place, as component elements and authentic forms of the one evangelizing mission of the Church." As two distinct elements in the Church's one mission, interreligious dialogue and proclamation of the Gospel cannot be considered contradictory. They are "related but not interchangeable" (DP 77). "They must maintain both their intimate connection and their distinctiveness; therefore they should not be confused, manipulated or regarded as identical" (RM 55).

This passage in John Paul II's encyclical *Redemptoris missio* on interreligious dialogue (RM 55–57) presents a clear summary of the Church's commitment to dialogue: "A vast field lies open to dialogue, which can assume many forms and expressions," stated the pope. "Each member of the faithful and all Christian communities are called to practice dialogue," he continued, "although not always to the same degree or in the same way" (RM 57).

These three documents break the practice of dialogue into four typical aspects: (1) the dialogue of life; (2) the dialogue of action and cooperation; (3) the dialogue of experts in studying theological questions and social issues; and (4) the sharing of personal religious experience. In delineating these four types of dialogue, Church teachings broaden the concept of dialogue beyond its roots in personalist philosophy. Dialogue does not indicate only theological discussions among experts but includes also the way that Christians and others live together and bear mutual witness to the values of their religious faiths, the way they work together for the common good, and their sharing of spiritual experience. The "dialogue of life" is a reminder that dialogue is not meant only for religious leaders and scholars but should involve the whole Christian community. On the doctrinal basis of these Magisterial documents, Muslim-Catholic dialogue could be built.

Achievement of Pope John Paul II. More than any other individual, John Paul II was responsible for the reception of the Second Vatican Council document *Nostra aetate* both by the bishops and the rank-and-file members of the Catholic Church. Elected pope thirteen years after the publication of *Nostra aetate*, at a time when the commitment to dialogue with people of other faiths was still misunderstood, ignored, or even opposed by many in the Church, John Paul communicated a consistent message of dialogue, mutual understanding, and peacemaking to Muslims and others, and taught Catholics that respect for the followers of other religions is an integral element of the Church's mission in modern times.

In his commitment to dialogue with Muslims, John Paul II followed steadily the direction set by *Ecclesiam suam*. In his first encyclical, *Redemptor hominis*, John Paul II acknowledged his theological and spiritual debt to *Ecclesiam suam*. Paul VI's later document, *Evangelii nuntiandi,* published in 1975, less than three years before the election of John Paul II, provided a second important springboard for John Paul II by broadening the concept of evangelization to embrace a respectful opening to the modern world that went beyond narrow attitudes of proselytism. Moreover, *Evangelii nuntiandi*'s recognition of the role and activity of the Holy Spirit in all religious and interreligious discourse became a central pillar of John Paul's theology of religions.

Before the time of John Paul II, awareness of the commitment of the Catholic Church to dialogue tended to be restricted to the limited circle of those who studied papal documents. The achievement of John Paul II was to communicate this commitment to the Church at large. It became his practice on papal trips not to limit his encounters to members of his own Catholic flock or even to a broader gathering of Christians, but wherever possible to include visits and meetings with Muslims and, in many cases, with the followers of other religions. In Rome John Paul's audience chamber hosted visiting delegations of Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, and others. John Paul had more than fifty private encounters with the followers of Islam, both in Rome and on his papal travels.

John Paul II's intuitive appreciation that the right gesture at the right time would be remembered long after texts and speeches were forgotten stamped images of a Church in dialogue on the minds of Christians, Muslims, and others. His visits to mosques in Senegal (1992) and Syria (2001) and his kissing a copy of the Qur'ān were dramatic gestures that showed respect for Muslims and for their faith. His invitation to religious leaders around the world to come to ASSISI to pray for peace (1986, 1993, 2002) gave concrete expression to his conviction that prayer in common was a method for believers to come spiritually closer under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Muslims as Children of Abraham. Beyond their obvious value as public relations events and their value as a witness to Catholics and the world, of the friendship and fellow feeling that should exist among Christians and Muslims, these encounters provided an opportunity

for John Paul II to expound the Church's teaching on Islam and other religions. This theology grew out of, and sometimes went beyond, the literal text of Vatican II.

John Paul II situated Muslims within the history of salvation as one of the three families of faith who, together with Jews and Christians, look back to Abraham as their common spiritual ancestor. The pope based this on *Nostra aetate*, which praised Muslims for associating themselves with the prophet Abraham and Abraham's submission to God. The text in *Nostra aetate* is somewhat ambiguous: "They [Muslims] take pains to submit wholeheartedly to His inscrutable decrees, just as Abraham, with whom the faith of Islam takes pleasure in linking itself, submitted to God" (NA 3). Critics of the council took a restrictive interpretation of the phraseology of *Nostra aetate* to claim that the council text does not link Islam to Abraham, but only that Muslims presume incorrectly to make that claim. John Paul II repeatedly sought to clarify the council statement. In speaking to Christians in Ankara in 1979, he dispelled the ambiguity of the council text by saying: "They [Muslims] have like you the faith of Abraham in the one all-powerful and merciful God" (Homily, November 26, 1979). Not only do Muslims express Abraham's faith in the all-powerful and merciful God, but also they have that faith "*like you*," that is, in a manner analogous to Christians' own faith in God.

In 1980 in Otranto, John Paul noted that faith tradition of Muslims from Abraham forms a deep basis for a spiritual unity with Christians and a foundation for dialogue that should transcend historical and theological differences. He stated: "We present to the One God...the problem of coming closer and having true dialogue with those who are united to us—despite the differences—by faith in the one and only God, faith inherited from Abraham" (Homily, October 5, 1980). The challenge is not one of creating some vague theoretical unity with Muslims, but rather that of deepening a fellowship with those with whom Christians are already united by a common submission to the One God.

In a related effort at drawing out the implications found in the teaching of the Second Vatican Council, the pope noted that the common spiritual descent of Christians and Muslims from Abraham should form the basis for unity also with their "elder brothers," the Jews. To a mixed delegation from the three religions in Lisbon, Portugal, in 1982 the pope stated:

> We [Christians, Muslims, Jews] are united by faith and by a commitment, similar in many ways, to demonstrate by good works the consistency of our respective religious positions. We also desire that, honoring as Lord the Creator of all things, our example may serve to help others to seek God, to open themselves to transcendence, and to recognize the spiritual value of the human person. (Address to Jewish-Christian-Muslim Group, May 14, 1982)

The basis for dialogue with Muslims and Jews is thus defined as unity in faith and a common commitment to good works.

Work of the Episcopal Conferences. In the years after the council, the local Churches set up structures at the national and continental level to promote and pursue dialogue with Muslims. Each region established its priorities and created its own structures for dialogue. In Asia the FEDERATION OF ASIAN BISHOPS' CONFERENCES (FABC), representing seventeen Asian countries, conducted a series of bishops' seminars aimed at educating the bishops on practical issues and theological questions about dialogue with Muslims. The European Churches took an ecumenical approach to dialogue with Muslims; in 1986 the Council of Episcopal Conferences of Europe (CCEE) formed an Islam in Europe Committee, together with the largely Protestant and Orthodox group, Conference of European Churches (CEC), with representatives appointed by the EPISCOPAL CONFERENCES and the national councils of each European nation.

In Africa, dialogue with Muslims has mainly been pursued through Church structures at the regional level. The Regional Episcopal Conference of West Africa (CERAO) set up its Commission for Christian-Muslim Relations in the early 1970s, followed by that of the Association of Episcopal Conferences in Anglophone West Africa (AECAWA) in 1991, and more recently those of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) and the Regional Conference of North Africa (CERNA). In the Middle East, where the Catholic Church is a member of the MIDDLE EAST COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (MECC), Catholics have participated ecumenically in annual dialogue seminars jointly organized with Muslims.

In all these regions—Asia, Africa, Europe, Middle East—the continental or regional episcopal structures for dialogue were mirrored by national committees and offices for dialogue and, in many cases, by diocesan dialogue structures. Where the number of Muslims warranted it, specific offices for Muslim-Christian relations were created.

In the United States, the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) began to make informal contacts with Muslim leaders as early as 1987, but not until 1996 did the USCCB Office of Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs organize the first regional dialogues with Muslims. The main purpose of these Midwest,

West, and East regional dialogues was to establish and deepen contacts with Muslim leadership so that they could face common problems together. In an effort to build friendship and trust among the religious leaders, the Catholic and Muslim participants met in a retreat environment and studied theological questions (e.g., the Word of God, revelation, prophecy, etc.). To obtain greater representativity on both sides, the seminars were co-hosted by the diocesan bishop and the local Islamic Council.

These early seminars paid rich rewards after the bombings of September 11, 2001, and the Iraq War in 2003 when, in the face of growing anti-Islamic sentiments in the American populace, Catholic bishops and Muslim leaders were able to make joint statements against violence and terrorism and urge their followers to avoid polarization and racial or religious generalizations and stereotyping.

At the diocesan and local level in the United States, members of the National Association of Diocesan Ecumenical Officers (NADEO) through its Committee on Faiths in the World carried out much of the dialogue with Muslims. NADEO dates from 1970 and works closely with the USCCB Bishops' Committee on Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs. In 2006 the name was changed to Catholic Association of Diocesan Ecumenical and Interreligious Officers (CADEIO).

Dominus Iesus. The dialogue between Catholics and Muslims that grew out of the Second Vatican Council had to confront both ancient conflicts and current issues. Christians wanted to raise questions concerning minority rights, freedom of religion, and the use of violence in the name of religion, whereas Muslims focused on the historical evils of the CRUSADES and the colonial period, and modern concerns such as the distorted image of Islam in Western media and the dangers to faith in secular societies. Although the participants did not always agree, the dialogue enabled them to understand better one another's concerns and to build relations of personal respect and trust.

The appearance in August 2000 of the document of the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, *Dominus Iesus*, on the unicity and salvific universality of Jesus Christ, raised serious problems for dialogue with Jews and for ecumenical relations with Christians of other churches. The document received relatively few reactions from Muslims, probably because they placed greater weight on the personal sincerity and esteem shown them by John Paul II than on a document issued by a Vatican department. Nevertheless, many Christians asked whether the document indicated a withdrawal from the Vatican council's openness to dialogue, prompting the papal response in November 2000 that the commitment of the Church to ecumenical and interreligious dialogue was "irreversible."

In retrospect, the furor over *Dominus Iesus* seems exaggerated. The document does not negate the Church's commitment to dialogue, and its assertions underline how far the Catholic Church had come since the time of *Nostra aetate* in its understanding of interreligious dialogue and theology of religions. *Dominus Iesus* notes that "mutual enrichment" is one of the benefits of interreligious dialogue (2). The scriptures of other faiths contain elements of grace by which God deepens their followers' relationship with Him (8). The Holy Spirit is at work in the history of peoples, religions, and cultures to bring about good (12). The kingdom of God is a reality that goes beyond the visible Church; Christians should work together with all people of good will for liberation from evil in all its forms (19). Those outside the Church have a "mysterious relationship" to the Church that theologians are still trying to understand. Other religions "contain and offer religious elements which come from God" and are "part of what the Holy Spirit accomplishes in human hearts, the history of peoples, cultures, and religions" (21).

Some have objected that such positive statements are not typical of the whole document and that they are often hemmed in by cautions and fears of being misunderstood. However, the fact that even a document concerned about excesses of enthusiasm for dialogue cannot deny Catholic teaching about the work of the Spirit in other religions, the distinction between the Church and the Reign of God, and the possibility of salvation for the followers of other religions shows the extent to which conciliar teaching has taken root in the Catholic tradition.

Pope Benedict XVI and "A Common Word." When Cardinal JOSEPH RATZINGER was elected as Pope BENEDICT XVI in 2005, some predicted that John Paul II's policy of openness toward Muslims would be discarded in favor of a more restrictive, hard-line approach. However, as a close advisor of John Paul II for many years in his role as president of the Congregation of the Faith, Cardinal Ratzinger was no stranger to the theological positions and practical policies of the previous pope; hence, it was not surprising that his orientation should follow the general lines of his predecessor.

In his first encounter with Muslims in Cologne, Germany, in 2005, Benedict XVI carried on, in content and tone, the approach of John Paul II. He recognized the efficacy of the prayer of Muslims and called upon Muslims and Christians to work together to "affirm the values of mutual respect, solidarity and peace, the sanctity of human life," defense of human dignity and rights, and cooperation in the service of fundamental moral values. He concluded by encouraging mutual



Pope Benedict XVI and Islam. *Pope Benedict XVI greets Muslim delegation head Mustafa Ceric (R), the Grand Mufti of Bosnia, at the Vatican November 6, 2008. Pope Benedict urged Muslim religious leaders and scholars to join Christians in defending their common moral values and respect for human rights despite theological differences between them.* **© OSSERVATORE ROMANO/REUTERS/ CORBIS**

understanding: "The lessons of the past must help us to avoid repeating the same mistakes. We must seek paths of reconciliation and learn to live with respect for each other's identity" (Benedict XVI, August 20, 2005).

It came as a surprise to Muslims and non-Muslims alike, when at an academic conference in Regensburg, Germany, in 2006, Pope Benedict cited a passage very critical of the Islamic religion taken from a work by the fifteenth century Byzantine emperor, Manuel II Paleologos (1350–1425). In the ensuing controversy, Muslims around the world expressed their outrage, and several incidents of violence erupted. In an effort to clarify his position, the pope added a footnote to his text stating that he did not agree with the sentiments of the emperor. More effective as a gesture of respect was Benedict's bowing his head in silent prayer in the direction of MECCA in the Blue Mosque in Istanbul in December 2006.

Among the more reasoned responses of Muslims to the pope's Regensburg address was that of a group of 38 Muslim scholars who sent an open letter to the pope, correcting several references to Islamic teaching and history in the Regensburg text and inviting the pope to engage in dialogue on the questions raised. A year later, the same group of Muslims, whose number had by that time grown to 138 signatories, sent a new letter to Pope Benedict and to other Christian leaders. This initiative has come to be known as "A Common Word," after a phrase in the Qur'ān that commands Muslims to come to "a common word" between themselves and Christians.

The letter invites Christians and Muslims to agree on three fundamental elements of Christianity and Islam: love of God, love of neighbor, and the conviction that God wills that the two communities live in peace and work together to build peace in the world. Along with other Christian leaders, Pope Benedict welcomed the Common Word initiative. Following other Christian initiatives of seminars and study sessions on "A Common Word" in places like Yale and Georgetown Universities in the United States and at Cambridge University in

England, Pope Benedict invited representatives of the Common Word signatories to Rome to discuss further steps toward reconciliation and cooperation.

A new committee, the Catholic-Muslim Forum, was formed to pursue dialogue between the two communities. The first meeting in Rome was held in November 2008, and Pope Benedict attended the final session. In welcoming the formation of the forum, the pope reiterated the Church's commitment to dialogue with Muslims in the following words:

> There is a great and vast field in which we can act together in defending and promoting the moral values which are part of our common heritage. Only by starting with the recognition of the centrality of the person and the dignity of each human being, respecting and defending life which is the gift of God, and is thus sacred for Christians and for Muslims alike—only on the basis of this recognition, can we find a common ground for building a more fraternal world, a world in which confrontations and differences are peacefully settled, and the devastating power of ideologies is neutralized. (Benedict XVI, November 11, 2008)

SEE ALSO CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY OF; DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE; DOMINUS IESUS; ECCLESIAM SUAM; EPISCOPAL CONFERENCES; EVANGELII NUNTIANDI; GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY; GOD (HOLY SPIRIT); JOHN PAUL II AND INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE; REDEMPTOR HOMINIS; REDEMPTORIS MISSIO; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS (USCCB); VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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CATHOLIC WORKER MOVEMENT

Founded in 1932 by Catholic convert Dorothy DAY (1897–1980) and French immigrant Peter MAURIN (1877–1949), the Catholic Worker Movement developed into one of the most influential Catholic social organizations in the United States. Known primarily for its work among the poor and dispossessed and for its overt PACIFISM, the movement grew rapidly in the 1930s and 1940s amidst the economic and social dislocation of the Great Depression. In many establishment quarters, including the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the movement was considered radical and communist-leaning. J. Edgar Hoover, the longtime Director of the FBI, closely monitored the activities of the Catholic Worker Movement and on three occasions recommended to the U.S. Attorney General that the organization and its leaders be prosecuted for subversive activities.

The movement, however, always claimed its origins to be the teachings of JESUS CHRIST in the Gospels and the social encyclicals of the popes. In some respects, the Catholic Worker Movement, through the impact of Peter Maurin, was strongly influenced by European Catholic social thought, particularly the notion of Christian PERSONALISM and the writings of Jacques MARITAIN. Christian personalism, as articulated by the French philosopher, Emmanuel MOUNIER, subordinated the importance of large political or social movements in favor of the actions of individuals. Maritain, the great neo-scholastic philosopher, was an early proponent of universal human rights, and his close association with the movement inspired its members to emphasize the dignity of each human person. Drawing on these influences, the Catholic Worker Movement believed that no change could be effected in society if it did not have its origins in the conversion of the individual. Society transformed itself not from the top down, but from the bottom up, and from transformed individuals came the Christian remaking of the world.

Dorothy Day and the movement were never supporters of the welfare state, nor did they put great FAITH in organized charities. Day emphasized the need for each individual to assume personal responsibility for



War Protest. *Rose Cohn (R), journalist Dorothy Day (M), and Charlotte Margolies (L) wearing sashes stating "Keep Out of War" in protest to U.S. involvement in World War I.* © **BETTMANN/CORBIS**

changing the ills of the world by sharing the burdens of other people in a direct, personal manner. Despite the charge that Day's organization was somehow communist-inspired, the movement's weekly newspaper, *The Catholic Worker*, consistently and energetically opposed Communism. Whether state-inspired solutions to social inequality and suffering emanated from the Left or the Right (National Socialism or FASCISM, for example), Day and her followers criticized any broad political movement that resulted in the subordination of the individual. When Catholic workers spoke of communal living, they were speaking of individuals living together

cooperatively in a spirit of Christian sharing, a model akin to a religious community.

The similarity to a religious community, but of laypersons, is evident in several ways. Day emphasized the importance of living a life of POVERTY. She made a distinction between poverty forced upon a person by an unjust and unequal society and the voluntary poverty that she encouraged among her followers. It was voluntary poverty that freed the individual from the concerns and distractions of the world, that dissuaded a person from the pursuit of trivial material goods, and that ultimately enabled the individual to direct his energies toward caring for his brother and sister. In the end, voluntary poverty, for Day and Maurin, was a practical aid to the individual, as he went about the task of remaking the world according to the teachings of CHRIST.

One of the most controversial aspects of the Catholic Workers Movement was its uncompromising pacifism. In the United States this stance often brought its members into conflict with the federal government. Members of the organization were generally conscientious objectors during wartime. Many adherents of the group engaged in public displays of their opposition to war in any form by burning draft cards and protesting. Some members also refused to pay income tax on the grounds that any financial support of the U.S. government was tantamount to support of the government military policy. This emphasis on non-violence was remarkable in an age that saw the rise of radical political movements of the Left and Right that engaged willingly in mass murder. Later, during the Cold War, Day and her followers refused to accept that a "just war" could be legitimately waged, even against communist regimes that were, the Catholic Workers readily recognized, destroying individuals and trampling on human rights.

The philosophy of the Catholic Worker Movement spread during the 1930s to the early twentieth century in a variety of practical ways. The most effective means of transmitting the message and engendering the growth of the movement was Dorothy Day herself. Her prolific writing and her tireless work elevated her toward the end of her life into a well-known and widely respected figure in American Catholicism. The organization's weekly newspaper, *The Catholic Worker*, began publication in 1933. The newspaper aimed to bring Catholic social teaching to the masses in a time of tremendous economic failure and dislocation throughout the world. Over the years, it focused attention on issues of SOCIAL JUSTICE, non-violence, and poverty. Although its circulation never reached significant levels, *The Catholic Worker*'s influence rippled through the American Catholic Church, especially among Catholic university students and lay intelligentsia.

The movement also established Houses of Hospitality in cities throughout the United States and abroad. Because of Day's and Maurin's aversion to organized efforts to confront social problems, they rarely kept records and had few rules. Scholars estimate that more than one hundred Houses of Hospitality, designed to take in the poor and homeless, have been founded, the first, St. Joseph's, in New York City in 1933. Maurin summed up the purpose of these refuges for society's unwanted and ignored: "We need Houses of Hospitality to give the rich the opportunity to serve the poor ... to bring the Bishops to the people and the people to the Bishops ... to show what idealism looks like when it is practiced ... to bring social justice through Catholic action.... (Aronica 1987, p. 59).

Communal farms were also a hallmark of the Catholic Worker Movement, with the first established in 1935 on Staten Island. These were seen, especially by Maurin, as a means for renewing society by returning MAN to the simplicity of nature where no unemployment could exist. The land would provide for the basic physical needs in life, and communal living would foster human virtues that would, in each affected individual, lead to the eventual transformation of society. The communal farms were fewer in number than the Houses of Hospitality and did not flourish as well over the years.

The Catholic Worker Movement continues into the twenty-first century to reflect the philosophy and undertake the work envisioned by its founders, Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin. Its purpose, as expressed by Maurin and put into practice by Day, remains unchanged: "to create a new society within the shell of the old with...a very old philosophy, a philosophy so old, that it looks like new" (Aronica 1987, p. 55).

SEE ALSO CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION; CONVERTS AND CONVERSION; ENCYCLICAL; SOCIAL CONTRACT; SOCIAL GOSPEL.

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CATHOLIC YOUTH ORGANIZATION

The history of the Catholic Youth Organization (known familiarly as *CYO* to legions of Catholics in the United States) began during the Great Depression "in 1930 as an athletic program for elementary and high school youth in the Archdiocese of Chicago" (National Federation for Catholic Youth Ministry [NFCYM] 2007, http://www.nfcym.org/about/history.htm). The founder was the dynamic, pro-labor Auxiliary Bishop Bernard J. SHEIL of Chicago, who would later encounter controversy as he boldly attacked Senator Joseph McCarthy at a time when McCarthy was popular among many Catholics. As one source described him:

> Bishop Bernard Sheil, given free rein by [Cardinal] Mundelein, best epitomizes that [socially progressive] spirit. He was the initiating force behind the Catholic Youth Organization (CYO), which successfully attracted thousands of Chicago teenagers to its sports programs, of which boxing was the most famous. In 1943, the Sheil School of Social Studies, which focused on adult education, opened at CYO headquarters. In 1954, Sheil vehemently attacked Joseph McCarthy at a time when most Catholics strongly supported the demagogic anti-Communist senator. (Gems 2004, http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1090.html)

By 1937 a national organization existed in Washington, D.C. In the early twenty-first century, the successor of this first national Catholic youth organization in the United States is known as the National Federation for Catholic Youth Ministry, whose Web site details the involved and often stormy historical evolution of its organizational structure (NFCYM 2007, http://www.nfcym.org/about/history.htm). A broad overview of that detailed historical development follows. In the 1940s at the prompting of the VATICAN, the national organization became known as the National Council of Catholic Youth. In the 1960s it was renamed the National CYO Federation. In the 1980s major budget cutbacks at the UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS led to the complete organizational independence of youth ministry from the conference.

By 1982 the National Federation for Catholic Youth Ministry emerged. Growth in the 1980s was marked by several conferences and publications as well as new bylaws. In 1993 the organization hosted WORLD YOUTH DAY in Denver and in 1994 became involved with the *True Love Waits* CHASTITY program for teenagers. The 1990s also saw publication of a resource manual to address youth violence. The 1990s were marked by several youth conferences involving thousands of participants. The federation celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 2006 with a wide array of cooperating Catholic organizations and ministries. By 2007 the National Catholic Youth Conference had 20,000 participants.

A prominent, continuing example of what Chicago Bishop Sheil started is the CYO of the Archdiocese of Detroit, which began in 1933 shortly after the CYO was born in nearby Chicago (Archdiocese of Detroit 2008, http://www.cyodetroit.org/AboutCYO/OurHistory/tabid/56/Default.aspx). The history and continuing activities of the Detroit CYO have an athletic character true to the image of CYO formed by most Catholics in the United States. In Detroit, due to demographic changes also found in other large cities, an openness exists toward serving non-Catholics and to developing programs that address social ills such as racism and youth violence. A similarly comprehensive scope of services can be found in the vision of youth ministry set forth by the Catholic bishops of the United States (NFCYM 1997, http://www.nfcym.org/catholicym/index.htm). The offerings of the Detroit CYO give a concrete example of the broad range of CYO activities, such as the well-known athletic leagues, summer camps, youth conferences, and scouting. The scouting support embraces an explicitly Catholic, graduated program of Christian spiritual development (Archdiocese of Detroit 2008, http://www.cyodetroit.org/Programs/Scouting/tabid/224/Default.aspx).

Of special interest in this era of the New Evangelization emphasized by both Pope JOHN PAUL II and Pope BENEDICT XVI is the evangelization component of Catholic youth ministry that goes well beyond the merely athletic or social activities that are most familiar to many Catholics. As described by the National Federation for Catholic Youth Ministry, this evangelization component "involves the community's pronouncements and [the] living witnesses of adults and young people that the reign of God is realized in and through Jesus. The ministry of evangelization incorporates several essential elements: witness, outreach, proclamation, invitation, conversion, and discipleship" (NFCYM 1997, http://www.nfcym.org/catholicym/index.htm, quoting U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Renewing the Vision: A Framework for Catholic Youth Ministry* [1997]).

In addition to the well-developed diocesan youth programs in the United States, the twenty-first century has seen a dynamic outpouring of movements and ministries involving the very youthful populations of the Third World, where Christianity, including Catholicism, is growing rapidly. The largest Catholic youth organization in the world may possibly be CFC Youth for Christ, an adjunct of the pontifically recognized, private lay association of the FAITHFUL called Couples for Christ

[CFC]. CFC originated in the Philippines in 1981 and has since spread to well over one hundred other nations (Couples for Christ 2008, http://couplesforchristglobal.org/newversion/). In contrast to the strong athletic image of CYO programs in the United States, the Youth for Christ movement is primarily evangelistic in its emphasis and is an offshoot or manifestation of the international Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CFC Youth for Christ 2008, http://cfcyouthforchrist.net/). Yet, the organization as a whole is also heavily involved in efforts to address the social and material needs of the poor, as was Bishop Sheil in Chicago.

The goals and mission of CFC Youth for Christ are quite specific and set forth an ambitious vision for Catholic youth ministry in the New Evangelization. Youth for Christ describes its vision for youth ministry in part, as affirming:

> That God is calling everyone to a personal relationship with Him through His Son, Jesus Christ....That the youth have a very special place in God's heart, and that they in return have a very deep sense of love for God, and that a personal relationship with Jesus Christ is something they desire....That the youth realize the need to make decisions in life; but [that] they should also know that as they do, God should always be an inseparable part of these decisions... (CFC Youth for Christ 2008, http://cfcyouthforchrist.net/default.asp?id=36&mnu=36).

Although expressed in language different from that of the National Federation of Catholic Youth Ministry quoted earlier, this vision for youth ministry from a vibrant, international Catholic movement originating in the Third World matches the evangelizing vision of youth ministry articulated by the Catholic bishops of the United States.

SEE ALSO Boy Scouts; Boys Town; Charismatic Renewal, Catholic; Chicago, Archdiocese of; Detroit, Archdiocese of; Evangelization, New.

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CAVOUR, GUSTAVO BENSO DI

Marquis of Cavour; b. Turin, Italy, June 27, 1806; d. Turin, 1864.

As the older brother of Camillo Benso, Count of Cavour (founder of the modern Italian nation and first prime minister of the Kingdom of Italy), Gustavo Benso, Marquis of Cavour, occupies a distinct place among the neglected siblings of prominent historical figures. Yielding to his brother in public matters, Gustavo governed the affairs of the Benso family by virtue of seniority and the laws of primogeniture. Whereas the ebullient Camillo excelled in politics and business, the introspective Gustavo was drawn to religious and philosophical speculation. His upbringing exposed him to a variety of influences. His father supported the Napoleonic regime, but pledged loyalty to the conservative Savoy dynasty that the Congress of Vienna restored to the throne of

the Kingdom of Sardinia. His mother, born into a family of Swiss Calvinists, converted to Catholicism in 1811. Jansenist teachers took charge of Gustavo's early education. His mentors and readings exposed him to the ideas of the ENLIGHTENMENT, British laissez-faire economists, Immanuel KANT, Victor COUSIN, and Joseph DE MAISTRE.

He received an eclectic education that pointed in no certain direction. His early views can be described as moderately liberal, but that ended in the early 1830s, when his political and economic liberalism may have influenced the ideas of his younger brother. Following the death of his wife, Adele Lascaris, in 1833, Gustavo experienced a personal crisis that turned him toward religion. Coincidentally, Adele's death caused a rupture with Camillo, who was deeply attached to his sister-in-law and blamed Gustavo for the unhappiness of the marriage and her early death. Gustavo found solace in the writings of the liberal Catholic theologian Antonio ROSMINI-SERBATI, whose ideas he set out to promote in *Fragmens philosophiques* (1841), which gathered in one volume many of his writings on philosophy, ethics, and religion. His championing of Rosminian ideas involved him in 1843 in a clamorous public controversy with Vincenzo GIOBERTI. Gustavo accused Gioberti of having misrepresented Rosmini's ideas in his writings to put him in a bad light with the pope and of being in league with JESUITS hostile to Rosmini's liberalism.

Gustavo shared Rosmini's convictions that faith and reason played a complementary role and that the teachings of religion could help solve the problems of the present. In 1848 Gustavo helped found the Catholic journal *L'Armonia della Religione con la Civiltà* (usually referred to simply as *L'Armonia*), whose full title reveals the intent of liberal Catholics to reconcile traditional religion with the currents of change. Gustavo resigned from its board in 1851 when conservatives objected to Gustavo's cautious endorsement of the principle of the separation of CHURCH AND STATE. In 1848 to 1849 he opposed the war against Austria, unlike Camillo, who welcomed it as a step toward Italian independence. Elected to parliament in December 1849, Gustavo joined the bloc headed by the ultra-conservative Count Clemente Solaro della Margarita (1792–1869). Gustavo continued to serve as an elected representative in the Sardinian and Italian parliaments until his death and often opposed policies championed by his brother. In 1852 he expressed initial support for the controversial proposal to recognize civil marriages, but then voted against it. In 1854 he spoke against his brother's proposal for Piedmontese participation in the Crimean War, which set in motion the events that led to Italian unification. In 1855 he condemned the expropriation of properties belonging to religious associations. He upheld the inviolability of private property, which he regarded as a bulwark against the extremisms of the left. The revolutions of 1848 confirmed Gustavo's fear that concessions to liberals and democrats would lead to socialism. The uneasy combination of conservative and reformist views made Gustavo Cavour a philosophical and political maverick, suspect in the eyes of both conservatives and liberals.

SEE ALSO CALVINISM; CAVOUR, CAMILLO BENSO DI; JANSENISM; NAPOLEON I; ROSMINIANS.

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CELESTINA OF THE MOTHER OF GOD, BL.

Baptized Marianna Donati; foundress, Congregation of the Daughters of the Poor of St. Joseph Calasanz (Calasanctian Sisters) in Florence, Italy; b. October 26, 1848, Florence; d. March 18, 1925, Florence; beatified March 30, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

At thirteen, Marianna began to think about living a life dedicated to God. She tested her resolve by living for a time with the Vallombrosan Sisters. Unsure that she was suited to religious life, she went back to her family and received spiritual instruction and guidance from Fr. Celestino Zini, a Piarist priest who would become Archbishop of Sienna on March 25, 1889.

In time, Marianna accepted that she had a true vocation and, with the support of Fr. Zini, asked her

family for permission to enter the convent. Not wanting his daughter to leave the family, Marianna's father refused permission with such vehemence that she bowed to his will. Years passed and the forty-year-old Marianna again pleaded for her father's approval to enter religious life. Now a widower and more dependent than ever on his daughter, the father consented only if he and Marianna's sister and aunt could continue to live with her.

In 1889 Marianna found a residence large enough to house her family and four young women who had expressed a desire to join her. At the age of forty-one, she embarked on her long-postponed dream to build a religious community based on the teachings of St. Joseph Calasanz, to address the needs of children who had been abused or abandoned or who lived in poverty. With the continued support of the congregation's cofounder, Archbishop Zini, Mother Celestina, as she had become known, opened her first school on December 28, 1889.

In 1892 Archbishop Zini died, leaving Mother Celestina to guide the new community. In 1899 she accepted another challenge. Taking responsibility for three girls whose father faced a long imprisonment, Mother Celestina signaled the beginning of a new mission for the congregation: to champion children who, while not actual orphans, had lost all adult guidance and aid, often ending up homeless, hungry, and exploited.

Mother Celestina never wavered in her determination to create a religious community as a way to serve God. As a result of her example and leadership, the Calasanctian Sisters embodied and spread an ethic of charity, particularly toward children victimized by poverty and abandonment. In celebrating her BEATIFICATION at the Cathedral in Florence, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins said that Mother Celestina understood "how to unite contemplation and action" through education, and that she stood as an example of the importance of the individual's contribution to a common goal for the good.

Feast: March 18.

SEE ALSO DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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CELIBACY, CLERICAL, HISTORY OF

The practice of celibacy (Latin *caelebs*, unmarried, single) in the Catholic Church, "based on the mystery of Christ," as decreed by VATICAN COUNCIL II in the *Presbyterorum ordinis*, is the voluntary renunciation of marriage undertaken implicitly or explicitly for the purpose of practicing lifelong perfect CHASTITY. This, as a personal response to a divine call addressed to a particular individual and grounded in the life-long discipleship of Jesus Christ (as a divine-human being) is a uniquely Christian institution, and its history reflects the high IDEALISM of Christian asceticism. As a law, celibacy has been contested from both outside of and within the Church.

Outside Christianity. Celibacy (temporary or lifelong) is known to all major cultures and major religions. It was incumbent upon priests and shamans of pre-Columbian America to practice it. Violating the elaborate Buddhist legislation in this regard results in automatic expulsion from a monastic community. DAOISM holds celibacy in high esteem, even though marriage is favored in relation to the worship of ancestors. In ISLAM the *babas* practice celibacy. The Hindu concept of YOGA means harnessing energies for a spiritual goal—therefore, Hindus are called upon to practice abstinence before marriage and after their children are raised.

Antiquity and the Old Testament. Among ancient people celibacy, especially celibacy or VIRGINITY practiced by women, was given a sacral value but was not considered to be a way of life. Temporary CONTINENCE was often imposed as a form of corporal purification (*lustratio*) but only in relation to WORSHIP. Virgins (at any one time there were the six Roman Vestals, each serving for thirty years) were consecrated to a female deity, but perpetual celibacy was not the usual practice. As keepers of the communal hearth, their VIRGINITY was considered essential for the common good of the Roman state. In Sparta those who refused to enter marriage lost civic rights (ἀτιμία) and were given menial tasks. After the time of Camillus (402 BC), Roman bachelors had to

pay special taxes (*aes uxorium*), and during the imperial period, they were deprived of parental inheritance (*caducariae leges*).

In the Old Testament, sexual acts were considered defiling (Lv 15), even when not sinful. Virginity in a bride was the object of high praise (Dtn 22:14–29), and in practice, a girl who had been violated was unable to find a husband (2 Sm 13:20). But the state of virginity was not to be permanent—to be unmarried and childless was to be the object of SHAME (Gn 30:23; Is 4:1; 54.4; Jgs 11:37–40). Marriage was considered honorable and compulsory for all, and to have many children was viewed as a sign of divine favor (Gn 22:17). Thus, during the time of the Old Testament, virginity as a way of life consecrated to God seems to have been unknown except in the period of the ESSENES. Priests, LEVITES, and Kohens were expected to practice continence before and during their time of service in the temple (Ex 19:15; 1 Sm 21:4f). The emphasis was on "cultic purity" (what is considered clean and unclean as linked with the idea of sin) (Nm 6:2–21; 2 Chr 30:19; 1 Mc 14:36).

The New Testament. In the New Dispensation the New Testament emphasizes the value of lifelong celibacy, especially when considering the higher aspects of MORALITY as a means of worshiping God in "moral purity and blamelessness" (ἁγνεῖα: 1 Tm 4:12; 5:2). This is apparent in the examples of CHRIST (ἁαγνός: 1 Jn 3:3), Mary, and JOHN THE BAPTIST, as well as in the teaching of the Lord. Celibacy is presented as a state of eschatological beatitude, as preparing for and anticipating the consummation of the world in Jesus Christ at his Parousia (second coming of the Lord). Whoever leaves his wife for the sake of heaven is promised eternal life (Lk 18:29). In heaven men will not marry; in this respect they will be like the ANGELS (Lk 20:36; also Mt 22:30 and Mk 12:25, texts that are still more significant for the traditional comparison of angelic life with that of the unmarried life). Prior to beatitude, however, celibacy is a way of consecrating oneself to God if it is accepted freely for the sake of the kingdom of heaven (Mt 19:12, 19). Nevertheless it is a special grace and vocation: "Not all men can receive this PRECEPT, but only those to whom it is given" (Mt 19:11). Celibacy is a personal gift from God to an individual Christian.

PAUL did not underestimate marriage, but, along with the Gnostics, he considered it useless in view of the world's imminent destruction. He was generous in his advice to married Christians by helping them in their special vocation (Col 3:18; 4:1; Eph 5:22; 6:9; 1 Tm 4:3; 5:14). He stated that "it is better to marry than to burn" (1 Cor 7:2–6, 9, 27–28, 36). But he considered marriage, like all created things, as secondary if compared to the life in Christ (1 Cor 7:29–31). With this in mind Paul praised celibacy and virginity as a more perfect state because it is the condition for a more fervent—and indeed "undivided"—consecration to God. This more perfect state avoids earthly concerns, and it prepares Christians for the possession of eschatological goods (1 Cor 7:26–35). The unmarried are able to concentrate only on God while married people must think of each other. Paul's teaching, however, is not a universal sacred law for all Christians. He presented it as a counsel, as a grace or as an individual CHARISM, as a special vocation (1 Cor 7:6–7, 25). This charism, however, does not seem to have been granted to all the leaders of the Pauline churches. Moreover, it is difficult to find a peremptory argument in favor of a universal law in view of 1 Corinthians 9:5 and of the question about the matrimonial status of Peter, of the other apostles, and of the brethren of Christ there cited. The PASTORAL EPISTLES give clear evidence that the Pauline churches were ruled by married *episkopoi*, *presbyteroi*, and *diakonoi*. Ministers of the New Testament were not obliged to celibacy but only to what would traditionally be called *boni mores*. Duties in this regard were presented in stereotype form (1 Tm 3:2–13; Ti 1:6–9) with emphasis on three points: (1) the bishop should be married only once; (2) the bishop should rule well his own household; and (3) the bishop should keep his children under control and perfectly respectful; for, as Paul asked: If a man cannot rule his own household, how is he to take care of the Church of God?

At the end of the apostolic age (first and second centuries) The Book of Revelation in 14:4 stresses that celibacy is a sign of a higher way of life that points to the Parousia (the Second Coming) (Gal 5:16-24; Rom 7:14; 8:13). It is a particular sign of the divine dwelling in the human body (Rom 8:11; Cor 6:19). There is no gainsaying that Jesus's call to live the evangelical counsels of "OBEDIENCE, chastity, and POVERTY" (cf. Mt 5–7) applies especially to the apostles and their successors.

The Early Church. During the first three or four centuries no law was promulgated prohibiting clerical marriage. Though celibacy was valued it was a matter of choice for bishops, priests, and deacons. Under certain conditions, as shall be evident below, they were permitted to contract marriage and live as married men.

Clerical Marriage Permitted. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA's (c. 150–c. 215) comment on the Pauline texts stated that marriage, if used properly (as donation of the self to God in Jesus Christ), was a path to SALVATION for all: priests, deacons, and laymen (*Stromata* 1.3.12; *Sources Chrétiennes [SC]*, 38, 33). The Synod of NEOCAESAREA (c. 314) threatened to defrock priests who married (canon 10). The Synod of Gangra (c. 341) condemned manifestations of false ASCETICISM such as the refusal to attend divine worship celebrated by mar-

ried priests (c. 4; J.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 2:1101). The *Apostolic Constitutions* (c. 350–380) excommunicated a priest or bishop who left his wife "under pretence of piety" (*Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 1:51).

SOCRATES (*Ecclesiastical History* 1.1.11; *Patrologia Graeca [PG]* 67:101), SOZOMEN (*Ecclesiastical History* 1.1.23; *PG* 67:925), and Gelasius of Cyzicus (*Hist. concilii Nicaeni* 1.2.32; *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 2:906) all stated that new tendencies at the beginning of the fourth century had tried to prohibit clerical marriage, but until that time individual choice had been the rule. They suggest that when Bishop Hosius (Ossius) of Córdoba (c. 257–357) sought to have the First Council of NICAEA (325) pass a decree requiring celibacy, the Egyptian Bishop PAPHNUTIUS, himself unmarried, protested that such a rule would be difficult and imprudent. He further emphasized that celibacy should be a matter of vocation and personal choice. Research seems to indicate that the Paphnutius episode is legendary (Winkelmann 1968, pp. 145–153).

During this time the Council took measures to prohibit clandestine marriages with consecrated virgins (*agapete*; see John Chrysostom, *Fem. reg.*, *PG* 47:513–532; *Subintr.*, *PG* 47:495–514). Gregory the Elder of Nazianzus (c. 274–374) was bishop of that city when his son and successor, GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS the Younger, was born (c. 330). GREGORY OF NYSSA lived with his wife after his consecration (372)—though the couple decided in favor of abstinence once they had offspring for the sake of greater spiritual benefits, and the succession of GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR (c. 240–332), the first Catholicos of Armenia, remained in his family for four generations, passing from father to son.

However, there is evidence to show that a great number of clerics in the early Church were unmarried or left the married state after ordination. The testimony of TERTULLIAN (*De exhortatione castitatis* ch. 13; *Patrologia Latina [PL]* 2:390) and ORIGEN (*In Levit. hom.* 6.6; *SC* 286. 290–297) may be suspect in that both authors were sympathetic to the sect of the Encratites (it may be noted that Origen castrated himself); but many other authors cited by EUSEBIUS (*Demonstratio evangelica* 1.9; *PG* 22:81) and Jerome (*Adversus vigilantium* ch. 2; *PL* 23:341) testify to clerical renunciation of marriage. During the fourth century most of the bishops in Thessaly, Greece, Macedonia, EGYPT, Italy, and Western Europe were unmarried or left their wives after consecration. But for priests and deacons clerical marriage continued to be accepted. A famous letter of SYNESIUS OF CYRENE (d. c. 414), elected bishop of Ptolemais, is evidence for both the respect of personal decisions in the matter and for the contemporary appreciation of celibacy. He noted that many Egyptian bishops were unmarried. Synesius declared that he would refuse consecration if it meant abandoning his wife and the prospect of rearing many children. He was permitted to retain his status (*Epist.* 105; *PG* 66:1485).

Conditions of Clerical Marriage. Legislation concerning the marriage of bishops, priests, and deacons is a valuable source of information for these practices in the early Church. First, it was declared that marriage could precede but not follow ordination. This general rule was applied according to the circumstances of age and person. If a married candidate for major orders had been baptized as an adult (as was the case with many bishops of the period) he may keep his wife; unmarried candidates were free to marry before consecration or to remain unmarried. Other candidates were baptized as children. Ordinarily they became clerics while quite young, and upon ordination as LECTOR or cantor they were permitted to choose between marriage and continence. Thus the Council of Hippo in 393 (*Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 3:922) declared that lectors were allowed to function until the age of puberty; "thereafter, however, unless they had married while enjoying a good reputation, or unless they vowed continence, they are not permitted to read." The condition of "good reputation" (*custodita pudicitia*) was understood to mean that they were chaste. If the young man committed a sin against chastity he could not be accepted into the clerical state without renouncing his right to marry, for according to INNOCENT I (*PL* 20:477), "any baptized, but defiled [*corruptus*] person wishing to become a cleric, must promise that he will never marry." The canonical reason for this decision was that the marriage of a *corruptus* would not have been officially blessed by the Church and would therefore become the object of popular derision. However, monks who became clerics were not permitted to marry even if they were *incorrupti* (Siricius, *Epist*. 1; Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 185). Accordingly the practice may be summed up as follows: Generally speaking, marriage was permitted before the diaconate. One exception must be mentioned: In 314 the Council of ANCYRA (c. 10; *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 2:517) permitted deacons to marry after ordination if they had previously declared their intention to marry.

In addition the marriage must be monogamic, in accord with the words of Saint Paul that a bishop be *unius uxoris vir* (a man of one wife). Even though variously interpreted, these words were given at least one universal application: If a married cleric should lose his wife he was not permitted to marry again. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (*Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 1:462), for example, declared that after ordination bishops, priests, and deacons were neither permitted to

contract marriage if they had no previous wife nor to cohabit with anyone else if they already had a wife—they were to be satisfied with the wife they had at ordination. The attitude of the early Church, which looked with disfavor upon second marriages, was a sufficient reason for this law. If second marriages, in general, were considered inexcusable even for allaying the passions of youth, for a cleric they would have been scandalous. More lenient interpretations of this Pauline text, for example that of THEODORET OF CYRUS (*PG* 82:805), stated that because Saint Paul was aware of the polygamy practiced by both Jews and GENTILES, he was merely reminding clerics of the general law of monogamous Christian marriage. Consequently he forbade only simultaneous polygamy, meaning he did not forbid remarriage after the death of the first spouse. Ordinarily, however, this interpretation was not accepted and monogamy was understood to exclude successive polygamy (remarriage) as well. Second marriages were considered contemptible and without blessing, and a man who had twice been married could not be accepted into the clergy. Later CASUISTRY led many authors to distinguish between marriages contracted before and after baptism. Thus JEROME (*Epist.* 69, *Ad oceanum*; *PL* 22:654) stated that several bishops and priests had been ordained after a second marriage if the first marriage had been performed before baptism. This distinction was no longer admitted after INNOCENT I and LEO I when any man who had been married twice was refused ordination. By extension the same popes refused ordination to a man who had been married only once and whose wife had previously lived with another man either legitimately or illegitimately.

The Eastern Church. During the fourth century, because of the diversity of practice, the Church felt the need for legislation in this field of clerical activity. The growth of monastic influence, moreover, promoted the cause of virginity and celibacy as is evident in the letters and sermons of AMBROSE and Jerome. When the opposition of Jovinian and Vigilantius brought on a reaction to the monastic spirit, the Church was forced to take cognizance and to act decisively. Neoplatonic ideas also were at work. Laws passed in the East and in the West generally followed regional custom. Eastern practices and laws were usually more liberal than those of ROME, Gaul, or Africa, and were codified by THEODOSIUS II and JUSTINIAN I, both Christian emperors who enjoyed great authority in the Church. Urging national custom, both codes forbade bishops to marry; the Justinian code even denied episcopal consecration to the father of a family. However, if the married man was without children, it was possible for him to be consecrated provided he separated from his wife. In all cases unmarried men were preferred for episcopal consecration (*Corpus iuris civilis*, *Codex Iustinianus*, ed. P. Krueger 1.3.47 and Nov 6.1; 123.1).

Priests, deacons, and other clerics were permitted to live in marriage that was contracted before ordination but were forbidden to take another wife if the first wife died. If they did so they were to be degraded. The second marriage was judged invalid and the children were considered illegitimate and even incestuous (*Corpus iuris civilis*, *Codex Iustinianus* 1.3.44). The Trullan Synod in 692 (see QUINISEXT SYNOD)—never recognized by Rome—passed similar laws. Bishops were to observe absolute continence; if the bishop-elect was married, his wife had to live in a remote monastery (at her husband's expense), but she was allowed to become a DEACONESS.

For all other clerics the Synod permitted marriage before ordination and the use of marriage rights afterward. It further condemned all forms of bigamy. The Synod indirectly criticized Latin marriage legislation: If anyone should attempt to deprive a married priest, deacon, or SUBDEACON of his marriage rights, or if one of the aforesaid should renounce his wife "on the pretense of piety," he was to be condemned and deposed. Several concessions, however, were made to Latin usage: (1) sexual relations were prohibited prior to the celebration of the liturgies (in practice, on Saturday); and (2) a Greek priest was not to have relations with his wife while traveling in barbarian (Latin) countries (cc. 3, 13). No further legislation on celibacy and clerical marriage was issued by the EASTERN CHURCH throughout its history.

Diverse practices developed from these laws both before and after the EASTERN SCHISM, as well as after partial reunions with Rome. In the Byzantine Church and Russian Church, bishops often had been monks; if an unmarried priest was elected bishop, he ordinarily took vows similar to those of a monk before consecration. Many priests, moreover, who were immediate assistants of the bishop, were unmarried. By contrast a priest attached to a country parish was required to marry. If his wife died he was compelled to renounce his office and retire to a monastery. The Coptic Church followed canon ten of the Council of Ancyra in allowing all deacons to marry except those who explicitly promised to live as celibates. Among the Ethiopians and CHALDEANS, priests were permitted to marry after ordination.

The Eastern Catholic Churches, in theory, follow the legislation of the Trullan Synod in AD 692, which has been approved by several popes (CLEMENT III, INNOCENT III, and BENEDICT XIV; cf. *Codex canonum ecclesiarum orientalium* cc. 180 n. 3, 373, 758 § 3); in practice, however, Latin influence has altered the situation. Priests and deacons of the SYRO-MALABAR CHURCH must remain unmarried; the same is true for the ETHIOPIAN (GE'EZ) CATHOLIC CHURCH except

that the bishop may dispense in the matter. The Syrians (1888) and the Copts (1899) demand celibacy except for a convert from ORTHODOXY. Melkite (1849), Maronite (1736), and Armenian priests and deacons (1911), however, may be married before ordination. Nobody preparing for the priesthood may be married in the United States (though some Eastern Rite Catholics wish to change this policy).

Legislation and Practice in the West. Celibacy became a canonical obligation for the clergy in the West through the combined efforts of popes and regional councils. It is the earliest example of general legislation based on the papal authority of DECRETALS and the collaboration between Rome and the bishops acting collectively. Between AD 300 and AD 304 a Spanish council at ELVIRA (near Granada) required absolute continence for all its clergy under pain of deposition (c. 33): "We decree that all bishops, priests, deacons, and all clerics engaged in the ministry are forbidden entirely to live with their wives and to beget children: whoever shall do so will be deposed from the clerical dignity" (*Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 2:11; Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 118f, here 119). One of the Spanish bishops, Hosius of Córdoba, who had been present at Elvira, tried in vain for the same decision at the First Council of Nicaea. This legislation, however, did not enter the Western Church until the second half of the fourth century and was effected through the decretals of various popes: DAMASUS I (*Ad gallos episcopos*, 366–384); SIRICIUS (*Ad Himerium Tarraconensem*, 385; cf. Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 185; *Ad episcopos Africae*, 386); Innocent I (*Ad vitricium Rothomagensem*, 404; *Ad exuperium Tolosanum*, 405; *Ad maximum et severum*, 401–417); and Leo I (*Ad anastasium thessalonicum*, c. 446; *Ad rusticum Narbonensem,* 458). Councils issued the same decrees for Africa (CARTHAGE, 390, 401–419; cf. cc. 3–4 of 419), France (Orange, 441; Tours, 461), and Italy (Turin, 398). No longer could priests, deacons, and (after Leo I) subdeacons be married.

The first letter of Damasus I (wrongly ascribed to Siricius in *PL* 13:1181–1196; cf. *Clavis patrum* n. 1632) gave the classic arguments of the period urging celibacy. How can a cleric advise perfect continence to widows and virgins if he himself does not observe celibacy? Ministers of Christ must obey the Scriptures, which authoritatively require them to be celibate (cf. Rom 8:9; 1 Cor 7:29; Rom 13:14; 1 Cor 7:7).

Marital acts were repugnant to the sacred ministry, and PAGAN and Jewish priests were aware of the necessity of refraining from sexual relations. Saint Paul counseled abstinence for laymen, even though it was their duty to procreate (1 Cor 7:5). The statement of Damasus "that since intercourse is a defilement, surely the priest must undertake his duties with heavenly aid" may appear to favor Encratism (repudiation of marriage and sexuality), but it seems that the pope, alluding to Saint Paul and to the Old Testament, understood defilement (*pollutio*) to mean a legal impurity and not a sin.

Before ordination, the candidate was required to take a vow of chastity (*professio conversionis*). This *conversio* legally placed him in the state of public penitents and the rights of marriage were forbidden. Thus, married candidates were required to promise continence in the legislation of the Councils of ORANGE (441, c. 22), ARLES (c. 450, c. 2; 524, c. 2), and Orléans (537, c. 6). GREGORY I (*PL* 77:506) made this profession the general rule for the subdiaconate, and the Fourth Council of TOLEDO (663), presided over by ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, decreed this profession for priests and deacons assigned to parishes. In addition, the candidate had to declare under oath before receiving the order of the subdiaconate that he had not committed the four major sins of sodomy, bestiality, adultery, or the violation of consecrated virgins (*Ordo Romanus* 34; M. Andrieu, *Les 'Ordines Romani' du haut moyen-âge*, 3:549, 607).

Custom and legislation provided for the status of the wives of clerics. On the day of the husband's ordination, his wife received a special blessing. These wives, known as *presbyterissae* (*presbyterae*) and *diaconissae* (*diaconae*), wore a distinctive garb and were not permitted to remarry, even after the death of their husbands (Orléans, c. 573, c. 22; *Les 'Ordines Romani' du haut moyen-âge* 4:140–141). During the time of Leo I, clerics were not obliged to dismiss their wives but could live with them in chastity. In a letter to Bishop Rusticus of Narbonne (c. 427–461), Leo stated that married clerics should not give up their wives but should live together in wedded love without the acts of love so that a spiritual marriage may replace a carnal one (*PL* 54:1204). Later, after Pope Leo's pontificate, such cohabitation appeared to be difficult and suspicious, and canonical legislation proceeded more cautiously. On the one hand, a bishop was required to provide another household for his wife. Each day she could go to the bishop's house and carefully look after its needs, but she was not to bring her servants, and as a safeguard, the bishop was always to be attended by clerics. On the other hand, a priest was permitted to keep his wife in his home (probably for reasons of economy), but they were not to share a common room (Orléans, 541, c. 17). The ARCHPRIEST was always to be attended, especially at night. His clerics (*canonici clerici*) or a layman was to sleep in his room. Other priests and deacons slept alone but were expected to provide a female servant who was to sleep in the wife's room to warrant her virtue. Married clerics who disregarded these precautions were branded with the heresy of Nicolaitism (Tours 557, c. 20). Priests were forbidden to have other women in their household, and

VIRGINES SUBINTRODUCTAE were especially suspect (Bordeaux, 663, c. 3). In the cities, common sleeping quarters were to be provided for priests and for lesser clerics (Tours, 567, c. 15).

The Gregorian Reform. The period of decline in the Carolingian Empire (814–1046) was also a time of crisis for clerical celibacy. The disorganization of society and the concomitant destruction of churches and monasteries by the NORTHMEN and other invaders of the Empire, and the progressive SECULARIZATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY led to the demoralization of the clergy. Councils in the tenth and eleventh centuries protested against the two chief vices of the clergy: SIMONY and clerical marriage (Nicolaitism). Thus, for example, the Council of Trosly (Soissons, 909) stated that in the monasteries, enclosure had been abandoned and many priests were married. The Synod of Augsburg (952) and the Councils of ANSE (994) and Poitiers (1000) all decreed the law of celibacy. BURCHARD OF WORMS in his *Decretum* (c. 1110) recalled the ancient law prohibiting the marriage of priests (*PL* 140:645–646). Around 1018 BENEDICT VIII protested against the current subversion of celibacy and strengthened the legislation of the Church, especially by imposing penalties for offenders. Priests, deacons, and subdeacons were forbidden to marry or to cohabit with a woman. Their children were declared to be serfs of the Church and could not be freed or granted rights of property and inheritance. The purpose of these canons (similar to that, perhaps, of the Justinian *Corpus*) was to prevent the secularization of ecclesiastical property by the families of priests.

Disorder existed not only in the practice of the period but even in the field of doctrine. Certain arguments that had circulated against celibacy were answered by PETER DAMIAN in his *Liber Gomorrhianus* and in *De coelibatu sacerdotum ad Nicolaum II* (*PL* 145:159–190, 379–388). He in turn was answered by Ulric, Bishop of Imola (c. 1060), in his *Rescriptum seu epistola de continentia clericorum* (*Monumenta Germaniae historica: Libelli de lite [MGH]* 1), a pamphlet once attributed to Saint ULRIC OF AUGSBURG and condemned by GREGORY VII (1079). Ulric appealed to the texts of Saint Paul and to the freer practices of the first several centuries, forgetting the power of the Church to initiate new laws. These errors were renewed in the *Tractatus pro clericorum connubio*, the expanded Norman edition of Ulric's work, and in the *An liceat sacerdotibus inire matrimonium* (*MGH: Libelli de lite* 3). These writings claimed that celibacy was a personal vocation, not a canonical state, and that marriage in itself was not evil. In the next century the Goliards appealed to the NATURAL LAW as an argument for greater freedom.

Many popes in the eleventh century proceeded with vigor against these conditions. LEO IX (1049) assigned the wives and concubines of priests to servitude as *ancillae* to the Lateran Palace. NICHOLAS II (1059) deprived married priests, even in the external forum, of the right to perform liturgical acts of worship, and they were forbidden to live in the *presbyterium* of the churches. They were also denied all further rights to ecclesiastical prebends. To further his efforts the pope tried to enlist the support of the laity by prohibiting them from attending Mass offered by a married priest or by one who lived in concubinage. Many laymen, indeed, were gravely scandalized by clerical immorality and supported the program of papal reform. And some of them, belonging to the sect of the PATARINES, fell under the influence of MANICHAEISM and became CATHARI.

GREGORY VII issued no new decretals on the subject but energetically applied existing law through the action of his legates and by extensive correspondence with bishops. In a letter to Otto of Constance, the pope summarized his actions and intentions:

> Those who are guilty of the crime of fornication are forbidden to celebrate Mass or to serve the altar if they are in minor orders. We prescribe, moreover, that if they persist in despising our laws, which are, in fact, the laws of the Holy Fathers, the people shall no longer be served by them. For if they will not correct their lives out of love for God and the dignity of their office, they must be brought to their senses by the world's contempt and the reproach of their people. (*PL* 148:646; "Regesta pontificum romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum," ed. S. Löwenfeld, 4932)

By his courage and zeal, Gregory must be credited with being the true restorer of sacerdotal celibacy in those disturbed times.

The last stage in the struggle against clerical marriage (considered illicit only in the Western Church) was to declare such marriages invalid. This action was taken at the First and Second LATERAN COUNCILS of 1123 and 1139. In the latter (cc. 6–7; *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta* 174) the impediment of orders was definitively declared to be a diriment impediment. In explaining this decision canonists commonly state that candidates for ordination to the subdiaconate tacitly take the vow of celibacy; thus BONIFACE VIII (*Corpus iuris canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, VI; 3.15). This theory recalls similar vows taken in the Merovingian period and in the Russian Church. Other explanations are based on the power of the Church to annul marriages contracted contrary to its laws, or on arguments that clerical marriage is contrary to the divine law (e.g., Sanchez, *De sancto matrimonii sacramento* 7.27). This latter explanation came up for further discussion at the Council of TRENT.

The Age of the Reformation. By the end of the MIDDLE AGES the Church again experienced a period of decline in clerical morality, occasioned by the BLACK DEATH, the Hundred Years' War, the WESTERN SCHISM, and the pagan spirit of the RENAISSANCE. Most historians of this period point to clerical marriage as a common practice and to the sons of priests who were legitimated and, as in the case of ERASMUS, even ordained to the priesthood with a dispensation from the Roman CURIA (at the cost of 12 *gros tournois*). In his *Commentary on the Galatians* (4.30; 1535), LUTHER stated that his movement would have made little headway against the PAPACY if clerical celibacy had been observed then as it was in the time of Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine; that "celibacy was something remarkable in the eyes of the world, a thing that makes a man angelic."

At the time of his break with the Church (1517) Luther did not promote sacerdotal marriage, and in a letter dated January 17, 1522, he refused to encourage it. But by the end of that year he condemned celibacy in his *De votis monasticis*, and in April 1523 he officiated and preached at the wedding of Wenzeslaus Link, the late vicar general of the AUGUSTINIANS. Finally, Luther himself was married on the evening of June 13, 1525, to the SCANDAL of many of his friends and the applause of many married priests of his day. Luther then attempted a doctrinal justification based on the authority of the Pauline texts, denial of the Church's authority to issue new laws (he burned the books of canon law in 1530 declaring them the work of the DEVIL), denial of the Sacrament of HOLY ORDERS, the futility of good works, and the necessity of marriage for fallen nature (cf. Luther, *Werke* 6:442, 550; 8:654; 10.2:276). CALVIN was perhaps less radical than Luther. While requiring marriage as the general rule, Calvin admitted (commenting on Mt 19.12 and 1 Cor 7) that celibacy may be an acceptable means of serving God. But he claimed that celibacy as a personal vocation cannot be judged as being greater in value than the common way of life. The Geneva reformer protested against the despising of marriage, found in the writing of Saint Jerome, and, in his opinion, in the average treatise on theology (cf. Calvin, *Commentaires sur le Nouveau Testament* 1561; Mt 19 and 1 Tm 4.3).

The Council of Trent. Opposition to the Protestant position voiced by popes, bishops, priests, and kings failed to agree on the methods to be used or on the nature of true reformation within the Church. Several of the princes, including Emperor Ferdinand I (c. 1503–1564), thought it opportune to grant Germany a married priesthood as well as COMMUNION UNDER BOTH SPECIES (bread and wine). Duke Albert V of Bavaria (c. 1528–1579) suggested that only married men be ordained and that the Church be indulgent to priests who sinned. According to L. von Pastor (1854–1928), PIUS IV did not altogether refuse to examine the matter, but distinguished the possibility of practical and individual grants of dispensation (such as were given later in the case of the UTRAQUISTS) from the general problem, which was submitted to the Council of Trent.

In its twenty-fourth session the Council studied these questions along with others related to marriage. On February 2, 1563, the cardinal of Mantua presented the theologians with a list of Protestant theses for their examination. Here were found the statements equating virginity and marriage (No. 5) (C.J. von Hefele, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, translated and continued by H. Leclercq, 10:507; *Concilium tridentinum. Dariorum, actorum, epistularum, tractatuum nova collectio*, ed. Görres-Gesellschaft, 9:376) as well as the legitimacy of marriage for priests in the Latin Church and for anyone who has not received the grace of perfect chastity; otherwise marriage would be degraded (No. 6). Discussion of No. 5 was neither difficult nor protracted. Theologians brought arguments to bear from Matthew 19 and 1 Corinthians 7 as well as from the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH and the example of the Blessed Virgin, leading to the definition of the superiority—objectively speaking—of virginity dedicated to God (sess. 24; c. 10; *Conciliorum oecumeniocorum decreta* 731; Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1810). From a psychological point of view, for those who are not called to celibacy a vow is neither proposed nor advised as something better. Many opponents of the Council's definition, both then and now, forget this distinction. To understand the thinking and mindset of the fathers of the Council of Trent, also called Tridentine Council, in Latin "Concilium Tridentinum," reference must be made to 1 Corinthians 7: The Council did not go beyond the words of Saint Paul.

Discussions on sacerdotal celibacy were longer and of greater importance. In general, theologians and canonists expressed opinions that were more severe than canon 9, which was finally voted in by the Fathers of the Council. The Council cited texts from Scripture (1 Cor 7:5, 33), the Fathers of the Church (e.g., Jerome), and various papal decretals, concerning the suitability of celibacy to the sacerdotal vocation. First, it was argued that celibacy is the condition for God's service in the apostolate. A married minister of religion is too preoccupied with his wife and family to give such service. Secondly, the priesthood, even in the Old Testament, requires a form of sanctity that implies the curbing of carnal desires. In the Old Testament, priests were obliged only to a limited time of worship; but now they were



Council of Trent. *Considered one of the most important and influential of the Ecumenical Councils, Trent decided the question of clerical celibacy for the Catholic Church.* © **DAVID LEES/ CORBIS**

totally consecrated to God. These arguments were presented by Jean Peletier, Jean de Lobera, Claude de Sainctes, and Miguel de Medina. Two opposing views were introduced regarding the nature of the obligation and the possibility of general or individual dispensation. The more rigid view, expressed by de Sainctes and de Lobera, claimed that marriage and the priesthood were incompatible. While good in itself marriage nevertheless rendered one unfit for the ministry. Consequently, celibacy for the priest was a duty based on divine law. Because the Sacrament of Holy Orders obliged the candidate to celibacy as baptism did to the Christian life, a vow was unnecessary.

Such views were difficult to reconcile with historical evidence, and de Sainctes was content to gloss over such evidence. For him, the early Church had always required celibacy—only the Trullan Synod had permitted marriage for incontinent Greek priests, and Rome had tolerated its decision in order to avoid greater evil. But this was not a true dispensation, for none could be given by the pope.

Fortunately, some theologians were both better informed in the past and better informed by history, and proposed more realistic views. The majority claimed that clerical celibacy was required by ecclesiastical law (Jean Peletier, Antonius Solisius, Richard du Pre, Lazaruss Broychot, Francisco Foriero Ferdinand Tritius, John de Ludegna, and Sanctes Cinthius). In their opinion a priest was unable to contract marriage either by the will of the Church or by reason of an implicit

vow involved in ordination to the subdiaconate. Despite the suitability of celibacy to the sacerdotal state, the pope may fundamentally dispense from the law, or as some thought, at least dispense from the vow. At length the debate was resolved into the question of whether it was opportune to dispense priests at that time. The Portuguese Dominican, Francisco Foriero, argued in the affirmative by stating that the Church may allow clerical marriage for such grave reasons as combating SCHISM or heresy in a particular country. Three other Dominicans, John Valdina, Cinthius, and de Ludegna, and the Franciscan Lucius Angusiola, agreed with this opinion. Others, however, such as Broychot and Tritius, denied the utility and PRUDENCE of such a dispensation.

In voting to accept canon 9 (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1809), the Council rejected the opinion that celibacy was of divine law. The canon taught, first, that the Church had the right to prohibit and invalidate sacerdotal marriage by reason of vow or of ecclesiastical law. If the Church should change its legislation or not require the vow, priests would not be obliged to celibacy. Thus, the canon did not distinguish between the Eastern and the Western Church; the fundamental law was the same for both. Secondly, the Church taught that in holding sacerdotal celibacy in such high regard, it wished in no way to minimize its regard for marriage. Both vocations were distinct and each had its distinctive obligations. Thirdly, the Council rejected the claim of those priests who held that celibacy was impossible. Because priests had accepted celibacy by vow they should implore the grace of God, which would be sufficient to reinforce them in their resolve. Therefore, the Church implicitly refused to grant a dispensation for the clergy of Germany.

Celibacy's Prophetic Nature. Johann Adam MÖHLER's (1796–1838) systematic analysis of Church history ties Church life and *libertas ecclesiae* to the deliberate practice of celibacy. The celibate clergy preserves the faith's integrity in relation to political, social, cultural, and other instrumentalizations (Mk 12: 17). It is testimony to JESUS CHRIST's "spirit amongst his people...who had been poor, celibate and obedient." The magnanimity (see Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2a-2ae, q. 129, a. 3) to which Christ's example impels all Christians is lived for by the celibate clergy for the benefit of the people of God. Over and against NATURALISM and MATERIALISM, and hedonism, it symbolizes the world's ephemerality, and expresses the world's yearning for its completion in Christ's eternity. Thereby it overcomes a naïve sense of autonomy, constantly reminding everyone of the need for grace. Möhler significantly emphasizes the common root of both matrimony and celibacy in supernatural grace. Both are essential and necessary for the Catholic Church and reciprocally related to one another.

Special Consecration to Christ. The primary motive for priestly celibacy in the eyes of Vatican Council II is special consecration to Christ. The comments on priestly celibacy had been numerous and at times heated, although Pope VI had considered public discussion of this topic inopportune. A Brazilian intervention on behalf of *viri probati* was rejected, thereby affirming implicitly the constitutive import of the charism of celibacy for the Church as mystical body of Christ. While celibacy is not an essential mark of priesthood, it is the Father's personal "precious gift" (*Presbyterorum Ordinis [PO]* 16; Mt 19:12) and spiritually most fitting to a priest. The justification of celibacy is theological in nature. The total consecration to and imitation of Christ's priesthood has as consequence: (1) greater freedom (to live in God's presence); and therefore, (2) the ability of complete devotion to the people of God entrusted in their care. Consecration to Christ enables living the attendant mission, imparting supernatural life from Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit to the people of God entrusted in their care. Though acutely aware of numerous questions regarding celibacy, the assembly voted 2394 to 4 in favor of the decree.

Since Peter Brown's study in 1988, research reveals the high esteem held for priestly celibacy by the early Church *ab initio*. Nevertheless, in the early Church and in the East the marriage of bishops, priests, and deacons was permitted for good reason. Since the nineteenth century, popes have found similarly good reason to dispense from celibacy in the case of married Protestant and Anglican pastors who have converted and desire ordination. At the request of bishops from many countries Vatican Council II permitted a married diaconate, to which it admitted married men of mature years (*Lumen gentium [LG]* 29). Both the Council of Trent (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1810) and Vatican Council II (*LG* 44) affirm the close relationship between celibacy/virginity and marriage—chastity being the common foundation. The one thrives on the credible testimony of the other. All evangelical counsels are at the service of the total Church (*PO* 15-17). Hattrup points out celibacy's relevance in helping society combat the ecological crisis, consumerism, and hedonism (cf. Hattrup in Möhler 1828, pp. 145–163). Already the Council of CARTHAGE (390) held celibacy to be "taught by the Apostles" and "maintained by antiquity." To this day this is the understanding of all Christian denominations standing in apostolic succession. In contradistinction to JUDAISM and Greco-Roman culture, the rationale for Christian celibacy does not lie first and foremost in cultic purity. As Paul VI (1967) emphasized, celibacy has a Christological foundation and both ecclesiological

and eschatological significance. It supports the priest "in his exclusive, definitive and total choice of the unique and supreme love of Christ and of the Church" (*Sacerdotalis caelibatus*, AAS 59 (1967) 657–697, n. 14). The general theological opinion gradually evolving since the 1980s among scholars may be summed up as follows: Far from a human achievement, as God's free gift (*donum*), clerical celibacy is considered most proper to the sacerdotal ministry; it is in no sense a depreciation of marriage but the condition for greater freedom of all Christians in the service of God (*PO* 16). JOHN PAUL II spoke of an "evangelical radicalism" that expresses itself in the evangelical counsels "which Jesus proposes in the Sermon on the Mount, and among them the intimately related *counsels of obedience, chastity and poverty*. The priest is called to live these counsels" (*Pastores dabo vobis [PDV]*, AAS (1992) 657–804, n. 27). By becoming of like mind with Jesus, the priest can imitate his spiritual fecundity (*LG* 42) and become "a total gift of self for the flock" (*PDV* 15). The law of celibacy is of ecclesiastical origin and therefore disciplinary in nature (*Codex iuris canonici*, c. 277 § 1). The fact that it can, in theory only, be abrogated by the Church, calls for the constant re-affirmation and defense of its practice. The spiritual fecundity of celibacy is constitutive for the Church and Christianity in the sense that without it the two would evaporate into nothing. Therefore, it is the ennobling (i.e., Christifying) task of all—clergy and laity alike—to encourage, support and pray constantly for the charisma of celibacy as God's gift to some individual Christians.

SEE ALSO APOSTLE; BUDDHISM; BYZANTINE CHURCH, HISTORY OF; COUNCILS, GENERAL (ECUMENICAL), HISTORY OF; COUNCILS, GENERAL (ECUMENICAL), THEOLOGY OF; DECRETALISTS; DECRETALS; GREGORIAN REFORM; MEROVINGIANS; PAROUSIA; PRIESTHOOD IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION; TRIDENTINE MASS.

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CENTURIONE BRACELLI, VIRGINIA, ST.

Foundress of the Brignoline Sisters; b. April 2, 1587, Genoa, Italy; d. December 15, 1651, Genoa; beatified September 22, 1985; canonized May 18, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Virginia Centurione Bracelli was born into a noble family in Genoa. At age fifteen, despite her longing for the cloistered life, Virginia complied with the wish of her father, the doge of Genoa, and married Gasparo Grimaldi Bracelli. At twenty years old, she was left a widow with two daughters. She pronounced her vows of CHASTITY, devoting herself to prayer, and took to the education of her children while living with her mother-in-law. During a famine, she opened her palace, which she called Santa Maria del Refugio dei Tribolati, to abandoned children and those in distress. In 1619 the women who worked with her in the apostolate bound themselves by a solemn promise of perseverance to a common life under the Franciscan rule.

After the death of her mother-in-law in 1625, Virginia sought out the poor and troubled in the streets to help those in need. The Daughters of Our Lady of Mount Calvary, known as the Brignoline Sisters, opened their second house in 1641 through the munificence of the Marquess Emmanuele Brignole and soon spread throughout northern Italy. Virginia instituted the forty-hours devotion in 1642 in Genoa. In her later years, as her health declined, she received many mystical gifts, including inner locutions and visions. She died on December 15, 1651.

The sisters were invited to Rome in 1815 and moved the motherhouse to the Esquiline Hill near St. Norbert's Church in 1833. In addition to founding the Brignolines, Mother Virginia organized a group to maintain Genoa's Madonnette, about nine hundred sacred images of the Virgin Mary recessed into the outer walls of guild halls and houses throughout the city.

Virginia was beatified at Genoa by Pope John Paul II on September 22, 1985. During her canonization in Rome on May 18, 2003, the pope observed that, in her love, St. Virginia continues her influence into the present. The pope spoke of how Virginia encouraged others to make God their only goal, and in doing so, "all disagreements are smoothed out, all difficulties overcome," as she was known to say. Virginia loved in the way the Apostle John described in his first letter: "with deeds and in truth" (1 Jn 3:8). The pope further noted that she was truly "in love with Christ" and ready to make her life a gift to others for his sake: "Disregarding her noble origins, she devoted herself to assisting the lowliest with extraordinary apostolic zeal. The effectiveness of her apostolate stemmed from her unconditional adherence to God's will, which was nourished by ceaseless contemplation of, and obedient listening to, the word of the Lord."

Feast: December 15.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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CERIOLI, PAOLA ELISABETTA (COSTANZA), ST.

Baptized Costanza Cerioli, known in religion as Paola Elisabetta; religious foundress; b. January 28, 1816, Soncino (Cremona), Italy; d. December 24, 1865, Comonte di Seriate (Bergamo); beatified by Pope Pius XII, March 19, 1950; canonized by Pope John Paul II, May 16, 2004.

Costanza Cerioli was the youngest of sixteen children born to the wealthy Count Francesco Cerioli. After attending the school run by the Visitandines in Bergamo (1826–1832), she assented to an arranged marriage with the sexagenarian Gaetano Buzecchi Tassis, a noble and wealthy widower on April 30, 1835. The disparity in age and spiritual outlook between wife and husband, the latter's ill health and uneven temperament, and the deaths of two of their children in infancy were trials that Costanza bore patiently. She finally endured the loss of her teenage son Carlo and her husband in the same year (1854).

Gaetano's widow dedicated her wealth and energies to works of charity. She began caring for rural orphan girls in her home. As the number of children grew, she kept increasing the number of persons who supervised their formation.

Costanza founded the Institute of the Sisters of the Holy Family of Bergamo (December 8, 1857) to promote the dignity of these agrarian children, and she took Paola Elisabetta as her name in religion. Her devotion to the Holy Family animated her efforts, and in her *Direttorio* she offered this model of "humility, simplicity, poverty, and love of work" to her community (*Proemio*). To care for orphaned boys, she founded, with the help of Giovanni Capponi, the Brothers of the Holy Family (November 4, 1863). In her final three years, she witnessed the establishment of Holy Family schools in Soncino and Leffe (Bergamo).

The cause for her beatification and canonization was opened in 1902, shortly after the VATICAN had approved the rules she had written for her congregations. Pope PIUS XII confirmed her heroic virtues (July 2, 1939) and later ratified two miracles attributed to her intercession (November 27, 1949), thus paving the way for her beatification on March 19, 1950. In 2000 the postulator of her cause alleged that Sister Michelina Rota had been cured through the Blessed's intervention from a malignant tumor that had spread to her liver and right kidney. The Congregation for the Causes of Saints affirmed that this healing was miraculous, and Pope JOHN PAUL II ratified this ruling (December 20, 2003). He canonized Paola Elisabetta at Vatican City on May 16, 2004. In his homily, the pope offered her to the Church as a teacher and example of contemplative faith and the practice of Christian values that strengthen family bonds and yield abundant spiritual fruit.

Feast: December 24.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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CHAPPOTIN DE NEUVILLE, HÉLÈNE DE, BL.

Foundress of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary; b. Nantes, France, May 21, 1839; d. San Remo, Italy, November 15, 1904; beatified October 20, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Hélène de Chappotin de Neuville, the daughter of Sophie Caroline (du Fort) and Paul Charles Chappotin, displayed an interest in missions at a young age. In December 1860, she entered the POOR CLARES, and a month later felt God's call to offer herself up "to be crucified in place of the Holy Father." Soon after, she fell ill, requiring her to leave the convent. After her recovery in 1864, she entered the Society of Mary Reparatrix and took the name Mary of the Passion. From 1865 to 1876, she labored in the Madura missions of India, and was appointed provincial superior at the age of twenty-nine. In 1877 Pope PIUS IX authorized her to found the Institute of Missionaries of Mary. Inspired by a calling to the Franciscan way of life she had felt twenty-two years earlier, she was received into the third order of Franciscans in 1882, and her institute became the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary. On May 11, 1896, she received final approbation of the constitutions for her order from the HOLY SEE.

While serving as a superior and later as foundress of a new order, Mary of the Passion suffered through dissension and continual opposition, even to the point of being temporarily deposed from her position as superior of the institute. While enduring these and other trials, such as poverty and poor health, she encouraged her sisters to "stand up and walk! I beg you, walk in the footsteps of Jesus!" Her zeal for missionary work was fueled by a rich contemplative life, wherein she drew strength from "the great missionary," Jesus in the Eucharist. Seven members of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary were martyred in 1900 in China, and were canonized on October 1, 2000, during the Great Jubilee year.

Mother Mary of the Passion's cause for beatification was introduced in 1923. On March 5, 2002, the Church attributed to her INTERCESSION the miracle of the healing of a religious who suffered from "pulmonary and vertebral TBC, Pott's Disease." At her BEATIFICATION on October 20, 2002, Pope John Paul II noted Mary of the Passion's deep commitment to social justice through "the promotion of women and everyone belonging to an inferior social class."

At the time of her death in 1904, the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary had almost three thousand religious and eighty-six houses on four continents. Today, the missions continue with more than seven thousand sisters located on six continents.

Feast: November 15.

SEE ALSO FRANCISCANS, THIRD ORDER REGULAR; MISSION AND MISSIONS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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CHARISM

The word *charism* (from Gr. χάρισμα) denotes a gift freely and graciously given, a favor bestowed, a grace. In its technical meaning, a charism is a spiritual gift or talent granted to someone by God for "building up the body of Christ" (Eph 4:12, all references RSV unless otherwise noted). This article will examine first the biblical understanding of charism, and then the experience and theology of charisms in the history of the Church.

IN THE BIBLE

The Greek word *charisma* occurs seventeen times in the New Testament, principally in Romans and 1 Corinthians. Although it is sometimes employed in a general sense of a "free gift" from God in reference to justification (Rom 6:23), state of life (1 Cor 7:7), or other blessings, this article will focus on charism in the technical sense defined above, taking into account other biblical terms used to refer to the same reality (e.g., 1 Cor 12:4–7; Eph 4:7).

The longest and most important treatment of charisms occurs in 1 Corinthians 12–14 in the context of instructions about liturgical practice (1 Cor 8–14). Here Saint Paul makes clear that the goal and criterion for determining the proper use of spiritual gifts is that they "build up" the Church and its members and advance its mission (1 Cor 14:7–26). For this reason, Paul ranks the intelligible charisms of prophecy and teaching over speaking in tongues. According to Paul, the diversity of charisms found among the members of the Church must be understood in the context of the oneness of the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:12–26; Rom 12:4–8). Each member is equally necessary and important, although a hierarchy of charisms exists (1 Cor 12:28–30). The diversity of "gifts," "services," and "working" derives its unity from the same Spirit, same Lord, and same God (1 Cor 12:4–6).

The New Testament provides a few lists of charisms, each of which is somewhat different, suggesting the variety of ways that the Holy Spirit works through members of the body of Christ. The most extensive list is found in 1 Corinthians 12:8–10. There the "utterance of wisdom" and "utterance of knowledge" refer to graces given by the Spirit to preach or teach the faith with particular fruitfulness. "Faith" refers to a special inner assurance from the Spirit about God's will that enables someone to accomplish a marvelous work; it is the kind of faith that Jesus said can move a mountain (Mk 11:22–24; 1 Cor 13:2). Although all believers are empowered to pray for the sick (Mk 16:18), "gifts of healing" make some individuals particularly effective in this ministry. The "working of miracles" along with other extraordinary charisms lends credibility to the preaching of the Gospel (Acts 2:43, 5:12, 6:8; 1 Cor 14:24–25; 2 Cor 12:12; Heb 2:4). "Discernment of spirits" equips someone to recognize whether a particular spiritual phenomenon comes from God, from the evil one, or from a merely human source.

The remaining three charisms listed in 1 Corinthians 12:10—prophecy, speaking in tongues (*glossolalia*), and the interpretation of tongues—are explained more fully in 1 Corinthians 14. Prophecy and tongues also appear in Acts, where these forms of inspired speech indicate reception of the Spirit and are associated with Christian initiation (Acts 10:44–48; 19:5–6). Acts depicts these charismatic manifestations as fulfilling the promise of the Holy Spirit given by the prophets (Acts 2:4–18), John the Baptist (Lk 3:16), and Jesus himself (Lk 24:49; Acts 4:5). Paul regards speaking in "tongues"—human and angelic languages (1 Cor 13:1) that are not understood by the speaker or listeners (1 Cor 14:3, 14)—as a desirable grace for personal prayer, because "whoever speaks in tongues builds up himself" (14:4; see also Rom 8:26–27). He goes so far as to say, "I want you all to speak in tongues," and "I thank God that I speak in tongues more than you all" (14:18). Nevertheless, Paul regards speaking in tongues as inappropriate for addressing gatherings of the community unless someone with the charism of interpretation explains the message. Instead, Paul urges his readers to "earnestly desire ... that you may prophesy" (14:1; also v. 5), to exercise the charism of speaking under the immediate inspiration of the Spirit, sometimes directly in God's name (e.g., Acts 13:1–2). Although New Testament prophecy sometimes is predictive (Acts 11:27–29) or entails supernatural knowledge (1 Cor 14:24–25), it also takes the form of inspired praise (Lk 1:67) or exhortation (Acts 15:32). According to Paul, "those who prophesy speak to other people for their upbuilding and encouragement and consolation" (1 Cor 14:3, NRSV). Nevertheless, prophecy is imperfect (1 Cor 13:9–10), belongs to the present age, and must be subjected to discernment (1 Cor 14:29; 1 Thes 5:19–22).

At the center of Paul's discourse on charisms in 1 Corinthians 12–14 is his eloquent hymn about charity in chapter 13. Paul's point is that even the greatest charisms that come from the Holy Spirit are means of building up the Church and are of only passing value. In contrast, faith, hope, and love remain and are the ends that the charisms must serve. He concludes by recommending both love and charisms, but prioritizes love: "Make love your aim, and earnestly desire spiritual gifts" (1 Cor 14.1).

Paul's list of charisms in Romans 12:6–8 speaks less of obviously supernatural workings of the Spirit. Apart from prophecy, this list identifies charisms as ordinary human activities that take on a superior character when they are anointed by the Spirit: service, teaching, exhorting, contributing, leading, and performing acts of mercy. The charisms mentioned in 1 Peter 2:10–11 include only speaking "as one who utters oracles of God," and serving "by the strength which God supplies."

Although Ephesians 4:7–16 affirms that charisms are given to all (v. 7) and that it is vital that each person exercise his or her role in the body (v. 16), this passage emphasizes Christ's giving certain individuals to the Church for special leadership roles, "that some should be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers" (v. 11). The task of these charismatically endowed individuals is "to equip the saints for the work of ministry" (v. 12)—in other words, to guide all the members of the Church into fruitful roles of service. The goal is that the Church be brought to unity, maturity, and stability in faith and love (v. 13–16). Finally, 1 Timothy 4:14 and 2 Timothy 1:6 use the word *charism* to refer to a spiritual endowment received through the laying on of hands—that is, through ordination.

Changing Understandings of Charisms. The Acts of the Apostles and the letters of the New Testament give abundant evidence of the universal understanding and exercise of even extraordinary charisms among the faithful in the apostolic Church. The Church continued to experience charisms in the subsequent centuries as many writers affirm, including Tertullian (c. 160–225), Saint Hilary of Poitiers (c. 315–367), Saint Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 315–387), Saint Basil of Caesarea (c. 330–379), and Saint Gregory Nazienzus [Nazianzus] (c. 329–389). Although not universally attested, charisms are mentioned in various geographical regions and in diverse linguistic and cultural traditions (Greek, Latin, Syriac). As in the New Testament, the reception of gifts of tongues and prophecy was especially associated with Christian initiation. On the other hand, Saint John Chrysostom (c. 347–407), writing in the early fifth century, bemoans a dramatic decrease in the presence of these spiritual gifts: "The charisms are long gone.... The present church is like a woman who has fallen from her former prosperous days. In many respects she retains only the tokens of that ancient prosperity" (McDonnell and Montague 1991, pp. 16–18). Although later Church Fathers mention prophecy, healing, and miracles in connection with initiation or monasticism, by the end of the eighth century the exercise of manifest charisms had diminished to the point of disappearance in the ordinary life of the Church. The cause of this decline is not entirely clear. Contributing elements may have included caution about prophecy in reaction to Montanism (a schismatic movement led by prophets), and a lowering of standards and a dilution of baptismal preparation to accommodate the influx of new converts after Christianity became the religion of the empire. Nevertheless, scattered accounts remain of healings, prophecy, exorcisms, and speaking in tongues among the monks of the desert, in the lives of the saints, and in renewal movements, such as those generated by the preaching of Saint Francis, Saint Dominic, Saint Vincent Ferrer, and others. By the time of the Reformation, many Catholic theologians, as well as Luther and Calvin, believed that "extraordinary" charisms of prophecy, speaking in tongues, healings, and miracles were given by God as an initial endowment to launch the Church. However, the gift of inspired Scripture—and for Catholics, Tradition and the Magisterium—made charisms seem superfluous except as testimonies to personal sanctity.

Classical Theology. Traditional theology defined *charism* as a gratuitous gift from God, a gift that is SUPERNATURAL, transitory, and given to the individual for the good of others and the benefit of the church. The early Fathers and ecclesiastical writers used the word loosely in the sense of GRACE or gift. Saint Thomas Aquinas stated that it is a grace given by God not for the personal justification or sanctification of the individual, but for the spiritual welfare of others. It differs essentially from the type of grace that renders the individual pleasing to God or holy in His sight (*gratia gratum faciens*). All grace, as the very name implies, is gratuitously given (*gratis data*) by God; yet, because a charism does not necessarily make a person holy, it retains for its name the merely generic term of gratuitously given grace (*gratia gratis data*; see *Summa theologiae* 1a-2ae, q. 111, a.1, ad 3). In this sense, charisms differ from sanctifying or actual grace, VIRTUES, the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, and graces of state of life. All these graces are entitative or operative HABITS or dispositions that inhere in an individual and have as their primary purpose the person's perfection.

Charisms, on the other hand, are given to the individual in an instrumental manner to accomplish some salutary effect in others and may not benefit the individual who exercises them, if he or she does not seek and do God's will. Thus Jesus warns there will be many who will say to him, "Lord, Lord, did we not prophesy in your name, and cast out demons in your name, and do many mighty works in your name?" to whom he will say, "I never knew you" (Mt 7:22–23). The fact that a person exercises genuine charisms does not prove by itself that he or she is a holy person, although ordinarily God uses those who are close to Him as His instruments, and usually those who open themselves to charisms aspire to holiness.

The superiority and permanency of those graces that render the individual holy do not detract from the real value of charisms. Charisms are the product of a special intervention of God in man's faculties and operation. Metaphysically speaking, they may be regarded as in the category of accidents, and as transitory qualities or instrumental operative powers by which faculties are elevated beyond natural capacity. They consist in different types of intellectual illuminations, in facility of communication with others, and in the ability to perform miraculous deeds, and so on.

In theology the term *charism* is also used to refer to gifts such as Sacred Orders and infallibility, for these are also supernatural, freely given gifts intended for the benefit of the Church.

Since the Second Vatican Council. The question of the role of charisms arose during the Council's discussion of the document on the Church (*Lumen gentium*). Some Council fathers argued that charisms are extraordinary gifts and are no longer necessary as an ordinary part of the Church's life in view of God's provision of the sacraments, hierarchical ministry, and the

Magisterium. However, the Council concluded in *Lumen gentium* 12, on the basis of Scripture, that charisms of both an ordinary and extraordinary kind remain essential:

> It is not only through the sacraments and the ministries of the Church that the Holy Spirit sanctifies and leads the People of God and enriches it with virtues, but "allotting his gifts to everyone according as he wills" (1 Cor 12:11), he distributes special graces among the faithful. By these gifts he makes them fit and ready to undertake the various tasks and offices which contribute toward the renewal and building up of the Church. These charisms, whether they be the more outstanding or the more simple and widely diffused, are to be received with thanksgiving and consolation, for they are perfectly suited to and useful for the needs of the Church. (Flannery 1983, p. 136)

The Council makes clear that the role of discerning and guiding the use of charisms belongs to those with pastoral authority in the Church (*Lumen gentium* 12).

Shortly after the conclusion of the Council in February 1967 a new impetus to the role of charisms in the Church occurred through the spontaneous birth of the CHARISMATIC RENEWAL among a group of students from Duquesne University in Pittsburgh. As in the Pentecostal movement that began at the dawn of the twentieth century, charisms of prophecy, tongues, and healing began to be widely experienced among Catholics, along with a new awareness of the multiplicity of ways that the Spirit equips Christians to serve. In a manner analogous to that of the liturgical and biblical movements that preceded Vatican II, the charismatic renewal seeks to bring a full appropriation of the graces of initiation and the exercise of charisms into the normal life of the Church.

Besides the charismatic renewal, many other new communities and ecclesial movements have flourished in the wake of the Council. The term *charism* has been extended to refer to the distinctive workings of grace that characterized the founders of these new communities and ecclesial movements as well as those of religious institutes. *Charism* is also used to refer to the distinctive grace embodied in the spirituality and way of life of such institutes, communities, and movements.

Pope John Paul II commented on the fruits of Vatican II's reevaluation of charisms in the life of the Church when he spoke on Pentecost 1998 to more than 500,000 representatives of renewal movements who gathered in Rome at Saint Peter's Square:

> With the Second Vatican Council, the Comforter recently gave the Church ... a renewed Pentecost, instilling a new and unforeseen dynamism.... During [the Council], under the guidance of the same Spirit, the Church rediscovered the charismatic dimension as one of her constitutive elements.... The institutional and charismatic aspects are co-essential as it were to the Church's constitution. They contribute, although differently, to the life, renewal, and sanctification of God's People. (*L'Osservatore Romano*, June 3, 1998, pp. 1–2)

Concluding his address, the Pope exhorted those gathered and all Christians: "Open yourselves docilely to the gifts of the Spirit! Accept gratefully and obediently the charisms which the Spirit never ceases to bestow on us!" (p. 2).

SEE ALSO CHARISMS IN RELIGIOUS LIFE; CHARISMATIC RENEWAL, CATHOLIC; HOLY SPIRIT, GIFTS OF; PROPHECY (THEOLOGY OF).

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CHARISMATIC RENEWAL, CATHOLIC

The Charismatic Movement is a spiritual movement within the Catholic Church (as distinguished from the Protestant Pentecostal, or charismatic, movement) that seeks the renewal of the church through the charisms, or gifts of the HOLY SPIRIT, which are bestowed upon the faithful through "baptism in the Spirit." External manifestations of the gifts of the Spirit include GLOSSOLALIA (speaking in tongues), prophecy, and faith healing. However, the movement is also characterized by a deep personal commitment to holiness, as urged by the teachings of VATICAN II: "All the faithful of Christ of whatever rank or status are called to the fullness of the Christian life and the perfection of charity" (*Lumen gentium* 40).

In addition, charismatics are dedicated to the proclamation of the GOSPEL (EVANGELIZATION). In his book, *Call to Holiness* (1997), Archbishop Paul Josef Cordes, the episcopal adviser to the International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Office in Rome from 1981 to 1996, states unequivocally that the "mandate to evangelize ... is not an option but an imperative" (p. 9).

Although "enthusiastic" (from the Greek *entheos*, "God within") spiritual movements have emerged periodically throughout Christian history, the nineteenth-century United States saw an especially strong resurgence of the experience of "baptism in the Spirit." The resulting Holiness movement stressed the necessity of complete surrender of the individual to the Holy Spirit in pursuit of Christian perfection. Baptism in the Spirit was evidenced by an overwhelming emotional reaction that was often accompanied by tears, sometimes by falling prostrate (being "slain in the Spirit"), and most often by speaking in tongues. In 1906, William J. Seymour, a former student at Charles F. Parham's Bethel Bible School in Topeka, Kansas, and the pastor of the Los Angeles Azusa Street Mission, proclaimed that one was not baptized until one received the "gift" of glossolalia (although at the time he himself had not as yet received the gift). Through Seymour's insistence, speaking in tongues came to be viewed as the primary evidence of one's having been baptized in the Spirit. The Azusa Street Mission is considered to have been the birthplace of the Pentecostal movement in the United States.

Membership in Protestant Pentecostal churches increased from a modest few dozen in Los Angeles in 1906 to approximately 400 million worldwide by the end of the century. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Pentecostal movement came to be associated with the poorer classes of American society, and Pentecostal communities often found themselves on the fringe of institutional Christianity. However, during the mid-twentieth century, a renewed interest in the gifts of the Spirit, particularly speaking in tongues, prophecy, and faith healing, began to emerge in the mainline Protestant churches.

The charismatic movement effectively reached the ROMAN CATHOLIC Church in the United States in 1967, when a group of about thirty Catholic students and faculty from Duquesne University "experienced the descent of the Spirit" during a weekend retreat in February of that year. The "Duquesne Weekend" is considered to be the beginning of the charismatic renewal in the Roman Catholic Church. News of the experiences of the Duquesne Weekend quickly spread among Catholic college campuses, and groups of students at other campuses soon began to organize charismatic prayer groups and retreats. In April 1967, just two months after the original Duquesne Weekend event, the *National Catholic Reporter* published an account of a charismatic weekend retreat on the campus of Notre Dame University that was attended by over one hundred students and faculty.

The two faculty members who participated in the Duquesne weekend were members of Cursillos in Christianity, or the CURSILLO MOVEMENT, a group that originated in Spain during the 1940s and that incorporated a three-day *cursillo*, or "short course," to train Catholic lay people as spiritual leaders. At the August 1966 National Cursillo Convention, the two professors came into contact with Notre Dame graduate students Ralph Martin and Steve Clark. Martin and Clark gave the professors copies of *The Cross and the Switchblade* (1963) by David Wilkerson and *They Speak with Other Tongues* (1964) by John Sherrill, books that have since become classics among both Pentecostals and Catholic charismatics. The two professors were deeply affected by the books and they began to pray for the touch of the Spirit, which they soon received.

Ralph Martin and Steve Clark became important leaders of Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR), and



Communal Celebration. *A Charismatic Renewal group meeting in France, March 1979.* © JACQUES PAVLOVSKY/SYGMA/CORBIS

both served on the national secretariat of the Cursillo Movement during the 1960s. Ralph Martin was the founding editor of the charismatic *New Covenant* magazine and he served on the CCR's National Service Committee from 1970 to 1975. Martin also was the founding director of the International Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services (ICCRS), which was originally named the International Communications Office, or ICE, in the early 1970s. The organization was initially headquartered in Brussels but subsequently moved to Rome. During his association with the International Communications Office, Martin worked closely with Léon Joseph Cardinal SUENENS of Belgium, an influential figure at the Second Vatican Council who became a significant liaison between the CCR and the Church hierarchy.

After hosting a conference at Malines, Belgium, for the purpose of understanding and evaluating the CCR, Cardinal Suenens published his *Theological and Pastoral Guidelines on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal* (1974). Suenens also dedicated himself to ensuring that the movement remain within the institutional Church and consistent with Church tradition.

Catholic Charismatic Renewal shares with the Protestant charismatics and Pentecostals a strong emphasis on the "gifts of the Spirit." The movement therefore has had an ecumenical focus that tends to celebrate the commonalities, rather than the differences, among the movements. Catholic charismatics are sometimes referred to as "Catholic Pentecostals," but the two differ in some important respects. Protestant Pentecostals and charismatics, for example, have historically tended to pull away from the mainline churches, whereas the Catholic charismatics locate themselves fully within the Church and continue to express a profound love and commitment to the Catholic Church, the pope, and to church teachings and tradition. In turn, the movement has generally benefited from papal and episcopal acceptance and support. Three popes (PAUL VI, JOHN PAUL II, and BENEDICT XVI) have endorsed the Charismatic Renewal through official statements and other communications with CCR's leaders.

During the late 1980s and 1990s it appeared that the movement was beginning to decline, but the Charismatic Renewal remains one of the largest and most important spiritual movements within the Roman

Catholic Church, increasing from approximately two million followers or adherents in 1970 to some 120 million in 2000, according to the *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (p. 465). Catholic Charismatic Renewal is particularly vibrant in the developing world. It is, for example, the largest and most dynamic lay movement within the Catholic Church in Latin America.

SEE ALSO CHARISMATIC PRAYER; HOLINESS CHURCHES; HOLY SPIRIT, GIFTS OF; PENTECOSTALISM.

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CHARLES OF AUSTRIA, BL.

Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary; b. August 17, 1887, Persenburg Castle, Lower Austria; d. April 1, 1922, Madeira, Portugal; beatified October 3, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Son of Archduke Otto and Princess Maria Josephine of Saxony, Charles was raised in a family of great faith. When a stigmatic nun foretold that he would face great suffering in his lifetime, a group of people was assigned to pray for the boy. Charles nurtured a devotion to the Blessed Sacrament and Sacred Heart of Jesus. On October 21, 1911, he married Princess Zita of Bourbon and Parma; they had eight children.

Charles became heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire when his uncle, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was assassinated on June 28, 1914. Upon the death of his grandfather Emperor Franz Joseph I on November 16, 1916, Charles became Emperor of Austria, and he was crowned Apostolic King of Hungary on December 30, 1916. The assassination had heralded the start of WORLD WAR I, and Charles, with little political experience, assumed leadership amid military conflict, ethnic discord, and political chaos.

The new leader actively pursued a course to end the war, engaging in unsuccessful secret negotiations with the French. He was the only leader to support Pope BENEDICT XV's PEACE efforts. Internal conflicts resulted in the continued disintegration of the Empire, and on November 11, 1918, Charles issued a proclamation recognizing the right of the Austrian people to choose their form of government, although he did not abdicate his crown; a similar statement related to Hungary was issued on November 13, 1918. His actions allowed for a separation of states and averted a civil war. Encouraged by Pope Benedict XV and others who feared the rise of COMMUNISM, Charles twice tried and failed to regain the throne in 1921. He was exiled with his family to the island of Madeira in Portugal, where he ended his life in relative poverty. Zita, who died in 1989, asked that her heart be buried with his in an urn in Mori, Switzerland.

Some argue that Charles was guilty of personal indiscretions and responsible for terrible acts during the war, including the use of poison gas. These accusations appear to be untrue. Indeed, historians generally agree that while Charles may have been poorly equipped to govern, he was sincerely committed to achieving peace and SOCIAL JUSTICE. He acted consistently to limit conflict and relinquished his own power to govern in order to avoid further bloodshed among his countrymen. In beatifying him, Pope John Paul II said that Charles "conceived of his office as a holy service to his people," and that his goal was "to follow the Christian vocation to HOLINESS also in his political actions."

Feast: October 21.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; SACRED HEART, DEVOTION TO; STIGMATIZATION.

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CHAVARA, KURIAKOSE (CYRIAC) ELIAS, BL.

Priest, cofounder of the Syro-Malabar Carmelites of Mary Immaculate and the Congregation of the Mother of Carmel, and a pioneer figure in the Catholic Press in India; b. February 10, 1805, at Kainakary, Kerala (Malabar), India; d. January 3, 1871, in Changanacherry, Koonammavu, Kerala; beatified by John Paul II, February 8, 1986, in Kerala together with St. Alphonsa Muttathupandatu (canonized on June 1, 2007, by Pope Benedict XVI).

Ordained in 1829, Chavara founded an institute, which was canonically erected as a Carmelite congregation in 1855, when he was confirmed as its superior. He was appointed vicar-general of the Vicariate Apostolic of Verapoly in 1861. Two printing presses set up by early Portuguese missionaries to Kerala in South India had disappeared, and in 1844 Chavara was determined to reactivate this apostolate. Designing his own press and using type made by a local blacksmith, he was able in a few years to send to the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome copies of 10 devotional and catechetical books that he had published. He also edited the liturgical books of the Syro-Malabar rite. In 1887, his press first issued *Deepika*, now the oldest daily paper in Malayalam, and in 1902 the *Flower of Carmel*, the most widely circulated Catholic magazine in Kerala. In 1963, the Church in Kerala maintained some 20 publishing establishments issuing four Catholic dailies, 12 weeklies or monthlies, and a great volume of other Catholic literature. The diocesan process for Chavara's beatification was inaugurated by the archbishop of Changanacherry on January 3, 1958. This man, praised during his beatification by Pope John Paul II for his heroic service, died after a long illness. In 1889, his body was transferred to Mannanam.

Feast: January 3 (Carmelites).

SEE ALSO CARMELITES OF MARY IMMACULATE; PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE.

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CHICHKOV, JOSAPHAT, BL.

Baptized Robert; priest and MARTYR; b. February 9, 1884, Plovdiv, Bulgaria; d. November 11, 1952, Sofia, Bulgaria; beatified May 26, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Robert Mathieu Chichkov began studies at the minor seminary of the Congregation of the Assumption in Kara-Agatch at the age of nine. On April 29, 1900, he began his novitiate as an Assumptionist in Phanaraki, Turkey, taking the name Josaphat. In 1904 he was sent to Louvain, Belgium, to complete his studies in philosophy and theology. On July 11, 1909, Fr. Chichkov was ordained in the LATIN RITE.

Returning to Bulgaria, Fr. Chichkov taught first at St. Augustine's College in Plovdiv, and later in Varna at St. Michael's College. In 1929 he became the superior of the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Seminary, an institution teaching both Latin and Byzantine-Slavonic rites, in Yambol. During his tenure he increased the number of seminarians entering for both rites, and he conducted services in both languages. Fr. Chichkov was assigned to be a parish priest of the Latin Rite church in Yambol in 1933, and he was chaplain to the Oblate Sisters of the Assumption.

A musician, Fr. Chichkov directed the college band when he taught in Varna in the early 1900s. During his tenure at Sts. Cyril and Methodius Seminary, he owned

one of only a few typewriters with Cyrillic characters, as well as a gramophone, which he used at youth gatherings, and a film projector. He was the founder of the St. Michael's French-Bulgarian Circle, a group in Varna composed mostly of business students. Fr. Chichkov's work was much admired by Msgr. Angelo Roncalli, the Papal Nuncio to Bulgaria, and the future Pope JOHN XXIII often visited the seminary. Named superior in Varna in 1937, Fr. Chichkov assumed the role of parish priest for its Latin Rite church in 1949. A compelling writer, his work was published in the Catholic periodical *Poklonnik* (*The Pilgrim*).

In December 1951 Fr. Chichkov was arrested in Varna; his whereabouts were unknown until September 16, 1952, when his name appeared on a list of forty people accused of espionage and conspiracy against the Bulgarian government. Later that month he was tried, along with his Assumptionist brother priests Kamen Vitchev and Pavel Djidjov (both beatified with Fr. Chichkov), and condemned to death. The men, with Bishop Eugene Bossilkov (beatified on March 15, 1998, by John Paul II), were executed by firing squad on November 11, 1952. In declaring him Blessed, Pope John II recalled the words by which Fr. Chichkov lived his life: "The most important thing is to draw near to God by living for him; everything else is secondary."

Feast: November 11.

SEE ALSO ASSUMPTIONISTS; BEATIFICATION; BULGARIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; BYZANTINE CHURCH, HISTORY OF; NUNCIO, APOSTOLIC.

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CHLUDZIŃSKA V. BORZĘCKA, CELINA, BL.

Wife and mother, widow, and founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Resurrection; b. Antowil, Orsza (formerly Poland, currently Belarus), October 29, 1833; d. Kraków, Poland, October 26, 1913; beatified October 27, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

One of three children of Ignatius and Clementine Chludziński, Celine Chludzińska was baptized on November 2, 1833, and received her FIRST COMMUNION in 1843. As well-educated and wealthy landowners, her parents instilled in her a deep religious faith and a noble patriotism, providing an environment in which she would manifest religious devotion at a young age. By age twenty, she had discerned a religious vocation, but ultimately obeyed her parents' wishes by marrying Joseph Borzęcki. At a family estate in Obrembszczyzna, they raised their daughters Celine and Hedwig, having two other children die in infancy. Such experiences of death became a constant source of suffering for Chludzińska, as she endured the loss of her father-in-law, her mother, her sister Filipina, her father, her brother Aloysius, and her sister-in-law over the course of the next twenty years. Her greatest suffering, however, came with the death of her husband in 1874; his health had constantly declined after a stroke left him a paraplegic four years earlier.

The next year became a turning point in Chludzińska's life when she met Fr. Peter Semenenko, the superior general of the Resurrectionist fathers. With hopes of starting a congregation of sisters, Fr. Semenenko began offering spiritual direction and formation for Chludzińska, and her daughter Hedwig would join her in seeking this foundation in 1881. The next ten years proved to be a time of great spiritual growth and trial, as both women progressed in the Resurrectionist spirituality yet faced an uncertain future—Fr. Semenenko considered having them join an already established community of women and contemplated choosing another candidate to serve as founder. After Fr. Semenenko died in 1886, several of his brother priests opposed the founding of the women's order.

Still, Chludzińska persevered. In 1891 she and Hedwig took permanent vows, three others professed temporary vows, and the Congregation of the Sisters of the Resurrection officially began. Chludzińska's determination and holiness began to win over supporters, including the father general of the RESURRECTIONISTS and the diocesan priest, Fr. Giacomo Della Chiesa, who would later become Pope BENEDICT XV. The Resurrectionist Sisters dedicated themselves to renewing society through education, opening their first school in

Rome in 1887. They began a novitiate in Kęty and missions in Bulgaria, Częstochowa, Warsaw, and Chicago. Even after Hedwig's untimely death in 1906, Chludzińska remained steadfast in leading the congregation by word and example, being well regarded for giving individual attention to each sister, providing dedicated and organized leadership, and witnessing to a deep life of prayer and adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. She oversaw the congregation's first general chapter in 1911, and ultimately died in 1913.

Following the cure of the life-threatening head trauma of Andrew Mecherzynski-Wiktor, Chludzińska was beatified on October 27, 2007, in Rome. There, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins recalled her life as a "wife, mother, widow, and religious," a life marked by "fidelity in the fulfillment of the will of God in all humility and readiness, and in profound prayer, inspired by the paschal mystery."

Feast: October 26.

SEE ALSO POLAND; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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CHURCH, HISTORY OF

This entry contains the following:

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II. MEDIEVAL
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III. EARLY MODERN: 1500–1789
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IV. LATE MODERN: 1789–2009
Rev John F. Broderick/Frank J. Coppa/William Roberts

I. EARLY

The Christian Church took its rise with CHRIST's commission to the Apostles: "Go out into the whole world and preach my gospel to every creature" (Mk 16:15). The historical fulfillment of that command began on the first PENTECOST when, as Christ had promised (Acts 1:5), the Holy Spirit descended on the Apostles and disciples, and Peter preached to the "devout Jews from every nation … Parthians, Medes, Elamites, inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphilia, Egypt, and the parts of Libya about Cyrene, visitors from Rome, Jews also and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians" (Acts 2:5–11). Calling upon them to repent and be baptized in the name of JESUS CHRIST for the forgiveness of their sins (Acts 2:38), "he added that day about 3,000 souls" (Acts 2:41).

The idealization of the picture drawn by Luke is not overdone. The primitive Christian community, although considered at first but another sect within the Jewish milieu, proved unique in its theological teaching, and more particularly in the zeal of its members, who served as witnesses to Christ "in all Judea and Samaria and even to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8). While Christianity arose in the milieu of the religious life of late JUDAISM, and at first manifested an enthusiastic piety and messianic character similar to that of such sects as the Damascus and Qumran communities, the Christian KERYGMA did not stop at the border of JUDEA, but penetrated the surrounding world that was unified and dominated by the Greek language and the Hellenic civilization.

Early Expansion. In PALESTINE, Greek was understood and used in business; among the Jews living in the DIASPORA, it became their native tongue. With the Greek language, a world of concepts, categories of thought, metaphors, and subtle connotations entered late Jewish ideology. The first Christian preachers turned particularly to the Hellenized portion of the Jewish people. After the martyrdom of STEPHEN, his fellow deacons, including Philip, Nikanor, Prochoros, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolaos, seem to have scattered through Palestine, Syria, and the East and begun the missionary activity of the next generation.

The new sect received the name of Christians (*Christianoi*) at ANTIOCH (Acts 11:26), a Greek city, and, after his conversion, Paul addressed himself in Greek to the Jews gathered in the synagogues in the principal cities of the Mediterranean world. Paul was a thoroughly educated Jew, a Pharisee of the PHARISEES in his own words, who in his travels addressed himself first to the Hellenized Jews, then to the GENTILES. Paul's powerful grasp of the central mystery of salvation in Christ, the SON OF GOD, prevented the new religion from being infected by the Hellenistic mystery cults or from being

absorbed into one of the Jewish or Gnostic sects. His theological insight preserved the mystery of REDEMPTION in and through the Church as the body of Christ.

Little reliable evidence exists concerning the missionary travels of the Apostles, but by the year 65 the Christian message had penetrated into Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and ROME. The movement was recognized, however imperfectly, by the Roman authorities, as is witnessed by TACITUS (*Ann.* 15:44) and SUETONIUS (*Claud.* 29:1), and Christians were apparently blamed by the Emperor Nero for the burning of Rome. In the persecution that followed, Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom.

Doctrinal Development. The theological evolution that accompanied the spread of the Christian *kerygma* was greatly influenced by developments in the late Jewish apocalypses, apocrypha, and eschatological literature and has been characterized as Judeo-Christian, its original impetus having been given by the community at JERUSALEM. It was also strongly marked by the liturgical writings of Qumran, the angelological and eschatological doctrines of several dynamic Jewish sects, and the dualism of the ESSENES. However, the collections of the *Logia*, or sayings, of Jesus and the *Evangelia* quickly found their way into Greek, and the Christian writers of the Apostolic age adopted the literary forms of the epistle and of the *praxeis*, or acts, in use among the secularist philosophers and their disciples. The next generation added other literary forms, adapting the diatribe, especially, to Christian use.

With the adaptation of literary forms came an assimilation of methods of propaganda and manner of expression current mainly among the CYNICS, Stoics, Pythagoreans, and Epicureans, who spread philosophical and religious tracts among the ordinary people. James, for example, in his epistle, used the Orphic concept of "the wheel of birth" (3:6), and the DIDACHE employed the Pythagorean device (also used by Hesiod) of the TWO WAYS in a moral context.

Conflict occurred between the Judaizers and Hellenists in explaining and developing the Christian message, as is evident from the Pauline warnings against aberrations from the traditional Faith that Christ gave to him and the other Apostles. This conflict is emphasized in the testimony of the Pseudo-Barnabas and the Clementine literature.

In Paul's first letter to TIMOTHY, he indicates that the Church of Asia was organized with a college of presbyters and a president bearing the title and office of *episcopus* (bishop), and deacons. Some of the earliest Christian communities were seemingly monarchically organized, such as that under James in Jerusalem, but it is obvious that the faithful had a voice in the community life of prayer and witness to Christ, and they held the charismatic gifts of preaching, comforting the afflicted, and healing in great respect.

Gnosticism. One of the earliest heresies the Church had to address, which aided the process of doctrinal development, was GNOSTICISM. Deriving its name from the Greek word for knowledge (*gnosis*), the core of the Gnostic system lies in the claim to a secret knowledge beyond that of the Faith of the Church, which had been secretly passed down from Jesus' disciples to gain access to salvation. The Gnostic system was complex, and the movement contained many sects (like those of BASILIDES of Egypt and VALENTINUS of Rome). The commonality among all Gnostics was an elitism that caused the Gnostic "elect" to look upon themselves as the few, enlightened, real Christians set above the common Christian believer. DUALISM—in which spiritual reality is viewed as good, whereas material reality is viewed as evil—was another universally held belief in the Gnostic movement. To support this dualistic vision of reality, Gnostics claimed to possess secret knowledge regarding the origin of the world. In these elaborate creation myths, the world resulted from some pre-cosmic accident or disaster, with lesser gods or demiurges (often malevolent) controlling the material world. In this dualistic vision, the human soul was seen as a divine spark that needed to be liberated from the flesh. This vision led to polarized moral codes. Whereas some Gnostics adopted rigorous ascetical practices (some going so far as to reject marriage as evil) to liberate their spirits from the influence of the flesh, other Gnostics encouraged morally licentious behavior because the body had no real value. Dualistic beliefs meant Gnostics denied the INCARNATION, claiming instead the docetic (from the Greek *dokeo* meaning *to seem*) belief that Jesus merely appeared to take on flesh but was more like a phantasm. Gnostic dualism also denied the RESURRECTION.

It is unclear whether Gnosticism predated Christianity as a syncretistic religious system, or whether Gnostic sects arose from within Christianity, amalgamating Christian belief with other religious and philosophical tenets of the Near East, such as those of Zoroastrianism and PLATONISM. From Judaism, Gnosticism borrowed and reinterpreted the CREATION narratives of Genesis, as well as Jewish apocalyptic views. From Christianity, the Gnostics focused on the theme of redemption but distorted it to mean redemption from the material world. Many think St. Paul encountered some form of Gnosticism in the communities of Corinth and Colossae. TERTULLIAN of Carthage, JUSTIN MARTYR, and IRENAEUS of Lyons are examples of Church Fathers from the first few centuries of Christianity who took up their pens to refute Gnosticism.

Clement I of Rome and Ignatius. By the turn of the second century, the Christian Church had emerged as a widespread entity united by a common faith and a communion of spiritual interests. The letter of the Church at Rome to the Church at Corinth, although predominantly a moral exhortation to unity and obedience, reveals a consciousness of the Church as a strong, clear, ecclesiastical organization whose line of authority descended from GOD through Christ and the Apostles to the elders of the frater united community (*Epist. Clem.* 42:1–5; 44:1–2). Utilizing the holiness code of the Old Testament synagogic teaching, it imposed a Christocentric theology of virtues on the Christian community, advocated imitating Christ's patience and long suffering (13:2–4) and guaranteeing man's full deliverance in the Resurrection (24–26). Though apparently written by CLEMENT I of Rome, the letter gives no direct evidence as to the structural organization of the Church in either Rome or Corinth.

In the letters of IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH (d. c. 116) to the Churches of Asia Minor and to POLYCARP of Smyrna, a monarchical type of episcopal government prevails. Ignatius witnesses to a shift of spiritual interest from the Pauline preoccupation with Mosaic LAW and original justice, to the Greek concern about fate and the value of existence. While the Judaic influence seems to have persisted in the QUARTODECIMAN controversy centered in Asia Minor, in Rome and the Mediterranean cities there was a gradual development of theological consciousness that considered the Church a transcendent entity.

The Shepherd of HERMAS in the treatise on penance described the Roman Church as a fairly populous assembly (c. 140) containing a segment of the rich as well as numerous poor. Many in both classes had relapsed into pagan ways of blasphemy and idolatry; they are described as hypocrites in concert with ambitious clergymen and dishonest deacons. But the majority are referred to as hospitable bishops, zealous priests, martyrs, and the innocent. The Church itself is well organized, with a hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons. Considerable emphasis was placed on the achievement of *gnosis* (to be distinguished from gnosticism), or a superior knowledge of the triune mystery, particularly in relation to Baptism and the EUCHARIST. This was a direct offshoot of the rabbinic preoccupation with the "marvelous and true mysteries" that the one God "reveals to the hearts of his servants" as expressed in the Qumran theology (DSD 11.3; 15–16; DSH 7.1–7).

Formation of the Biblical Canon. The formation of the canon of Scripture was spurred in the middle of the second century in response to the teachings of MARCION. Marcion came from Asia Minor to Rome around AD 144. He was excommunicated for his teachings, many of which were contained in his book *Antitheses*. Marcion believed that the Old and New Testaments were irreconcilable. He associated the God of the Jews of the Old Testament with justice and wrath and the God of Jesus of the New Testament with love and mercy. He saw the law of the Old Testament in opposition to that of the gospel of the New Testament. Some have classified Marcion as a Gnostic because of his claim that the first generation of Jewish Christians had misunderstood Jesus' message and his claim to have the true insight into Jesus' teachings. Marcion also possessed some dualistic tendencies, denying that Jesus as the divine REDEEMER could have been born of a woman.

Rejecting any continuity between Old and New Testaments, Marcion claimed early Jewish Christians had corrupted the texts of the New Testament. He therefore sought to restore the text and compiled the first canon of Scripture in the history of the Church. This canon excluded all of the Old Testament texts and was comprised of only Luke's Gospel (minus the Infancy narrative) and some of Paul's epistles. Responding to Marcion's canon forced the leaders of the Church to discern what writings should be considered Scriptural.

Over the course of the next few centuries, the Church undertook the process of discerning the biblical canon. The first-century Church had accepted the more extensive SEPTUAGINT version of the Old Testament, which included seven books not originally written in Hebrew. However, deciding on the contents of the New Testament took longer. Questions surrounded texts like the Letter to the HEBREWS, the Letters of John, and the Book of REVELATION (due mainly to questions of authorship), as well as the Gospel of John when compared with the Synoptics. Other early writings, such as the Shepherd of Hermas and Clement's First Letter to the Corinthians, were considered to have canonical potential, but were eventually excluded because they did not have Apostolic provenance. Some factors the Church considered seem to be whether the text dated back to the time of the Apostles, whether or not the text was used in the liturgy, and whether or not the proposed text was consistent with the received RULE OF FAITH transmitted by the Apostles and preserved by the bishops. The importance of this rule of faith preserved by the bishops as successors to the Apostles is attested to by early Church Fathers such as Irenaeus of Lyons, who provides a canonical list of Biblical books in his *Adversus haereses*, where he addresses the errors of Marcion. Irenaeus' canon almost exactly corresponds to the modern day canon of Scripture.

One of the earliest lists of biblical books is the Muraturion canon, dated around AD 200. In North Africa,

the Council of CARTHAGE in AD 397 published a list of canonical Scriptures, prohibiting that title for any other writings. The first papal statement on the canon comes from Pope DAMASUS in AD 382.

Persecution. Tacitus described the Neronian persecution of the primitive Christians as due "not so much to their having set fire to the city, as to their hatred of the human race" (*Annal.* 15.44). This *odium humani generis* was equivalent to the Greeks' *misanthropia*, a charge originally leveled against the Jews (Diodorus, *Hist.* 24), and subsequently used against the Christians because of their particular customs and refusal to participate in Roman civic and religious rites. Josephus listed these accusations as the adoring of a donkey's head, ritual murder, and incest (*Contra Apion.* 79).

While the recognition of Christianity as a separate religion took place only gradually, there seems to have been a persecution under DOMITIAN (81–96), apparently connected with messianic troubles and millenarianism, in which the senator Flavius Clemens was put to death for "atheism and Jewish practices" (Suetonius, *Domit.* 15) and Domitilla was exiled to Pandateria (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3.18.4). The letter of Pope CLEMENT I (1:1) speaks of the misfortunes of the Roman Church at this time, and the Book of Revelation (1:9; 2:3–13) refers to the persecution of the Churches in Asia Minor.

Accusations. Whereas Paul had called for obedience to the imperial authorities, Revelation registers hostility to the empire. This attitude is reflected also in the SIBYLLINE ORACLES and the *Ascension of Isaia.* Under Nerva, peace returned. TRAJAN (98–117), in reply to the governor of Bithynia, PLINY THE YOUNGER, decided that Christians were not to be sought out, but when denounced as guilty of crimes (*flagitia*), they were to be condemned if they refused to abjure. He also cautioned, however, against false and anonymous denunciations, indicating that pressure for persecution came not so much from the government as from people who were intolerant of those bearing the name of Christians (*Epist.* 96.2–3). It is this decision, and not a governmental proscription, that Tertullian misinterpreted as indicating the existence of an *institutum Neronianum* (edict, or practice, adopted by Nero). The most famous martyr of this period was Ignatius of Antioch. Under HADRIAN (117–138) Christians enjoyed comparative peace; but during the reigns of Antoninus Pius and MARCUS AURELIUS, they were attacked by intellectuals such as Fronto (Min. Felix, *Octav.* 9.16; 31.1–2), Lucian (*Life of Peregrinus*), and Crescens the Cynic (fl. 152). Galen, who visited Rome in 162 and 166, accused the Christians of fanaticism and credulity, but the great indictment was launched by the philosopher CELSUS, who considered them charlatans and vagrants dangerous to the civic ideals of the Roman state. This was the basic accusation behind the persecutions.

The Apologists. By the mid-second century, the new religion had attracted a number of educated men, who used their literary competence in defending Christianity against the charges of atheism and idolatry, and began to assess the philosophical and moral thought of their contemporaries in the light of the Judeo-Christian teachings. They are known as the APOLOGISTS, but only a few of their writings have survived. They continued the catechetical approach of the older Apostles; this they combined with the propagandist methods of their contemporaries. Justin Martyr (c. 100–160) supplied both Jewish and pagan audiences with a rule of faith and a description of the rites of Baptism and the Eucharist while encouraging a conversion from pagan immorality to the Christian way of life. The *Letter to Diognetus* described the divine economy of salvation and claimed that Christians in the empire differed in no way from their contemporaries in marriage and family life, in civic custom, and the observance of the laws; but they avoided idolatry, strove to serve as models of moral excellence, and prayed for the preservation of the empire.

Reorganization and Expansion. In the last decades of the second century, there was evidence (c. 180) of a great reorganization of the Church and its missionary and catechetical endeavors. The Roman Church emphasized Christian unity in its controversy with the Church of Asia Minor over the date of Easter, a disagreement which persisted from the reign of ANICETUS (154–166) to that of VICTOR I (189–198). Irenaeus of Lyons stated that Polycarp of Smyrna had visited Rome, but had failed to reach agreement on the question (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.24.16). Although Polycrates of Ephesus acknowledged the Apostolic foundation of the Roman Church by Peter and Paul, he insisted that the customs of the Church in Asia had equal Apostolic backing.

Synods and Unity. The practice of holding synods to settle ecclesiastical problems seems to have begun in Asia Minor in the middle of the second century and was apparently based on a precedent of civil practice. Evidence supplied by DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH in his so-called CATHOLIC EPISTLES displays the interchange of doctrinal and disciplinary interests between the churches in Greece and Asia Minor. Testimony preserved by EUSEBIUS (*Hist. eccl.* 5.25) indicates that in synods the churches of Palestine, Pontus, OSRHOENE, and Gaul registered their agreement with the decision of a Roman synod under VICTOR that Easter should be celebrated only on a SUNDAY. Irenaeus gave a list of the popes from Peter to ELEUTHERIUS (174–189) and described

the efforts made by the early heretics to obtain Roman sanction for their doctrines. Tertullian claimed that communion with the Roman See was regarded as communion with the whole Church (*Adv. Prax.* 1). He was the first churchman to utilize the Petrine text (Mt 16:18); yet the institution of the papacy had achieved a definitive form by the end of the second century: It was the center of unity. Rival claims to occupy the APOSTOLIC SEE by HIPPOLYTUS (217–235) and NOVATIAN (251) were disallowed by the other Churches, and these men were considered anti-popes.

In the dispute over the rebaptism of heretics that involved the churches of North Africa and Rome after the Decian (251) and Valerian (257) persecutions, CYPRIAN of Carthage acknowledged that the primacy had been given to Peter, and he saw in the *cathedra* of Peter a source of unity, while he still claimed the independence of individual bishops as successors to the Apostles. Despite difficulties with Novatian, Pope Stephen (254–257) asserted the validity of the Roman practice, and although a synod at Carthage (256) upheld Cyprian, no attempt was made to sever communion with Rome.

Local Churches. By the third century flourishing Christian communities existed in Gaul at Lyons, Vienne, Marseilles, Arles, Toulouse, Paris, and Bordeaux. Cyprian of Carthage wrote to the churches of León-Astorga and Mérida in Spain (*Epist.* 67) and mentioned the community at Saragossa. There were nineteen bishops at the Synod of Elvira (c. 306). In Germany churches at COLOGNE, TRIER, Metz, Mainz, and Strassburg have left testimony in archeological remains, and the spread of Christianity along the trade routes of the Danubian provinces of Rhaetia, Noricum, and Pannonia is attested by the martyrs of the Diocletian persecution. North Africa was clearly a well-established Christian center based on Carthage in the late second century, and the Church in Egypt had developed with its center at ALEXANDRIA in the same epoch. A tradition attested to by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA at the end of the second century holds that the church in Alexandria was founded by St. MARK, disciple of St. Peter.

In Asia Minor synods in Phrygia between 172 and 180 dealt with the errors of MONTANISM (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.16). The satirist Lucian complained of Christians in Pontus (c. 170: *Alexander* 25). ARMENIA received Christian missionaries in the third century, with St. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR credited as bringing the faith there in mid-century. Antioch in western Syria had a Church of Apostolic origin from which missionaries Christianized the East. The house-church at DURA-EUROPOS testifies to the presence of Christianity (third century) in eastern Syria; and EDESSA, modern Urfa, and Osrhoene were likewise early recipients of the GOSPEL, though the stories of ADDAI AND MARI are legendary. TATIAN and BARDESANES preached there (c. 170), and the Christian message spread to Mesopotamia and Adiabene in ASSYRIA, to Parthia and to PERSIA, particularly under King Sapor I (241–272). A synod at Bostra testified to Christianity in ARABIA (c. 244), and there is evidence, however questionable, for its spread as far east as India.

Final Persecutions. The development of the Christian way of life and its expansion continued to meet grave difficulties from within because of doctrinal disputes, and from without, through sporadic outbursts of persecution. Under Marcus Aurelius (161–180), a Stoic philosopher, a series of physical calamities disturbed the empire in the form of famine, pestilence, and barbarian incursions. The people blamed them on the failure of the Christians to worship the pagan gods. A persecution broke out, the severity of which is indicated by the apologists ATHENAGORAS, MELITO, and Miltiades. Justin Martyr was put to death, apparently in Rome, with six companions; and a number of martyrs are recorded in Lyons (177), including BLANDINA, Photinus, and Ponticus (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 5.1–2). A letter from the Church at Lyons to that at Vienne described the persecution. After a period of peace, Septimius Severus (193–211) put down a series of Jewish insurrections and turned against the Christians, particularly in Egypt, where LEONIDES, the father of Origen, was martyred, and in Carthage, the place of the martyrdom of Felicitas and PERPETUA (March 7, 203).

Caracalla (211–217) allowed his mother, Julia Domna, to propagate the mystery cults of the East, particularly sun worship, and Mithraism became an official cult of the army. This caused great difficulty for Christian soldiers and officials. Severus Alexander (222–235) showed clemency, influenced by his mother, Julia Mammaea, who heard Origen lecture at Antioch. But Maximinus Thrax (237–238), Decius (249–251), and Valerian (253–260) carried out systematic and severe persecutions of the Christians. Under DIOCLETIAN (284–305) and GALERIUS, a final attempt was made to destroy Christianity at its roots. The effort was not supported by the elder Constantius I in Gaul and the West, so it failed.

Conversion of Constantine. While the nature and manner of CONSTANTINE's conversion is controverted, there is no question about the fact. With the Battle of the Milvian Bridge and the taking of Rome (313), Christianity was accepted as a legitimate religion and rapidly reached a favored status in the empire, although it was not the religion of the vast majority. Determined to use the religious factor as a unifying force within the state, Constantine evidently employed Bishop Hosius of Córdoba as a counselor and accepted appeals in regard



Battle of the Milvian Bridge (AD 313). *This victory allowed Constantine to take the city of Rome and paved the way for the growth of Christianity in the Roman Empire.* © **PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART/CORBIS**

to the Donatist problems in North Africa. He instructed the bishop of Rome, Miltiades (311–314), to hold a synod at the LATERAN, followed by others at Arles (314) and elsewhere, to resolve the situation, and resorted to force only later. With the rise of ARIANISM, he convoked the Council of NICAEA I (325), which defined the doctrine of the HOMOOUSIOS, or CONSUBSTANTIALITY, of the Father and the Son.

Rise of the Pentarchy. Nicaea I determined also that, in the ecclesiastical organization, the sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch held special status as patriarchal dioceses, exercising some juridical jurisdiction as metropolitan sees beyond the boundaries of their provinces. The canons of Nicea mentioned the church in Jerusalem as having special honor as the birthplace of the Church (although the bishop remained subject to the jurisdiction of the metropolis of CAESAREA IN PALESTINE). Other sees, such as Carthage, EPHESUS, Caesarea in Palestine, CAESAREA IN CAPPADOCIA, Heraclea in Thrace, and Arles in Gaul also assumed metropolitan status for surrounding sees; and the general organization of the Church was patterned on that of the civil dioceses. A fifth see soon gained prominence after Constantine constructed the city of CONSTANTINOPLE from 324 to 330 on the site of the city of Byzantium near the straits of the Bosphorus. Constantine made Constantinople, with its central location the capital of the empire, and styled it as the new Rome. By the fifth century, these fives sees—Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople—became the major sees of Christianity. The prominence and status of each, however, would be the source of much tension.

Constantine came to consider himself the providentially appointed guardian of the Church; Eusebius referred to him as an *Isapostolos* (the same as an Apostle). He started a vast building program in Rome that included the VATICAN, Pauline, and LATERAN Basilicas. He also built in Jerusalem, evidently under the instigation of HELENA, and at Antioch and Treves. Eventually he transferred the seat of his government to Byzantium, which he rebuilt as the Christian city of Constantinople. His baptism on his deathbed by EUSEBIUS OF NICOMEDIA, however, gave encouragement to the semi-Arian bishops, and, under the sons of Constantine, turmoil

marked theological disputes. A series of synods and counter synods involved such champions of orthodoxy as ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, HILARY OF POITIERS, and Pope LIBERIUS in a sequence of painful exiles.

Basil of Caesarea died (379) just as the orthodox cause was about to succeed at the Council of CONSTANTINOPLE I (381) under THEODOSIUS I (379–395), who made Christianity the official religion of the empire. Pagan opposition had reached a final climax under JULIAN THE APOSTATE (361–363), but, with the removal of the statue of Victory from the Senate, despite the protest of the pagan prefect SYMMACHUS, and with GRATIAN's (375–383) renunciation of the title *Pontifex Maximus*, the power of the pagan priesthood was broken. Laws had to be passed to prevent the complete dismantling of the pagan temples.

Asceticism and Spirituality. The papacy of Damasus (366–384) and the close of the fourth century saw the rapid rise of a spiritual movement called MONASTICISM. Although one can find certain precedents for a monastic lifestyle among some of the Old Testament prophets and in Jewish sects such as the Essenes, most historians correlate the rise of monasticism with the advent of the Christian Empire. Once Constantine became sole emperor of the entire ROMAN EMPIRE and started supporting the Church, persecutions stopped and martyrdom as a witness to faith no longer existed. Once Christianity became the official religion of the empire in 381 under Emperor Theodosius, many people joined the Church for political expedience. As it became easier and more comfortable to be a Christian than a member of any other religion, many Christians grew lax in the practice of their Faith.

During the fourth century, new witnesses to the Christian faith emerged in the form of monks. These men and women, the first of whom are referred to as the DESERT FATHERS and Desert Mothers, embraced a radical witness to the gospel by going out into the wilderness to live lives of penance and prayer for themselves and for the morally lax society they saw around them. They embraced an ascetic spirituality and entered into spiritual battle with evil in the world.

The word *monk* comes from the Greek word *monachos* meaning *alone* or *solitary*, and two basic forms of monastic living emerged, both having their origins in Egypt. The first type of monastic spirituality was that of the solitary monk. This form of monasticism is referred to as *anchoritic* (from the Greek *anachorein*, meaning *withdraw*) monasticism. St. Antony (251–356), who fled to the Egyptian desert around AD 270, is considered the founder of this form of monastic living. He embraced an eremitic (*hermit* comes from the Greek *eremos*, or *desert*, denoting someone who lives in the desert away from society) lifestyle on the east side of the Nile River, and over time many others followed Antony's example, living in colonies of hermitages with Antony as their spiritual leader.

A second form of monasticism, also arising in Egypt, is the communal or cenobitic (from the Greek *koinos bios*, meaning common life) form. St. PACHOMIUS is considered the founder of this form of monasticism. He established a community of ascetics around AD 320 in the desert at TABENNISI along the Nile River. Before his death he founded nine monastic communities of men and two of women, serving as spiritual leader of all of them. Each monastic community was divided into houses of monks, composed of twenty to thirty members, who lived according to a *rule*, or way of life devised by Pachomius to govern the community in the spirit of poverty and obedience. These early monastic communities were self-sufficient, with the members sharing times of prayer, worship, and labor.

Monasticism developed and spread quickly in Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor and was stimulated in Italy and Gaul, particularly by Athanasius through his *Life of Anthony the Hermit.* It attracted many who desired to follow Jesus Christ in a radical way and embrace a life of prayer and self-denial to witness to the world that seeking Christ is the most essential thing in life. Pilgrimages to the Holy Land and to Rome, with the development of the cult of the holy places and of the martyrs, took on enormous proportions and influenced the rise of a popular literature that paralleled the spiritual and theological writings of Ephraem of Edessa, John CASSIAN, DIDYMUS THE BLIND, and Epiphanius of Constantia (Salamis). The *Lausiac History of Palladius*, the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Sayings of the Desert Fathers), the *Historia monachorum*, and the *Peregrinatio ad Loca sancta* of Aetheria encouraged ascetical and monastic interests. The monastic movement affected men such as Jerome, AUGUSTINE, GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, GREGORY OF NYSSA, CHROMATIUS OF AQUILEIA, and John Chrysostom. Many monks were called upon to serve as bishops, and others became great figures in the Church. Basil of Caesarea (the Great, c. 330–379) wrote a rule for monks in the Eastern Church and is considered the father of Eastern monasticism. Basil's rule stressed obedience to the local bishop and emphasized the social aspect of monasticism, reminding monks that they could not focus exclusively on their own salvation. MARTIN OF TOURS (d. 397) founded a monastery in Gaul and is often called the founder of Western Monasticism. Monasticism in the West received a definite ascetic and mystical advancement with the writings of EVAGRIUS PONTICUS, who introduced order and method into the process of contemplation. John Cassian (360–435), a monk trained in Palestine and Egypt, produced writings that were incredibly influential in Western monasticism. Benedict of Nursa (480–543) is considered the tradi-

tional father of Western monasticism; he composed a rule that provided the dominant model for monastic spirituality in the West, centered around the simple principles of prayer and work.

Patristic Theology. The conversion of Augustine brought a new theological development in the West that, particularly through AMBROSE of Milan and RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA, had been closely dependent on the Eastern Fathers. Augustine dealt with manichaeism, PELAGIANISM, and DONATISM, as well as with the problems posed by the Trinity, truth, education, grace, marriage, virginity, and concupiscence. In the East, John Chrysostom proved an indefatigable homilist, commenting on St. Paul and the whole of Scripture in a popular and practical fashion. Jerome translated the Old Testament from Hebrew, provided a guide to the *hebraica veritas*, and utilized the works of Origen and Eusebius of Caesarea to put Scripture study, exegesis, and Christian literature on a firm basis. He encouraged an ascetical movement in Rome, and he became involved in the first phase of the Origenistic controversy precipitated by EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS. This occasioned difficulties between Jerome and Rufinus, as well as with Bishop JOHN OF JERUSALEM, and eventually enabled THEOPHILUS OF ALEXANDRIA to depose John Chrysostom from the See of Constantinople, at the Synod of the OAK.

Two Theologies in the East. By the start of the fifth century, two principal theologies had emerged: that of Alexandria with its insistence on the divinity of Christ and an allegorical interpretation of the Scriptures in the pursuit of man's divinization in Christ, and that of Antioch, devoted to a literal interpretation of Scripture and an insistence on man's perfection through the humanity of Christ in the Resurrection. The differences led to the Christological controversies of the fifth and sixth centuries and the Councils of EPHESUS (431), CHALCEDON (451), and CONSTANTINOPLE II (553), which made vigorous efforts to clarify the problems presented by the two natures and one person in Christ.

These councils also proved occasions for the expression of the latent rivalries among the sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople. The preeminence of the latter had been asserted at Constantinople I (381) when, based on its civil status as the new Rome, it was given a position of prominence second only to that of old Rome. Pope Damasus (366–384) voiced concern over this new status given to Constantinople, and this status was further challenged at the Council of Ephesus when CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA ousted NESTORIUS of Constantinople as a heretic. At the Council of Chalcedon, Constantinople was given Patriarchal status and jurisdiction over all the sees of the East. Pope LEO I denied the validity of this decision, citing the lack of Apostolic foundation for the church in Constantinople and the primacy of the see of Rome through Peter over the entire Church. The canons of Chalcedon also freed Jerusalem from the jurisdiction of Caesarea and gave it the fifth place of honor among the great sees. Thus, by 451 the pentarchy of great sees in the Church was established with an order of precedence among them: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem. The bishop in each of these cities was given the title *patriarch*. The canons of the Councils of Constantinople I and Chalcedon, which altered the traditional primacy of sees (from Rome, Alexandria, Antioch), were not accepted until CONSTANTINOPLE IV in 870 and Lateran IV in 1215 (when the affirmation of Constantinople IV was clearly confirmed in the West). The interference of the emperors, particularly in the affairs of the Eastern Church, brought conflict with the patriarchs and a general, if reluctant, acknowledgment of the primacy of the bishop of Rome, to whom appeals in both doctrinal and disciplinary matters were regularly made.

Leo the Great. Pope Leo I (440–461) followed a tradition handed down at least from Siricius (384–399), through INNOCENT I (401–417), CELESTINE (422–432), and SIXTUS III (432–440), in giving the Church organization a legal determination. He felt himself the vicar of Christ in the person of Peter and entertained a "care for all the churches"; he made liturgical, moral, and doctrinal decisions for the East as well as the West. His *Tome to Flavian* helped clarify the Christological issue at Chalcedon, and, in collaboration with MARCIAN and PULCHERIA, then with Emperor LEO I (457–474), he attempted to stem the rise of MONOPHYSITISM in Egypt and Syria. He defended Rome and Italy from the depredations of the HUNS under Attila (406–453), and the VANDALS under Gaiseric (c. 400–477). In dealing with the emperors, he was conscious that he was a citizen of the empire; hence he deferred to their authority, yet felt that that same authority was entrusted to the civil ruler for the enhancement of the Christian religion. This issue was further clarified by Pope GELASIUS I (492–496), who spoke of the "world as governed by two sovereignties, the papal authority and the imperial power that come from God, the supreme sovereign."

Monophysitism. With the rebellion of TIMOTHY AELURUS and Peter Mongus (d. 490) in Alexandria and Peter the Fuller (d. 488) in Antioch, Monophysitism gradually assumed a deep political as well as doctrinal and spiritual character. The great Monophysite teachers, such as SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH (512–518) and PHILOXENUS OF MABBUGH, were not actually heretics in doctrine because they followed Cyril of Alexandria literally. Their power came from their literary competence and the

emphasis they placed on the spiritual doctrine of the divinization of man in Christ; they were aided by the persecution of the imperial government, which they used to influence the lower clergy, the monks, and the people.

The Emperor ZENO issued his *Henoticon* (484) to clarify the Christological issue but merely succeeded in occasioning the ACACIAN SCHISM between Rome and Constantinople. This was continued under Emperor ANASTASIUS I (491–518), despite the efforts of popes ANASTASIUS II (496–498) and Symmachus (498–514) to achieve a reconciliation. The Roman intervention was complicated by the rise of the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy under THEODORIC THE GREAT and the rivalry of the Roman factions, one of whom elected Symmachus, whereas the anti-Byzantine party selected the deacon Laurentius and appealed to the Ostrogoths for support. Three synods in Rome (c. 502) settled the election in favor of Symmachus, and, despite a campaign of calumny on the part of the Laurentians, Theodoric accepted Symmachus as the true pope.

Age of Justinian. In 518 JUSTIN I became emperor. He was Latin and Catholic, and with his nephew Justinian (527–565) he made peace with Rome, condemned the Monophysite factions, and supported Pope HORMISDAS (514–523), whose decree condemning both EUTYCHES and Nestorius and asserting the validity of Leo's *Tome* and the Council of Chalcedon was made the touchstone of orthodoxy. Theodoric dispatched Pope JOHN I (523–526) to Constantinople as an emissary; but despite an honorable reception, the pope's mission failed, and the king maltreated him on his return. The philosopher BOETHIUS and his intimates were also put to death in an anti-Byzantine outbreak.

Emperor JUSTINIAN I, a theologian and also an administrator, a legislator, and an autocrat, attempted to wipe out paganism and closed the University of Athens (529). He passed disabling legislation against Jews and heretics and introduced some Christian concepts into the Justinian code. At the suggestion of the deacon, later Pope Pelagius, he condemned Origenism as a possible solution to doctrinal troubles among the Palestinian monks. His close adviser THEODORE ASCIDAS suggested the condemnation of the THREE-CHAPTERS as a countermeasure. Together with the Monophysite cause, Ascidas received the support of the Empress THEODORA (1), who appeared to counter her husband's religious policies, while living an edifying private life with him.

In 532 Justinian called a colloquy of Severian Monophysite and orthodox bishops. He pursued a vigorous policy of suppression of apparent Nestorianism, attempted to appease the Monophysite monks with the Theopaschite formula, and finally brought Pope VIGILIUS (532–555) to the capital and convoked the Council of Constantinople II, which redefined the Christological doctrine in what has been termed a Neochalcedonian fashion. The pope refused to attend the council after suffering ignominious treatment; he had issued his own *Judicatum* or *Verdict on the Three Chapters* in 548. During the council he put out his *Constitutum*, which condemned the writings of the three incriminated theologians *prout sonant* (as they read) but refrained from condemning them in person. The council (seventh session) condemned the pope and separated itself from the *sedens* but not the *sedes* (the occupant, but not the See of Rome); and in December 553 the emperor finally forced the aged pope to accede to the condemnation of the Three Chapters with his *Constitutum II*, in which he repudiated his former stand.

On the death of Vigilius, to counter the theological rebellion of the Western bishops, Justinian selected Pelagius I (556–561) as pope despite his previous opposition to the council. Pelagius found the West in turmoil, supported in part by the *In Defense of the Three Chapters* of FACUNDUS OF HERMIANE and the exiled African bishops. Schisms broke out in Milan and Aquileia. Justinian had given Vigilius a PRAGMATIC SANCTION for the adjustment of civil affairs in Italy; and the pope protected the population against tax gatherers, the depredations of the soldiery, and the Lombard invasions. In his last years, the emperor favored the aphthartodocetic heresy attributed to JULIAN OF HALICARNASSUS. But his suppressive measure against the Monophysites had had little effect. They were countered by the organizational efforts of James BARADAI, and gradually Egypt and Syria became disaffected against the empire on both religious and nationalist issues.

In Gaul the conversion of CLOVIS (481–511) under the influence of his wife, the Burgundian princess Clotilda, brought the whole nation into the Church (as AVITUS OF VIENNE remarked) and checked the spread of Arianism by the Ostrogoths. The tomb of St. Martin of Tours became a national pilgrimage center. Despite the interference of the kings in ecclesiastical affairs, more than thirty synods were held between 511 and 614. Among the more outstanding churchmen of this period were REMIGIUS OF REIMS (d. 535), the great preacher CAESARIUS OF ARLES (d. 542), GERMAIN of Paris (d. 576), and the historian GREGORY OF TOURS (d. 594), as well as the poet Venantius FORTUNATUS of Poitiers (d. 601). The Gothic peoples, whose conversion had been effected by Bishop ULFILAS and by his translation of the Bible into Gothic, were gradually brought over from forms of Arianism to Catholicism.

Britain had been evangelized early; but the invasions of the Angles, Saxons, and Celts brought back paganism except in small sections of Wales and Cornwall.

Although PALLADIUS had been sent to Ireland by Pope Celestine in 431, the conversion of the island was due to St. PATRICK, who had studied at Lérins and AUXERRE and returned to Ireland about 432. The Irish Church was organized on a monastic basis, and Irish monks set out from foundations such as that of St. COMGALL at Bangor to Scotland, England, Gaul, Germany, and Italy, where they became an important aid in the development of the Church in the sixth and succeeding centuries.

Pope JOHN III (561–574) made a strenuous effort to protect Rome and Naples from the Lombards, who had conquered RAVENNA; and BENEDICT I (575–579) had to wait a full year before receiving imperial confirmation of his election from Constantinople. His successor, PELAGIUS II (579–590), turned to the Franks for protection against the LOMBARDS and supported LEANDER OF SEVILLE when he converted King Reccared (ruled 586–601) and the Arian VISIGOTHS to Catholicism.

Gregory the Great. BENEDICT OF NURSIA had laid the foundations of Benedictine monasticism with his monastery at MONTE CASSINO (c. 529) and evidently was encouraged by Pope AGAPETUS (535–536) in the composing of his rule, which displays pedagogical wisdom and well-balanced asceticism in leading the monks to a perfect following of Christ. Benedictine monasticism received a great stimulus from GREGORY I the great (590–604), who had served both as prefect of the city of Rome and as papal APOCRISIARIUS in Constantinople before being elected pope. Despite war and pestilence brought to Italy through the depredations of the Lombards and the continued schism in Milan, he initiated a far-sighted program of reform. He reformed church music and the liturgy, and, as his tombstone proclaimed, as the *Consul Dei*, he made efforts to bring the Germanic peoples closer to the papacy and sent AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY and his companions as missionaries to the British Isles. He protested the use of the title Ecumenical Patriarch for the archbishop of Constantinople. His pastoral and exegetical writings helped to preserve a modicum of ecclesiastical culture for succeeding ages. His *Liber regulae pastoralis* was translated into Greek during his own lifetime and into Anglo-Saxon by ALFRED THE GREAT. His *Moralia* is a practical handbook of pastoral morality, in the form of a commentary on the Book of job. His exegesis of the Gospels and of EZEKIEL, as well as his *Dialogues* on the lives and miracles of the Italian saints, though replete with legends, filled a great ascetical and spiritual need; and his 848 letters contain a major portion of the history of his age. While CASSIODORUS (d. c. 580), at his retreat in Vivarium, Calabria, preserved theological and literary learning through his *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium lectionum* and his *Historia tripartita ecclesiastica*, Gregory, as the *servus servorum Dei*, created the moral, doctrinal, and pastoral atmosphere that prevailed in the early MIDDLE AGES.

The first period of Church history came to a natural close with Gregory. The reasons for the rise and spread of the Christian Church have challenged the ingenuity and competence of historians, particularly in modern times, but the problem is impossible to solve without an acknowledgment of the intervention of divine providence in the course of human events. It is equally insolvable without a realization that the Church, although divine in its origin and objective, is governed by human beings whose perceptions and ambitions frequently trail far behind the grace and inspiration needed to give finality to the achievement of the kingdom of God on earth.

SEE ALSO ANCHORITES; APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM; APOSTOLIC FATHERS; ASIA MINOR, EARLY CHURCH IN; BENEDICTINES; CANON, BIBLICAL; CANONICAL COLLECTION BEFORE GRATIAN; CENOBITES; CHRISTOLOGY, CONTROVERSIES ON (PATRISTIC); CONSTANTINOPLE, ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE OF; DECIUS, ROMAN EMPEROR; DIOCLETIAN, PERSECUTION OF; DOCETISM; DOMITILLA, FLAVIA, SS.; EPICUREANISM; FATHERS OF THE CHURCH; GAUL, EARLY CHURCH IN; GENESIS, BOOK OF; HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE; HENOTICON; JAMES, EPISTLE OF; JOHN, EPISTLES OF; JOHN, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS; JULIANISTS (APHTHARTODOCETISM); LATERAN COUNCILS; LAUSIAC HISTORY (PALLADIUS); LUKE, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; MITHRAS AND MITHRAISM; NERO, ROMAN EMPEROR; ORIGEN AND ORIGENISM; ORPHISM; PAUL, APOSTLE, ST.; PETER, APOSTLE, ST.; PHILIP, APOSTLE, ST.; PSEUDO-CLEMENTINES; PYTHAGORAS AND THE PYTHAGOREANS; QUMRAN COMMUNITY; STOICISM; SYNOPTIC GOSPELS; TRAJAN, ROMAN EMPEROR.

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II. MEDIEVAL

The history of the church in the MIDDLE AGES can be divided into three major periods, dating roughly from 600 to 1050, 1050 to 1300, and 1300 to 1500. In the first period the Western church was ruled collectively by its bishops, in somewhat uneasy harmony with secular rulers. Wars and missionary activity converted the remaining pagans in the West to Christianity. Those who wished to adopt a holier way of life increasingly chose Benedictine monasticism. During this time the papacy was only intermittently a factor in church governance in the West outside of ROME. In the second major period, however, the popes rather abruptly began exercising regular control over bishops and monasteries, playing an unprecedented role in the church's day-to-day business. During this time, many new varieties of religious life proliferated, including friars, canons regular, and hermits. Heresies and disputes over Christian doctrine arose as they had not since late antiquity; the beginning of this period indeed saw the final split between Latin Catholicism and Greek ORTHODOXY. This was also the time of the CRUSADES. This second period also experienced an enormous intellectual and artistic flourishing, including the creation of European universities and the building of its great cathedrals. During the third major period, papal prestige lessened, and the popes encountered new resistance to their authority. Although novel forms of the religious life continued to proliferate, concern for doctrinal difference diminished during the disasters, war, plague, and economic collapse of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Concern over moral lapses within the church as a whole and calls for renewal were nonetheless a constant throughout this period.

Early Middle Ages (600–1050). Europe in the year 600 had developed many of the ecclesiastical institutions that marked the entire Middle Ages. Those parts of the continent formerly part of the ROMAN EMPIRE were divided into dioceses, headed by bishops expected to practice chastity. Western Christianity was completely LATIN, and both politically and religiously the West drew further and further from Byzantium. The patriarch of Rome, the pope, was recognized in a general way as the successor to Peter, with at least an abstract moral authority even if only limited practical authority. Many men and some women sought a spiritual life in monasteries dedicated to local saints. The cities that had once been Roman provincial capitals and had become European cathedral cities persisted in shrunken form, but the human landscape was overwhelmingly rural.

Merovingian Kings and Anglo-Saxon Conversion. The two regions of the year 600 with the greatest influence on later medieval history were the Merovingian kingdoms—roughly corresponding to modern France, the Benelux countries, and the western parts of Germany—and Anglo-Saxon England. The Merovingian kings of the FRANKS had been Christian since the time of CLOVIS (d. 511). Although many Germanic tribes had adopted the Arian version of Christianity, Clovis converted from paganism to Roman Catholicism, in part due to his Christian wife, Clotildis. He thus had the full support of his bishops, and the Germanic Franks and the local Christianized Gallo-Roman peoples quickly intermarried. Clovis and his successors declared it their religious duty as well as politically expedient to conquer anyone (such as the VISIGOTHS) considered heretical. By the late sixth century these kings and their wives routinely supported and helped found monasteries for both monks and nuns.

Anglo-Saxon England, in contrast, had during the late fifth and sixth centuries lost most of the Christian culture established under Roman rule. The Germanic invaders had pushed Christianity to Britain's margins, especially into Scotland and Ireland. But in the late sixth century, missionaries from these margins began the serious work of converting the ANGLO-SAXONS, beginning with their kings—a task made easier because many had Christian queens. At the same time, missionaries

from Rome, headed by AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY, also came to Britain, leading to tensions when it was discovered that during the previous century, while Celtic Christianity was isolated from the continent, important differences had developed in such areas as the calculation of Easter. The synod of Whitby (664) resolved these differences in favor of the Roman model, and England became a staunch center of Latin Christianity.

The Roman missionaries to England had been sent by Pope GREGORY I (590–604), called *the Great*, the most influential of the early medieval popes. Not long before, the *Liber pontificalis* had first been composed in Rome, tracing the history of its bishops back to Peter, and thus bolstering papal authority. Gregory, in the absence of secular leadership, also organized the defense of the city of Rome against the LOMBARDS, wrote biblical commentary, and helped popularize the BENEDICTINE RULE.

The Rule that BENEDICT OF NURSIA originally composed around 530 for his monastery of Montecassino in Italy thus became well known in the West. Providing a model of a self-sufficient rural house where monks both practiced manual labor and copied Christian and classical texts, it was well suited for a society rapidly losing urban culture; its mixture of rigor and recognition of human weakness also made it attractive. Other forms of monasticism, however, also flourished, especially the version that the missionary Columbanus (d. 615) brought from Ireland and established first at Luxeuil. As monasteries multiplied in the seventh century, many obtained grants of immunity from kings or bishops, in which these authorities promised not to enter the cloister without permission or to appropriate monastic property.

Cult of the Saints. The monasteries of the seventh century were typically dedicated to saints, in most cases a local holy bishop or someone supposedly martyred in the region back in the second or third centuries. Such monasteries might be built on the site of an old cemetery at the edge of town. Cathedrals, in contrast, were most commonly dedicated to a universal saint, such as MARY or STEPHEN. In either case, by the seventh century it was considered normal to put saints' relics into an altar. Reverence for the saints was part of the general sense that the Christian dead were still part of the living community. Unlike the pagan Romans, who had not wanted the dead anywhere near, early Christians met in catacombs and cemeteries and, once they started to build churches, built them quite literally on the bones of their predecessors. Merovingian-era sarcophagi may still be found in many crypts.

Saints, as a living presence, acted as defenders of their monasteries. With few practical means of defense at their disposal, monks turned to saints for protection. Saints' lives and miracle stories are full of accounts in which wrathful saints blasted malefactors. Those without relics of appropriately powerful saints might steal them from another church, claiming a vision that the saint wished to be relocated. The body of Saint Benedict moved from Montecassino to France in this way. Alternately, churches could buy relics from JERUSALEM or Rome, the two principal sources.

Impact of Islam. The history of Latin Christendom was sharply influenced by the rise of ISLAM. This religion, third of the great Religions of the Book, was given form by Mohammed, who claimed to be the last in the line of prophets that included ABRAHAM, MOSES, and JESUS. From ARABIA in the early seventh century, Islam quickly spread throughout the Middle East and North Africa in the decades after Mohammed's death. The unity of the so-called Roman Lake, the Mediterranean, was broken. The Christian patriarchs of ANTIOCH, ALEXANDRIA, and Jerusalem lost most of their influence as Islam became the principal religion in their regions, leaving the patriarchs in Rome and CONSTANTINOPLE as the only two not under Muslim dominion. These latter two were increasingly separated from each other, as North Africa, the one-time home of AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO, became Muslim and Arabic speaking, and Saracen pirates disrupted long-time trade routes. The last of the great Christological debates of late antiquity disappeared along with the disputants. The European center of attention shifted northward, away from the Mediterranean.

From Africa, Muslim armies swept across Spain in the early eighth century. Some crossed the Pyrenees and reached western France before being stopped in 732 at the Battle of Tours, where they were defeated by the forces of CHARLES MARTEL, mayor of the palace (viceroy) for the Merovingian kings. The Pyrenees became the Christian-Muslim border; about a century later Christians in Spain (with Frankish support) began the long, slow process of the *reconquista*, which eventually drove the last Muslims from Spain in 1492. In the meantime, Islam became for western Christians the primary symbol of the evil Other, often equated mistakenly with paganism.

Carolingian Era. During the early eighth century, the Merovingian dynasty nearly died out in the male line, making it hard for Charles Martel (d. 741) to find a king to serve. Members of his family, now called the CAROLINGIANS, became de facto Frankish rulers. They sponsored the missionaries Willibrord and BONIFACE—the latter an Englishman—as they sought to spread Christianity in what is now Germany. But the Carolingians also seized church property as their own, as the MEROVINGIANS had not, and often appointed their favorites to bishoprics—including laymen.

In 751 Charles Martel's son, Pippin the Short, with the permission of the pope, deposed the last Merovingian king, ending a dynasty that had ruled the Franks for three centuries. A few years later, Pope STEPHEN II traveled to Francia to bless Pippin and his family. Perhaps in gratitude, Pippin issued the Donation of Pippin, giving the territory he had conquered around Rome to the papacy. This donation served as the model for the forged DONATION OF CONSTANTINE, which purported that, when CONSTANTINE left for Byzantium in the fourth century, he gave all he had in Italy to the pope—this forgery was assumed authentic until the RENAISSANCE.

Pippin's son, CHARLEMAGNE (king 768–814), took firm control of his kingdom's bishops and abbots, many of whom also served as administrators in his court. Western monasteries suffered in the eighth and early ninth centuries from secular appropriation of their property, often with royal connivance. But Charlemagne, although he founded no monasteries himself, did support some of those located in the recently Christianized lands to the east, and in his councils he sought to regularize monasticism under the Benedictine Rule. He sponsored scholars at his court, notably the Englishman ALCUIN, who worked to create a clean, correct copy of the BIBLE to serve as a model for all copies throughout the kingdom.

Charlemagne, like his father before him, went to Italy to help defend the pope from his enemies when the distant Byzantine emperor proved of no assistance. Popes had been writing the Carolingians intermittently for two generations on doctrinal issues; Charlemagne had all their letters copied into a book in 791, indicating his respect for the papacy. Roman and Greek



Mother Church. *Mater Ecclesia buttressing the shelter of a group of clergy and a group of laymen, miniature on a late-eleventh-century Exultet Roll written and illuminated at Monte Cassino.*

Christianity continued to draw away from each other in the late eighth century, especially over the issues of papal authority, the Byzantine position on images (misunderstood in the West), and the Western addition (rejected in the East) of the phrase *filioque*, "and the son," to the statement that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father. In gratitude to Charlemagne and with the sense that the emperor in the distant East did not deserve the title, on Christmas Day 800 Pope LEO III crowned Charlemagne emperor.

Two sets of Roman emperors now existed: those in Byzantium, successors to the emperors of antiquity, who indeed continued until 1453, and those in the West, Charlemagne and his successors. From the twelfth century onward, the emperors in the West were titled Holy Roman Emperors, both to distinguish them from the Byzantines and to assert their spiritual authority. But the real issue raised by the events of 800 was the intimacy of the tie between pope and emperor: A king could not become emperor until a pope crowned him.

During the ninth century, churchmen began exercising more control over marriage, which went from being in general practice a secular arrangement to recognition as a Sacrament. Theologians, especially HINCMAR OF REIMS, insisted on monogamy as the only possible form of marriage, to be entered into by mutual consent. Highly contested divorce cases in the royal family reinforced the indissolubility of marriage. Also during this period, the FALSE DECRETALS were created to argue (not entirely successfully) that bishops were to be judged only by the distant pope—meaning in practice that they answered to no one.

Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious (814–840) ruled a kingdom that included not just the old Merovingian territories but also much of modern Germany and Italy. But starting with Charlemagne's grandsons, this kingdom was divided and redivided among heirs. France and England were attacked by Vikings, Germany by Magyars, and the Mediterranean coast by Saracens; monasteries, with their wealth, were especially tempting prizes. Counts and dukes who mounted an effective defense against these invaders gained both prestige and followers, eventually replacing the last Carolingians as kings. In both France and England, the Vikings settled down during the tenth century—in Normandy in France, in Yorkshire in England—married local women, and adopted Christianity. Scandinavia itself, however, remained pagan until after the year 1000.

Monastic Reform and Renewal. In the tenth and early eleventh centuries, the West experienced a surge of monastic reform. Few monasteries had been founded west of the Rhine between the early eighth century and the mid ninth, and monasteries new and old had suffered from barbarian attacks and appropriation of their property by laymen. But during the late ninth and tenth centuries, new monastic communities began slowly to appear, most notably in rural areas. As in the Merovingian period, male monasteries far outnumbered nunneries. Most monks entered the religious life as children, as offerings (*oblates*) from their parents.

In the tenth century those who controlled ancient religious houses, either in ruins or populated by monks leading a less than regular life, sought to reform them. Powerful laymen and bishops gave such a monastery to the abbot of a flourishing house to renew or reform to the observance of the Benedictine Rule. The monastery of Cluny in Burgundy, founded in 909 or 910, was often asked to reform older houses in this way. Most commonly the abbot of the reforming house acted as abbot of the newly reformed house as well. When the abbot died, each monastery elected an independent abbot of its own. During the eleventh century, however, Cluny and some other highly respected monasteries, such as Gorze and St.-Bénigne of Dijon, began to acquire groups of dependent houses. Bishops and great laymen from as far away as Spain and Italy asked Cluny's abbot to reform monasteries in their regions. As laymen became increasingly concerned over the state of their souls, many made generous gifts to houses following a rigorous Rule. At the same time the PEACE OF GOD became established, a series of councils held by bishops in which knights were persuaded to swear not to attack the defenseless, both peasants and the clergy.

German Kings and the Papacy. By the tenth century the western empire was no longer all that Charlemagne had once ruled but specifically Germany and Italy. Under the Ottonian and Salian kings of Germany, the normal pattern was for a king to be elected by the German princes and then travel to Rome to be crowned emperor. Extensive fighting with the emerging Italian city-states and, in some cases, deposition of a pope whom the Germans did not find suitable usually accompanied these expeditions.

The German kings ruled through their bishops. Their great counts and dukes proved too independent minded, so the kings preferred to use bishops, who, not having sons, would not be tempted to appropriate land and authority to enrich their descendants. The royal court had a school to train future bishops. Cathedral priests were supposed to give their consent to episcopal appointments, but in practice the king decided. The German bishops still were, as a group, moral and conscientious rulers of their dioceses.

The emperors assumed that they had the same sort of authority over the Italian bishops—including the popes—as they had over the German bishops, but this was much harder to enforce, as they rarely visited Italy

other than for their imperial coronations. In 1046 King Henry III went to Rome and was shocked to find three men claiming to be pope. He deposed all three and had one of the German bishops who accompanied him consecrated as pope. Although this pope quickly died, as did his successor, the next pope, LEO IX (1049–1054), originally from Alsace, asserted rather abruptly that the papacy was true head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy—a principle that would, a generation later, lead to a major conflict with the imperial dynasty that had reformed the papacy.

High Middle Ages (1050–1300). The emergence of a strong and consistent papal role in church governance was one of the most significant developments of the High Middle Ages. But the period from the middle of the eleventh century to the end of the thirteenth was also marked by a multiplication of forms of the religious life, including new varieties of Benedictine monasticism and the radically different way of life of the friars. This period of great intellectual ferment witnessed both the birth of the universities and development of Catholic theology. Also during this period the relationship between church and state was contested and redefined.

Popes and the Investiture Controversy. The new position of the papacy was made clear at the Council of REIMS (1049). Here Pope Leo IX ordered all attending bishops to attest, under oath, that they had been canonically elected "by clergy and people." In fact a number had been put into office by their secular relatives or had even bought the bishopric. Feeling the terrifying eye of Saint Remigius upon them, many confessed the irregularity of their accession and resigned. If the bishop had a vile reputation, Pope Leo accepted his resignation, but in other cases he reinstated the repentant bishop, establishing the principle that the pope was the ultimate authority as to who should or should not hold office.

This council also marked the beginning of what is often called the GREGORIAN REFORM, a conscious effort to improve the morals of the clergy, end simony, and to draw a sharper distinction between the clerical and secular realms. The newly active papacy—not entirely intentionally—also drew a sharper distinction between Eastern and Western Christianity; in 1054 a mission to Constantinople ended when both sides excommunicated each other in an essentially permanent breach. In Western Europe, priests' concubines, much less wives, were now strictly forbidden. Churches in secular hands were to be given to bishops or monasteries. The election of bishops and abbots came under close scrutiny; with the role of the laity reduced to acclamation. From the 1050s onward, the newly organized college of cardinals, made up of the heads of Rome's principal churches, had the exclusive right to choose new popes, thus excluding the Roman laity and the emperors.

The lay-clerical tension came to a head in the 1070s in what has become known as the Investiture Controversy, because the specific issue was whether kings could invest newly elected bishops with their rings and staffs. In practice, the real issue was who was the ultimate authority in a Christian empire, the pope or the emperor. Pope GREGORY VII (1073–1085) took a much sharper line than had any of his predecessors. The emperors, long used to controlling their bishops, were unwilling to back down. Gregory and Emperor Henry IV sought to rally both the German princes and the German bishops to their side, going so far as to support an anti-pope and an anti-emperor.

Henry and Gregory intermittently reconciled, but neither they nor their successors were able to reach a permanent solution until the Concordat of WORMS in 1122. This compromise, which pleased no one, made it clear that the emperor would not invest new bishops, but he was still allowed to observe episcopal elections. The conflict calmed down for a generation after Worms but then broke out again in the 1150s when Frederick Barbarossa was emperor and ALEXANDER III, pope. The fundamental relationship between the two greatest Western powers remained fraught. The French and English kings, meanwhile, had continued to exercise a good deal of control over the choice of bishops in their kingdoms, which was generally overlooked by the popes, who could fight only one battle at a time. Only when these kings did something as outrageous as HENRY II of England encouraging the murder of Archbishop Thomas BECKET in 1170 did the popes turn on them.

The Crusades. The period of the initial conflict between church and state was also the period in which the CRUSADES began, the effort by western Christendom to conquer the Holy Land. The Byzantine emperor asked Pope URBAN II for help against the Turks, and the pope was pleased to comply as a reestablishment of friendly relations between East and West. But when he called for volunteers in 1095 at the Council of Clermont, he inspired his audience in ways he had not anticipated. Urging knights to save their souls in fighting Muslims rather than lose their souls in fighting each other, he launched a movement in which the goal quickly changed from assisting the Byzantines to capturing Jerusalem.

With shouts of "God wills it," knights headed toward the Holy Land, spearheaded by a disorganized group that started their trip by massacring Jews in the Rhineland. The somewhat more organized wave, whose knights despised the Byzantines (a sentiment that was returned), actually managed, to everyone's surprise, to capture the city of Jerusalem and establish a Christian kingdom centered there in 1100. The First Crusade, as



Church and State. *A fourteenth-century manuscript illumination depicting a pope with clergy assembled on the left and monarchs on the right.* © **HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS**

it is now known, was, however, the only successful one, although no one knew it at the time.

Knights continued to travel to the Holy Land to fight the Muslims in the following years. Because it was immediately evident that crusading was both extremely expensive and extremely dangerous—even if one were not killed by the infidel, drowning and disease were constant threats—those who went were primarily concerned for their souls. The Orders of the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller, both founded within some two decades of the capture of Jerusalem, sought to combine the best of knighthood, the warrior skills and discipline, with the best of the monastic life, in protecting pilgrims and fighting Muslims.

When the county of EDESSA, on the outskirts of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, fell in 1144, it was considered a judgment on the crusaders, who, after all, believed that GOD had willed their capture of the Holy Land.

The Second Crusade, led by Kings LOUIS VII of France and Conrad III of Germany, failed to recapture Edessa in spite of its royal leadership—no kings had accompanied the First Crusade. When SALADIN, leader of the Turks, captured Jerusalem itself in 1187, Kings Richard I (Lionheart) of England, Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, and Philip II of France led an even more ambitious Third Crusade, which also failed.

The Fourth Crusade, launched in 1204, never even reached the Holy Land; instead it ended up sacking Constantinople and establishing a Latin empire there. The Byzantines eventually retook their capital, but in the meantime the eastern Roman Empire had been irrevocably weakened against the steady encroachment of the Turks, who finally captured Constantinople (modern Istanbul) in 1453. After 1204 the heart went out of the crusading movement, and although new Crusades were announced intermittently for centuries—most notably by LOUIS IX of France, who never got closer to the Holy Land than EGYPT—the movement was essentially over.

Monasticism in the High Middle Ages. The eleventh and twelfth centuries were marked by the rapid spread of monasticism as knights either made gifts to monasteries or converted to the monastic life themselves with the same religious enthusiasm that inspired many to go on Crusade. In the eleventh century many old monasteries, long abandoned or fallen into disrepute, were refounded with strict observance of the Benedictine Rule. Others, especially in urban settings, became houses of canons regular in the twelfth century, following the so-called Augustinian rule.

Beginning in the late eleventh century, many new monasteries were founded, adopting a determinedly ascetic lifestyle, preferentially far from the cities where most Merovingian-era monasteries had been located. Most significant was Cîteaux, founded in 1098, which quickly attracted enough converts that it established daughter houses and, within a generation or two, created an organized structure linking mother and daughter houses, the first true monastic order in the West.

The CISTERCIANS took only adult converts to the monastic life, not child oblates. They deliberately kept their churches unadorned, their diet extremely simple, and their clothing and bedding minimalist; they did not even dye the wool for their habits, and were thus called White Monks. Their adherence to collective as well as individual poverty was considered a mark of especial holiness, and (perhaps ironically) inspired a number of aristocrats to make them extensive gifts if not indeed to convert themselves. By the second half of the twelfth century, Cistercian houses had spread from their original center in Burgundy and were found in much of Europe.

The best-known member of the Cistercian order was Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux (d. 1153). As a knight himself before his conversion, he appreciated the sinfulness of a knightly lifestyle as well as its appeal and was instrumental in writing the Rule for the Knights Templar. He did not hesitate to criticize either popes or kings if he thought it appropriate: He railed against LOUIS VII's "incestuous" marriage and sent the king on the Second Crusade, and chided Pope EUGENIUS III (1145–1153), formerly his pupil, on letting the business of the papal curia detract from spiritual matters.

Although the Cistercians were the most famous of the twelfth-century forms of monasticism, they were by no means alone. Other Benedictine houses were founded and attracted converts, and the Cluniacs, who had seemed in the eleventh century to embody the best of monasticism, continued to flourish and became an organized order in the thirteenth century, in imitation of the Cistercians, establishing permanent lines of communication between houses and enforcing uniformity of practice. The CARTHUSIANS, who began about the same time as the Cistercian order, created a quite different version of the monastic life, in which the "monastery" was composed of a series of hermit cells. The PREMONSTRATENSIANS, founded by Norbert, adopted a version of the Augustinian rule but practiced austerity and sought wilderness locations.

Although male religious always outnumbered female religious, nunneries also multiplied during this period as houses provided an organized religious life both for widows and for consecrated virgins—as well as for women whose husbands became monks. The order of Fontevraud, founded at the beginning of the twelfth century, was the most successful of those devoted especially to women. Hildegard, abbess of Bingen, became well known in her own time for her mystical writings and musical compositions, and did not hesitate to instruct kings and popes.

Art and Architecture. Most art in the High Middle Ages was religious art, and churches were built in the latest styles, their building supervised by creative and highly skilled architects. Early medieval churches had been small and simple by both the standards of the Roman Empire and of the twelfth and later centuries, but their interiors were lavishly decorated. These churches were for the most part replaced during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, so that few Merovingian- or Carolingian-era churches now exist, except for their crypts.

The style in which churches were built in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, now called *Romanesque* (or *Norman* in England), continued the general style of Roman architecture: columns, rounded arches, and solid stonework. Rounded stone vaults, however,

were used instead of the flat ceilings of classical Roman basilicas. Romanesque churches were decorated with carvings, especially on the capitals at the tops of columns, often depicting biblical scenes or lives of the saints. A semicircular tympanum over the main doors typically showed Christ in majesty, surrounded either by the apostles or by the symbols of the four evangelists. These carvings, quite crude in the early eleventh century, became increasingly sophisticated as the technique of stone carving, nearly lost in the early Middle Ages, rapidly improved.

By the beginning of the twelfth century, Romanesque style was highly developed and widely adopted for monasteries. Its greatest achievement was the church known as Cluny III, the biggest church in the West—to hold the large numbers of monks and pilgrims—until SAINT PETER'S BASILICA half a millennium later. Cluny III was marked by decorative carvings and high, octagonal towers. It was deplorably dismantled by NAPOLEON, but Burgundy still has a number of Romanesque churches influenced by Cluny, including Vézelay and Paray-le-Monial. Cistercian churches were much simpler than other Romanesque churches, with no carvings; they did not even have towers. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX railed against decorations on churches as both distracting and needlessly expensive.

In the middle of the twelfth century, there emerged a New Style for churches, as it was then called—now called Gothic—characterized by pointed arches, ribbed vaults, and greater height. Although Romanesque churches were built to last, with heavy pillars and thick walls—some were bombed in World War II and came through surprisingly intact—Gothic churches were built with taller and thinner walls that allowed for more windows. The first Gothic church is now considered to be the abbey church of St.-Denis, built by Suger, and the first Gothic cathedral that of Sens.

This light and airy style quickly attracted attention, and cathedrals began to be rebuilt in the New Style. Notre-Dame of Paris, originally built without its now distinctive flying buttresses, found that its thinner walls were starting to bow outward within a generation of its construction, and the buttresses were retrofitted. In the thirteenth century such buttresses were built into Gothic churches from the beginning. The cathedral of Bourges was built with a higher vaulted nave than any stone structure before or since, some fifty meters high, but its collapse showed that height had reached its limits. The stone carvings on these buildings had a finesse and realism not seen since classical antiquity. Most European cathedrals had not been rebuilt since the Carolingian era, and, in the general rebuilding of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, these cathedrals outshone the Romanesque churches of the nearby monasteries.

The larger windows encouraged the development of stained glass. The Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, built to house the CROWN OF THORNS brought back from the Holy Land, is the epitome of thirteenth-century stained glass, its walls almost entirely windows. Such windows typically told stories from the lives of the saints in a series of small images. At the same time Bibles and prayer books were illustrated with exquisite, colorful images, called illuminations, often creating an entire scene within the loop of a capital letter.

Rise of the Universities. The religious enthusiasm of the High Middle Ages also led to a great expansion of interest in learning, especially theology but also the philosophy of classical antiquity, whose approaches were used to address questions on the nature of the Christian religion. In the late eleventh century wandering teachers, schoolmasters at cathedrals, and monastic schools predominated—the latter indeed had been the major contributors to education for half a millennium—but in the early twelfth century, certain schools began attracting both the best teachers and students who wanted an advanced education without necessarily becoming clerics. By the late twelfth century, some of these developed into the first European universities.

Two figures epitomize the early twelfth-century thirst for learning, Anselm and Abelard. Anselm (d. 1109), abbot of Bec in Normandy and then archbishop of Canterbury, was perhaps the first to attempt a logical proof for the existence of God that did not require revelation. Although his "ontological" proof was not found altogether convincing (THOMAS AQUINAS, for example, later dismissed it), it demonstrates a strong desire to integrate the tools of pagan philosophy into religious issues. Anselm thus marks the beginning of a period in which faith and reason, far from being opposed, worked together.

This certainly did not mean that any version of religious speculation was accepted. Peter ABELARD (d. 1142), who began his career dealing with the thorny issue of UNIVERSALS, derived ultimately from PLATO—he argued that universals were real, but only as a mental construct—was suspected of heresy when he attempted to apply these principles to the Trinity, itself a universal. Accused by Bernard of Clairvaux of writing "stupidology" rather than "theology," he was forced to recant.

Yet Abelard received no opposition to his most significant work, "Sic et Non," a series of questions on faith and doctrine which he answered *both* Yes and No, backing up all his answers on both sides with citations from the Bible, the Church Fathers, and pronouncements of popes and councils. The contradictions inherent in a thousand years of Christian doctrine were undeniable. Abelard did not resolve them, leaving that as an exercise for the reader, but it was clear that reason-

ing, not just appeal to authority, would be necessary to find ultimate answers. This approach, centered on the contradictions in received tradition, became known as the SCHOLASTIC METHOD, adopted as the normal form of teaching advanced topics. During the 1140s, PETER LOMBARD in Paris and Gratian (d. c. 1155) in Bologna adopted this approach in what became the standard textbooks in, respectively, theology and canon law.

Gratian taught at the University of BOLOGNA, the first European university, whose foundation is traditionally dated to 1100. Bologna had a copy of Justinian's lawcode from the sixth century, and it quickly became *the* university for the study of both laws, Roman and canon. From the middle of the twelfth century on, most members of the papal curia and indeed most popes were trained at Bologna. Paris meanwhile became the center for the study of theology, with a charter from King Philip II in 1200. Paris, like most universities, developed out of both the cathedral school and schools attached to nearby churches; its officers (chancellor, dean, provost) carried the same titles as officers in the cathedral chapter. Other universities were founded during the thirteenth century, including Oxford and Cambridge in England for students who did not want to cross the Channel, and Salerno and Montpellier, both of which concentrated on medicine.

Universities were places of fairly wide-open intellectual inquiry during the thirteenth century, where the pagan philosophers of classical antiquity, Hebrew and Arabic philosophers, and the Church Fathers were all studied. Both classical authors and commentary on them often reached Latin Europe via Toledo in Spain, where they were translated from Arabic. The writings of ARISTOTLE, who had been little known in the early Middle Ages, became widely available, and he came to be considered *the* philosopher, replacing Plato. In all of this it was taken for granted that one could not simply refer to earlier teachings for answers to complex questions; rather, the whole purpose of intellectual inquiry was to find out what those answers were.

The most important theologians at Paris in the thirteenth century were Thomas Aquinas and BONAVENTURE (both d. 1274), respectively holders of the Dominican and Franciscan chairs of theology. Aquinas incorporated Aristotelian thought and approaches extensively into his *Summa theologica*, which used the scholastic method to tie together pagan and Christian thought and the Old and New Testaments in what immediately became a standard work of Catholic theology. Bonaventure put greater stress on divine illumination than human reasoning, but he too was steeped in Greek philosophy.

Although Aristotle and Plato were completely accepted at Paris, others were treated with more suspicion, such as AVERROËS and what was labeled his *double truth*. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, some of the masters of the university worried that material actually antithetical to Christianity was being broadly disseminated. In 1277 a series of books were condemned, and the undergraduates were no longer supposed to read them, although they were still available to the faculty. The West during this period also began taking a harder line toward local Jews and Muslims.

Heresy in the High Middle Ages. The spiritual questing of the twelfth century, which marked both the monasteries and the nascent universities, also gave rise to serious heresies for the first time since late antiquity. Most heretics believed themselves devout Christians, although the bishops disagreed. The masters at the universities were rarely accused of heresy, and neither were ordinary peasants or townspeople.

Many of those accused of heresy had tried to preach repentance to the broader population, believing that they followed the example of the Apostles. Such preachers usually had not been properly trained, and thus could not be trusted to preach correct doctrine, especially if they suggested that the Sacraments were unnecessary. Generally bishops tried unsuccessfully to persuade such preachers to settle down in a monastery. ROBERT OF ARBRISSEL, founder of Fontevraud, for example, ignored repeated attempts to restrict him to the cloister, and the wandering preachers known as the Waldensians spent the final decades of the twelfth century skating along the edge of heresy.

Occasionally a charismatic preacher was also a social revolutionary, one who encouraged his followers to believe that the hierarchical structure of society, far from reflecting the hierarchy of heaven (the normal theological explanation), was inherently evil. For example, the movement of the Cappuciati, or white capes, in the 1180s began as an effort, supposedly inspired by the Virgin, to eliminate local brigands but quickly developed into an attack on all aristocrats. Such movements remained small and local and were routinely and swiftly put down.

The most serious heresy to threaten western Christianity in the High Middle Ages was that of the Cathars of southern France. This was more than a variant of Christianity (although again its adherents claimed to be good Christians); it was a different religion, based on dualism, the idea of an eternal struggle between good and evil. Although accused by their enemies of orgies and cannibalism, the Cathars seem to have sought to purify themselves of the taint of the physical. Their religion was widely adopted throughout the Mediterranean region both by ordinary people and by some of the most powerful.

Unsuccessful efforts were made to persuade the Cathars of their error; Cistercian preachers traveled regularly to southern France to try to convert the heretics. Finally in 1209, in response to the murder of a papal legate, the pope turned from persuasion to force, fearing that the heresy had become a "cancer" that would eat away the "body" of the church. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 formally denounced Cathar beliefs. The Albigensian Crusade was a long and bloody war that ended with the thorough defeat of the heretics—and, for that matter, the deaths of a number of perfectly orthodox Catholics. Because many heretics went underground, the West launched its first inquisition to search out those in hiding. Although, as in the twelfth century, efforts were made to reintegrate repentant heretics into the Christian community, the recalcitrant were burned, and many heretics, believing that they were right, refused to recant what they considered the true religion.

The Friars. The inquisition against the Cathars was spearheaded by the DOMINICANS, one of the two recently established orders of friars. In essence, the friars, both the Friars Minor and the Friars Preacher—or the FRANCISCANS and the Dominicans as they came to be known, in honor of their founders, FRANCIS OF ASSISI and DOMINIC—were an orthodox version of the wandering preaching that had seemed disturbingly heretical (at least potentially) in the twelfth century.

Both orders of friars were based on the same principles as inspired monasticism: personal poverty, a life of chastity and charity, obedience to superiors. But while monks had followed this life withdrawn from the world behind cloister walls, friars lived out in the world, preaching to the populace rather than praying for them from a distance. They also adopted a much more radical version of poverty than had the monks, especially the Franciscans, who initially refused to own property collectively, and whom Francis himself had urged not to save an apple or crust of bread from one day to the next or even to touch coins.

Unlike other wandering preachers, the friars sought approval from the papacy. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 officially recognized them, even while ordaining that no further religious orders should be established. Two chairs of theology were established at the University of Paris for the friars. The friars' stress on poverty reflected a society in which the overall economic flourishing made destitution less an inevitable disaster and more of a choice, and thus (at least potentially) more holy.

The emphasis of the Friars Minor on absolute poverty, however, soon caused a split within the order. Within a generation of Francis's death, his followers were dividing into the Spirituals, who claimed to be following his original teachings and imitating the life of Christ, and the Conventuals, who were more willing to relax some of the severest restrictions on property. It did not help that the Spirituals associated themselves with the "dusty footed preachers" who, it was prophesied, would come into their own in 1260—the year when the so-called Joachite heresy predicted the beginning of a Third Age, after a First Age that had supposedly begun with the world's creation in 1260 BC and a Second Age that had begun with the birth of Christ. The failure of the world to be transformed in 1260 did not lessen the Spirituals' growing alienation from the church hierarchy, culminating in 1323 when Pope JOHN XXII declared it heretical to assert that Christ had not owned property.

Highpoint and Decline of the Papacy. The friars gained approval under INNOCENT III (1198–1216), whose reign marked the highpoint of the power and prestige of the medieval papacy. He had only weak emperors to contend with, because Frederick Barbarossa's son Henry VI had died the year before Innocent took office, leaving a very young heir, FREDERICK II. Frederick promised to be an obedient son of the church, and Innocent died without learning how wrong he had been to believe him. Both King Philip II of France, who tried to put aside his wife, and King John of England, who refused to accept the new archbishop of Canterbury, were forced to yield by the pope.

Both the Fourth Crusade and the Albigensian Crusade were launched during Innocent's reign. Although neither did anything to restore Christian rule to the Holy Land, they did indicate that popes could expect to be heeded when they called for a holy war. Innocent was also very successful in organizing the affairs of the papal curia. By delegating most cases to local bishops or to legates, he was able to reserve his own decisions for the most important cases. Popes had long been overwhelmed by cases appealed from throughout Europe, but now he dealt with pressing cases in a short period of time—and, while at it, undercut the forgers who had provided genuine-looking papal bulls for those who did not care for lengthy waits. He also kept a record of all his rulings in a series of registers, soon imitated by the secular kings.

Innocent's greatest achievement was the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, the largest ecumenical council since late antiquity. As well as condemning heresy, approving the establishment of the friars, and calling for a new crusade, the council made a number of significant doctrinal decisions. All Christians were commanded to confess and to receive Communion at least once a year. Priests were forbidden to participate in judicial ordeals. The council reaffirmed papal primacy and spelled out the nature of transubstantiation. It reduced the number of degrees of consanguinity from seven to four, thus

making it more difficult for couples to "discover" that their marriages were incestuous, in essence getting divorce on demand.

This council marked the pinnacle of what has been called the papal monarchy. European kings were all what the curia considered properly deferential by 1216. Indeed, John of England declared England a fief of the papacy to escape the strictures of MAGNA CARTA, which, however, his infant son was forced to confirm on John's death. Yet in the decades after Innocent's death, his successors faced serious opposition from Emperor Frederick II.

Frederick, in spite of promising to give up Sicily—as king of both Germany and Sicily he effectively had the papacy surrounded—never seems to have intended to do so. He promised to go on Crusade, and, after long delaying, ended up negotiating with the Muslims rather than fighting them. Finally, fed up, Pope INNOCENT IV held the 1245 Council of Lyon to depose him. Having accused him of perjury and heresy and reiterating the Donation of Constantine's subjection of imperial to papal rule, the council deposed Frederick, but he refused to step down, and indeed called on other European kings to support him. The papacy now entered into open war against him. When Frederick died in 1250, papal agents hunted down and had killed all of Frederick's sons and grandsons, legitimate and illegitimate. Sicily and Germany would never again be ruled by the same king; the pope invited the French king's brother to take the crown of Sicily. But the pope's political victory severely undercut the spiritual authority of the office.

Late Middle Ages (1300–1500). Compared to the previous eight centuries, the late Middle Ages made a relatively small impact on the overall history of the church, and these years are too often seen merely as prelude to the reforms of the sixteenth century. The centralized governing authority of the papacy, built up over three centuries, was substantially weakened. Charges of corruption and laxness among the clergy were widespread. Although people of the era often expressed devout religiosity, more and more they did so with only minimal reference to the organized church.

Era of the Popes at Avignon. Having defeated the Holy Roman Emperor, the popes thought that they had become the true heads of western Christendom, both politically and spiritually. Their conflicts with the French monarchy, starting at the end of the thirteenth century, showed how wrong they were.

Pope BONIFACE VIII (1294–1303) and King Philip IV the Fair (1285–1314) initially quarreled over the king's efforts to tax the French clergy, then the royal deposition of a bishop. In response, in 1302 Boniface issued *Unam sanctam*, giving perhaps the most unequivocal statement ever of papal authority. But Philip defied him, and the newly established French Estates General backed him up. When Boniface threatened Philip with excommunication, the French king sent his agents to capture the pope and bring him to Paris to stand trial for heresy, the murder of his predecessor, and general unfitness for office. The French released the aged and infirm pope just in time so that he did not die on their hands.

After the succeeding pope quickly died, the cardinals thought it prudent to elect a Frenchman. On his way from Bordeaux, his original see, to Rome, CLEMENT V (1305–1314) stopped in AVIGNON and somehow never left. All subsequent popes for nearly seventy-five years lived there, building a large, comfortable palace. Avignon was a delicate choice, because although culturally French, it was officially in the empire. The popes could thus suggest that they were not really under the thumb of the French king, even though Clement acquiesced in Philip's suppression of the TEMPLARS.

The Avignon popes were, as a group, serious and competent if somewhat uninspiring. Yet they became decreasingly relevant to European religious life and were subject to harsh criticism, even from those who considered themselves excellent Christians. The emperors began assuming the imperial title without papal coronation, with the Golden Bull of 1356. Many, not only the Franciscans, believed true holiness resided in poverty and roundly criticized the wealth of the curia. MARSILIUS OF PADUA (d. 1342) saw the Christian community, not the pope, as divinely constituted; for him the pope was little more than an elected executive. WILLIAM OF OCKHAM (d. 1349) discussed how a heretical pope might be deposed, with special reference to John XXII. John WYCLIF in England (d. 1384) argued that the church should own no property; he also had the entire Bible translated into English for the first time, urging people to read it for themselves. By now popes routinely selected bishops and abbots for the next vacant position, with the expectation of an appropriate fee, and this practice of papal provisions was also severely criticized, especially when one man held several important offices simultaneously.

Gothic architecture in the fourteenth century continued to seek greater light and airiness, in a style now called Perpendicular. Painting as an art form developed rapidly; canvases, wall paintings, and devotional books such as the *Très riches heures du Duc de Berry* were executed with a wealth of detail and vivid colors, generally showing religious scenes. A new motif in the period was the DANCE OF DEATH, people of all ages and situations in life being led off to judgment by death personified.

The new religious orders that developed during this period tended to be fairly informal groups such as the

Beguines, where (mostly) women lived together in urban houses to follow lives of simplicity while also working. The BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE, founded by Gerard GROOTE (d. 1389), similarly followed a life of austerity while striving for inward piety. Persecutions for heresy became unusual; between the unprecedented famines of the early fourteenth century, the Hundred Years War that broke out between France and England in 1337, and the Black Death that first ravaged Europe in 1347, little energy remained to worry about someone's beliefs.

Great Schism. The popes always meant to return to Rome, and finally, in 1377, Pope GREGORY XI did so. The popes had been sorely missed; the humanist Petrarch referred to their sojourn in Avignon as a new Babylonian Captivity. When Gregory died shortly after arriving back in Rome, the mob raucously demanded an Italian pope. Intimidated, the cardinals complied. But when the new pope, URBAN VI, turned against the French cardinals, they slipped out of the city to return to Avignon. Saying that their election of Pope Urban had been coerced and thus invalid, they proceeded to elect CLEMENT VII instead. In Rome, Urban quickly appointed new cardinals of his own. Now there were two popes.

Certainly papal schisms had occurred before, but generally it had been clear that one of the two had the support of much of Europe, and at most the schism lasted until the schismatic pope died. But Europe was now fairly evenly divided, Italy (for the most part) and France, of course, supporting respectively the Roman and the Avignon pope, England supporting the Roman pope while at war with France, Scotland supporting the Avignon pope, Germany supporting the Roman pope, Spain the Avignon pope. As each pope died, his cardinals elected a new one. (Catholic tradition now takes the Roman line as the valid one.)

Both sides excommunicated the other, further reducing respect for the church hierarchy, because everyone had been excommunicated. Extended schism appeared horrible, for it tore apart the *ecclesia*, the body of Christ, but attempts at reconciliation proved fruitless. Suggestions that both popes step down were repulsed by both sides—unless of course the other pope would step down first. Eventually, the university masters and the chief bishops from throughout Europe, as well as many of the cardinals from both sides, agreed that the only possible solution was a council, which assembled at Pisa in 1409. Having deposed both popes *in absentia,* it then elected ALEXANDER V who would, it was hoped, reunify the church. Instead there were now three popes.

Initially it appeared that support might swing from the Avignon and Roman popes to the Pisan pope, but when Alexander was succeeded in 1410 by JOHN XXIII, a former mercenary captain who had been made a cardinal as reward for protecting the area around Rome, potential support fell away. Another council seemed the only alternative.

Council of Constance. After long negotiations, a council was assembled at CONSTANCE in 1414, the largest council in the West since the thirteenth century (and the largest until the Council of TRENT), its goals to settle the schism, deal with heresy, and promulgate reform. Heresy came first. After condemning John Wyclif, relatively straightforward as he was long dead, the council examined the beliefs of John HUS, who came to the council under an imperial safe-conduct. As well as criticizing the luxury of the church, he and his followers insisted, contrary to current practice, that Communion be given to everyone in "both kinds," both wine and wafer. Hus was declared a heretic and, when Emperor SIGISMUND withdrew his protection, burned at the stake. His followers, called UTRAQUISTS, rose up against the emperor and were eventually allowed to receive Communion in both kinds.

The Council of Constance next turned to the question of the schism. John XXIII, who had hoped to be reaffirmed as pope, was shocked to discover that instead the council was planning to investigate his fitness for office. He fled, hoping that his absence would bring the council to a halt. But declaring that a properly constituted council received its authority directly from Christ, the members of the council pushed on. They accused John of fornication, adultery, incest, sodomy, and murder and deposed him. The Roman pope offered to step down, perhaps hoping that his gracious concession would lead to his reinstallation, but instead his resignation was accepted. The Avignon pope, who refused to resign, was deposed *in absentia.* Since by this time even the French king no longer supported him, he was forced into exile. Finally, the council elected a new pope, Martin V. The cardinals of all three parties quickly accepted him. Exhausted, the council decided to postpone the troublesome issue of church reform.

Although Constance ended with assurances that councils would be called regularly, conciliarism soon lost momentum. Several councils were held, most notably that of Basel, which was moved to Ferrara and then to Florence, but plague or political upheavals or inertia kept them from promulgating wide-ranging reforms. Under Pope EUGENE IV, Florence condemned conciliarism, reasserted papal primacy, and achieved a short-lived reunion with some of the separated Eastern churches. Subsequent popes, however, showed little enthusiasm for calling councils, and the emperors, the only political force that could have made a difference, were not interested in supporting a group that would act independently. The French king was satisfied by gaining

the authority to appoint bishops (GALLICANISM) and lost interest in conciliarism. Councils that would address many questions of church reform had to wait.

The popes, back in Rome, settled down to become, in effect, one more series of Renaissance princes. They and the cardinals lived in luxury and played a major role in Italian power struggles. Popes routinely practiced nepotism, promoting their relatives. The popes also founded libraries and became great art patrons, sponsoring Michelangelo's magnificent paintings in the SISTINE CHAPEL and constructing the present Saint Peter's Basilica. They stayed out of religious conflicts as much as possible, for example ruling on the heresy trial of JOAN OF ARC (1431) only a generation later. Even the discovery of the New World was no more than a distant rumor in 1500, as the organized church seemed oblivious to the sweeping changes about to come.

SEE ALSO ANSELM OF CANTERBURY, ST.; AVIGNON PAPACY; BASEL, COUNCIL OF; BEGUINES AND BEGHARDS; CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY OF; CATHARI; CÎTEAUX, ABBEY OF; CLUNY, ABBEY OF; EASTER CONTROVERSY; FATHERS OF THE CHURCH; FILIOQUE; FLORENCE, COUNCIL OF; FRANCISCANS, CONVENTUAL; FRANCISCAN SPIRITUALS; FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, ROMAN EMPEROR; GORZE, ABBEY OF; HENRY III, ROMAN EMPEROR; HENRY IV, ROMAN EMPEROR; HILDEGARD OF BINGEN, ST.; INVESTITURE STRUGGLE; JUSTINIAN I, BYZANTINE EMPEROR; LATERAN COUNCILS; LIBER PONTIFICALIS; LUXEUIL, ABBEY OF; LYONS, COUNCILS OF; MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI; MUḤAMMAD; OBLATE; OXFORD, UNIVERSITY OF; PETER, APOSTLE, ST.; PHILIP IV, KING OF FRANCE; PISA, COUNCIL OF; SUGER OF SAINT-DENIS; THE WEST IN THE MIDDLE AGES; UNAM SANCTAM; WALDENSES; WILLIBRORD OF UTRECHT, ST.

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III. EARLY MODERN: 1500–1789

In the early modern age, the Church faced the gravest crisis it had yet experienced in the West, the Protestant REFORMATION. After suffering the loss of a considerable part of Europe, Catholicism managed by self-reform to emerge strengthened and purified of many of the abuses that had in part caused and furthered PROTESTANTISM. The new energies were used in answering the missionary challenges posed by Africa, Asia, and the Americas, in consolidating the position of the Church in those parts of Europe that had remained within the old unity, in quelling grave theological quarrels within its own fold, and in maintaining the Church's autonomy within absolutistic European states. Before the end of this period, the Church was faced with yet a new challenge, the rise of disbelief and SECULARISM. The following survey will be divided into two periods: The first (1500–1648) will treat of the Protestant Reformation, the COUNTER REFORMATION, Catholicism within the various European nations, and the missionary expansion of the Church; the second period (1648–1789) will treat of the internal theological problems and Church–State quarrels, and the situation of the Church throughout the world at the end of the *ancien régime*.

THE CHURCH, 1500 TO 1648

The end of the THIRTY YEARS' WAR does mark in many respects a turning point in the history of the Church, for by 1648 both the Reformation and the Counter Reformation ceased to win any large number of new adherents.

Eve of the Reformation. The general situation of the Church on the eve of the Reformation was one of seeming great prestige and power but of internal apathy and hollowness. The cry for reform in head and members had not been satisfactorily heeded. The papacy had suffered a grievous loss of prestige in the period at Avignon and in the Great Schism. By 1500 the popes seemed to be more Renaissance princelings than spiritual fathers of Christendom. While as rulers of an Italian state they were concerned with the independence and government of their territories, the temptation to use the papacy to advance their families was too often overwhelming. In ALEXANDER VI (1462–1503), JULIUS II (1503–1513), and LEO X (1513–1521), the Church had successively at its head a man of immoral private life, a warrior, and a pleasure-seeker. The tone of the papal court may be judged by the attempt on the life of Leo X in 1517, in which some of his own cardinals were involved. The reputation of the Roman CURIA for rapaciousness at the expense of the Christian flock was of long standing. Absenteeism, pluralism, and lack of pastoral interest characterized the episcopacy in varying degrees; the same was true of other members of the upper clergy (e.g., the canons and the pastors of wealthy parishes). The lower clergy suffered above all from inadequate spiritual, intellectual, and moral formation, which often resulted in ignorance of even basic Christian doctrine and in the growth of concubinage. In the religious orders, despite the existence of some exemplary reformed cloisters, apathy and spiritual torpor appeared to be dominant. Although the devout Christian laity still followed their appointed leaders, the abuses and excessive privileges of the clergy were fostering an ANTICLERICALISM, which, while not new, was growing. A desiccated theology remote from pastoral concerns, an externalism in sacramental practice, and a proliferation of devotional practices often peripheral to the central message of Christianity were parts of the spiritual malaise that gripped the Church. A spiritual hunger was felt—unconsciously by some, consciously by the more

educated clerics and laymen—for the spiritual treasures of the Sacred Scriptures and for a theology and practice of the sacraments centered upon their nature as signs of faith and sources of grace for the Christian community. The Reformers seemed to many to provide the answer to their longing for a deeply thought and lived Christianity. But when the new formulations denied or excluded part of divinely entrusted teaching, the Church could only reject those theses of Protestantism that it felt were a narrowing down or impoverishment of the riches of the Christian message. If the Reformers rediscovered basic Christian principles hidden in what was without doubt a dry, decadent, and tired SCHOLASTICISM, their formulations of these were outside the central stream of Christian tradition and were linked with denials of other doctrines and practices that formed an inseparable part of the inheritance of both the Eastern and the Western Churches.

The Reformation. The Reformation took four main forms: LUTHERANISM, CALVINSIM, Radicalism, and ANGLICANISM.

Lutheranism. The Lutheran Reformation, which spread from Saxony throughout much of Germany and into the Scandinavian and Baltic lands, was the result of an Augustinian monk's struggle to find peace of soul for a conscience tortured by doubts about salvation. Martin LUTHER, in his reading of St. Paul, felt that he had discovered the absolutely central truth of Christianity, namely, that God forgives man his sins or justifies him by faith alone without any other activity on man's part. In other words, only God is active in the process of SALVATION; man's only reply, which has bearing upon his salvation, is his faith in his Redeemer, Jesus Christ. GOOD WORKS are the fruit of JUSTIFICATION, but they are of no avail to salvation. The exclusiveness of this formulation, which had necessarily to rule out FREE WILL, forced the Church to reject it. While the Lutheran churches in varying degrees conserved more of ancient practices than the Calvinist and Radical, other denials also made the Lutheran answer impossible for the Church to accept. The hierarchical constitution of the Church was rejected. All Christians were to be considered priests without distinction. Scripture alone was to be the rule of faith without an authoritative interpreter. The sacraments were reduced to two, Baptism and the Eucharist, while both the sacrificial character of the Mass was denied and an already rejected theory of the Eucharistic presence was introduced, that of consubstantiation.

Calvinism. The Calvinist Reformation, which spread from Switzerland to France, the Low Countries, and parts of Germany, England, and Scotland, derived from the Lutheran and a somewhat more radical type of reform that had been taking place in certain southern German and especially Swiss cities. In Switzerland the chief early leader of this radical reform was ZWINGLI in Zurich. John CALVIN, a Frenchman, who became the reformer of Geneva, accepted the cardinal doctrines of Luther: justification by faith alone and the all-sufficiency of Sacred Scripture, but he presented them in a more highly organized and systematic form and shifted the emphasis from the forgiveness of the sinning creature to the transcendency of the forgiving God. Calvinism required a far more austere way of life and worship than Lutheranism. The rejections of traditional Catholic doctrine were the same as those of Luther, while the rejection of traditional Catholic practices were more radical than those of Luther, who was willing to retain those that did not violate the doctrine of justification by faith alone. In one doctrinal respect, the manner of the Eucharistic presence, Calvinism differed irreconcilably from Lutheranism. While Luther steadfastly maintained the reality of Christ's presence in the Eucharist through consubstantiation, Calvin admitted only a presence of Christ in the believing communicant.

The Radical Reformation. The Radical Reformation is a term used to designate various sectarian movements that arose after the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation. No single doctrine characterized the adherents of the many, sometimes tiny, groups who are called radical, but rather they manifest a tendency to go further than Lutheranism or Calvinism. The Low Countries, Germany, Bohemia, and Poland, were the main centers. Three subjects especially interested the radical: the Eucharistic presence, which some interpreted as purely symbolic (SACRAMENTARIANS); infant baptism, which some rejected (ANABAPTISTS or BAPTISTS); and the INCARNATION, which some denied (SOCINIANS, UNITARIANS). These movements, always small, were mostly suppressed by both Catholics and Protestants, but some few of them survived the Reformation era or were later revived.

Anglicanism. The Anglican Reformation, confined to the British Isles, differs in many respects from the Continental Reformation. In England, it was the monarch and parliament who defined the shape and form of the new ecclesiastical structure. Under HENRY VIII the English Church was separated from Rome, but Catholic practice and doctrine were retained almost without alteration. During the short reign of his son, Edward VI, liturgy and doctrine were, however, altered in a Protestant sense. Following the also brief reign of MARY TUDOR, during which the ties with Rome were restored, the definitive establishment of a church comprising both Catholic and Protestant elements was

accomplished by and under ELIZABETH I. The uniqueness of Anglicanism lay in this attempt to synthesize Protestantism and much of the old Catholic tradition. Only the Anglican Church has, besides the confession of faith of the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, a liturgical book, the Book of COMMON PRAYER, as the basis for its beliefs. The Prayer Book is essentially a combined BREVIARY, missal, and ritual, retaining many Catholic practices but with Protestant elements, especially in connection with the Eucharist and the Eucharistic service. The Thirty-Nine Articles are an attempt to fuse Catholic and Protestant doctrines in formulations broad enough to be acceptable to both. The Eucharistic service of the Prayer Book eliminated reference to its sacrificial character. Those who wished a more profound Protestantization in the Calvinist sense eventually became known as PURITANS and managed briefly in the seventeenth century to gain political and ecclesiastical power. Those who wished to remain fully Catholic were reduced to a tiny persecuted minority compromised in their political allegiance by the futile attempt of PIUS V to depose Queen Elizabeth. By severing its link with Rome, the English Church broke communion with the Catholic Church.

Thus, despite the rich scriptural piety of the Lutherans and their warm devotion to their Savior, the profound awe before the transcendent God and the austere sobriety of life of the Calvinists, the traditionalism and sober piety of the Anglicans, and the commitment to a totally Christian life of some of the radical Protestants, the Church had necessarily to oppose Protestantism and to attempt to answer Protestant negations.

The Catholic Reaction. In the beginning the reply to Protestantism was a defensive reaction. Basic tenets of Lutheran doctrine were solemnly condemned by the papal bull *Exsurge, Domine* (1520). In the previous year the Universities of Cologne and Louvain had issued condemnations, as did the Sorbonne in 1521. In reply to the flood of Lutheran publications, scores of Catholic theologians entered the fray to publish refutations. The quality of these works was quite uneven. Luther and his followers had the advantage of promoting a new movement that promised a long-awaited reform. The Catholic theologians, none of whom had the theological and literary genius of Luther, seemed to be defending the status quo. Moreover, until the Council of TRENT, there was, on certain points, some confusion as to what was the traditional Catholic position. Nevertheless a great deal of preparatory work, which was later to prove valuable at Trent, was done by these theologians, throughout Europe. In Germany there were such men as Johann ECK, one of Luther's first and most passionate opponents; Johannes COCHLAEUS, responsible for a Catholic view of Luther enduring for centuries; the erudite Johannes Fabri of Vienna; the humanistic catechist Frederich NAUSEA, and many others, especially among members of the religious orders. At Louvain, Luther, by his own admission, found his most powerful opponent in Jacobus LATOMUS. Elsewhere in Europe much was written against the new doctrines. In England, for example, ironically Henry VIII, as well as John FISHER and Thomas MORE, wrote against Luther. Out of hundreds only a few additional names can be mentioned, such as Alfonso de Castro (Spain), Josse Clichtove (France), and Ambrose Catharinus (Italy). If the work of these men, often quite unappreciated in its time, in defending Catholic doctrine was flawed by anything, it was that they were speaking as individuals without the authority of the entire Church. Only an ecumenical council would be heeded as speaking with the necessary authority, but such a council required convocation by the pope. For too long, the papacy hesitated to call a council mainly because it feared a resurgence of CONCILIARISM.

The Convoking of a Council. After the brief pontificate of the last non-Italian pope (before JOHN PAUL II), ADRIAN VI (1522–1523), one of the rare high prelates to admit the responsibility of the Church for the rupture of religious unity, CLEMENT VII (1523–1534) ascended the papal throne. An indecisive pope, his fear of conciliarism, of the Emperor CHARLES V, and of a possible deposition because of his illegitimate birth caused him to refuse to summon the council that Christendom was clamoring for. His successor PAUL III (1534–1549), while guilty of lavish NEPOTISM and not himself a reformer, nevertheless by his encouragement of reforms of the religious orders, by his nomination of reform-minded cardinals, and above all by successfully bringing the Council of Trent into being, effectively if belatedly placed the papacy behind the movement of Catholic reform.

It was not easy to convoke a council in a period of warfare between France and the Empire and of threatening war within the Empire itself. Attempts to convoke a council at Mantua and Vicenza failed. Moreover, in the 1540s the Emperor decided to attempt to seek his own religious agreement in Germany by means of theological conversations. These failed because the theological rift proved to be too deep. Moreover, political considerations were involved, and neither side seems really to have believed in the sincerity of the other. To Catholics, Protestants were obstinate, formal heretics and the despoilers of the goods of the Church; to Protestants, Catholics were the defenders of corrupt doctrine and of entrenched abuses and interests. The meager, unwilling, brief, and fruitless appearance of Protestants at Trent in 1552 manifested their view that the demands for a free

council on German soil had not been met. By a "free" council the Protestants meant one free of papal control. This demand could not be granted. Trent, however, the city where most of the council was held, was in fact part of the Empire. While the popes never appeared personally at the council, they presided through legates over its sessions, during which, it should be noted, debate was free.

The Council of Trent. The Council of Trent met in three periods separated by suspensions under three different popes. The first period (1545–1548), under Paul III, produced the Catholic reply to the most profound doctrinal problem that the Reformers had raised, the manner of man's justification, along with decrees on the canonical Scriptures, the VULGATE, and ORIGINAL SIN. It had been decided to treat reform and doctrine *pari passu* as a compromise to satisfy the curialist party, who wished to treat only of doctrine, and the imperialist party (that is, those bishops subject to the emperor, whether German, Spanish, or Italian), who wished to treat only of reform. The latter feared to further alienate the Protestants. If the reform decrees at times were timid, it should be remembered that the papacy felt that the reform of the Curia was its prerogative. Moreover, what seemed to be abuses to some were viewed as legitimate exceptions to law by others. After treating the sacraments in general, the council was transferred to Bologna by the legates in 1547, partly because of an outbreak of a contagious fever at Trent and partly because of the desire of the papacy to have the council more under its control. Some of the bishops protested and refused to follow. Though the council discussed future decrees on the sacraments at Bologna, no promulgations were made before it was suspended in 1549.

JULIUS III (1550–1555) reconvoked the Council of Trent for its second period (1551–1552), during which decrees on the sacraments were promulgated, including the Catholic doctrine on the manner of the Eucharistic presence. The outbreak of war in the Empire caused the suspension of the Council in 1552. After the three-week reign of Pope MARCELLUS II (1555), the fiery, reform-minded PAUL IV (1555–1559) succeeded to the papal throne. Wanting in moderation, jealous of papal power, and too ready to brand innocent men as heretics, he refused to summon the council back into session. After his brief reign, a pope favorable to reform through the council, PIUS IV (1559–1564), was elected. Pius IV brought the last period of the council (1562–1563) to a successful conclusion and confirmed its decrees. Through his able legate, Giovanni MORONE, the council surmounted its final and most dangerous crisis, which had been brought about by the tensions between the curialist and imperialist parties, to whom were added also in this last session the French. Doctrinally, the most important decisions of these sessions concerned the sacrificial character of the Mass. From the standpoint of discipline the greatest achievement was the creation of a system of schools (seminaries) for the moral, intellectual, and spiritual formation of diocesan priests.

The Council of Trent furnished in the doctrinal order a much needed clarification of the divine economy of salvation in its decrees on original sin, justification, the sacraments, and the Mass. A positive body of doctrine was thus created that would not only answer Protestant denials but also set the tone for Catholic theology, spirituality, and even culture for the succeeding centuries. If certain lines were drawn concerning Catholic belief, nevertheless the possibility of future discussions of doctrine even on the above-mentioned topics was not ruled out. The failure of the council to mention any of the Protestant Reformers by name has been taken to indicate that it did not wish to rule out the possibility of future conversations. The disciplinary reforms were somewhat disjointed in form and incomplete, but still a model of the ideal pastor, both bishop and priest, was provided, which would be imitated gradually but with increasing effectiveness. The institution of seminaries was of the highest importance in the achievement of this end.

Catholic Reform. Not all reform in the Church, however, was due to Trent. A movement of self-reform reaching back into the Middle Ages had been growing steadily even before the Reformation and without reference to it. It was especially concentrated in Spain and Italy. In Spain its early leaders were the Archbishop of Granada, Fernando de Talavera y Mendoza (1428–1507), and the Cardinal-Archbishop of Toledo, Francisco XIMÉNEZ DE CISNEROS (1436–1517). In Italy, before and independently of the Reformation, groups of priests interested in self-reform and more zealous pastoral care had been arising here and there. Of this type was the Roman confraternity, the Oratory of DIVINE LOVE, which was founded some years before the outbreak of the Reformation and which became a seed-bed of future Catholic reformers. Some of these groups developed into new societies of clerics regular, such as the THEATINES (1524), founded by St. Cajetan of Tiene and others, including the future Paul IV; the BARNABITES, founded by St. Antonio Maria ZACCARIA (1530); and finally the SOMASCAN FATHERS, founded by St. Jerome EMILIANI (1540). The important educational order of nuns, the URSULINES, was founded by St. Angela MERICI and approved by Paul III (1544). There were also a number of reforming bishops in Italy, of whom the most outstanding was Gian Matteo GIBERTI of Verona (1495–1543). The number of reforming bishops grew after Trent.



The Council of Trent (1545–1564). *Pope Paul III called this Council of the Catholic Church in an effort to find an effective reaction to the Protestant Reformation.* **HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES**

The Jesuits. While the JESUITS are often identified with the Counter Reformation, that is, the militant Catholicism of the post-Tridentine Church, their roots are fully in the earlier Catholic movement of self-reform. In fact, the spirituality and structure of the society were developed in complete independence of the struggle against Protestantism. Beginning as a group of pilgrims to the Holy Land gathered around IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA as their leader, the first Jesuits had put themselves at the disposition of the pope. After the pilgrimage had proved impossible and they had come into contact with the new clerics regular in northern Italy, a religious society called the Company of Jesus was developed by Ignatius and approved by Paul III in 1540. The originality of the new group did not consist only in its distinctive IGNATIAN SPIRITUALITY, with its emphasis on a considered commitment to Christ, or in the mobility of the society, with its revolutionary dispensation from Divine Office in choir. It was both the paramilitary character with which its soldier-founder endowed the society and, above all, the very close link between the order and the papacy that were new. The Jesuits were to be the spiritual soldiers of the papacy, tied by bonds of unquestioning obedience to the pope. Since the members were bound to observe poverty and not to seek ecclesiastical preferment, the papacy had at its disposal an increasingly vast international body of selfless supporters. When they defended the papacy they could not be accused of furthering their own personal interests—an accusation that had been raised, not always unjustly, against the curialists and others. Thus, in an age when the papacy was both denied and discredited, the Jesuits were an example of unselfish devotion to the primacy of Peter.

While the Jesuits, whose growth was extraordinary, began as part of the movement of Catholic internal reform, and while their widespread missionary activities were of great importance, they came soon to be associated with the Counter Reformation. In Germany St. Peter CANISIUS (1521–1597), through his diplomatic activity, his example and preaching, his catechisms, and above all through the foundation of colleges, aided im-

measurably the revival of Catholicism there. In the face of the widespread decay of the universities, which until the second half of the seventeenth century did not flourish in Catholic countries as they had in medieval times (except briefly in Spain), the Jesuit school system was of great importance in maintaining to some degree the prestige of Catholic intellectual activity. But while the Jesuit colleges developed an estimable form of Christian humanism, though not without borrowing something from the similar tendencies of renaissance humanism and MELANCHTHON, their openness to new subjects of study was timid. The higher education given by the Jesuits was exclusively for those entering the priesthood. The Catholic universities, perhaps recoiling from the fact that the Reformation had been in some measure the creation of academicians, remained closed to subjects of secular interests and either died of atrophy or became ultimately the secular universities of the modern world. Within this period then, until the advent of the teaching brothers, a high quality of teaching was not to be found in the universities but rather in the colleges of the Jesuits, in the houses of study of religious orders, and especially in the seminaries in France, which were highly successful in elevating the standards of the clergy.

Reforms in Religious Orders. In addition to completely new religious orders, the Catholic reform brought about a number of revivals in the older orders, which occasionally led to the foundation of new branches of congregations. A strict new congregation of the CAMALDOLESE Benedictines was founded by Paolo Giustiani (1476–1528). The generals of the AUGUSTINIANS, GILES OF VITERBO and especially Girolamo SERIPANDO, were both reformers of their order. The FRANCISCANS, the target of much pre-Reformation and Reformation satire, were hampered in their attempts to reform by fears of yet another split in the order, which was already divided into two branches—the Conventuals and the Observants. In a fresh attempt to return to the spirit of St. Francis, a third branch, the Capuchins, came into existence and thrived, despite the handicaps of a founder, Matteo da BASCIO (c. 1495–1552), who left his new foundation, and of a fourth vicar-general, Bernadino OCHINO (1497–1564), who became a Protestant. The Capuchins were officially separated from the Conventuals in 1619. Under the aegis of TERESA OF AVILA (1515–1582) a new reformed branch of the CARMELITES, the Discalced, was formed both for women and for men. Gradually reforms were brought about in the other orders.

Reforming Popes. The papacy of the period immediately after Trent produced three strong figures, PIUS V, GREGORY XIII, and SIXTUS V, who all aided in accelerating the rate of the centralization of Church government. This trend was not new, but it received additional force from the critical situation in which the Church found itself. Pius V (1566–1572), the first saintly pope of the modern era, reformed the college of cardinals, the Curia, and the religious orders, and was also the first pope belonging completely to the age of the Counter Reformation. Such anachronistic gestures as the attempted deposition of Elizabeth I of England, however, were ultimately harmful. The milder Gregory XIII (1572–1585) furthered the Jesuits, the missions, education (especially priestly), and both the Catholic internal reform and the Counter Reformation. To him the GREGORIAN CALENDAR is due, and also an increase in the number of permanent papal diplomatic missions. The most important reorganization of the Curia, however, took place under Sixtus V (1585–1590). In 1588 the cardinals were organized into fifteen congregations, some concerned with the government of the papal states, others with the government of the entire Church. The Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition (renamed Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH in 1965), which had originated in 1542 under Paul III as a commission of cardinals, achieved its final form at this time. New regulations for the ad limina visits and reports of bishops, another step in the increasing centralization of the Church, were issued in this pontificate. Sixtus also effected a number of reforms in the papal states and may be called the father of Rome as a baroque city.

Papal Decline. The lesser figures who occupied the papal throne until the middle of the seventeenth century were characterized by their interest in the beautification of Rome and in the government of the papal states. Nepotism on the part of the popes themselves was not absent, nor were curial abuses. The longer reigns were those of CLEMENT VIII (1592–1605), PAUL V (1605–1621), URBAN VIII (1623–1644), and INNOCENT X (1644–1655). Just as the last major papal attempt to declare a monarch deposed had been unsuccessfully made under Pius V, so also under Paul V a last and equally ineffective attempt was made to place an entire state, Venice, under interdict. Further grave Church–State conflicts were soon to come, but even before them the political weakness of the papacy became more evident. Thus, Innocent X's protest against the religious provisions of the Peace of WESTPHALIA went unheard.

Outside the papal states in this period, the rest of Italy was also generally in political and economic decline, with part of the country under Spanish rule (Naples, Sicily, Milan, and Sardinia). Ecclesiastically, however, the decrees of Trent were accepted in the various states, and reforms were carried out both within the religious orders and by reforming bishops. One of the most striking of these last was Charles BORROMEO (1538–1584), the reformer of the See of Milan. A nephew of Pius IV, he

was one of the rare examples of a happy outcome of nepotism.

The Wars of Religion. If Italy remained in relative peace during the last half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, much of the rest of Europe was involved in the wars often called (somewhat incorrectly) the Wars of Religion, including those in France, the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands, and the Thirty Years' War.

France. In France the wars of religion (1562–1598) were really a series of eight small wars divided by truces and periods of peace. The principal and original cause was the struggle for and against Calvinism, but such motives as the dynastic question, the struggle between feudal conceptions of the monarchy and an absolutist, centralizing view, and foreign intervention come to play important roles also. With the acceptance of Catholicism by HENRY IV, the issuance of the Edict of NANTES specifying the conditions for the coexistence in France of Protestant communities and Catholicism, and the peace with Spain (Vervins 1598), order was reestablished in France. The effect of the wars, however, was to put off the necessary internal Catholic reform. While the French government refused to accept officially the decrees of Trent, the doctrinal decrees were accepted by all without question. Despite the high degree of control over the Church that the Concordat of 1516 gave the French monarchy, many reforms were effected, especially through the influence of such saintly men as FRANCIS DE SALES (1567–1622), Pierre de BÉRULLE (1575–1629), Charles de CONDREN (1588–1641), Jean Jacques OLIER (1608–1657), John EUDES (1601–1680), and VINCENT DE PAUL (1581–1660). All of these fostered the moral, spiritual, and intellectual training of priests, especially through the new system of seminaries.

Revolt of the Spanish Netherlands. The revolt of the Spanish Netherlands is sometimes classed as a religious war between the Dutch, who were principally Calvinists, and Catholic Spain. The desire of the Dutch, however, to shake off the political and economic domination of a foreign power was equally important. In Spain itself the excessive control of the Church by the state in a period when the monarchy was entering a time of continual degeneration could scarcely encourage the religious revival that had begun with Ximenes. Spanish missionary activity, on the other hand, continued to flourish.

The Thirty Years' War. The third great religious war, the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), was fought principally on the territory of the Empire. While religious causes, especially the law that forbade the secularizing of ecclesiastical property, were not absent, political causes were or became the major factors. At the end of the war Catholic France was fighting with Lutheran Sweden against the Catholic Emperor. The Peace of Westphalia, so unsatisfactory to the papacy, marked the end of the Counter Reformation considered as an attempt to regain territories lost to Protestantism. It also marked the end of any large shifts of allegiance from one religious body to the other. When, somewhat later, the Electors of Saxony wished to be elected also kings of Poland, they became Catholic, but their Saxon subjects remained Lutheran, and their Polish subjects remained Catholic.

Catholicism in the British Isles. In the British Isles the dwindling persecuted Catholic minority suffered not only because they refused to accept Anglicanism but also because they were accused of political disloyalty. Their lot was aggravated by the fact that England's chief foreign enemy was Catholic Spain. After the death of Elizabeth, under Mary Stuart's son JAMES I (1603–1625), who had been raised a Protestant, the situation of Catholics did not improve, but their treatment under CHARLES I (1625–1649) was slightly milder. The Civil War, however, brought in the Protector, Oliver CROMWELL, a much more determined opponent of Catholicism than the Tudor or Stuart monarchs. Catholics in Scotland, which was united to England in personal union from 1603, fared no better, but a small number survived as in England. In Ireland, completely under English rule from 1602, despite persecution under extremely severe penal laws, and apart from the plantations, almost the entire population remained faithful to Catholicism.

Catholicism in Eastern Europe. In Eastern Europe the Catholic reform was introduced gradually. The religious situation of Poland mirrored the confused political order, but under the aegis of Cardinal Stanislas HOSIUS (1504–1579) and the Jesuits, a strong Catholic revival took place toward the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. An important reunion of Eastern Christians, the Ruthenians, was effected by the Union of BREST (1595–1596) and also by the Union of Užhorod (1646). In Hungary the Catholic reform and Counter Reformation were fostered especially by Cardinal Peter PÁZMÁNY (1570–1637).

Missionary Activity. The enthusiastic missionary activity of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was paralleled only by the preaching of the gospel in the first centuries. The impetus to this revived activity came from the explorations and discoveries that had begun in the fifteenth century. Of the newly discovered lands, or the hitherto scarcely known lands, including North and South America, the East and Far East, only Africa

remained largely untouched by the missionaries, whose activities Rome began to coordinate (from 1622) under the Congregation for the PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH. An essential difference between the evangelization of the Western and the Eastern worlds was the fact that in North and South America, the missionaries, mostly members of the new and old religious orders, accompanied Spanish and Portuguese conquerors and colonists, whereas in the East the missionaries, also chiefly from the religious orders, sought to evangelize old established civilizations. This occasioned two quite different methods. In the New World, the old existing civilizations were destroyed, and in most of South and Central America an Iberian cultural and ecclesiastical order was established. Thus the first see, Santo Domingo, was established in 1511, and by 1582 there were fifteen more. The missionaries fought with varying degrees of success to prevent the exploitation of the natives by their own countrymen. In Paraguay, the Jesuits organized model communities (REDUCTIONS) of native Christians. Eventually governmental opposition and an excessive paternalism caused these experiments to fail. The greatest single weakness of the Spanish and Portuguese missionary effort in Central and South America was the failure to foresee the need for a native clergy. Consequently, in the eighteenth century there was a dearth of clergy and a decline of missionary zeal, although evangelization did not cease completely (e.g., California).

In the East and the Far East, the missionaries faced different problems. There, after the early heroic exploits of St. Francis XAVIER in India, China, and Japan, a number of missionaries, especially Matteo RICCI, J. Adam SCHALL VON BELL, and Roberto de NOBILI, began to propose the adaptation of Christianity to certain of the cultural and intellectual features of the centuries-old civilizations of China and India. Other missionaries violently opposed such accommodations, and the problem was referred to Rome. For nearly a century it was debated until the last disapproval of adaptation was given by Rome in 1742. Interorder rivalries and national interests had envenomed the quarrels. Along with the already-noted decline of missionary fervor in the eighteenth century, the outcome of the rites controversy marked the virtual end of missionary activity in the East until the nineteenth century. The Philippines, a Spanish possession, however, presented an exception. The attempt to Christianize Japan had failed even before the rites controversy. There violent persecutions (1614–1646) almost completely destroyed the missionaries' efforts, although small secret groups of Christians (Old Christians) continued on without priests. A final and lamentable result of the rites controversy was that it, along with the other grave theological dissensions, helped to discredit Christianity among the intellectual classes during the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

THE EUROPEAN CHURCH, 1648–1789

The history of the Church in the century and a half before the French Revolution is dominated by a series of dissensions on doctrinal matters within the Church, above all the quarrels over JANSENISM, QUIETISM, and FEBRONIANISM, and of distensions between the papacy and the Catholic states, principally over GALLICANISM, JOSEPHINISM, and the suppression of the Jesuits. These quarrels contributed to the profoundly weakened state and seeming apathy of the Church at the end of the *ancien régime,* with whose fate its own seemed inexorably bound. It was not until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that the Church recovered its vigor both in thought and action.

Theology and Theological Quarrels. The trends and schools of theology from the sixteenth century on become exceedingly diverse. Whereas the medieval theologians had in the main been universal theologians, treating in their works of the whole of theology, later theologians became specialists in such recognized branches of theology as dogmatic or speculative, moral, ascetic, or positive. Although the traditional purely speculative method still was carried on by schoolmen such as BÁÑEZ, JOHN OF ST. THOMAS, and SUÁREZ, their efforts represented the work of theologians living to some degree in the past. The important new dimension in theology was the historical or positive theology, which derived from the methods of the humanists, such as ERASMUS. While an effort was made to integrate positive and speculative theology (e.g., Melchior CANO), theology became quite fragmentized, and no theologian of the status of the great patristic and medieval theologians emerged to produce a new synthesis. The interest in historical theology had results important for the growth of the historical sciences both ecclesiastical and secular. In this regard, the work of the BOLLANDISTS in HAGIOGRAPHY and of the Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur are especially notable. In biblical criticism, however, the work of Richard Simon, who was well ahead of his time, was condemned. Similarly, the condemnation of Galileo GALILEI implied a conflict between Christianity and science and had unfortunate consequences. The quarrel with Protestantism often brought forth only a defensive and negative theology; worse yet, internal theological quarrels exhausted the energies of the best theologians. These same quarrels were in no little part also responsible for the growth of disbelief and indifference to religion, which, in turn, presented new problems to the Church.

Jansenism. The gravest of these quarrels centered around the Augustinian doctrine of nature and grace and its practical applications. A theologian of Louvain, Cornelius JANSEN (1585–1638), and a French ecclesiastic, Jean DUVERGIER DE HAURANNE (1581–1643), dreamed of a revival of patristic theology and practice beginning with the doctrine of grace. For them scholasticism and the humanistic theology of some Jesuit theologians were abhorrent, and Calvin had, in their view, grasped Augustine's teaching even if he expressed himself badly. Thus, Jansenism was in a sense a crypto-Calvinism. The Jansenists, however, never wished to leave the Church, but rather hoped to have their doctrine accepted by the Church or at least tolerated by it. This explains, in part, the persistence of Jansenism even into the nineteenth century. Jansen produced his great theoretical work of doctrine in the *Augustinus* (1640), published two years after his death.

Meanwhile, Duvergier de Hauranne, now abbot of Saint-Cyran, had spread enthusiasm for their views in France, especially into the large ARNAULD family, many of whom were or became religious and whose activities were centered around the Cistercian convents of Port-Royal-des-Champs near Paris and PORT-ROYAL in Paris. Schools established by the Jansenists (*petites écoles*) fostered Jansenist doctrine, as well as new methods of pedagogy. Jansenism was almost immediately condemned by Rome, but the Jansenists, led by Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694), refused to accept the condemnation as valid for what Jansen had actually taught and for what they actually held. An endless quarrel ensued about the right of the Church to judge and condemn error in a concrete case. The Jansenists admitted only a *de iure* right and denied that the condemned doctrine was *de facto* in Jansen's writings. A new leader, Pasquier QUESNEL (1634–1719), emerged toward the end of the seventeenth century. Repeated condemnations and harassments failed to drive Jansenism from the French Church, where it continued clandestinely until the nineteenth century. French Jansenism had always been more interested in the moral rigorism that seemed to follow from Jansen's thought rather than his doctrinal elaboration, and toward the end of its history Jansenism was more a symbol of protest against ecclesiastical and political authority than a theological doctrine. A still-existing schismatic church was founded as the result of the Jansenist quarrel at Utrecht in 1723.

Quietism. The quarrel over Quietism was smaller and less grave than the Jansenist quarrel. The father of Quietism was a Spaniard resident in Italy, Miguel de MOLINOS (1628–1717), although his thought was not entirely original. Molinos's *Spiritual Guide* (1675), translated into five languages, proposed a doctrine of total passivity in the face of divine action in the soul. Molinos was condemned and imprisoned, but similar ideas on the spiritual life were put forth by an unstable French woman, Mme. J.M. GUYON. It was FÉNELON (later archbishop of Cambrai), however, who, having become Mme. Guyon's confessor, became the chief spokesman for Quietism in France. The touchstone of Quietism was the belief that the soul might reach such a state of pure love that not only would it be indifferent to its own perfections and the practices of virtue, but it might even cease to will its own salvation. This doctrine of the exclusive action of God on the soul has affinities with Luther's teaching, but Luther never drew the Quietist conclusions. Fénelon's doctrine, attacked by BOSSUET, was condemned by Rome in 1699. Although Fénelon submitted, he denied that he had preached the condemned teaching. Unlike Jansenism, Quietism died out immediately and completely. Both Jansenism and Quietism, however, indirectly encouraged the growth of disbelief by the public spectacles that had been made of doctrinal differences within the Church. As a result, even within the Church a certain mistrust of mystical tendencies became evident.

Febronianism. The dissatisfaction of some German ecclesiastics with papal centralization manifested itself in several ways in the eighteenth century. The most important of these was the work of an auxiliary bishop of Trier, Johann Nikolaus von HONTHEIM (1701–1790). His work, published beginning in 1763 under the pseudonym of Febronius and often called simply the *Febronius,* foresaw a revival of conciliarism in an extreme form in which the papacy would be stripped of the powers that Hontheim claimed it had usurped. The *Febronius* was soon translated from Latin into other languages and achieved considerable popularity. It was condemned, and Hontheim retracted, but in a quite ambiguous manner. The work gave expression to the desire on the part of certain churchmen to be free from papal and curial control. In this it was not far removed from Gallicanism, which was, however, a political attempt to be free of these same controls.

Church–State Quarrels. This period witnessed a number of disagreements between the papacy and various Catholic states.

Gallicanism. The term *Gallicanism* is used to cover a number of theories of ecclesiatical government, all generally in various degrees hostile to or suspicious of Rome. All of these were present in France in the seventeenth century—from the purely ecclesiastical theories of authority vested in all the faithful or the clergy as a whole or the entire episcopate to political Gallicanism. The latter doctrine in its extreme form made the monarch in effect head of the Church in his country. In

France it was the attempt by LOUIS XIV to extend his powers over the Church, which led in the 1680s almost to schism. Louis, since about 1670, had been attempting to increase his already extensive regalian rights, both temporal and spiritual. Meeting some opposition, he inspired the calling of an extraordinary meeting of the general assembly of the clergy. While Bossuet's opening address on the unity of the Church was credited with avoiding a break with Rome, it was he who drew up the summary of Gallican doctrine called the Four Articles of 1682. Royal edict forced the acceptance of these on the French Church. For about fifteen years the papacy refused to institute Louis's appointments to the French dioceses until a large number became vacant. Finally, concessions were made on both sides, but the monarchy gave up the prescribed acceptance of the Gallican Articles. Gallicanism, while partially defeated, did not, however, die out. The state church of the Revolution was the last attempt in France to give it concrete form.

Josephinism. Not unlike the policies of Louis XIV were those of the Hapsburg Emperor JOSEPH II (1765–1790) in his Austrian domains. Even his pious mother, MARIA THERESA, had, in fact, involved herself in strictly ecclesiastical matters. Moreover, due reforms were not effected by the ecclesiastical authorities themselves. In a certain sense, however, Joseph went further than Louis by attempting to make the Church a department of the state and above all by interfering in what were beyond question strictly ecclesiastical affairs, such as the curricula of seminaries, and even the liturgy. His attitude toward the Church was more than a little influenced by the ENLIGHTENMENT and enlightened despotism. An attempt by PIUS VI in 1782 by a personal visit to Vienna to change the Emperor's views did not succeed. Joseph's brother Leopold, his successor briefly as emperor, attempted similar reforms in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The Jansenist Bishop S. RICCI of Pistoia and Prato aided him, and a synod at Pistoia in 1786 drew up a list of reforms partly Jansenist, partly enlightened. The other Tuscan bishops refused, however, to follow Ricci.

While the failure to effect reforms was in part responsible for the lethargic situation of the Church in the Catholic countries in the eighteenth century, the method of reform proposed by the enlightened despots would have disastrously compromised the independence of the Church. The Constitutional Church of the French Revolution disintegrated when power was assumed by nonbelievers.

Suppression of the Jesuits. The most unhappy Church-State quarrel of the eighteenth century was the suppression of the Jesuits. Opposition to the Jesuits had arisen from many quarters—from the Jansenists, the Gallicans, and the thinkers and rulers of the Enlightenment. The Jesuits were accused, in most cases unjustly, of having acquired excessive power and wealth. They were, moreover, the religious society with the greatest loyalty to the papacy. They were suppressed by Portugal in 1759, France in 1764, and Spain in 1767, but the Catholic powers were not content until they obtained a complete suppression from Rome. This they succeeded in getting from CLEMENT XIV in 1773. Only in Russia did the society survive until its restoration in 1814.

The Papacy, 1648–1789. The political prestige of the papacy continued to decline in the period from 1648 to 1789. No longer were the popes arbiters in international disputes. Generally, in fact, they were excluded from the major international conferences. They failed also to supply the necessary leadership or to effect reforms in their own states. In the religious domain, on the other hand, they successfully resisted Jansenism and Quietism and restrained Gallicanism and Febronianism. In dealing with the enlightened despots and their followers, especially in the matter of the Jesuits, however, they failed. The most notable papal figures during this period were INNOCENT XI (1676–1689), BENEDICT XIV (1740–1758), and Pius VI (1775–1799), who died a prisoner of the French.

Catholicism in Non-Catholic Lands. Generally speaking, the position of Catholics in Protestant lands improved somewhat during the eighteenth century. This was in part due to the Enlightenment with its ideal of tolerance. In the United Provinces, the existence of Catholics was tolerable although complicated by the Jansenist Church of Utrecht. In Scandinavia there were scarcely any Catholics except for a few, mostly foreigners, in Sweden. In Great Britain there was gradual progress toward greater toleration, but Catholics remained very few in number and still were not emancipated. Ireland also was beginning to progress toward emancipation (Relief Bill of 1778).

The Church Under the Old Regime. A brief survey of the situation of the Church in France on the eve of the Revolution offers a view of the virtues and failings of the Church in the Catholic lands. The struggle between Church and state had sunk from the level of the monarchy to quarrels between the Jansenist lawyers of the *Parlements* and the Church. The episcopacy, while not composed of unworthy men, was often nonresident and almost entirely drawn from the nobility. Most of the bishops were to leave France en masse when the Revolution threatened. The lower clergy, well-educated and often devoted, nevertheless resented their inability to rise in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The monasteries had vast possessions but had experienced a sharp drop in

vocations, and some were almost empty. The abuses of COMMENDATION had continued. Among the laity, the educated classes were imbued with the spirit of the Enlightenment, and some had ceased to believe; the working classes, mostly still agrarian, remained for the most part attached to Catholicism.

SEE ALSO AD LIMINA VISIT; AVIGNON PAPACY; CAJETAN (GAETANO DA THIENE), ST.; CHINESE RITES CONTROVERSY; CLERICALISM; EASTERN SCHISM; GRACE, SACRAMENTAL; HUMANISM, CHRISTIAN; MAURISTS; PRIMACY OF THE POPE; TRANSUBSTANTIATION; UTRECHT, SCHISM OF.

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IV. LATE MODERN: 1789–2009

The centuries from the Age of Revolutions (the French and Industrial Revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century) to the opening of the third millennium ushered

in profound economic, social, and political changes. Although the effect of these developments has been uneven, with the passage of time almost every corner of the world has felt their impact. The widespread technological innovations flowing from the Scientific Revolution, giving rise to urbanization and secularization, influenced religion in general and the Roman Catholic Church in particular.

The Church has found some external changes beneficial, others harmful. Western civilization, increasingly secularized in its ideals and practices, has continued to drift away from the Church that was largely instrumental in creating it and to which it had been intimately united for centuries. The problem of adjusting to the radically new conditions of civilization remains critical. Throughout this entire period, persecutions have persisted, never more violent and destructive than in the twentieth century. Despite this, indeed partly because of it, the Church has become a more spiritual and more closely knit organization, under the primacy of the popes.

In civil society, nationalism swelled to ominous proportions; it has been extolled as a kind of religion, but its fruits have often been hatred and bloodshed. Ecclesiastical particularism, on the other hand, shrank to minimal proportions with the disappearance of GALLICANISM, FEBRONIANISM, and JOSEPHINISM, which in the eighteenth century had been the bane of the universal Church. Inner threats to unity in the form of heresies and schisms were few and gained few adherents. Religious indifferentism within the fold and leakage of individuals from it have, however, been sources of great concern. Counterbalancing these losses there have been great numerical gains as the Church spread worldwide as the result of large-scale emigration from Catholic Europe and of unparalleled missionary activity.

The more important developments and the most characteristic trends are outlined here. (For the ecclesiastical history of individual nations, see the entries on each country of the world.)

From 1789 to 1815. France has for centuries played a significant role in the Church's life, but never before or since has it monopolized the stage to the extent that it did between the outbreak of the FRENCH REVOLUTION and the downfall of NAPOLEON I. As a political and social upheaval, the Revolution was of major importance in world history. From the religious viewpoint, it was scarcely of less moment for the Church, both in France and elsewhere. Fittingly, therefore, this event is selected as inaugurating a turning point in the Church's history. After abolishing clerical privileges, nationalizing Church properties, and suppressing religious orders, the Constitutional Assembly enacted the CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY, which created a SCHISM and split France religiously into two hostile camps. As time went on, leadership in the Revolution fell into the hands of men bitterly hostile to the Church, more intent on destroying than reforming it. An attempt was made to dechristianize the country by violent persecution, wholesale iconoclasm, reorganization of the calendar, imprisonment and deportation of the clergy, separation of Church and state, and propagation of a series of naturalistic, patriotic cults as substitutes for Christianity. As their crowning attack on religion, the revolutionists stripped Pope Pius VI of his temporal power, seized him, and marched him captive to southern France, where he died a prisoner.

Victorious revolutionary armies swept into the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, where they imposed the French innovations. Throughout the nineteenth century, the aspirations of the Revolution kept spreading through Europe and the New World. The French Revolution afforded, then, a preview of what was in store for the Church. Reconciliation with the principles of 1789 posed for the Church a major problem that was not solved completely a century later. Even this span of years did not suffice to close the rift in French society opened during the revolutionary decade. The heirs of the great Revolution were the republicans, liberals, and anticlericals of the nineteenth century. Loyal Catholics tended to link democracy with godlessness; in good part their politics were conservative and monarchist. They resisted the RALLIEMENT and formed the backbone of ACTION FRANÇAISE.

When Napoleon Bonaparte gained control of revolutionary France, he turned it into a military dictatorship and an instrument of his boundless ambitions. After his military genius had subjected most of western Europe, he introduced into the conquered territories the ideology of the Revolution, whose devotee he claimed to be. Napoleon, a man of little or no Christian faith, utilized religion to promote his state policies. Since political considerations counseled the restoration of religious peace in France, he concluded with the HOLY SEE the CONCORDAT OF 1801, which regulated Church-state relations for a century, and which served as a model for numerous other concordats during the nineteenth century. Many of the benefits accorded to the Church by the Concordat of 1801 were withdrawn as soon as they were given, by Bonaparte's unilateral action in publishing the Organic Articles.

In Italy, Napoleon arranged a concordat on similar terms. He was mainly responsible for the vast secularization of ecclesiastical territories in Germany. Had Napoleon attained his goals, Paris would have replaced Rome as the center of the Church and the pope would have become his chaplain. When the first consul decided to become emperor, he humiliated Pius VII by inviting him to Paris to attend the coronation ceremony in Notre Dame as simply a spectator who had to watch the

emperor crown himself. In retaliation for the Holy See's refusal to ally with France and join the Continental Blockade, the emperor seized the STATES OF THE CHURCH and held Pius VII captive (1809–1814) until military reversals sent Bonaparte to exile in Elba.

Ecclesiastical Restoration. Following the Battle of Waterloo (1815) came a period of restoration for the Church, as well as for European governments. At the Congress of Vienna, attended by Cardinal Ercole CONSALVI, the papal secretary of state, the victorious powers undertook to revive, as far as possible, the *ancien régime*. In their endeavor to stabilize conservative monarchical governments in power, they disposed of thrones and territories on the principle of legitimacy. Political considerations predominated; but the Church, particularly the papacy, became a major beneficiary. The statesmen at Vienna were well aware that the absolutist rulers who had weakened the Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had unwittingly undermined their own thrones in the process, as events after 1789 demonstrated.

The conclusion was that throne and altar are best united. A much more benign attitude toward religion came into vogue. As a result, the allied powers that had watched unmoved when Pius VII was deprived of his temporal power and detained as a prisoner decreed the return of most of the States of the Church. Not all the decisions at Vienna were of this tenor, to be sure. Catholic Belgium was united with Holland and subjected to the Protestant House of Orange. Most of Poland passed to Russia. German lay rulers, generally Protestants, were allowed to retain their recently acquired ecclesiastical principalities.

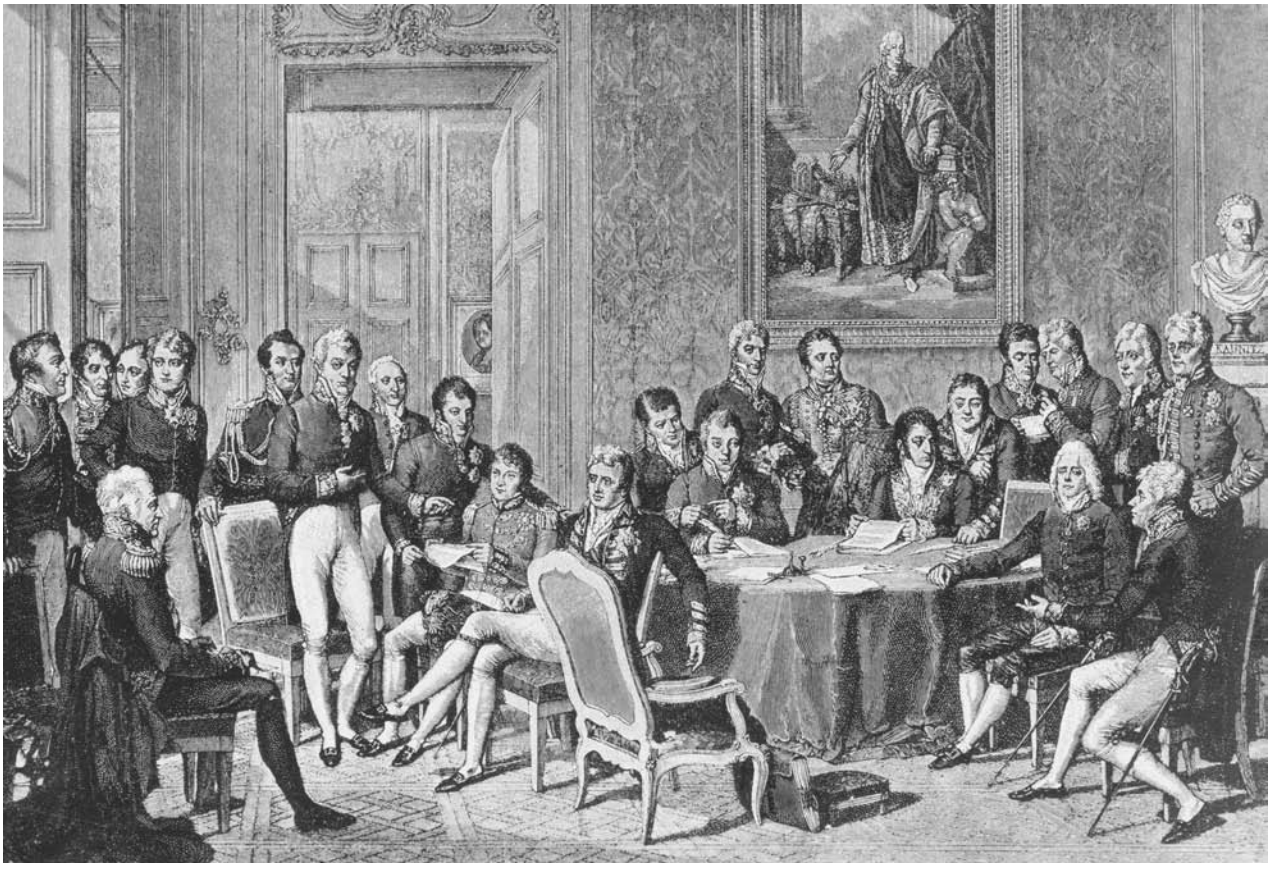
In this changed atmosphere, Pius VII restored the JESUITS throughout the world in 1814, soon after his release from Fontainebleau; he was able to take this step without objection from the royal courts that had exerted strong pressure on Pope CLEMENT XIV to suppress the Jesuits in 1773. The situation allowed the badly disrupted Church to reorganize itself in Europe and in the mission fields. It was very significant that the papacy, the authority of which had been much weakened since the mid-seventeenth century, took the lead in this process. From this point, there was an upswing in papal spiritual power, a pronounced trend toward centralization of ecclesiastical administrative power in Rome, and an unquestioned exercise of papal primacy of jurisdiction throughout the Church. These were among the most significant developments of the century. The concordats and other agreements that were concluded by the Holy See were an important part of this reorganization.

Not surprisingly, the Church regarded the Restoration regime with favor, just as it had looked askance at the French Revolution and what it represented. The alliance of throne and altar had serious disadvantages that became more apparent in succeeding decades. After 1815, the Church was identified in many minds with the reactionary Restoration; the reorganization of the States of the Church along the lines of the *ancien régime* did nothing to dispel this notion. Klemens Wenzel von Metternich (1773–1859), the leading exponent of the political Restoration, hoped that this edifice would be an enduring one; yet revolutionary outbreaks in Latin America in the 1820s and in Europe in 1830 soon weakened its foundation. It could not withstand the explosions of nationalistic and constitutional furies of 1848, promoted by the liberals, to whom belonged the future.

Church and Liberalism. LIBERALISM and its manifold relations with the Church provided the main themes for nineteenth-century ecclesiastical history. *Liberalism* is a broad but vague term that defies precise definition; its connotations varied in different countries and in different decades. In general, the liberal outlook favored a minimum of restrictions on individual liberty in private and public life, and defended a maximum of freedom for the individual in his social, economic, and religious existence and in his relations to the state. This viewpoint was rooted in RATIONALISM; it was based, therefore, on an ideology sharply at variance with the Catholic one. The liberals upheld the ideals of the French Revolution and abhorred those of the Restoration.

The trend in the nineteenth century was toward constitutional regimes, popular sovereignty, broadening of the suffrage, complete religious liberty, equality for all citizens, abolition of established churches and of clerical privileges, separation of Church and state, and assumption by the government of functions formerly exercised by the Church. Thus, the civil power came to claim control over marriage, charitable endeavors, public welfare, and education. The tendency was to view the Church as a society within the state, part of it and subject to it like other societies, inferior to the state even in the religious sphere. This trend found its strongest supporters among the liberals, who looked upon the Church's conservatism as a major obstacle to their victory. Religious and philosophical propositions fundamental to doctrinaire liberalism attracted the ire of the Church in the *Mirari vos* (On Liberalism and Religious Indifferentism, 1832), the SYLLABUS OF ERRORS (1864), *Quanta cura* (Condemning Current Errors, 1864), and other notable papal pronouncements.

A group of Catholic liberals (or democratic Catholics), particularly in France, quickly foresaw the perils to the Church in aligning itself with forces destined for proximate oblivion. Hugues Félicité Robert de LAMEN-



Congress of Vienna. *This painting by Johann Baptist Isabey shows the delegates of the Vienna Congress, held after the Napoleonic Wars in 1814 to decide the reconstruction of Europe, seated around a table.* © **BETTMANN/CORBIS**

NAIS was the pioneer in seeking an accommodation with the new order developing out of the French Revolution. His program advocated freedom of education, of association, and of the press. Still more revolutionary to the Church of his day was his advocacy of complete religious liberty and complete separation of Church and state. Among his principal disciples, Lamennais counted Olympe-Philippe GERBET, Thomas-Marie-Joseph Gousset (1792–1866), Prosper GUÉRANGER, Jean-Baptiste Henri LACORDAIRE, Charles-Forbes-René de MONTALEMBERT, and René François ROHRBACHER. In some respects, Lamennais was a man of prophetic vision. Unfortunately, he advanced his proposals in exaggerated fashion and mixed them with a good deal of unsound theology. The conservative Pope Gregory XVI solemnly condemned them in *Mirari vos* (1832) and *Singulari nos* (On the Errors of Lamennais, 1834).

In France, the hierarchy and the majority of the laity sided with the pope, and the cause of liberal Catholicism accordingly suffered a serious but not universal setback. In Belgium, Catholics joined forces with liberals to win independence in 1830 and to draft a liberal constitution. Daniel O'CONNELL, who led the successful struggle in Great Britain for Catholic Emancipation (1829), and who then started an unsuccessful drive to repeal Ireland's legislative union with England, represented a decidedly liberal outlook.

Liberals, drawing their strength mainly from the middle class, came to control several countries, particularly from the mid-nineteenth century to World War I (1914–1918). In Spain, Portugal, Italy, France, and Latin America, their rule was hostile to the Church and characterized by ANTICLERICALISM, sometimes of the most extreme type. In Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, they supported the KULTURKAMPF.

Political Organization of Catholics. A striking modern innovation has been the organization of Catholics for political purposes. The Catholic Association, started in 1823 in Ireland by Daniel O'Connell to win emancipation, was a pioneer. With the growth of representative government and of political parties, along with the need for Catholics to band together to further their rights, Catholic political parties were formed in several western

European countries, notably in Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Italy. These groups were not always professedly confessional; this was true of the best known of them, the Center Party in Germany, which was succeeded after World War II (1939–1945) by the Christian Democratic Party. Christian Democracy became more prominent after 1918. In France after 1945, the Mouvement Républicain Populaire became important.

Political Developments after 1918. Following World War I, a series of national and international political upheavals confronted the Church, with new and delicate problems of the first magnitude replacing those associated with liberalism. Exaggerated nationalism was a major factor in the outbreak of two world conflicts a quarter of a century apart, separated by a great economic crisis, and followed by the division of the globe into two violently hostile ideological groups with an "iron curtain" between them and by the increasing importance and independence of non-Western peoples in Africa and Asia. Western Europe became less prominent in the Church, although the gradient of this descent by no means paralleled the steepness of the political, economic, and intellectual declines.

Particularly significant was the rise of FASCISM in Italy under Benito MUSSOLINI. This dictatorial regime laid to rest the ROMAN QUESTION, yet it kept relations with the Holy See in a state of uneasy tension for two decades. National Socialism, under Adolf HITLER, was much more hostile to religion ideologically and subjected the Church in Germany to severe persecution. More important for the Church in the long run was the rise of Socialism and COMMUNISM.

Socialism and Communism. The spread of the Industrial Revolution, along with the shortcomings of prevailing liberalism, impelled the formulation of plans to reorganize society that were far more radical and sweeping than those propounded by the French Revolution. Progress in preventing and controlling diseases resulted in rapid population increases. Technological innovations sped the multiplication of factories, one of the effects of which was urbanization. To the industrial centers came masses of poorly educated persons who settled in squalid slums. There, the labor of men, women, and children was ruthlessly exploited by members of a greedy middle class, indifferent to the welfare of their employees and intent on accumulating for themselves maximum profits under a capitalistic system that favored fierce, open competition, minimal state control of individualism, and slight governmental efforts at social legislation. The disparity in wealth and political power between the minority who owned the means of production and the proletarian majority of wage earners was glaring and became ever more irritating.

Socialism arose as a solution to the evils connected with private property. In general, the Socialists aimed to improve society on the basis of public ownership of the means of production, but they differed widely among themselves in principles and, still more, in the application of them. In addition to contriving theories, Socialists became active in politics and in the labor movement. Socialist political parties rose to prominence in several European countries in the second half of the nineteenth century and continued to be important thereafter.

Some Socialists were Christians, but very many of them ignored Christianity or attacked it. Neither Claude Henri de SAINT-SIMON, the father of French Socialism, nor his leading disciples considered themselves Christians. Pierre Proudhon (1809–1865) assailed all religions, and Mikhail Bakunin (1814–1876) preached atheism. Communism evolved out of the theories of Karl MARX and Friedrich ENGELS, as a completely materialistic and militantly atheistic system. Pius IX, Leo XIII, and succeeding popes condemned the basic errors in Socialism and Communism. In return, both of these groups regarded the Church as their most stalwart foe and entered into bitter struggle against it. For huge numbers in the working class, Socialism served as a substitute for Christianity or as a religion in itself; it caused large-scale defections from Catholicism and, even more, from Protestantism. After World War I, Communists established themselves in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Subsequent to World War II, they came to rule several countries in Eastern Europe as well as China. Persecution of all religion, particularly of the Catholic religion, was the usual aftermath of these victories.

Social Catholicism. Catholics recognized the implications of the French Revolution much more quickly than they did those of the Industrial Revolution. They became actively concerned about the political and religious aspects of liberalism long before they became fully aware of the novelty, magnitude, and complexity of the problems treated by economic liberalism. Socialism thereby gained a considerable head start on Catholicism in attempting to solve the social question.

After its beginnings in predominantly Protestant Great Britain late in the eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution spread to the Continent, reaching different countries in different decades. The material distress and moral abandonment of the industrial proletariat became known quickly and roused sympathy and the desire to alleviate them. Poverty was a problem older than Christianity. It was widely believed that the traditional method of private charity, applied on an enlarged scale, was the proper and sufficient solution.

Only gradually did it become clear that SOCIAL JUSTICE as well as charity was involved and that structural changes in the social order were required.

Eventually a program in conformity with Catholic teachings was framed and put into practice. By that time, unfortunately, the industrialized proletariat of western Europe had become in great part alienated from the Church. The dechristianization of this group was branded by Pius IX as "the great scandal of the nineteenth century." The result was that an entire generation or more passed its life out of contact with the Church. Valiant efforts were made later to regain them, but even the heroic sacrifices of the WORKER PRIESTS met with partial success at best.

Catholics did not meet the problem simultaneously everywhere, nor were their responses the same in all lands. German Catholics were among the first to resolve the question, although the Industrial Revolution penetrated Germany after reaching France and Belgium. Adolf KOLPING and Bishop Wilhelm von KETTELER acted as pioneers around midcentury, and the Center Party was an early advocate of enlightened social legislation. As a result, German Catholics did not desert the Church en masse as did Protestant industrial workers, who flocked to the Social Democratic Party and adopted its Socialist, irreligious ideas. French Catholics, on the other hand, remained wedded to social conservatism, and French bishops and priests were slow in displaying interest in or comprehension of the problem; for some time, they disapproved of labor unions. Belgium also was tardy in meeting the new situation. The Church in Great Britain and the United States escaped the calamitous results visited upon France and Belgium, even though men of farsighted social vision, such as Cardinal Henry Edward MANNING of Westminster and Cardinal James GIBBONS of Baltimore, were not common.

Pius IX was preoccupied with liberalism's political and doctrinal aspects rather than with its social and economic consequences. In *Quanta cura,* however, he outlined the program that Leo XIII developed much more fully in *Rerum novarum* (On Capital and Labor, 1891), the first thorough papal pronouncement on the subject. With this famous encyclical, the papacy assumed the leadership in supplying the Catholic solution. Succeeding popes have on many occasions amplified Leo XIII's teachings and applied Catholic principles to new situations, most notably in the encyclicals *Quadragesimo anno* (On Reconstruction of the Social Order, 1931), *Mater et magistra* (On Christianity and Social Progress, 1961), *Laborem exercens* (On Human Work, 1981), and *Centesimus annus* (On the Hundredth Anniversary of *Rerum novarum*, 1991).

The Popes. The recent life of the Church has centered in Rome to such an extent that an understanding of the development of the papal office and of the course of papal history is essential for a comprehension of Church history. One of the most remarkable phenomena in the entire history of the Church is the rapid change in papal fortunes subsequent to 1815. After a period of declining prestige and effectiveness that extended from the mid-seventeenth century and reached its nadir in the misfortunes of Pius VI and Pius VII, the papacy took advantage of the changed external situation and asserted effectively its spiritual authority over the universal Church to a degree never before equaled.

Once the stormy revolutionary era closed with Napoleon's downfall, authority tended to be centralized increasingly in Rome. This trend, which became more pronounced after midcentury, reached its culmination in 1870 at VATICAN COUNCIL I, when the papal prerogatives of primacy of jurisdiction and INFALLIBILITY were solemnly defined. Especially from the time of Pius IX, the popes have been active to an unprecedented extent in the exercise of their teaching authority. Papal temporal power, on the other hand, kept declining, until in 1870 it disappeared with the loss of the States of the Church. The LATERAN PACTS (1929) resurrected this power on a very limited scale when they solved the Roman Question by creating the State of VATICAN CITY.

After Pius VI (r. 1775–1799) and Pius VII (r. 1800–1823) came Leo XII (r. 1823–1829), Pius VIII (r. 1829–1830), Gregory XVI (r. 1831–1846), Pius IX (r. 1846–1878), Leo XIII (r. 1878–1903), Pius X (r. 1903–1914), Benedict XV (r. 1914–1922), Pius XI (r. 1922–1939), Pius XII (r. 1939–1958), John XXIII (r. 1958–1963), Paul VI (r. 1963–1978), John Paul I (r. 1978), John Paul II (r. 1978–2005), and Benedict XVI (r. 2005–). As a group, the popes from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries have been dedicated, industrious leaders, whose intellectual and spiritual qualifications were outstanding. (For the history of these pontificates, see the entries on each pope.)

Clergy. Wide variations, quantitatively and qualitatively, can be observed in the inner, more important, phase of the Church's life in various parts of the world. On the whole, there has been a decided improvement in the caliber of the clergy. The loss of ecclesiastical wealth, clerical privileges, and lofty social status, along with the democratic spirit of the recent period, have changed for the better the character of the hierarchy; it has become more plebeian but more knowledgeable and more intent on fulfilling its duties as the shepherd of souls. The day has passed when the upper strata of society monopolized bishoprics, canonries, and other higher posts, which were too often esteemed as sinecures. Much more attention has focused on ameliorating and standardizing the intellectual and spiritual training of priests in seminaries. The Holy See has made the seminary system the object

of continual solicitude and of watchful supervision. Priests of the twentieth century were better prepared than their predecessors in the nineteenth century to meet the problems created by vast economic, social, and intellectual upheavals. Pastoral vision in the nineteenth century was too often narrow, and pastoral methods adjusted themselves slowly to a rapidly changing society.

Religious Institutes. One of the most conspicuous indications of the restored vitality of the nineteenth-century Church was the extraordinary progress made by religious orders and congregations. Only the thirteenth century can be compared with the nineteenth in this respect. Yet the century opened very inauspiciously for religious institutes. The age of the ENLIGHTENMENT had been one of decline for the orders, whose most conspicuous loss came in 1773 with the suppression of the Jesuits. So much religious property was seized and so many orders were dissolved in whole or in part after 1789 that most institutes had to make a fresh start after 1815.

Subsequently, the growth of existing orders and of new foundations has been steady, despite several attempts by anticlericals to stunt it in Germany and in Latin countries, notably in France. Some older orders never regained their former importance or numbers; others succeeded in doing so, only to later suffer decline. Monastic orders, which were hardest hit by secularization, were the slowest to recover. Thus the Benedictines verged on extinction for a while, but after the mid-nineteenth century they began to prosper once more. The Dominicans and Capuchins diminished greatly in numbers until a reversal set in late in the nineteenth century. The Vincentians declined to a few hundred, increased in the 1960s, and subsequently declined again. There were only a few dozen Christian Brothers left at the opening of the nineteenth century, but membership swelled in the mid-1960s. However, they proved no more able to sustain this growth than the Jesuits, who witnessed a similar resurgence and decline. Older orders of women, such as the Ursulines, Visitation Nuns, and the Daughters of Charity of St. Paul, went through similar experiences.

Numerous new congregations appeared, more so in the nineteenth than in the twentieth century. Most frequently they originated in France, Italy, or Spain, but much of the growth of the larger ones occurred outside these borders, even outside Europe. In the vast majority of cases these new institutes engaged in the active apostolate, predominantly in education, hospital work, and missionary endeavors. Several groups were founded explicitly for work in the missions. To an unprecedented extent, religious women traveled to foreign missions. The trend favored centralized, mobile, international organizations.

Among the new congregations for men, those that became best known include the Assumptionists, Blessed Sacrament Fathers, Claretians, Consolata Missionary Fathers, Divine Word Society, Holy Cross Congregation, Holy Ghost Fathers, Immaculate Heart of Mary Congregation (Scheut Fathers), La Salette Missionaries, Mariannhill Missionaries, Marianists, Marist Fathers, Montfort Fathers, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Oblates of St. Francis de Sales, Sacred Hearts Missionaries (of Issoudun), Sacred Heart of Jesus Priests (of Saint-Quentin), Sacred Hearts Fathers, Salvatorians, Stigmatine Fathers, Verona Fathers, Viatorians, and Xaverian Missionary Fathers. Members of John BOSCO's Silesians and Silesian Sisters have spread throughout the globe.

Societies of men who live a common life without vows included the African Missions Society, Pallottines, Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions, Precious Blood Society, and White Fathers. The Columban Fathers and St. Patrick's Missionary Society were founded in Ireland; the Mill Hill Missionaries, in England; and the Josephite Fathers, Maryknoll Missionaries, and Paulists, in the United States. The Missionary Society of St. James the Apostle was the creation of Cardinal Richard CUSHING of Boston.

Several congregations of brothers were founded. Among the more prominent ones were the Brothers of Christian Instruction of Ploërmel (La Mennais Brothers), Brothers of Christian Instruction of St. Gabriel, Charity Brothers, Immaculate Conception Brothers, Lourdes Brothers, Mercy Brothers, Our Lady Mother of Mercy Brothers, Sacred Heart Brothers, and Xaverian Brothers. The Marist Brothers grew to a membership exceeding ten thousand. Ireland was the place of foundation of the Irish Christian Brothers, Patrician Brothers, and Presentation Brothers.

Congregations of women far exceeded those of men in the number of new foundations and in total membership. Women came to constitute a higher percentage of all religious than in earlier centuries. The number of groups of Benedictine sisters alone is large; so are the numerous groups of Charity, Dominican, Franciscan, Good Shepherd, Notre Dame, Precious Blood, Providence, and Sacred Heart sisters. The Society of the Sacred Heart, founded by St. Madeleine Sophie BARAT, became famous for its educational work. The School Sisters of Notre Dame blossomed into a much larger organization. The Little Sisters of the Poor greatly endeared themselves by their care of the aged and impoverished. The Mercy Sisters, founded in Ireland by Mother Catherine MCAULEY, became the largest ever established in the English-speaking world. (See the entries on each of the above congregations).

Secular institutes represent a new direction in the religious life that has become more prominent since the mid-twentieth century.

Laity. Leakage and dechristianization processes have drained large numbers of the faithful. The careful surveys of religious practice that were made in the mid-twentieth century usually confirmed widely held opinions about the sizable, sometimes alarmingly high, percentage of nominal Catholics. Yet the laity have become more prominent in the life of the Church. After World War I, this became one of the most significant phenomena in the Church. Much attention has been devoted to the lay state as a special vocation and to a type of spirituality best suited to this state.

Catholic Organizations. The multiplication of flourishing Catholic organizations was another striking feature of this period. Some arose to foster particular devotions, others to promote the Church's rights, to aid the poor and the sick, to cultivate social life, or to unite Catholic workers, tradespeople, professional persons, war veterans, students, teachers, colleges, hospitals, and other groups. Prominent among these associations were the Holy Name Society, the LEGION OF MARY, and the National Federation of Sodalities of Our Lady.

The vast expansion of missionary activity, now dependent on private charity for material subsistence, has given great importance to mission aid societies, such as the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, the Pontifical Association of the Holy Childhood, and the Missionary Union of the Clergy. Antoine Frédéric OZANAM initiated the work of the Society of St. VINCENT DE PAUL, the charitable undertakings of which branched into numerous countries. Pax Romana and the NEWMAN APOSTOLATE were intended for students and intellectuals. The GÖRRES-GESELLSCHAFT fostered Catholic scholarship. Catholic political parties have been noted above. Catholics formed their own labor unions in addition to numerous other organizations devoted to the causes of education, access among rural Catholics, and betterment of the lives of Catholics in general. Leading fraternal organizations in the United States included the KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS, CATHOLIC DAUGHTERS OF AMERICA, and DAUGHTERS OF ISABELLA. Other countries have Catholic organizations suited to their own needs and desires. The National Catholic Welfare Conference was formed to coordinate the efforts of American Catholics to carry out the Church's social program.

Devotions. Traditional forms of piety did not vanish, but new trends and emphases emerged. JANSENIST PIETY, with its moral rigorism, gave way gradually to a more sentimental type of devotion, associated with Italian Catholicity, that stressed external practices and frequentation of the Sacraments. This interior transformation of Catholic inner life north of the Alps has been termed the "real triumph of ultramontanism," more so than the definition of papal infallibility.

Late in the nineteenth century, another trend developed and gained momentum in the following decades: Catholic spirituality became predominantly Christocentric in its orientation. Evidence of this trend appeared in the widespread devotion of the Sacred Heart. The nineteenth century has been called the "century of the Sacred Heart," but this devotion retained its popularity in the twentieth century. Pius XI extended the feast of the Sacred Heart to the universal Church. Equally Christocentric are the devotion to the PRECIOUS BLOOD and still more to the Eucharist, manifest in the common practice of perpetual adoration, frequent Communion, and the development of EUCHARISTIC CONGRESSES. Relaxation of the requirements for the EUCHARISTIC FAST served to increase this practice, but this modification was in line with the general trend observable in the laws concerning FAST AND ABSTINENCE, censures, and other disciplinary regulations.

Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary on a worldwide scale was also characteristic of the period. It was promoted by the solemn definitions of the doctrines of the IMMACULATE CONCEPTION (1854) and the ASSUMPTION OF MARY (1950), and by progress in the study of MARIOLOGY. As a result of the visions of St. Catherine LABOURÉ, devotion to the MIRACULOUS MEDAL gained many adherents. The apparitions to St. Bernadette SOUBIROUS have made LOURDES, France, one of the most frequented SHRINES in the world. FÁTIMA, Portugal, and, to a lesser extent, LA SALETTE, France, also have become goals of international PILGRIMAGES.

A third characteristic trend in twentieth-century lay piety was its biblical orientation. Relatively few Catholics in the nineteenth century read the BIBLE with any regularity, and the modernist crisis early in the twentieth century deterred ecclesiastical authorities from seeking to alter this situation. BIBLICAL THEOLOGY received more attention in later decades. Catholic scholars worked with greater freedom after the appearance of Pius XII's encyclical *Divino afflante spiritu* (On Promoting Biblical Studies, 1943), and they produced numerous scholarly works. The availability of good vernacular translations of the Sacred Scriptures and of worthwhile popular literature on the subject, as well as the urging of the hierarchy, gave great impetus to this movement.

The LITURGICAL MOVEMENT progressed during the nineteenth century after the pioneering efforts of Dom GUÉRANGER. In the following century, it became one of the most impressive developments in the Church, one that promoted notably the role of the laity in liturgical services and that increased interest in the LITURGY.

Intellectual Life. The Church confronted an enormous task of ever-increasing magnitude in solving the religious

problems posed by discoveries in the natural sciences and in many other fields of learning and by new directions in thought and letters. An explosion of discoveries in physics, chemistry, geology, astronomy, and biology vastly expanded knowledge about the natural world. These findings raised numerous questions about traditional religious beliefs, and the reconciliation of science with faith. So successful was the method of the natural sciences that many became convinced that that was the sole adequate method. The writings of Charles DARWIN on EVOLUTION, popularized by Thomas Huxley (1825–1895), were enormously influential; they were accepted enthusiastically by scientists and thinkers and came to be applied to widely diverse fields. Their impact on religion was great and for some time destructive. Scientific investigations into the workings of the mind by psychiatrists and psychologists resulted in great advances in the understanding of the human mind, but they also led to mechanistic, deterministic views and supplied many with substitutes for Christianity.

Modern philosophers have been much interested in religion, and their writings have had a profound influence on theology, more on Protestant than on Catholic theology. Many leading thinkers ceased to believe in Christianity, and some were openly anti-Christian. Their philosophical systems differed widely, but they tended directly or indirectly to portray Christianity as irrelevant or harmful.

The Bible was subjected to an enormous amount of critical attention, especially in Germany. Basic to the outlook of many of the more prominent critics was a denial of all supernatural faith and a habitual contesting of the truth of Sacred Scripture. The problem of the historical Jesus gave rise to dozens of theories. David STRAUSS and Joseph Ernest RENAN, who published two of the best-known nineteenth-century lives of Christ, were skeptics and passed on to their readers their own disbelief in the Gospel narratives. Historical study of the origins and early development of the Church was another favorite field for scrutiny and resulted in a number of theories derogatory to Catholic claims. The comparative study of religion was a well-tilled field, but its products proved injurious, in many cases, to belief in Christianity as the sole road ordained by God for SALVATION. Literature served often to disseminate in wide circles these new ideologies in the form of novels, plays, and poems impregnated with naturalistic outlooks and disdainful of Christian standards.

Catholic scholarship was for several decades ill-prepared to surmount these challenges. The closing of numerous Catholic universities, theological faculties, and monastic schools during the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods and the disastrous infiltration of the Enlightenment and Kantian ideas into Catholic thought, even in seminaries, left Catholicism at a low intellectual ebb. Recovery was slow until the mid-nineteenth century; after that, progress was rapid and continuous.

Signs of renewal became apparent first in France early in the nineteenth century, with the influential, if not profound, writings of François de CHATEAUBRIAND, whose *Genius of Christianity* (1802) was a sensational success, and those of Joseph de Maistre and Louis de BONALD. APOLOGETICS was cultivated extensively, most notably toward midcentury by John Henry NEWMAN, Victor DECHAMPS, and Jaime BALMES. Church history, patrology, and the history of dogma also received much study at this time, especially in Germany, where Johann MÖHLER, Johannes Ignaz von DÖLLINGER, and Carl von HEFELE were outstanding. German emphasis on historical theology caused tensions, however, with the theologians in Rome, who were traditionally attached to SCHOLASTICISM.

The key problem of conciliating faith and reason produced several solutions, not all of them acceptable. Thus HERMESIANISM, as evolved by Georg HERMES, TRADITIONALISM, ONTOLOGISM, and the systems advocated by Franz von BAADER, Anton GÜNTHER, and Jakob FROHSCHAMMER met official Roman disapproval (see Denzinger and Hünermann 2005, pp. 2738–2740, 2751–2756, 2765–2769, 2833, 2841–2847, 2850–2861). Vatican Council I supplied an impetus to ecclesiastical scholarship. The renewal of scholasticism and THOMISM gained strong encouragement from Leo XIII in 1879 in his encyclical *Aeterni patris* (On the Restoration of Christian Philosophy). When AMERICANISM, *Reformkatholizismus*, and, more importantly, MODERNISM arose around the turn of the twentieth century, the exercise of the papal magisterial power sufficed to quell them speedily. The same fate befell new theological trends in France after World War II subsequent to the publication of Pius XII's *Humani generis* (Concerning Some False Opinions Threatening to Undermine the Foundations of Catholic Doctrine, 1950).

Heterodox movements after 1789 that resulted in lasting group separations from the Church were rare. *Deutschkatholizismus*, initiated by Johann RONGE and Johann CZERSKI, the OLD CATHOLICS, the LOS-VON-ROM MOVEMENT, and the POLISH NATIONAL CATHOLIC CHURCH were the most sizable schisms, but their followings were relatively limited even at the height of their popularity. After 1918, Catholic ecclesiastical scholarship, centering in western Europe, became very active and prominent and moved out of the position of secondary rank it occupied earlier. The Catholic press spread its influence throughout the world.

Expansion. Emigration and missionary evangelization after 1789 established the Church in almost every corner

of the globe and greatly increased its numbers. Millions of emigrants from Catholic countries in Europe were the main factors in building the Church in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand; they also augmented the Catholic populations converted earlier in Latin America.

By 1789 the missions were in a sad state after a century of stagnation and decline, hastened by the heavy loss of personnel when the Jesuits were suppressed in 1773. During the next four decades and longer, this situation deteriorated further as the religious orders suffered dissolutions, confiscations, and diminution of numbers. It has been estimated that in 1800 the vast territories in both hemispheres entrusted to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith had only about five hundred priests (about half of them natives), a few dozen sisters, and somewhere between 1,400,000 and 5,000,000 faithful. Not until the pontificate of Gregory XVI was it possible to begin improving matters.

After 1878, progress was remarkable. So extraordinary were the subsequent activity and accomplishments that these decades constitute one of the most flourishing periods in all mission history. No similar length of time recorded anywhere near as many converts. The revival of the religious orders was mainly responsible for this growth. Gregory XVI, the leading mission pope of his century, and all his successors helped enormously by taking keen interest in the missions and by assuming a far more active leadership than their predecessors did or could. The huge expenditures involved in evangelization have been met by the charitable contributions of the laity, who have carried the material burdens once assumed by the Catholic governments of Spain, Portugal, and France. External factors helped. Travel became easier and safer. China, Japan, and Siam (Thailand) reopened their doors to foreigners. Regions such as inner Africa ceased to be inaccessible.

Almost all missionaries until the twentieth century came from Europe; they suffered, not always without justification, from having their work regarded as merely one phase of European colonialism. Their reluctance in some areas to prepare native clergies gave added substance to the charge, but their outlook was severely disapproved by Rome and has disappeared. With the multiplication of precise papal directives, with attention focused on mission science, and with improvements in training for missionaries, the proper function and activity of the missions came to be more perfectly understood and practiced. Disadvantageous also to the missions was the tarnished image of Christianity furnished by the arrogance, greed, immorality, and religious indifference of many transplanted colonial officials, merchants, and adventurers. By the mid-twentieth century, European prestige had dimmed, and a blaze of anti-Europeanism had erupted, fed by rising nationalisms and demands for independence. Missionaries also faced serious competition. Protestants began to spread the Gospel with great zeal and success in the nineteenth century. Islam became a serious rival in Africa and elsewhere, and in lands where anti-Catholic or atheist ideologies gained political mastery, Christian missionaries were persecuted and expelled.

Despite all this, statistics leave no doubt about the tremendous progress of the missions. By 1957 there were some 30,000 priests, 8,000 brothers, and 60,000 sisters—about half of them native—in the territories allotted to Propaganda alone, not counting the areas dependent on the Congregation for the Oriental Church, the Consistorial Congregation (in North Africa), or the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs (Portuguese possessions). There were also 4,000 native seminarians and 150,000 catechists and teachers. One in six of the 683 territories under Propaganda was confided to native bishops, a development that progressed rapidly under Pius XI and his successors. About fifty million Catholics inhabited mission lands. Nearly half of them were in Africa, the scene of the most spectacular gains, since the total in 1800 approximated 50,000, and in 1900, 500,000.

Reunion. UNITY OF FAITH and UNITY OF THE CHURCH are ideals that the Catholic Church has always sought. For centuries, the Catholic Church worked to mend the break with the Orthodox churches, and on a few occasions the attempts seemed to verge on success. Practical as well as theological considerations heightened the urgency in the twentieth century to promote these aims, resulting in a far greater readiness to engage in interfaith dialogue.

Interfaith movements became extremely prominent and well-received. Catholics and Anglicans conducted the MALINES CONVERSATIONS (1921–1926) to try to resolve their differences. Important attempts to restore Christian unity were undertaken by the Protestant WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES and VATICAN COUNCIL II. Through the decrees and efforts of the council, as well as the Unitas Association, the UNA SANCTA movement, and many other ventures, Catholics demonstrated a growing spirit of cooperativeness. The sincerity with which the task was faced improved the relations between religious bodies that had been intolerant of one another in the not too distant past.

The Contemporary Church. The Catholic Church entered the contemporary age with the election of Giovanni Roncalli as Pope John XXIII on October 28, 1958. John XXIII recognized the need for updating, or *aggiornamento*, of the Church, as well as *aperturismo,* or opening up to the outside world. Perceiving synods and councils as the constitutional means to institute change,

he called the Twenty-first Church Council to effect the necessary *aggiornamento*.

The Pontificate of John XXIII. John's vision was global and catholic as he selected Cardinal Augustin BEA to head a new Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. It prepared the way for the participation of observers from other Christian communities in the council and for the promotion of ecumenism within the Roman Catholic Church. The secretariat also proposed a statement denouncing the age-old discrimination against Jews. Pope John XXIII set the example by meeting with the non-Catholic observers and receiving the archbishop of Canterbury.

Pope John XXIII also sought an accommodation with the Eastern bloc, drawing a distinction between Communism as an atheistic creed with which the Church could not compromise and Communism as a social, political, and economic reality, which had to be confronted. Rather than continuing the Church's anti-Communist crusade, he was prepared to adopt a pragmatic approach to the Communist regimes, letting Moscow know that the Vatican sought improved relations. Later, he reached agreements with a series of Communist governments, enabling the Church to secure the liberation of a number of ecclesiastics from Eastern Europe while filling some vacant bishoprics there. In turn, the Yugoslav government permitted the public funeral of Cardinal Alojzije STEPINAC in 1960. Other dividends ensued as the Soviet Union permitted the participation of the bishops from Eastern Europe in the Church Council.

During this pontificate, the Church did not neglect social questions. On May 15, 1961, the encyclical *Mater et magistra*, on the Church as mother and teacher of all nations, was issued, emphasizing the Church's role in social progress. In John's view, *Rerum novarum* represented a compendium of Catholic social and economic teaching, insisting that work was not another commodity, but a specifically human activity, and while private property was a right, it entailed social obligations. Although the Church could not accept Communism or Socialism, the objectives of which did not transcend material well-being and preached atheism, it recognized the lawfulness of state and public ownership of productive goods, especially those that exercise great power. Indeed, *Mater et magistra* assigned an extraordinary responsibility to the state for providing social security, accepting the welfare state as an expression of the common good, while welcoming the increase in social relationships among nations, peoples, and classes.

Two years later, on April 11, 1963, Pope John XXIII issued the wide-ranging encyclical *Pacem in terris* (On Establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity and Liberty), which was widely heralded in the secular press. Addressed not only to Catholics, the pope called for all people of good will to work together for universal peace. To achieve that goal, government and social structures must be grounded on principles of truth, justice, charity, freedom, and the dignity of the human person. *Pacem in terris* discussed four major themes: the relation between authority and conscience, human rights, disarmament, and the quest for the common good. It identified three "signs of the times," characteristic of modern society: the progressive improvement in the economic and social conditions of working people; the emerging prominence of women in public life; and the collapse of colonialism and rise of independent nations.

During this pontificate, the Church called for Catholics to cooperate with Christians who were separated from the Holy See, and even with non-Christians. John's global vision, reflected in his calling of the council, his social encyclicals, and his support of international organizations, also provided broad support for the work of the missions. In November 1959, on the fortieth anniversary of Benedict XV's *Maximum illud* on the missions, Pope John XXIII issued *Princeps pastorum* (On the Missions, Native Clergy, and Lay Participation) on the same subject. It announced that by 1959 there were sixty-eight Asian and twenty-five African bishops, noting that while the Church had historically been associated with Western civilization, it belonged to no one culture and had to welcome and assimilate anything that redounds to the honor of the human mind. There was also a missionary component in *Mater et magistra*, which depicted the Church as the mother and teacher of all nations.

When the first session of the Second Vatican Council closed on December 8, 1962, the expectations aroused had not been fulfilled, for no decrees had been approved. John proved unable to see the council to its conclusion; he died on June 3, 1963. He had been awarded the International Peace Prize of the Eugenio Balzan Foundation in March 1963, and had been selected *Time* magazine's "Man of the Year" for 1962. Yet not all concurred with his decisions. Likewise, his reconciliation with Jews, Protestants, Muslims, and even nonbelievers and his advancement of the social question spawned critics as well as acclaim. Some decried his opening the floodgates of change. Consciously or unconsciously, this pontificate set in motion changes that led to profound reform in the Church.

The Pontificate of Pope Paul VI. On June 21, 1963, the conclave elected the cardinal archbishop of Milan, Giovanni Battista Enrico Antonio Maria Montini, as the new pope; he assumed the name Paul VI. Following his election, he announced that the council would be continued, calling for its resumption on September 29, 1963. The *aggiornamento* or updating of the Church

remained his objective. He cited the need to revise the canon law and reform the Curia, while revealing his commitment to the social justice enunciated in his predecessors' encyclicals. Thus Pope Paul VI made it clear that the main program for the Church would be the completion, followed by implementation, of the council's decisions.

Prior to convoking the second session, Pope Paul VI outlined new directives for the council, including the admissions of lay Catholics and an extended invitation to non-Catholic observers. At its opening, he recalled the council's goals, including Church renewal, Christian unity, and dialogue in the modern world. During this second session (from September 29 to December 4, 1963), Paul struggled to get the Roman Curia and the council to work together. He wanted the bishops to exercise their rights to govern the Church with him, while fostering conditions for ecumenical encounters with non-Catholics. Among its achievements were: the proclamation of the constitution on the liturgy, *Sacrosanctum concilium,* and the decree on the means of social communication, *Inter mirifica*. In reforming the liturgy, the Church fathers sought to adapt institutions that were subject to change to the needs of the age and to foster unity among those who believe in Christ.

In December there emerged a tentative agenda for the third session, scheduled to convene in mid-September 1964, with provisions to have women attend as auditors. By November 21, when the third session closed, three important decrees had been approved, including *Lumen gentium*, exploring the relationship of the pope, the bishops, the priests, and the laity within the Church; *Orientalium ecclesiarum*, on the Catholic EASTERN CHURCHES; and *Unitatis redintegratio*, on ecumenism. There were, in addition, other issues confronting the Church, including the reform of canon law, mixed marriages, birth control, and cultural diversity.

Soon after the opening of the fourth session on September 14, 1965, Pope Paul VI established a SYNOD OF BISHOPS to collaborate with him in the governance of the Church. On October 28, 1965, he promulgated five important council documents: one on the role of bishops in the Church, another on the renewal of religious life, a third on the training of priests, a fourth on Christian education, and *Nostra aetate*, on the Church's attitude toward non-Christian religions. Within the last document, it was stipulated that the Church reproves every form of persecution and "deplores all hatreds, persecutions, displays of anti-Semitism leveled at any time or from any source against the Jews." On December 8, 1965, the council closed.

Within the next decade, the difficulties of the post-conciliar age proved almost as troubling as those confronted in the council. Pope Paul VI recognized that the documents promulgated could not affect change in the Church unless they were implemented, and he therefore established postconciliar commissions to continue the council's work, as well as yearly meetings in Rome to continue the dialogue. The papal directive to the Postconciliar Central Commission provided suggestions for coordinating postconciliar activities and interpreting the council's decrees.

In January 1967, there was established a Council on the Laity, which sought to integrate the laity into the Church's official organizations and activities. Subsequently, canonical form was provided to the diaconate, implementing this ministry as called for by the council. Meanwhile, Pope Paul VI issued the encyclical *Populorum progressio* (On the Development of Peoples) on March 26, 1967. Deemed by some to be the Church's MAGNA CARTA for justice and peace, it revealed concern for those attempting to escape the ravages of hunger and poverty, pleading for social justice for the impoverished masses of the third world. A subsequent encyclical, *Sacerdotalis caelibatus* (On the Celibacy of the Priest), issued on June 24, 1967, upheld the Church's traditional position of priestly celibacy. Sharing the council's conviction that the Church had to draw closer to the world, Paul indicated there was a wrong and right way to do so. In his words, the Church was in the world, not of the world, but for the world.

The limits to conciliation with the modern world were evident in the pronouncement on birth control provided in *Humanae vitae* (On the Regulation of Birth, 1968), which condemned as unlawful the use of means that directly prevent conception. This position unleashed criticism within and outside the Church, particularly in North America and Europe.

Pope Paul VI convened an Extraordinary Synod at the end of 1969, encouraging it to explore the relationship between papal primacy and episcopal collegiality. In 1970 he ruled that bishops should submit their resignations when they reached the age of seventy-five, and that cardinals after their eightieth year could no longer take part in a conclave. Paul VI died at Castel Gandolo on August 6, 1978, having brought the council to a successful conclusion and having continued the Church's reconciliation with the modern world.

The Pontificates of Popes John Paul I and II. On August 26, 1978, Cardinal Albino Luciani, the patriarch of Venice, was elected pope and was the first to assume a double name, John Paul, indicating his determination to continue the work of the two previous Church leaders. He did not have time to do so. The challenge of the papacy proved burdensome, taxing his stamina and undermining his health. He died after a pontificate of

only thirty-three days. In the second conclave of 1978, divisions prevented the election of a pope until October 16, when Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, archbishop of Kraków, was elected the first Slavic pope and first non-Italian since Hadrian VI of Utrecht in 1522. He took the name John Paul II.

Pope John Paul II continued the work of the council. He reiterated that, in the Christian view, human relations should not be governed by the individualistic logic of profit, and the Earth is to be utilized for the well-being of humanity. He also continued the social program of the Church; in September 1981 he released an encyclical, *Laborem exercens* (On Human Work), defending the right of workers to organize and calling for a new economic order that avoided the excesses of unrestrained capitalism and ideological Marxism.

At the beginning of June 1979, Pope John Paul II returned to his homeland—the first of three visits (1979, 1983, and 1987)—before the opening of Eastern Europe. The pope's visit, from June 2 to June 11, was religious but had political overtones. This tour altered the mentality of fear that prevailed in Poland and much of the Eastern bloc, forecasting a united Christian Europe. John Paul expressed his views on the role of the Church in the world in his first encyclical, *Redemptor hominis* (The Redeemer of Man), released in March 1979, and repeated them in his second encyclical, *Dives in misericordia* (Rich in Mercy), of December 1980.

In 1984 the Church agreed to a revision of the Lateran Pacts and the Italian Concordat that had been concluded between Pope Pius XI and the Mussolini government in 1929. By the terms of the new agreement, the Vatican recognized the separation of Church and state in Italy. Meanwhile, diplomatic relations with the United States were established. Early in 1984, President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004) announced that William A. Wilson (1914–2009) of California would be appointed the first U.S. ambassador to the Holy See.

Foreseeing the inevitable collapse of Communism and a greater role for the Church in Eastern Europe, the pope in a 1985 encyclical, *Slavorum apostoli* (Apostles of the Slavs), called for European unity with Christianity as its spiritual center. In 1987 the Warsaw government pledged to reopen a dialogue with the Catholic Church. It did so in July 1989, becoming the first of the Communist-bloc nations to establish diplomatic relations with the Holy See and facilitating the dramatic changes that occurred from 1989 to 1992. By 1991 the Communist system in the Soviet Union had crumbled. Near the end of 1991, a synod of European bishops, from both the East and the West, met to assess the opportunities presented by the political changes on the Continent and to promote a new evangelization of Europe.

During the last years of the twentieth century, Pope John Paul II took the lead in focusing on the Church's global mission, traveling more than all the previous popes combined, and targeting the developing world, where more than half the world's Catholics lived. In 1992 he visited Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic for the opening of the Fourth Latin American Bishops Conference. Reiterating the Church's "preferential option for the poor," as called for by the Latin American bishops at their meeting in Medellín, Colombia, and Puebla, Mexico, the pope cautioned the Latin American clergy not to forget their spiritual mission while battling economic, social, and political injustices. He underlined that the Church's mission was religious rather than political. In September 1993, the pope challenged moral relativism, which he perceived as a great threat to Western civilization, in the encyclical *Veritatis splendor* (The Splendor of Truth).

During the course of 1993, Pope John Paul II apologized for the Roman Catholic Church's collaboration in the enslavement of African men, women, and children. Subsequently, at the opening of the new millennium, the Vatican issued a document titled *Memory and Reconciliation: The Church and the Mistakes of the Past*, which catalogued the Church's historical failures, including the excesses of the Crusades, the Inquisition, and anti-Judaism. Regret for anti-Judaism in the Church was repeated by the pope during his March 2000 visit to the Yad Vashem Holocaust museum in Jerusalem.

At the same time, the Church sought to expand its global perspective. Pope John Paul II explained that Catholicism had to become more universalized, with a different approach to the ancient cultures of non-European peoples. The pope pursued this policy through the creation of new cardinals throughout his pontificate. By the end of 1994, the Italians, once the dominant element in the college, were whittled down to twenty out of 120 cardinal electors.

After 1993, following *Veritatis splendor*, the reign of Pope John Paul II was highlighted by four more significant encyclicals. In March 1995, in *Evangelium vitae* (The Gospel of Life), his eleventh encyclical, he spoke out against abortion and euthanasia, declaring both to be "grave violations of the law of God," and stating that Catholics have a moral duty to oppose any legislation advocating or promoting either of these immoral practices. The encyclical makes clear the supremacy of divine law over human law.

In May of that same year, in *Ut unum sint* (On Commitment to Ecumenism), Pope John Paul II reviewed the Church's role in the ecumenical movement and ecumenism, stating it to be "an organic part of her life and work." The document also examines the papacy's role as the "visible sign and guarantor" of unity, while

acknowledging that the post of bishop of Rome constituted a difficulty for most other Christians. The encyclical also reviews the history of ecumenism, including dialog, shared sacramental practices, and joint prayers and services, as well as ecumenical translations of the Bible.

In *Fides et ratio* (Faith and Reason), which was issued in September 1998, the pontiff focused on the "relationship between faith and philosophy," stating that it is his task to put forth the principles needed to restore "a harmonious and creative relationship" between theology and philosophy. He states that the Church has no actual philosophy of its own, nor does it elevate one particular philosophy above the others. Revelation does not debase reason and its discoveries. The encyclical goes on to examine truth and freedom, human experience and philosophy, metaphysics and theology, philosophy's value in a scientific world, and the relationship of philosophy to God's word.

In April 2003, Pope John Paul II issued *Ecclesia de eucharistia* (On the Eucharist in Its Relationship to the Church). In this encyclical, the pope puts forth that the Eucharist is the center of Church life. He also presents the Blessed Mother as the "woman of the Eucharist."

In the later years of his reign, in his capacity as Supreme Pontiff of the Universal Church, Pope John Paul II continued his extensive worldwide pastoral visits, visiting a great number of sites, inside and outside Italy. In 1993 alone he visited Africa, Albania, Spain, the Caribbean states, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and the United States (Denver, Colorado, on WORLD YOUTH DAY). In 1994 he visited Croatia, and in that same year he established formal diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the state of Israel. The following year, Pope John Paul II went to Asia and Oceania, being greeted with great enthusiasm in the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Australia, and Papua New Guinea. He also in that year visited the Czech Republic, Poland, Belgium, and Slovakia, as well as the Cameroons, South Africa, and Kenya. And again visiting the United States, he addressed the United Nations in New York City. In 1996 the pontiff made pastoral visits to Central America, Venezuela, Tunisia, Slovenia, Germany, Hungary, and France, and, in 1997 Bosnia (Sarajevo), the Czech Republic, Lebanon, Poland, France (Paris on World Youth Day), and Brazil. That same year, he presided over the Twenty-third Italian National Eucharistic Congress in Bologna, Italy. Pope John Paul II made a historic visit to Cuba in 1998, and to Nigeria, Austria, and Croatia. In 1999 he traveled again to the United States (St. Louis, Missouri) and to Mexico, as well as to Romania, Poland, Slovenia, and Georgia. He also visited India.

The year 2000 was significant in that it marked the pope's historic visit to Egypt and the Middle East, where he traveled to both Israel and Palestine. When in the Middle East, Pope John Paul II made JUBILEE YEAR pilgrimages to Mount Sinai and the Holy Land. That same year, he made another Jubilee Year pilgrimage to the Shrine of Our Lady in Fátima, Portugal. In 2001 Pope John Paul II made a "pilgrimage in the footsteps of St. Paul the Apostle" to Greece (where he prayed with the Orthodox patriarch), Malta, and Syria (where he became the first pope to enter a mosque). That same year, he also visited Armenia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. He made apostolic visits in 2002 to Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Canada, Central America, and Poland, and, in 2003, to Spain, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Slovakia. Then, in 2004, the Holy Father visited Switzerland and the shrines of Loreto in Italy and Lourdes in France, significantly marking the closing period of this most exceptional pontificate of the modern era.

The universal approach of Pope John Paul II, whose twenty-six-and-a-half-year reign was one of the longest in papal history, was demonstrated not only by his nearly 250 pastoral visits, but by his creation of World Youth Day and of 1,338 blesseds and 482 saints from around the world (he also made St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus a DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH).

The Pontificate of Pope Benedict XVI. On April 19, 2005, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, the dean of the College of Cardinals, and a leading scholar, theologian, and intellectual, was elected bishop of Rome and Supreme Pontiff, taking the name Benedict XVI, chosen in honor of both St. BENEDICT and Pope Benedict XV. At his inaugural Mass, Pope Benedict XVI demonstrated his desire to be close to his flock by changing the previous custom of the submission of each cardinal. Instead, twelve people, including cardinals, clergy, religious, and laity, greeted him (the cardinals had previously sworn their obedience upon his election). He also chose to use an open-topped papal automobile so as to be closer to the people.

Pope Benedict XVI began the BEATIFICATION process of his predecessor, Pope John Paul II, waiving the usual five-year waiting period for such a process to commence, announcing this on May 13, 2005, the feast of Our Lady of Fátima. Pope Benedict XVI also celebrated his first canonizations in October of that year, marking the conclusion of the Year of the Eucharist. His curial reforms include the merging of various existing PONTIFICAL COUNCILS.

A theme of Pope Benedict XVI's pontificate has been, as he terms it, a "crisis of culture" in the West. In that regard, he has often spoken and written on the role of reason in Christianity and its place in any dialogue between secularists and Catholics. His views are reiter-



Habemus Papam (We Have a Pope). *The newly elected Pope Benedict XVI, known as German Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, blesses thousands of pilgrims from the balcony of the St. Peter's Basilica at the Vatican, April 19, 2005.* © KAI PFAFFENBACH/REUTERS/CORBIS

ated in his encyclicals. In his first encyclical, *Deus caritas est* (God is Love), signed on Christmas Day 2005, he puts forth that the life of love is the life of the saints and is the proper direction for Christians. In his second encyclical, titled *Spe salvi* (Saved by Hope), promulgated on November 30, 2007, he outlines the relationship between hope and redemption, and, citing both philosophers and theologians, speaks of the "new hope" of Christ as a nonpolitical hope, closing with a chapter on "Mary, Star of Hope."

In his third encyclical, *Caritas in veritate* (Charity in Truth), signed on June 29, 2009, the Holy Father is concerned with the issues of global development and globalization and the primacy of both love and truth in any response toward the seeking of a common good for all humanity. This encyclical, recalling Pope Paul VI's *Populorum progressio*, which Pope Benedict XVI called the *Rerum novarum* of its day, deals with rights, duties, and the environment, and is critical of materialism, consumerism, and capitalism. This encyclical was written in the hope of influencing the July 2009 G8 Summit in Italy in the direction of social justice.

Pope Benedict XVI continued the ecumenical efforts of his predecessors, encouraging dialogue with other Christians, as well as with Judaism and Islam. These efforts, however, have not been without controversy, in part because of his emphasis on the primacy of the See of Peter and what has been viewed at times as a traditionalist stance (he has allowed greater access to the TRIDENTINE MASS, now called the "extraordinary form of the ROMAN RITE"), and especially because of his insistence that Catholic doctrine not be compromised as the Church reaches out to its Christian and non-Christian brethren.

Pope Benedict XVI, in fulfilling his role as Universal Pastor, has made pastoral visits outside of Italy, beginning with his visit to his native Germany (once on World Youth Day 2005 in Cologne, and later to the places of his youth). He was enthusiastically received in Poland and Spain, and in Turkey he met with the ecumenical patriarch, with whom he made a joint declaration in an effort to heal the ancient rift between the churches. The pope also visited Istanbul's famed Blue Mosque.

In 2007 Pope Benedict XVI, during an apostolic visit to Brazil, canonized an eighteenth-century Franciscan priest. In that same year, the Holy Father made a personal pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Francis in Assisi, Italy, and visited the shrine of Mariazell in Austria. In April 2008, the Holy Father visited the United States for the first time since becoming pope and celebrated Mass in Washington, D.C., and New York City, where he also addressed the United Nations General Assembly. In July 2008 Benedict XVI traveled to Australia to attend the World Youth Day in Sydney. In September 2008 he visited France, where he again condemned modern materialism.

Pope Benedict XVI proclaimed a Jubilee Year in honor of St. Paul, to be celebrated from June 28, 2008, to June 29, 2009, the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul. This bimillennial celebration commemorated the role of the Apostle Paul to the GENTILES. On June 19, 2009, the Solemnity of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Pope Benedict XVI announced a Year for Priests (June 2009–June 2010), commemorating the 150th anniversary of the death of the Curé of Ars, St. Jean-Baptiste-Marie VIANNEY. In 2009 the Holy Father visited Africa (Cameroons, Angola) and, in the same year, the Middle East (Jordan, Israel, Palestine). He also visited and comforted the victims of the 2009 earthquake in Aquila, Italy.

Numerically, the Church has progressed both absolutely and relatively. The 130 million or so Catholics in 1789 had increased to about 545 million by 1961 and jumped to more than one billion at the opening of the new millennium, constituting some 18 percent of the global population. In 1999 the Church growth rate was 1.6 percent, slightly higher than the general population growth of 1.4 percent. However, this Church expansion was uneven, increasing mostly in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, while suffering a decline in Europe. Thus, while Europe accounted for 37 percent of the world's Catholics at the death of Pope Paul VI in 1978, at the opening of the third millennium its share had declined to 27 percent. Meanwhile, the Catholic population of the Americas had come to constitute some one-half of the world's total. During that same period, the percentage of African Catholics doubled from 6 percent to 12 percent, and Asian Catholics increased from 7.6 percent to 10.4 percent of the global Catholic population. According to *Our Sunday Visitor's 2010 Catholic Almanac*, the Catholic world population was 1.14 billion, with the largest Catholic populations found in Brazil (189 million), Mexico (97.2 million), the Philippines (71.9 million), the United States (68.1 million), and Italy (56.9 million). The same source records 12 patriarchates; 600 archdioceses; 2,077 dioceses; 8 patriarchs; 186 cardinals; 982 archbishops; 3,757 bishops; 408,024 priests (272,431 diocesan and 135,593 religious); 35,942 permanent deacons; 54,956 religious brothers; and 746,814 female religious.

Periodic renewal is necessary if the Church, as the Bride of Christ, is to remain ever young and fair despite nineteen centuries of age. During the twentieth century, *aggiornamento* was the great opportunity and challenge; the chief instrument for carrying it to successful completion was Vatican Council II.

SEE ALSO Aeterni Patris; Caritas in Veritate; Centesimus Annus; Church and State; Deus Caritas Est; Dives in Misericordia; Ecclesia de Eucharistia; Evangelium Vitae; Humani Generis; Laborem Exercens; Laity, Formation and Education of; Lay Spirituality; Mary, Blessed Virgin, Devotion to; Mater et Magistra; Missiology; Mission Theology; Pacem in Terris; Papacy; Populorum Progressio; Primacy of the Pope; Quanta Cura; Redemptor Hominis; Reformkatholizismus; Rerum Novarum; Slavorum Apostoli; Social Thought, Papal; Spe Salvi; Ut Unum Sint; Veritatis Splendor.

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CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES (LEGAL HISTORY)

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I. COLONIAL PERIOD (1607–1776)

The U.S. law of FREEDOM OF RELIGION has evolved from many historical circumstances and often conflicting ideologies. The church-state arrangements of the colonial period were to require a new pattern when full union was finally attained. By a process of legislation and judicial decisions, continual adjustments were made to accommodate the needs and to meet the demands of a nation becoming ever more pluralistic in religion. The study of church and state in American law indicates that there is wide latitude for the solution of conflicts and problems still to come.

Church-state understandings in the United States had their origins in the colonial period between 1607 and 1776. The law of this period reflected a growing spirit of freedom and grew out of the colonists' adjustment to New World opportunities. The colonists had always to reckon with the Church of England and the religious policy of the mother country. Great diversity came out of the experience in the three major regions, the Southern, Middle, and New England Colonies, which were to some extent distinct cultural groups. Certain legal landmarks in each of the colonies of these regions will be pointed out and an account taken of the forces behind them. Restrictions on dissenters from the varying versions of establishment had great implications even for Catholics, and these will be noted.

Virginia. The Church of England was officially maintained in Virginia from the very beginning. The 1606 Virginia Company Charter urged the colony to foster Christianity "according to the rites and doctrine of the Church of England." The Royal Charter of 1624, in the era of Archbishop William LAUD, carried forward the design of ANGLICANISM without regard for dissenters. Novelties of doctrine were opposed, and the assembly passed laws applying Canon Law. The colonial government regulated the building of chapels, appointment of ministers, and ritual. It was in this environment that the first Lord Baltimore unsuccessfully attempted a settlement and saw the need of locating elsewhere. Catholics were soon disfranchised. Comprehensive legislation on these matters was passed in 1642.

The seventeenth century was marked by a successful move toward local vestry control of parishes. This involved conflict with the governor. Following the lead of a predecessor, William Berkeley (1605–1677) insisted on examining the credentials of ministers to make certain that they had the approval of the bishop of London. However, he won the power of presentation of ministers only in Jamestown; elsewhere, parish vestries, in the hands of the planter gentry, controlled appointments.

PURITANS were unable seriously to modify this order of things, even during the commonwealth period. When Berkeley returned as governor in 1661, he made further provisions for the enforcement of Anglican liturgy; legal illegitimacy was imputed to children born of parents outside this rite of matrimony. Fines were levied on those failing to meet church obligations, and assessments were collected for support of the church. Quakers, Puritans, and Catholics were unwelcome during this era. Giles Brent (1600–1672), a wealthy Catholic planter, as an exception held a seat in the assembly.

The DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF 1689 compelled Virginia to give legal status to congregations that were not strictly in the Anglican tradition. HUGUENOTS and German Lutherans organized churches between 1700 and 1730 with legal incorporation. The Hanover

Presbytery legally placed itself under the Philadelphia Synod. Dissenters in time established their churches in this manner, but their practice of having itinerant preachers created legal difficulties that had to be remedied by other legislation. Francis MAKEMIE first won a certificate to preach as a Presbyterian. In time, itinerant preachers came to enjoy the same legal rights, and Samuel Davies (1723–1761) among BAPTISTS played a leading role in widening practices of toleration when his appeal to the royal government was upheld.

Methodists and Baptists, however, experienced de facto intolerance at the hands of local officials. Instances of imprisonment for alleged disturbance of peace and verbal attacks on the Church of England shortly before the Revolution created a rallying point for opposition to establishment. General taxes on nonconformists for the support of the Church of England now became a major issue. The laity from within the Church of England indirectly supported this trend when they opposed what was called the "Parson's Cause." They resented the clergy's claim to greater income in the face of losses from fluctuation in tobacco prices. They now became militant in the traditional cause against a resident bishop who would claim more taxes and the very ecclesiastical power that the lay vestries had long retained. It was only with the Revolution, however, that the new form of the Protestant Episcopal Church brought what the laity wanted. Other denominations likewise had their remaining disabilities removed by this turn of events.

Carolinas. The Church of England was established in the Carolinas, even though dissenters soon constituted a majority of the inhabitants. The ecclesiastical law of England was applied by the Charter of 1663, and the lord proprietors soon made declarations in which religious freedom was promised. King CHARLES II, however, gave them discretionary power in limiting it in the interest of the establishment and civil order.

The Fundamental Constitution of 1670, attributed to John LOCKE, showed greater toleration while retaining establishment. All, save atheists, were allowed, although tax benefits went only to the Church of England. The freedom granted to non-Christians was intended to aid the conversion of the native peoples. A law of 1696 specifically excluded Catholics from full citizenship and religious freedom. This occurred during a period of Quaker influence; a governor of that faith took office in 1694. As in Virginia, Protestant dissenters struggled for full freedom in the eighteenth century in the face of a more firmly established Church of England. The assembly began to supervise them strictly, and they were for a time disfranchised by a law of 1704. Assemblymen had to conform to the Anglican communion ritual. Dissenting ministers were not recognized and were excluded from congregations petitioning them. Joseph Boone, however, appealed successfully to the Crown and the Fundamental Constitution. Particularly in North Carolina, which became a separate colony in 1691, Quakers fought against the established church and the Vestry Act of 1704. It was some time before they were relieved of disabilities implied in oath requirements. Marriages before non-Anglican clergymen were not legal in North Carolina until 1766.

Georgia. The Charter of George II in 1732 assured all inhabitants except Catholics "a free exercise of Religion," and Quakers were allowed to substitute an affirmation for the usual oaths. The trustees in their "Design" encouraged European Protestant settlers and later offered material support to clergy who would minister to new communities. When the colony was put under direct royal control in 1752, formal establishment of the Church of England came about. Its parishes received support and stipends for their clergy.

Massachusetts. The founders of Massachusetts Bay brought with them the belief that the true church was the individual congregation. A group of such churches could, however, be viewed collectively as within the Church of England. The New Englanders, following the teaching of William Ames (1576–1633) and in opposition to Thomas CARTWRIGHT, rejected the idea that the congregation existed by authority of the Church of England.

A second principle produced what has been called a "Bible State," or THEOCRACY, in Massachusetts. The Hebraic concept of covenant as a relationship between the soul and God found legal application. Persons who enjoyed such a relationship were the only full citizens, or saints. Their status was verified by the elders of the local congregation. Such covenanted souls and congregations collectively formed a covenanted state. The civil magistrates and judges ruled as the counterpart of the congregation elders. While clergymen were not civil officials, they were their authentic guides in fashioning laws, which all assumed would conform to the BIBLE. Such godly magistrates were guardians both of public morals and church discipline. Because both religious and civil authority derived immediately from the rule of divine revelation in the Bible, the commonwealth was properly called a theocracy.

Using to advantage the vague language of the Massachusetts Bay Company Charter, the founders, through the general court, limited control and full benefits to settlers "such as are members of some of the Churches." Four years later, in 1635, such churches had to be approved by the general court. Within three years, assessments were levied for the support of these congregations. Fines were soon imposed for nonattendance, and in 1646 the Act Against Heresy listed punishments that

would be meted out for denial of justification, immortality of the soul, and other orthodox beliefs.

Adjustment of authority was made within this framework of law. The clergy, as learned divines, were earnestly consulted by all magistrates to see that the actions of the latter conformed to the directives of Holy Scripture. Nathaniel Ward (1578–1652) wrote a code of laws for this purpose in 1641. Controversy over the manner of forming and approving true CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES led to the CAMBRIDGE PLATFORM, and a general court act of 1651 put down the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION of Faith as a criterion of orthodoxy. Thus an aristocracy of magistrates and church elders was preserved by the balance of authority that these prescriptions established.

Judicial decisions fell harshly upon dissenters from these laws. The magistrates expelled Anne Hutchinson (1591–1643) for the heresy of antinomianism and Roger WILLIAMS for his notion of separation of church and state. Quakers were executed when they defied decrees of expulsion, and the Salem WITCHCRAFT trials at the end of the seventeenth century were the result of this legal system. Catholics were singled out by specific laws as being even more unwelcome than Quakers. The Christmas festival was forbidden as a manifestation of popery.

Reaction against such harshness, the pressures of a growing SECULARIZATION and religious diversity, forced concessions. The HALF-WAY COVENANT as a law relaxed requirements for church membership and full citizenship. The strict rule of baptism for children born only of parents in full communion no longer held. Forms of "communion in spirit" were applied as norms. Anglicans were increasingly receiving the LORD'S SUPPER, and in time their churches were legally recognized.

Yet Congregationalism combined with other denominations in stopping the spread and influence of these churchmen, lest an Anglican establishment be imposed on New England. The Declaration of Rights of 1689 urged Massachusetts to extend freedom to all Christians except Catholics. Financial support of Congregationalism became the bone of contention. The Five Mile Act of 1727 allowed Anglicans to apply their assessment to one of their churches or ministers provided they were within that distance. The eighteenth century saw the gradual extension of this practice, even to the benefit of ANABAPTISTS. Through the Revolution, incidental inequities were a continual object of attack by Baptists, Presbyterians, and others.

The Plymouth settlement, founded before Massachusetts and joined to it in 1691, did not strive so strenuously for theocracy. The MAYFLOWER COMPACT made no specific provision for theocracy, although Puritans predominated in drafting it and applying it to civil life. Laws gave civil officials power to keep peace in the churches and promote attendance at worship without specifying any denomination. Financial support of some clergy was enforced. In 1671 freemen came to be limited to those of orthodox belief. Quakers were unwelcome, as were Catholics, and oaths created a problem for both groups.

Connecticut. New Haven, which was joined to Connecticut in 1662, was a pure theocracy. Under the leadership of John Davenport (1597–c. 1669) and the Fundamental Agreement of 1639, unorthodox views were suppressed. Those who were not Congregational Church members had to apply for a certificate if they wished to remain in the colony, and even then they were without full citizenship. All settlers were put under the government of magistrates, who were pillars of the church. These men chose a governor who had a similar standing.

Connecticut was not so strict a theocracy. Thomas HOOKER, who formed its principles, disagreed with John Winthrop's (c. 1588–1649) aristocratic theory of magistracy. Church membership was not a requirement for citizenship. The assembly was therefore more open. The governor, possessed of less authority than in Massachusetts, was required to have church standing. The substance of theocracy was found in the authority of the assembly over church discipline. It chartered Congregational and all other churches, and in disputes it might sit as a quasi-ecclesiastical court. After 1656 Connecticut was guided by Massachusetts's Half-Way Covenant and its own Saybrook Platform of 1708 in relaxing requirements for congregations and membership. Assessments of all for the support of the official Congregational Church prevailed throughout the period.

The religious homogeneity of Connecticut in the seventeenth century had minimized the difficulty of dissent, but this condition of homogeneity soon changed. However, Quakers, once viewed as unwelcome, now found some protection. A law of 1708 made further concessions to liberty when Anglican churches were authorized. In the Act of 1727 to protect dissenters, one provision allowed Anglicans to apply their religious assessment to their own ministers and churches. After 1750, Presbyterians and others were given a similar benefit.

New Hampshire. When John Wheelwright (c. 1592–1679) was banished from Massachusetts, he successfully established the foundations of what would become in 1679 the independent colony of New Hampshire. The Agreement of 1639 put down no religious requirement for citizenship, officeholding, and voting. Massachusetts agreed to this and admitted New Hampshire delegates to its general court. At the same time, New Hampshire

early on passed laws of assessment for the support of the clergy without specifying to what denomination they must belong.

Beginning in 1680, steps were taken to make a royal colony of New Hampshire. Past practices continued. Except for a few intervals before 1700, the mother country effectively formed a policy that protected, and at times favored, the Church of England. Freedom of Protestants was decreed, and dissenter churches were not opposed.

Rhode Island. The only truly radical departure from the prevailing conviction that church and state should be united was made by Rhode Island. Roger Williams, its founder and guiding genius, argued against Massachusetts laws within the framework of Calvinistic theology. Rhode Island's first charter contained only customary statements on religious freedom. A fundamental code was soon drawn up that denied civil magistrates authority over spiritual matters. Persons of all religious persuasions were granted citizenship, and no levy of taxes for the support of any church was permitted. In his oversimplified analysis, the church must stand before the law as any other corporation, free of any complicated characteristics that might put it beyond the nation or with a purely spiritual existence. Williams's own adjustments of theory to practice were confined to the task of dealing with Quakers and others where freedom of conscience might disrupt public order. In 1662 Charles II approved the original charter. The eighteenth century saw departures from the full measure of toleration. In 1729 Roman Catholics were disfranchised. Jews were disbarred on religious grounds from public office.

New York. The 1638 Articles of Colonization made it clear that Dutch companies were responsible for promoting the Dutch Reformed religion. This arrangement, however, never resulted in a very strict establishment, and dissenters were generally respected.

These conditions continued to a great extent when the Catholic Duke of York, later King JAMES II, took over control with his laws of 1665. Liberty of conscience was specifically granted, and the Catholic governor, Thomas Dongan (1634–1715), reasserted more forcefully in 1683 the provision for religious freedom for Christians. An attempt was made in 1693 to compel appointment of Anglican ministers only, but these efforts failed. Dissenting congregations and their clergy were recognized. The Presbyterian Francis Makemie and others were allowed to preach throughout the province.

Concessions were made to Quakers regarding oath taking in 1734, but no concessions ever clearly freed Moravians. Catholics were specifically denied benefits of toleration, and instructions from the Crown and the governors reinforced this measure.

New Jersey. Both East and West Jersey came under the force of New York law between 1702 and 1738. Before this time, official "Concessions" of the lord proprietors gave toleration to Scotch Presbyterians, Quakers, and Dutch Reformed, and in 1693 to other Christians, except Catholics. No full establishment was found after 1738, when New Jersey became a royal colony.

Pennsylvania. The proprietary form of colonial charter provided the foundation upon which Pennsylvania developed, free of an established religion. As an exercise of personal power, Charles II repaid an old debt of money, services, and friendship to Admiral William Penn (1621–1670) through the admiral's son of the same name. Young William PENN's deep involvement with the Quakers, who were laboring under legal disabilities, made it natural to seek in the charter issued to him in 1681 a remedy for his religious troubles. Its only reference to the Church of England was an assurance to its adherents that they might freely petition and receive preachers.

The year following the issue of the charter brought a fuller public statement of the colony's legal structure. In keeping with the "Holy Experiment" characterization he had given the colony, Penn's Frame of Government clearly acknowledged God as the author and end of society. Liberty was assured to any believer in God. The SABBATH and Scriptures were to be honored. When Penn's first colonial assembly met, representatives saw fit to require that voters and officeholders profess Christianity. No reservations were made in reference to Roman Catholics.

In 1693 King William III (1650–1702) and Queen Mary II (1662–1694) annulled all the Pennsylvania laws, but the colonial assembly immediately passed them anew. Apparently, their legality needed to be established, since the legality of Stuart provisions may have been questioned. Certainly the broad provision for freedom in Pennsylvania would have been narrowed if the Declaration of Rights of 1689 had been applied to it. As it was, public worship, even by Roman Catholics, continued all through the colonial period. Unlike practices in England, one need not take the oath of supremacy nor perform prescribed acts of worship in the Church of England.

The oath, however, was required in connection with voting and officeholding in Pennsylvania. William Penn failed in his own efforts to relieve Americans of this burden, particularly to the consciences of Quakers and Catholics. Under pressure, the first assembly passed in 1696 "A New Act of Settlement," which practically had the effect of excluding many Quakers and all Catholics from voting and holding public office. It was not until

1725 that Quakers obtained relief, when the Crown finally ceased to disallow action in their favor by the assembly. Benefits of this law were extended to other societies in 1743 and in 1772 to any person who objected to the practice of oaths. Oaths and declarations against Catholic doctrines were demanded of immigrants and do not seem to have been removed during the colonial period, although they may not have been applied consistently.

Delaware. A Swedish Lutheran Church was established in the period before the Dutch attached the colony of Delaware to New Netherlands in 1663. Initially part of Pennsylvania when English rule began, it continued after 1701 as a separate colony with toleration similar to that in Pennsylvania. Oaths in particular were mitigated to the advantage of immigrants and others during the next twenty years. Church property rights were recognized. Neither benefit, however, came to Catholics.

Maryland. The Maryland Charter of 1634 freed George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore (c. 1579–1632), and his colonists from the requirements of the Church of England, though George Calvert died shortly before the Charter was sealed. The grant was given to his son, Cecil Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore (1605–1675). The general references to religion in the charter and his own instructions secured freedom of conscience for all—probably including non-Christians. The Maryland Toleration Act in the ordinance of 1639 made this freedom even more certain. The act of 1649 gave special force to the Christian's claim to toleration. This legislation was repealed in 1654 when the Puritans came to power, but was restored again when Cecil Calvert recovered full control as proprietor in 1660.

Cecil Calvert had two legal controversies with the Jesuits during this early period of the colony. He refused to exempt laymen on church property from civil law and its courts. A Jesuit title to land received from the native peoples was successfully challenged, and legislation against mortmain followed.

An Act for the Establishment of the Protestant Religion was passed by the assembly following the overthrow of the Stuarts by William and Mary. Catholic proprietary government was thereafter illegal. In 1700 taxes for support of the Church of England were voted. Benedict Leonard Calvert (1679–1715) won back proprietary rights after he had conformed to the Church of England in 1714.

The governor's powers of presentation and induction of clergy were a source of continual controversy. Attempts at obtaining a resident bishop, or a permanent commissary to supervise the clergy, failed. As late as 1769, the governor prevented the clergy of the Church of England from holding a convention to deal with their affairs.

While concessions to Quakers and other Protestants came in the eighteenth century, penalties continued to be imposed on Catholics. There was an Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery that ruled out public officeholding and public worship. Catholic immigrants found obstacles in coming to Maryland, and possession by a Catholic widow of children by a Protestant husband was declared unlawful.

SEE ALSO Toleration Acts of 1639 and 1649, Maryland.

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II. THE DISESTABLISHMENT PERIOD (1776–1834)

By the time the American Revolution began in 1775, physical persecution of religious dissenters had ended, and a measure of toleration existed. Yet ten of the original thirteen colonies—the exceptions were Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Delaware—continued to prefer and support one religion over all others. The church that by law enjoyed that status was called the *established church*, or *establishment*, of that state. The erosion of the preferential position of the established church is traced from the Revolution to the mid-nineteenth century when, for the first time in world history, church and state were completely divorced.

No Federal Establishment. There has never been a federally established church in America. In the Articles of Confederation (ratified in 1781), there is only one reference to religion. Each state is guaranteed the assistance of its sister states if attacked "on account of religion." The articles only maintained the status quo.

When the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia in 1787, the practical needs of the situation as much as the political and philosophical theories of the day demanded that only timid reference, if any, be made to religion. By 1789, the states were on their way to religious freedom. To interfere with this current by establishing a federal church would have jeopardized the new Union. The New England colonies generally supported a Congregational Church, while the Middle Atlantic and southern colonies maintained Episcopal establishments. Even if the founding fathers had not believed in separation of church and state, which church was to be established? The only way Episcopal and CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES could federate with Presbyterians, BAPTISTS, and smaller groups was on a basis of church-state separation. Article 6 of the U.S. Constitution (ratified in 1788), proscribing a religious test of office, was the offspring of this innocuous neutralism. European political states traditionally required their officers to follow the state religion. The American colonies were no exceptions. Almost all of them enacted some religious prerequisite to holding public office. Even though the new states had not yet effected disestablishment at home, they included Article 6 in the proposed Constitution. It read: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

In the state conventions called to ratify the Constitution, a desire for even stronger guarantees of religious liberty was voiced by the delegates. Whether a state still retained its own establishment or not, its delegates announced the tenor of the times: the federal government, if only to preclude encroachment on the privileges of the state establishment, should not establish a federal religion. The federal government was not to be antagonistic to religion, but was rather to remain impartial in that matter and to attend to its civil business.

Responding to this public sentiment, the First Congress drafted a Bill of Rights, ratified by the states in 1791, which in part declared negatively that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Both Article 6 and the religious guarantees of the First Amendment applied only to the federal government (*Barron v. Mayor of Baltimore*, 7 Peters 243 [1833]). It was easier to breach centuries of history and bar a federal religion where none yet existed than to dislodge existing establishments in the states. Thus the states of the Union that had not already done so were to spend the next half-century attaining this federal standard of church-state relationship.

Reasons for Disestablishment. The states granted religious freedom of their own volition, since the federal government was without jurisdiction over a state's internal affairs (*Permoli v. New Orleans*, 3 How. 589 [1845]). The disestablishment of state churches was the result of several factors: (1) The argument voiced by establishment proponents that religion and ultimately the state would die out without the continued support of the government was rebutted dramatically by the growth of religion in the free soil of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania; (2) with the ease resulting from their wealth and legally secured position, the established churches had become stagnant and stilted, had obtained few converts, and lacked a fervent congregation that would energetically oppose disestablishment; (3) as immigration to the New World increased and the dissenting churches gained more converts, the established groups became the political minority; and (4) the Bill of Rights, even though legally inapplicable to the states, added impetus to the disestablishment process by emphasizing individual liberties. Catholic agitation during this period, while unequivocal, should not be overemphasized. At the time of the Constitutional Convention, less than 2 percent of the churches in the United States were Catholic.

New England States. With the exception of Rhode Island, the New England states supported the Congregational Church and were more reluctant to disestablish than the states to the south.

Connecticut. Connecticut operated for more than forty years after the Revolution under the royal charter of 1662, which designated the state church as the Congregational Church. Disestablishment was not achieved until 1818, after a long and bitter politico-religious struggle. Here, as in Massachusetts, the established Congregational ministry had retained tremendous political, social, and economic influence long after the federal Constitution was ratified. With the Toleration Act of 1784, the first glimpse of disestablishment was visible. The act removed many disabilities, and established a "certificate" scheme whereby a dissenter was excused from contributing to the established church if he executed a paper declaring that he regularly attended a dissenting church. The dissenter might then pay his tax to his own church, but he was still required to support a religion.

The political agitation was intense. Congregational members had always aligned themselves with the Federalist Party. The dissenters joined the liberal Jeffersonian Republican Party. As in all the New England states, the Baptists, both for reasons of religious belief and practical advantage, pressed the cause of separation. In 1816 compulsory church attendance was repealed. In 1817 Oliver Wolcott Jr. (1760–1833), a liberal coalition candidate, won the gubernatorial election, ending a Congregational monopoly of that post. A constitutional

convention was called for the following year. After recognizing the individual's freedom to enjoy religious profession and worship, the new constitution declared that "no person shall be compelled to join or support, nor by law be classed with or associated to any congregation, church or religious association." The Methodists secured a charter for Wesleyan University in 1831, and the disestablishment was completed.

Massachusetts. Though not as slow as Connecticut in adopting a state constitution, Massachusetts was slower in bringing about a financial disestablishment of the Congregational Church. The state constitution of 1780 contained an important and inclusive Declaration of Rights (Moehlman 1938, p. 40). But an abrupt and absolute break with the past was not conceivable, so the constitution went on to provide for the support of the Protestant ministry and for compulsory religious instruction. The proposed constitutional amendment of 1820 to overturn these vestiges of the establishment was defeated by nearly two to one. The end of the establishment did not come until 1833, when a comprehensive amendment to the constitution was ratified by an overwhelming vote (Moehlman 1938, p. 67).

New Hampshire. New Hampshire's colonial attitude was akin to that of Massachusetts, since New Hampshire was a part of Massachusetts until 1679. The Bill of Rights of 1784 acknowledged the right of conscience, but permitted the towns of the state "to make adequate provision at their own expense, for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality." Protection of the law was extended only to Christians (Moehlman 1938, p. 50). Legal status was granted to Baptists in 1804, to UNIVERSALISTS the following year, and to Methodists in 1807. The Toleration Act of 1819 retained the requisite that public teachers and public officials be Protestant, but it did abolish mandatory support for the establishment, thereby mollifying the dissenters. An amendment of 1877 decreed that "no person is disqualified to hold office by reason of his religious opinion."

Rhode Island. From the beginning, Rhode Island guaranteed religious freedom to all its citizens. The success of Roger WILLIAMS's "Lively Experiment" was a constant rebuke to proponents of a union of church and state who argued that one would collapse without the other. For a time, a slight "blemish" appeared on Rhode Island's record of religious freedom. In some printed editions of its charter, Roman Catholics were excluded from the "liberty to choose and be chosen officers in the Colony." This restriction was foreign to the spirit of the colony, and both Joseph Thorning (1931) and Anson Stokes (1950) argue that it was inserted without legislative authorization, possibly as a result of a clerical error. It remained in the laws of Rhode Island until 1783. The constitution of 1842 guaranteed religious and civil liberties to all citizens (Moehlman 1938, p. 72).

Middle Atlantic States. Unlike New England, there was never a firmly entrenched establishment in any of the Middle Atlantic states, though New York and New Jersey did favor the Church of England.

New York. In the years preceding the Revolution, the general policy of the New York government was to favor the established Church of England as much as possible without severely alienating dissenters. By the first state constitution, enacted in 1777, the Act of Establishment of 1683 was repealed (Moehlman 1938, p. 48). "Religious profession and worship, without discrimination," were assured to all citizens. No religious test was prescribed for any state officer, with the exception that ministers of the Gospel were denied the right to hold public office. Quakers were allowed to affirm an oath rather than swear to it, and they were permitted to substitute a money payment for military service. The first constitutional revision in 1821 did little to change the clauses regarding religion. The disability of public office was removed from the ministry in the amendment of 1846. In New York, the disestablished church was guaranteed at all times continuous possession of lands granted during the establishment period, a reversal of the Virginia precedent.

New Jersey. Close political ties with liberal New York, plus the mild and tolerant spirit of the Quakers in the state legislature, leavened the whole course of New Jersey's attainment of religious freedom. The state's first constitution, adopted two days before the Declaration of Independence was announced in 1776, exempted all persons from mandatory attendance at religious services and the obligation of maintaining a church or ministry. Only Protestants, however, "were capable of being elected into any office of profit or trust, or being a member of either branch of the Legislature" (Moehlman 1938, p. 48). This situation continued until 1844, when a new constitution was enacted, granting civil liberties equally to all the citizenry (Moehlman 1938, p. 72).

Pennsylvania. Under the enlightened William PENN, Pennsylvania grew without an establishment. His Charter of Liberties and Privileges, granted in 1701, guaranteed freedom of worship to all theists and the right to hold office to all Christians. This liberal bent was continued in the Pennsylvania constitution of 1776, but the religious test of office found in the charter was retained. Before being seated, each member of the house of representatives was required to attest, "I do believe in

one God, the creator and governor of the universe, the rewarder of the good and punisher of the wicked. And I do acknowledge the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be by Divine inspiration." This admitted Roman Catholics to full rights and was in this respect more liberal than contemporaneous constitutions of Pennsylvania's sister states. The reference to the New Testament was, of course, distasteful to the Jewish community in Philadelphia, and in 1783 they petitioned that it be dropped. This was done in 1790, but the test of belief in God was retained.

Delaware. Delaware gained independence from Pennsylvania in 1701, and taking its lead from its parent state, it never had an established church. Religious freedom, therefore, was always the rule; complete civil freedom was not so immediate. In its constitution of 1776, Delaware, like Pennsylvania, required an oath of all elected officials to provide that the state should be governed by orthodox Christians (Moehlman 1938, p. 52). Unlike Pennsylvania, however, Delaware abolished any religious test of office in 1792, completely separating the state from religion.

The South. All the southern states established the Church of England. The contrast between the conduct of Virginia and that of South Carolina during the Revolution is notable.

Maryland. The position of Roman Catholics in Maryland at the time of the Revolution was more secure than in the other colonies because of the strong Catholic influence in the early years of the colony and the weak position of the Maryland establishment, the Anglican Church.

The declaration of rights adopted as part of its new constitution of 1776 recognized that "all persons, professing the Christian religion are equally entitled to protection of their religious liberty." The Quakers, Dunkers, and Mennonites, opposed to taking judicial oaths, were allowed "to affirm" and were "admitted as witnesses in all criminal cases not capital." This was extended to capital cases in 1798. Charles Carroll (1737–1832) of Carrollton, the Catholic patriot, was one of those voting in favor of the article authorizing the state legislature to "lay a general and equal tax, for the support of the Christian religion." Finally, a "declaration of a belief in the Christian religion" was required by the constitution for admission to any office of trust or profit (Moehlman 1938, p. 41). The Jew and the freethinker were still under disabilities. There were only a few Jews in the state, and the legislature did not act to remove the restriction until 1826. The religious test of office, which has since been struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Torcaso v. Watkins*, 367 U.S. 488 (1961), was then unacceptable only to a small number of agnostics and atheists, since a declaration of belief in the existence of God was still necessary.

Virginia. Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), James Madison (1751–1836), George Mason (1725–1792), the Baptists, and the Presbyterians united to disestablish the conservative Episcopalian Church of Virginia and to light the path to religious freedom in the United States. Virginia's Declaration of Rights, passed three weeks before the Declaration of Independence, and the Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom combined to assure members of all faiths complete religious and civil liberties by 1785. This influenced immeasurably the course of the federal and sister states' governments.

North Carolina. The Carolina Charter of 1663 specially recognized the Church of England, but it provided for a measure of toleration so long as nonconformity did not interfere with the civil authority. North Carolina was second only to Virginia in adopting a constitution guaranteeing complete religious freedom (Moehlman 1938, p. 44). The constitution restricted public office to those acknowledging "the being of God [and] the truth of the Protestant religion [and] the divine authority of the Old and New Testament," thereby excluding Roman Catholics and Jews. Clergymen were not permitted to hold office.

In 1835 at Raleigh, the word *Protestant* was changed to *Christian* in deference to Roman Catholics. In fact, however, the Protestant requirement had not been enforced, for Thomas Burke (c. 1747–1783), who became governor in 1781, and William Gaston (1778–1844), who was appointed to the North Carolina Supreme Court in 1833, were both Catholics. The Jewish disability was enforced, for there was little pressure to remove the bar since most of the Jewish population in the United States was found in the large cities to the north. The constitution of 1868 removed this last restriction to total religious freedom (Moehlman 1938, p. 108).

South Carolina. South Carolina had established the Anglican Church. By the constitution of 1778, all theists were "freely tolerated," but that document further declared that "the Christian Protestant religion shall be deemed, and is hereby constituted … the established religion of this State." Despite the existence of a preferred religion, the dissenters' onerous task of supporting an establishment was removed. Only Protestants could hold public office, but any religious society holding property was permitted to retain it. This law was very beneficial to the Anglican Church, the prior establishment, since it had been the recipient of much official largesse.

The state exercised a Connecticut-like control over religious activities. The election of a pastor or clergyman was prescribed by the constitution to be by majority vote of the congregation. The elected minister was further required to subscribe to a declaration anticipating his official and unofficial conduct during his tenure.

By the constitution of 1790, dissenters, previously only "tolerated," were guaranteed the "free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference." Roman Catholics and other non-Protestant groups were enfranchised. The document was a drastic departure from the narrowly Protestant constitution of twelve years earlier (Moehlman 1938, p. 45). By 1868, only those who denied the existence of a supreme being were ineligible to hold public office.

Georgia. The Georgia Charter of 1732, secured by James Oglethorpe (1696–1785), stipulated that all officeholders be Protestant, and "that all ... persons, except papists, shall have a free exercise of religion." The derogatory term *papist* was deleted in the constitution of 1777, and freedom of worship was extended to all citizens. As was frequently the case, the clergy were unable to hold office. There was no religious test for voting, but the Protestant prerequisite for membership in the state legislature was retained. The 1789 constitution removed all religious restrictions upon service in public office. Thus Georgia from early times was provided with religious freedom.

In conclusion, though the federal government was forbidden to establish a preferred religion, remnants of the state establishments existed well into the nineteenth century. Thereafter, for the first time in history, state and church were independent of each other. The pace of disestablishment is notable, but more notable is the historic result.

SEE ALSO AMERICAN REVOLUTION, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND; ANGLICANISM; ANTI-CATHOLICISM (UNITED STATES); EPISCOPAL CHURCH, U.S.; FREEDOM OF RELIGION (IN U.S. CONSTITUTION); METHODIST CHURCHES; PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES.

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III. PERIOD OF CONFLICT (1834–1900)

The nineteenth century was an era of conflict on the religious front in the United States. Resentment against immigrants brought forth American NATIVISM in the form of such movements as the KU KLUX KLAN and KNOW-NOTHINGISM. The amazing growth of the Catholic parochial system was a response to the problems of the era.

At the start of this period, only a few effects of state establishment of religion still remained. The most obnoxious was the religious test for public office. In spite of federal and state guarantees of religious freedom, American churches in the nineteenth century encountered several new types of difficulty with the government. A proposed constitutional amendment (the BLAINE AMENDMENT) that sought to deprive religious-affiliated schools of state financial aid had a lasting effect in many states. The Mormon Church and its practice of polygamy came under direct attack. A series of disputes reached the courts as a result of schisms that split the churches into warring factions. Religious practices in public schools were both approved and forbidden by various state courts. And problems arose concerning the holding of church property and the incorporation of churches. Amid all this conflict, there was, strangely enough, a twenty-year period in which the United States and the VATICAN maintained diplomatic relations.

Religious Tests for Public Office. The Founding Fathers of the United States thought that a necessary prerequisite for securing the freedom of religion was the inclusion in the U.S. Constitution of a clause prohibiting any religious test as a requirement for holding public

office. The original proposal was made in 1787 at the Constitutional Convention by Charles Pinckney (1746–1825) of South Carolina. There was considerable debate on the subject at the convention, but the proposal was finally drafted into Article 6 of the U.S. Constitution and passed easily, North Carolina being the only state that voted against it. Article 6 states that elected officials shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support the Constitution, and then continues, "but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

Although this provision in the U.S. Constitution was almost unanimously approved by the original thirteen states, they were very slow to incorporate similar provisions in their own state constitutions. Most of the states were still feeling the effects of religious establishment, and they consequently limited public office to those who professed the "Protestant religion," those who were "Christians," those who believed in the "Old and New Testament," and other such conditions. Five of the original states had provisions in their constitutions limiting holders of public office to those who professed a belief in the Protestant religion (Georgia, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, and South Carolina). Georgia was the first of the five to remove this requirement, in 1789, when its constitution was changed to read that no religious test for public office would be required. New Jersey and New Hampshire did not follow suit until 1844 and 1877 respectively. North Carolina changed "Protestant" to "Christian" in 1835, and in 1868 revised it to "belief in God." South Carolina replaced the qualification "Protestant" with belief in a supreme being in 1868. Maryland and Delaware originally required officeholders to be Christians. Delaware removed this restriction in 1792. Maryland changed the requirement to belief in God in 1826, and the requirement held until 1961, when the U.S. Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional (*Torcaso v. Watkins*, 367 U.S. 488). Pennsylvania early required a belief in both the Old and New Testaments, but the requirement was changed in 1790 to "belief in God." The slow pace at which the original states proceeded to remove religious tests can be attributed to the fact that they were free to retain or modify their laws of religious liberty as they chose.

However, the new states to gain admission to the Union had to have their constitutions approved by Congress, and Congress after the beginning of the nineteenth century required that states have adequate guarantees of religious freedom. Consequently, only four states admitted to the Union after the original states had any kind of religious restriction for public officeholders (Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas). These four required officeholders to hold a belief in God or in a supreme being. Most of the states admitted to the Union during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries have some specific constitutional provision forbidding any religious test for public office. Some, though not specifically referring to public office, forbid a religious test in guaranteeing civil or political rights to all. A few states made no mention of a religious test in their constitutions.

By 1912, with the admission of the forty-eighth state to the Union (Arizona), the states specifically prohibiting any religious test included: Alabama, Arizona, Delaware, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. States forbidding a religious test to guarantee civil and/or political rights included Michigan, Montana, Oklahoma, and South Dakota. States whose constitutions made no mention of any form of religious test were California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Kentucky, Nevada, and North Dakota. Those requiring a belief in God or a supreme being included Arkansas, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. One state, Massachusetts, obliged the people in choosing their officials to pay attention to principles of piety.

The Blaine Amendment. On December 14, 1875, James Gillespie Blaine (1830–1893), a congressman from Maine, presented to the House of Representatives a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The proposed amendment sought primarily to prevent the states from directly or indirectly devoting any public money or land to schools having any religious affiliation. As proposed, the amendment read:

> No state shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any State. No public property, and no public revenue of nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of the United States, or any State, Territory, District or municipal corporation, shall be appropriated to, or made or used for, the support of any school, educational or other institution, under the control of any religious or antireligious sect, organization, or denomination, or wherein the particular creed or tenets shall be read or taught in any school or institution supported in whole or in part by such revenue or loan of credit; and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization or denomination, or to

> promote its interests or tenets. This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution, and it shall not have the effect to impair rights of property already vested. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to provide for the prevention and punishment of violation of this article.

The issue was debated in Congress, and discussion centered on the questions of the states' right to determine their educational policies, and the privilege of a religious people to secure their teachings in schools attended by their children. The proposal failed to win the necessary two-thirds majority in the Senate and was never put to the states for ratification.

Since the amendment's original failure, it has been reintroduced some twenty times, but only once was it reported on by the committee to which it was referred. Even this report recommended that the resolution should not be passed. But the amendment's effect has been felt in subsequent amendments or revisions of many state constitutions. Between 1877 and 1913, more than thirty state constitutions forbade financial aid to parochial schools. The provisions adopted vary greatly in detail. Some use the same language as the Blaine amendment; others say the same thing in different words. However, they all have the same purpose, of preventing the use of public school funds by private sectarian schools.

Only eight states had any constitutional provision on this matter before the Blaine amendment was introduced. These provisions were very limited in scope, usually prohibiting aid to theological and religious seminaries. The states were Wisconsin (1848), Michigan (1850), Indiana (1851), Oregon (1857), Minnesota (1857), Kansas (1858), Nebraska (1866), and Illinois (1870).

States that responded early to the Blaine amendment and incorporated a similar provision in their own constitution before 1880 included Pennsylvania (1873); Missouri, Alabama, and Nebraska (1875); Texas and Colorado (1876); Georgia, Minnesota, and New Hampshire (1877); California and Louisiana (1879); and Nevada (1880). Other states were to follow in the next twenty years: Florida (1885); Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming (1889); Mississippi and Kentucky (1890); New York (1894); South Carolina and Utah (1895); and Delaware (1897). Three states admitted to the Union after 1900 joined in adopting similar provisions in their constitutions: Oklahoma (1907), New Mexico (1911), and Arizona (1912). Several states that have adopted new constitutions since 1900 retained provisions on this matter that appeared in their earlier constitutions: New Hampshire, Louisiana, Massachusetts, and Alabama.

The Mormon Church. In 1852 the Mormon Church decreed that the practice of polygamy was in accord with its doctrine. Polygamy was permitted only to people of good moral character who could afford a large family. The practice was never widespread, even among Mormons. But opposition to it was strong. Many non-Mormons clamored for some type of legislation to suppress and prohibit the practice.

Congress responded in 1862 with the passage of the Anti-Polygamy Act (12 Stat. 501), making polygamy in any U.S. territory a crime, and prescribing a penalty of up to five years imprisonment for violations of the act. The law was difficult to enforce because it was hard to obtain evidence of plural marriages; the Mormon Temple officials secretly retained the records of such services. It was also hard to get convictions because the juries hearing the cases were often composed primarily of Mormons. One case of violation of the Anti-Polygamy Act did reach the U.S. Supreme Court (*Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U.S. 145 [1878]). The Court upheld the conviction of Reynolds, reasoning that freedom of religion does not extend so far as to condone overt acts that may be disruptive of the social order.

In 1882 Congress passed the Edmunds Act (22 Stat. 30), making it a crime for a man to cohabit with two or more women at once. To secure enforcement, it was further provided that in a prosecution under this act no one could serve as a juror unless he swore that he never practiced polygamy or that he disapproved of the practice. The act also excluded polygamists from voting or holding public office in any territory. Prosecution under this law was much more successful than under the previous law.

Congress followed in 1887 with the Edmunds-Tucker Act (24 Stat. 635), which further restricted the privileges of people practicing polygamy. It permitted the vote only to those who would swear an oath against polygamy, and required all marriage ceremonies to be registered. The act also annulled laws that indirectly supported the practice, such as those affording inheritance rights to illegitimate children, laws limiting prosecution for adultery to cases in which there was a complaint by the wife, and laws that provided for elective judgeships in order to afford judicial support to the practice. This act also dissolved the corporation of the Mormon Church and seized all its property except that used for worship. Shortly after passage of this act, the Mormon Church officially disavowed polygamy and advised its members to abide by the laws of the United States in regard to it.

Shortly thereafter, in 1896, Utah was admitted to the Union with a constitutional provision forbidding the practice of polygamy. Four other western states subsequently admitted to the Union also forbade the practice

in their constitutions (Oklahoma, Idaho, Arizona, and New Mexico).

Religious Practices in Public Schools. The nineteenth century saw the advent of the public school system in the United States under the leadership of Horace Mann (1796–1859). Gradually, the parochial schools of most denominations were absorbed into the public school system; the major exception was the Catholic school system. When parochial schools were merged with the public schools, there was not an immediate desecularization; religious practices and instruction were common in the early public schools. Since the Protestant religion was predominant at this time, most public schools incorporated Protestant teachings into their curriculum. Catholics objected to this practice and accordingly thought it expedient to continue their own schools with their own religious instruction.

Gradually, antireligious and nonreligious elements of the population began to work for the discontinuance of religious instruction in the public schools, and they soon succeeded. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the public school system was conducted by the state, divorced from all church control, and given over exclusively to the dissemination of secular information. Though public schools were no longer to be controlled by religious factions, vestiges of sectarian influence remained in many states. Many schools retained the practices of saying prayers, singing hymns, and reading the Bible.

Court decisions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries concerning the propriety of Bible reading in public schools had conflicting results; a minority of the decisions prohibited such practices. Wisconsin (*State v. School District of Edgeton*, 44 N.W. 967 [1890]), Nebraska (*State v. Scheve*, 91 N.W. 846 [1902]), Illinois (*People v. Board of Education*, 92 N.E. 251 [1910]), and Louisiana (*Herold v. Board of School Division* [1915]) were the four states to disallow Bible reading in public schools. Illinois excluded the Bible entirely; Nebraska and Wisconsin barred it only so far as it was sectarian and not when it was used to teach moral ethics. Louisiana barred it as giving preference to Christians over Jews. Twelve other states in which the question reached the courts decided in favor of allowing the reading of the Bible; they were Colorado, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Texas.

Similar inconsistent results occurred when the courts were asked to decide whether the holding of religious services and Sunday schools in the public school buildings was proper. Some courts prohibited such use, stating that school buildings can be used only for educational purposes, thereby excluding religious services. Other courts upheld the decisions of school officials in these matters, whether the school officials allowed or disallowed the use.

The propriety of the practice of employing Roman Catholic nuns as teachers in the public schools also came to the courts for determination. Objectors pointed out that the wearing of religious garb with crucifixes and rosaries had a sectarian influence on education in such schools. Statutes forbidding the wearing of religious garb were upheld in both Pennsylvania (*Commonwealth v. Herr*, 78 Atl. 68 [1910]) and New York (*O'Connor v. Hendrick*, 77 N.E. 612 [1906]).

In the late nineteenth century, antireligious feelings concerning public schools brought pressure to bear on legislation. As a result, from 1876 to 1912, nine of the ten states admitted to the Union were required as a condition of admission to agree that provision be made for the establishment of public schools free from sectarian control.

Tenure of Church Property. Early in the nineteenth century, most of the property of the Catholic Church was held or administered by lay trustees. This was the result of an interplay of several factors, including Old World customs, Protestant influence, and practical necessity.

Since priests were scarce in the early colonies, small communities desiring to establish a church had to rely on traveling missionaries. The only practical method of caring for church property in the absence of priests was to entrust its care to lay members of the church. Also, many early Catholics in the United States had come from continental Europe, where a similar lay trustee system worked well in a civil-law framework. Finally, since the Protestant denominations were in the majority in the United States, and since they were organized on a basis of lay control, Catholics were inclined to trust in lay organization.

Nevertheless, the lay trusteeship form of control of church property in the United States was the cause of great dissension and conflict within the Church for fifty years. Trustees attempted to secure a voice in spiritual affairs of the Church. Cases occurred in which they refused to accept the services of lawfully appointed priests and attempted to name priests of their choice. Often these differences resulted in civil court cases and occasionally went to Rome for settlement.

In 1829 the First Provincial Council of Baltimore attempted to put an end to such internal disorders and dissension by decreeing that in the future no church could be built unless it were assigned to the bishop of the diocese in which the church was to be located. The decree cited the ills of the trustee system and obviously meant to abolish this system in the future. It was immediately carried out.

Bishop as Absolute Owner. Under this system, the bishop holds absolute title to the property and administers it in his individual name. This was a useful system for some time in that it proved better than the lay trustee system. However, certain difficulties arose in regard to the transfer of property at the death of the bishop, as well as in regard to improper use or disposition of the property by the bishop during his life. Attempts were made by the provincial councils of 1837, 1840, and 1843 to guarantee continuance of property in the church's hands by requiring the bishops holding title to make valid wills in favor of fellow bishops. Many courts aided the church in this matter by declaring that the bishop mentioned in a conveyance held the property only as trustee for the members of the church, even though no trust is expressed in the instrument. By virtue of this interpretation, the property would not descend to the heirs of a bishop not having a will, nor could he dispose of it by will since the beneficiary of the trust would be the equitable owner. By the same token, under this interpretation, the property cannot be reached for satisfaction of a bishop's personal debts, as it could were he the absolute titleholder. An important case in which this result was reached was *Mannix v. Purcell*, 46 Ohio St. 102 (1888).

As a result of the troubles involved in this system, the Third Plenary Council (1884) decreed that the method of making the bishop the absolute owner of church property was to be used only as a last resort. On July 29, 1911, the Congregation of the Council forbade the method entirely.

Bishop as Trustee. Under this system of property ownership, the legal title is vested in the trustee (bishop) and the equitable title is vested in the *cestui que trust* (members of the congregation). The bishop holds title for the benefit of the congregation. As legal owner of the property, the bishop is free to administer it according to the canons of the Church. He can delegate control of the property to administrators while retaining the right of supervision over the administration. Other advantages of the system include the protection of the property of the church. The property of the church cannot be reached by creditors of the bishop, and neither is there a problem of testate or intestate succession since the members of the church are the equitable owners.

Most courts have minimized the importance of the bishop as trustee and classify him as a passive, silent trustee with little power, thereby giving the members of the congregation considerable voice in deciding what use or disposition is to be made of the property (see *Arts v. Guthrie*, 37 N.W. 395 [1871]). This is the only objection to this form of church property ownership, and such interference by a congregation has become rare.

Bishop as a Corporation Sole. Some states in the United States provide for a system of church property ownership called the *corporation sole*. By this system, the bishop and his successors are incorporated by law and are afforded perpetuity. The corporation consists of one person, the bishop. At his death, the corporation does not cease but is merely in abeyance until a successor is appointed, the successor then becoming the new corporation sole. The corporation sole holds absolute title to its property. The bishop, though he is the corporation, does not hold title. This means that the property does not descend to the bishop's heirs, nor can it be reached by the bishop's creditors. The property is transferred to the succeeding bishop.

This type of ownership existed in the colonial days wherever established religions existed (e.g., in Maine, Massachusetts, and Virginia). With the disappearance of the establishments, the corporation sole disappeared until the late nineteenth century, when a few states provided for it by statute. Other states have created quasi corporations sole through court decisions without legislation authority.

Corporation Aggregate. Two types of corporation aggregate appeared: the *trustee corporation* and the *congregational corporation*. The trustee corporation is an outgrowth of the lay trustee system. To remedy the faults inherent in the lay trustee system, churches sought special charters incorporating the trustees. Later, most states provided for such incorporation in their general statutes. In this form of property ownership, the legal title is vested in the incorporated trustees, and the equitable title is in the unincorporated society. Death of a trustee has no effect on the life of the corporation, and title to property after such a death is never in abeyance.

The congregational corporation is composed of all the members of the parish. Together they form a single legal entity. The title of property is vested in the body corporate. Officers (often called trustees) are elected, but they do not hold title to the property. They merely are entrusted with the management of the business affairs of the corporation and as such are agents of the corporation. Their discretion is similar to that vested in the board of directors of an ordinary business corporation.

These types of aggregate corporations began to appear with regularity in the second half of the nineteenth century as various states passed laws permitting their establishment. Prior to this time, religious societies were not allowed to be incorporated except by special charter. This system was criticized because favoritism to certain churches was becoming manifest.

Schisms and the Courts. A SCHISM has been defined as a division or separation in a church or denomination

of Christians occasioned by diversity of opinion (*Nelson v. Benson*, 69 Ill. 29 [1873]). Such schisms have occurred with considerable frequency in the history of the churches of the United States, with comparatively few of them involving the Roman Catholic Church. Usually, when a schism occurs, a dispute arises concerning the property of the church. Both factions seek to retain title to and use of the property. The resolution of such disputes has often been placed in the hands of the civil courts of the United States. The courts have struggled with the difficult problems involved, the primary difficulty arising from the fact that the solution depends on the type of church involved. The large number and variety of denominations with varying forms of government make it impossible to find a solution that is applicable to all such disputes.

A study of the case law in this area shows that state courts have given uniform treatment to these problems according to the type of church involved. In the only U.S. Supreme Court decision on this matter, the Court summarizes the various types of cases that have occurred and classifies them according to three categories (*Watson v. Jones*, 80 U.S. 679 [1871]).

Specific Trust. A type of controversy arises when a schism occurs in a church that holds property deeded to it with an express stipulation that it be used to spread some specific form of doctrine or belief. In such a case, it is the duty of the court to see that the property is not diverted to any other than the specified use. The court has to decide which faction of the church still adheres to the tenets or beliefs specified in the deed. This solution will often depend on the type of church involved. Is the church totally independent of any higher form of government or is it part of a national church by which it is governed? If the church is totally independent, the court must decide for itself which faction is adhering to the specified beliefs. There is no higher church government to rely on. If the church is part of a larger organization, the court enforces the decision of the highest tribunal of the church. Accepting this decision, the civil court has merely to decree that one faction is entitled to the use of the property according to the terms of the deed. This result will follow even if the recognized faction is a minority of the original local congregation (*Wilson v. Pres. Church of John's Island*, 2 Rich. Eq 192 [1846] S.C.).

Independent Congregation. Another type of controversy arises when a schism occurs in a religious congregation that owes no fealty to a higher authority or any other ecclesiastical association. The property that is the subject of the controversy has not been specifically entrusted. Such an organization is entirely independent and governs itself either by the will of a majority of its members or by such other local organism as the majority may have instituted for the purpose of ecclesiastical government. The rules to be followed in these cases are the ordinary principles governing voluntary associations. Whatever form of government is set up by the congregation must be followed. If the majority is to rule, the courts will abide by this, even if the majority has made a complete reversal from the doctrines to which it originally adhered. If certain officers are vested with control of the church, then whatever faction is headed by these officers will be entitled to the property. No inquiry may be made into the doctrine or beliefs of the various factions of the church.

In *Shannon v. Frost*, 3 B. Monro 253 (1842), a Kentucky court showed its reluctance to interfere with the decision of the majority of an independent Baptist church by stating: "The judicial eye cannot penetrate the will of the church for the forbidden purpose of vindicating the alleged wrongs of excised members." The court refused to allow the minority to use the house of worship, basing the decision on the decision of the majority. A Vermont court, in *Smith v. Nelson*, 18 Vt. 511 (1846), stated that in a review of church proceedings, a church cannot be treated differently from any other voluntary association. In a 1903 Texas case involving a church of this type, the court correctly stated that the question of a higher church government cannot be a test, since the society is independent of all such higher ecclesiastical control, and can, by majority vote, conduct its government as it pleases (*Gibson v. Morris*, 73 S.W. 85).

Associated Church. Another type of case, and the type under which most of the court cases seem to fit, is that of property normally acquired and intended for the general use of a religious congregation that is itself part of a large and general organization of some religious denomination, with which it is more or less intimately connected by religious views and ecclesiastical government. Most early cases were in agreement as to how disputes over property should be handled in such a case. Often a majority of a local congregation would attempt to break away from the general association and attempt to retain rights to its property. The courts recognized that although the dissenting group might be a majority of the local congregation, consideration must be given to the church government of the association of which the local congregation is a part.

A church originally formed as a branch of an associated church, subordinated to the government of that church, cannot break away from that form of government and discipline without losing the character or identity that confers rights to property (*Miller v. Gable*, 2 Denio [New York] 492 [1845]). The portion of a church that separates itself from the old organization to

form a new one cannot validly claim property belonging to the old organization if the old organization retains its original framework, tenets, and beliefs (*Gibson v. Armstrong*, 46 Ken. 481 [1847]). Any majority of a local congregation that organizes resistance to the legitimate authority of its ecclesiastical superiors is not a true congregation and is not entitled to use of the church property (*Winebrenner v. Colder*, 43 Pa. 244 [1862]).

In a case in which a majority of a congregation withdrew from a presbytery of a Protestant church and denounced its teachings, the court held that the title to church property should remain with that portion of the congregation adhering to the tenets and discipline of the larger organization to whose use the property was originally dedicated. This is true even though the remaining faithful are a minority (*Ferraria v. Vascanelles*, 23 Ill. Repts. 403 [1860]).

These cases indicate that a minority of a local Methodist Episcopal congregation that adheres to its conference or of a local Presbyterian church that adheres to its presbytery is entitled to the property in such a dispute. It has likewise been decided that a Roman Catholic congregation that has placed itself under the authority of its archbishop cannot divorce itself from such authority and still keep title to property acquired by it (*Dochkus v. Lithuanian Benefit Society of St. Anthony*, 206 Pa. 25 [1903]).

The U.S. Supreme Court case of *Watson v. Jones,* 80 U.S. 679 (1871), involved a division in a local Kentucky congregation that was part of the Presbyterian Church. In deciding in favor of the group still recognized by the Protestant presbytery, the Court stated:

> In this class of cases we think the rule of action which should govern the civil courts, founded in a broad and sound view of the relations of church and state under our system of laws, and supported by a preponderating weight of judicial authority is, that, whenever the questions of discipline, or of faith, or ecclesiastical rule, custom, or law have been decided by the highest of these church judicatories to which the matter has been carried, the legal tribunals must accept such decisions as final, and as binding on them, in their application to the case before them.

The Court based its decision on two principles. First, it feared that freedom of religion would be subverted if an aggrieved party could appeal to the secular courts after the church judicatory had decided against him. Second, the Court reasoned that ecclesiastical courts and scholars were better equipped with the knowledge proper for deciding questions of this nature.

Generally speaking, U.S. civil courts have refused to hear cases concerning purely ecclesiastical matters; rather, they accept the holding of the ecclesiastical judicatories. Also, if a civil court should choose to hear such a case, it will only do so after the aggrieved person has exhausted all possible appeals in the particular church judicatory structure (*German Reformed Church v. Seibert*, 3 Barr 282 Pa. [1846]).

Diplomatic Representation at the Vatican. Prior to 1846, there were a few isolated instances in which the idea was proposed that the United States send a diplomatic representative to the Vatican. However, in 1846, with the election of PIUS IX to succeed GREGORY XVI as pope, the idea gained new impetus since this election was greatly favored in the United States; Pius IX was considered a liberal who would strive for reforms and greater freedoms.

In June 1847, the American consul at Rome, in a dispatch to the secretary of state, proposed that formal diplomatic relations be established between the United States and the government of the Vatican. This proposal was made after high officials of the Vatican government and the pope himself expressed the desire that such diplomatic relations be started.

In December 1847, President James K. Polk (1795–1849) in his message to Congress proposed the opening of such diplomatic relations, giving as reasons the political events occurring in the Papal States and protection of U.S. commercial interests there. In Congress, the proposal met with some opposition, but easily passed (137 to 15 in the House and 36 to 7 in the Senate). The opposition argued that under the U.S. Constitution the government could play no part in ecclesiastical matters and that the United States had no actual commercial interests to protect in the Vatican. Some feared that the president was making the proposal merely as a political move, to secure the vote of the Roman Catholic population. With the passage of this proposal, Jacob Martin, a convert to Roman Catholicism, was named the first chargé d'affaires to the Vatican in 1848. Martin's instructions from the secretary of state read:

> There is one consideration which you ought always to keep in view in your intercourse with the Papal authorities. Most, if not all Governments which have Diplomatic Representatives at Rome are connected with the Pope as the head of the Catholic Church. In this respect the Government of the United States occupies an entirely different position. It possesses no power whatever over the question of religion. All denominations of Christians stand on the same footing in this country,—and every man enjoys the inestimable right of worshiping his

> God according to the dictates of his own conscience—Your efforts, therefore, will be devoted exclusively to the cultivation of the most friendly civil relations with the Papal Government, and to the extension of the commerce between the two countries. You will carefully avoid even the appearance of interfering in ecclesiastical questions, whether these relate to the United States or any other portion of the world. It might be proper, should you deem it advisable, to make these views known, on some suitable occasion, to the Papal Government; so that there may be no mistake or misunderstanding on this subject.

The diplomatic relationship thus created lasted for twenty years, until 1867. During these years, six different chargés d'affaires represented the United States in the Papal States. There was no interruption of the friendly feelings that existed between the two governments. Most of the matters arising were unrelated episodes that called for no sustained policy on the part of either country. Some of the more important incidents that arose included the alleged recognition of the southern Confederacy by the Vatican; the question of the status of Monsignor Gaetano BEDINI, who came to the United States as apostolic delegate; the protection of Vatican property by the U.S. legation during Giuseppe GARIBALDI's entrance into Rome; and the rejection of the Washington Monument Association in 1852 of a block of marble for the monument sent by the pope.

The matter that caused the most concern and eventually the cessation of U.S. diplomatic representation at the Vatican revolved around the institution of Protestant services conducted for American citizens within the Vatican. Such worship apparently seemed to the papacy inconsistent with the idea of Rome as the center of the one, true, universal Church. To enable the American chapel, set up outside the legation, to continue their Protestant services, the American minister in 1866 placed the arms of the American legation over the building used as a chapel. The American minister insisted that this arrangement was satisfactory to the papal authorities. Nevertheless, as a result of this difficulty, which had been greatly exaggerated, Congress refused to appropriate money for continuance of the U.S. representative at the Vatican. Thus the mission ceased to exist without ever having been formally discontinued. No formal message of explanation was ever sent to the Vatican.

SEE ALSO AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, PAPAL STANCE TOWARDS; ANTI-CATHOLICISM (UNITED STATES); BALTIMORE, COUNCILS OF; EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (K THROUGH 12) IN THE UNITED STATES; FREEDOM OF RELIGION (IN U.S. CONSTITUTION); LATTER-DAY SAINTS, CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF; TRUSTEEISM; UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE PAPACY.

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IV. SEARCH FOR SOLUTION (1900–2001)

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides, in part, that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." These sixteen words were rarely commented upon from 1791 through the end of World War II (1939–1945). Since the late 1940s, and especially since 1970, the Supreme Court of the United States has expended an extraordinary amount of time attempting to ascertain the meaning of these words. The more the Court has attempted to explicate the Constitution's meaning, the more elusive the guarantee of religious liberty has become.

As interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court before the Civil War (1861–1865), the First Amendment's guarantee of religious liberty applied to action by the federal government, but not to action by state governments (*Barron v. Baltimore*, 7 Peters 243 [1833]).

The Fourteenth Amendment. The Fourteenth Amendment was one of three constitutional amendments adopted in the wake of the Civil War. The Fourteenth Amendment states, in part, that "no state shall ... deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Although the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868, its relation to the protection of religious liberty was rarely explored during the remainder of the nineteenth century.

In 1875 President Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885) delivered a speech to the Army of Tennessee in which he objected to any governmental support of sectarian schools and urged his listeners to "keep the church and state forever separate."

Later that year, Grant urged the passage of a constitutional amendment requiring states to establish free public schools and forbidding states to use any school funds for the direct or indirect benefit of any religiously affiliated school. Grant's proposal was modified shortly thereafter and came to be called the BLAINE AMENDMENT, after James G. Blaine (1830–1893), a Republican congressman hoping to win the 1876 presidential nomination. Although the Blaine amendment was overwhelmingly adopted by the House of Representatives in 1876, a similar proposal failed to pass the Senate by the required two-thirds vote. From 1875 to 1907, the proposed amendment was introduced before Congress more than twenty times, but it never received more support than it did in 1876. However, Congress required all states entering the Union after 1876 to include a provision in the state's constitution mandating the creation of a nonsectarian public school system.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the First Amendment guarantee of religious liberty was rarely invoked against actions of the federal government, and the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment, which protected individuals from some actions of the state governments, had not been used in a religious liberty case. In 1917, when the United States entered World War I (1914–1918), Congress enacted a selective-service law that included some exemptions for conscientious objectors. The exemption was attacked as an unconstitutional establishment of religion, but was upheld by the Supreme Court (*Arver v. United States*, 245 U.S. 366 [1918]).

More than a decade later, the Supreme Court interpreted the naturalization law to require the denial of naturalization to any applicant who refused to swear an oath pledging his or her support of the U.S. government in future wars (*United States v. Macintosh*, 283 U.S. 605 [1931]). That the applicant refused to so swear for religious reasons did not persuade a majority of the Court. The Court later determined that Congress did not require the swearing of such an oath, and abandoned its holding in *Macintosh* (*Girouard v. United States*, 328 U.S. 61 [1946]).

In 1925 the Supreme Court decided two cases involving claims of religious liberty. In *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, 268 U.S. 510 (1925), the Court held that an Oregon law that made it unlawful for parents to send their children to a private or parochial school was a violation of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Although the implications of the *Pierce* decision have been interpreted in a variety of ways, all commentators have agreed that the decision gives to parents the right to send their children to religious schools. The Court also upheld New York's "kosher" law against a challenge that the law violated the Fourteenth Amendment. The complainants argued that the words "kosher" and "orthodox Hebrew religious requirements" were too vague and indefinite (*Hygrade Provision Company v. Sherman*, 266 U.S. 497 [1925]). Five years later, the Supreme Court held constitutional a Louisiana law requiring school boards to purchase all books for schoolchildren, even those attending religiously affiliated schools (*Cochran v. Louisiana State Board of Education*, 281 U.S. 370 [1930]).

In 1940 the Supreme Court concluded that the free exercise guarantee of the First Amendment applied to state action through the due process guarantee of the Fourteenth Amendment (*Cantwell v. Connecticut*, 310 U.S. 296 [1940]). Seven years later, the Court incorporated into the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment the First Amendment clause barring laws respecting an establishment of religion (*Everson v. Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1 [1947]).

Defining Religion. The Supreme Court has decided more than seventy cases on the proper relation between religion and government since the mid-twentieth century, but it has not established a constitutional definition of religion. During the nineteenth century, the Court offered a definition premised on a belief in a deity and on the distinction between a religion and a cult (*Davis v. Beason*, 133 U.S. 333 [1890]). As the United States became more religiously diverse in the twentieth century, this relatively narrow definition was rejected.

When Congress adopted the Selective Service and Training Act (1940), courts were required to interpret the provision granting conscientious-objector status to those opposed to war in any form by reason of religious training and belief. Divergent interpretations of that language led Congress to amend the act in 1948 by stating: "Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code."

During the Vietnam War (1957–1975), the Court twice interpreted that provision. It first held that the provision should be broadly interpreted to include those whose belief system was sincere and was parallel to the belief system of those who clearly fit the exemption (*United States v. Seeger*, 380 U.S. 163 [1965]). Five years later, the Court held that the statutory language fit a person who denied that his or her beliefs were religious,

for religion was to be given an extremely broad definition (*Welsh v. United States*, 398 U.S. 333 [1970]). Three members of the Court dissented from the holding, claiming that the statutory provision was interpreted well beyond any sound interpretation of religion.

In constitutional interpretation, the Court has rarely alluded to the issue of the definition of religion. In the Amish schooling case, discussed below, the Court noted the distinction between religious reasons and "philosophical and personal" reasons, and that only the former was protected by the First Amendment. In an unemployment-compensation case, the Court merely noted that the free exercise clause granted special protection to beliefs rooted in religion.

Freedom of Religious Exercise. In the 1930s and 1940s, the Supreme Court weighed the individual's claim to religious liberty against the interest of the state in a variety of contexts, many of which involved members of the JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES.

Proselytizing. In the 1930s and 1940s, members of the Jehovah's Witnesses pressed a number of claims alleging violations of their constitutional rights. In several cases, the Supreme Court used various provisions of the First Amendment to strike down state statutes that limited the proselytizing efforts of the Jehovah's Witnesses. In *Cantwell v. Connecticut*, the Court held unconstitutional, as a violation of the free exercise clause, a criminal conviction for soliciting money for a religious cause without a permit. The majority opinion, by Justice Owen Roberts (1875–1955), followed an injunction first stated in *Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U.S. 145 (1879), the Mormon polygamy case: "[Free exercise] embraces two concepts—freedom to believe and freedom to act. The first is absolute, but in the nature of things, the second cannot be." The Court then cautioned that the government cannot unduly infringe the right to free exercise, even when attaining a permissible end.

In *Murdock v. Pennsylvania*, 319 U.S. 105 (1943), and *Follett v. McCormick*, 321 U.S. 573 (1944), the Supreme Court held violative of the First Amendment's free exercise clause the imposition of a license and bookseller's taxes on Jehovah's Witnesses who offered religious books and pamphlets for sale. In 1989 a badly divided Supreme Court held that a Texas law exempting from its sales tax periodicals published or distributed by a religious faith that consisted solely of religious content violated the establishment clause (*Texas Monthly v. Bullock*, 489 U.S. 1 [1989]). The plurality opinion of the Court limited the *Murdock* and *Follett* cases to their facts, which means those cases cannot be understood to prohibit the government from taxing the sale of religious publications. The Court also held unconstitutional a local ordinance prohibiting the door-to-door distribution of handbills (*Martin v. City of Struthers*, 319 U.S. 141 [1943]).

The Court did hold constitutional the conviction of Sarah Prince for violating the child-labor laws of Massachusetts, which Prince claimed violated her free exercise rights. Prince permitted her niece, for whom she was the custodian, to join her in selling *Watchtower,* the magazine of the Jehovah's Witnesses. The Court held that Prince's free exercise right to proselytize and sell *Watchtower* did not include the right to bring her niece with her while she proselytized (*Prince v. Massachusetts*, 321 U.S. 158 [1944]).

Flag Salute. A few weeks after the *Cantwell* decision, the Court decided the first flag-salute case (*Minersville School District v. Gobitis*, 310 U.S. 586 [1940]). Justice Felix Frankfurter (1882–1965), speaking for eight of the nine members of the Court, upheld the constitutionality of a Pennsylvania law that required all public school pupils to salute the flag. As Jehovah's Witnesses, the Gobitis children refused to salute the flag on religious grounds, as instructed by their parents. The challenge to the law on free exercise grounds was rejected by the Court, which concluded that the state's interest in the promotion of national unity was sufficient to justify the law. The lone dissenter was Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone (1872–1946), who concluded that the state's justification for the law was insufficient when balanced against the individual interest in the free exercise of religion. The *Gobitis* opinion was released on June 3, 1940, at a time when World War II was raging in Europe, but before the United States had entered the war. Shortly after the decision in *Gobitis* was released for publication, and apparently in part because of the decision, anti–Jehovah's Witness hysteria gripped the country. Elite reaction to the *Gobitis* opinion was largely negative.

Three years later, the Court reversed itself (*West Virginia Board of Education v. Barnette*, 319 U.S. 624 [1943]). The Court's opinion was written by Justice Robert H. Jackson (1892–1954), who had been appointed to the Court in 1941, after the Court issued its decision in *Gobitis*. Five other members of the Court joined Jackson's opinion, including several justices who had joined the majority opinion in *Gobitis*. Jackson's opinion is a ringing, eloquent endorsement of the centrality of individual liberty in American constitutional law: "If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in matters of politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein." For the majority, freedom of speech could be restricted only if there was a grave and immediate danger

to paramount community interests. The refusal by schoolchildren to salute the American flag did not create such a danger to the state or community.

Church-Property Disputes. In the early 1950s, the New York legislature attempted to transfer control of Saint Nicholas Cathedral in New York City from members of the Russian Orthodox Church who deferred to the authority of the patriarch in Moscow to those who saw the patriarch as a puppet of the Soviet government. The Supreme Court, in an opinion by Justice Stanley Reed (1884–1980), held that this legislative effort violated the church's right to self-governance (*Kedroff v. St. Nicholas Cathedral*, 344 U.S. 94 [1952]).

From the late 1960s until the end of the 1970s, the Supreme Court decided several other cases involving church-property disputes. Doctrinal changes by several Protestant churches in the late 1960s led to religious disputes between local and national church bodies, and within local churches themselves. Those ecclesiological disputes resulted in litigation concerning the rightful owner of the local church. After several attempts to craft a constitutional rule concerning the resolution of church-property disputes, the Supreme Court in 1979 declared constitutionally permissible the resolution of disputes based on "neutral principles of law" (*Jones v. Wolf*, 443 U.S. 595 [1979]). The problem with the "neutral principles" approach, as noted by Justice Lewis Powell (1907–1998), dissenting in *Jones*, is that this rule of law fails to account for the fact that religious organizations are organized as much by religious as legal precepts. Because the neutral principles rule bars courts from acknowledging the existence of those religious precepts, courts will award title to church property contrary to the precepts that undergird the religious organization, particularly hierarchical religious organizations.

Sunday Legislation. In the early 1960s, those who observed the SABBATH on Saturday claimed that Sunday closing laws violated their religious liberty. A Sabbatarian who closed his business on Saturday for religious reasons and on Sunday because state law demanded he do so suffered adverse economic consequences compared with someone whose business remained open on Saturdays. In 1961 the Court upheld the constitutionality of Sunday closing laws against challenges on both free exercise and establishment clause grounds (*Braunfeld v. Brown*, 366 U.S. 599 [1961]). The opinion of Chief Justice Earl Warren (1891–1974) conceded that the Sunday closing law indirectly operated to make the practice of religion by Sabbatarians more expensive than those whose day of rest was Sunday, but the Court concluded that the Sunday closing laws were designed primarily to achieve legitimate secular goals. An exemption for Sabbatarians might adversely affect those secular goals by granting an economic advantage to Sabbatarians over their competitors. Such an exemption could also complicate enforcement of the Sunday closing law, inject religion into decisions concerning employment, and undermine a common day of rest. The dissenters concluded that the free exercise of religion could be infringed only to prevent a grave and imminent danger of substantive evil, and the justification of a common day of rest was a mere convenience that could not outweigh the religious liberty interest of Sabbatarians. The inequities permitted by the Court in *Braunfeld* eased as the states began repealing their Sunday closing laws. The number of Sunday closing laws retained are few, and they are rarely enforced.

The abolition of Sunday closing laws led to a different problem. Connecticut abolished its Sunday closing law in 1977. In response, Caldor, Inc., opened its stores for business on Sunday. After abolishing its Sunday closing law, Connecticut adopted a provision barring a private employer from requiring any employee to work on the employee's Sabbath as a condition of employment. Donald Thornton was a manager with Caldor, and a Presbyterian who refused to work on Sunday, his Sabbath. He was demoted to a clerical position by Caldor, resigned, and claimed he was fired in violation of Connecticut law. The Supreme Court held that the Connecticut law violated the establishment clause, because it had the primary effect of impermissibly advancing a particular religious practice (*Estate of Thornton v. Caldor, Inc.*, 472 U.S. 703 [1985]).

Unemployment Compensation. In 1963 the Court held that South Carolina could not exclude from its unemployment-compensation program a claimant who, for religious reasons, refused to take a job that required her to work on Saturdays, her Sabbath (*Sherbert v. Verner*, 374 U.S. 398 [1963]). The Court characterized the law as requiring the claimant to "choose between following the precepts of her religion and forfeiting benefits, on the one hand, and abandoning one of the precepts of her religion in order to accept work, on the other hand." This was impermissible, because the law effectively penalized the exercise of her religious beliefs. The Court held that the state could infringe the religious liberty of the claimant, Adell Sherbert, only if it had a compelling interest. The state's interest in administrative convenience and preventing fraudulent claims did not rise to the level of a compelling interest. The Court's opinion, by Justice William Brennan (1906–1997), also concluded that this case was distinguishable from *Braunfeld*.

A concurring opinion by Justice Potter Stewart (1915–1985) argued that the Court had painted itself into a corner, for its interpretation of the free exercise clause in *Sherbert* was directly in conflict with its interpretation of the establishment clause. Justice Stew-

art claimed that the Court's interpretation of the establishment clause required South Carolina to deny Adell Sherbert unemployment benefits, and the Court's interpretation of the free exercise clause required South Carolina to grant Sherbert unemployment benefits. Justice Stewart concluded that the Court's mechanistic interpretation of the establishment clause was unsound as a matter of history and wrong as a matter of constitutional interpretation.

In three subsequent unemployment-compensation cases decided in the 1980s, the Supreme Court extended the holding of *Sherbert v. Verner*. The Court first held that the state could not deny unemployment-compensation benefits to a Jehovah's Witness who left his job at a munitions factory based on his religious objections to war. That the claimant had not been fired but had left his job voluntarily made no constitutional difference to the Court (*Thomas v. Review Board*, 450 U.S. 707 [1981]). The Court then held impermissible the decision to refuse unemployment compensation to a claimant who was fired because, after working for his employer for two years, he became a Seventh-Day Adventist and then refused to work on Friday night or on Saturday, his Sabbath (*Hobbie v. Unemployment Appeals Comm'n of Florida*, 480 U.S. 136 [1987]).

Finally, the Court held that unemployment benefits were improperly denied to a claimant who refused to work on Sundays because he was a Christian. The Court concluded that it did not matter that the claimant was not a member of any particular Christian church or organization. The issue was whether the claimant's refusal to work was based on a sincerely held religious belief (*Frazee v. Illinois Department of Employment Sec.*, 489 U.S. 829 [1989]).

The extent to which the unemployment compensation cases stated a general rule of constitutional law was placed in great doubt after the Court's decision in *Employment Division v. Smith*, 494 U.S. 872 (1990), discussed below.

The Amish and Compulsory Schooling. The State of Wisconsin made it a criminal offense for parents to violate the state's compulsory school-attendance law mandating that children attend school until age sixteen. Amish parents, pursuant to their religious beliefs, removed their children from school after they completed the eighth grade. The Supreme Court, with only Justice William O. Douglas (1898–1980) dissenting in part, held that the Wisconsin law violated the free exercise rights of Amish parents (*Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 406 U.S. 205 [1972]). The Court, following the doctrine stated in *Sherbert v. Verner*, held that the right to free exercise could be infringed only upon a showing by the state that the justification for its action was compelling. The Court noted that the Amish were "productive and very law-abiding members of society," and that the Amish alternative to formal schooling, vocational training, had enabled them to survive as a highly self-sufficient community in the United States for more than two hundred years.

The Court decided that the state's interest in educating Amish schoolchildren was not compelling, but merely "highly speculative." That the state's compulsory school-attendance law was neutral on its face, for it was not directed at the Amish or any other religious group, did not make the law constitutional, because the law clearly created an undue burden on the religious practices of the Amish. Justice Douglas dissented on the ground that the Court failed to account for the interests of the children themselves, who might disagree with their parents and opt to attend high school.

Native Americans and Free Exercise. Unlike the Jehovah's Witnesses in the 1940s, Native American religious practices have not fared well before the Supreme Court. In 1986 the Court held that the assignment of a Social Security Number to a Native American child by the Social Security Administration did not violate the free exercise rights of the child or her parents (*Bowen v. Roy*, 476 U.S. 693 [1986]).

Two years later, the Supreme Court held that the free exercise clause did not bar the government from permitting the harvesting of timber or the construction of a road on federal land, even though part of that land had traditionally been used by three Native American tribes for religious worship. The majority concluded that, because the federal government's decision did not burden the religious exercise by the complaining tribes, it did not have to address whether the government's interest in harvesting the timber and building the road constituted a compelling governmental interest (*Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association*, 485 U.S. 439 [1988]). Shortly thereafter, the Supreme Court drastically altered its free exercise jurisprudence in another case concerning Native American religious exercise, *Employment Division v. Smith*, 494 U.S. 872 (1990).

Retrenchment. The continuing validity of the standards set forth in *Sherbert* and *Yoder* was called into doubt by the Supreme Court's decision in *Employment Division v. Smith*. Before *Smith*, the standard for determining a violation of the free exercise clause was to determine (1) whether the governmental action burdened the exercise of religion, and if so, (2) whether the government's reason for burdening the exercise of religion was justified by a compelling governmental interest. In *Smith*, the Court rejected that test, concluding that if the law was a neutral and generally applicable law, it did not offend the free exercise clause of the First Amendment,

even if application of that law might burden an individual's exercise of religion.

In *Smith*, the issue was the constitutionality of Oregon's criminal law prohibiting the possession or use of peyote when applied to a Native American who used peyote, a hallucinogenic drug, in religious worship. Because the criminal law was a valid and neutral law generally applicable to anyone who possessed or used peyote, the incidental effect of the law's application to someone using peyote for religious reasons did not mandate a constitutional exemption from the law. The majority, in an opinion by Justice Antonin Scalia, distinguished *Sherbert* and *Yoder*. *Sherbert* was limited to a peculiar constitutional rule concerning unemployment compensation, and *Yoder* was reinterpreted to mean that a neutral and valid generally applicable law was unconstitutional only if it violated both the free exercise clause and some other constitutional right. The Court called *Yoder*-type cases "hybrid" cases, and concluded that the issue in *Smith* was not such a case.

The academic reaction to *Smith* was widespread and largely negative. In 1993, three years after the decision was issued, Congress adopted the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA), which attempted by statute to restore the test enunciated in *Sherbert* and *Yoder*. In 1997 the Supreme Court held RFRA unconstitutional, as a violation of section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment (*City of Boerne v. Flores*, 521 U.S. 507 [1997]). In reaction, Congress enacted the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act in 2000. This act provides numerous protections to religious owners of property in such areas as zoning and land use, although Congress tried to do so to comport with the establishment clause. Several states have adopted "mini-RFRAs," which protect religious liberty as a matter of state law. The constitutionality of those "mini-RFRAs" has not been tested in most states.

The Relation of Free Exercise and Free Speech. The exercise of religion often involves speech. The Supreme Court wrestled with the relation of the free exercise, free speech, and establishment clauses in several cases during the 1980s and 1990s.

The University of Missouri at Kansas City allowed registered student groups to use generally available facilities for meetings. In the late 1970s, the university refused to allow a registered religious group named Cornerstone to use its facilities after the Board of Curators prohibited the use of university property for religious worship or religious teaching. The Court held that barring a registered student group from using a generally available facility because the group was religious constituted impermissible discrimination on the basis of the content of the group's speech (i.e., that its speech was religious in nature). Further, the university's "equal access" policy, granting to registered groups the right to use open rooms, did not raise establishment clause concerns, because the university did not place its imprimatur of approval on the religious activities of Cornerstone, nor did it attempt to advance religion by creating an open forum (*Widmar v. Vincent*, 454 U.S. 263 (1981]).

Shortly after *Widmar*, Congress adopted the Equal Access Act (1984), which prohibited high schools from refusing access to religious and philosophical groups if the school granted access to other noncurricular groups. The Court held the Equal Access Act constitutional in *Board of Education v. Mergens*, 496 U.S. 296 (1990). In 1993 the Supreme Court held that a school district violated the free speech clause of the First Amendment by denying a church access to school premises to show a film after school hours solely because the film dealt with a subject from a religious standpoint. The Court held that allowing the church access to school premises would not have amounted to an establishment of religion (*Lamb's Chapel v. Center Moriches Union Free School District*, 508 U.S. 384 [1993]).

In *Good News Club v. Milford Central School*, 533 U.S. 98 (2001), a closely divided Supreme Court held that the refusal of a public school district to permit a religious organization to use its facilities after school hours because the organization was teaching moral lessons from a Christian perspective through live storytelling and prayer constituted viewpoint discrimination in violation of the free speech clause. The Court considered apposite the decision in *Lamb's Chapel*, because the only difference between the two cases was the inconsequential distinction that in the former case, religious and moral lessons were taught through films; in the latter case, those lessons were taught through storytelling and prayers.

The Court returned to the issue of the relation of religion and speech in two cases in 1995. In *Capitol Square Review & Advisory Board v. Pinette*, 515 U.S. 753 (1995), the issue concerned the constitutionality of the government's refusal to allow the unattended display of a cross in a public forum. A closely divided Court held that private religious speech was fully protected by the free speech clause of the First Amendment. The board's refusal to allow the display of the cross was unconstitutional. The dissenters argued that the establishment clause should be interpreted to create a strong presumption against the installation of unattended religious symbols on public property.

In the second case, *Rosenberger v. Rectors and Visitors of the University of Virginia*, 515 U.S. 819 (1995), the University of Virginia refused to pay for the printing costs of a newspaper printed by a recognized student organization because the paper "primarily promotes or manifests a particular belie[f] in or about a deity or an

ultimate reality." This, the university claimed, violated the establishment clause. The divided Court held that, because the university's decision discriminated against the student organization on the basis of the organization's viewpoint (e.g., that there is a God), the university violated the free speech clause. Paying for the printing costs of the paper did not violate the establishment clause because the university's reimbursement scheme was neutral toward religion, neither advancing nor inhibiting religion by its action in paying for the printing costs of a paper distributed by a student organization recognized by the university. The dissenters claimed that the establishment clause required some justification beyond "evenhandedness." Direct funding of sectarian activities was inconsistent with the establishment clause, even if the funding was undertaken as a matter of evenhandedness.

The Supreme Court remains closely divided on the interpretation of the free exercise clause, and on the application of the free speech clause to religious speech. It appears unlikely that this division will heal any time soon.

Religious Establishment. Since the Supreme Court first applied the establishment clause in 1947 to state as well as federal action, it has regularly attempted to mark the proper boundary between religion and government interaction. As discussed more fully below, the Court has rarely reached consensus about the proper interpretation of the establishment clause. This has meant a bewildering array of cases and "tests" about the establishment clause. Those who read the Court's establishment clause decisions often leave befuddled and frustrated, for the members of the Court begin with widely differing premises, which often lead the justices to diametrically opposed positions.

The more the Supreme Court has decided establishment clause cases, the wider the circle of types of cases it has decided. Since the mid-twentieth century, however, the Court has focused on the interaction between government and religion in the field of education, both public education and religious education. Those parents who send their children to public schools are often of many different faiths, or of no religious faith. From 1947 to the present, the Supreme Court has issued a number of rulings attempting to demarcate the constitutional boundaries imposed on public school officials when claims of religious establishment are raised. For those parents who send their children to religious schools, the recurring question is the extent to which the state may pay, either directly or indirectly, for any costs attributable to that religious education. The result, after more than sixty years of effort, is a muddle. The Supreme Court, as discussed below, has offered a number of different "tests" concerning the meaning of religious establishments, and the current state of the law is largely a mess.

Public Transportation. The first modern case decided by the Supreme Court was *Everson v. Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1 (1947). A New Jersey township school board, acting pursuant to state law, reimbursed parents for the cost of sending their children to local parochial schools on municipal buses. A severely divided Court held that, though the actions of the school board were subject to the constraints of the establishment clause, the reimbursement scheme did not violate that clause.

Both the majority in *Everson*, in an opinion by Justice Hugo Black (1886–1971), and the dissent, in an opinion by Justice Wiley Rutledge (1894–1949), agreed that the clause against an establishment of religion was intended to erect "a wall of separation between Church and State." The unanimous adoption of Thomas Jefferson's "separationist" standard (which he crafted while president in a January 1, 1802, letter to the Danbury Baptist Association) masked the marked disagreement about the application of the "wall of separation" to the township's reimbursement scheme. The five-man majority concluded that spending tax monies to pay for the transportation of schoolchildren to parochial schools was part of a general program helping all children make their way to school. For the majority, these services were "indisputably marked off from the religious function" of the schools. Consequently, the government was not supporting the religious schools, but merely helping parents get their children, regardless of their religion, to school. The four dissenters concluded that paying the transportation costs to and from parochial school aided those parents and children "in a substantial way" in obtaining religious training, which they concluded was barred by the establishment clause.

The central difficulty with *Everson* was the implicit conflict between the claim that "absolute" separation was required between church and state, and the conclusion that the public transportation of schoolchildren was a permissible welfare measure. The effort by the majority to avoid this conflict by focusing on the fact that the benefit was not to the parochial school, but to the child attending the parochial school (the "child benefit" theory), merely removed the conflict one step. Arguably, the parochial school was the ultimate beneficiary, even though the money was given to the parents of the schoolchildren rather than to the school itself. Justice Rutledge made this very argument in dissent in *Everson*, claiming that "it cannot be said that the cost of transportation is no part of the cost of education or of the religious instruction given." Consequently, concluded the dissent, the reimbursement scheme violated the required separation of church and state. The five-to-four division in *Everson* was a harbinger of what was to come.

Released Time. One year after *Everson*, the Court held unconstitutional a released-time program in the Champaign, Illinois, school district (*Illinois* ex rel. *McCollum v. Board of Education*, 333 U.S. 203 [1948]). Students in this public school district were given religious instruction for thirty to forty-five minutes per week in their schools if their parents requested such instruction. Those who were not given religious instruction left their classrooms for secular instruction elsewhere. Again speaking for the Court, Justice Black held the program unconstitutional. Justice Black concluded that the public school system could not be used to aid religion. The only dissenter, Justice Stanley Reed, concluded that, based on custom and particular historical practices (e.g., military chaplains, prayer in public schools), this aid to religion was consistent with the principle of religious liberty. Justice Reed also criticized the Court's reliance on the "wall of separation of church and state" metaphor, claiming that, "a rule of law should not be drawn from a figure of speech."

Four years later, the Court softened its position on released time, holding constitutional a New York City program in which public school children were released from their schools to attend religious instruction off school property during the school day (*Zorach v. Clauson*, 343 U.S. 306 [1952]). Justice Douglas's majority opinion included the statement, "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being," and held that the principle of separation was modified by the principle of neutrality toward religion. Otherwise, the principle of separation led to hostility between religion and the state. Justice Black dissented, finding no difference between the Illinois and New York programs.

The Court, with the exception of the two church-property cases discussed above, then remained silent concerning religion for nearly a decade. After holding Sunday closing laws constitutional against both free exercise and establishment clause challenges, the Court held impermissible a Maryland constitutional requirement that public officials declare a belief in God, on the ground that the provision was a religious test for office (*Torcaso v. Watkins*, 367 U.S. 488 [1961]). Within two years, the Court created a firestorm with its decisions in two public school-prayer cases.

State Prescribed Prayer. New York regents recommended that public schoolchildren recite the following prayer at the beginning of the school day: "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country." For the Court, Justice Black held that the recommended prayer violated the establishment clause because it was composed by state officials and was designed to advance religious beliefs (*Engel v. Vitale*, 370 U.S. 421 [1962]). The next year, the Court held unconstitutional an officially sponsored reading of the Bible and the recitation of the LORD'S PRAYER at the beginning of the public school day (*Abington School District v. Schempp*, 374 U.S. 203 [1963]). Although both decisions relied heavily on Jefferson's "wall of separation" metaphor as the touchstone for understanding the meaning of the establishment clause, the Court suggested a more particularized approach to determining the constitutionality of government actions that were challenged pursuant to that clause. In his opinion for the Court in *Schempp*, Justice Tom Clark (1899–1977) held that the government's action must have (1) a secular purpose and (2) a primary effect that neither advanced nor inhibited religion.

The Court's decisions were largely unpopular with the public and with Congress. A number of unsuccessful efforts to overturn the school-prayer decisions by constitutional amendment have been initiated by members of Congress since 1963. The public clamor for reversal of school-prayer decisions subsided over time, which may be attributed in part to grudging acceptance of the decision and to the fact that public school officials in some areas of the United States refused to acknowledge the decisions, and continued to condone the saying of prayers in school.

The Supreme Court did not return to the issue of prayers in public schools for nearly two decades. In 1980 the Court held that the posting of the Ten Commandments in public school classrooms violated the establishment clause because there existed no secular purpose in doing so (*Stone v. Graham*, 449 U.S. 39 [1980]). Five years later, the Supreme Court held unconstitutional an Alabama law authorizing a moment of silence "for meditation and voluntary prayer" at the beginning of the public school day. The Court noted that the sole purpose for the law was the nonsecular purpose of returning voluntary prayer to the public school (*Wallace v. Jaffree*, 472 U.S. 38 [1985]). Five members of the Court concluded that some moment-of-silence laws were constitutional, although they disagreed about the constitutionality of Alabama's law.

A number of states have since adopted moment-of-silence statutes that meet the secular-purpose standard. In 1992 the Court barred invocation and benediction prayers at public school graduation ceremonies if they were part of the official school graduation ceremony (*Lee v. Weisman*, 505 U.S. 577 [1992]). The majority opinion in *Lee* was written by Justice Anthony Kennedy. Justice Kennedy's opinion suggested that because the graduation prayers bore the imprint of the government, and because students in effect were obliged to attend graduation, the saying of those prayers required students to participate in a religious exercise, which the establishment clause forbids.

The emphasis by the Court on the official nature of the prayers led some student groups to attempt to eliminate any official sanction for an invocation and a benediction by placing the authority to include prayers at graduation with the graduating class rather than school officials. The Court appeared to respond in part to this effort in *Santa Fe Independent School District v. Doe*, 530 U.S. 290 (2000), in which it held unconstitutional a public school district policy concerning student-led prayers given before high school football games. The Court's opinion, written by Justice Kennedy, concluded that though nothing in the Constitution forbade a public school student from praying voluntarily before, during, or after school, if the government affirmatively sponsors the practice of prayer, it violates the establishment clause.

Evolution and Public Schools. In 1925 John Scopes (1900–1970) was convicted for teaching the theory of evolution in a Tennessee public school, contrary to state law, although it was almost certain that Scopes did not teach evolution. The trial was a circus, taking place over eight days, but culminating in a mere one hour of testimony. The conviction was reversed based on a legal fiction, but the "lesson" of the trial, according to the press, was that the forces of progress (secular modernism) had routed the forces of superstition (religious fundamentalism). Although the trial ended most efforts in the states to adopt antievolution laws, textbook publishers began reducing or even eliminating references to evolution in biology textbooks to avoid controversy.

The issue would not arise again until the 1960s. In *Epperson v. Arkansas*, 393 U.S. 97 (1968), the Supreme Court held unconstitutional Arkansas' antievolution statute, calling it a "quixotic prohibition." Those opposed to the teaching of evolution responded to *Epperson* by lobbying local and state boards of education to require biology textbooks to label evolution a theory and to require the teaching of creationism if evolution was taught in the public school. The State of Louisiana later passed a law barring the teaching of evolution unless the school also taught creation science. In *Edwards v. Aguillard*, 482 U.S. 578 (1987), the Supreme Court held that this law lacked a secular purpose, and thus violated the establishment clause.

Governmental Aid and Private and Parochial Schools. The importance of education in the modern world has been clear to governmental bodies for some time. Since World War II, both the federal and state governments have passed laws attempting to enhance learning in both public and private schools, from elementary school through graduate studies. Laws that provide money either to students who attend (or hope to attend) a religiously affiliated school, or to the school itself, have been regularly challenged since the late 1960s. The Court has been a model of inconsistency, first creating nearly insuperable barriers to governmental aid that affects religious educational institutions, and then relaxing those barriers. It has largely done so through a multipronged establishment clause test, the so-called *Lemon* test.

In 1971, in *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602, the Supreme Court held that state laws providing salary supplements to teachers in religious schools and reimbursing religious schools for some costs attributable to the teaching of secular subjects violated the establishment clause. The Court, in an opinion by Chief Justice Warren Burger (1907–1995), retreated from the separationist standard first enunciated in *Everson*, noting that the language of the religion clauses "is at best opaque," and that "the line of separation, far from being a 'wall,' is a blurred, indistinct, and variable barrier depending on all the circumstances of a particular relationship." In place of the wall of separation, the Court offered a three-pronged test of constitutionality: (1) the law must have a secular purpose; (2) the principal or primary effect of the law must neither advance nor inhibit religion; and (3) the statute must not foster an excessive entanglement by government with religion.

The first two prongs of this test were taken from *Schempp*, the second school-prayer case; the last prong was taken from *Walz v. Tax Commission*, 397 U.S. 664 (1970), which held constitutional a property-tax exemption available to religious organizations for property used for worship. Because the proper governmental oversight of the programs created an excessive entanglement between government and religion, the state laws were unconstitutional. Although the Court retreated from the separationist standard, and attempted to replace it with a standard of religious "neutrality" or religious "accommodation," the *Lemon* test was a severe challenge to those who believed the relation between government and religious educational institutions was too strained and hostile.

Including its decision in *Everson*, the Supreme Court has decided at least twenty cases concerning the constitutionality of aid that may, directly or indirectly, assist religious schools. The result is a foray into a byzantine world. The Court initially made a distinction between aid that flowed to religious institutions involved in higher education and aid to religious elementary and high schools. Because the former were not considered "pervasively sectarian," aid to religiously affiliated colleges and universities was permissible because there was little fear of excessive entanglement between religion and government (*Tilton v. Richardson*, 403 U.S. 672 [1971]; *Hunt v. McNair*, 413 U.S. 734 [1973]; *Roemer v. Board of Public Works*, 426 U.S. 736 [1976]). Students in religious elementary and high schools could be lent

textbooks by the state (*Board of Education v. Allen*, 392 U.S. 236 [1968]), but not globes, maps, or audiovisual equipment (*Meek v. Pittenger*, 421 U.S. 349 [1975]; *Wolman v. Walter*, 433 U.S. 229 [1977]).

In 2000 a divided Court overruled *Meek* and *Wolman*, permitting governmental agencies to lend educational materials and equipment to private and religious schools (*Mitchell v. Helms*, 530 U.S. 793 [2000]). Although there is some evidence that the Court has retreated on the higher education/compulsory education dichotomy, some justices continue to argue for its strict enforcement. Parents may take a tax deduction for educational expenses incurred in sending their children to school (*Mueller v. Allen*, 463 U.S. 388 [1983]), and a handicapped student may use state tuition funds to attend a higher religious institution (*Witters v. Washington Department of Services for the Blind*, 474 U.S. 481 [1986]), but parents cannot receive tuition tax credits for sending their children to religious schools (*Committee for Public Education v. Nyquist*, 413 U.S. 756 [1973]). The government may not pay for teachers to provide remedial education for poor children if it takes place at a religious school (*Aguilar v. Felton*, 473 U.S. 402 [1986]), but the government may pay for an on-premises sign-language interpreter who aids a deaf child attending a religious school (*Zobrest v. Catalina Hills School District*, 509 U.S. 1 [1993]).

An issue the Supreme Court had studiously avoided for a number of years is the constitutionality of a voucher system, in which the state issues an educational voucher that may be redeemed by students at either a public or private school. State and lower federal courts addressing this issue had reached contrary results. In *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris*, 536 U.S. 639 (2002), however, the Supreme Court, in a five-to-four decision, upheld the constitutionality of educational voucher systems that can pass a five-part test demonstrating their secular purpose and nature.

Additional Approaches to Interpreting the Establishment Clause. In 1789 each house of Congress hired a chaplain to pray at the opening of the legislative day. In 1983 the Supreme Court decided a case concerning the constitutionality of the State of Nebraska's practice of opening each legislative day with a prayer by a chaplain paid by the state. The Court held that the "unique history" of the practice of hiring government-paid chaplains led it to conclude that the practice did not violate the law because the founders did not believe that the practice violated the First Amendment. The Court ignored the *Lemon* test in favor of this "historical practices" test, which the dissenters claimed was because application of *Lemon* would have resulted in a contrary result (*Marsh v. Chambers*, 463 U.S. 783 [1983]).

The next year, in a concurring opinion, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor suggested a revised test for the establishment clause, the "endorsement" test. This test focuses attention on whether the government's action had made adherence to religion relevant to the person's standing in the community (*Lynch v. Donnelly*, 465 U.S. 668 [1984]).

In 1989 the Court's jurisprudence disintegrated. The issues before the Court were whether (1) the placement of a crèche on the grand staircase of the Allegheny County Courthouse in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and (2) the placement of a menorah next to a Christmas tree and a sign saluting liberty on public property next to Pittsburgh's City-County Building were impermissible establishments of religion. No opinion garnered a majority of the Court. Varying coalitions held that the former was unconstitutional but the latter was constitutional. The constitutional difference between the two displays was either that the crèche solely promoted a religious message while the menorah, tree, and sign promoted a secular message (the opinion of Justice Harry Blackmun [1908–1999]) or that the crèche solely promoted a religious message while the menorah, tree, and sign promoted a message of pluralism and freedom of belief during the holiday season and did not endorse Judaism or religion in general (the opinion of Justice O'Connor). Justice Brennan concluded that both displays favored religion, and the establishment clause forbade any governmental action that favored religion over nonreligion. Justice Kennedy concluded that both displays were constitutional, because the government did not coerce anyone to support or participate in any religion or its exercise (*County of Allegheny v. American Civil Liberties Union*, 492 U.S. 573 [1989]).

The Supreme Court has never overturned the *Lemon* test, although it has been the subject of repeated criticism by justices and legal commentators. The endorsement test suggested by Justice O'Connor has been incorporated by some justices into the "primary effect" prong of *Lemon*, and used independently of *Lemon* by Justice O'Connor and other justices. To determine whether some action of government is an endorsement of religion, the proper perspective is that of the reasonable observer, who is understood to be well-informed. A minority of justices consider coercion the proper test of an establishment clause violation. For those justices, the establishment clause is violated only when the government attempts to coerce an individual's religious liberty. A different minority of justices urge a return to the wall of separation, particularly in cases in which aid flows to one or more religious organizations. The former group is more "accommodationist" in its treatment of the relation of government and religion, and the latter is more "separationist" in its understanding of that relationship.

The establishment clause has become one of those fissures in American society that gave rise to the phrase "culture wars." Like much of society, the Court is badly divided about the fundamental principles that guide interpretation of the establishment clause. This division among the Court, which will probably continue for some time, makes clarity in this area of law extremely unlikely.

SEE ALSO EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (HIGHER) IN THE UNITED STATES; EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (K THROUGH 12) IN THE UNITED STATES; FREEDOM OF RELIGION (IN U.S. CONSTITUTION).

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V. NEW CONTROVERSIES (2001–2009)

The first decade of the twenty-first century did not achieve clarity in the thorny questions of church-state relations in the U.S. legal system. Supreme Court cases in this decade reflected both an ideological split in the Court and a tenuous attempt to harmonize the often conflicting free exercise and establishment clauses cases of the late twentieth century. As new social questions inflamed American society, legislatures and courts expressed reluctance to allow moral considerations rooted in religious tradition to play a role, fearing the imposition of denominational views onto a secularized polity. Nevertheless, the Catholic Church, enlivened by the pastoral leadership of Pope JOHN PAUL II, proposed firm answers to questions of church-state relations and public MORALITY.

Supreme Court Church-State Cases. Several Supreme Court cases, in decisions that were often decided by the slimmest majority of five justices to four, seemed to question the possibility both of the constitutionality of morals legislation and the presence of the church in public life. For example, in the case of *Lawrence v. Texas*, 539 U.S. 558 (2003), the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated a Texas law that proscribed sodomy. The Court rejected the notion that the state could regulate private sexual conduct, an essentially libertarian view that threatened the existence of hundreds of years of morals legislation. Other decisions seemed to reflect a hostility to religion in public life. In *Elk Grove Unified School District v. Newdow*, 542 U.S. 1 (2004), the Court failed to take advantage of an opportunity to examine the substance of a decision of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals finding recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance in schools unconstitutional for its mention of "God."

The seemingly contradictory elements of the Court's jurisprudence were demonstrated in two religious display cases, *Van Orden v. Perry*, 545 U.S. 677 (2005), and *McCreary County v. ACLU of Kentucky*, 545 U.S. 844 (2005), in which the Court reached seemingly opposite conclusions regarding the permissibility of displaying the Ten Commandments on government property. In *Locke v. Davey*, 540 U.S. 712 (2004), the Court permitted the exclusion of college theology majors from receiving state scholarships open to all other students. In *Cutter v. Wilkinson*, 544 U.S. 709 (2005), the Court upheld certain portions of the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act of 2000.

New Social Questions. Both technology and changing norms raised new social questions in twenty-first-century America. From the perspective of the legal system, there seemed little confidence in the ability to discover a fundamental moral basis that could shed light on these questions. With the rapid growth of new technologies for in vitro fertilization, surrogate motherhood, embryo stem-cell research, and human reproduction, the reaction of the U.S. Congress and state legislatures was often seemingly no reaction at all. Adopting the position that these were purely private matters, the legal system left this new world of reproductive technology virtually unregulated, even though these technologies raised fundamental questions of human life. Many Americans took the position that for the law to take a position on these issues was to impose a religious set of values on others and break down the wall between church and state.

In the name of promoting the autonomy of the individual, state courts in California, Connecticut, Iowa, Massachusetts, and New Jersey struck down laws defining marriage as a union of a man and a woman, commanding their states to legalize same-sex marriage. These high state courts found offensive the traditional role of religion and public morality in defining marriage. The courts determined that marriage was a purely secular institution; the state created and had exclusive control over marriage. This modern jurisprudence rejected the traditional notion that the marriage of a man and a woman was an independent reality, which both the state and church had a role in regulating, but which neither state nor church could dominate. For example, the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court in the case of *Goodridge v. Dept. of Public Health*, 798 N.E. 2d 941 (Mass. 2003), refused for "historical, cultural, religious, or other reasons [to] permit the state to impose limits on personal beliefs concerning whom a person should marry."

The Catholic Response. The Catholic Church responded to what it deemed to be confusion over the proper role of religion and morality in the legal system in various ways. Two important documents can be noted here. On November 24, 2002, the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith promulgated a *Doctrinal Note on Some Questions Regarding the Participation of Catholics in Political Life*. Perhaps motivated by the stream of controversies concerning American politicians who spoke of a divide between their private religious beliefs and their public obligations, the *Doctrinal Note* is a clarion call for reconnecting politics and morality. Significantly, the note begins with the faithful example of St. Thomas MORE, lord chancellor and MARTYR of Tudor England, who had recently been proclaimed patron of statesmen and politicians by Pope John Paul II. The note decries a RELATIVISM that refuses a role for the principles of the natural moral law in modern democracies. While celebrating the legitimate freedom of Catholic citizens in political questions, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith identifies several contemporary social questions that demand the adherence of Christians to fundamental ethical demands. These questions include ABORTION, EUTHANASIA, and embryonic research, where the law must protect the basic right of life from birth to natural death; the right of religious freedom; the desire to make peace over war; the scourge of drug abuse and PROSTITUTION, which can be a form of enslaving the young; and the necessity for legal protection for the family based in marriage, as defined as a monogamous, lifelong bond between a man and a woman.

On the last point, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith promulgated a related note on June 3, 2003, on *Considerations Regarding Proposals to Give Legal Recognition to Unions between Homosexual Persons*. In this document, the Congregation insisted on the obligation of the state to defend marriage as an institution essential for the common good and to reject the legalization of unions between persons of the same sex as contrary to biological and anthropological norms as determined by right reason. The Congregation therefore insisted that Catholic politicians are obligated to vote against laws recognizing same-sex unions on the same level as marriage.

Although the force of these documents was blunted by the sad controversies surrounding clerical sexual abuse of minors, the Church had spoken to present controversies with a confidence that seemed lacking in many other established institutions. In the end, the Catholic Church once more insisted that there could be no separation of church and state that relieved the individual and society of acting according to moral strictures written on the human heart.

SEE ALSO FREEDOM OF RELIGION (IN U.S. CONSTITUTION).

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CISZEK, WALTER J.

Priest and missionary, Society of Jesus (JESUITS); b. November 4, 1904, Shenandoah, Pa.; d. December 8, 1984, New York City.

Walter Ciszek was a Jesuit priest of Polish-American descent who responded to the appeal of Pope PIUS XI for missionaries to go to Communist Russia. After studies at the newly founded Russicum in Rome, he was ordained in 1937 in the Byzantine Rite and sent the following year to the Jesuit mission in Albertyn in eastern Poland. With the outbreak of war in 1939 and the occupation of eastern Poland by the Soviet Union, he saw an opportunity to enter Russia and begin the work for which he had been trained. He received permission from Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky of Lvov to join the many refugees heading east in search of work and to cross the border under an assumed name (Wladimir Lypinski). For a year he worked secretly as a priest while serving as an unskilled laborer in the logging town of Chusovoy in the Ural Mountains. In 1941, however, he was arrested on the charge of espionage on behalf of the Vatican and confined for five years in Lubyanka Prison in Moscow, mostly in solitary confinement. On the basis of a confession that he signed under severe torture in 1942, he was convicted of espionage and sentence to fifteen years of hard labor. In 1946 he was transferred to Norilsk in Siberia, some ten degrees north of the Arctic Circle, where he worked shoveling coal into freighters and later in the coal mines and ore processing plants.

During his imprisonment and then after his release in 1955 (with three years off for having successfully met his work quotas), he persevered in his priestly work of offering Mass when he could, hearing confessions, and even conducting retreats. Although restricted to the general area of Norilsk, he developed a number of underground parishes and met with tremendous response there from people long deprived of any possibility of practicing their religion. His family and the Society of Jesus presumed him dead until he was allowed to write to his sisters in the United States for the first time in 1955. When the KGB forced him to relocate a hundred miles to the south in Krasnoyarsk, he established several secret mission parishes there. When they were discovered, the KGB moved him to Abakan, where he worked for four years as an automobile mechanic, and clandestinely as a priest. In October 1963 the Soviet government exchanged him and an American student for two captured Soviet agents.

Upon his return to the United States, he worked until his death in 1984 as a spiritual director and counselor in the Bronx at the John XXIII Center sponsored by Fordham University for Eastern Christian studies. During that time he authored two books: a memoir entitled *With God in Russia*, which recounts many of the details of his experience and the situation in the Soviet Union at the time; and a spiritual autobiography called *He Leadeth Me*, which reflects on his inner struggles—both the failures and the successes—and interprets his experience in light of the Gospels and such foundational Jesuit documents as the *Spiritual Exercises.* He is buried in the Jesuit Cemetery in Wernersville, Pennsylvania. Mother Marija Shields, O.C.D., the superior of a Ruthenian Rite Carmelite convent that Ciszek helped to found, began to petition for his canonization in 1985, and in 1990 Bishop Michael J. Dudick of the Eparchy of Passaic, New Jersey, began the formal diocesan process seeking official recognition for his sanctity. His cause is now under the patronage of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Allentown, Pennsylvania, and he is considered a Servant of God.

According to his spiritual autobiography, the day he capitulated and signed the admission of being a spy was one of the darkest moments of his existence. But from that darkness he felt drawn to a profound conversion and committed himself thereafter "always to do the will of God" (*He Leadeth Me*, p. 73). His extant letters, tape-recordings of some of his lectures, and other materials are available through the Father Walter Ciszek Prayer League, located at 231 North Jardin Street in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania.

SEE ALSO COMMUNISM; DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; RUSSIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; SPIRITUAL EXERCISES.

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CLARKE, W. NORRIS

Jesuit priest, professor, writer, editor; b. June 1, 1915, New York City, N.Y.; d. June 10, 2008, Bronx, N.Y.

William Norris Clarke, S.J., entered the Society of Jesus at the novitiate of St. Andrew-on-Hudson in Poughkeepsie, New York, on August 14, 1933, after two years of study at GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY in Washington, D.C. From 1936 to 1939 he studied PHI-

LOSOPHY at the Collège St. Louis on the Isle of Jersey in the English Channel and then earned an M.A. in Philosophy at Fordham University in Bronx, New York, in 1940 under Professor Anton PEGIS. He taught for two years as a Jesuit regent at Loyola College in Baltimore, Maryland, before studying THEOLOGY at Woodstock College in Maryland and being ordained a Jesuit priest in 1945. In 1950 he completed his Ph.D. at the Université Catholique de Louvain, where he studied under the neo-Thomists Fernand VAN STEENBERGHEN and Louis DE RAEYMAEKER and wrote a dissertation on "The Principle Actus non limitatur nisi per potentiam [Act is only limited by potency]: Its Sources and Meaning in St. Thomas." After teaching at Woodstock College and at Bellarmine College in Plattsburg, New York, he joined the faculty of the philosophy department at Fordham University, where he taught from 1955 until his retirement in 1985 and occasionally thereafter as a professor emeritus when he was not serving as a visiting professor at such institutions as Santa Clara University, VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY, Xavier University, the University of San Francisco, the Immaculate Conception Seminary at Seton Hall University, the Franciscan University of Steubenville, Canisius College, John Carroll University, Wheeling Jesuit University (West Virginia), the University College Dublin, and the Ateneo de Manila in the Philippines.

With a number of his fellow JESUITS, Father Clarke founded the International Philosophical Quarterly and served as its first editor-in-chief from 1961 to 1985. Active in many scholarly associations, he was president of the Jesuit Philosophical Association of North America from 1960 to 1961, president of the Metaphysical Society of America in 1968, president of the American Catholic Philosophical Association in 1969, and president of the International St. Thomas Society from 1996 to 2008. He received the Aquinas Medal from the American Catholic Philosophical Association in 1980, the same year that he received Fordham's Outstanding Teaching Award. In 1982 he was presented with an honorary Doctor of Laws degree by Villanova University, and in 1993 Wheeling Jesuit bestowed on him an honorary Doctor of Humanities degree.

The author of over seventy articles, Father Clarke also published six books during his life: *Authority and Private Judgment*; *The Philosophical Approach to God: A Contemporary Neo-Thomist Perspective*; with Gerald A. McCool, S.J., *The Universe as Journey: Conversations with W. Norris Clarke, S.J.*; *Person and Being*; *Explorations in Metaphysics: Being–God–Person*; and *The One and the Many: A Contemporary Thomistic Metaphysics*. A posthumous collection of his essays titled *The Creative Retrieval of Saint Thomas Aquinas: Essays in Thomistic Philosophy, New and Old* was published by Fordham University Press in 2009.

From his earliest philosophical training under the metaphysician André Marc, S.J., on the Isle of Jersey; Father Clarke regarded himself as a Thomist. From his reading of Joseph MARÉCHAL's *Le Point de départ de la métaphysique* (The starting point of metaphysics), he acquired an appreciation for the innate DYNAMISM of the human INTELLECT toward the Infinite, and from Maurice BLONDEL's *L'Action* (Action), a sense of the complementary dynamism of the human WILL toward the GOOD. After his experience with Anton Pegis at Fordham, Clarke began to call himself an "existential Thomist" in the tradition of Etienne GILSON's *Le thomisme* and its emphasis on the centrality of *esse* as the act of existence for understanding God and all of CREATION. His own doctoral dissertation stressed the diversification of *esse* (being) by various modes of limiting ESSENCE. From van Steenberghen and de Raeymaeker at Louvain and from his reading in the works of such Thomists as Cornelius Fabro (1911–1995), Louis Geiger (1906–1983), and Joseph de Finance, he came to understand Thomistic METAPHYSICS as an original synthesis of ARISTOTLE and NEOPLATONISM. His seminal articles on this topic include "The Limitation of Act by Potency: Aristotelianism or Neoplatonism?" (1952) and "The Meaning of Participation in Aquinas" (1952).

Intrigued by the PERSONALISM of such thinkers as Emmanuel MOUNIER, Gabriel MARCEL, Martin BUBER, Maurice Nédoncelle (1905–1976), and John MacMurray (1891–1976), Clarke embarked on his own creative synthesis between traditional Thomism and other schools of philosophy, including interpersonal PHENOMENOLOGY and process metaphysics. His central concept for contributing to the work of what he liked to call "Thomistic personalism" has been the notion of the human person as substance-in-relation, an idea by which he offered an ontological ground for the dynamism of personal substance considered as a unifying center for its many relationships through time as well as for its self-identity. In articles such as "Interpersonal Dialogue as Key to Realism" (1975) and "The 'We Are' of Interpersonal Dialogue as the Starting Point of Metaphysics" (1992), one finds his development of the idea of interpersonal dialogue as an argument against SKEPTICISM and as a novel approach to the traditional problems of metaphysics.

Father Clarke's native openness to the novel did not preclude a critical dimension to his work. Among his more trenchant philosophical articles one finds his sober critiques of Buddhist denials of the SELF, post-modern repudiations of natural theology such as found in the

work of John Caputo (1940–), and attacks on the use of metaphysics in classical statements of CHRISTIAN theology by proponents of historical consciousness such as the theologian Roger Haight.

An avuncular storyteller, Father Clarke's lectures invariably wove together lofty themes of metaphysics with intellectual autobiography under the image of "life's journey." Ever interested in new ideas and ways of seeing things differently than his own, Father Clarke contributed not only the insights achieved through efforts at the "creative retrieval" of AQUINAS by placing him in conversation with some other schools of philosophy but also the education of many minds and the spiritual care of many souls as a Jesuit priest.

SEE ALSO LOUVAIN, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF; NEOSCHOLASTICISM AND NEOTHOMISM; PERSON (IN PHILOSOPHY); THEOLOGY, NATURAL; THOMISM.

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COLD WAR AND THE PAPACY

The papacy played a key role in the opening and closing of the Cold War, as well as the collapse of the communist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Papal opposition to communism was long-standing. During the course of the nineteenth century, a series of popes—from GREGORY XVI (1831–1846) to LEO XIII (1878–1903)—denounced this ideology as contrary to Catholic beliefs and branded it a threat to the Christian community. Following the outbreak of World War I in 1914 and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, Pope BENEDICT XV (1914–1922) opposed the Soviet state, which preached atheism and waged war upon organized religion in general, and the Catholic Church in particular. Catholic concerns were also revealed in 1917 in the apparitions of Fátima, Portugal, where Mary was said to have appeared and invoked prayers for the conversion of Russia. But neither prayers nor the limited intervention of the European powers, Japan, and the United States could overturn the Soviet regime, which threatened a broader revolutionary upheaval.

Eugenio Pacelli, the papal nuncio in Munich and the future Pope PIUS XII (1939–1958), had to confront communist insurgents personally during the Spartacist revolt in Bavaria in 1919. Ambrogio Achille Ratti, the future Pope PIUS XI (1922–1939), who was nuncio in Warsaw, faced the prospect of a Soviet attack upon the Polish capital in 1920. When he became pope, Pius XI lamented the anticlerical measures adopted by Moscow and tried unsuccessfully to negotiate with its revolutionary regime. At the end of 1924, the frustrated pontiff renewed his protests against the Soviet attacks upon religion, stressing the grave danger presented by communism. Pius XI hoped that divine providence would intervene and provoke the collapse of what he perceived to be a pseudo-religious faith. When this did not occur, he invoked prayers of atonement for the outrages against religion perpetrated in the Soviet Union. His opposition to these abuses was cataloged in his 1937 encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* (On Atheistic Communism), which condemned this movement as subversive of Christian culture. Pacelli, who served as papal secretary of state from 1930 to 1939, shared the



The Aftermath of World War II. *Pope Pius XII appears behind microphones during a radio broadcast from the Vatican in November 1947. The Pope commended the American people for their efforts to save food for war-torn Europe.* **AP IMAGES**

papal concern and approved this condemnation of communism.

Pius XII's Reaction to Communism, 1939–1945. Pacelli assumed the tiara in 1939, when Europe was on the brink of another world war. Despite concordats or agreements with Mussolini's Italy in 1929 and Hitler's Germany in 1933, the harassment of the Church continued in these countries as well as in the Soviet Union. In October 1939, Pius XII issued his first encyclical letter *Summi pontificatus* (On the Unity of Human Society), which condemned the claims of absolute state authority and indirectly denounced the totalitarianism of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. While critical of both regimes, Pius apparently deemed the frontal assault by communist states upon organized religion more serious than the indirect Nazi attacks. Another important difference, from the papal perspective, was that the Nazi persecution, unlike the Bolshevik one, had not completely outlawed religion and suppressed the churches.

Pius XII, seeking to preserve a cautious neutrality, appreciated Franklin Delano Roosevelt's appointment of Myron Taylor as his personal representative to the VATICAN in December 1939. During the war, Pius was troubled by the Anglo-American alliance with Stalin to combat Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and later Imperial Japan. While the Allies applauded the Soviet incursion against Nazi-occupied Europe, and while Roosevelt urged the Vatican to moderate its anticommunist stance, the pope worried about the Soviet drive into Europe at war's end. He questioned the American conclusions that the Soviets were on the brink of introducing religious toleration in their territories and that the Russian dictatorship was less dangerous than the Nazi one. The Vatican complained about Stalin's continued harassment of the Catholic Church, which saw its property nationalized and its hierarchy shattered by deportations, arrests, and executions. Pius dreaded the prospect of an extension of Stalin's system, and he hoped that a stalemate between the Nazis and the Soviets would undermine both. He perceived the "unconditional surrender" policy that Churchill and Roosevelt had sanctioned during the Casablanca Conference in January 1943 as dangerous, suspecting it would prolong the conflict and ultimately benefit the Soviet Union and its communist ideology.

The Curia shared his concerns. Before his death, Cardinal Luigi Maglione, the papal secretary of state, cataloged the dangers of Russian hegemony in Europe. His apprehension was shared by Monsignor Domenico TARDINI, the undersecretary of state, who predicted the war would end with a predominant Russian victory in Europe and the spread of communism, which would be to the detriment of European civilization and Christian culture. Even if the Allied armies remained in Europe, Tardini foresaw the onset of the Cold War, and he predicted that the ensuing peace would only rest on mutual fear. Pius worried not only about the future of Germany and Italy, he also feared the consequences a Soviet victory would have for Poland, the Baltic states, the whole of Eastern Europe, and the entire war-torn continent.

Pius XII Foresees the Cold War. Both the pope and the Curia were convinced that the Soviets would exploit the devastation of World War II to impose their imperium and ideology on the territory they occupied. The Vatican's anxieties were not initially shared by the Americans, however, who believed the key Soviet effort in defeating Nazi Germany justified their prominent role in the peacemaking process and the postwar reconstruction. At this juncture the United States saw communism as an essentially internal problem rather than an international one. Immediately following the death of President Roosevelt in April 1945, the new American president, Harry S. Truman, followed Roosevelt's policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union in Europe, remaining aloof from the strident anticommunism of the Vatican. At first, therefore, Washington provided the Holy See with little moral support against communism, and the papacy was left to its own devices. This did not deter Pius from initiating a global campaign against Bolshevism and the Soviet Union, thus contributing to the opening of the Cold War.

On the other hand, Pius XII welcomed American economic aid to war-torn Western Europe, as well as their sponsorship of a new international organization to preserve the peace. Although the Vatican approved the general aims of the United Nations, as constituted at San Francisco in June 1945, the pope harbored reservations about its structure. He was especially concerned about the veto power of the Soviet Union in the Security Council. Stalin dismissed papal opposition: "The Pope! The Pope! How many divisions has he got?" the Soviet dictator repeated at the Yalta Conference of 1945, as he sought to discount the Vatican's input (Stehle 1981, p. 225). He realized that Pius nourished serious reservations about the proposed postwar settlement, and early on exposed the pretense that the Russian occupation was benign. Pius said as much in his Christmas message of 1946, wherein he lamented the compromises made at war's end by the Western Allies. The papal prediction that the Russians would impose communist regimes in Eastern Europe soon materialized.

Rome and Washington: Cold War Allies. The heavy-handed methods of the Soviets in Eastern Europe and their occupation zone in Germany had an impact on Washington, which belatedly accepted the papacy's view of the Cold War. By 1947 Truman had adopted the anticommunist stance of Pius XII, Winston Churchill, and the American diplomat George Kennan, as the United States saw the need to stop Soviet subversion in Europe and abroad. Adhering to the containment course of the United States, the pope welcomed the 1947 European Recovery Program that George C. Marshall announced at Harvard University in June 1947. The Marshall Plan was designed to reconstruct the faltering European economies and provide Soviet propaganda with less fertile ground. Pius was relieved that Washington had finally recognized the communist danger. Meanwhile, the pope also approved the early steps toward European economic and political integration, which he deemed another means of blocking the unfortunate consequences of Soviet expansion. In 1949 and 1950, Pius veered even further away from neutrality by approving the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which was designed to thwart Moscow's diplomatic coercion and military threats. Papal support enabled Alcide de Gasperi and his Christian Democrats to overcome left-wing opposition and secure Italian ratification of the NATO treaty in April 1949, and this support also helped the Christian Democrats, under Konrad ADENAUER, to secure West Germany's adherence to NATO in 1955.

Although suspicious of partisan politics, Pius relied on the Christian Democratic parties of Belgium, France, the Netherlands, and Italy to combat communism. After members of the Italian Communist Party entered the provisional government following the liberation of Rome, he became increasingly alarmed and embroiled himself in the peninsula's affairs. He did this through Catholic Action, a consortium of organized Catholic groups under the leadership of Professor Luigi Gedda and supervised by the bishops. In March 1946 the pope alerted the Italian clergy that it was their duty to instruct the faithful to combat anti-Christian forces in politics and society, and to support the Christian Democrats in keeping the communists out of power. The Vatican policy played a major role in assuring that the Christian Democrats in Italy won 48.5 percent of the vote and over half the seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

Washington increasingly appreciated the importance of collaborating with the Vatican once it acknowledged the reality of the Cold War. As early as 1946, Myron Taylor suggested to President Truman that communism

could be defeated in Italy and Western Europe with papal help. He noted that the pope had openly challenged communism from the beginning, concluding that papal leadership was central to any future campaign against communism. Churchill shared Taylor's conviction, declaring his support for the pope, who proclaimed he could not, and would not, remain silent while communist states menaced the Church and undermined the peace. The papal stance encouraged clergy around the world to second the papal condemnation. Across the Atlantic, Bishop Fulton Sheen used his television show to brand communism as the antichrist, and many American Catholics pressed Washington to join the war against communism. Their voice was heard, and an exchange of letters between the Vatican and Washington in 1947 saw the two concur in branding communism a threat to religion and Western civilization. Although Truman's attempt to reopen full diplomatic relations with the Vatican at the end of 1951 failed, the anticommunist cooperation between the two continued.

The Soviet Reaction to Catholic Opposition. Stalin resented the "alliance" between Washington and the Vatican, and he sought to discredit Pius XII as "Hitler's Pope" and an anti-Semite. He also encouraged his "allies" in Eastern Europe to commence a brutal repression against the Church and clergy. Following the communist putsch in Czechoslovakia in 1948, the communists introduced obligatory civil marriage and legislation against reading Episcopal and papal messages from Church pulpits. In response, Pius urged the Czech bishops to stand firm against the violations of Church rights. Attempts to negotiate a solution in 1949 failed, provoking retaliation under the auspices of the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), which sought to create a Catholic Church free of papal control. Subsequently, under the prodding of Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky, the Soviet government proclaimed a "Karlsbad Protocol," which provided for the eventual liquidation of the traditional Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia. In turn, the Vatican excommunicated the communists and their allies.

The Vatican's relations with Tito's Yugoslavia were not much better. During the war, Archbishop Alojzije (Aloysius) STEPINAC of Zagreb had been arrested by communist partisans, who regarded him as a symbol of Croat oppression of the Serbs. Although he was released, Stepinac remained *persona non grata* to the communist regime. Tito requested his recall, but Pius proved unwilling to do so. In retaliation, the archbishop was put on trial in October 1946, and he was found guilty of unlawful collaboration with the "fascist" Ustasha regime and admitting forcibly converted Orthodox Serbs into the Catholic Church. The Vatican, in turn, excommunicated all who had participated in the trial, leading Tito's government to encourage the formation of professional organizations of priests that would be free from Vatican control. These organizations were condemned by the Yugoslav bishops and the pope, but the papal message was accidentally leaked, leading the Tito government to complain about the Vatican's "unwarrantable interference" in Yugoslavia's internal affairs.

To make matters worse, Pius honored Archbishop Stepinac by naming him a cardinal, and he did so on November 29, Yugoslavia's national holiday, prompting Tito's government to sever diplomatic relations with the Vatican in mid-December 1952. Similar problems developed elsewhere in communist-controlled Eastern Europe, where churches and other ecclesiastical properties were nationalized, schools were taken over by the state, religion was eliminated from the curriculum, monasteries and seminaries were slammed shut, and Catholic clergy were either arrested or deported. In Hungary, the persecution led to the condemnation of its primate, Cardinal József MINDSZENTY, in 1949. In Bulgaria, Bishop Evgenij (Eugene) BOSSILKOV, who refused to join the Orthodox Church or form a national Catholic Church without ties to the Vatican, was executed by a firing squad in 1952.

The Papal Response to Communist Persecution. In response, Pius launched a counterattack on those who sought to subvert the Faith, and he minced no words in his condemnation of communism. In 1951, the year after the Cold War contributed to the conflict in Korea, Pius deplored Peking's disruption of relations between Rome and the Chinese hierarchy, as well as its attempt to create an alternative to the traditional faith—the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association. In 1952, he again rebuked the unjust Chinese attack upon the Church, and his apostolic letter of January 18, 1952, *Cupimus imprimis*, expressed papal support for the clergy and faithful of China, urging them to trust in Christ.

Earlier, in mid-July 1949, the Holy See had published a decree issued by the Congregation of the Holy Office (initially formed as the Sacred Congregation of the Universal Inquisition, and today known as the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith). It asked the following questions:

1. Was it legitimate to become a member of the Communist Party or support it?
2. Was it permissible for Catholics to publish, disseminate, or read periodicals or other literature that upheld Communist doctrine?
3. Could the faithful who professed the anti-Christian doctrine of Communism, and especially those who

engaged in the activities listed above, be admitted to the Sacraments?

4. Did those faithful who professed the anti-Christian doctrine of Communism automatically fall under excommunication?

The Holy Office responded "no" to the first query, reporting it was not permissible for the faithful to join or support the Communist Party. Secondly, Catholics could not publish, disseminate, or even read books, periodicals, or other literature that upheld such a doctrine. In addition, those who violated these first two prohibitions should not be admitted to the Sacraments. Finally, the decree proclaimed that those who affirmed such doctrines and practices automatically fell under excommunication as apostates of the faith. On July 1, 1949, the decree *Responsa ad dubia de communismo* was promulgated in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, providing for the excommunication of those who supported communism.

Pius XII: From Confrontation to Conciliation. In combating communism, Pius increasingly looked to the states of the West, and particularly to the United States, which he eventually found to be a willing collaborator. On January 7, 1953, in his State of the Union message, President Truman reported that the United States had developed a hydrogen bomb, which proved to be a double-edged sword for the Vatican. On the one hand, this might restrain the Russians; on the other hand, the potential for global destruction and human annihilation was exponentially increased. Pius XII, who was in the forefront of preaching against the development and use of weapons of mass destruction, worried about the devastating consequences of a third world war, and like his predecessors he preferred negotiation to confrontation. While the pope preached against the march of communism, in his Christmas message of December 24, 1954, he was not an unrepentant "cold warrior." Instead, he recognized the danger of the "coexistence of fear" that prevailed at the time. He was not only in the forefront of focusing upon the communist threat, he was also among the first to warn of the dangers posed by the prospect of nuclear war. Internationally, Pius foresaw there would be no victory from a future world conflict, but only the inconsolable weeping of the humanity that survived.

Indeed, the pope who had foreseen the opening of the Cold War also looked forward to its conclusion following the death of Stalin. To be sure, the dictator's death, in March 1953, did not immediately end the East-West tension, but it did initiate the movement from the Cold War to a "cold peace." Pius, for his part, contributed to this development by offering hints that an accord with the Soviet Union might be possible. In his Christmas message of December 1954, he called for a "coexistence in truth'" to replace the current climate of fear. In 1955, the year that Konrad Adenauer visited Moscow, Pius became more distressed by the proliferation of the nuclear arsenal in a bipolar world, and he further elaborated his call for coexistence between East and West.

At the end of 1955, the pope warned the West of the inherent danger of an indiscriminate opposition to any sort of coexistence and the prospect of nuclear holocaust. Pius thus offered the communist regimes of Eastern Europe a cease-fire in the Cold War. The signals from the Vatican were received by Moscow, which recognized that despite ideological differences there might be "useful" and perhaps even "official" relations between the Soviet Communist Party and the papacy. In December 1956, in his Christmas message, Pius revealed that though he abhorred communism, he refused to launch a Christian crusade against the Soviet regime. He also invoked European union and an acceptance of the authority of the United Nations as means of preserving the peace. At the same time, a new understanding was elaborated between the communist regime in Poland and the Catholic Church. The following year, Auxiliary Bishop Josip Lach of Zagreb was allowed to venture to Rome, and he facilitated an agreement between the Vatican and Yugoslavia that allowed their bishops to travel to Rome for the obligatory *ad limina* visits to the Holy See every five years. At the beginning of 1958, the Soviet foreign minister Andrei Gromyko, acknowledging the deep ideological divide between Moscow and Rome, stated that agreement was possible with the Vatican on "various questions of peace."

In March 1957, Pius XII commended and encouraged the American government for seeking peace, citing the need for collective agreements. That same year he condemned the destructive use of nuclear energy and continued to support the pacific efforts of the United Nations. Later, in May 1958, the ailing pontiff again emphasized the opposition of the Church to all wars, except those of a defensive nature. Towards the end of Pius XII's pontificate, the Vatican was slowly moving to reach some accommodation with the Soviet system, and it sought to shift from a de facto alliance with the West to a policy of nonalignment. Paradoxically, the pope who had assumed a leading role in the opening of the Cold War now joined forces with those who called for its conclusion. This process would reach fruition with his successors, beginning with John XXIII's *aggiornamento*, or updating of the Church, and Paul VI's *Ostpolitik* (Eastern Politics). The Cold War finally ended during the pontificate of the Polish pope, John Paul II.

From Cold War to Conciliation. Pope JOHN XXIII (1958–1963) was concerned with the needs of the

persecuted Church in Eastern Europe, and he encouraged an opening to the Eastern bloc, particularly to Moscow. Adversaries had to talk to one another, he explained, initiating a policy of accommodation. In doing so, John distinguished between communism as an atheistic creed, with which the Church could not compromise, and communism as a social, political, and economic theory, which he deemed a reality that could not be ignored. Further abandoning the papacy's earlier anticommunist course, he revealed that the Vatican sought better relations with Moscow. Early in November 1958 he invoked a just and fraternal peace among all nations, and shortly thereafter he confided to Cardinal Stefan WYSZYNSKI and a group of Poles that he prayed for the peace and prosperity of all peoples. John sought to strengthen the local churches across Eastern Europe while avoiding philosophical debate with the communists and focusing upon pragmatic issues and specific measures, such as the appointment of bishops. He thus changed the atmosphere of Vatican-Soviet relations by moving from Pius XII's earlier containment to his own limited engagement.

Later, Pope John utilized Monsignor Agostino CASAROLI, who succeeded as secretary of state, to reach informal accords with a series of communist governments. He thus secured the liberation of incarcerated ecclesiastics in Eastern Europe and filled a number of vacant bishoprics. In 1963 he dispatched his secretary of state to Budapest and Prague to initiate conversations with their communist regimes. Cassaroli stressed the practical nature of this policy, assuring nervous conservatives that these talks did not dilute the Church's ideological opposition to communism, while also pointing to the specific successes attained. In this atmosphere, the Yugoslav government allowed the public funeral of Cardinal Stepinac. Meanwhile, the pope seemed to support the "opening to the left" in Italy, and cooperation with communist regimes, when he wrote that one had to distinguish between error and one who falls into error. He asserted that a man who has fallen into error does not cease to be a man. Likewise, John differentiated between the mistaken Marxist philosophy of the purpose of men and the world and the political and socioeconomic changes that drew inspiration from such a philosophy.

In September 1961, the Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev paid tribute to Pope John's reasonableness, convinced that this pope was sincere and trustworthy. Relations were further improved in November 1961 following Khrushchev's telegram congratulating John on his eightieth birthday and expressing support for his efforts to solve international problems by negotiation. The pope responded warmly, thanking the Soviet leader for his greetings and promising to pray for the people of his vast state. Dividends were soon forthcoming, as the Vatican utilized the Soviet ambassador to Turkey to facilitate the participation of the bishops from Eastern Europe to the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). Assured that the council would not condemn communism, Khrushchev allowed Russian Orthodox observers to attend. Both the failure of the council to explicitly condemn communism and the participation of bishops from Eastern Europe represented crucial developments in the Church's détente with communist states, facilitating the Vatican's *Ostpolitik*.

Despite John's efforts for reconciliation, the Cold War continued during the first years of his pontificate, as the superpowers remained locked over the issue of Berlin and confronted one another over Cuba. Nonetheless, relations between the Vatican and Moscow improved on the eve of the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962, which threatened to unleash a nuclear confrontation. Urged to intervene by the Americans, the pope appealed to the superpowers to answer humanity's cry for peace. His message was given front-page coverage in *Pravda*, representing the first signal that the Soviets were prepared to negotiate a peaceful resolution of the conflict. Following the resolution of the crisis, Moscow encouraged regular, if private, contacts with the Vatican, and Cardinal Josyf SLIPYJ, the primate of Ukranian Catholics, was released from a Soviet prison. In December 1962, John received a Christmas message from Khrushchev, thanking him for his efforts on behalf of the whole of humanity. The following year the pope received Alexis Adzhubei, the editor of *Izvestia*, and his wife, Rada, Khrushchev's daughter. In March 1963, John was awarded the Balzan Prize for fostering brotherhood and peace.

Pope John's conciliatory course was continued and extended by Pope Paul VI (1963–1978), who concluded a written agreement with communist Hungary in September 1964. In April 1966 he was visited by the Soviet foreign minister, Andrei Gromyko, and the following year he met with the president of the Soviet Union, Nikolai Podgorny. Meanwhile, in June 1966, an agreement was signed between the Vatican and Yugoslavia.

John Paul II, the Collapse of Communism, and the End of the Cold War. In October 1978, the fifty-eight-year-old Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, archbishop of Kraków, was elected as the first Polish pope. Wojtyla had shown political agility in negotiating with Poland's communist regime. Following the announcement of his election, church bells were rung across Poland in celebration. In the Soviet Union, however, alarm bells sounded because the new pope invoked the opening of frontiers. JOHN PAUL II named Agostino Casaroli, the architect of Paul's *Ostpolitik*, as secretary of state, enabling John Paul to



The Vatican and the Kremlin. *Pope John Paul II welcomes Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev to the first meeting ever between a Kremlin chief and a pope at the Vatican, December 1, 1989.* **AP IMAGES**

return to his homeland in June 1979 (the first of eight trips to his native Poland). It was the first visit of a pope to Poland, the first papal trip to a communist country, and the first time a pope said Mass in a communist country. Although the visit was religious in nature, it had profound political implications, altering the mentality of fear that prevailed in Poland and much of the Soviet-controlled Eastern bloc. The pope visited Auschwitz, where his direct condemnation of Nazi abuses represented an indirect condemnation of communist crimes, thus challenging the regime on the issue of human rights.

The papal visit apparently inspired the strike in the Gdansk shipyards in August 1980, as well as the formation of the Solidarity labor organization, which was inspired by Catholic teaching. In the summer of 1980, when the pope heard that the Russians advised the Polish state to purge Solidarity or face invasion, he cautioned President Leonid Brezhnev against the projected aggression. The papal intervention apparently contributed to the compromise between Solidarity and the Polish regime, to the annoyance of the Soviets. Some observers are also convinced that it inspired the assassination attempt on his life in May 1981, which the pope survived.

In June 1982 the pope met with President Ronald Reagan, who had also survived an assassination attempt, and discussed the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. Richard Allen, Reagan's national security advisor, claimed the two plotted to "hasten the dissolution of the communist empire." It is now known that the CIA director, William Casey, who had been an architect of the American-Vatican cooperation on SOLIDARITY and Poland, met with various Vatican officials, including Archbishop Achille Silvestrini, the Vatican's deputy secretary of state, and Archbishop Pio LAGHI, the Vatican's apostolic delegate in Washington, who relayed the effectiveness of their operations to the Americans. John Paul returned to Poland in June 1983, and four years later, in June 1987, he helped to bring change to Poland. This was facilitated by Mikhail Gorbachev's election as general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1985. Gorbachev favored *glasnost* or "openness" and *perestroika*, the

restructuring of Soviet society, and he supported Warsaw's negotiations with the Catholic Church.

In the summer of 1988, Gorbachev ventured to Warsaw. He was aware that the Polish government could not rule without the cooperation of Solidarity and some level of understanding with the Catholic Church. For his part, the pope gave his approval to have Polish bishops participate in a joint committee with communist delegates to outline a new church-state relationship. In April the government promised to legalize Solidarity, called for open parliamentary elections in June 1989, and agreed to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican. These pledges assured the victory of Solidarity in the 1989 elections, which soon led to the collapse of the communist governments in Poland, Eastern Europe, and, by 1991, in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev, the ousted Soviet leader, concluded that Pope John Paul II had played "a major political role" in crippling communism in Eastern Europe.

Clearly, Vatican support proved crucial in the early fall of 1991, when the Soviet Union recognized the independence of the Baltic republics of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, whose incorporation into the Soviet Union the Holy See had never recognized. Without any military divisions, John Paul II's Vatican had emerged as an important, if not crucial, factor in the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War. Thus, the papacy not only played an important role in the opening of the Cold War during the pontificate of Pius XII, it played an equally important role in its demise during the pontificate of John Paul II.

SEE ALSO EUROPEAN UNION AND THE PAPACY; RUSSIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; UNITED NATIONS AND THE PAPACY; UNITED STATES, RELATIONS WITH THE PAPACY.

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COLL Y GUITART, FRANCISCO, ST.

Dominican priest, founder of the DOMINICAN SISTERS of the ANNUNCIATION; b. Gombreny (Gombrén) near Gerona (Catalonian Pyrenees), Spain, May 18, 1812; d. Barcelona, Spain, April 2, 1875; beatified April 29, 1979, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized October 11, 2009, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Francisco Coll y Guitart was the youngest of ten children of a wool carder who died when the boy was four. Even while studying at the seminary of Vic (1823–1830), Coll devoted himself to the catechesis of children. He also taught grammar to pay for his education. In 1830 Coll joined the DOMINICANS at Gerona, where he was professed and ordained to the diaconate. When the FRIARS were exclaustrated by the government in 1835, Coll continued to live as a Dominican and was secretly ordained a priest on March 28, 1836, with the consent of his superiors.

After serving as a parish priest (1836–1839), Coll preached throughout Catalonia for several decades, giving popular missions and offering spiritual direction,

like his friend St. Anthony Mary CLARET, whom he aided in forming the Apostolic Fraternity of priests. Coll was renowned in Catalonia for his preaching abilities and spiritual exercises, leading popular missions during LENT and in May and October to honor the Blessed Virgin. Named director of the secular order of Dominicans in 1850, Coll reopened the former Dominican friary, cared for cholera victims during the 1854 outbreak, and founded the Dominican Sisters of the Annunciation in 1856 to provide for the religious formation of youth in poor and neglected regions.

From 1869 until his death, Coll suffered from increasing physical problems caused by a stroke, including blindness and the loss of mental acuity. Nevertheless, the Dominicans, upon returning to Spain in 1872, found that Coll had carefully maintained the order's spirit and work throughout its suppression. Coll's two main writings are *La hermosa rosa* (The Beautiful Rose, 1852) and *La escala del cielo* (The Ladder of Heaven, 1862). He died in Barcelona on April 2, 1875. Coll's mortal remains are venerated in the motherhouse of La Annunciata (Vic), which had grown to three hundred members in fifty houses by the time of his death.

At Coll's BEATIFICATION in 1979, Pope John Paul II reflected on the glory of his heritage, saying that it "takes on concrete form in a magnificent and tireless work of evangelical preaching, which culminates in the foundation of the Institute known today as that of the Dominican Sisters of La Anunciata." The pope noted that Coll strongly advocated the praying of the ROSARY—a practice that John Paul II himself followed "assiduously." The beatification ceremony was the first of John Paul's historic pontificate, in which he elevated more blesseds and saints than his modern predecessors combined. But the connections between this pontiff and Coll do not end there—both John Paul and Coll were born on May 18 and died on April 2.

In December 2008, a miracle granted through Coll's INTERCESSION was approved, clearing the way to his canonization. Coll and Rafael ARNÁIZ BARÓN were the first Spanish saints to be canonized by Pope Benedict XVI.

In his HOMILY at the canonization Mass, the pope observed that St. Francisco "eagerly dedicated himself" to the preaching of the Word of God. As a Dominican and itinerant preacher of the Word, "faithfully accomplishing his vocation" to the order, he educated and catechized the people of Catalonia through "popular missions." Coll's "evangelizing activity included great devotion to the sacrament of Reconciliation, an outstanding emphasis on the Eucharist and a constant insistence on prayer. Francisco Coll reached the hearts of others because he transmitted what he himself lived with passion, that which burned in his heart: the love of Christ, his devotion to Him."

Feast: April 2.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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COMBONI, DANIELE, ST.

Missionary bishop in Africa, founder of Comboni Missionaries of the Sacred Heart and the Missionary Sisters Pie Madri della Nigrizia; b. Limone del Garda (near Lake Garda), northern Italy, March 15, 1831; d. Khartoum, Sudan, October 10, 1881; beatified March 17, 1996; canonized October 5, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Daniele Comboni was the only one of the eight children of his farmer parents to live to adulthood. With a view to dedicating his life to evangelizing Africa, he studied languages and medicine, as well as theology, at the diocesan seminary and Verona Institute for missionary preparation before his ordination to the priesthood in 1854.

In 1857 Comboni traveled to Khartoum, Sudan, with four other priests via the Holy Land. The five labored along the White Nile, suffering deplorable shortages of food and water in an unfamiliar climate and a hostile environment that left three of the priests dead within a short time. The failed mission was aborted by the Propaganda Fide, and Comboni and his companion returned to Italy in 1859 to train more missionaries.

In 1864 Comboni conceived of a plan for the evangelization of Africa that involved "saving Africa with Africans." Europeans would establish missions along the coast and make expeditions inland to educate Africans to evangelize others. The plan included the use of female missionaries. Comboni entreated the wealthy throughout Europe in his quest to actualize his plan. In the process, he published Italy's first missionary magazine. In 1867, with papal approval, he founded the Verona Fathers because the new bishop of Verona no longer allowed the institute for missionary preparation to have its own seminarians or priests. The first group left before the end of the year to establish a mission post at Cairo.

Returning to Europe to seek funding, Comboni established the Missionary Sisters of Verona, or Pie Madri della Nigrizia, in 1872. He prepared a document describing his plan for VATICAN COUNCIL I (1869–1870), and Comboni received approval on July 18, 1870, from Pope PIUS IX. Comboni was appointed provicar apostolic in 1872. Alessandro Cardinal Franchi (1819–1878) consecrated Comboni bishop in 1877, a month after Comboni was made vicar apostolic of the Vicariate Apostolic of Central Africa, embracing Sudan, Nubia, and territories south of the great lakes. The following year, he was involved in famine relief in Khartoum. Besides traveling widely in his vicariate and establishing missions at Khartoum, El Obeid, Berber, Delen, and Malbes, Comboni sought to end the widespread slave trade and its abuses. This led to his abduction by a freemason in Paris during one of his fund-raising trips.

Comboni was also a linguist, geographer, and ethnologist, and contributed extensively to scientific journals. He compiled a dictionary of the Nubian language, and published studies on the Dinka and Bari tongues. His reports, such as *Un passo al giorno sulla via della missione* (1997) and *Gli scritti* (1991), and correspondence provide much information on the history of African civilization. Comboni succumbed to malaria during his journey from El Obeid to Khartoum in July of 1881. Nevertheless, he continued to work for several months before he died.

In April 1995, the inexplicable cure of Maria José de Oliveira Paixão of Brazil opened the way for Comboni's BEATIFICATION, and Pope John Paul II beatified him in Rome on March 17, 1996. The miraculous cure of Lubna Abdel Aziz, a Sudanese Muslim woman, through Comboni's INTERCESSION paved the way for his canonization. He was canonized at St. Peter's Basilica by Pope John Paul on October 5, 2003.

During the HOMILY, Pope John Paul emphasized the Church's mission *ad gentes*, or "to the nations." He praised Comboni, an "outstanding evangelizer and protector" of Africa, for his missionary work in a land "rich in human and spiritual resources" despite its tumultuous history. Invoking the saint's intercession for the continent, the pope stated that the Church today needs "evangelizers with the enthusiasm and apostolic outreach of Bishop Comboni, an apostle of Christ among the Africans. He relied on the resources of his rich personality and solid spirituality to make Christ known and loved in Africa, a continent he loved deeply."

Feast: October 10.

SEE ALSO AFRICA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; COMBONI MISSIONARIES OF THE HEART OF JESUS; MISSIONARIES OF AFRICA; NUBIA; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SUDAN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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COMBONI MISSIONARIES OF THE HEART OF JESUS

(MCCJ, Official Catholic Directory #0380) Popularly known as the Verona Fathers. The Comboni Missionaries of the Heart of Jesus (*Missionarii Comboniani Cordis Jesu*), a pontifical congregation of priests and brothers devoted exclusively to missionary work, was founded by St. Daniele COMBONI (canonized on October 5, 2003 by Pope John Paul II) in Verona, Italy, in 1867. Originally founded as a secular institute for African missions, the institute was changed in 1885 into a religious congregation under the guidance of the JESUITS. Final approval of the Holy See was given in 1910.

From its inception, the congregation gave priority to missionary work in Africa, establishing its mission in Sudan, but a revolution there in 1881 disrupted the work. In 1899, the congregation returned to Sudan to rebuild the missions and establish schools. In 1910 they expanded their work to Uganda, and later to Ethiopia and Mozambique. In Latin America the society has missions in Mexico, Brazil, and Ecuador. As of 2009, there were 2,031 missionaries (1,309 priests) located in forty-one countries in Africa, Europe, the Americas, and Asia (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 467). Members of the society have written works on the ethnology and languages of the African tribes whom they have evangelized.

When they came to the United States in 1940, the congregation established themselves in Cincinnati, Ohio, where the provincial house is located. In 2009 they were represented in the Archdioceses of Chicago, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, and Newark. The generalate is in Rome.

SEE ALSO AFRICA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MISSION AND EVANGELIZATION, PAPAL WRITINGS ON; MISSION AND MISSIONS.

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COMENSOLI, GERTRUDE CATERINA, ST.

Baptized Caterina; known in religion as Gertrude of the Blessed Sacrament; foundress of the SACRAMENTINE SISTERS OF BERGAMO; b. Biennio, Brescia, Lombardy, Italy, January 18, 1847; d. Bergamo, Lombardy, Italy, February 18, 1903; beatified October 1, 1989, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized April 26, 2009, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Caterina Comensoli, the fifth of ten children in a poor family, learned to love and revere the Blessed Sacrament from her parents' example. When she was seven, increasingly drawn to the Eucharist, she slipped away alone to the neighboring church and secretly made her First Communion.

In 1862 Caterina joined the Sisters of Charity until she was dismissed from the convent due to a serious illness. Upon her recovery, she taught in association with the Company of Angela MERICI, while serving as a lady's companion to Countess Fé-Vitali. In 1878, on the Feast of Corpus Christi, Caterina made a perpetual vow of CHASTITY. The next year she met Francesco SPINELLI, founder of the Sisters of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, who would be instrumental in her future work. Travelling to Rome with Countess Fé-Vitali, Caterina spoke with Pope LEO XIII about her desire to found a religious congregation dedicated to Eucharistic adoration. One of Caterina's concerns was the lack of time for prayer brought about by the long workdays in the newly industrialized society. The Holy Father suggested she incorporate the Christian formation of young, female workers into her congregation's mission.

In 1882, with the permission of the bishop of Bergamo, and with Fr. Spinelli as her guide, she founded the Sacramentine Sisters of Bergamo, dedicated to Christian education and adoration. The first sisters

received the religious habit in 1884, and Caterina took the name Sr. Gertrude of the Blessed Sacrament. From Bergamo, where they had started, the sisters moved to Lodi, where they received episcopal approval in 1891. They returned to Bergamo the following year, expanded the congregation's ministries, and received papal approval in 1908. When financial difficulties beset the Sacramentine Sisters, Spinelli was removed from their direction by the bishop. The BEATIFICATION process for Gertrude Comensoli was opened in 1928.

Pope John Paul II remarked at her beatification that it was the "example of the poor and humble Christ, contemplated especially in the Eucharistic mystery, which guided the commitment of Gertrude Comensoli on the difficult spiritual journey and the distressing events of the foundation of the Blessed Sacrament Sisters." In his HOMILY at her canonization, Pope Benedict XVI also commented on her devotion to Eucharistic adoration: "She reminds us that 'adoration must prevail over all the other charitable works,' for it is from love for Christ who died and rose and who is really present in the Eucharistic Sacrament, that Gospel charity flows which impels us to see all human beings as our brothers and sisters."

Feast: February 18.

SEE ALSO PERPETUAL ADORATION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT, NUNS OF THE; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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COMMUNION OF SAINTS

The article of the APOSTLES' CREED that in Latin reads, "*Credo in ... sanctorum communionem*," is translated as, "I believe in ... the communion of saints." The Christian reality underlying this article is so central and so pervasive in the life of the Church that it was lived and borne along in the movement of the Church's life long before it became the object of theological reflection. Once such reflection did begin, the very amplitude of the doctrine favored a variety of emphases, kindred enough, in evolving its many aspects; and the same cause often resulted in a treatment more piecemeal than synthetic.

The present treatment sets forth only the general outlines of the doctrine, with special aspects left to other headings. The order is the following: (1) communio as mutual interchange, (2) New Testament foundation, (3) patristic and creedal origins, and (4) later historical developments.

Communio as Mutual Interchange. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the main emphasis has been on the mutual interchange and interplay of supernatural energies and goods among all the members of the tripartite Church, triumphant in heaven, expectant in PURGATORY, and militant on earth. The stress is on what some theologians came to refer to as "horizontal" sharing by all the members in the varied common life of the Church under the headship of Christ. It is succinctly explained in Pope LEO XIII's encyclical on the Eucharist, *Mirae caritatis*:

> As everyone knows, the communion of saints is nothing else but a mutual sharing in help, satisfaction, prayer and other good works, a mutual communication among all the faithful, whether those who have reached heaven, or who are in the cleansing fire, or who are still pilgrims on the way in this world. For all these are come together to form one living city whose Head is Christ, and whose law is love.

Explanations in the writings of Leo's successors in the twentieth century develop along similar lines. Vatican II's Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (*Lumen gentium*), while looking to the Lord's coming in glory, states, "at the present time some of his disciples are pilgrims on earth," some "have died and are being purified," and still others "are in glory" contemplating God as He is. All, "in varying degrees and different ways," share in the same charity toward God and neighbor. "The union of the wayfarers with the brethren who sleep in the peace of Christ is in no way interrupted, but on the contrary, according to the constant faith of

the Church, this union is reinforced by an exchange of spiritual goods." Those who have been "received into their heavenly home" and are "present to the Lord" (cf. 2 Cor 5:8) do not cease to intercede for us with the Father, sharing the merits they acquired on earth through Christ Jesus (*Lumen gentium*, n. 49). In this connection, PAUL VI affirmed the Church's doctrine of INDULGENCES, which is rooted in the Church's ancient belief that pastors of the Church can set individuals free from the vestiges of sin "by applying the merits of Christ and the saints" (*Indulgentiarum Doctrina: Apostolic Constitution*, n. 7). JOHN PAUL II followed Paul VI in stressing that the Church itself is a *sanctorum communionem,* which implies first of all incorporation into the Body of Christ and the sharing of his gift of charity in the entire body of the faithful (*Christifidelis Laici: Post-Synodal Exhortation*, n. 19). BENEDICT XVI has further reaffirmed the connection of the communion of the saints with the doctrine of indulgences, a sharing of merits whose ultimate basis is incorporation into the Eucharistic Body of Christ (*Sacramentum caritatis: Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation*, n. 21).

In explaining the creed, the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* follows Paul VI and John Paul II in linking the *communio sanctorum* to the Church, to the point of stating explicitly, "The communion of saints is the Church" (n. 946), whose "most important member is Christ, since he is the head" (n. 947). It presents the twofold meaning of *communio sanctorum*—sharing in holy things (*sancta*) and among holy persons (*sancti*) as complementary.

"*Sancta sanctis!*" ("God's holy gifts for God's holy people!") is proclaimed by the celebrant in most Eastern liturgies during the elevation of the holy gifts before the distribution of Communion. The faithful (*sancti*) are fed by Christ's holy body and blood (*sancta*) to grow in the communion of the Holy Spirit (*koinonia*) and to the world (n. 948).

The *Catechism* describes in some detail the "goods" that are shared under the headings: communion in the faith, communion of the sacraments (especially the Eucharist), communion of charisms, communion in CHARITY, and, alluding to the primitive Christian community in Jerusalem, holding all things in common (nn. 949–953).

New Testament Context. Though the emphasis is on the members' solidarity and vital interdependence, it is clearly taught that this horizontal sharing of goods and life is real only as suspended from a "vertical" communion, that is, from a sharing in Jesus Christ and in His Spirit, realized in and through FAITH and the sacraments, especially the Eucharist. If in Christ's social Body, under the quickening Spirit of love, there is a radial diffusion of love and of its goods, it is fundamentally because there is in Christ a descent of divine love poured forth into men's hearts by the Spirit of Christ, a rebirth from above communicated in water and the Spirit, a force from on high that makes Christ's glory in His various members turn to the service and benefit of all (Rom 5:5; Jn 3:5; Ti 3:5–6).

The ground is found in the divine life that the Father has communicated to the fallen world, drawing people afresh into a real, though distant, sharing in the one life that the Father and His Son in their one Spirit live together as their own (Jn 17:20–26). It is only in His Son made Man that the Father has brought men into the sphere of divine life (Jn 14:6–24; 1 Jn 2:23; 5:11–13), made them "partakers of the divine nature" (2 Pt 1:4), and given them communion with Himself and with His Son (1 Jn 1:1–3; 1 Cor 1:9). The Christian shares, through faith and the sacraments, in all the stages of Christ's life from His lowliness in suffering and death (Phil 3:10; 1 Pt 4:13) to His risen glory (1 Pt 5:1; Rom 8:17). The Christian shares initially in all the blessings of the New Covenant, brought by Jesus and already realized in Him, the dead and risen Lord (1 Cor 9:23). It is a communion with Christ most intensely realized by partaking sacramentally of the Lord's body and blood (1 Cor 10:16–17); it is a communion sealed in the gift that is the Spirit of Christ (2 Cor 13:13; Phil 2:1; Gal 4:6; Rom 8:14–17).

The common life that Christians share with Christ and with His Father in their one Spirit (Eph 2:18) leads of itself to a sharing of life among all those quickened by the same Spirit of Christ (1 Jn 1:3, 7). Among Christ's members there exists a most varied inward–outward interplay of new life; an interchange of supernatural energies and gifts, of helps and services of all forms (Phlm 17; Rom 12:13, 15:26–27; 2 Cor 8:4, 9:13; Phil 4:14–20; Gal 6:6; Heb 13:16; Acts 2:42). Sharing in the "trials" of Jesus brings into play a communion in suffering with the social Body of Christ that turns to the good of the whole (Col 1:24; 2 Cor 4:12, 15; 1:5, 7). The interchange of new life to the "building up the body of Christ" (Eph 4:12) is shown and realized in mutual prayer and almsgiving (Eph 6:18–19; Rom 15:30; 2 Cor 8:13–15). "The Church is in its truest being both a shared destiny and a shared existence with Christ, and with one another in Christ."

Patristic Period. The Apostles' Creed in its present form, conventionally labeled T (Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum,* ed. A. Schönmetzer [32d ed. Freiburg 1963], 30), is an expanded version of the old Roman baptismal creed, labeled R (see Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*, 12 for a fourth-century Latin text of R). R's development into T took place, seemingly, in southwestern Gaul during the fifth to the eighth centuries. Among

the additions that T makes to R is the article *sanctorum communionem*.

This addition presents a difficult problem of the history and interpretation of T. First, the provenance of the clause is debated, some holding for an Eastern and Greek origin, others for a Western and Latin.

Second, the original meaning of the clause is disputed. There are two main opinions held. The first view puts a personal construction on the clause and translates it "fellowship or common life with the saints." In this personal interpretation the "saints" are either the martyrs and confessors proper, both living and departed, or all the baptized faithful without exception. The second view, sometimes called the "real" interpretation, and commonly proposed by those holding a Greek origin of the clause, translates it "a sharing in, or partaking of, holy things." The holy things or realities (hence the "real") are either the faith and sacraments in general, or, in particular, the consecrated elements of the Eucharist.

This real interpretation is not apersonal. In the thought and sensibility of the early Church, sharing in holy things, and above all in the Eucharist, meant a deeply personal meeting with the glorious Christ sanctifying His members through His mysteries present in His Church. "You have shown yourself to me face to face, O Christ," wrote St. Ambrose, "I find you in your Sacraments" (*Apologia prophetae David* 12.58; *Patrologia Latina* 14:875). Sharing in the Eucharist was also a profession and a realization of a profound personal union with all Christ's members and with the whole present company of the saints in the Church. Finally, sharing in the Eucharist had a deeply personal eschatological direction, grounding the faithful's hope in the full communion of the coming kingdom with the Father and the Lord in their one Spirit, and with all the blessed.

An exclusively linguistic approach to the problem of original meaning is inconclusive. If the original meaning is sought in the extant creedal commentaries and homilies, chiefly of a south Gallic provenance, dating from the fifth to the eighth centuries, the personal interpretation predominates, but even in the West the words were often taken as referring to the sacrament.

But one must also consider the living background of early Christian belief and practice, which came to a focus in this creedal article. Before the clause was introduced into the creed, what it stood for was long since part of the living faith of the Church.

In the thought and devotion of the early Church, the mystery of the holy Church is the sacrament of the glorious Savior, giving His light and life to the world ("What was visible in the work of our Redeemer, passed over into the Sacraments," wrote St. Leo the Great [*Serm.* 74.2; *Patrologia Latina* 54:398]). It is only through the faith and sacraments of the holy Church that one is made a sharer in Him who is "the holy one of God" (Jn 6:69); it is only under His headship that His members, once consecrated through His Spirit in the sacraments, are enabled to adore and to serve the movement of His life in and through His whole Body, with an outreach of love compassing their fellow members who have gone ahead, and looking forward in hope to the full communion of the coming great kingdom. Above all it is in the Eucharist that the glorious Lord is supremely present and active in communicating His holiness to men; it is here that the Christian shares in Christ's lordship over the newness of life, and is qualified to serve the range of that new life over the whole Body, both in those that live here below and in those that live beyond.

This awareness of sacramental communion with Christ carried with it a vivid sense of the diffusive sanctity of the whole Body of Christ sharing in the mystery of Christ. In a study of the Church's saving mediation, as the early Fathers portrayed it under the image of the Church as Mother, Karl Delahaye writes:

> The early Church considers all the saints as both subject and object of her own saving action.... The Church as mother, comprising all united to Christ in faith and Baptism, is the communion of saints. If her motherhood is grounded on her inward mysterious union with Christ, then all who have entered into this communion with Christ share in the Church's motherhood.... The communion of the saints is always at the same time a communion which saves and sanctifies. (Delahaye 1958, pp. 142–143)

If the whole Church is, to adapt a word of IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH, a fruitful "bearer of holy things" (ἁγιοφόρα: *To the Smyrnaeans,* introduction), the reason is that the whole Church shares in the Spirit of Christ. As Pope MARTIN I (649–655) wrote to the Church of Carthage: "Whatever is ours, is yours, according to our undivided sharing in the Spirit" (*Eph* 4; *Patrologia Latina* 87:147).

Subsequent Developments. In the MIDDLE AGES, the two orientations lived on. In ALEXANDER OF HALES's *Summa theologica*, the two are merely juxtaposed (lib. 3, p. 3, inq. 2, tr. 2, q. 2, t. 1–2; tom. 4 [Quaracchi 1948] 1131, 1136). Both St. ALBERT THE GREAT and St. THOMAS AQUINAS give a more synthetic view, indicating that the real-sacramental communion is the ground of the varied horizontal sharing (for St. Albert, see *In Ioannem* 6.64; *In 4 sent.* 45.1; *De sacramento Eucharistiae* 1.5; 4.1–7). St. Thomas writes: "The good of Christ is communicated to all Christians ... and this communication is realized through the Sacraments of the Church, in which the power of Christ's Passion is at work" (*Exp.*

symb. apost., 10). But the good that Christ communicates is chiefly "the Holy Spirit, who through the unity of love communicates the blessings of Christ's members one with another" (*Summa theologiae* 3a, q. 82, a. 6, ad 3).

From the Reformation onward, the emphasis is strongly on the validity and the modes of the interplay of life among the members of the tripartite Church. Theologians were aware that the article "is variously explained by the doctors" (Juan de LUGO, *De virtute fidei divinae* 13.4.112), but generally their preference is for the personal interpretation (see Francisco SUÁREZ, *De virtutibus infusis* 13.4.10; Rodrigo de ARRIAGA, *De fide divina* 13.3.16). The catechisms, from BELLARMINE on, reflect this trend (see Ramsauer 1951). In the early nineteenth century, the two orientations begin to come together. In J.A. Möhler's phrase, "a communion in the holy and of the saints," they are seen as complementary, one to the other (Möhler 1957, p. 315).

SEE ALSO ALMS AND ALMSGIVING (IN THE CHURCH); CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; CHARISM; CHRISTIFIDELES LAICI; CONFESSOR; ESCHATOLOGY (IN THEOLOGY); HEAVEN (THEOLOGY OF); MARTYR; REFORMATION, PROTESTANT (IN THE BRITISH ISLES); REFORMATION, PROTESTANT (ON THE CONTINENT); SACRAMENTAL THEOLOGY; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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COMMUNISM

The term *communism* designates both a socioeconomic system whose central feature is public ownership of the means of production, and a utopian political ideology centered on the promotion of a classless, stateless society. The rise of communism in the first half of the twentieth century and its decline by that century's end have arguably been among the most important political phenomena in recent world history.

Theoretical Underpinnings. The theoretical underpinnings of communism are found primarily in works of Karl MARX (1818–1883) and Friedrich ENGELS (1820–1895). The Marxist version of socialism provided a sustaining vision for many regimes that have called themselves *communist*, however far their actual practice departed from the original theory. Marx himself expected that revolutions of the proletariat (the working class) would be most likely to occur first in Western industrialized societies, where he saw various social and economic problems emerging as the manifestations of certain inner contradictions within capitalism. He predicted that out of bitterness at having to produce surplus value for the capitalist owners of the means of production, the proletariat would eventually arise as a class, newly conscious of its own power to effect massive social change. He held that the working class was the primary producer of wealth and that it needed to replace its exploiters, the bourgeoisie or capitalist class, in ruling the state so as to create a free society that would be without class or racial divisions.

In fact, it was in the heavily peasant societies of Russia and China that communism first flourished. From there it spread to dozens of other countries in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Even in strongly democratic countries like the United States and Britain, there were many individuals among the elite classes who were attracted to communism, and in such countries as France and Italy there were for a time strong political parties and intellectual movements of a communist character.

In the course of raising a sustained critique of nineteenth-century capitalism, Marx articulated a vision of communism as the ultimate and inevitable future state of society. This stage of human development would bring about a universal liberation of humanity from the futility so often encountered in the struggle for basic survival. He assumed that this liberation would occur with the implementation of changes in the ownership of the means of production that would lead to greater productivity and to a superabundance of goods and services. Further, he envisioned that a change in human nature was likely to flow from living under the new system of governance and economic organization. Once the aggressive forms of greed, violence, and domination that typified virtually all previous forms of social organization were banished, he expected that people would be able to live more freely than ever before and that every member of society would be able to participate in decision-making by democratic means. Yet he devised no safeguards for individual liberty in his theory of communism, and apparently he expected the problem to take care of itself (Walicki 1995, p. 71). The most prominent of the political leaders who claimed the mantle of Marx in the course of the twentieth century—for example, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924) and Josef STALIN (1878–1953) in Russia, and Mao Zedong (1893–1976) in China—used Marx's ideas not for the liberation of their people but for the construction of ruthless dictatorships.

As the first leader of Russia's new Bolshevik government after the October Revolution of 1917 and during the six-year civil war (1917–1923), Lenin crafted the political principles necessary for successful agitation and the accumulation of power that became standard for all subsequent communist regimes. Inspired by the Russian revolutionary Georgi Plekhanov (1857–1918), Lenin culled from the writings of Marx and Engels certain ideas about society, labor, value, and freedom that he welded together into a revolutionary ideology. His synthesis is sufficiently different from the thought of his forbears as to be rightly called the Marxist-Leninist form of communism.

During the First World War (1914–1918) and the immediate postwar period, Lenin's main rival was Karl Kautsky (1854–1938), who persistently questioned the totalitarian inclinations of Lenin's version of communist rule and urged a socialist form of DEMOCRACY as a guarantee for basic human freedoms. On the opposite flank, Lenin had to struggle with radically leftist communists, such as Leon Trotsky (1879–1940), who championed the principle of permanent revolution through the cultivation of a chain of revolutions across the globe. Trotsky opposed what he considered to be Lenin's eclectic use of Marxist ideas and criticized his various compromises with capitalism. By contrast, Lenin urged the strategic necessity of the temporary coexistence of communism with bourgeois capitalism. Recognizing certain weaknesses within the proletarian class for successfully employing the power that he thought to be rightfully theirs, Lenin saw a need to retain various bourgeois institutions and practices during the period of transition to the pure communism that he envisioned as the ultimate goal of socialism.

Religion in Communist States. The subsequent history of communism was dominated by a struggle between those ready to countenance violence in the pursuit of their revolutionary goals (including severe coercion of internal critics of the new system) and those who preferred an evolutionary path that would more gradually realize socialist goals through a mixed economy in which private and public ownership could coexist. Both groups appropriated from MARXISM and Leninism the conviction that the chief determining factor in human society is material, not spiritual. Among those more inclined to an organic transformation of the social order, there have not only been individuals committed to ATHEISM and MATERIALISM but even a number of Christian intellectuals who have adapted some of the terminology of religion for communist purposes in such movements as LIBERATION THEOLOGY. More frequently, however, in professedly communist regimes there has been a steady repression of religion and persecution of the Church. Using the Marxist explanation that religion is the opium of the people, such regimes have cultivated dogmatic forms of state-sponsored atheism and have regularly imprisoned and killed countless thousands of believers from various religions.

Communism in Europe. One of the most important events in the history of communism was the establishment of the Third International (the Comintern) in Moscow in March 1919. Lenin saw it as a vehicle for broadly disseminating his ideas and for gaining international assistance for the Russian Revolution. The twenty-one points through which he expressed his concept of communism and his strategy for world revolution became dogmatic for membership in communist parties everywhere. After Lenin's death in 1924, Trotsky urged a

change in the strategy, so as the better to foment proletarian uprisings throughout the world. By 1927, however, Stalin triumphed in the councils of the communist movement with a strategy that focused on consolidating power in those countries where the revolution had succeeded. His strategy called for giving the Communist Party a monopoly on power and for establishing a secret police with its own military system and its own concentration-camp-style prisons. His program for the collectivization of farms involved the merging of peasant families into vast agricultural enterprises under the direction of the agents of his government. Many peasants were forcibly relocated to urban centers to labor in the factories needed by the regime. Resistance to the collectivization program, however, occasioned repeated crises in agriculture and factory production that in turn brought about yet more violent measures of repression and a readiness to send dissidents into internal exile in the gulags of Siberia.

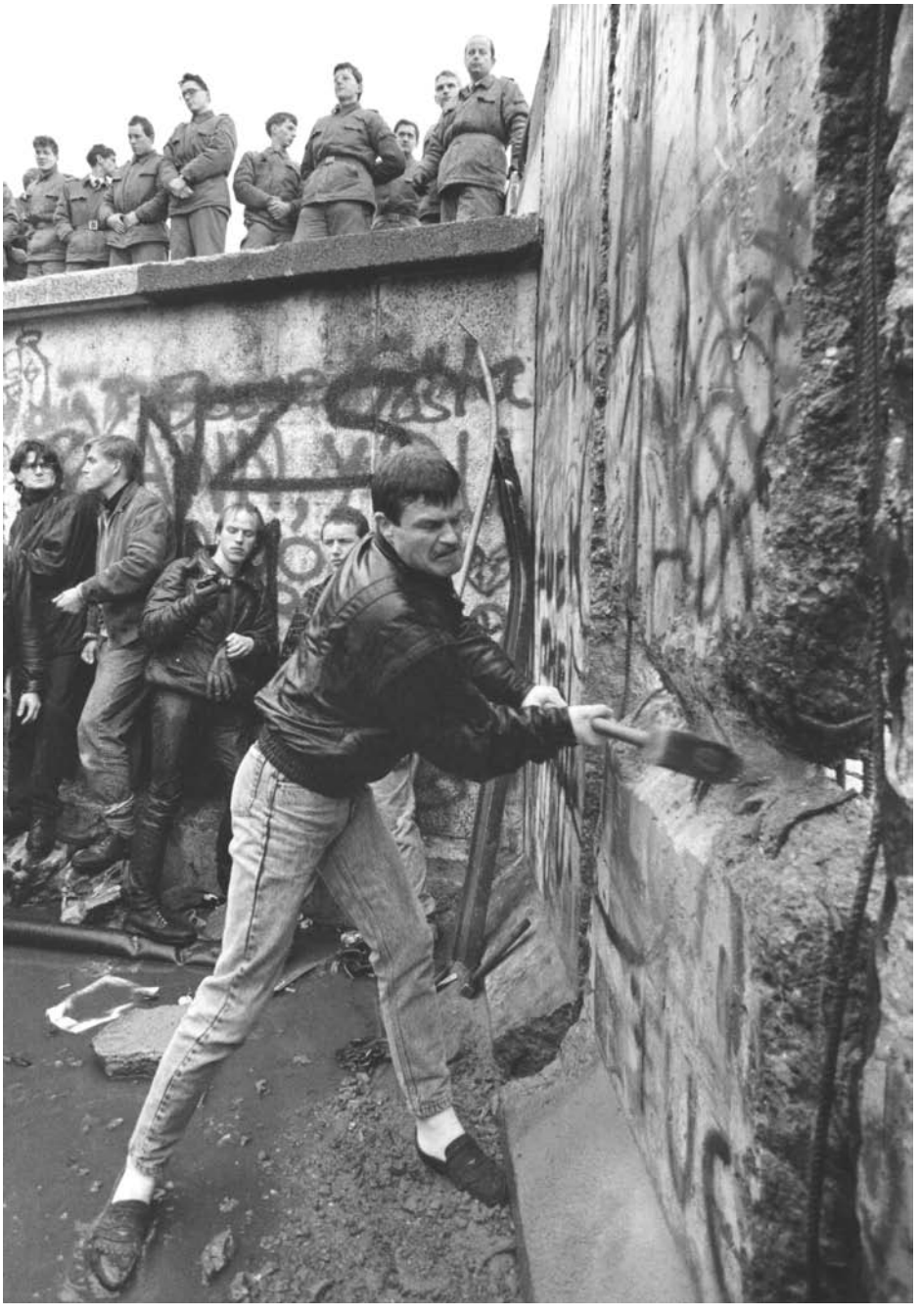
Internationally, Stalin's post–World War II regime stood for the reconstruction of Russia and for the broadening of Russia's sphere of economic influence. His infamous five-year programs called for steady work on economic development with the aim of gradually supplanting capitalism by the comparative advantages that would accrue from socialist economics. Over the years of his leadership, it became increasingly clear that the program for communist world revolution had in fact become a vehicle for Russian foreign policy aims. The Comintern was officially dissolved in 1943. Its successor, the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), created in 1947, consisted only of the communist parties from nine European nations. This organization was in turn abandoned after Stalin's death in 1953. Despite regular appeals to global unity that were often enunciated thereafter, the communist parties of various countries were at greater liberty to follow their own roads to the socialist ideal, and the tensions between the conflicting aspirations of China and Russia occasionally led to military operations against one another. Even in countries nearer to the Russian sphere of influence within Eastern Europe, Marshal Josip Tito (1892–1980) of Yugoslavia took a relatively independent line from Moscow while using his own form of communist ideology to repress the long-standing ethnic conflicts endemic to that region that reemerged in the 1990s with a vengeance after the fall of communism.

The resistance to communism by some intellectual and religious leaders took both active and passive forms over the decades of the Cold War. In 1956, for instance, there were significant protests by cultural leaders in Poland and in Hungary. But while much of the land that had been collectivized in Poland was returned to private ownership after 1956, Hungary was subjected to a violent Soviet occupation. In 1968 the Slovakian leader Alexander Dubcek (1921–1992) briefly became the First Secretary of the Communist Party and the President of Czechoslovakia. He attempted a reform of communism by a de-Stalinization of its program of centralized control. The armed forces of the Warsaw Pact, however, entered Czechoslovakia on the night of August 19 to 20, 1968. Over the ensuing months, Dubcek's reforms were undone, and by 1970 he had been expelled from the party. A series of hard-line communists maintained the basic commitments of the communist system in the Soviet Union for decades, including Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971), Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982), and Alexei Kosygin (1904–1980).

Communism in Asia. The Communist Party of China, founded in Shanghai in 1921, took control of all China except Taiwan after defeating the Guomindang (Kuomintang) in 1949. The People's Republic of China, established and ruled by Mao Zedong until his death in 1976, was nominally based on Marxist-Leninism, but it broke away from Russian dominance and the standard ideology during the quarrels between Mao and Khrushchev. Mao's vision concentrated on a revolution of the peasantry and culminated in the atrocities of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). His enforcement of a strict communist ideology against those reformist elements that he saw as working to reintroduce bourgeois capitalism led to severe repression and economic chaos across the country.

After Mao's death, leaders of the Chinese Communist Party who were opposed to the Cultural Revolution gained power under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping (1904–1997). Deng and his successors led China back toward a market economy without ever abandoning their commitments to socialism. When many socialist governments collapsed from the protests that began in 1989, the Chinese government took a stiff line against the protesters in Tiananmen Square and dealt severely with those who tried to undermine the regime and its ideology.

Within the general Chinese sphere of influence there have been communist regimes in Korea and Vietnam that have led to protracted wars with Western democratic states in the power vacuum left by the withdrawal of Japanese forces at the end of the Second World War. Under the leadership of Kim Il-Sung (1912–1994), the communists concentrated forces in northern Korea. They were assisted by Communist China in battling against the democratically inclined forces of southern Korea and their American allies until a United Nations–brokered armistice partitioned the country in 1953. Under the regime of Kim Il-Sung's son, Kim Jong-Il, North Korea remains deeply committed to its own form of Marxist-



The Berlin Wall. *A demonstrator pounds away at the Berlin Wall as East German border guards look on from above at the Brandenburg Gate, November 11, 1989.* © **REUTERS/CORBIS**

Leninism but largely cut off from the rest of the world. Its people have suffered terribly in both economic and spiritual terms from their isolation.

Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) led the Viet Minh independence movement from 1941 and eventually ousted the French from Indochina in 1954. The Geneva Accords of that year allowed pro-communist forces to relocate to the northern part of Vietnam around Hanoi, and anti-communist forces to do the same in the southern part, centering around Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City). Following the doctrines of Stalin and Mao, Ho Chi Minh formed a communist workers party. In the ensuing war, the United States supported South Vietnam, but in America popular support for the war eventually flagged. The successors of Ho Chi Minh in North Vietnam united the entire country under a regime

that retains a Marxist-Leninist form of communism to this day.

The Demise of Communism. While Marx and Lenin had prophesied the eventual demise of capitalism as the result of the resentments aroused by the inequalities they thought unavoidable in a capitalist free-market system, it was the inner contradictions of communist systems of governance and economics that contributed significantly to the collapse of regime after regime. After Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union in 1985, he undertook initiatives to reform communism. Among other things, he relaxed central control of the economy through his policies of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring). Unlike his predecessors, he did not intervene in Poland when the Solidarity movement inspired by Pope JOHN PAUL II and led by Lech Walesa challenged the communist government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The containment policies enforced against the spread of communism by the likes of President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004) of the United States and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain put unbearable pressure on the Soviet economy to attempt to match spending on various military and international aid initiatives. This pressure eventually burst the fragile socialist economies that Soviet leaders had desperately tried for decades to keep in place. By 1990, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary had all abandoned communism, and in 1991 the Soviet Union itself dissolved.

The Catholic Position on Communism. The history of the Catholic Church's opposition can be traced back at least as far as Pope PIUS IX's ENCYCLICAL *Nostis et nobiscum* (On the Church in the Pontifical States, 1849), which refers to the "perverted theories of socialism and communism" (no. 25). Likewise, his encyclical, *Quanta cura* (Condemning Current Errors, 1864), calls communism and socialism a "fatal error." Communism and socialism are both condemned in Pope LEO XIII's *rerum novarum* (On Capital and Labor, 1891) as fundamentally at odds with basic Christian beliefs. Pope PIUS XI's *Quadragesimo anno* (On Reconstruction of the Social Order, 1931) distinguishes between communism and socialism in important ways but singles out communism for attack because it explicitly advocates class warfare and the complete abolition of private ownership, even by violent means if necessary. The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* sums up the balanced judgment that the Catholic position aims for when evaluating communism and socialism by stating the following: "The Church has rejected the totalitarian and atheistic ideologies associated in modern times with 'communism' or 'socialism'.... Regulating the economy solely by centralized planning perverts the basis of social bonds ... [Still,] reasonable regulation of the marketplace and economic initiatives, in keeping with a just hierarchy of values and a view to the common good, is to be commended" (§2425).

SEE ALSO BOLSHEVISM; CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; CHINA, CHRISTIANITY IN; THE CHURCH, THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM, AND THE CHALLENGE OF NEW DEMOCRACIES; CZECH REPUBLIC, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE; POLAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; QUADRAGESIMO ANNO; QUANTA CURA; RERUM NOVARUM; RUSSIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; VIETNAM, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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CONCORDAT WITH GERMANY (1933)

Of the thirty-eight concordats concluded by the PAPACY between 1919 and 1938, none was more controversial or had a greater impact on the reputation and the moral integrity of the Church than the Reich Concordat made with Nazi Germany in 1933. Although Pope PIUS XI

had condemned the principles of the totalitarian state, he relied on concordats with various states to protect the interests of the Church. The interest of the HOLY SEE in negotiating a concordat with the Weimar Republic reflected its concern with the unequal status of confessional schools in Germany. Efforts to obtain legal equality and negotiate a concordat with the republican government were never successful, however. One of the many obstacles that contributed to a stalemate in the negotiations was the German government's request for a military chaplaincy, which the VATICAN resisted because the government would not make concessions to the Church in the areas of marriages, denominational schools, and state financial contributions.

When Adolf HITLER came to power on January 30, 1933, he was concerned about the political activities of the German Center Party and the Church's opposition to the Nazi Party, which were both fundamental obstacles to the establishment of a dictatorship. Episcopal authorities had criticized National Socialism's PAGAN and anti-Christian ideas, describing the party as racist and totalitarian. Earlier, in February 1931, the Bavarian bishops had forbidden Catholics to support the party. On the occasion of his first radio address, on February 1, 1933, Hitler attempted to allay Catholic suspicions by promising to make Christian MORALITY and family the basis of German society. In his Reichstag speech of March 23, 1933, he declared that both Christian confessions of faith were essential foundations of the German nation, and that he would respect the state concordats, secure the rights of the Church in education, and pursue amicable relations with the papacy. These conciliatory statements masked his true intentions of eliminating the political opposition of the Catholic Church.

Hitler believed that a concordat would provide an endorsement by the pope of the legitimacy of his government and counter the reluctance of many Catholics to support his regime. On March 28, facing a dilemma as to whether to support the government or oppose it, the German bishops announced a dramatic reversal rescinding the prohibitions against the Nazi Party, and they admonished Catholics to be obedient to lawful authority. That same month the Center Party voted for the Enabling Act, which gave Hitler dictatorial powers.

There has been some controversy over who first proposed the negotiation of a concordat, the Vatican or Hitler's government. It is generally accepted by historians, however, that the Catholic nobleman Franz von Papen (1879–1969), who at the time was the deputy chancellor in Hitler's cabinet, and the German government first made the proposal in early April, and that the Vatican cautiously responded to this initiative. On his trip to Rome to negotiate the concordat, Papen was joined by Monsignor Ludwig KAAS (1881–1952), the leader of the Center Party, who assisted him in the preparation of a draft treaty. Negotiations were conducted with Eugenio Pacelli, the papal secretary of state (and later Pope PIUS XII). The draft of the concordat was completed in only four sessions, and to the surprise of the Vatican, the German state conceded practically all that Pacelli required.

Yet while the negotiations continued, the German persecution of the Church accelerated. It was hoped by Pacelli and Pius XI that a concordat would erect a legal wall of defense to protect the Church and its denominational schools, as well as obtain the state's recognition of canon law. Pacelli, of course, was suspicious of Hitler's motives and expected a concordat to be violated. The German government had accepted the major demands of the Holy See, however, and Pacelli assumed that the Church's rejection of such a favorable treaty would lead to a religious war and endanger the Catholic Church in Germany.

The Reich Concordat was signed on July 20, 1933, and it was ratified in a ceremonial exchange of documents in the Apostolic Palace of the Vatican on September 10, 1933. Of the 33 articles, 21 pertained to the rights of the Church. The concordat, for instance, guaranteed the Church the right to teach, publicly defend Catholic principles, and operate Catholic schools. Church organizations, especially Catholic Youth associations, could not be politically oriented. Article 31, which dealt with religious, cultural, and educational associations, was left purposely vague and subject to future negotiations, which resulted in many disagreements. Communications with ROME, canonical regulations governing religious orders, and ecclesiastical property were safeguarded, and bishops were given the right to approve instructors of religion in state schools, but consultation with the state was required in ecclesiastical appointments. Members of the clergy had to be German citizens and have a German education, while seminarians had to perform military service during a general mobilization. The loyalty of bishops was secured by Article 16, which required them to take an oath of loyalty to the German government, and religious education was to inspire patriotism and loyalty in students. Finally, Article 32 fulfilled Hitler's dream of barring the clergy from politics, membership in political parties, or even promoting political parties.

Although Pacelli refused to accept Hitler's interpretation of the concordat as an approval of the National Socialist state, he did believe that it provided Rome the right to intervene in Germany's domestic affairs and enabled it to challenge Nazi policies. The need for such an intervention was obvious, as violations of the concordat were rampant between 1933 and 1936. Catholic offices were closed, meetings were banned, property confiscated, the Catholic press suppressed, civil

servants dismissed or arrested, clergy imprisoned, pastoral letters confiscated, Catholic schools and cloisters closed, and episcopal offices ransacked. During the ensuing years, thousands of clergy were defamed, arrested, tried, and imprisoned. As early as October 1933, Pacelli was complaining to the German Foreign Ministry about serious violations of the treaty.

The bishops followed a policy called "petition politics," in which they publicly complained of concordat violations and then privately appealed to the government to desist from such abuses. The bishops could do little more than that, however, because Article 16 of the treaty bound them by an oath of loyalty to the state. In August 1936 the bishops requested that Pius XI publicly condemn the ongoing persecution of the Church in an apostolic letter. This culminated in the famous papal encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (With Deep Anxiety), which was secretly distributed throughout Germany. Some have claimed, however, that the pope's public condemnation only resulted in greater repression.

Following the outbreak of WORLD WAR II, the new pope, Pius XII, followed the example of Pope BENEDICT XV during World War I by adhering to a policy of strict neutrality. Unlike his predecessor, who had recourse to strong words and public protests, Pius XII adhered to the concordat and relied on diplomacy, private protests, and oblique condemnations when confronted with the persecution of the Church and the genocide of the HOLOCAUST (SHOAH). This led to the charge that he was "silent" and sparked a historiographical debate on the role of this pope and the papacy during the war and its aftermath.

SEE ALSO GERMANY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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CONSTANTINOPLE (BYZANTIUM, ISTANBUL)

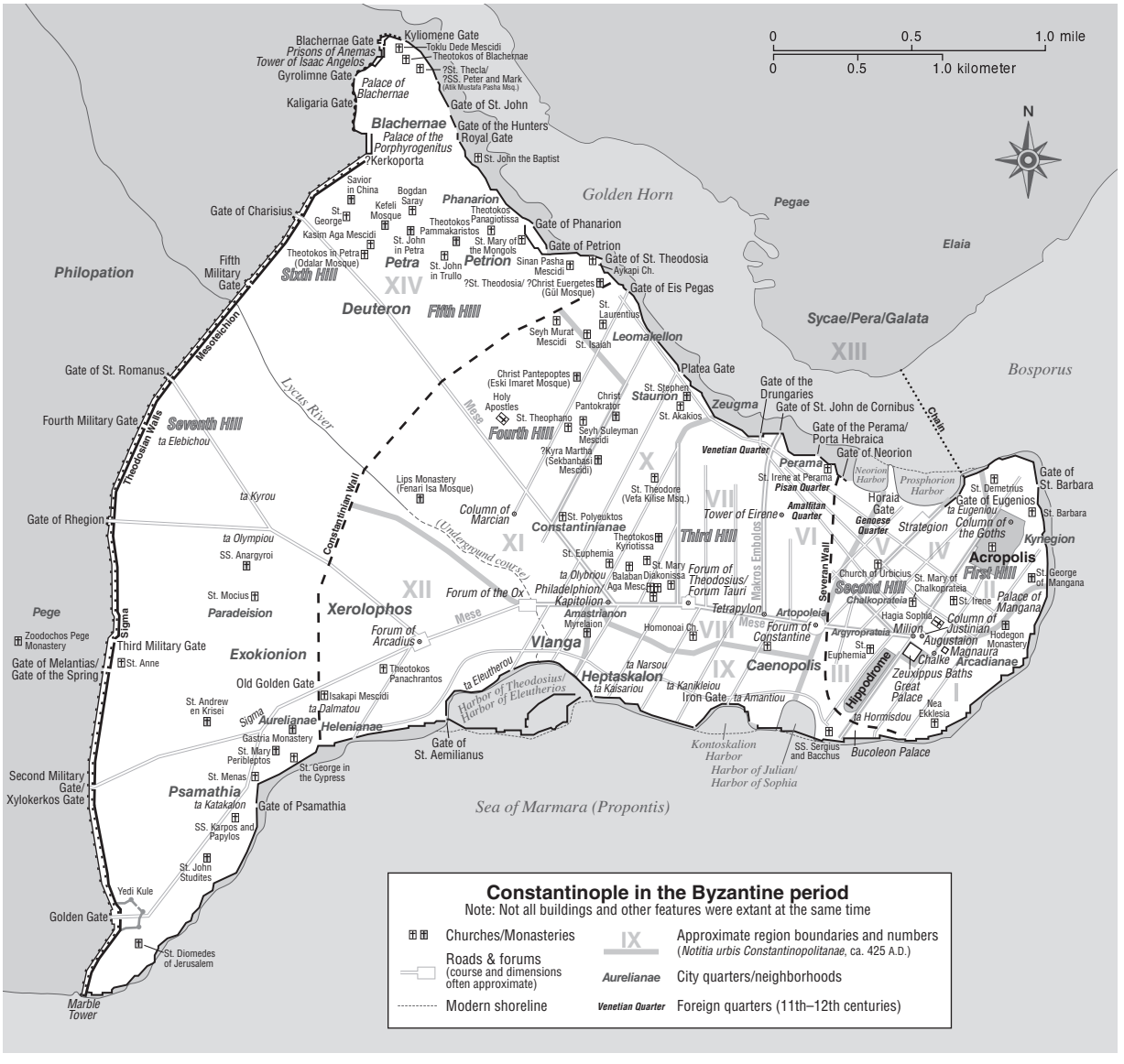
Constantinople (modern Istanbul), "Constantine's City" (Latin: *Constantinopolis*), sometimes Byzantium or simply "the City." This article deals with Constantinople: (1) as a center of Church history; (2) in its relations with Rome; (3) in its break with Rome; (4) as a center of monasticism; and (5) as a center of art and archeology.

EARLY HISTORY

The importance of the site of Constantinople as a center of communications and the advantages of its excellent harbor, the Golden Horn, were recognized as early as the seventh century BC, when Greek merchants founded the colony of Byzantion. As a small commercial city it survived into Roman times.

The Founding of Constantinople. On becoming the sole emperor, CONSTANTINE I, THE GREAT (306–337), transferred the imperial capital from Italy to the eastern part of the empire for greater administrative and military efficiency. As a result of his conversion to Christianity, he preferred to build a new capital that would be Christian from the beginning, rather than occupy a city with old pagan associations. After considering several sites, he chose Byzantium, since it was not a major city and so could be "refounded" and given a new name, "the city of Constantine." The account of the founding written by Bishop EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, Constantine's adviser and biographer, describes the construction of a number of churches, which were supplied with costly copies of the Scriptures specially prepared in Eusebius's SCRIPTORIUM in Caesarea. Other sources indicate that Constantine had to take into account that many of his subjects were still pagans and the dedication ceremonies (330) included traditional pagan rites as well as Christian services.

The history of the Church at Constantinople was inevitably colored by the city's being the imperial residence and by the consequent propinquity of the bishop and the emperor. The see inescapably became



Jewel of the Eastern Roman Empire. *This vast city grew in size and importance as Rome shrank in the West. The physical expansion of Constantinople can be traced by examining the numbered regions on the map. Each region is numbered in the order that it was incorporated into the city, beginning with its initial foundation site (Region I) to the furthest expanse of the city limits (Region XIV).* **REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF GALE, A PART OF CENGAGE LEARNING**

involved in disputes with other major churches over questions of precedence and authority. A late legend, dating apparently from the early seventh century, attributed the founding of the Church at Byzantium to the Apostle ANDREW. This claim cannot be verified, and its late origin suggests that it arose at the time of the controversy between Rome and Constantinople over the title of "ecumenical patriarch" as used by the patriarch of Constantinople. It is thought that someone at Constantinople, wishing to place the see of the capital among the apostolic foundations and thus raise it to the same level as Rome in this respect, fabricated the legend. The actual situation at the time of the founding of the city is shown by canon six of the Council of NICAEA I (325), which confirmed the traditional authority of the metropolitan of Heraclea over the see of Byzantium.

The Strengthening of the Church in Constantinople. The controversy over ARIANISM involved Constantinople in tension with the other major churches and had special significance at the capital because of the Emperor CONSTANTINE II's Arian leanings. Toward the end of the Arian troubles, GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS was installed (381) as bishop in order to direct the

restoration of orthodoxy, and the Council of CONSTANTINOPLE I in 381 (later acknowledged as the second ecumenical council) was convoked by THEODOSIUS THE GREAT in order to complete the restoration of religious unity. The Nicene doctrine of the nature of Christ was confirmed, and APOLLINARIANISM was condemned. The CREED called Niceno-Constantinopolitan, once thought to have been promulgated at this council, probably originated earlier. The status of Constantinople was elevated by canon three, which decreed that the bishop of Constantinople should have "precedence of honor" after the bishop of Rome "because Constantinople is the new Rome." This canon, though, was not accepted by Rome, as Jedin reports.

As patriarch of Constantinople, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (398–407) encountered political and ecclesiastical difficulties, which led to his condemnation at the Synod of the OAK, followed by his exile and death. Canon 28 of the Council of CHALCEDON (451) granted "equal prerogatives" to the see of Constantinople, the "New Rome," as those enjoyed by the see of the "Old Rome," after which it ranked second. As Jedin reports, the papal legates present at Chalcedon, however, protested this canon, and Pope LEO I refused to endorse it. Nevertheless, the canon indicates that between 381 and 451 Constantinople had extended its jurisdiction over the dioceses of Thrace, Asia, and Pontus, and that the see of the imperial capital was engaged in a series of hostilities with ANTIOCH and ALEXANDRIA, its natural ecclesiastical rivals in the East. Antioch, by the support it gave to NESTORIANISM and MONOPHYSITISM, provided opportunities for attacks on its own power, while Alexandria brought more strength to its resistance to the capital. The frequent and extended visits of ecclesiastical prelates to the capital led to the formation of a permanent "resident synod" (*synodos endemousa*), which became characteristic of this patriarchate and served both the patriarch and the emperor in the preparation of policy and the issuing of decrees concerning ecclesiastical problems.

RELATIONS WITH ROME

Relations between Constantinople and Rome were conditioned at an early date by the extension of power of the Constantinopolitan see and by the influence of its patriarch with the emperor. The activities of the patriarch of Constantinople must be viewed in the light of the theory of the nature of the office of the Christian Roman emperor, formulated in the time of Constantine the Great. According to this theory, which was designed to replace the political theory of the pagan Roman Empire, the Christian emperor was conceived to be the vicegerent of God on earth, divinely chosen for office and ruling by divine inspiration and by virtue of his position responsible for the spiritual as well as the material welfare of his subjects. The competence and right of the sovereign to control or intervene in ecclesiastical affairs was in due course challenged by the Church, but the patriarch of the imperial residence, whether he was considered a partner of the emperor or only an adviser, could on occasion claim authority and jurisdiction, political or spiritual, which the other ancient sees, especially Rome, were unable to accept. Thus the ACACIAN SCHISM, separating East and West from 484 to 519, arose when Pope FELIX III felt it necessary to excommunicate the Patriarch ACACIUS for the HENOTICON or formula of union issued by the Emperor ZENO.

Reign of Justinian (527–565). This was one of the most brilliant periods in the history of Constantinople and established a new era in Byzantine civilization. JUSTINIAN I sought to complete the process inaugurated by Constantine and Theodosius and to perfect the life of a Christian Roman Empire in which religion, intellectual culture, art, social life, and government were integrated into one harmonious whole under a benevolent emperor who was the all-powerful father of his people and the responsible head of both Church and State. Constantinople was the center in which this achievement was to be realized. In the religious sphere, Justinian's constant preoccupation was the restoration of orthodoxy and the suppression of heresy and paganism. The emperor pursued his goal with autocratic vigor, and in an effort to solve the Monophysite problem, which constituted a breach in both the spiritual and the political unity of the empire, applied himself to theology and ended by issuing unilateral legislation on points of doctrine without consulting the Church, an action that exceeded the most liberal interpretation of his powers. Justinian endeavored to impose his will on Popes AGAPETUS, SILVERIUS, and VIGILIUS. Silverius was deposed, while Vigilius was brought to Constantinople and treated with physical violence. The Council of CONSTANTINOPLE II (fifth ecumenical council, 553) was convoked by Justinian to settle the question arising out of the Monophysite problem, as to whether the THREE CHAPTERS, condemned by Justinian in a personal edict in 543, should be condemned, along with their authors, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyr, and Ibas of Edessa, for their Nestorian sympathies. At the emperor's behest, the council condemned the chapters and anathematized their writers.

A new source of difficulty between Constantinople and Rome arose over the use of the title "ecumenical patriarch" by the patriarchs of Constantinople. In existing Greek usage, the term "ecumenical" had a restricted sense, but Pope GREGORY I protested against the patriarchs' use of the title because in the West it would be taken as a claim to universal jurisdiction. This controversy continued for some years, but the patriarchs

did not discontinue the use of the title. MONOTHELITISM, growing out of Monophysitism, caused further estrangement between the East and the West, in the course of which Pope MARTIN I and MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR were arrested by order of the Emperor CONSTANS II, taken to Constantinople, and tried for treason. The pope was banished and died from cold and hunger (655).

In 680 the Council of CONSTANTINOPLE III (sixth ecumenical council) was convoked by the Emperor CONSTANTINE IV to settle the Monothelite heresy. The Dogmatic Decree issued by the council reaffirmed the definition of Chalcedon with an additional statement certifying the reality of the two wills and the two operations in Christ. This was followed by the Trullan Synod (692), so called from its meeting in the *trullus* or domed chamber of the imperial palace. It is also referred to as the Quinisext, for its task was to draw up disciplinary decrees on clerical marriage, clerical dress, age of ordination, and the like, in order to supply the canonical measures not handled at the fifth and sixth ecumenical councils (553 and 680). The legislation of this council served to emphasize the difference between Eastern and Western practice, and the refusal of Pope SERGIUS I (r. 687–701) to endorse the Trullan Synod led to further tensions, as Kelly reports.

Iconoclast Controversy (725–843). This controversy produced tension between the popes, who supported further the traditional use of images as orthodox, and the iconoclast emperors and patriarchs, who sought to abolish sacred images as promoting idolatry. Further cause for discord was the rivalry between Rome and Constantinople for the ecclesiastical control of Illyricum, southern Italy, and Sicily, over which, from the fifth to the ninth century, the See of Constantinople gradually extended its jurisdiction.

Photius and the Greek Schism. The Photian schism was once thought to be the beginning of the definitive schism between the East and the West, but recent research has tended to show that the breach between the East and the West under the Patriarch PHOTIUS (858–869, 877–886) was not permanent, that a recognized schism came about only gradually, and that the date when the schism became complete is not easy to establish. Relations between the East and the West at this time reflect the effect of the accumulation of the successive points of difference between Rome and Constantinople, combined with the increasing difficulty of effective communication, as fewer people in the East had a competent knowledge of Latin, while at the same time fewer people in Rome possessed an accurate knowledge of Greek. Thus official correspondence was sometimes not interpreted correctly.

The personal history of the future patriarch Photius was typical of the Constantinople of his day, and his appointment illustrates the way in which the affairs of the patriarchate were conducted at that time. A member of a wealthy and distinguished family (his uncle TARASIUS had been patriarch from 784 to 806), Photius was one of the most learned and cultivated men of his time, a leader in the intellectual and literary revival then taking place in Constantinople. His contributions to scholarship were important. Photius had also shown unusual talents as a diplomat and civil servant. Others of similar background had been called to the patriarchal throne because of their personal prestige and their experience of practical affairs. In the East this was not considered an undesirable practice; but the appointment of such men to the highest ecclesiastical posts seemed strange to the West. Thus, when Emperor MICHAEL III deposed the patriarch IGNATIUS in the course of a quarrel between conservative and moderate elements in the Church, the emperor chose Photius to succeed him, as a man capable of reconciling the discordant groups. Photius was a layman and had to proceed through the necessary series of ordinations in six successive days. When the deposition of Ignatius seemed irregular, Pope NICHOLAS I had additional reason not to recognize Photius as patriarch. Ignatius's friends carried their complaints to Rome. The question of the FILIOQUE was raised; and the case became further complicated by an important administrative question, namely, whether the newly established Church of BULGARIA should come under the jurisdiction of Rome or Constantinople. The controversy, protracted and complex, illustrates the way in which the pope was obliged to deal with two powers, the patriarch and the emperor, whereas the patriarch and the emperor had to deal with only a single agent, the pope. Several councils were held in Rome (863, 864, 869, 879) and in Constantinople (859, 861, 869–870, 879–880). The Council of CONSTANTINOPLE IV (869–870), the eighth ecumenical council, confirmed the sentence of the Council at Rome in 869 that anathematized Photius. Ignatius was reestablished as patriarch, but he died in 877; and Photius once again was appointed patriarch and was recognized by Pope JOHN VIII. At a Photian Council at Constantinople in 879–880, the papal legates apparently accepted Photius and annulled the action of the council of 869–870. If the Photian schism did not create a lasting breach between the East and the West, the part played by Photius certainly hastened the final schism—he was the first Eastern theologian to bring an accusation that the filioque was an innovation—and it is appropriate that his name is attached to the episode.

Patriarchal Status. The careers of Ignatius and Photius illustrate the relations between patriarch and emperor. The patriarch had great power; in the middle of the seventh century he controlled 419 bishoprics, in the

early ninth century, more than 500. At the same time, the patriarch often had to defer to the emperor. While a patriarch who had public opinion behind him could, when necessary, oppose an emperor very effectively, the imperial office could employ constraints that the Church could not always withstand. Under the best conditions, the collaboration of emperor and patriarch could be a harmonious partnership; but emperors might be tyrannical and patriarchs might be servile or contentious. It was possible for heretics such as NESTORIUS, men with heretical tendencies such as Acacius, and iconoclasts to be patriarchs.

BREAK WITH ROME

After the time of Photius, relations between the East and the West further deteriorated. The patriarchate of MICHAEL CERULARIUS (1043–1059) has traditionally been seen as the time of the final breach (1054), but recent research has shown that this year did not witness a permanent break and that the final schism developed gradually. Cerularius, a civil servant ordained late in life, brought to the duties of patriarch the strict mentality of the bureaucrat and a strong will that did not defer to the emperor's views. Violently anti-Latin, the new patriarch inaugurated a systematic attack on Latin usages, such as use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, fasting on Saturdays, and the like. When the Latin churches in Constantinople refused to adopt Greek usages, Cerularius closed them, caused a violent letter to be sent to Rome, and instituted further anti-Western propaganda which included some exaggerated and abusive charges.

Continued Hostilities. Pope LEO IX sent three legates to complain to the emperor and reprove the patriarch, their leader being Cardinal Humbert, who disliked the Greeks as strongly as Cerularius disliked the Latins. The Emperor CONSTANTINE IX attempted to act as conciliator but failed. The legates took the unusual step of entering HAGIA SOPHIA just before the singing of the liturgy and laying on the altar a bull excommunicating the patriarch and his followers (but not the emperor). When the contents of the bull became known in the city, there were riots, which the imperial troops put down only with difficulty. After the legates left for Rome, a synod met at Constantinople and anathematized them. Though the synod was careful not to involve the pope, it was later believed in the East that Cerularius had answered the attack on himself by excommunicating the pope. The crisis was taken more seriously in the West than in the East. But political negotiations between the emperor and the Roman See continued, and the evidence indicates that neither the East nor the West looked upon the episode as the beginning of a permanent schism.

Crusades. The CRUSADES aggravated the hostility of the patriarch and the Greek people toward Rome. The motives of the crusaders were suspected and their behavior seemed offensive. The emperors made efforts toward conciliation, but the patriarchs did not support these. Feeling became so strong that there was a massacre of Latins in Constantinople in 1182. There was even more extensive violence when some members of the Fourth Crusade, after having captured Constantinople in 1204, pillaged the city for three days when they felt betrayed by the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius IV, whom they had helped regain the imperial crown. It was the memory of this, more than anything else, that confirmed the breach between Constantinople and Rome. The Byzantine government in exile, with the Greek patriarchs, resided at Nicaea, and the Latins, under a Latin patriarch, occupied the principal churches and monasteries of Constantinople. From the beginning of the Latin occupation, Pope INNOCENT III attempted to conciliate the Greeks and procure their obedience with as little disturbance of the hierarchy as possible, but the Greeks had no desire for compromise. The patriarchate returned to Constantinople when the city was recaptured by the Byzantines in 1261.

During the remaining years of Byzantine rule in Constantinople, the patriarchs joined with the emperors, who in order to secure political and military support against the Turkish threat were seeking union with Rome. At the councils of LYONS (1276) and FLORENCE (1439), the Church of Constantinople recognized the supremacy of the Roman See, but these actions were only accepted by a very small portion of the Byzantine clergy and people. A council, which met in Hagia Sophia in 1450, condemned the union with Rome and deposed the prounion patriarch. Emperor Constantine XII caused the union to be proclaimed again in Hagia Sophia in December of 1452, and it was not formally repealed until 1484, as Nichols reports. In reality, though, the union ended when Constantinople was captured by the Turks on May 29, 1453.

MONASTIC ESTABLISHMENTS

A major influence in the political and religious life of Constantinople was the large number of monastic establishments, each with its particular rule. The extant documents preserve the names of 325 monasteries of men and women in the capital between the years 330 and 1453, though some of these may represent the refounding of an existing establishment under a new name. In 1453, when the capital had shrunk to a shadow

of its former size, eighteen monastic establishments were still active.

Influence. The monks had a powerful influence on the religious life of the people, for example, in the iconoclast controversy, in which they strongly defended the use of icons. As a rule, the monks had a lively sense of independence and could become fanatical when they considered that they must resist unjust actions of ecclesiastical authority. Some of the monasteries, such as the STUDION, were important centers of scholarship and the preservation of manuscripts.

Patriarchal School. Along with the university founded by Constantine the Great, there was a patriarchal school, first attested in the seventh century, which offered instruction not only in theology but in secular learning as well. When reorganized by Photius, this school was divided into various branches, which met at different churches in the city.

ART AND ARCHEOLOGY

Recent archeological activity in Istanbul has stimulated popular interest in the art of imperial Constantinople, and the corpus of known monuments has largely increased. Exploration of the area of the imperial palace has brought to light important mosaics, as well as valuable topographical information. The work of the Byzantine Institute of America in uncovering and restoring mosaics and frescoes in Hagia Sophia (Holy Wisdom) and elsewhere has added new chapters to the history of Byzantine art. A definitive study of the structure and architectural history of Hagia Sophia, carried out by R.L. Van Nice, was published in 1986. Research on many aspects of the history and antiquities of Constantinople is in progress at the Center for Byzantine Studies of Harvard University at Dumbarton Oaks, in Washington, D.C., and at the Institut Français d'Études Byzantines in Paris.

Churches. Numerous churches, as well as other buildings, including a palace, were constructed after the refoundation of the city by Constantine. Extant sources for eleven centuries of the history of Constantinople record the names of 485 churches. The oldest surviving is the Basilica of St. John Baptist Studium, built circa 463. The most important, still standing, is Justinian's great Church of Hagia Sophia. Constructed on a new plan and at a scale never before attempted, it was the greatest church then existing in the world. Contemporary literary accounts of the original construction and decoration by Procopius of Caesarea and Paulus Silentiarius have been preserved. Procopius, who watched the building being constructed and may have been present when it was dedicated, described its effect on the worshipper:

> Whenever anyone enters this church to pray, he understands at once that it is not by human power or skill, but by the power of God, that this work has been so beautifully executed. And his mind is lifted up toward God, feeling that He cannot be far away, but must especially love to dwell in this place which he has chosen.

Procopius's description is part of his panegyrical account of Justinian's buildings both at Constantinople and throughout the empire, in which one can perceive that the construction of churches and public buildings was one of the main functions of the emperor, illustrating the sovereign's benevolent role as father of his people. Other churches of Justinian still standing are the church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus and the church of St. Irene. Another great undertaking of Justinian, the church of the Holy Apostles, was destroyed after 1453, but its plan and decoration are known from literary descriptions by Constantine of Rhodes and Nikolaos Mesarites. Some idea of the richness of this church can be gained from St. Mark's at Venice, which was modeled on it in plan and decoration.

Secular Architecture. The imperial palace facing the Augustaeum, the public square on which Hagia Sophia stood, was begun by Constantine the Great following the quadrangular plan of the Roman fortified camp, exemplified by the palaces at Spalato and Antioch. As at Antioch and Thessalonica, the juxtaposition at Constantinople of the palace, the hippodrome, and the "great church" brought together the three places in which the emperor performed his ceremonial functions, both political and religious. In time the palace was enlarged by the addition of public halls, banquet rooms, private chambers, chapels, churches, gardens, and a polo field, until it became one of the largest and most magnificent structures in the world of that time. The fortification walls of Constantinople, in large part preserved, give an excellent idea of Byzantine skill in masonry construction and military engineering.

The Arts. Constantinople was famous not only for its buildings and their decorations, but for the luxury articles of all kinds which were manufactured in the city and exported throughout the world, the city being one of the most important trading centers of its time. As the largest and most luxurious city in the world, Constantinople possessed both a taste for the work of skilled artists and craftsmen and the wealth to attract them to the city. The spirit of the capital was expressed in a fondness for magnificence and display, and a love of color. Gold mosaic and gold cloth were much in use. Constanti-



Justinian's Great Church. *Exterior view of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, Turkey.* © FRANCESCO VENTURI/CORBIS

nople and Antioch were the two centers for the manufacture of gold and silver Eucharistic vessels and altar furnishings. The workshops of the city—often established in the palace under direct imperial patronage and supervision—produced the finest jewelry and other objects, such as book covers inlaid in gold and silver or enamel and ivory, as well as richly illustrated books and figured silks. Icons of all sizes—metal, painted, or mosaic—were produced. The coins struck at the imperial mint in Constantinople are important both as examples of contemporary art and iconography and as portraits of imperial personages; notable collections are in the British Museum and at Dumbarton Oaks. The illustrations and ornamentation of the secular and religious manuscripts produced at Constantinople are one of our richest sources for the purpose and methods of Byzantine art.

Byzantine art as it developed in Constantinople illustrates the way in which the capital brought together the artistic traditions of the other great cities of the empire, notably Antioch and Alexandria, and transformed them into a new and distinctive manner, which often went back to the works of classical Greece and Rome for its inspiration. Byzantine Christian art is full of classical motifs and genre scenes in the antique fashion. It was a unified art that was at the same time secular and religious, decorative and didactic. As an official art, centered on the glorification of God and the emperor, Byzantine art found its finest expression in Constantinople.

The iconoclast controversy had two effects on the artistic activity of the capital: a revival of the classical style and the development of a popular style, centered in the monasteries, which flourished alongside the official, imperial art. Thus the end of the iconoclast ban on religious art was followed by a new golden age in the art of Constantinople, from the ninth through the twelfth centuries.

The artistic influence of the capital radiated throughout the world; it is now especially familiar in the early art and architecture of the Slavic lands, whose whole culture was so dependent upon Byzantium, and in the work of the Italian painters, such as CIMABUE, Duccio, Cavallini, GIOTTO, and MANTEGNA, who were familiar with Byzantine work and developed a close affinity with its spirit and style.

SEE ALSO BYZANTINE ART; BYZANTINE CIVILIZATION; BYZANTINE EMPIRE, THE; BYZANTINE LITERATURE; BYZANTINE THEOLOGY; ICONOCLASM; OTTOMAN TURKS.

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COPE, MARIANNE, BL.

Missionary to HAWAII; b. Heppenhein, a village in the German Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, January 23, 1838; d. Moloka'i, Hawaii, August 9, 1918, at the age of eighty; beatified May 14, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Two years after Barbara Koob was born in Germany, her family immigrated to Utica, New York. On arrival, they changed their name to Cope. Barbara joined the Sisters of St. Francis (O.S.F.) in Syracuse, New York, in 1862 and took the name Marianne. After she taught and administered schools in New York, she became administrator of Syracuse's first hospital. Her leadership

brought the Geneva Medical College to Syracuse for a successful development of medical practices between the hospital and the college.

Cope became the major superior of the sisters in Syracuse in 1877. In 1883, after a letter and visit from Fr. Leonor Fouesnel, emissary from the Kingdom of Hawaii, Mother Marianne and six sisters from her community traveled to Hawaii to work with lepers. Initially she was uncertain how long she would remain there because of her responsibilities as the major superior. Her eventual decision was to remain permanently. On arrival, they worked at the Kakaako Branch Hospital in Oahu, where Hansen's disease patients were received and processed for shipment to Molokai. Two years later, Mother Marianne and her sisters established the Kapiolani Home for the daughters of Hansen's disease patients who were quarantined on the island of Molokai.

In 1888 Mother Marianne and two sisters, Leopoldina Burns and Vincentia McCormick, accepted Father Damian's invitation to work with Hansen's disease patients at Molokai, a ministry they continued after his death. Arriving on November 14, 1888, they took charge of the Bishop Home for Girls in Kalaupapa. From 1888 to 1895 they also managed the Home for Boys at Kalawao that Father Damian had earlier founded. Mother Marianne's indefatigable spirit, unflagging optimism, and self-sacrificing devotion inspired her sisters to cope with the extremely heavy and punishing workload of caring for women and children with Hansen's disease. Remarkably, she never contracted the disease. In 1918, at the age of eighty, she passed away. Her remains are buried on the grounds of her beloved Bishop Home for Girls, now a national park monument.

In establishing homes for women and children with Hansen's disease, Mother Marianne led one of the earliest American Catholic women's congregations to establish missions outside the United States. In doing so, she became the first American Catholic woman missionary to minister to patients with this disease, and today she is especially honored as an intercessor for victims of leprosy. Throughout her life she practiced an ecumenism of good works, reminding her community that "the charity of the good knows no creed, and is confined to no one place."

In recognizing a life replete with HOLINESS, Mother Marianne of Molokai was declared venerable by Pope JOHN PAUL II on April 19, 2004. The following year, on May 14, 2005, she was one of the first two persons beatified by Pope Benedict XVI. Prior to her BEATIFICATION, the Vatican affirmed a miraculous cure in 1992 attributed to Mother Marianne's intervention, involving a teenage girl suffering from multiple organ failure who regained full health after invoking her INTERCESSION. In his homily for Mother Marianne's Mass of beatification on the eve of PENTECOST in the Vatican Basilica, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins, Prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, reflected upon her virtues and works of CHARITY during her many years as a Third Order Franciscan, referring to her life as "a wonderful work of divine grace." Recognizing and fulfilling her unique call to a life of charity during her thirty-five years of devoted service to outcast women and children, Mother Marianne saw the suffering face of Jesus in those whom she cared for in body, mind, and spirit. The cause for Blessed Marianne's eventual sainthood continues, anticipating the final step in her canonization process, which will recognize her as the first female saint from Hawaii.

Feast: January 23.

SEE ALSO CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); FRANCISCANS, THIRD ORDER REGULAR; VEUSTER, JOSEPH DE (FR. DAMIEN), BL.

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COR UNUM

The Pontifical Council for Human and Christian Development, Cor Unum (One Heart), was founded on July 15, 1971, by Pope PAUL VI as the HOLY SEE's umbrella organization for the international promotion and distribution of CHARITY and human development. The VATICAN charity office was established in Paul VI's letter of institution, *Amoris officio*, of the same date, addressed to Jean Cardinal VILLOT, the Holy See's secretary of state, whom the POPE selected as Cor Unum's first president. According to Cor Unum's APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION, the council's mission is to express "the solicitude of the Catholic Church for the needy, to foster human fraternity and make manifest Christ's charity" (*Pastor bonus*, V, 145).

Cor Unum is a dicastery, or permanent office, of the Holy See, with officials selected by the pope for five-year terms. Based in the Palazzo San Calisto, just outside of Vatican City, Cor Unum is directed by a president, a secretary, and an undersecretary. Cor Unum is assisted by a council of thirty-eight members who are clerical and lay leaders of charities from around the world, six consultors who are experts in the areas of charity and development, and a permanent staff of nine.

Cor Unum cooperates with the charitable endeavors of bishops' conferences, Caritas Internationalis (the Vatican-based international confederation of Catholic social service and development agencies), Catholic Relief Services, Coopération Internationale pour le Développement et la Solidarité (CIDSE), Cross International Catholic Outreach, the International Association of the Ladies of Charity, the INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC MIGRATION COMMISSION, and the Society of St. VINCENT DE PAUL, among others. It also assists the charitable efforts of individual bishops and nationally based Catholic aid and development organizations such as CATHOLIC CHARITIES USA.

Cor Unum has also worked closely with non-Catholic charities, the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, and UNITED NATIONS agencies promoting aid and development. In addition, the papal organization has been the pope's arm of assistance to apply timely material and spiritual salve to the many peoples who have suffered from natural disasters.

Origins. Cor Unum is based on the principle espoused by St. Luke in the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES (4:32) that the entire church of baptized FAITHFUL is to be made of one heart and one SOUL. The organization is predicated on the belief that we are our brother's keeper, a belief that Giovanni Battista Montini, the future Pope Paul VI, witnessed his father, Giorgio Montini, put into action during political involvement in the future pope's boyhood home of Brescia, Italy. This example may have encouraged Paul VI to seek to apply his Catholicism to social action throughout his life.

Cor Unum was part of Paul VI's effort to continue on the path of his predecessor, Pope JOHN XXIII, regarding the Church's AGGIORNAMENTO, or dialogue and engagement with the world. In his speech of September 6, 1963, Paul VI had expressed a wish to fulfill the promise of Vatican II by offering a "preferential place to the practice of charity to our neighbor," a place rooted in "the inner contemplative life" (Levillain 2002, p. 1138). The pope had spoken of his great concern for human development also in his March 26, 1967, social encyclical, *Populorum progressio* (On the Development of Peoples), in which he beseeched the developed world to assist the developing world's peoples in their battles with famine, chronic disease, POVERTY, and illiteracy.

History and Charitable Impact. Cor Unum distributes millions of dollars in assistance annually to help alleviate the suffering of the world's many victims of war, famine, and natural disaster. In the year of its founding, 1971, Cor Unum helped to coordinate the raising of more than $10 million by Roman Catholic charities for the relief of victims of the Indian-Pakistani war. Cor Unum has promoted peace and human development worldwide and is responsible for distributing the pope's annual Lenten message about charity.

Cor Unum oversees two charitable foundations established by Pope JOHN PAUL II: the Foundation for the Sahel, founded in 1984 to provide funds to fight drought and desertification in Africa, and the Populorum Progressio Foundation, established in 1992 to aid indigenous and racially mixed people and poor farmers in Latin America. In addition, Cor Unum has published numerous documents, some favoring the provision of nutrition and hydration to patients in a persistent vegetative state, a view confirmed by Pope John Paul II and the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.

In 1995, John Paul II appointed German archbishop Paul Cordes (1935–) as president of Cor Unum, replacing Roger Cardinal ETCHEGARAY, a French cardinal who also headed the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. As president of Cor Unum, Archbishop Cordes, who was elevated to the cardinalate on October 17, 2007, personally traveled to disaster areas regularly to extend both a papal blessing and a financial donation.

Through the auspices of Cor Unum, the Holy See's donations to charities internationally topped $1 million annually starting in 1997 and reached almost $4 million in 2003. In 1998, Cor Unum announced the *Panis Caritatis* (Bread of Charity) project, in which an Italian flour-milling company pledged to sell discounted flour mix to bakers through the year 2000 to encourage them

to donate their savings to Cor Unum. The initiative also asked families to eat a special loaf of bread whose shape commemorated Jesus and his twelve apostles as a symbol of Christian fellowship. The resulting 700 million lire in donations were used to fund Cor Unum projects to rebuild homes in Rwanda, to bring famine relief to the Sudan, and to build bread ovens in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

In 1999, Cor Unum sponsored at the Vatican a four-day conference on charity attended by 200 people, including religious leaders and members of charities, from seventy nations. Cor Unum published *The Acts of the World Congress on Charity* as well as an updated *Catholic Aid Directory*, a listing of about 1,100 charitable agencies, later that year. During the year, Archbishop Cordes visited Albania, Macedonia, and Kosovo to encourage peaceful coexistence and rebuilding. With Cor Unum's support, Catholic relief agencies pledged about $30 million for reconstruction programs in Kosovo and for assistance in the repatriation of Kosovar refugees.

Contemporary Contribution. In 2000, the president of Cor Unum met with survivors of earthquakes in Taiwan and Colombia. He also visited with survivors of flooding and with church leaders in Mozambique and in Aosta, in northern Italy, bringing papal donations, recovery coordination, and international attention to both locales. In that same year, the Vatican announced that the John Paul II Foundation for the Sahel had provided $13 million in project funding since its foundation in 1984. Half of the foundation's 200 projects had trained people to combat drought and desertification in nine African countries; the other half of the projects had financed developments in agriculture and health. It was also announced that the Populorum Progressio Foundation had donated $9 million toward 200 projects that supported the agricultural development and health of indigenous and other poor farmers in Latin America since the organization's establishment in 1992.

In the year 2000 alone, in the name of the pope, Cor Unum distributed $1,211,600 in emergency assistance to victims of flood, drought, war, volcanic eruption, earthquake, hurricane, typhoon, famine, displacement, and/or disability in twenty-eight nations. Cor Unum also donated $555,100 toward education, social assistance, water purification, orphan relief, debt relief, AIDS care, counseling, and/or health initiatives in twenty-three nations. The pontifical council also encouraged dioceses in wealthy nations to support the development endeavors of the dioceses in poor nations in an ongoing project titled "The 100 Projects of the Holy Father." Cor Unum also made plans to expand the Panis Caritatis program to other parts of Europe and to parts of South America.

In 2001, Archbishop Cordes traveled to El Salvador to meet with the nation's president as well as with the leaders of Catholic aid agencies and various nongovernmental organizations to assist earthquake victims in that nation. The Cor Unum president also gave $100,000 on behalf of the pope to assist in the recovery effort.

In 2004, the Vatican donated more than $9 million in emergency aid and development assistance through Cor Unum. A total of $310,000 in Vatican funds was earmarked as part of a Catholic relief effort of several million dollars for regions of Southeast Asia and East Africa devastated by a December 2004 tsunami. Other Vatican monies assisted flood victims in the Dominican Republic and Haiti as well as disaster victims elsewhere. Over $2.8 million was spent on development projects that supported health care, education, and agriculture. The Vatican sent almost $130,000 as part of a Catholic commitment of more than $1 million by Catholic relief agencies to assist the war weary in Darfur, Sudan. Archbishop Cordes met with both political and Catholic leaders in Khartoum, Sudan's capital, and visited refugee camps in the Sudan with the assistance of United Nations officials. Cor Unum also assisted Cross International Catholic Outreach in aiding earthquake victims in Iran.

In that same year, at the prompting of Cor Unum, the Vatican released a postage stamp commemorating children with AIDS, with revenue from the sale of the stamp underwriting the Children of God Relief Institute in Kenya, which provides for the medical treatment, schooling, and maintenance of orphans with AIDS in Kenya.

In 2005, Cor Unum sponsored the International Conference on Charity, attended by about 200 heads of Catholic charitable agencies from around the world, an event that received added attention because of the planned release of Pope BENEDICT XVI's first encyclical, *Deus caritas est* (God Is Love), during the same week. Archbishop Cordes was a major contributor to the encyclical, which explored the interconnection between true LOVE and charity, and was present at its release at a January 25, 2005, Vatican press conference. The encyclical held that the Church's charity was "not just an organization like other philanthropic organizations" but was rooted in the Christian faithful's mirroring of God's love (Thavis 2006). Archbishop Cordes said of the encyclical, "Those we help need not be Catholic, but it must be clear that we love and care for them because we are Catholic" (Wooden 2007). While in favor of technical expertise in responding to disaster, Archbishop Cordes maintains that the toughest task for Catholic charities is not obtaining funds but "the temptation to limit charity to a technical procedure" (Wooden 2007).

During that year, Archbishop Cordes visited New Orleans and other disaster sites after Hurricane Katrina

to demonstrate the pope's compassion and met with former U.S. president Bill Clinton to discuss Catholic relief efforts. Monsignor Giovanni Dal Toso, undersecretary of Cor Unum, traveled to the tsunami-stricken, mostly Muslim, Aceh Province of Indonesia to extend aid on behalf of Archbishop Cordes, who was visiting other parts of Indonesia. Archbishop Cordes also attended a Sarajevo conference of Balkan Catholic bishops attended by European officials to encourage peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In 2006, Cor Unum hosted at the Vatican the World Conference on Charity, which evaluated the activities of Catholic charities within the perspective of Pope Benedict's 2005 encyclical, *Deus caritas est*. Archbishop Cordes subsequently spoke at three U.S. cities to call attention to the pope's encyclical. During the year, Cor Unum dispersed more than $8 million to disaster victims around the world. In 2007, Archbishop Cordes met with Russian Orthodox Patriarch Alexy II (1929–) of Moscow to enhance the coordination of cooperative efforts by Catholic and Orthodox charities.

SEE ALSO Charity, Works of; Deus Caritas Est; Doctrine of the Faith, Congregation for the; Mercy, Works of; Pontifical Councils; Populorum Progressio; Vatican Council II.

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CORAZÓN TÉLLEZ ROBLES, MATILDE DEL SAGRADO, BL.

Foundress of the Daughters of Mary, Mother of the Church; b. Robledillo de la Vera, Spain, May 30, 1841; d. Don Benito, Spain, December 17, 1902; beatified March 21, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Matilde Téllez Robles, the second of four children of Félix Téllez Gómez and Basilea Robles Ruiz, displayed great religious devotion as a youth. Her father, a notary, moved the family to Béjar in the province of Salamanca in 1851. There, Matilde joined the Association of the Daughters of Mary, now known as the Vicentian Marian Youth, and was elected president. Though Téllez wanted to dedicate herself completely to God through the religious life, her father wanted her to marry. Still, her constant longing for prayer before the Blessed Sacrament and service to the poor eventually led him to acquiesce, and she, along with eight friends from the Daughters of Mary, began to make plans for the founding of a religious institute.

Acquiring a house in Béjar, they decided to officially begin the institute on March 19, 1875, the feast of St. JOSEPH; however, the only two women who came were Téllez and María Briz. Undismayed, the women began their prayer and service under the original name of Lovers of Jesus and Daughters of Mary Immaculate. They dedicated themselves to both contemplation and action: Eucharistic adoration became the source for their service to orphans, the poor, the sick, and the homebound. In time, Téllez opened a novitiate in Don Benito, the province of Badajoz, and began a school for children.

On March 19, 1884, the institute was raised to the level of a congregation by Bishop Pedro Casas y Souto, and the group took the name Daughters of Mary, Mother of the Church. Three months later, on June 29, Téllez and her sisters made their religious profession.

In 1885 the plague struck Badajoz, and the Daughters began to care for the sick. Téllez's original companion, Briz, died from the disease in Don Benito. Nevertheless, the new congregation grew with another foundation in Cáceres in 1889. As mother, Téllez guided the growth of the community, nurturing the devotion to the Eucharist and care for the poor in every sister.

At the age of sixty-one, Téllez suffered a stroke and died two days later on December 17, 1902. She was beatified by Pope John Paul II on March 21, 2004, in Rome, where the pontiff remarked that "her luminous witness is a call to live in adoration to God and in service to our brethren."

Feast: December 17.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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CROSS, THEOLOGY OF THE

"Theology of the cross" is an expression used by Martin LUTHER from 1518 to 1520 in opposing an alleged scholastic "theology of glory" that permits unbroken, direct access to God, be it by metaphysical speculation or by meritorious works.

Luther's Theology. The cross reveals God's love for sinners: Jesus bears their sin to justify them. Because God reveals Himself in Jesus crucified, He contradicts sinful human expectations and desires. Instead of a strong, glorious God we find a weak, suffering man. Since sin distorted visible creation's testimony to God, the revealed God supplies man's only sure knowledge. This insight Luther gathered from FAITH as the "conviction of things not seen" (Heb 11:1) and Paul's preaching of Jesus crucified, foolishness to the worldly wise, but God's wisdom (1 Cor 1:18–26). All self-justification collapses before this mystery; the sinner must confess the justness of God's condemnation of sin, and the truth of this confession of God's "alien work" justifies him. Yet Luther's



Christ of St. John of the Cross, 1951. **© 2010 SALVADOR DALI, GALA-SALVADOR DALI FOUNDATION/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK. © DACS/© CULTURE AND SPORT GLASGOW (MUSEUMS)/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY**

stress on omnipotent providence postulates a hidden God beyond the revealed God, a God utterly free, not even bound by his word, a God who brings about sin and the sinner's death despite his revealed word, "I do not wish the sinner's death" (Ez 18:23). Only to faith is the apparent contradiction between the hidden and revealed God overcome as faith recognizes the risk of belief but adheres to God and his goodness even if He should destroy all men.

For Luther there is no revelation without concealment, and if self-revelation belongs to God's essence, so does self-concealment. God conceals Himself in his works; in bestowing suffering on believers He can appear as the DEVIL. For the devil is under his control and does his will. Though faith can be opposed to understanding, it also precedes understanding, and the greatest trial of faith in the experience of apparent abandonment generates the insight of how God works *sub contrario* ("under contrary appearances") in suffering. Though faith is contrary to experience, it produces experience. Believers experience the greatest peace in the midst of tribulation when they realize that it comes from God. True faith is always hidden like God, subject to trials, and never without suffering. For trials reveal how the justified sinner must in his nothingness stand before God, praying with empty hands. Thus the struggle between the old man and the new man continues. Through all trials the believer adheres to God's Word, Christ, and recognizes that his sufferings are one with Christ's. These sufferings are neither a human work nor a means to glory, but God's work in man. This insight supplies the basis of true HUMILITY, the recognition of one's own nothingness. It is not a human virtue, for true nothingness cannot merit.

Reinterpretation. In the wake of Friedrich SCHLEIERMACHER, who sought to awaken the God within through exterior preaching, nineteenth-century liberal theology considered Luther's theology of the cross a transient stage in the development of his theology of the word. When dialectical theology arose after World War I, Luther's theology of the cross was reinterpreted. Walther von Loewenich (1903–1992) argued that it remained central throughout Luther's theology. Though modern Protestant theology employs the cross to reject mysticism and natural theology, Rudolf BULTMANN's existentialism ignores Luther's historical reference to Jesus' cross and, consequently, justification through his alien work. Even Karl BARTH's CHRISTOCENTRISM lacks Luther's theology of creation. Where Barth points to Jesus crucified and finds a God utterly transcending man, Eberhard Jüngel (1933–) identifies in Jesus a God so immanent as to suffer in history. Jürgen Moltmann (1926–) lets God suffer in sympathy because of his solidarity with the man Jesus: the cross is not God's death but a death in God.

Though Catholic theology affirms Christ's cross as the sole redeeming cause of justification and the ultimate historical revelation of God's love, it does not reject natural theology lest thought should be deprived of a sure foundation and irrationality result. That would not only undercut the intelligibility needed for freedom's cooperation with grace but also undermine theology and eviscerate the meaning of DOGMA and Scripture. Human cooperation allows believers to grow in love of God by bearing suffering as they "fill up what is lacking to Christ's sufferings for the sake of his Body, the Church" (Col 1:24). Nonetheless, the conundrum presented to human thought by physical and moral evil manifests philosophy's insufficiencies and opens man to revelation. (*Fides et ratio* 23, 26, 33–34).

True mystics, such as JOHN OF THE CROSS, recognize how suffering joins them to Christ as they grow in love's response to Love. Though Catholic theologians and mystics may borrow the language of Neoplatonic participation, they are aware of its limitations. Christian mysticism does not obliterate finite personality because love preserves the greatest distinction in the greatest unity. Though maintaining man's ability to know God, Catholic theology also recognizes philosophy's limitations. Traditional Thomists recognize the transcendence of revealed mysteries, and transcendental Thomists place the paradoxical natural desire for the beatific vision at the center of theology.

Compassion in God. A late-twentieth-century shift in Catholic theology toward personalism and freedom allows such thinkers as Hans Urs von BALTHASAR and Joseph RATZINGER as well as the International Theological Commission (1981) to acknowledge a certain suffering or compassion in God; God transcends the opposition of mutable and immutable; sin offends Him, and the cross matters to Him. *Dominum et vivificantem* 39, 41, 45, interprets the cross as the historical manifestation of the offense to God's heart that man's sin caused; God feels the "pain" of sin and knows "compassion." No deficiency in God is implied, for his love, the basis of his compassion, is infinite. The shift to freedom as a basic category may allow ecumenical dialogue to overcome the opposition between Catholic acceptance and Protestant rejection of natural theology. God's infinite love cannot be captured in finite categories, yet love does not destroy the human words that indicate the central mystery of existence: the incarnate Son, the union of finite and Infinite, who reveals love in the midst of sin. Thus, *Deus caritas est* (3–12) insists on the profound unity of *eros*, the natural, ascending desire for fulfilling possession, and Christian *agape*, descending self-giving, but their unity is attained only by the purify-

ing crucifixion of *eros*; for Christ's death culminates "that turning of God against Himself in which He gives Himself in order to raise man up and save him."

SEE ALSO DOMINUM ET VIVIFICANTEM; REDEMPTION (THEOLOGY OF); SIN (THEOLOGY OF); THOMISM.

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CUAUHTLATOATZIN, JUAN DIEGO, ST.

Layman who according to tradition had visions of the Virgin Mary; b. c. 1474, Cuautitlán, Mexico; d. May 30, 1548, Tepeyac, Mexico; beatified by Pope John Paul II, May 6, 1990; canonized by Pope John Paul II, July 31, 2002.

According to tradition, Juan Diego is the name of the Native Mexican to whom the Virgin Mary appeared at Tepeyac, a hill outside of Mexico City, on December 9, 1531. According to this same tradition, Juan Diego's given name was Cuauhtlatoatzin, and he was born around 1474 in Cuautitlán, about twenty kilometers north of Tenochtitlán (Mexico City). He was married but had no children. When he and his wife were baptized in 1524, he took the name Juan Diego, and his wife the name María Lucía. The earliest written account (1649) of the apparitions, the *Nican Mopohua*, calls him a *macehualli* (poor Indian). In 1666, when a formal ecclesiastical inquiry was made into the apparitions, Juan Diego was described as being devout and religious even before his conversion. After this, he was said to have walked weekly to Tenochtitlán to attend Mass and receive catechetical instruction. When his wife died in 1529, he went to live with his uncle, Juan Bernardino. Juan Diego was fifty-seven at the time of the apparitions, and from then on he lived in a small room attached to the chapel that housed the image of Our Lady of GUADALUPE, as its custodian. In his latter years, many seeking aid from Our Lady asked him to intercede before the Blessed Virgin on their behalf. He is also said to have received special permission from the bishop to receive Communion three times a week. He died on May 30, 1548, at seventy-four years of age.

Although individuals and groups had begun calling for Juan Diego's canonization as early as 1888, the cause for his canonization and beatification was not officially opened until July 8, 1982. On May 6, 1990, at the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe and in the presence of Pope JOHN PAUL II, he was recognized as blessed by means of an equivalent beatification with the reading of a decree (promulgated April 9) from the Sacred Congregation for the Causes of Saints. It recognized that public devotion to Juan Diego was a long tradition and approved an obligatory memorial for the archdiocese of Mexico City and an optional memorial for other dioceses. The decree set December 9, the date of the first apparition, as the day for the memorial.

Although written accounts exist from the sixteenth century that mention both the shrine and devotion to the Virgin of Guadalupe, the first written mention of Juan Diego is in the above cited *Nican Mopohua*. This so-called *silencio guadalupano* (Guadalupan silence) of more than a century has led some to question his historical existence. Such opinions, and the controversy that has followed them, can be traced at least as far back as 1794, to an essay written by Father Juan Bautista Muñoz (1745–1799). In 1996 media reports revealing similar skepticism on the part of the abbot of the Basilica of



Our Lady of Guadalupe. *A mural of Juan Diego's encounter with the Blessed Virgin Mary.* © **DANITA DELIMONT/ALAMY**

Guadalupe, Monsignor Guillermo Schulenburg Prado (1916–2009), reignited this controversy in Mexico and led to the abbot's resignation.

Because of the issues raised by Schulenburg Prado, Vincentian historian Stafford Poole, and others, the Congregation for the Causes of Saints required, in addition to a miracle through his intercession, an investigation into Juan Diego's historical existence. In 1998 the Congregation approved the report of a commission of historians, including Fidel González Fernández (1943–), Eduardo Chávez Sánchez (1956–), and José Luis Guerrero Rosado (1935–), that affirmed the historicity of Bl. Juan Diego. These three co-authored a volume the following year that presented the details of their case. In 2000 Asunción Garcia Samper of the Center of Guadalupe Studies also published a book to demonstrate that Juan Diego existed and was a nobleman. Despite these results, some still maintain that the existence of Juan Diego cannot be established on historical grounds.

Shortly after the beatification, the Archdiocese of Mexico began an inquiry into an alleged miraculous healing. On May 6, 1990, Juan José Barragán Silva (1970–) suffered massive head trauma after throwing himself off a balcony. He recovered rapidly after his mother prayed repeatedly for the Blessed's intercession. Following diocesan investigation, the Congregation for the Causes of Saints judged this to be a miraculous healing, and Pope John Paul II ratified their ruling on December 20, 2001. This fulfilled the final prerequisite for Juan Diego's canonization.

Presiding over the Mass of canonization at the Basilica of Guadalupe, Pope John Paul II enrolled Bl. Juan Diego in the catalogue of saints on July 31, 2002. In his homily, the Pope offered as an inspiration for promoting "greater justice and solidarity" among Mexico's diverse ethnic groups the newly canonized, who, "[i]n accepting the Christian message without forgoing his indigenous identity ... facilitated the fruitful meeting of two worlds and became the catalyst for the new Mexican identity, closely united to Our Lady of Guadalupe, whose mestizo face expresses her spiritual motherhood which embraces all Mexicans."

Feast: December 9.

SEE ALSO MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO; VISIONS.

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CUOMO, MARIO M.

Governor of New York; b. June 15, 1932, New York, N.Y.

As a leading figure in the Democratic Party, Mario Cuomo was one of the most prominent Catholics in American public life during the 1980s and 1990s. His 1984 speech at the University of Notre Dame remains a touchstone in the debate over the political responsibilities of American Catholics with respect to ABORTION and, more broadly, over the relation of religion to American politics.

Cuomo was born in the borough of Queens to Italian immigrant parents. After attending public school for his primary education, he attended St. John's Preparatory School, College, and Law School, and he obtained a law degree in 1956. This Vincentian education introduced him to the thought and example of two figures to whom he would later point as major influences, sixteenth-century English chancellor and MARTYR, Thomas MORE, and twentieth-century French Jesuit philosopher Pierre TEILHARD DE CHARDIN.

Following an unsuccessful bid for lieutenant governor in 1974, Cuomo was appointed New York secretary of state in 1975. In 1978 he won election as lieutenant governor under Governor Hugh Carey. He was elected governor of New York in 1982 and served three consecutive terms, ending in 1996.

Cuomo articulated his views on religion and public life in a 1983 speech at the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City. He explained that his Catholicism encouraged him to be involved in government but did not compel him "to impose a universal oath of religious allegiance, or a form of ritual, or even a life style." Instead, it urged him to use government "to move us toward the shared commitments that are basic to all forms of compassionate belief" (Tobin 1999, p. 34).

Cuomo delivered a well-received keynote address to the 1984 Democratic National Convention, which marked him as a prospective presidential candidate during several ensuing election cycles. He never formally entered the Democratic presidential primary, but he remained a nationally recognized figure in American politics throughout his gubernatorial tenure.

In the same year, John O'CONNOR was named archbishop of New York; he quickly became known for his vocal support of the pro-life movement as well as his more specific criticism of Governor Cuomo for signing a law permitting state funding of abortions through Medicaid. The current presidential campaign, meanwhile, pitted incumbent President Ronald Reagan against Democratic challenger Walter Mondale, whose vice-presidential running mate was a New York Catholic, Geraldine Ferraro. In the course of an election cycle featuring a pro-life, non-Catholic Republican and a pro-choice, Catholic Democrat, every statement by a Catholic bishop or politician was closely examined. It was in this context that Notre Dame theology department chair, Fr. Richard McBrien, invited Cuomo to address the university community on September 13, 1984.

Cuomo observed that the Church dictated "no inflexible moral principle which determines what our political conduct should be" (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life). He pointed to the Church's toleration of existing civil law on DIVORCE and birth control as an indication that, "we are not required to insist that all our religious values be the law of the land" (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life). Cuomo declared his private

belief in the immorality of abortion but insisted that in a society where there was no consensus on the issue, the Catholic politician was not obligated to seek legislation enforcing that belief: "I believe that legal interdicting of abortion by either the federal government or the individual states is not a plausible possibility and even if it could be obtained, it wouldn't work" (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life).

Cuomo qualified abortion's preeminence as a political issue by insisting that "Christian responsibility doesn't end with any one law or amendment" (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life). Invoking the terminology of Cardinal Joseph BERNARDIN of Chicago, Cuomo asserted that the "seamless garment" approach, which emphasized issues such as nuclear weapons, hunger, and homelessness, in addition to abortion, "is a challenge to all Catholics in public office, conservatives as well as liberals" (Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life).

Some Catholic Democrats and others who perceived no conflict between pro-choice politics and Catholic faith heralded the speech as a masterful exposition of the role of Catholic politicians within a pluralist society. Critics viewed it as a faulty attempt to excuse Catholics in government (primarily though not exclusively those affiliated with the Democratic Party) for taking a pro-choice position despite the contradiction between that stance and the Church's official teaching.

In 2004, when Catholic John Kerry was running for president on the Democratic ticket, Kenneth Woodward criticized Cuomo's argument in the pages of *Commonweal* by positing that it continued to distort Catholic politicians' view of the relationship between morality and government. In contrast, E.J. Dionne praised the speech's prescience in a 2008 piece in Notre Dame's alumni magazine, in which he argued that by emphasizing social programs over legal penalties, Cuomo offered a way to "ease the culture wars."

The ongoing controversy over Cuomo's speech and public life testifies to his significance as an exemplar of one approach to the relationship between Catholic faith and politics in a pluralist nation. With respect to legal protection for the unborn, Cuomo's position is at odds with Church teaching as expressed in documents such as Pope JOHN PAUL II's *Evangelium vitae* (1995).

SEE ALSO EVANGELIUM VITAE; JESUITS; POLITICS, CHURCH AND; VINCENTIANS.

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CURCI, CARLO MARIA

Priest of the Society of Jesus; b. Naples, Italy, September 4, 1809; d. Careggi (outside Florence), June 8, 1891.

Carlo Curci was the chief founder and first director of the Jesuit journal *Civiltà Cattolica*, which first appeared in Naples in April 1850 at the suggestion of Pope PIUS IX (1846–1878; called Pio Nono in Italian). He entered the Society of Jesus in 1826 and was ordained a priest a decade later. Initially, Curci was positively inclined toward the RISORGIMENTO, the movement for Italian unification, and he especially appreciated the work of the priest, philosopher, political figure, and Italian patriot Vincenzo GIOBERTI (1801–1852). Curci was particularly impressed and persuaded by Gioberti's *Del primato morale e civile degli Italiani* (On the Moral and Civil Primacy of the Italians, 1843), for which he wrote the preface for one edition. He seconded Gioberti's call for the Piedmontese and the papacy to jointly create and then preside over an Italian federation. Thus, Curci firmly believed in the neo-Guelph movement, which sought to reconcile the preservation of the temporal power (the Papal State) with some form of Italian independence and unification.

The Founding of *La Civiltà Cattolica.* The revolutionary events of 1848, which provoked revolutions in

much of Europe, inspired revolution in Rome in mid-November 1848. This led Pius IX to flee from his state and subjects the evening of November 24, 1848. The formation of the Roman Republic and the threat posed to the papacy as well as the criticism of the JESUITS by Gioberti in *Il Gesuita Moderno* (The Modern Jesuit, 1847) led Curci to abandon his liberal and national sentiments and adopt an increasingly cautious and conservative course. This was reflected in his response to Gioberti, *Fatti ed argomenti in risposta alle molte parole di Vincenzo Gioberti* (Facts and Arguments in Response to the Many Words of Vincenzo Gioberti), in which he defended his order, which had been forced to leave ROME, and rejected the notion that churchmen should make themselves the apostles of national regeneration and political revolution. Back in Naples, with the encouragement of Pius IX and the collaboration of fellow Jesuits Matteo LIBERATORE (1810–1892) and Luigi TAPARELLI D'AZEGLIO (1793–1862), he founded *La Civiltà Cattolica*, which defended the temporal power of the PAPACY and denounced the liberalism and nationalism that threatened it. In a series of lengthy articles, the writers of this journal emphasized the crucial role of religion in the perfection of life.

Following the defeat of Giuseppe GARIBALDI, the collapse of Giuseppe Mazzini's Roman Republic, and the restoration of Pius IX through the intervention of the French, Spanish, Neapolitan and Austrian forces, the fortnightly review, which reflected papal positions, moved to Rome in 1850. In its pages, and in a series of separate publications, Curci proved an ardent defender of the temporal power. In 1849 alone he published *Sette libere parole di un italiano sull'Italia* (Seven Free Words of an Italian on Italy), *La demagogia italiana ed il Papa Re* (Italian Demagogy and the Pope King), and *La questione romana nell'Assemblea francese* (The Roman Question in the French Assembly). In the two decades that followed, Curci continued his conservative course and campaigned against the ideologies that had emerged from the FRENCH REVOLUTION, adopted by the Risorgimento, and threatened Catholic culture and the Papal State. However, he did not adopt the intransigent stance and violent tone of subsequent editors and writers of the journal he had founded. He also opposed their occasional tendency to resort to ANTI-JUDAISM to combat the enemies of the journal, the Jesuits, and the papacy.

In 1870, while VATICAN COUNCIL I (1869–1870) was in session, the Franco-Prussian War erupted, much to the consternation of Pius IX. French defeats at the hands of the Prussians necessitated the recall of the French forces remaining in the remnant of the Papal State (mainly Rome and its immediate environs) that had not been incorporated into the Kingdom of Italy, which was proclaimed in 1861. The Italians took advantage of this situation to march into Rome and make it their capital, to the consternation of Pio Nono, who protested by locking himself in the VATICAN, where he died in 1878. At the same time, the *Civiltà Cattolica* moved from Rome to FLORENCE, where it was published from 1870 to 1887, when it returned to Rome.

Conflict with the Curia. In May 1871 the Italian government passed the Law of Papal Guarantees, which sought to regulate relations between the Kingdom of Italy and the HOLY SEE. At this point, Curci began to question the intransigent stance of Pius IX and the Curia, who hoped that some power would intervene to restore Rome to the papacy. In fact, the papacy found itself in conflict not only with the Italian State but also with the newly created German Empire, where it had to confront the KULTURKAMPF (culture struggle). The papacy's close identification with the monarchist cause in France alienated Republicans, and they would soon initiate a series of anticlerical measures. A sense of realism, a resurgent Italian patriotism, and a conviction that the papal opposition to the Italian State created an internal crisis for conscientious Catholics who were also patriotic Italians led Curci to advocate reconciliation with Italy. His call did not strike a responsive chord in the Curia, however.

The Vatican adhered to the *non expedit* issued earlier (and confirmed and renewed in 1874), which proclaimed that it was "not expedient" for Catholics to participate in the political life of the Italian Kingdom, which had deprived the Church of the temporal power essential for its independence. Curci and others questioned its validity and binding nature, and in 1877 the *non expedit* was converted into the *non licet*, an absolute prohibition of Catholic participation in Italian political life. This policy distressed Curci, who commenced a public campaign to alter the Vatican's political policy toward Italy. In 1878 he published *Il Moderno Dissidio tra la Chiesa e l'Italia* (The Modern Disagreement between the Church and Italy), in which he once again supported reconciliation between the Church and the state. When this work failed to elicit a positive response, he published *La nuova Italia ed I vecchi Zelanti* (The New Italy and the Old Zealots) in 1881, followed by *Il Vaticano Regio* (The Vatican Kingdom) in 1883.

Curci's criticism of papal policies enraged the Vatican and embarrassed his order, from which he was suspended in 1877. The Holy Office responded by placing his critical volumes on the Index Librorum Prohibitorum (ILP, or INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS), which Catholics were forbidden to read or even own. Subsequently, Curci, who had been suspended from the right

to officiate as a priest, reluctantly accepted the critique of the Holy Office and disavowed some of the positions he had assumed in his writings and publications. Readmitted into the Jesuits just before his death, he was no longer the optimist of his youth. This is reflected in his memoirs, which were published posthumously in 1891 and subtitled *Memorie utili di una vita disutile* (Useful Memories of a Useless Life).

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; ROMAN QUESTION; VATICAN CITY, STATE OF.

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CURCIO, MARIA CROCIFISSA, BL.

Foundress of the Carmelite Missionary Sisters of St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus; b. January 30, 1877, Ispica, Italy; d. July 4, 1957, Saint Santa Marinella, Italy; beatified November 13, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Born the seventh of ten children of Salvatore Curcio and Concetta Franzò, Maria Crocifissa Curcio grew up in a highly cultured home filled with books, but her father, a strict and moral man, did not believe in allowing his daughters to obtain higher education. So, although she loved learning, Maria had to leave school after sixth grade. Her determination and intelligence, however, led her to read widely from the family library.

There she discovered *The Life of St. Teresa of Jesus* and other religious books. Maria's spiritual study inspired her at age thirteen to enter the Carmelite Third Order in her town, in spite of her family's objections. To combine the contemplative and mystic nature of Mary with the hard work of Martha through apostolic service, she became a Missionary Carmel. St. Teresa's example inspired her throughout her life to do even the smallest deeds with love and dedication and to be humble and joyful in all circumstances. Maria first stayed in a community with several others in a small apartment that had once belonged to her siblings. Later she went to Modica to oversee Carmela Polara, a school for needy or orphaned girls, but she spent several years struggling to gain support for the school.

When she visited Rome on May 17, 1925, for the canonization of St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus, she loved the beauty of a small nearby town, Santa Marinella, and, seeing the poverty there, wanted to remain to help. A few months later, on July 3, Cardinal Antonio Vico of the Diocese of Porto Santa Rufina gave her permission to start a community. On July 16, 1926, she obtained the decree of affiliation with the Carmelite Order. It took until 1930, though, before the Church recognized her small group, the Carmelite Missionary Sisters of St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus.

She instilled her mission into her religious daughters—to give of themselves in service of abandoned youths and to restore their dignity as children of God. The sisters worked throughout Italy, and in 1947 she also sent missionaries to Brazil and Malta. After her death, other communities were established in Canada, Tanzania, the Philippines, and Romania.

In spite of her own suffering from diabetes and poor health, she continued to set an example to her sisters both through her prayer life, her acceptance of God's will, and her giving spirit. When she died on July 4, 1957, at the age of eighty, she left behind a legacy of love and HOLINESS. Her BEATIFICATION, which was to take place in April 2005, had to be postponed due to the death of Pope JOHN PAUL II. Pope Benedict XVI declared her "Blessed" on November 13, 2005, and established her memorial as July 4.

Feast: July 4.

SEE ALSO CARMELITE SISTERS; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; THÉRÈSE DE LISIEUX, ST.

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CURRAN, CHARLES

Priest, moral theologian; b. Rochester, N.Y., 1934.

Charles E. Curran, S.T.L., S.T.D., is a Catholic moral theologian embroiled in a complex controversy concerning Catholic moral teaching. He attended the NORTH AMERICAN COLLEGE (seminary) in ROME and was ordained a priest for the diocese of Rochester in 1958. In 1961 he received two doctorates, one from the Pontifical GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY and the other from the Accademia Alfonsiana in Rome, and in 1965 he accepted a teaching position in the School of Theology at The CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA. Some of the positions he espoused and taught created considerable controversy.

Curran's open opposition to the Church's position on artificial CONTRACEPTION resulted in a decision in April 1967 by Catholic University's board of trustees not to renew his teaching contract. Curran's dismissal triggered a university-wide protest by both faculty and students that attracted national publicity and brought about his reinstatement (with tenure and a promotion to associate professor). This event placed Curran at the forefront of Catholic DISSENT on the subject of birth control. During the summer of 1968, Curran, with other Catholic University colleagues and several other American theologians, crafted a response to Pope PAUL VI's recently issued ENCYCLICAL *Humanae vitae* that opposed the encyclical's condemnation of artificial contraception and asserted that "good Catholics could in theory and in practice reject its conclusion" (Curran 2006, p. 50). Six hundred theologians, including one of the leading contemporary Catholic moral theologians, Bernard HÄRING, ultimately signed the document.

Curran's argument centered on the issues of the possibility of dissent from non-infallible Church teaching and the NATURAL LAW defense of the encyclical's position. According to Curran, the encyclical was not an *ex cathedra* statement; therefore, it should not be considered infallible, and it should be subject to evaluation by Catholic theologians. Curran took the position that Catholics could disagree in theory and in practice with non-infallible church teachings when there were sufficient reasons to do so, while still remaining loyal and dedicated members of the Church. Curran concluded that Catholics "could responsibly decide to use birth control if it were necessary to preserve and foster the values and sacredness of their marriage" (Curran 2006, p. 52).

During the 1970s, Curran continued to lecture and to publish his views on birth control and other controversial topics, such as ABORTION, DIVORCE, and HOMOSEXUALITY. In August 1979, Curran was informed that he had been under investigation by the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH for several years. Curran responded to the congregation's observations on his teachings twice, in 1981 and in 1982. In June 1983, Curran was again invited to respond to the congregation's concerns about his public dissent, which he did in 1984.

However, Curran's public positions on the issues of birth control, sterilization, abortion, homosexuality, MASTURBATION, premarital intercourse, and divorce remained of concern to the Church. In September 1985, Cardinal Joseph RATZINGER, prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, issued a letter to Curran asking that he retract his positions on these issues to continue teaching Catholic theology in the name of the Church. Curran, in negotiations with Archbishop James HICKEY, the chancellor of Catholic University, and Cardinal Joseph BERNARDIN, the chair of the university's board of trustees, agreed to accept a Church document pointing out his theological errors if the Church would permit him to continue to teach as a Catholic theologian; but he would not retract his positions.

In March 1986, Curran met with Cardinal Ratzinger in Rome. Some months later, in July, Curran received a letter from Ratzinger, which stated that, with the approval of the POPE, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith had decided that Curran could "no longer be considered suitable nor eligible to exercise the function of a Professor of Catholic Theology" (Goldman 1986). On the basis of this decision of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, the Board of Trustees of The Catholic University of America

decided that Curran could no longer teach theology at the university (although he would be able to teach in another area). Curran responded by initiating a lawsuit against the university for breech of contract and failure to acknowledge his ACADEMIC FREEDOM. In February 1989, the court ruled against Curran.

Curran has emerged as a leading spokesperson for the right to dissent from non-infallible Catholic teachings. He has also challenged traditional perceptions of academic freedom and the role of the Catholic theologian, while addressing such issues as MORALITY, ETHICS, and Catholic MORAL THEOLOGY. Since 1991, he has been the Elizabeth Scurlock University Professor of Human Values at Southern Methodist University. He has served as president of the CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA, the Society of Christian Ethics, and the American Theological Society. He was the first recipient of the John Courtney MURRAY Award for Theology, in 1972. In 2003 Curran received the Presidential Award of the COLLEGE THEOLOGY SOCIETY, recognizing a lifetime of scholarly achievements in moral theology, and in 2005, Call to Action—a reform movement of 25,000 Catholics—presented him with its leadership award. Regarding his priesthood, he has written that although his primary role has been that of theologian and teacher, he still considers himself, and is looked upon by others, as a Catholic priest (Curran 2006, pp. 253–254).

SEE ALSO CALL TO ACTION CONFERENCE; EX CATHEDRA; EX CORDE ECCLESIAE; FAITH AND MORALS; INFALLIBILITY; MORAL EDUCATION; MORAL THEOLOGY, HISTORY OF (TRENDS SINCE VATICAN II); RELIGION AND MORALITY; SEX; WOMEN AND PAPAL TEACHING; HUMANAE VITAE.

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CZARTORYSKI, AUGUSTO, BL.

Also known as Augustus; priest of the Salesians of Don Bosco; b. August 2, 1858, Paris, France; d. April 8, 1893, Alassio, Italy; beatified April 25, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Augusto Czartoryski, the firstborn son of Prince Ladislaus of Poland and Princess Maria Amparo of Spain, was destined to be a prince. Following the Russian occupation of Poland, his family spent thirty years in exile in France, where he was born. Though in exile, the family remained influential with the Polish people and worked for the unity of Poland.

Augusto's mother died of tuberculosis when he was six years old, and he contracted the disease from her. His father then married Margaret d'Orléans, daughter of the count of Paris. During Augusto's teen years, he went to school in both Poland and France, but his health often interrupted his studies. Though he and his father traveled to many countries seeking a cure, Augusto remained in ill health for the rest of his brief life. Young Augusto had little interest in worldly pleasures but cared about spiritual things, so his tutor Joseph KALINOWSKI (later venerated as a saint) suggested a priest should educate him. His father agreed and asked Fr. Stanislaus Kubowicz to teach his son.

When Augusto was twenty-five, he met Don Bosco, founder of the SALESIANS, and felt sure of God's call to become a Salesian. His father, who had already planned his marriage, opposed the decision. Don Bosco did not want to accept Augusto, but Pope LEO XIII insisted. In July 1887, at age twenty-nine, Augusto began his novitiate, which was a difficult adjustment for one used to luxury, but he became known for his HUMILITY.

Augusto's father pressured him to accept his nobility and continue the family line. Prince Ladislaus appealed to Augusto to consider his health and even approached the cardinal to have his son released from his vows, but Augusto refused to deny God's calling. On April 2, 1892, the bishop of Ventimiglia ordained Augusto, but his father did not attend the service. Later, Prince Ladislaus came to accept his son's decision.

Fr. Augusto did not live long after his ordination. Little more than a year later, on April 8, 1893, he died at the age of thirty-four. On April 25, 2004, Pope John Paul II beatified him along with four women religious and one laywoman, calling them "eloquent examples of how the Lord transforms the existence of believers when they trust in him." In his homily, John Paul II stressed Fr. Augusto's faithfulness to God's calling and his willingness to take up the life of poverty. John Paul also held

up Fr. Augusto as an example for young people to follow when they ask for the Holy Spirit's guidance.

Feast: April 8.

SEE ALSO Beatification; Religious (Men and Women); Poverty, Religious.

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D

D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE

Italian literary, political, and military figure; b. March 12, 1863, Pescara, Abruzzo, Italy; d. March 1, 1938, Gardone Riviera, Lombardy, Italy.

Gabriele d'Annunzio was a literary phenomenon well known to the rest of society thanks to his accomplishments as a writer and genius for self-promotion. In the provincial society of Pescara, where he was born, the young d'Annunzio stood out as a precocious and brilliant student. His father was a successful merchant who regarded his son as a prodigy, made sure that he received an excellent education, and encouraged him to pursue fame and fortune. After being taught privately by priests, Gabriele attended the exclusive live-in Collegio Cicognini of Prato (1873–1880). It was run by JESUITS, but the faculty included lay teachers, and the curriculum was slanted toward the classics, with a strong emphasis on the study of Latin and Greek. An unruly but likable student, he gained the admiration of his teachers with his quick intelligence and enthusiasm for learning. Prato's proximity to FLORENCE proved to be an additional bonus that enabled him to enjoy the city's cultural and worldly attractions.

Shortly after leaving the Cicognini, d'Annunzio moved to ROME, where he made a name for himself as a gossip columnist, poet, and novelist. As much as he cherished literary fame, he equally craved social acceptance. His adoption of the lower-case *d* in his surname was intended to convey aristocratic provenance. He courted and married a young woman from a family of the so-called black aristocracy, meaning a family that refused ostentatiously to acknowledge the parvenu Kingdom of Italy that had forcibly seized Rome from the pope in 1870. The wedding to the lovely Maria Gallese was a low-key affair because the bride's family disapproved, but the marriage lasted long enough to produce three sons.

By the time the couple separated around 1890, d'Annunzio was heralded by some critics as a new voice in literature and as the harbinger of a new culture and way of life. Even Pope LEO XIII, who did not share d'Annunzio's vision of the good life, expressed admiration for him as a writer. D'Annunzio showed a flair for publicity. Since GABRIEL was the name of the announcing archangel, and d'Annunzio meant "the announcer," he posed as Gabriel the Announcer of a new culture. Never one to spell things out too clearly, the nature of the culture had to be inferred from his writings. The novel *Il piacere* (*Pleasure*, 1889) is probably the most revealing. Its hero, Andrea Sperelli, is a godlike *Übermensch* in the Nietzschean fashion, who claims exemption from the rules of conventional morality because of superior intellect and aesthetic sensitivity. However, unlike his hero NIETZSCHE, who proclaimed the death of God and vilified Christianity, d'Annunzio never attacked religion or the clergy. Inexplicably, he regarded St. FRANCIS OF ASSISI as a kindred spirit and was known to parade in his garb. He was drawn to the Roman Catholic Church not by its doctrines, to which he was supremely indifferent, but by its majestic rituals, the liturgy and the processions, the colorful garments, the smell of INCENSE, and so forth.

D'Annunzio felt the temptation of politics. A brief stint in parliament (1897–1900) cured him of any desire to abide by the rules of liberal politics. More promising was his championing of Italy's naval buildup and glorification of heroic deeds. Life should be lived danger-

ously, he claimed, and *la bella morte* ("a beautiful death") on the battlefield was something to be desired. In 1911 he sang the praises of Italy's colonial war in Libya. He called for Italian intervention in WORLD WAR I, against the appeals of Pope BENEDICT XV, who wanted to keep Italy out of the conflict. When Italy went to war against Austria in May 1915, d'Annunzio volunteered for service and conducted some highly publicized exploits, including a flight to drop propaganda leaflets over Vienna. At war's end he proclaimed dissatisfaction with Italy's rewards and coined the phrase "the mutilated victory," which was taken up by the Fascists. In November 1919 he led a paramilitary force that took over the contested city of Fiume on the border with Yugoslavia. When the Italian government refused to accept the city as a gift, he proclaimed himself *comandante* of the independent Reggenza del Carnaro, a tiny unrecognized state that he ruled until January 1921, when Italian troops forcibly evicted him and his legionnaires. In the intervening months he developed much of the ceremonial style that became part of the Fascist regime.

After the Fiume episode, d'Annunzio retired to private life in a manner befitting his self-image. Ensconced in a splendid estate overlooking Lake Garda, which he called *Il Vittoriale* and is now a state museum, he lived out the rest of his days burnishing his image, simultaneously admired and resented by Benito MUSSOLINI, who saw in him a precursor, a competitor, and a leech that extorted extravagant sums from the government, mixing abject flattery with threats of an open break.

SEE ALSO FASCISM.

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DA COSTA, ALEXANDRINA MARIA, BL.

Laywoman; b. March 30, 1904, Balasar, Portugal; d. October 13, 1955, Balasar, Portugal; beatified April 25, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Alexandrina Maria da Costa was born to a Portuguese farming family who taught her about God. When she was seven, Alexandrina boarded with a carpenter's family in Póvoa do Varzim, so she could attend the primary school there. After she returned, she worked hard in the fields and had a lively, cheerful nature. She was strong and hardy, but her good health lasted only until age twelve, when she almost died from an infection. Though she recovered, the infection affected her for the rest of her life. That would not be her only SUFFERING.

As a young teen, she, her sister Deolinda, and another young girl were sewing on Holy Saturday in 1918, when three men burst into the house and tried to rape them. Alexandrina jumped from the window to escape, but the thirteen-foot fall crippled her. For the next five years, until she was nineteen, she dragged herself to church. She eventually became totally paralyzed and bedridden. On April 14, 1925, she prayed for healing, but she came to see that God had called her to a mission of suffering. For the next thirty years, she exhorted others to stay away from sin, and she called them to conversion.

From October 3, 1938, to March 24, 1942, God's grace gave her a mystical gift that allowed her to relive Christ's final hours every Friday as she completed the STATIONS OF THE CROSS in agonizing pain. Beginning on March 27, 1942, and continuing until her death in 1955, Alexandrina took no food other than the Holy Eucharist. Her weight fell to about seventy-three pounds.

In spite of all she endured, thousands who came to her bedside for comfort remarked that she was always smiling and peaceful. Her sister recorded her words and mystical experiences at the urging of a Salesian priest, Fr. Umberto Pasquale, who assisted Alexandrina from 1944 on. That year Alexandrina asked to become a Salesian cooperator, and she offered up her suffering for the salvation of souls and for the sanctification of youth. Before she died on October 13, 1955, she expressed great joy that she would be going to heaven.

On April 25, 2004, Pope John Paul II beatified her along with five others. In his homily, the pope said that Blessed Alexandrina demonstrated the trilogy of acts, to "suffer, love, make reparation," by making her pain noble "through the greatest evidence of love: sacrificing one's life for the beloved." The key to her HOLINESS and her ability to withstand the debilitating pain was her love for Christ.

Feast: October 13.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; PORTUGAL, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; SALESIANS.

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DARONCH, ADÍLIO, BL.

Priest, missionary, and MARTYR; b. October 25, 1908, Dona Francisca in the Cachoeira do Sul municipality of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil; d. May 21, 1924, near Feijão Miúdo, Três Passos, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil; proclaimed a martyr on December 16, 2006; beatified October 21, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Adílio Daronch was the third son of eight children born to Italian immigrants Pedro Daronch and Judite Segabinazzi, who arrived in Brazil in 1875. Adílio moved in early childhood, first to Passo Fundo in 1912, and then to Nonoai in 1913. As a boy he attended a school founded by Bl. Emmanuel Gómez GONZÁLEZ, a missionary from Spain, and he became a faithful ACOLYTE.

In his early teens, as the protégé of Fr. Emmanuel, he went on long journeys with the priest, who ministered to the Kaingang *Indios* in the neighboring parish of Palmeiras das Missões. After Holy Week in 1924, sixteen-year-old Adílio accompanied Fr. Emmanuel on a visit to the Três Passos forest, near Uruguay. The trip was a dangerous one because the region was a hotbed of revolutionary activities.

Along the way, Fr. Emmanuel stopped to preach to the revolutionaries, reminding them of their shared faith and urging them to pursue PEACE. He administered the sacraments and also gave Christian burials to victims of the revolutionaries. His message and kindness to the families of their enemies made the insurgents wary.

Fr. Emmanuel and Adílio continued their journey in spite of the warnings they received about the perils of entering the forest. Bishop Àtico Eusébio da Rocha of Santa Maria had asked Fr. Emmanuel to visit a colony of Teutonic Brazilian planters there, and the priest was determined to complete this mission. On May 20, 1924, they celebrated Holy Mass in Braga at the military colony and then traveled to a trading center, where they asked for directions to their destination.

Soldiers offered to escort them to Três Passos; instead of ensuring their safe passage, however, they took Fr. Emmanuel and Adílio to a remote part of the forest, where they ambushed them, bound each to a tree, and shot them on May 21, 1924. The locals who found them four days later were amazed that wild animals had not touched their bodies. Fr. Emmanuel and Adílio were buried nearby, but in 1964 their remains were transferred to the parish church of Nonoai. A monument now marks the spot where their martyrdom occurred.

On December 16, 2006, Pope Benedict XVI proclaimed the decree of martyrdom for both Adílio and Father Emmanuel Gómez González. The Mass of BEATIFICATION was held on October 21, 2007, at the Municipal Exhibition Park in Frederico Westphalen, Brazil. Cardinal José Saraiva Martins gave the homily. Using the example of young Timothy who accompanied St. PAUL on his missionary journey, the cardinal praised the bravery and determination of Adílio Daronch, who traveled with Fr. Emmanuel in a similar manner and gave up everything, even his life, for the GOSPEL.

Feast: May 21.

SEE ALSO BRAZIL, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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DE GAULLE, CHARLES

French general, leader of Free France, architect of the Fifth Republic and its first president; b. Lille, France, November 22, 1890; d. Colombey-les-Deux-Églises, France, November 9, 1970.

Early Life and Education. Charles de Gaulle was born in Lille in 1890 to an upper middle-class, liberal, and cultivated Catholic family—although his father supported Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935) during the controversial DREYFUS AFFAIR. Educated first at Jesuit schools, Charles de Gaulle, who was influenced early by the writings of Maurice Barrès (1862–1923), Henri BERGSON (1859–1941), Émile BOUTROUX (1845–1921), and Charles PÉGUY (1873–1914), was inclined toward a military career and entered Saint-Cyr in 1909. Upon graduation, he was posted to an infantry regiment commanded by Colonel Philippe Pétain (1856–1951).

During World War I (1914–1918), de Gaulle served with distinction at Verdun (1916). He was taken prisoner and, after several attempted escapes, was interned at the fortress of Ingolstadt. There he worked on the draft of his first book, *La Discorde chez l'ennemi* (Discord Among the Enemy), published in 1924. Upon his release, he fought in Poland against the Russian Soviet forces (1920). Returning to France, he taught military history at Saint-Cyr and soon became aide-de-camp to Pétain and a member of his staff on the High Military Council. Given command of a battalion, de Gaulle became known during this period for his writings on military and political history (*Histoire des troupes du Levant* [History of the Troops of Levant, 1931]; *Le Fil de l'épée* [The Edge of the Sword, 1932]), and in particular for his study on military strategy, *Vers l'armée de métier* (Toward a Professional Army, 1934), in which he advocated a highly mechanized and mobilized army, something already strongly counseled by General Jean-Baptiste Estienne (1860–1936) in France and General Heinz Guderian (1888–1954) in Germany, but considered incomprehensible by most other military leaders of the era. During the 1930s, de Gaulle also was associated with various antifascist Catholic groups and opposed the Munich Pact of 1938.

Military Leadership. A brigadier general at the beginning of World War II (1939–1945), Charles de Gaulle, who fought in a number of counteroffensives against the invading Nazi forces, was appointed undersecretary of national defense in June 1940 by President Paul Reynaud (1878–1966). Opposed to the armistice, de Gaulle escaped to London, where he issued his "June 18 Appeal" for the continuation of the struggle against the Axis Powers. He also announced the formation of a French National Committee in Exile, which in 1942 was recognized by both the French Resistance leaders and the Allied governments. In September 1940, de Gaulle's Free French forces, including French colonials and a part of the French fleet, launched an unsuccessful attack on Dakar, Senegal, but did succeed in rallying support for Free France in Chad, French Equatorial Africa, Madagascar, and Réunion. At the same time, de Gaulle sought to lead and coordinate actions with the Resistance movement back in France. His efforts contributed to the formation of the National Council for the Resistance in 1943.

Supported by Joseph STALIN (1878–1953) since 1942, de Gaulle was not liked by Franklin Roosevelt (1882–1945), and de Gaulle's forces were excluded from the Allied invasion of North Africa, during which the British and Americans recognized the authority of General Henri Giraud (1879–1949). Finally, after the Casablanca Conference, de Gaulle and Giraud agreed to the creation of the Committee of National Liberation (June 1943). At this time, de Gaulle outlined a new direction for French colonial policy, conceiving a plan for the autonomy and integration of the populations of the French overseas territories into the French Union (Brazzaville Conference, 1944).

Political Leadership. Arriving at Bayeux after the Normandy invasion, then in liberated Paris in August 1944, de Gaulle became the main political leader and reestablished central authority, dissolving the patriotic militias, or *milices*, and reestablishing the French Army to fight alongside the British and American forces. Chosen by the first National Constituent Assembly as president of the Provisional Government of the French Republic in November 1945, de Gaulle, who feared a return to the institutions and policies of the Third Republic (party divisions, parliamentary domination), put forth a plan for a constitution that would emphasize executive power. This was opposed by the supporters of legislative power, particularly the socialists and communists. As a result, de Gaulle resigned in January 1946 and then made several visits throughout the French Union with the aim of opposing the Fourth Republic and forming his own party, the Rassemblement du peuple français (Rally of the French People), founded in April 1947.

From 1954 to 1958, de Gaulle edited his *Mémoires de guerre* (Memories of War). As the conflict in Algeria escalated, a movement developed for de Gaulle's return to power. Shortly after the May 13, 1958, uprising in Algiers, de Gaulle was invested as the head of the French government (June 1, 1958). His first effort was the reform of the political institutions. Approved by referendum on September 28, 1958, the new constitution established a presidential regime marked by a reinforcement of the powers of the head of state and by frequent recourse to referenda. De Gaulle's opponents claimed this would limit the powers of parliamentary democratic processes.

In December 1958, after the victory of the Union pour la Nouvelle République (Union for the New Republic) in the legislative elections of November, de Gaulle was elected president of the Fifth Republic and assumed his powers in January 1959, selecting Michel Debré (1912–1996) as prime minister (1959–1962). De Gaulle broadly outlined his domestic policies (economic reforms, a new franc) and colonial policies (a new type of relationship with the overseas territories within the French community, the restoration of peace in Algeria), and his plans for the restoration of France's prestige and primary place in world affairs.

The Algerian question dominated the initial period of de Gaulle's presidency. After having initially supported the French Algerians, de Gaulle soon took a new direction in his Algerian policy, upholding the Evian Accords (March 1962) and the independence of Algeria. At this time, de Gaulle, with his prime minister, Georges Pompidou (1911–1974), also brought France into the European Economic Community (he supported an economically united Europe, but opposed the entrance of Great Britain into the Common Market); pursued reconciliation with Germany through the Franco-German cooperation treaty (1963); sponsored a unilateral nuclear-armaments program for France and renewed ties with the Soviet Union and mainland China in an effort toward East-West rapprochement; and withdrew French forces (but not France itself) from NATO in 1966. As French influence increased worldwide, de Gaulle took positions on the great issues of international politics of the time (Vietnam, China, Biafra, the Middle East—he condemned Israel during the Six-Day War of 1967), advocated the autonomy of French Canada ("Vive le Québec libre," he proclaimed on a visit there in 1967), and supported the return to an international gold standard.

This policy of French prestige was not without social, economic, and financial difficulties, with the inflation of 1962 ending the relative stability enjoyed since 1958. De Gaulle's government had to face a political and labor opposition that manifested itself for the first time in the presidential elections of 1965, in which there was a runoff against the leftist candidate, François Mitterrand (1916–1996). In the parliamentary elections of 1967, the Gaullist majority lost a number of seats.

The economic, social, and cultural malaise in France exploded in May 1968, when striking students and workers brought the nation almost to a complete halt. Charles de Gaulle again won in the June 1968 presidential elections, but in April 1969 he resigned following the defeat of his policies in a national referendum. He retired to his home in Colombey-les-Deux-Églises to continue work on his memoires, thus ending the political career of a man who during almost thirty years had dominated French political life. Along with his *Mémoires de guerre* trilogy (*L'Appel* [1954], *L'Unité* [1956], and *Le Salut* [1959]), de Gaulle's other writings include the two-volume *Mémoires d'espoir* (Memories of Hope: *Le Renouveau* [1970] and *L'Effort* [1971]).

Charles de Gaulle, who in the 1930s was associated with Catholic anti-fascist groups, and his wife were devout Catholics, as is evidenced in his writings (in which he sought to reconcile liberal democracy and Catholicism) and in their private and public lives. Devoted to their daughter Anne who had Down syndrome, they lovingly and attentively cared for her for 20 years; Charles de Gaulle for instance would engage her in playing cards, himself patiently playing both hands.

Publicly, the de Gaulles manifested their Catholicism on such occasions as in 1966, when on a state visit to the Soviet Union, they attended Mass in Leningrad's only Catholic church, Notre Dame de Lourdes.

SEE ALSO France, The Catholic Church in; World War II and the Papal Role.

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DEACONESS

The word *deaconess* is a title given to a woman who exercises a special ministry or service in the Church. Considerable debate has occurred as to whether the deaconesses mentioned in the New Testament and in the early Church were the equivalent of male deacons or whether they exercised a ministry of service that was sacramental.

In Romans 16:1–2, Paul refers to "our sister Phoebe, a deaconess (*he diakonos*) of the Church at Cenchreae" (Catholic Revised Standard Version). In the New American Bible, *he diakonos* is translated as *a minister* rather than *deaconess*. According to the International Theological Commission [ITC], one cannot conclude from the use of *diakonos* in Romans 16:1 that the specific function of a DEACON is designated, first "because in this context *diakonos* still signifies servant in a very general sense, and second because the word 'servant' is not given a feminine suffix but preceded by a feminine article" (ITC 2004, English ed., pp. 19–20). The ITC further notes that the same Greek word, *diakonos*, is used by Paul to refer to the authorities of this world (Rom 13:4) and to the servants of the DEVIL (2 Cor 11:14–15).

In 1 Timothy 3:11, women are mentioned in a passage following a reference to deacons. Exegetes, though, are divided as to whether these women are the wives of the deacons just mentioned or women deacons. In 1 Timothy 5: 3–16, Paul mentions women being inscribed into an order of widows, a group that might also have exercised a type of non-sacramental *diakonia*, or service, in the early Church (Müller 2002, p. 56).

In the early second century, PLINY THE YOUNGER, governor of Bithynia, refers to two women who are called *ministrae* (ministers) by Christians. *Ministrae* here is probably the Latin equivalent of *diakonoi*, but only in the third century did the term deaconess (*diaconissa* in Greek and *diacona* in Latin) begin to emerge (ITC 2004, p. 20). Deaconesses are mentioned in the Greco-Syriac canonico-liturgical compilation known as the *Didascalia Apostolorum* [DA] that appears around 240 AD. In this document, deaconesses seem to have taken the place of the order of widows. They anointed women in the rite of BAPTISM, but they could not confer baptism by themselves and had no part in the EUCHARIST offering (DA 3, 12, 1–4; cf. ITC 2004, p. 21).

Deaconesses are also mentioned in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (*Constitutiones Apostolorum*) [CA], a document that appeared in Syria around 380 AD, bringing together various prior documents, such as the *Didache*, the *Didaskalia*, and the *Traditio Apostolica*. The compiler of the CA distinguished between the roles of deaconesses and deacons, for the deaconess "does not bless, and she does not fulfill any of the things that priests and deacons do, but she looks after the doors and attends the priests during the Baptism of women, for the sake of decency" (CA VIII 28, 6; cf. ITC 2004, pp. 22–23). In the CA, though, deaconesses, unlike widows, were included among the clergy, because they had a liturgical function. It should be noted, though, that the CA understood the concept of clergy (*klèros*) in a very broad manner to include all those "who benefited from the privileges in civil law allowed by the Empire to the clergy" (ITC 2004, p. 22).

There has been considerable debate as to what type of ordination deaconesses received. Canon 19 of the Council of Nicea (325) refers to the former members of the Paulinists who were seeking refuge in the Catholic Church. Their deaconesses were to be numbered among the laity because they did not receive any IMPOSITION OF HANDS (*cheirothesían*/*manus impositionem*) (Tanner 1990, p. 15). According to some scholars, the deaconesses who *did* receive a true imposition of hands were ordained to HOLY ORDERS and, therefore, not counted among the laity. The Greek verb *cheirotenein* could refer to an election, but it could also mean an appointment, installation, or liturgical ordination (cf. ITC 2004, pp. 25–26).

The compiler of the CA "reserves the term *cheirotonia* to the ordination of bishops, priests, deacons and sub-deacons (VIII 4–5; 16–17; 21). He employs the expression *epithenai tèn (tas) cheira (s)* for deaconesses and lectors (VIII 16, 2: 17, 2)," but "[h]e does not seem to wish to give these expressions a different meaning, since all the impositions are accompanied by an epiclesis of the Holy Spirit" (ITC 2004, no. 63, p. 30). Canon 15 of the Council of CHALCEDON does refer to deaconesses being ordained, and it uses a verbal form of *cheirotonia* (*cheirotoneīsthai*/ *ordinandam*: cf. Tanner 1990, p. 94). Because, however, canon 15 requires deaconesses to be at least forty years old and forbids them from marrying after being ordained, some believe that "the way of life of deaconesses was very similar to that of nuns," and St. GREGORY OF NYSSA and others use the term *deaconess* to refer to women in charge of monasteries (cf. ITC 2004, p. 23).

In the early Church, deaconesses were mostly present in the Christian East. In the West "there is no trace of any deaconesses for the first five centuries" (ITC 2004, p. 24). Perhaps because of the presence of deaconesses in certain heretical sects, various local Western synods of the fourth through sixth century forbad the ordination of deaconesses, though abbesses and wives of deacons were called deaconesses (*diaconissae*) by way of analogy (ITC 2004, p. 24).

Deaconesses were present in the East from the third through the tenth centuries, and in certain places of the

West from the sixth through thirteenth, but, in the opinion of the INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL COMMISSION, "It seems clear that this ministry was not perceived as the simple feminine equivalent of the masculine diaconate" ("*Il semble clair que ce ministère n'était pas perçu comme le simple équivalent féminine du diaconat masculine*") (ITC, *Le Diaconat: Evolution et Perspectives* 2002, ch. II, no. IV). Many scholars also believe that "the consecration of deaconesses was not the ordination of women to the diaconal ministry; on the contrary, it was a question of a different ecclesiastical office" (Müller 2002, p. 48).

In recent years some Catholic scholars have made the case for the ordination of women to the diaconate (Zagano 2000), and they have been encouraged by the 2004 decision of the HOLY SYNOD of the ORTHODOX CHURCH IN GREECE to restore the female diaconate (Zagano 2005). Recent documents of the Catholic Church, however, have not given any encouragement to these initiatives. The 2002 study of the International Theological Commission on the diaconate (published in French as *Le Diaconat: Evolution et Perspectives*) included a historical study of the ministry of the deaconess. Some Catholic scholars used this document as possible support for ordaining women to the diaconate, because the ITC referred the matter to the Magisterium "to pronounce authoritatively on this question" (ITC 2004, p. 109). Thus, the issue seemed to be open for discussion.

In response to this interpretation of the 2002 document, Father Georges Cottier, O.P., the general secretary of the commission, noted that the ITC, even though it lacks the authority of the Magisterium, nevertheless, provides some strong indications against the possibility of ordaining women to the diaconate. The first indication is that the deaconesses in the early Church cannot be understood simply as the equivalent of ordained deacons, and the second is "the unity of the sacrament of Holy Orders," which includes the ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons (Cottier 2002, p. 12).

Early twenty-first-century interventions of the Roman CURIA likewise manifest a decided resistance to the possibility of ordaining women to the diaconate. On July 20, 2000, Cardinal Jorge Medina Estévez, the Prefect of the Congregation for DIVINE WORSHIP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS, wrote a letter condemning the "abuse" (*abuso*) committed by Bishop Samuel Ruiz García and his Coadjutor, Bishop Raúl Vera López, at an ordination LITURGY of permanent deacons that took place January 18, 2000, in the Mexican diocese of San Crisóbal de Las Casas. In this ordination liturgy, the two bishops laid their hands upon the wives of men being ordained deacons, thus creating, "ambiguity and confusion as if they were also being 'ordained'" (*Enchiridion Vaticanum* [EV]19, 2000, no. 1057, p. 601). Cardinal Medina required the bishops to make a public declaration that these wives of the permanent deacons "did not receive any sacramental ordination and, therefore, are not 'deaconesses'" [EV 19, 2000, no. 1054, p. 598).

Another intervention by the Magisterium on the question of deaconesses was a Notification of September 17, 2001, issued jointly by the cardinal prefects of three curial Congregations: namely, the Doctrine for the Faith (Cardinal Ratzinger), Divine Worship and Discipline of the Sacraments (Cardinal Medina Estévez), and the Clergy (Cardinal Castrillón Hoyos). This Notification was issued in response to reports of some dioceses conducting programs of study directly or indirectly aimed at the diaconal ordination of women. The Notification states that such programs are devoid of solid doctrinal foundation and can, therefore, generate pastoral disorientation (*carenti di salda fondatezza dottrinale e che possono generare pertanto disorientamento pastorale: Enchiridion Vaticanum* [EV] 20, 2001, no. 1800, p. 1200). Moreover, such programs are illegitimate because the discipline of the Church does not foresee the possibility of such ordination [i.e., of women to the diaconate] (*Poiché l'ordinamento ecclesiale non prevede la possibilità di una tale ordinazione: Enchiridion Vaticanum* [EV] 20, 2001, no. 1800, p. 1200).

SEE ALSO ANOINTING; APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS; CASTRILLÓN HOYOS, DARÍO; DIDASCALIA APOSTOLORUM; DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE; EPICLESIS; LECTOR; MONASTERY; NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS; OFFICE, ECCLESIASTICAL; ORDINATIONS IN THE ROMAN RITE; PAUL, APOSTLE, ST.; RATZINGER, JOSEPH; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); WIDOW (IN THE BIBLE); WIDOW (IN THE EARLY CHURCH).

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DEMOCRACY, CHRISTIAN

Christian democratic movements had their origins in continental Europe and took root in Italy, Germany, Austria, Belgium, and the Netherlands. In Latin America, Christian DEMOCRACY emerged largely in the second half of the twentieth century, eventually becoming active in eighteen nations.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, new threats to Catholicism arose in Europe. Industrialization brought social urbanization and mobility that weakened the Church's traditional pastoral institutions. Increasing democratization meant that the Church's enemies could use elections to curtail or even eliminate the ability of the Church to function in society. Historians have sometimes explained the rise of Christian democracy as the Catholic Church's response to the twin threats of ANTICLERICALISM and mass politics. This interpretation presupposes that the Church, led by the VATICAN, encouraged and nurtured Christian democracy to defend the Church against the growing SECULARIZATION of European society. This view also portrays the confessional parties as nothing more than stalking horses for Europe's conservative elements, which used the Catholic parties to fight socialism and ensure their control over the masses.

Birth of Christian Democracy. At its most fundamental, the development of political Catholicism was, in part, the result of the conflict between the Church and the forces of LIBERALISM. However, the confessional parties were not initially supported by the hierarchy and the Vatican. The Vatican worried that Catholic political parties would take positions of expediency, make unfortunate political alliances, and undercut the importance of religion to win elections. The Church was also concerned that the heads of Catholic political parties would confuse the FAITHFUL and rival the Magisterium if they were perceived as Catholic leaders and spokespersons. Thus, the Church initially embarked on a different strategy to combat the liberal anticlericalism of the late nineteenth century.

In the wake of a series of anticlerical laws across Europe, petition drives in the Netherlands (1878), Belgium (1879), Prussia (1868–1869), and Austria (1867) showed the force of Catholic opinion. Behind the petition gatherings were lay Catholic organizations that had been given greater structure and coordination and brought under closer episcopal supervision as a result of Pope PIUS IX's ENCYCLICAL *Quanta cura* and the attached *Syllabus errorum*. The Vatican of Pius IX saw these traditional Catholic associations as the cornerstone of a Catholic action focusing initially on piety and religious practice that would oppose the errors of the modern world, not on the political stage, but among the people. These associations soon became more than just movements against liberalism and anticlericalism and instead began to organize cooperatives, banks, clubs, and self-contained economic units that would isolate Catholic masses from the so-called corrosive influence of liberalism.

At the same time, the hierarchies in individual countries sought to maintain control over these organizations, even as they grew in size and scope. Aware that a younger generation of lay Catholic leaders saw the advantages of mobilizing the Catholic masses for political ends, the bishops asserted clerical rights and privileges with the associations. The statutes of the Italian Opera dei Congressi, the national umbrella group of Catholic movements founded in 1874, clearly stated that all the Opera activities were to be "in accordance with the wishes of the highest pontiff and under the guidance of the bishops and the clergy." Virtually all Catholic associations in Europe included similar clauses in their bylaws or constitutions. In Belgium, the bishop of Liege summed up this view of the associations as reflecting, "the priest in his parish ... the bishop in his diocese, surrounded by devoted laymen."

In Italy, Pius IX's *non expedit* forbidding Catholics to participate in the electoral process drew a sharp line across which activists in the Opera dared not cross. In other European countries, however, the issue of Catholic participation in electoral politics was not as clear. For example, Joseph Othmar von RAUSCHER, the archbishop of Vienna, had to repeatedly rule out the idea of transforming Catholic associations into political

movements. In Germany, the associations often had clauses in their charters that specifically forbade political discussions, even including provisions for the expulsion of members who engaged in political activity.

Under Pope LEO XIII, Catholic organizations expanded their scope beyond generating piety and faithfulness among the laity. Leo recognized the need for social and economic activities and encouraged the engendering of a Catholic identity among the masses. Yet the pope drew the line at the transformation of Catholic associations into Catholic political parties. The associations' growing strength in Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resulted in attacks by the Liberal Party and the nascent Socialist Party, stoking the flames of anticlericalism.

The Catholic response was to forge informal alliances with friendly political parties, providing the latter with mass movements they often lacked. In 1895, Italian Catholics allied with a conservative list of candidates, *La lista contrattuale*; in 1913 this tactic took the more developed form of the Gentiloni Pact. Similar arrangements were made in Belgium (1879), Austria (1887), Germany (1870), and France (1890, 1894, 1901). These alliances, universally approved and guided by national hierarchies, were the first steps toward establishing Catholic political movements, giving Catholics a sense of political identity and organization without violating the Vatican's ban on overtly confessional parties. In fact, the Vatican viewed these alliances as merely temporary and specific responses to specific problems. When and if the problems went away, the Vatican reasoned, so would Catholic involvement in electoral politics. Further, lay Catholic leaders of the associations did not stand for election under these arrangements; Catholic organizations were to deliver the vote, not put their own men in office.

Establishment of Catholic Political Parties. The actual institution of Catholic political parties occurred earlier in Germany, Austria, Belgium, and the Netherlands (mid- to late nineteenth century) than in Italy (1919), largely because of the Italian state's peculiar relationship with the HOLY SEE. "Imprisoned" in the Vatican since the pontificate of Pius IX, the popes did not accept the legitimacy of the Italian state until 1929. Nonetheless, the European Catholic political movements had many developmental factors in common. Despite the hierarchy's efforts to control the associations, their activities grew so markedly in the latter half of the nineteenth century that lower clergy and laymen discovered increasing latitude. Catholic trade unions were founded in many countries by priests without the approval of their bishops. Credit unions and cooperatives were formed in Italy by the Opera, despite the misgivings of many local bishops who saw them as bordering on socialism.

Scholars have pointed out that in many cases the strongest and most vocal supporters of the establishment of Catholic political parties were priests, many of whom found themselves in difficulties with their superiors as a result. Indeed, two of the most successful Catholic political parties, Austria's Christian Socialism Party and Italy's Partito Popolare, were founded by priests, Ignaz SEIPEL and Luigi STURZO, respectively. These young priests, joined and then surpassed by young activist laymen such as Guido Miglioli (1879–1954) and Giuseppe Sacchetti (1845–1906) in Italy, Georg Hertling (1843–1919) in Germany, and Jacques Piou (1838–1932) in France, did not agree with the bishops' cautious political strategy, and they were not afraid to move their organizations toward direct political involvement. For example, in Belgium in 1875, the bishops appealed to the pope to discipline activist Catholic laymen who "gave themselves the mission to teach the bishops" about sensitive political issues. Across Europe, a new generation of Catholic activists, while faithful to the Church, was anxious to defend Catholicism and their fellow Catholics by direct participation in electoral politics.

As the Catholic movements developed into bona fide political parties, the lower clergy's dominance gave way to lay control. Mass party-related organizations weakened the hold of the clergy, and the confessional parties began to see themselves as allied, but distinct from the Church itself. By the beginning of the twentieth century, a process of declericalization had occurred to some extent in all European Catholic political parties. This allowed the Catholic parties greater freedom to compete for votes in the increasingly secular European societies. By the time of the establishment of the Partito Popolare Italiano (PPI) in Italy in 1919, Catholic political parties in Europe had been largely transformed into Christian people's parties that, rather than simply defending the narrow institutional interests of the Church, looked to Catholicism to provide the spiritual and moral basis for newly emerging democratic societies.

Between the World Wars. The interwar period (1919–1939), however, saw the development of the Christian Democratic parties slow to a halt. In Italy, the PPI competed in elections for the first time in 1919, winning a remarkable 100 seats and emerging as a genuine force in post–World War I politics, a fact that neither the establishment liberals nor the radical socialists welcomed. The PPI found itself in the center of a democracy in crisis. The old ruling parties were discredited and unable to govern alone. The socialists and communists fomented social unrest and rebellion in the factories and among the peasants, often violently clashing with Catholic unions and cooperatives. Conservative Catholic organizations, the hierarchy, and the Vatican criticized Sturzo's PPI for refusing to form

alliances with the conservatives to block the socialists. The Fascist March on Rome in 1922 ended the postwar political and social chaos but was also the beginning of the end of the PPI. By 1926, Benito MUSSOLINI felt strong enough to eliminate all rival parties. The Vatican, under Pope PIUS XI, did not protest the dissolution of the Popolari. Instead, it recognized that regimes of the radical right, like fascism, would not tolerate electoral politics, and Pius XI began to formulate a policy of concordats, or treaties, with governments to ensure the rights of the Church and the faithful.

As radical right movements took power in Europe, the Catholic political parties lost ground. In Germany, the CENTER PARTY competed against the new Nazi Party and, in Catholic areas of Germany, generally retained control and popularity. In the last free German elections in 1933, the Center Party and its ally, the Bavarian People's Party, did well and held onto to their seats in the Reichstag. However, the Vatican felt that with Adolf HITLER now in power, only a concordat would truly protect Catholicism in Germany. As part of the negotiations, the Vatican banned priests from politics, and this included Ludwig Kass, the leader of the Center Party. In July 1933, the Center Party was dissolved.

In Austria, the Christian Socialists won an absolute majority in the 1920 elections, held after the fall of the Hapsburg monarchy, and the party was the dominant political force until the Anschluss incorporated Austria into Nazi Germany in 1938. The assassination of the Christian Socialist chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss (1892–1934) by the Nazis in 1934 ushered in a period of undemocratic consolidation in a futile effort to fend off the Anschluss. By 1938, the Christian Social Party and other political parties were suppressed by the Nazis.

Essentially, all European Christian Democratic political parties shared the same ultimate fate as fascist and radical right movements spread across Europe. The outbreak of the Second World War and the Nazi occupation saw the end of political activity, and the Christian Democrats in many countries disbanded and bided their time. In Italy, for example, the Catholic university movement, La Federazione Universitaria Cattolica (FUCI), kept alive the principles of the Popolari through intellectual discourse and social activities. Protected by the Vatican as a section of CATHOLIC ACTION, the FUCI leadership of the interwar period became the leadership of the reprised Christian Democratic Party after the war.

Post–World War II Movements. Christian democratic movements were active in France, Italy, Germany, and Belgium in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. In almost all instances, the parties attempted to rally Catholic organizations and political movements, liberal and conservative alike, under the banner of Christian democracy. Major Catholic political figures emerged, such as Alcide de GASPERI in Italy and Konrad ADENAUER in Germany, who were held in high regard by the victorious Allied powers and viewed as principal pillars on which to reconstruct a democratic Europe. The Christian Democrats were a viable alternative to communism in Europe and strong supporters of the new North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance and early supporters of greater pan-European cooperation.

De Gasperi and Adenauer built formidable political and social movements that formed numerous governments in the postwar period. In Italy, the Christian Democratic Party became the party of government, providing the lion's share of prime ministers, but the party ultimately suffered from an internal decline that was the product of continual power and power sharing. The German Christian Democrats and their Bavarian sister party, the Christian Socialists, spent more time in opposition than did their Italian counterparts. The German party was willing to remain in opposition, out of power, for lengthy periods of time and avoided the inevitable corruption that comes from continual political power. In Belgium and the Netherlands, Christian Democratic parties also formed governments, participating routinely in cabinets and coalitions. Only in France did the Christian Democratic Party fail to survive the twentieth century, dissolving in 1967. However, its frequent participation in governments of the 1950s helped to bring recalcitrant Catholics into the electoral process of the republic before its adherents migrated largely to the Gaullist movement.

All Christian Democratic parties confronted the growing secularization and prosperity of Western European societies. As a result, the parties themselves became more open and interdenominational. In the latter part of the twentieth century they were unable to retain their dominant positions as "parties of the people" in the face of effective challenges from the left by environmental, peace, and other protest movements. In Belgium, the Christian Democratic Party was hurt by the conflict between the Flemish and the Walloon sections of the country. Despite these developments, Christian democracy remained a significant political force in Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium, and it was a major contributor to the post–World War II period of stability and peace on the Continent.

Parties in Latin America. The development of Christian democracy outside of Europe began in the period after World War II and was strongest in Latin America. In 1947, the Christian Democratic Organization of America (ODCA) was founded and eventually included

eighteen countries. Reflecting the political landscape of Latin America in the late twentieth century, the Christian Democratic parties often found themselves operating in authoritarian as well as democratic societies. Christian Democratic parties ultimately elected presidents in a number of countries, including the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Chile, Venezuela, and Mexico, and in many countries these parties took strong positions against dictators and authoritarian regimes.

In Venezuela, for example, the Comité de Organización Política Electoral Independiente (COPEI), the Christian Democratic Party, led a ten-year fight against the dictatorship of Marcos Pérez Jiménez (1914–2001) from 1948 to 1958 and was a subsequent bulwark of the democratic system from 1958 until the late 1990s. In Mexico, Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) spent decades participating in sham elections. Although it knew it would be shut out of governing by the authoritarian Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). PAN was building its organization, enabling it to ultimately compete in and win Mexico's first democratic presidential election in 2000. In Chile, the Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC) participated in competitive elections in the postwar years until the 1973 coup by General Augusto Pinochet (1915–2006), eventually emerging as a major player in the post-Pinochet democracy. In Peru, the Partido Popular Cristiano (PPC) was a major force in the 1950s democracy and worked for a return to democracy under the 1968 to 1980 military dictatorship. In Central America, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Costa Rica all saw strong Christian democratic movements, especially in the 1980s, although toward the end of the century their electoral fortunes waned.

The challenge of operating and growing under authoritarian regimes weakened Latin American Christian democracy's organizational capabilities, especially if the party were founded during a period of dictatorship. The regular fluctuation in many Latin American countries between dictatorship and democracy undermined the parties' ability to develop deep-rooted party structures similar to their European counterparts. The movements also saw the Church in Latin America distance itself from the Christian democratic movement, first as liberals in the wake of Vatican II criticized the parties for their conservative bent, and then in the 1980s and 1990s as conservatives saw the parties as too left-leaning. Still, despite these difficulties, Christian democracy remains a considerable force in many Latin American countries.

SEE ALSO CONSERVATISM AND LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL; NON EXPEDIT; POLITICAL THEOLOGY; POLITICS, CHURCH AND; QUANTA CURA; SYLLABUS OF ERRORS.

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DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, CHRISTIAN

After WORLD WAR II, Christian Democratic parties constituted a major international political force, mostly in Europe but also in other parts of the globe, such as Latin America. A clear definition of Christian Democracy has proven elusive, a dilemma complicated by the number of parties, each of which approaches Christian teachings in its own way. Furthermore, while most Christian Democratic parties identify with the Catholic Church, this is not always the case. The German Christian Democratic Union embraces both Catholics and Protestants, Scandinavian parties have been predominantly Protestant, and the Greek *Nea Demokratia* has roots in the Orthodox Church.

Before World War II. Between the FRENCH REVOLUTION and the Second World War, Catholic politics took many forms, often in reaction to the inevitable secularization of the industrial age as well as to political secularism. Until FASCISM presented a more immediate threat, those secularists in the liberal and Marxist camps considered the Catholic Church to be the most persistent holdover of the ancient regime. Liberals led the initial attack on the Church. Committed to its defense, therefore, Catholic political thought acquired a negative reputation as critical of LIBERALISM and MARXISM. If liberals stood for democratic reform, then Catholics must oppose it. Because Marxists spoke for the workers, then Catholics must speak against the workers. Unfortunately for Catholic politics, such arguments played themselves out within contexts and terminologies

developed by liberals and Marxists who dismissed their Christian foes as hopelessly conservative or, more precisely, reactionary and ultramontane, clinging to a nostalgic union of throne and altar. Battered by what it saw as incessant liberal attacks, as Stathis Kalyvas illustrates in his *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*, the Church somewhat reluctantly identified with the conservative parties (Kalyvas 1996, pp. 43–61). This phenomenon established itself early, upon the fall of Napoleon in 1815, and later became particularly apparent after WORLD WAR I in Antonio Salazar's Portugal, Engelbert Dollfuss's (1892–1934) Austria, and, in a more complicated way, in the Spain of Francisco FRANCO. At the end of the Second World War, however, a new form of Catholic politics emerged in Christian Democracy, which proved enormously successful for the next half century. In their introduction to *Political Catholicism in Europe, 1918–1945*, Wolfram Kaiser and Helmut Wohnout deny a "straightforward continuity from interwar Catholic politics to postwar Christian Democracy" (Kaiser and Wohnout 2004, p. 5).

Prewar Predecessors and Inspirations. Postwar Christian Democracy, for example, identified more with social reform and democracy than had most of earlier Catholic politics, although one can easily locate prewar predecessors and inspirations. The words of Popes LEO XIII and PIUS XI, for instance, predated, but contributed to, the evolution of a Christian Democratic idea. Above all, Leo's 1891 Encyclical *Rerum novarum* gave direction to Catholic social thought and, by implication, politics, for more than a century. Alarmed by the harsh treatment of labor in industrial capitalism as well as by the seduction of atheistic socialism, Leo condemned exploitation of the workers and defended their right to organize. The state had an obligation to promote the interests of the poor, protect children from dangerous vocations, and ensure rest for all workers. Ten years later, Leo's *Graves de communi re* addressed Christian Democracy in a very watered-down form. Although it recognized the concept, the Encyclical aimed more at helping Christians than at forming a political party, and it still exhibited Church reluctance to sanction Catholic-inspired political action. Pius XI issued *Quadragesimo anno* in 1931, on the fortieth anniversary of *Rerum novarum*, in clear acknowledgment of his debt to Leo. The themes were the same, although expressed more bluntly and with more alarm.

Along with papal initiatives, a number of nineteenth and early twentieth century activists distinguished social and progressive Catholic politics and can be considered forerunners of later, full-blown Christian democracy. Among the most noteworthy were Félicité Lamennais, Bishop Wilhelm Emmanuel von KETTELER, and Don Luigi STURZO. The tragic career of the French priest, Lamennais, served as a cautionary tale for progressive, or liberal, Catholics in the first half of the nineteenth century. His ideas were condemned in Pope GREGORY XVI's 1832 Encyclical *Mirari vos*, as was his most important book, *Paroles d'un croyant*, in Gregory's *Singulari nos*. Bishop Ketteler was born in 1811 (Lamennais was born in 1782) and was of the next generation, one more deeply affected by the Industrial Revolution and by a more mature working class. A "sower of seeds," according to Paul Misner, he acquired an activist reputation in the Revolutions of 1848 and turned to the plight of the workers, later reaching for guidance to progressive liberals and even to the early social democrat, Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–1864) (Misner 1991, pp. 136–144). Born in 1871, the Sicilian priest Luigi Sturzo was ordained in 1894. Inspired by *Rerum novarum*, he worked to better the lives of peasants and to organize a Catholic political movement, at first unsuccessfully through the *Opere dei congressi* (disbanded by PIUS X in 1904). Then, after the First World War, Sturzo launched the Italian Popular Party (PPI) in Rome, a cross-class organization, Catholic, but ideally autonomous of the hierarchy. The HOLY SEE tolerated Sturzo's party but was never comfortable with its independence and its unwillingness to place the ROMAN QUESTION higher on its agenda. Benito MUSSOLINI's Fascist regime, launched in 1922, presented new problems to the *Popolari*. First, it seduced many conservative PPI figures and even accepted some as ministers in its first coalition cabinet. Second, the Fascists persuaded Pope Pius XI that he could negotiate with them over the Roman Question, and he, in turn, allowed the Popular Party to whither on the vine. In 1923 Sturzo resigned and left for two decades in exile, and the Party collapsed under Fascist pressure in 1926. Another Catholic Party, the German Center, an older organization than the Popular Party, suffered a similar fate at the hands of Adolf HITLER in 1933.

Impact of World War II. World War II strengthened the progressive and democratic side of Catholic politics through opposition to Nazi and Fascist ideologies and through wartime alliances that Catholics forged with other lay and Marxist enemies of Hitler and Mussolini. Catholics figured well in most of the resistance coalitions, from Belgium's Independence Front to Italy's Committee of National Liberation and to France's National Resistance Council, which was led by two of them—Jean Moulin (1899–1943), who died at the hands of Nazi torturers, and his successor, Georges Bidault (1899–1983). Other Catholics, who were active during the war and after, helped to clarify the movement in its own terms and illustrated the old mistake of forcing the round ball of Christian Democracy into the square hole of liberal-Marxist thought. Two such persons

were the French thinkers, Jacques MARITAIN and Emmanuel MOUNIER. In such works as *Christianity and Democracy,* Maritain condemned the "pagan empires" and argued that the religion was necessary for true democracy. Mounier's idea of PERSONALISM echoed Leo XIII's defense of the worker's dignity and, according to the British scholar David Hanley, became:

> the most articulate version of CD doctrine ... [one which] ... sees society as composed not of individuals (as in the liberal paradigm), but persons. The person is an outgoing, fundamentally sociable being, whose destiny is realized not in competition (again, as with liberalism) but more through insertion into different types of community, be it neighborhood, church, family or nation. (Hanley 1994, p. 4)

The Christian Democratic stamp on postwar European politics proved to be enormous. In his 1936 book, *Integral Humanism*, Maritain had envisioned "a temporal regime or of an age of civilization ... whose animating form would be Christian and which would correspond to the historic climate of the epoch into which we are entering" (Maritain 1968, p. 132). Maritain's revelation was published in 1946 in Italy, where it enjoyed many echoes and inspired hope in circles that extended to the Rome of Pope PIUS XII, where it was discussed in the framework of a *nuova Cristianità* (New Christendom). And despite old reservations over the wisdom of Catholic political activity, the Holy See recognized Christian Democracy as a necessary element in bringing the new Christianity to people across Europe and beyond.

Gains in Western Europe. Denied any chance in Eastern Europe and kept in limbo under the authoritarian dictators on the Iberian Peninsula, Christian Democratic power exploded across continental Western Europe at the end of the war and almost created a hegemony that lasted in some places for more than four decades. The West German CDU emerged as the leading national party and, from 1949 until 1966, controlled the government continuously under Konrad ADENAUER (and Ludwig Erhard [1897–1977] from 1963). The Belgian Christian People's Party/Christian Social Party (CVP/PSC) won the first postwar election there in 1946 and kept power until 1955. The Catholic People's Party (KVP) was the most successful Dutch party and dominated cabinets from 1958 until the late 1960s, after which it merged with allies, particularly the Protestant Anti-revolutionary Party (ARP) to form a more broadly based Christian Democratic CDA in 1980. The Luxembourg Christian Social People's Party (CSV) won a majority in the first postwar election and maintained itself with at least a plurality for the rest of the century. Under Alcide de Gasperi and his successors, the Italian Christian Democracy (DC) triumphed in the 1948 elections and controlled the Parliament in Rome until 1994. Although it played a key role as a political faction, only the French Popular Republican Movement (MRP) failed to achieve the success enjoyed by its cousins elsewhere. It persisted as a major party through the Fourth Republic, however, until the re-emergence of Charles de GAULLE in 1958 signaled its decline.

Christian Democrats and Communism. Pope Pius XII and the Christian Democrats forged a united anticommunist policy during the Cold War. His 1949 excommunication of communists mirrored the adherence, also that year, of France, the Benelux nations (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg), and Italy to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Still restricted by postwar measures, West German entrance was delayed until 1955. The same group of nations engineered the key first steps toward the European Union in the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1951. The so-called inner six nations, led by a trio denounced by the French socialist Vincent Auriol (1884–1966) as "three tonsures under the same skull-cap"—Italy's de Gasperi, Germany's Adenauer, and France's MRP Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman (1886–1963), announced the ECSC which, after the 1955 Messina Conference hosted by the Italian DC Prime Minister Mario Scelba (1901–1991), followed by the Treaty of Rome (1957), evolved into the Common Market.

Christian Democrats also strove to leave their stamp on the economies and societies. They often used the phrase *third way* to distinguish their ideas from the lay (capitalist) and Marxist traditions, calling for an activist state while respecting the human person and the sanctity of family and private property. Nevertheless, CD parties suffered important internal debates between progressives and the more traditional capitalist voices. The Adenauer ministry, for instance, enfeebled the ambitious CDU Ahlen Program of 1947, whereas in Italy the bold plans of Amintore Fanfani (1908–1999) and Ezio Vanoni (1903–1956) met resistance among such figures as the pro-capitalist Giuseppe Pella (1902–1981). Social and cultural platforms aligned, in that the parties universally condemned the hedonism of modern life and promoted modest personal conduct. They advocated what might be called *pro-family* measures and stood against divorce and abortion. In the twenty-first century, the success of Christian Democracy appears to be mixed. The fall of the Soviet empire had some adverse effects in that, as it turned out, some portion of CD votes resulted merely from anticommunist fears, and electoral strength declined accordingly. The march of secularization also took its toll on Christian Democratic cultural verve. The

loss of referenda votes on divorce (1974) and abortion (1981), for example, had devastating effects on the CD in Italy. Still, despite setbacks, from 1999 to 2009, the Christian Democratic bloc, known as the European People's Party, held the greatest number of seats in the European Parliament.

SEE ALSO LAMENNAIS, HUGUES FÉLICITÉ ROBERT DE; NAPOLEON I; QUADRAGESIMO ANNO; RERUM NOVARUM; SALAZAR, ANTONIO DE OLIVEIRA.

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DENZINGER

The name *Denzinger* is synonymous with a Catholic "handbook of creeds, definitions and declarations on matters of FAITH AND MORALS" (*Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum*) that has appeared in forty editions, from 1854 to 2005. The current fortieth edition of Denzinger contains two main parts: (1) a compilation of "symbols," or professions of FAITH, from early apostolic times through the fifth century, and (2) a chronological collection of "Documents of the Church's Magisterium," beginning with Pope CLEMENT I of ROME (c. AD 92–101) and continuing through the pontificate of Pope JOHN PAUL II to 2003.

The selected magisterial texts are arranged chronologically according to various pontificates (not all pontificates are represented). In addition to declarations and decrees of councils (both local and ecumenical), there are also selections from papal letters, bulls, constitutions, and encyclicals, as well as documents of various departments of the Roman CURIA, especially the Holy Office (later renamed the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH). Not all of the decrees and canons of ecumenical councils are presented, but the most significant sections concerning faith and morals are included. For the most part, MAGISTERIAL DOCUMENTS (other than those of the ecumenical councils) are papal or Roman. The recent editions, however, include selections from the general conference of the Latin American bishops. Many of the early documents are in Greek, but Latin is the dominant primary language. In more recent editions, modern vernacular languages such as Spanish appear in the primary texts.

First Five Editions. The original 1854 edition of the *Enchiridion* was the idea of Heinrich Joseph DENZINGER, a priest and professor of dogmatic theology in Würzburg, Germany. Denzinger was distressed by what he perceived as a neglect of the positive documents on faith and morals promulgated by the authority of the Church. Thus, in his first edition, he compiled some 100 ecclesiastical documents in Latin translation that included symbols or professions of the faith, decrees and declarations of councils (both provincial and ecumenical), and papal decrees to the pontificate of Pope PIUS IX. Denzinger oversaw a total of five editions during his lifetime, and he expanded the selections to include excerpts from Pius IX's 1865 ENCYCLICAL *Quanta cura* (along with his "Syllabus") as well as passages from VATICAN COUNCIL I. Curiously, he did not include any of the texts of the Council of TRENT.

Sixth through Thirty-first Editions. The sixth through the ninth editions (1888–1900) of Denzinger were overseen by Ignaz Stahl (1833–1916), a *privatdozent* and honorary professor at the University of Würzburg. Under Stahl, the number of documents increased to 155 with the inclusion of documents from Trent, the constitutions of Vatican I, and more papal encyclicals. After Stahl's death in 1905, the Herder Publishing Company took over the production of all subsequent editions. The first nine editions had been produced by Oskar Stahel of Würzburg.

The tenth through thirteenth editions (1908–1921) were overseen by Clemens Bannwart, S.J. (1873–1937), and his assistant, Johannes B. Umberg, S.J. (1875–1959). Making use of the best research of his day, Ban-

nwart completely revised the first part of Denzinger on the creeds. In addition, he reworked the systematic index according to ten main categories, an arrangement that figured largely in the handbooks of DOGMATIC THEOLOGY until VATICAN COUNCIL II. A special concern with the dangers of MODERNISM is evidenced by Bannwart's inclusion of thirty-four pages of documentation from Pope PIUS X's 1907 encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis*.

Umberg is listed as the editor for the fourteenth through the twenty-seventh editions of Denzinger (1922–1951). Umberg was a specialist in SACRAMENTAL THEOLOGY, and he included more documents in that area, as well as references to the 1917 Code of Canon Law. He also reintroduced a section on MORAL THEOLOGY into the index, arranging it according to the decalogue.

The twenty-eighth through the thirty-first editions (1952–1957) were overseen by Karl RAHNER, S.J. In the twenty-eighth edition, Rahner asked for suggestions for a revised edition of Denzinger. In anticipation of the revision, only minor changes were made in the editions of this period.

Schönmetzer as Editor. The revisions foreseen by Rahner were undertaken by Adolf Schönmetzer, S.J., who is listed as the editor for the thirty-second through the thirty-sixth editions (1963–1976). In the thirty-second edition (1963), Schönmetzer included close to 150 more documents and expanded about 100 others. He revised the section on the creeds as well as the introductions, the numbering system, and the index. In the thirty-third and thirty-fourth editions, Schönmetzer included excerpts from the encyclicals of Pope JOHN XXIII and documents of Pope PAUL VI. However, he did not include any of the documents of Vatican II because he planned to publish these in a separate volume that also would include other recent magisterial documents. Schönmetzer did not see this project to completion.

Hünermann and Translations. In 1981, Professor Peter Hünermann (1929–) of the University of TÜBINGEN began work on a new bilingual edition of Denzinger. The idea was to completely update the *Enchiridion* with the addition of key texts of Vatican II and postconciliar documents. Among those who provided suggestions for the new documents was Bishop Walter KASPAR of Rottenburg-Stuttgart, who later became the cardinal-prefect of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity. Hünermann and his assistants likewise revised the original texts according to the most recent critical editions and provided changes and additions to the introductions and index as needed.

Hünermann provided German translations on pages opposite to the original texts in Greek, Latin, and other languages. The numbering system of Schönmetzer was retained but expanded. In the thirty-seventh edition, which appeared in 1991, the creeds of the ancient Church comprised *1 to 76 (as in Schönmetzer), but the documents of the Church's Magisterium now went from 101 to 4858, with the last entry being John Paul II's 1988 apostolic exhortation *Christifideles laici*. The numbering of the texts to 3997 corresponds to that of Schönmetzer's thirty-sixth edition, but a new system from 4001 onward was devised to include the texts from Vatican II through the pontificate of John Paul II. After the thirty-seventh edition, of 1991, subsequent editions were published with additional texts added. The most recent edition is the fortieth, published in 2005. It has documents through John Paul II's 2003 encyclical *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, bringing the total number of entries to *5093.

Since 1991, editions of Denzinger-Hünermann have appeared in various vernacular translations, including French, Spanish, Italian, and Croatian (an edition in Chinese is under preparation). Ignatius Press will soon publish an English translation of the fortieth edition. It will be the first English translation of Denzinger to appear since that of the thirtieth edition produced by Roy J. Deferrari (1890–1969) in 1957.

Neuner and Dupuis. A handbook in English that serves the same purpose as Denzinger in many respects is the volume edited by Josef Neuner and Jacques DUPUIS titled *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*, which appeared in its seventh edition in 2001. Whereas the documents in Denzinger are arranged chronologically, those in Neuner and Dupuis are arranged topically according to headings such as Revelation and Faith and Tradition and Scripture. The documentation in Neuner and Dupuis is not as extensive as that of Denzinger, but it does have the advantage of topical arrangement for those who are interested in documents pertaining to a certain subject.

Although prominent theologians such as Karl Rahner and Yves Marie-Joseph CONGAR have warned about the dangers of "Denzinger theology," there is no doubt that the *Enchiridion* is an important resource for students, theologians, teachers, and pastors. The citing of creeds and magisterial statements by references to Denzinger continued in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* and in the writings of Pope John Paul II and Benedict XVI.

SEE ALSO CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; CHRISTIFIDELES LAICI; COUNCILS, GENERAL (ECUMENICAL), THEOLOGY OF; LATIN (IN THE CHURCH); PROFESSION OF FAITH; QUANTA CURA; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM).

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DETERMINISM

Determinism is the belief that every event is necessitated by antecedent events and causal principles. Since events are necessary, determinism is opposed to the belief in freedom of the WILL. Philosophers have proposed three responses to this challenge: soft determinism, hard determinism, and libertarianism. Compatibilism, or soft determinism, argues that freedom of the will and determinism are not mutually exclusive. Incompatibilism, meanwhile, insists that determinism and freedom of the will are exclusive of one another. Advocates of this view are divided into two camps: those who accept determinism and reject freedom of the will as illusory are hard determinists, while those who defend freedom of the will are libertarians.

There are a variety of arguments for determinism. Logical determinism argues that all propositions about the future are either true or false, thereby implying that the outcome is now necessary. More common is physical (or causal) determinism, which argues that the scientific laws governing the material universe necessitate events. Finally, theological determinism follows from God's infallible foreknowledge, since whatever he knows must occur.

Logical determinism, first suggested by ARISTOTLE in his discussion of future contingent events (*De Interpretatione* 9), is based on the logical principles of bivalence (every proposition is either true or false) and the excluded middle (if a proposition is true, its negation must be false). For example, according to the principles of logical determinism, the statement "There will be a sea battle tomorrow" must be either true or false. In addition, this certainty implies that there is a logical necessity to this event's happening. This second proposition can be refuted, however, by noting that the truth of a proposition does not mean it is necessary. Thus, while a statement is necessarily either true or false, the event can nevertheless be contingent.

Physical determinism arose with the ancient atomists and Epicureans, was revived with the materialism of Thomas HOBBES (1588–1679), and has been the main concern of modern philosophers as science has uncovered the laws of the physical universe. These discoveries moved some to claim that humans can achieve complete knowledge of the future if they have sufficient knowledge of the present. Determinism has even withstood the development of quantum mechanics, since the inability to predict an event does not mean that it is not determined. Contemporary arguments for physical determinism assert that because neither past events nor the laws of the universe are under human control, the future is not under human control. This reasoning is persuasive because of its appeal to scientific laws, for the world makes sense only if there are sufficient reasons for what happens. To deny physical determinism, then, seems to entail that some events would be uncaused and random, thus undermining the intelligibility of the universe.

Some responses to determinism posit a DUALISM (e.g., Cartesian or Kantian), but this introduces more serious problems. A better solution is found in repudiating the reductionist METAPHYSICS on which this argument is based. Physical determinism assumes that because a part of reality is determined by physical laws, the whole must be likewise determined. But both animal and intelligent life endow the agent with powers that exceed inanimate matter. These intentional agents control their activity. In other words, the soul is a cause of movement, and so human activity is not passively determined by extrinsic forces. Moreover, one cannot simply assume that there are no causal principles other than physical laws without begging the question at hand.

Variants of physical determinism include biological determinism, in which genetics dictates behavior; economic or historical determinism, as in Marxism; and psychological determinism, in which character or desires determine reactions to stimuli. Psychological determinism concedes that animate beings are intentional agents, but it posits that intentional attitudes mechanically determine actions. Again, this reasoning is circular, for it must assume that the intentional attitude is not the result of free choice or deliberative decision.

The problem of theological determinism results from the INFALLIBILITY of divine knowledge. If God's knowledge cannot fail to be true, then events appear to be necessitated by that knowledge. The problem is exacerbated by the doctrine of divine simplicity, which asserts that God's INTELLECT and will are one, which

means that God not only knows what is going to happen, he also wills it to happen. While some thinkers, such as process theologians, respond to this problem by surrendering divine infallibility and omniscience, orthodox solutions must respect God's infallible creative knowledge without negating freedom of the will.

St. AUGUSTINE (354–430) frames the problem in *De libero arbitrio voluntatis* (The Free Choice of the Will). After establishing that free choice is the cause of evil, he argues that foreknowledge is not causal, so that free choice does not preclude divine foreknowledge. One can know that an event will happen, but this knowledge does not entail that the knower causes the event. The will is a source of free action, so God knows what the will chooses and will choose, but this knowledge imposes no necessity on the event. Thus, Augustine argues for a compatibilism in which divine foreknowledge does not undermine the existence of free choice. Later philosophers developed this distinction, accepting the necessity of God's knowledge while rejecting the necessity of the event.

BOETHIUS (c. 480–525) takes up the issue in Book V of *The Consolation of Philosophy*, where he argues that God's knowledge is eternal and so outside of time. ETERNITY is the simultaneous possession of the whole of reality; consequently, God does not foreknow events, He simply knows what exists from a perspective outside time. Therefore, He knows that it is natural causes that make some events necessary and others contingent; in neither case does His knowing impose necessity upon contingent events.

These arguments are synthesized by St. THOMAS AQUINAS (1225–1274) in *Summa theologiae* 1a, q.14, a. 13. There are two essential elements in his solution: the eternal nature of God's knowledge and the distinction between primary and secondary causes. This latter point must be emphasized in light of divine simplicity, since God's knowledge cannot depend on creation. Therefore, Thomas distinguishes God's knowledge as the primary and ultimate cause of existence and created natures as the secondary and proximate causes of change. God creates human nature to be free; thus, there are free acts because of God's creative knowledge, not despite it. In this way, created natures act as causes in cooperation with the divine will. Thomas concludes, "Things known by God are contingent on account of their proximate causes, while the knowledge of God, which is the first cause, is necessary."

Later thinkers attempted other solutions. John DUNS SCOTUS (1266–1308), for example, emphasized the omnipotent divine will, while Luis de MOLINA (1535–1600) devised the hypothesis of divine "middle knowledge." These theories encounter difficulties, however, because they seem to compromise the independence of secondary causes. Adequate responses to the problem of determinism must conceive the main issues properly, including the reality of human nature as an intentional agent created by God to allow humans to act freely in a world that is largely determined by scientific laws.

SEE ALSO ATOMISM; CAUSALITY; DESCARTES, RENÉ; EPICUREANISM; FREE WILL; INFALLIBILITY; KANT, IMMANUEL; PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.

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DEVIL

The supreme evil spirit. The term *devil* is derived from the Greek word διάβολος, which etymologically means an accuser, a slanderer. In classical Greek the word διάβολος was applied as a noun or an adjective ("slanderous") only to men, and in this way it is used also in 1 Timothy 3:11; 2 Timothy 3:3; and Titus 2:3. The SEPTUAGINT, however, used the term ὁ διάβολος to translate the Hebrew term *haśśāṭān* (the accuser, the adversary), and so also in the New Testament ὁ διάβολος (the devil) is a common synonym for the somewhat less frequently used term ὁ σατάν or ὁ σατανᾶς (Satan). Other New Testament synonyms for the devil are BEELZEBUL, Belial, the Evil One (ὁ πονηρός: Mt 13:19, 38; Jn 17:15; Eph 6:16; etc., and most likely Mt 5:37; 6:13), the Accuser (ὁ κατήγωρ: Rv 12:10), the



Depiction in Art. *"Knight, Death and The Devil," by Albrecht Dürer (1513).* **AP IMAGES**

Tempter (Mt 4:3), the Great Dragon and the Ancient Serpent (Rv 12:9), the Prince of This World (Jn 12:31; 14:30; 16:11), and the God of This World (2 Cor 4:4). The only New Testament occurrence of the term "a devil" (without the definite article in Greek) is in John 6:70, where Jesus speaks of JUDAS ISCARIOT as a devil, no doubt because Judas was already in the power of the devil (Jn 13:2, 27). Although strictly speaking there is only one Devil, SATAN, the term is often used broadly in the plural (devils) as a synonym for demons (though never thus in the Bible).

Many Church fathers regarded Isaiah 14:12 ("How you have fallen from the heavens, O morning star") as a symbolic reference to the Devil. Because *morning star* was translated into Latin as *Lucifer*, this name has long been used as a synonym for the Devil and Satan. According to Catholic doctrine, the Devil and the other demons were created as good angels who became evil by "their own doing" (*sed ipsi per se facti sunt mali*: the profession of faith of Lateran IV [1215]: Denzinger-Hünermann [D-H] 2005, 800). The BIBLE does not record how the Devil and the other evil spirits fell from God's grace, but some scriptures (e.g., Isa 14:12; Rev 12:7–9; Lk 10:18; Jude 6; 2 Pet 2:4; and 1 Tim 3:6) have been cited as either symbolic or indirect references to the sin of Lucifer and the fallen angels. Some early Christian writers (e.g., TERTULLIAN, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA) believed Genesis 6:1–4 referred to the sin of the angels who, as "the sons of heaven" married "the daughters of man." Subsequent Church fathers and theologians, such as St. THOMAS AQUINAS, rejected this explanation because the sin of pure spirits like angels could not be sensual but only spiritual in nature (cf. *Summa theologiae* 1a, q. 63, a. 2). Theologians have pointed to pride or envy (or a combination of the two) as the likely reasons for the Devil's fall. The Jesuit Francisco SUÁREZ (1548–1617) speculated that God revealed the image of CHRIST, the Incarnate Word, to the angels, as their Lord. Lucifer, because of his pride, refused to accept one who had assumed flesh as his Lord, and he persuaded other angels to join him in rebellion (cf. Suárez, *De angelis*, Book 5, chapter 12, n. 13).

The existence of the Devil was taken for granted by Catholics until relatively recent times. Under the influence of certain forms of biblical criticism, some scholars suggested that the Devil simply represents a mythological way of personifying evil—appropriate for biblical times but not for today. Vatican II, though, referred several times to the reality of the Evil One (cf. LG, 16 and 18; GS, 13), and references to the Devil continued after the council. In his homily of June 29, 1972, PAUL VI expressed his feeling that "from some fissure the smoke of Satan had entered into the temple of God" (*da qualche fessura sia entrato il fumo di Satana nel tempio di Dio*: *Insegnamenti* X 1972, 707). In his general audience of November 15, 1972, Paul VI stated that "one of the Church's greatest needs today is to be defended against the evil we call the Devil (*il Demonio*)" (cf. *Insegnamenti* X 1972, 1168–1173). In the same audience, he referred to the Devil as "the number one enemy, the preeminent tempter.... who knows how to make his way into us through the senses, the imagination and concupiscence; through utopian logic, or through disordered social contacts in the give and take of our activities." The pontiff noted that although not every sin is due to diabolic action, we must nevertheless keep guard against the Devil's influence with "moral vigor." Less than three years later, on June 26, 1975, the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH issued a document, *Christian Faith and Demonology*, which provided the scriptural and historical support for the reality of the Devil and stated that the Devil's existence was a revealed dogma of faith.

During the pontificate of JOHN PAUL II (1978–2005), the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (CCC) was published (1992 and 1997 in its *edito typica*). The *Catechism* upholds the traditional Catholic belief that "Satan was at first a good angel made by God" who became evil by his own doing (no. 391). With regard to

"the fall of the angels," the *Catechism* finds "a reflection of that rebellion in the tempter's words to our first parents: 'You will be like God'" (CCC, 392). The clear suggestion is that the sin of the Devil and the demons involve both pride and jealousy of God. The *Catechism* likewise affirms the irrevocable character of the sin of the Devil (CCC, 393) and his "disastrous influence" (CCC, 394). Satan's power is not infinite, and he cannot prevent the building up of God's kingdom. Still, it remains "a great mystery that providence should permit diabolical activity" (CCC, 395). The *Catechism* refers to the rite of exorcism by which the Church asks "in the name of Jesus Christ that a person or object be protected against the power of the Evil One and be withdrawn from his dominion" (CCC, 1673). In speaking of the final petition of the Lord's Prayer ("deliver us from evil"), the *Catechism* observes that, "in this petition, evil is not an abstraction, but refers to a person, Satan, the Evil One, the angel who opposes God. The devil (*dia-bolos*) is the one who 'throws himself across' God's plan and his work of salvation accomplished in Christ" (CCC, 2851).

SEE ALSO CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; DEMON (IN THE BIBLE); NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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DIOCESE

According to the Code of Canon Law, a diocese is, before anything else, "a portion of the people of God" (c. 369) possessing two major characteristics: first, dioceses are usually organized territorially, so that all the Roman Catholic faithful in a given territory belong to that diocese (c. 372); second, dioceses are under the immediate authority of a single diocesan BISHOP, who governs with the assistance of his presbyterium (c. 369).

By clearly identifying dioceses as "particular churches" within the Catholic Church, the Second Vatican Council, especially in its dogmatic constitution, *Lumen gentium*, and its decree *Christus Dominus*, moved the doctrinal understanding of a diocese beyond the predominately administrative model that was contained in the Pio-Benedictine Code of Canon Law (1917 CIC 215–216). While all dioceses are juridical persons (c. 373) capable of possessing temporal goods (c. 1255), they are more fundamentally and more properly understood as associations of the people who make the Church on earth present and operative (c. 369). This recognition that dioceses are made up of people is reflected in the enhanced possibility that groupings of the faithful, based on some factor other than their territorial proximity (e.g., language), may now be the basis for recognizing that grouping as a diocese (c. 372).

Dioceses are ruled directly by a single diocesan bishop (cc. 134, 375–376, 381), even if he is assisted by one or more auxiliary bishops or a coadjutor (cc. 403–411). Diocesan bishops are not delegates of the POPE, a point that is reinforced by noting that, although territorial prelatures and abbacies, and apostolic vicariates and prefectures, are generally "likened" to dioceses (c. 368), these institutes are not dioceses and lack a proper bishop; instead they are governed by a priest or bishop expressly in the name of the Roman Pontiff (c. 371).

Dioceses can be established (and by implication, modified, merged, or suppressed) only by the supreme authority of the Church (c. 373). Dioceses must be divided into parishes, but the regrouping of parishes into deaneries or vicariates is now optional (c. 374). The canonical distinctions between dioceses and archdioceses are insignificant; although archdioceses historically had considerable influence over matters in their suffragan dioceses, at present, archbishops or metropolitans have almost no governing authority over other dioceses in their provinces (cc. 435–438).

The governance of a diocese, under its bishop, is accomplished chiefly through the diocesan curia (cc. 469–494). The curia includes such notable figures as the vicar general and episcopal vicars (cc. 475–481), the chancellor (cc. 482–491), and the finance officer (c. 494). The position of the moderator of the curia (c. 473) is optional, although in default of such an officer, his duties are generally handled by the vicar general or the bishop. Treated separately in the law but still considered a part of the diocesan curia are tribunal officers such as the judicial vicar (c. 1420).

In addition to offices within the curia itself, other institutes assist in the governance of a diocese, including the PRESBYTERAL COUNCIL (cc. 495–501), and a special group of priests drawn from the presbyteral council known as the college of consultors (c. 502), the mandatory diocesan finance council (cc. 492–493), and the optional but very common diocesan pastoral council (cc. 511–514). A diocesan synod (cc. 460–468) may be convoked by the bishop and operates in a quasi-legislative manner; nevertheless, final synodal legislative authority rests unambiguously with the diocesan bishop, who alone sets the agenda of a synod and promulgates its provisions. Pio-Benedictine norms that required periodic convocation of diocesan synods (1917 CIC 356) were commonly ignored throughout the twentieth century and have been eliminated from the revised law.

Bishops represent their dioceses in juridical affairs (cc. 118, 393), but ecclesiastical stability demands that the loss of a bishop not threaten the survival of the diocese itself. Norms for the administration of so-called impeded or vacant sees have been in place for many centuries and today comprise a considerable block of canons (cc. 412–430). Finally, dioceses may take on a number of forms under civil law (various corporation models being most common), but in case of conflict between the demands of the canonical structures of a diocese and its civil form, the canonical requirements have priority (cc. 22, 1290).

SEE ALSO ARCHDIOCESE; CATHEDRAL; CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES (LEGAL HISTORY); CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, U.S.

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DIVINE MERCY, DEVOTION TO

The Devotion to Divine Mercy is a devotion to God's love. The devotion requires that one ask for His MERCY, trust in it completely, and in turn spread His mercy by being merciful as well.

Our Lord appeared to Sr. Maria Faustina KOWALSKA and mystically revealed the devotion to her. Sr. Faustina saw a vision of Christ: His right hand extended in blessing and His left pointing to His heart, which emitted rays of white and red light, symbolizing the water of baptism and the blood of the Eucharist, respectively. Christ proclaimed this image, now known as the "King of Mercy," to be a vessel of grace to all who venerate it.

Due to the efforts of Pope JOHN PAUL II (1920–2005), the devotion gained worldwide recognition throughout the Catholic Church. Since Christ commanded Sr. Faustina to have the image painted in 1931, the Devotion to Divine Mercy has gained immense popularity.

Sr. Maria Faustina Kowalska and the Devotion Given to Her. Daughter of a carpenter, Helena Kowalska was born in Glogowiec, Poland, on August 25, 1905. At the early age of seven she felt called to a religious vocation, and after receiving her first Communion and completing only three years of a primary education, she pursued this calling at the age of seventeen.

In August 1925, Helena entered the Congregation of the Sisters of Our Lady of Divine Mercy, and in April the next year, she received her habit and the name Maria Faustina. During her time in the order, Sr. Faustina began experiencing mystical revelations and visions and was given spiritual gifts, including the gift of prophecy, the ability to read souls, and the gift of hidden stigmata.

In 1933 Sr. Faustina traveled to Vilnius, where she underwent many mystical experiences and met Fr.

Michael Sopocko, who became her spiritual director. Fr. Sopocko instructed her to write her diary, later entitled *Divine Mercy in My Soul*. In this work, despite her limited education, Sr. Faustina recorded her encounters with and visions of Jesus.

Among these, she recorded the four main aspects of the Devotion to Divine Mercy. First, she wrote of a vision of Christ asking the image of Divine Mercy to be painted as described above, with the signature "Jesus, I place my trust in you." This image became the face of the devotion.

Second, Jesus gave Sr. Faustina the Chaplet of Divine Mercy. In a vision, she saw an angel about to destroy a city but found herself saying the words, "Eternal Father, I offer unto Thee the body and blood, soul and divinity of Thy dearly beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, in atonement for our sins and those of the whole world. For the sake of His Sorrowful Passion, have mercy on us." Because of her efforts, the city was saved (Kowalska 2007, p. 475). Later, Jesus told her to add the words "and on the whole world" to complete the prayer now known as the Chaplet of Divine Mercy (Kowalska 2007, p. 476).

Third, Jesus revealed the sacredness of the third hour. In her diary, Sr. Faustina records that this is the hour mercy is available for every soul. Thus, all ought to immerse themselves in His mercy and pray the chaplet and the STATIONS OF THE CROSS, or if duty does not permit these prayers, at least take a brief moment to pray for mercy (Kowalska 2007, p. 1572). Through Sr. Faustina, Christ revealed that the third hour of every day is a special time in which spiritual graces are available.

The fourth main aspect of the Devotion to Divine Mercy is Divine Mercy Sunday, which our Lord requested in fourteen of Sr. Faustina's visions. Christ desired the dedicated day to be the Sunday in the octave of Easter, and Pope John Paul II proclaimed it so on April 30, 2000, over sixty years after Sr. Faustina's death.

In May 1936 Sr. Faustina began to lose her health and wrote the diary out of obedience to Sopocko. In her last few months, Sr. Faustina was no longer able to write. On October 5, 1938, she made her last confession and died later that evening.

Pope John Paul II's Mission of Mercy. Through the work of Pope John Paul II, Devotion to Divine Mercy blossomed. While a cardinal, Karol Wojtyla began the informative process that lifted the temporary ban on the devotion that had resulted from a faulty translation of Sr. Faustina's diary. Six months later, Wojtyla was elected pope on October 16, 1978. He had a special devotion to Divine Mercy and believed it to be a special mission of his to spread its message.

In addition to his work as a cardinal, Pope John Paul II greatly supported the devotion in three ways. First, in his preaching and writing, especially in the encyclical *Dives in Misericordia*, he publicly praised and supported the devotion. Second, he canonized St. Faustina—the main voice of the devotion—on April 30, 2000. Third, in addition to St. Faustina's canonization in the Jubilee year, he instituted Divine Mercy Sunday, on which priests preach about God's mercy. There is no doubt that divine providence was at work with the election of a Polish pope who believed in and encouraged the Devotion to Divine Mercy throughout the world.

The Devotion to the Heart of Christ and the Divine Mercy. Catholics are not required to believe in private revelations as articles of faith even if approved by the Church, but thanks to the work of Fr. Sopocko, St. Faustina's confessor, and the Congregation of the Marians of the Immaculate Conception's revealing and teaching that the Devotion to Divine Mercy has its roots in tradition and scripture, the devotion is held as a part of public revelation. Pope John Paul II's proclamation of Divine Mercy Sunday makes the devotion a part of the liturgy, further legitimizing the devotion. In fact, the Devotion to Divine Mercy can be considered part of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart.

St. AUGUSTINE speaks of mercy arising from affections that come from the heart. Now, just as the rays of mercy issue forth from our Lord's heart in the "King of Mercy" image, so too does the Devotion to Divine Mercy issue from the Devotion to the Sacred Heart. As part of that devotion, devotion to His merciful love is to be seen as central to the Catholic faith.

SEE ALSO DEVOTIONS, POPULAR; DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; DIVES IN MISERICORDIA; REVELATIONS, PRIVATE; SACRED HEART, DEVOTION TO; TRADITION (IN THEOLOGY).

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DIVINE WORD, SOCIETY OF THE

(SVD, Official Catholic Directory #0420, Latin Title: *Societas Verbi Divini*) This religious congregation was founded in 1875 at Steyl, Holland, by St. Arnold JANSSEN (canonized October 5, 2003 by Pope John Paul II), who was a priest of the German Diocese of Muenster. His original plan was for an institute of German secular priests to labor in the foreign missions; lay brothers, however, were soon included and even outnumbered the clerics for many years. At first the members took private vows and followed the rule of Dominican tertiaries. After the first general chapter (1884), a new rule recast the Steyl enterprise into a religious congregation with public vows; it was approved by the local ordinary (1889) and the Holy See (1905). The congregation then numbered 2,000 members and students and was established on five continents and the island of New Guinea. Foundations were made in South America (Argentina) in 1889; in West Africa (Togo) in 1892; in the United States, 1895; in New Guinea, 1896; in Japan, 1907; and in the Philippines, 1909. In 1923, the congregation founded the first seminary in the United States for African-American men studying for the priesthood in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi. In 2003 the congregation opened their first house in Russia. In total, the Society of the Divine Word can be found in 70 countries spanning Africa, Asia, the Americas, and Europe. As of 2009, the Society of the Divine Word was the largest international missionary congregation in the Catholic Church, having 6,138 members (3,999 priests) (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 467).

Activities. Mission and evangelization hold the chief place among the works of the society; every member must feel himself called to this duty. Schools of all kinds are maintained. Special emphasis is placed on the training of a native clergy. From its earliest years, the society accepted recruits from its missions. In the field of science, the most notable achievements have been in anthropology, under the leadership of the world famous ethnologist, Wilhelm SCHMIDT. His work continues to be carried on by the priest-scientists who form the Anthropos Institute, which has international headquarters in Switzerland and publishes a quarterly journal, *Anthropos.* Divine Word missionaries have traditionally furthered the apostolate of the press; they maintain their own printing plants to disseminate Catholic literature, chiefly magazines and pamphlets. The brothers, who are invaluable for their many technical skills, have made major contributions to this effort.

Work in the United States. The first Divine Word missionaries to the United States were two brothers who were sent to solicit subscriptions for the society's publications. When others joined them (1897), the community settled on a farm near Shermerville (now Northbrook), just north of Chicago, Illinois. Here they opened St. Joseph's Technical School (Techny), which on February 2, 1909, became the first Catholic foreign mission seminary in the United States. It was also the cradle of the nationwide CATHOLIC STUDENTS MISSION CRUSADE (CSMC), founded in 1918 by Clifford King, SVD. In the United States, the SVD houses are grouped into three provinces: Chicago (headquartered in Techny, Illinois), Southern (headquartered in St. Louis) and Western (headquartered in Los Angeles). The generalate is in Rome.

SEE ALSO MISSION AND EVANGELIZATION, PAPAL WRITINGS ON; MISSION AND MISSIONS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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DIVINI ILLIUS MAGISTRI

On December 31, 1929, Pope PIUS XI promulgated the encyclical *Divini illius magistri*, known by the familiar translation "On Christian Education." This encyclical reminds all Christians that education is an obligation of the Church. Love for children involves concern for their human development, and, since they are children of God, concern for their spiritual perfection as well. This development cannot happen without direction. Since children cannot, as a rule, educate themselves, they require adult direction. Because in the modern world there is considerable confusion about methods and aims in education ("an absence of clear and sound principles," n. 2), the Church must use its wisdom to resolve this confusion. Accordingly, this encyclical, broadly speaking, was published to explain the nature and aims of education and to criticize philosophies of education contrary to Catholic wisdom.

Pius XI saw himself as continuing the work of his predecessors, especially LEO XIII and PIUS X, who drew attention to the special obligations of the Church in education. Both Leo XIII and Pius X endured challenges from the surrounding Italian secular society. Also beleaguered by secular politics, Pius XI wrote "On Christian Education" partly to defend the autonomy of the Church in its dealings with civil society. The pope probably had in mind both the interference of the Garibaldi family during the first Vatican Council, and the rise of MUSSOLINI's FASCISM in the 1920s.

The encyclical also relies on the work of Pius X and BENEDICT XV, who assembled and interpreted canon law. Their labors led to publication of the 1917 Code of Canon Law. Traces of the 1917 Code appear as the encyclical addresses the issues of the overarching right of the Church to educate, the autonomy of Catholic schools, and the relation of the family to civil society. The document responds to the times, especially in the pope's alarm over the growth of secular, even anti-Catholic education, inspired by Enlightenment philosophers, such as Jean-Jacques ROUSSEAU and the pope's contemporary John Dewey.

The encyclical has been influential. Catholic educators sometimes appeal to it as support for maintaining the identity and integrity of Catholic schools in a pluralistic society. Further reliance on the document may appear when educators, both in higher education and preuniversity schooling, insist that religious instruction is insufficient to make a school Catholic. The encyclical supports the view that a Catholic school is one in which the entire curriculum—in keeping with the integration of the human being as an embodied person—is rightly ordered so as to perfect the human person. Accordingly, Catholic education is as concerned with a child's development in gym class as it is with his or her development in religious instruction.

Some scholars believe that the last third of the text (nn. 60–102) takes up controversial issues that influenced PAUL VI in writing *Humanae vitae*. While *Divini illius magistri* and *Casti connubii* come from the pen of the same pope, and while the two contain theses about the family that are the same in content and similar in expression, it seems more likely that *Casti connubii* was more directly of concern to Paul VI in the composition of *Humanae vitae*.

For purposes of a summary, the encyclical is divided into three broad sections. Paragraphs 1 through 31 basically assert that the Church, in cooperation with the family, has supreme authority to educate. The Church, as a supernatural society, directs education to the ultimate end of human life, which is nothing less than eternal friendship with God. This section also condemns certain secular and naturalistic philosophies that invent systems of education presumably sufficient to ensure the perfectibility of individuals and society. These philosophies are historically naïve and ignore ORIGINAL SIN.

Paragraphs 32 through 59 explain the right relationship of the individual, the family, and civil society in education. By virtue of its supernatural authority and comprehensive vision of human life, the Church has a right to educate. By virtue of NATURAL LAW, the family has an inalienable right to nurture the young. Hence, the Church and the family properly cooperate to educate children. Grace perfects, but does not destroy, nature. The Church teaches the child to participate in the supernatural society, just as the family prepares the child to participate in the civil society.

The final section (nn. 60–102) identifies difficulties that result from failure to accept the Church's prescriptions toward integrating the roles of individual, family, and state in education. Church-based education inspires a kind of "integral humanism," as Jacques MARITAIN would later call it. Failure to achieve this integration has led to a disordered modern society and excused the excesses of authoritarian states (such as fascist Italy and the Soviet Union, n. 73). Conspicuous among these excesses is the usurpation of the family's authority in order to indoctrinate children politically. Other symptoms of disorder are coeducation, exaggerated athleticism (apparently a kind of neopaganism), sex education, secular schools, utilitarian schools, and even mixed schools (where non-Catholics attend schools with Catholics, a condition proscribed in the 1917 Code of Canon Law, canon 1374). The 1983 Code of Canon Law removes the prohibition of mixed schools. Moreover, leadership in Catholic schools further loosened limitations as the Church encouraged parents to collaborate closely with teachers and Church authorities in developing curricula and educational activities (a prescription highlighted in the 1983 Code). Parental involvement made openness to coeducation and mixed schools inevitable, for example. The reservations of 1917 and 1929 were deemed anachronistic.

SEE ALSO CANON LAW (HISTORY OF); CASTI CONNUBI; COMMUNISM; EDUCATION (PHILOSOPHY OF); FASCISM; HUMANAE VITAE; VATICAN COUNCIL I.

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DIVINIZATION (THEOSIS), DOCTRINE OF

The concept of divinization or deification (Latin, *deus*, god + *facere*, to make: "to make godly" or "to make into a god"), or *theosis* (godliness) in Greek, arose to explain humanity's transformation into, and everlasting union with, the divine. Although originally used in a pagan context to show the external exaltation of great rulers (apotheosis), early Christian theologians appropriated a theology of deification to teach how in GOD's becoming human, humans can become God. For at the heart of the Church's understanding of salvation is the wondrous claim that in Christ's sharing in humanity, God allows humanity to share in his divinity. Such an assertion is admittedly in need of careful elucidation, and that is why at §460 the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* enlists some of the great saints to clarify what is meant by deification: The Word became flesh to make us '*partakers of the divine nature*' (2 Pet 1:4): 'For this is why the Word became man, and the Son of God became the Son of man: so that man, by entering into communion with the Word and thus receiving divine sonship, might become a son of God' (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 3.19. 1). 'For the Son of God became man so that we might become God' (Athanasius, *De Incarnatione* §54.3). 'The only-begotten Son of God, wanting to make us sharers in his divinity, assumed our nature, so that he, made man, might make men gods' (Thomas Aquinas, *Opusculum* §57.1–4). As such, the doctrine of Christian divinization is rooted in sacred Scripture and subsequently made more explicit through a varied and wide-ranging set of metaphors.

Sacred Scripture. Because the human person is created in God's image (*eikon*/*imago*) and likeness (*homoiosis*/*similitudo*), God as a defining and final goal has a special claim on the human person that extends to no other creature (cf. Gen 1:27). Accordingly, an inextricable relationship between human flourishing and the divine life is established at creation: The human person becomes truly perfected only in an assimilative union with God. Since in their prelapsarian state ADAM and EVE could enjoy every natural good perfectly, SATAN's bidding them to "become gods" stands as the sole temptation capable of enticing humanity to disobedience (cf. Gn 3:5). Nonetheless, the Old Testament explains how creatures can be provocatively referred to as "gods." MOSES is as a god to Pharaoh (cf. Ex 7:1), and even the LORD himself stands in the assembly of gods (cf. Ps 82), a passage ratified by Christ in John 10:34: "Is it not written in your law, 'I said you are gods'?" To make sense of this divine plural (*theoi*/*dii*), Christians rely on the doctrine of participation to argue that the gods in question were not autonomous deities but sanctified creatures who now share in the only true God's life.

Such a shared intimacy in divinity was explained in Pauline terms by adoption (cf. Rom 8:14–17, Gal 4:5, Eph 1:5, 3:19), as the life of Christ being conformed within each of his faithful (cf. Gal 2:20, 4:19; Phil 3:21; Rom 8:29; 2 Cor 3:18), becoming heirs of the Kingdom of God, and co-reigning with Christ in all of his glory (cf. Eph 2:6; Col 3:4). As instrumental as these Pauline passages are, the classic text comes at 2 Peter 1:4—humans having been made participants in the divine nature. This use of *participation* (*koinonia* or *methexis*) is essential, as it distinguishes pure and absolute divinity from the graced state of those brought into the life of God.

The Gospels reveal how the humble and maltreated not only participate in the crucified Christ but in some way become identified with him: Matthew writes of how Christ is served in the poor and outcast (cf. Mt 25:31–46), Luke equates Saul's hectoring of the Church with the persecution of Christ himself (cf. Acts 9:4), and the rich Johannine metaphors of unity, as well as his highlighting the indwelling of the Holy Spirit (cf. Jn 14:17), all provide later theologians with ways of imagining how Christ extends his incarnation in the lives of his faithful.

Church Fathers. From these fruitful seeds, the doctrine of deification reaches full blossom in the post-Apostolic Fathers who, while prayerfully reflecting upon scripture, also relied on key Platonic principles, such as participa-

tion and the divinely iconic nature of the human soul, to stress the Christic renovation of the human person. Trained in the various schools of PLATONISM, early churchmen resituated PLATO's definition of the good life as humanity's likeness to God (cf. *Republic* 10.613B; *Theaetetus* 176A–B; *Timaeus* 90A; *Laws* 716B) into a thoroughly Christocentric worldview.

Even though CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 150–c. 215) is the first Christian to use an unambiguous form of *theosis*, the word did not receive any formal definition until Dionysius the Areopagite in the sixth century identified deification as "the attaining of likeness to God and union with him in so far as this is possible" (*Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* 1.3; PG 3.376A). ORIGEN (d. 254) describes divine contemplation in terms of *theosis*, measuring a creature's worth by participation in the divine nature (*On First Principles* 1.6.2). Athanasius (d. 373) provided Christianity with its most quoted and succinct deifying trope (Athanasius, *De Incarnatione* §54.3, as cited above); at the same time the Cappadocians stressed humanity's deliverance from corruption and mortality in terms of *theosis*, the divine image in humanity as not only restored but elevated into perfect oneness with the Word.

In Latin theology *deificare* never became an indispensable term, although the reality of deification characterizes most explanations of the Christian life: Incorporation into the Mystical Body, growth in sanctifying grace, and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. AUGUSTINE champions the concept of deification more than any other Western Father. In such intriguing lines as: "Let us thus rejoice and give thanks, for we have been made not Christians, but we have been made Christ" (*Homilies on the Gospel of John* 21:8; quoted at *CCC* §795), or again, through true charity "there will be one Christ loving himself" (*Homilies on the Epistle of John* 10:3), the bishop of Hippo provides much of the western tradition with a way of stressing the graced identity between Christ and Christian. In his CHRISTOLOGY he emphasized the "great exchange" of the Word's humanity for our divinity, and in his ecclesiology he developed the *totus Christus* which enabled him to make sense not only of how Christ at times speaks on behalf of his Mystical Body, but how he associates himself with his members.

Scholasticism and Orthodoxy. In one form or another, most schools of medieval mysticism centered around union with God, sometimes described as a deification but most often not explicitly so. Especially of note here is the work of St. THOMAS AQUINAS (c. 1225–1274) and Gregory PALAMAS (c. 1296–1359). Aquinas saw the pinnacle of the Christian life as humanity "becoming gods," arguing that the only bliss (*beatitudo*) and sole end of the human person is his "full participation in divinity" (*Summa Theologiae* III.1.2, *resp*.). Drawing heavily from St. Symeon the New Theologian's (949–1022) insights into creatures beholding and hence becoming the divine light, Palamas centered his far-reaching theology of deification on the distinction between the essence and the energies of God. Although the human person can never become united with (and thus violate) the divine essence, the deified Christian does become wholly one with the uncreated energies of God, and thereby enjoys divine perfection. Moreover, in many mystical theologies and various schools of spirituality of the Middle Ages, such as found in Meister ECKHART (c. 1260–1328), NICHOLAS OF CUSA (1401–1464), and JOHN OF THE CROSS (1542–1591), deifying union with God was presented as the essence of the Christian life. This union was explained most often as a participation in the divine life uniting the divine image in humanity with the enfleshed Christ.

Reformation and Early Modern Period. After the divisions within Christendom in the West, theologians tended to mute any language of deification. It was certainly not a preferred term of the Reformers, and the Fathers at Trent likewise avoided any mention of deification as the final end of the Christian life. Recent studies have, however, sought to uncover deifying elements of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Protestant thinkers, arguing that the object of *sola fide* (faith alone) is, in fact, Christ himself and that this *unio cum Christo* (union with Christ, to use Martin Luther's term) renders the created soul godly in proportion to the faith of each.

In a similar way, many dynamics of Christian deification also became manifest in the Catholic pieties of the early Modern period. For example, devotions to the Sacred Heart of Christ and to the IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY emphasize an identity between the living Lord (and by rightful extension, his Mother) and the believer. Promoters such as John EUDES (1601–1680) could therefore develop a spirituality stressing the Christian life as a continuation of Christ's own action in the lives of the baptized: "Your Lord Jesus belongs to you, but more than that, he longs to be in you, living and ruling in you ... He desires that whatever is in him may live and rule in you" (*Heart of Jesus* §1.5). Bearing the same message, yet in a tone more conducive to his missionary work in Thailand, Louis Laneau (1637–1696) returned to the Fathers to show how the essence of every religious impulse was the deifying union with God, which is central to the Christian faith.

The Modern and Contemporary Periods. Reacting to the overly rationalistic tendencies of the ENLIGHTENMENT, Christian thinkers sought to recover a sense of divine intimacy by restoring the transformative role of sanctifying grace to theological discourse. Some within

the OXFORD MOVEMENT, as well as many theologians on the continent, worked assiduously to restore the patristic vision of deification to a central place within preaching and theological discourse. Edward PUSEY (1800–1882), for example, coined the captivating word *engodding* (*Lenten Sermon* 108), and Catholics such as Matthias SCHEEBEN (1835–1888), in the same way, reclaimed the highly Augustinian theology of the divine indwelling.

In the twentieth century, as peoples and whole nations were being torn apart, Pope PIUS XII stressed the divinely intended unity of humanity in his 1943 encyclical *Mystici Corporis Christi*, whereas in his pontificate JOHN PAUL II (d. 2005) was much more explicit in relying on metaphors of divinization in official writings (e.g., *Catechism of the Catholic Church* §460 as above, §654, §1996, §2009). Popular writers such as Joseph Columba MARMION, O.S.B. (1858–1923) and C.S. Lewis (1898–1963) presented the Christian life as becoming "other" or "little" Christs. Recent studies have also revealed deifying themes in some of the major twentieth-century theologians: Karl BARTH (1886–1968), Karl RAHNER (d. 1984), Hans Urs von BALTHASAR (1905–1988), and T.F. Torrance (1913–2007). During these same years, strong theologies of deification originated as well from various Russian Orthodox theologians such as Pavel Florensky (1882–1937), Sergius Bulgakov (1871–1944), and Vladimir Lossky (1903–1958), who rediscovered the Palamite understanding of participating in God's energies and thus the subsequent divine activity by the renewed *imago Dei* within each Christian life.

Final Overview of Major Theological Aspects of Deification. Whether the term is explicitly employed or not, the soteriology of deification runs throughout the best of the Christian narrative. An unfortunate trend of some recent studies, however, too facilely equates simple Scriptural images for metaphors of deification. For example, not every act of adoption nor every instance of participation is necessarily deifying. Be that as it may, Christian deification teaches that the divine has become human so humans can become divine, a transformation that is eternally participatory and adjectival. That is, it never abolishes human nature but actually perfects it. The saints, as Origen exhorted, are the only true living ones, and the only true living ones are the saints (*Commentary on the Gospel of John* 2:11). The human person is created to become his truest individual self by fulfilling his divine image and thereby growing in the likeness of God. Such a process is always ecclesial: Christ communicates his life to the members of his Mystical Body through the sacraments he established for such. Baptism initiates this new life by grafting the baptized onto Christ, whereas the Blessed Eucharist not only feeds and sustains its faithful recipients but actually effects humanity's divine transformation.

Central to this divine renovation is the role of the Holy Spirit. The Love who unites Father and Son continues this agency in creation by bringing believers to God as well as to one another. In any theology of deification, the Holy Spirit is therefore the true unifier who imparts the grace of adoption, enabling the sanctified to call God *Abba* (cf. Rom 8:15). In the words of CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 378–444), "Participation in the Holy Spirit gives human beings the grace to be shaped as a complete copy of the divine nature" (*Thesaurus* §13). Adopting and thus shaping the human person into a kindred copy of the divine, the Spirit also incorporates each into the Mystical Body. Here the faithful become as God: immortal, incorruptible, perfectly loving, and capable of dwelling eternally in paradise in the full glory of the children of the Father.

Becoming gods by grace in the Spirit is of course radically different than some religious movements that also promise the creature's divinization. For the Christian, deification is always an act of humble participation in God's own life, a gift realized only in the offering of the perfect humanity of JESUS CHRIST. For those enmeshed in Mormonism or in the NEW AGE MOVEMENT, for example, godliness is a matter of possession and not of participation, an attempt to become gods autonomously simply by discovering one's innate divinity. A more philosophically cogent and consistently Christian theology of deification, on the other hand, proclaims the good news of humanity's divine status only through Christ's spanning the deadly chasm caused by human disobedience. Consequently, only Jesus Christ as fully divine and fully human can bring the perfection for which every human heart yearns.

SEE ALSO GOD IN PHILOSOPHY; JOHANNINE WRITINGS; LATTER-DAY SAINTS, CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF; LEWIS, CLIVE STAPLES; LUTHER, MARTIN; LUKE, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; MATTHEW, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST; MYSTICI CORPORIS CHRISTI; REFORMATION, PROTESTANT (ON THE CONTINENT); SACRED HEART, DEVOTION TO; SYMEON THE NEW THEOLOGIAN, MONK OF THE STUDION.

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DJIDJOV, PAVEL, BL.

Baptized Joseph, priest and MARTYR; b. July 19, 1919, Plovdiv, Bulgaria; d. November 11, 1952, Sofia, Bulgaria; beatified May 26, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Baptized Joseph, Pavel Djidjov was born to LATIN RITE parents. He spent his elementary years at St. Andrew's, an Assumptionist school, and then went on to the College of St. Augustine from 1931 to 1938. At the age of nineteen, he traveled to France to enter the Assumptionist novitiate. He took the name of Pavel and made his final vows on September 8, 1942, but he returned to Bulgaria when he became ill.

On January 26, 1945, in the Cathedral of Plovdiv, he was ordained for the Latin Rite. He then returned to the College of St. Augustine, where he continued his schooling in business management and social sciences while he taught there. He became the treasurer at the college, while Fr. Kamen VITCHEV, who was later arrested with him, served as rector. The Communists closed the college in 1948, but Fr. Djidjov continued to minister to the students. Because of his anti-Communist views, Fr. Djidjov came under surveillance by the secret service. The following year he took the position of treasurer and procurator of the Bulgarian ASSUMPTIONISTS. He was outspoken in defending Catholic rights, but he knew his time was limited. Shortly before his arrest, he indicated that it would soon be his turn. He and Fr. Vitchev were arrested on July 4, 1952.

In prison, they were abused and tortured. Forty Bulgarian Catholic priests were tried in the Bulgarian Supreme Court on September 29, 1952. Labeled as spies and members of a subversive organization, they were accused of undermining the government through crimes, terrorist acts, and plotting an insurrection against the USSR and Bulgaria. Their penalty, issued on October 3, was death by firing squad. They were shot on November 11, 1952, in the central prison of Sofia, Bulgaria.

For decades no one knew what had happened to them. When the Berlin Wall fell in November 1989 and Communist archives were opened to researchers, that the true story of their martyrdom became known. In September 19, 1995, the cause of Fr. Djidjov's martyrdom was taken up, along with those of Fr. Vitchev and Fr. Josaphat CHICHKOV, another priest from their congregation. During his apostolic visit to Azerbaijan and Bulgaria on May 26, 2002, Pope John Paul II delivered a homily in which he beatified Fr. Djidjov and his companions. The pope remarked on the priests' talents in educating the young and in generating vocations. He also held them up as examples of "faith and constancy in the face of suffering and imprisonment."

Feast: November 11.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; BULGARIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MARTYR; RECTORS.

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DONATION OF CONSTANTINE

A spurious document, called also the *Constitutum Constantini,* composed most likely in the early 750s, the *Donation of Constantine* relies heavily on a genuine composition of the late fifth century, the so-called *Leg-*



The Donation. *Saint Sylvester, who reigned as pope 314–335, is pictured here receiving a crown, symbol of temporal power over Rome, from the Roman emperor Constantine I, 280–337; fresco, c. 1246 Saint Sylvester Chapel, Santi Quattro Coronati (four crowned saints) church, Rome, Italy.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI/THE PICTURE DESK, INC.**

enda s. Silvestri. The Donation purports to be a constitutional grant of the Emperor CONSTANTINE I, by which he handed over to Pope SYLVESTER I imperial power, dignity and emblems, the LATERAN PALACE, and rulership over ROME and "all provinces, localities and towns in Italy and the Western hemisphere." The grant was supposedly Constantine's reward to the pope for the gift of Baptism and for the emperor's miraculous recovery from leprosy. Because the emperor considered it inappropriate to reside in the same city with the successor of St. Peter, he removed his residence to CONSTANTINOPLE, which thereby became the *urbs regia*, or capital city, of the empire.

Composition and Application. The model upon which this forgery drew had already described the conversion of Constantine in vivid terms, and it enjoyed great popularity. What the forger in the eighth century did was to mold the contents of this novelistic product into something approaching a constitutional document. The oldest surviving copy of the forgery is preserved in Paris (Bib. Nat. Lat. 2777) and is indubitably of eighth-century origin. This spurious grant was influential throughout the medieval period and served as a basis for a number of the papacy's claims. It was used first against the LOMBARDS by STEPHEN II in his negotiations with King PEPIN in 754. Although the authenticity of this grant was rarely impugned—as far as is known, only OTTO III called the document outright what it was—its validity was often questioned, especially by civil lawyers in the Italian universities. They maintained that Constantine had acted *ultra vires* (beyond his authority) by making such vast donations and grants. Indirectly the Donation stimulated the emergence of the thesis of inalienability, according to which no ruler was entitled to give away any of his essential governmental functions

or any lands entrusted to him. This thesis gained great importance in the medieval kingdoms. The spurious nature of the grant was not exposed until the fifteenth century, when quite independently NICHOLAS OF CUSA and Lorenzo VALLA proved that it was a fabrication.

Place and Purpose. While with great likelihood the Donation can be assigned to the pontificate of Stephen II, the place of composition is not certain. But there are strong indications that it was fabricated in the papal chancery, the head of which was Christophorus. Many adverse judgments have been made on this document; but, like all medieval forgeries, it should be seen from the contemporary point of view and in its historic context. By the time of its composition, relations between the papacy and the BYZANTINE EMPIRE had reached the breaking point. The latter had not acknowledged the PRIMACY OF THE POPE, and, in the immediately preceding decades, imperial legislation favoring ICONOCLASM had gravely concerned the West, especially the papacy. Papal resistance to this legislation only brought forth from Constantinople further threatening measures, which, in one way or another, went back to the Council of CHALCEDON (Canons 17 and 28, though Pope Leo I had refused to approve canon 28; cf. Tanner 1990, p. 76). According to canon 17, the civil status of a city determined its ecclesiastical status. The application of this canon diminished the status of Rome and, therefore, of the pope, because the capital of the empire, the *urbs regia,* was that city in which the emperor and his government resided. The author of the Donation wished to show how Constantinople had become the *urbs regia*. In so doing the forger utilized the *Legenda s. Silvestri*, where this theme had already been explored. He presented the transfer of the government from Rome to Constantinople as a thing to which Sylvester had agreed.

Although, according to the Donation, Constantine had offered the imperial crown to Sylvester, the latter refused to wear it. This clearly implied that if he had so wished, Sylvester could have worn it, and that, therefore, Constantinople had become the *urbs regia* through the volition and acquiescence of the pope himself. Consequently, the pope could withdraw this permission and retransfer the crown from Constantinople to Rome, for the seat of the imperial government was where the imperial crown was kept. No doubt this was the forger's principal aim. The forgery was directed exclusively against Byzantium, although by virtue of its comprehensiveness and vagueness it could be used in the West, as in fact it was. The forger dealt with no less a problem than that of legitimate rulership in the Roman-Christian world, that is, of the ROMAN EMPIRE. The seat of the empire was at Constantinople, whose orthodoxy, however, was, in more ways than one, suspect. In demonstrating the historical changes ideologically, the author was compelled to constitute the pope a proper ruler in the West. And since no ruler could exist without governmental machinery, emblems, and territorial possessions, these too were granted, but were only a subsidiary feature of the document.

Clearly, for the papacy to exercise governmental functions, the constitutional and institutional enactments were of great value because they supplied the regal function of the pope and made him a true king and priest. The Donation was a construction whose obvious weakness was that it presented the regal function of the pope as derived from an imperial grant. When the full potentialities of the pope as the VICAR OF CHRIST were elaborated, the Donation could be dispensed with, as was done, in fact, by INNOCENT III.

SEE ALSO CHURCH AND STATE; CHURCH, HISTORY OF; PETER, APOSTLE, ST.

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DREYFUS AFFAIR

The Dreyfus Affair was one of France's most significant political controversies during the period of the early Third Republic. It divided that nation and had an important effect on the French Catholic Church.

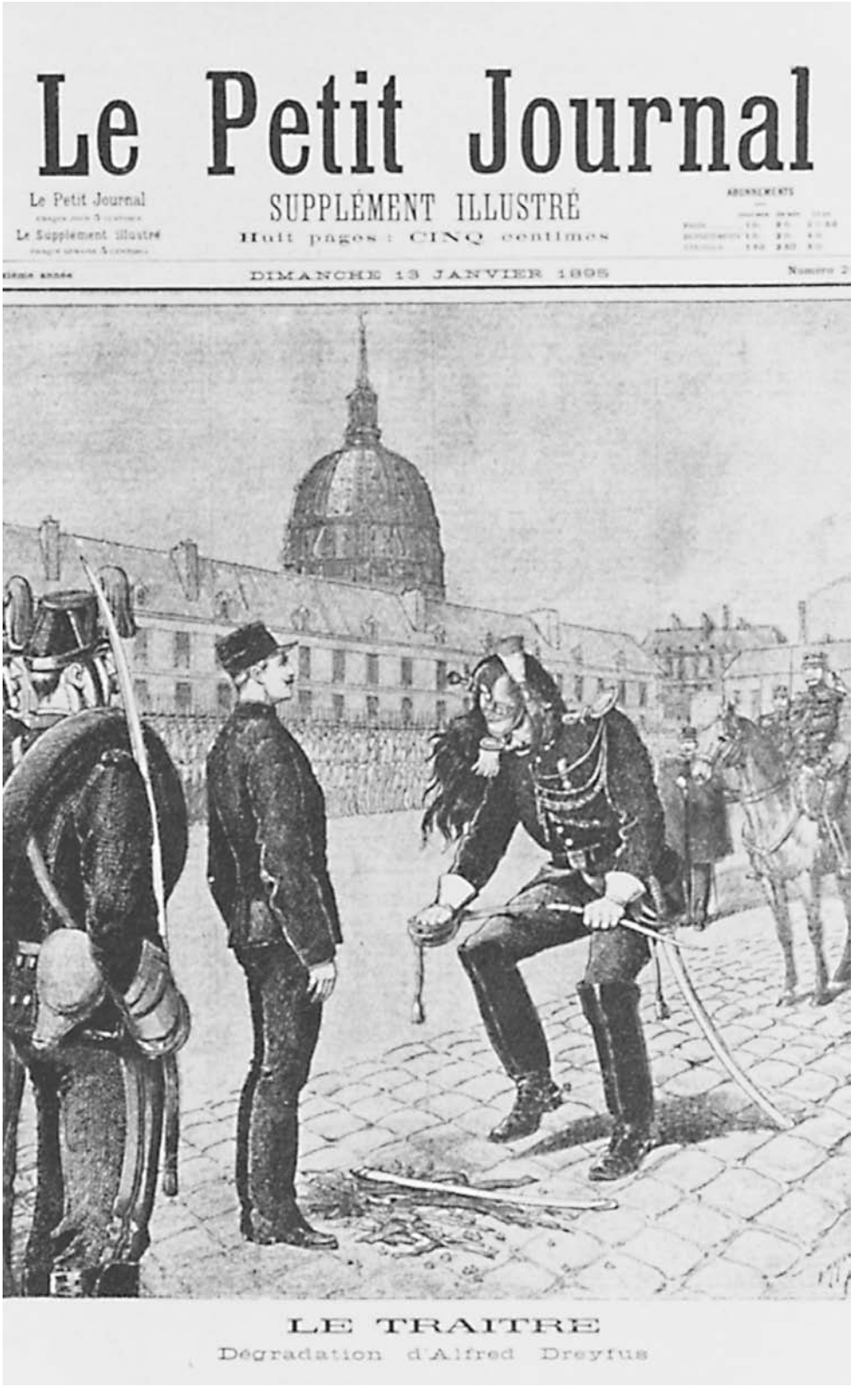
Alfred Dreyfus, a member of a prominent Jewish-Alsatian family, was assigned, as an artillery captain, to the General Staff in Paris in 1893. Soon after, however, on the basis of handwriting comparisons, he was accused of passing secrets to the Germans. In December 1894 he was found guilty of treason by a court martial. After being reduced in rank, he was sent to Devil's Island to be imprisoned for life. Then, in 1896, Lieutenant Georges Picquart, the chief of French military intelligence, uncovered evidence that another officer, Major Ferdinand Esterhazy, was actually the guilty party. However, rather than admit a mistake had been made, Picquart was silenced by his superiors and dismissed from the service.

The case of Alfred Dreyfus became a major divisive issue in France, with much of the French Catholic Church taking a position against Dreyfus and the claim of his innocence. In January 1898 Émile Zola wrote an impassioned defense of Dreyfus in an open letter titled "*J'accuse*," which was published in the Paris newspaper *L'Aurore*. Zola denounced both the civil and military authorities for their part in the case. In August of the same year, Lieutenant Colonel Hubert Henry confessed that, as Picquart's successor as the chief of intelligence, he had forged documents implicating Dreyfus. He was subsequently arrested and committed suicide. In June 1899 the Dreyfus case was brought before the Cour de cassation (Supreme Court of Appeal), which ordered a new trial. A second court martial, however, again found Dreyfus guilty, but ten days later the government of Premier Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau and President Émile Loubet nullified the verdict and pardoned Dreyfus. It was not until July 1906, however, that Dreyfus was fully rehabilitated by the Cour de cassation, returned to the army with the rank of major, and awarded the Legion of Honor. He went on to serve in World War I as a lieutenant colonel.

The Dreyfus case served as the catalyst for a major political and social crisis in France during the Third Republic. Extremists on both the Right and the Left used the affair to illustrate their disillusionment with the prevailing order. A strong ANTI-SEMITISM was unleashed in various factions in France, including the military and a large element in the Catholic Church, and the nation was sharply divided between "Dreyfusards" and "anti-Dreyfusards." Among the Dreyfusards were intellectuals (such as Anatole France and Charles Péguy), Socialists, radicals, Republicans, moderates, and antimilitarists, while the anti-Dreyfusards included factions of anti-Semites, clericals, and the nationalist Right. As a result of the Dreyfus Affair, a liberal government was voted into power and the military was reformed. There would also be significant repercussions for the Catholic Church in France.

Before the Dreyfus Affair, in the early 1890s, the VATICAN and a small number of influential French Catholics had sought a rapprochement (the *Ralliement*) between French Catholics and the anticlerical Third Republic. This was because Pope LEO XIII (1878–1903) had abandoned the intransigence of his predecessor, Pope PIUS IX (1846–1878), and sought to reconcile the Church with modern society. Thus, in November 1890, with papal approval, Cardinal Charles LAVIGERIE (1825–1892) urged the officers of the French Mediterranean fleet (a mostly royalist audience) to recognize "a great need for unity." Leo XIII perceived the adherence of French Catholics to the monarchist cause to be counterproductive, and in February 1892 the papal encyclical *Au milieu des sollicitudes* put the pontiff's full support behind the *Ralliement*.

The *Ralliement* achieved only limited success, however, although there were some prominent converts to the cause, such as Count Albert de Mun (1841–



Unjust Punishment. *This illustraition from Le Petit Journal, January 13, 1895, shows Captain Alfred Dreyfus standing at attention, while another soldier breaks his sword.*

1914). Resistance and mistrust against the *Ralliement* remained strong among both clericals and anticlericals, and the Dreyfus Affair served only to intensify these sentiments. The fact that the *Ralliement* had not significantly affected the political balance was underscored by the election results of 1898, as well as the general response to Zola's letter that same year. Indeed, the Dreyfus Affair demonstrated that any real reconciliation between French Catholics and Republicans, at least in terms of the preservation of the CONCORDAT OF 1801 and the Church's unique position in France, was difficult, if not impossible.

The Dreyfus Affair and its aftermath served as a watershed in the development of church-state relations in France. Just as the Dreyfus issue divided the nation at every level, it was also a unifying point for diverse anticlerical factions within the government. While the *Ralliement* policy had succeeded in making Catholicism significantly respectable in France, during the course of the Dreyfus Affair the Church was greatly discredited, and French Catholic *rallies* became superfluous to any political alliance. Moreover, the Socialists were generally no longer considered dangerous and became allies in a new national cause. To many French people, it had been the anticlericals and not the churchmen, and particularly not the Church establishment, that had championed fairness and justice during the Dreyfus Affair.

This was, of course, an oversimplification, for many Catholics had taken the side of Dreyfus. The pope himself indicated at various times that he believed in the French officer's innocence. However, this was not reported very much in the French press. Instead, the press usually reported that for every case of Catholic support for Dreyfus there were many more examples of extreme anti-Dreyfusard and anti-Semitic Catholic statements and acts. Among these were quotes from *La Croix*, the newspaper of the French Assumptionist order, stating that support for the military was more important than the actual resolution of Dreyfus's innocence or guilt.

After Dreyfus's second trial in 1899, when he was again found guilty of treason (this time with "extenuating circumstances"), the outcry for justice, as well as an explanation and revenge, was overwhelming. The object of this revenge became the religious congregations, whose teaching role had long been the subject of Republican dissatisfaction. The JESUITS in particular, with their military connections, as well as the ASSUMPTIONISTS and DOMINICANS, who had defended the army and unleashed strong anti-Semitic and anti-Republican rhetoric, were also convenient targets.

The French government responded strongly to these sentiments. Waldeck-Rousseau considered the congregations to have no roots in secular society and to be subversive elements who looked to ROME, not Paris, for leadership. Moreover, it was noted that the Concordat of 1801, which governed church-state relations in France, made no provisions for the regular clergy. Accordingly, the Law of Associations was passed on July 1, 1901. This law stipulated that existing religious corporations, including male and female congregations, had to apply to the government for authorization, especially to teach. If such authorization was refused, their corporate properties were to be sold off and their members dispersed.

In 1902, while the exact methods of application of the law were being considered, the results of the national election were announced, providing a further and more crucial test for church-state relations. The newly elected prime minister, Émile Combes, was strongly anticlerical and a determined opponent of the Catholic Church. He quickly implemented Waldeck-Rousseau's law on the religious congregations, which were immediately dispersed and their schools closed. In particular, the Assumptionist order, which was considered right-wing and anti-Semitic, and which had taken one of the strongest anti-Dreyfusard positions, was effectively dissolved. In all, eighty-one congregations of women and fifty-four of men, along with the schools that they ran, were closed. Then, going still further, Combes demanded that the traditionally religious French navy be purged of its Catholic practices.

Later in 1902, Combes deliberately sought a direct confrontation with Rome over the most pressing church-state issue: the right of the French government to nominate bishops. At this point, Pope PIUS X succeeded Pope Leo XIII as pontiff. In 1903 the problem was further exacerbated when Rome sought to dismiss two French bishops. In June 1904 they were summoned to Rome and ordered to resign. However, according to the Organic Articles, which were an addendum to the Concordat of 1801, it was illegal to obey a Roman summons without government permission. The tension between Rome and Paris rose steadily, but the final break was precipitated by a different matter: the Italian church-state dispute known as the ROMAN QUESTION.

A disagreement erupted over the April 1904 courtesy visit made by the president of France to the Italian king in Rome, whose loss the Vatican had steadfastly refused to recognize. Disputes between the Church and the French government continued, and in 1905 the Law of Separation was passed, effectively abrogating the Concordat of 1801 and ending the ties between CHURCH AND STATE in France. State salaries for priests and bishops were ended, and all Church property was, in theory, now controlled by the state. (The more moderate government of Aristide Briand, however, later allowed the Church to use its own property.) In February 1906 the Church officially responded. Pope Pius X issued his encyclical *Vehementer*

nos, in which he condemned the unilateral separation. In reality, however, Rome was prepared to accept the legislation but was concerned with keeping it confined to its stated limits and intentions.

The Dreyfus Affair had persuaded French Republican leaders that a new set of anticlerical laws was needed, particularly in light of what they deemed the unacceptable nature of clerical influence in their country. They also pointed to the strongly anti-Dreyfusard attitude of most conservative Catholics in France. Thus, the Dreyfus Affair and its aftermath ultimately weakened the already unpopular *Ralliement* policy of Pope Leo XIII, and it prompted significant legislative changes regarding church-state relations in France, including the anticlerical laws of 1901 and the final Law of Separation of 1905.

SEE ALSO ANTICLERICALISM; CHURCH AND STATE (CANON LAW); FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; GALLICANISM; GALLICAN LIBERTIES; RALLIEMENT; ULTRAMONTANISM.

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DUFF, FRANK

Founder, Legion of Mary, lay apostle, author, lay observer at Second Vatican Council; b. Dublin, Ireland, June 7, 1889; d. Dublin, November 7, 1980.

Raised Catholic and employed in civil service, Frank Duff became involved in outreach to the spiritually and materially poor through the St. Vincent de Paul Society in 1913. Simultaneously, he became an avid reader of spiritual books and began taking his spiritual life seriously. In 1918, he obtained a copy of *True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary* by St. Louis Marie Grignion de Montfort. Struggling with its meaning, he read it repeatedly upon the advice of a friend. While engaged in a final and forced reading, he received what he later termed a "divine favor" (Bradshaw 1985, p. 55). He suddenly realized with the interior conviction of a light given by the Holy Spirit that everything de Montfort said about the Blessed Virgin was completely true and nothing was exaggerated.

The LEGION OF MARY was born as a consequence of Duff's sharing his conviction about de Montfort's writings with others. Together with a group of thirteen women and Father Michael Toher, Duff held the first meeting of the Legion of Mary in Dublin on September 7, 1921 (Bradshaw 1985, pp. 67–69), the eve of the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. The distinguishing characteristic of this nascent group of lay apostles was the ardent desire to live a life of holy union with the Blessed Virgin, who is, as de Montfort describes, the Helpmate of her divine Son in the work of Redemption. In addition to this union leading to the sanctification of one's own soul, the Legion's vision was that any real union must blossom into the practical service of Jesus through Mary, exhibited through caring for the materially and spiritually impoverished.

In *True Devotion,* de Montfort prophesied that, as the world draws to its end, "those richest in grace and virtue will be the most assiduous in praying to the most Blessed Virgin, looking up to her as the perfect model to imitate and as a powerful helper to assist them" (de Montfort 1963, no. 46). Duff's life exhibited firmness of faith coupled with gentleness of spirit, humility, and extreme kindness toward all. His intimacy with Our Lady constantly nourished his conviction that in the poor he and the Legion served, Jesus Christ was "really present and appealing for help and compassion" (Bradshaw 1985, p. 97). Duff knew that the ability to touch and reclaim broken lives for Jesus Christ was a direct consequence of not only devotion to, but also complete dependence upon and even total consecration to, the Blessed Virgin, in accord with St. Louis de Montfort. As stated in the Legion's handbook, "the Legion aims to bring Mary to the world as the infallible means of winning the world to Jesus" (*The Official Handbook of the Legion of Mary* 1993, XXVII, 1). According to the divinely established order, the soul without the Blessed Virgin, who is the Mediatrix of All Graces, cannot lift itself to GOD or do God's work.

From the Legion's humble beginnings in Dublin, it quickly spread. The Legion became an answer to the prayers and urgings of Pope PIUS XI, who was "the Pope of Catholic Action." In 1931, Pius XI announced that it was his personal desire that the Legion of Mary would spread over the whole world (Bradshaw 1985, p. 102). The Legion of Mary now operates in more than 160 countries, with its active membership numbering more than two million. The handbook of the Legion of Mary has been published in more than fifty languages.

Not only was the Legion's involvement of lay people in a spiritual apostolate truly revolutionary prior to the Second Vatican Council, but it was also a prophetic catalyst for the work of the Council. On July 13, 1960,

Pope JOHN XXIII declared: "The Legion of Mary presents the true face of the Catholic Church" (*The Official Handbook of the Legion of Mary* 1993, Appendix 1). In 1965, Duff was invited to be a Lay Observer to the final session of the Council. The very apostolic ideas he had advocated for decades became the official Church view. While in ROME, Duff gave numerous addresses to groups of clergy, religious, and students. In appreciation for what he had done for the Church, he received a round of loud and sustained applause when he was introduced to the Council (Bradshaw 1985, pp. 195–199). While such honors must have certainly humbled and delighted him, those closest to Duff knew that in his view the greatest honor would be contributing to the work that St. Louis de Montfort prophesied must characterize the Church in preparation for the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, namely, making the Blessed Virgin Mary better known and loved, so that Jesus Christ Himself could be more fully known and loved (Bradshaw 1985, p. 252; Montfort 1963, no. 50).

Duff's canonization process was opened in Dublin in 1989, nine years after his death. The cause for this Servant of God's beatification is actively underway. All of his writings, talks, letters, and documents have now been collected and are currently being reviewed.

SEE ALSO GRIGNION DE MONTFORT, LOUIS MARIE, ST.; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, (IN THEOLOGY) IV: MEDIATRIX OF ALL GRACES; ST. VINCENT DE PAUL, SOCIETY OF; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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DUPUIS, JACQUES

Belgian Jesuit priest, theologian, and teacher; b. Huppaye, Brabant Province, Belgium, December 5, 1923; d. Rome, December 28, 2004.

Jacques Dupuis was born into a devoutly Catholic, middle-class Belgian family. His father was an engineer, and Jacques came of age during the Second World War, when German forces occupied his country. After completing his studies at the Jesuit High School of the Sacred Heart in Charleroi, in Hainaut Province, he joined the Society of Jesus in 1941. He then completed a licentiate in letters at Namur, gained a licentiate in philosophy at Louvain, and in 1948 finally realized his desire of being sent to India as a missionary. He spent 36 years in India and remained a member of the Calcutta Jesuit Province for the rest of his life. At the age of 80, he spoke of his time in India, saying, "My exposure to the Indian reality has been the greatest grace I have

received from God as far as my vocation as a theologian and a professor is concerned."

Dupuis studied theology at St. Mary's College in Kurseong, India (near Darjeeling), which looked across rich forests and tea plantations to the majesty of the Himalayan peak of Mount Kanchenjunga, the world's third highest mountain. After his ordination to the priesthood, he earned a doctorate at Gregorian University in Rome. Under the tutelage of Antonio Orbe, his doctoral thesis was on the early Christian scholar Origen (c. 185–254). He then went on to teach THEOLOGY, first in Kurseong, and then in Delhi when the theology faculty was transferred there in 1971.

From 1973 until 1977, Dupuis worked as assistant editor of the *Clergy Monthly* (which became the *Vidyajyoti Journal of Theological Reflection* in 1974). He went on to serve as editor of the journal from 1977 until 1984. He acted as theological adviser to the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India, while also doing work for the FEDERATION OF ASIAN BISHOPS' CONFERENCES (FABC). In 1973 he published The *Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*. It grew from 711 pages in its first edition (which was co-edited by Josef Neuner, S.J.) to 1,135 pages in its seventh edition, which was published in 2001.

In 1984 Dupuis was transferred to Gregorian University, and a year later he became the editor of its quarterly journal, the *Gregorianum*. He quickly made the journal a means for promoting the teachings of VATICAN II, as it had once been. He showed himself to be a distinguished director of doctoral dissertations and a first-rate teacher in the licentiate program. His classes on CHRISTOLOGY and the theology of religions often drew well over two hundred students. From 1985 to 1995 Dupuis also worked as a consultant for the PONTIFICAL COUNCIL FOR INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE, and he made a major contribution to their 1991 document, "Dialogue and Proclamation." As an interpreter he attended four of the bishops' synods held in Rome (1974, 1983, 1985, and 1987).

Throughout his life, Dupuis continued to write and publish books, including his 1994 work *Who Do You Say I Am?: Introduction to Christology*, which was written in English and also published in French, Italian, and Spanish. The book that made him widely known was also written in English (as well as appearing in French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish). This was *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism* (1997). Over a hundred reviews in major journals, along with numerous articles in journals and chapters in books, evaluated his views. *Toward a Christian Theology* also brought Dupuis dozens of invitations to deliver lectures across Europe and in Asia and North America. His thoroughly researched and meticulously argued book addressed major questions that remain highly relevant: How can one profess FAITH in Jesus Christ as the one SAVIOR of all humankind and at the same time recognize the Holy Spirit at work in religions and cultures everywhere? What, from a Christian perspective, is the role of the world's religions as visible paths to SALVATION? A subsequent, more "popular," work, *Christianity and the Religions* (2001) clarified some of his positions and introduced the expression "inclusive pluralism, " which he used to sum up his theology of religions.

In late 1998 the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) sent Dupuis a nine-page document challenging the views expressed in *Toward a Christian Theology*. His terminology came under fire, including his use of "decisive" rather than "definitive" to describe the historical redemption and revelation effected by Christ. He was also accused of endorsing false positions, such as his distinction between the eternal Word of God and Jesus of Nazareth. Yet the CDF could not produce evidence from his book to show that Dupuis was expounding opinions contrary to Christian and Catholic faith. Eventually, on February 27, 2001, the CDF published a "Notification" which simply said that the book contained "notable ambiguities and difficulties on important points, which could lead a reader to erroneous or harmful positions." But Dupuis was not asked to change a single line in his book.

Because of his fidelity to Christ and the Church, Dupuis found the whole affair disconcerting and wounding. To avoid possible misconceptions, the Notification of the CDF was included in a subsequent edition of *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism*, and Dupuis expressed his assent to the theses it contained. Nonetheless, the book remains a classic in the post–Vatican II reappraisal of the status and value of "other" religious traditions. Dupuis died in Rome on December 28, 2004, and was buried in the Jesuit mausoleum in the city's major cemetery, the Campo Verrano. A Festschrift published in 2003 in honor of his 80th birthday, edited by Daniel Kendall and Gerald O'Collins, contains much information on his life and theology, as well as a complete bibliography of his writings up to 2003 and a full bibliography of reactions to *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism*.

SEE ALSO DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE; INDIA, CHRISTIANITY IN; JESUITS; PLURALISM, PHILOSOPHICAL.

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DURANDO, MARCANTONIO, BL.

Priest and founder of the Company of the Passion of Jesus the Nazarene (Nazarene Sisters), Turin, Italy; b. May 22, 1801, Mondovi, Italy; d. December 10, 1880, Turin, Italy; beatified October 20, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Marcantonio was one of eight children born to a prominent northern Italian family. His father was regarded as a secular thinker, but his mother was a devout Catholic. The family was politically active in the Italian unification movement (the RISORGIMENTO), and two of his brothers held high civil and military positions; Marcantonio recognized a religious vocation, however. He attended the diocesan seminary at fourteen and the Congregation of the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul, and he was ordained on July 12, 1824. Though he hoped to be a missionary in China, he was assigned to local mission work. After six successful years, Fr. Durando was appointed superior of the Vincentian house in Turin, which became a spiritual hub and the site of meetings and retreats. He served there until his death.

Fr. Durando promoted the association for the Propagation of the Faith, which had been created in Lyon, France, in 1822. He brought the Daughters of Charity, an order cofounded by St. VINCENT DE PAUL, to northern Italy. These sisters first worked in military and civilian hospitals, but they grew quickly and set up units called *Misericordie* from which they managed schools, shelters, soup kitchens, nursery schools, and orphanages, among other social welfare organizations. Fr. Durando was actively involved in the order's management and spiritual guidance. He served as Vincentian Visitor of Lombardy for forty-three years and oversaw seven retreat houses. He also acted as the spiritual advisor to the Sisters of St. Joseph, the Sisters of St. Anne, the POOR CLARES, and the Repentant Sisters of St. Magdalene. Fr. Durando never lost his passion for mission work and, in 1855, he created the Brignole-Sale College in Genoa to train priests for assignments abroad. In 1865 he founded the Company of the Passion of Jesus the Nazarene (Nazarene Sisters). The members of this community were not eligible to join other religious orders because they had not been born into Church-sanctioned marriages. Fr. Durando's decision to organize this community caused considerable controversy among the conservative hierarchy of the Church. The congregation worked primarily as home hospice nurses comforting the sick and dying and bringing many into the faith.

Fr. Durando was a respected advisor to those who looked to him for spiritual guidance, and he was an example of dedication and selflessness to the religious and lay community. In beatifying him, Pope John Paul II said he "lived the faith and a burning spiritual zeal, shunning every kind of compromise or interior tepidity."

Feast: December 10.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH, SOCIETY FOR THE; ST. ANNE, SISTERS OF; ST. JOSEPH, SISTERS OF; VINCENTIANS.

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ECCLESIA DEI COMMISSION

Ecclesia Dei is the name of the pontifical commission established by the *motu proprio* of the same name, issued by the initiative of Pope JOHN PAUL II on July 2, 1988, to respond to the schismatic act of the late Archbishop Marcel LEFEBVRE (1905–1991), who ordained four priests to the episcopate on June 30, 1988, without the papal mandate. By that act, which the pope characterized as "schismatic" (*Ecclesia Dei* §4), Lefebvre and the four bishops he ordained incurred automatic excommunication, according to §1382 of the *Code of Canon Law*. The *motu proprio* was a heartfelt invitation by the pontiff to those who were in sympathy with Lefebvre's movement not to follow him and thereby also incur excommunication. On the positive side the *motu proprio* officially recognized the legitimacy of an attachment to the previous liturgical tradition—the liturgical books in force in 1962, particularly the Roman MISSAL in its typical edition of 1962.

The commission was established "to collaborate with the bishops, with the Departments of the Roman Curia and with the circles concerned, for the purpose of facilitating full ecclesial communion of priests, seminarians, religious communities, or individuals until now linked in various ways to the Fraternity founded by Monsignor Lefebvre, who may wish to remain united to the Successor Peter in the Catholic Church, while preserving their spiritual and liturgical traditions, in the light of the Protocol signed on 5 May last by Cardinal Ratzinger and Monsignor Lefebvre" and to oversee the use of the previous Roman liturgy (*L'Osservatore Romano* 13 March 2009, 8). Whereas the canonical erection and supervision of religious institutes exclusively using the 1962 liturgical books was more easily accomplished, the provision of the Mass according to the 1962 Roman Missal constituted a greater problem. At the conclusion of the *motu proprio*, the pope's statement that "respect must everywhere be shown for the feelings of all those who are attached to the Latin liturgical tradition, by a wide and generous application of the directives already issued some time ago by the Apostolic See for the use of the Roman Missal according to the typical edition of 1962" had no real juridical force. It relied entirely on the good will of individual diocesan bishops, some of whom insisted that the Mass according to the 1962 Roman Missal, known variously as the TRIDENTINE MASS or the *traditional Latin Mass*, was against the spirit of the Second Vatican Council. They believed it should only be provided for those who couldn't adjust themselves to the changes introduced by *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the Council's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, and its subsequent application in the reformed liturgical books.

The difficult work of guiding the commission in its first formative years was entrusted to Cardinal Augustin Mayer (1911–). O.S.B. Mayer, the founder of the Liturgical Institute at the Benedictine faculty of Sant'Anselmo in Rome, was the former abbot of Metten, Germany; former secretary of the Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life; and former prefect of the Congregation of DIVINE WORSHIP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS. His background equipped him well to cope with the numerous difficulties that he had to deal with in the first days, when there were no clear guidelines to follow and little juridical support. His years as president (1988–1991) were marked by sagacity and sensitive pastoral concern. Monsignor Camille Perl ably served as secretary of the commission from its inception until he was named vice president in 2008 and later retired in July 2009. Mayer's successor as president was Cardinal Antonio In-

nocenti (1991–1995), a career diplomat who had previously served as nuncio in Spain and prefect of the Congregation for the Clergy. His presidency (1991–1995) was marked by cautious and limited expansion of the work of the commission, as was that of his successor Cardinal Angelo Felici (1995–2000), another career diplomat who had already served as nuncio in France and prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints.

The nomination of Cardinal Darío CASTRILLÓN HOYOS in April 2000, while he was also serving as prefect of the Congregation for the Clergy, marked a definite expansion of the work of the commission. The former archbishop of Bucaramanga, Colombia, took an immediate interest in bringing the four bishops consecrated by Archbishop Lefebvre and the Society of St. Pius X, comprised of the priests and seminarians under their leadership, into full communion with the Catholic Church and in providing a juridical basis for the celebration of the Mass and sacraments according to the 1962 liturgical books. The latter goal was codified in the *motu proprio* of Pope BENEDICT XVI, *Summorum pontificum* of July 7, 2007, for which Castrillón had laid the groundwork, as well as the preparation of a practical interpretation of the document, not yet published. A first step toward his former objective, the reconciliation of the Society of St. Pius X and its integration into the Church, was achieved on January 21, 2009, with the remission of the excommunication incurred by the four bishops Archbishop Lefebvre had ordained. This was an act of clemency by Pope Benedict, even while the four bishops themselves insisted that the original excommunication was invalid. Unfortunately, the situation immediately became complicated by an uproar in the media, after it came to light that Richard Williamson (1940–), one of the four bishops, had denied the extent of the HOLOCAUST of Jews under Nazi Germany. The pope had to insist on several occasions that he had been unaware of this and intended no slight to ISRAEL or Jews of the Diaspora.

This gesture of mercy on the part of Pope Benedict became at the same time a source of contention within the Church, and the pope addressed a letter to the bishops of the Church on March 10, 2009, explaining his motives. In it he stated that "until the doctrinal questions are clarified, the Society has no canonical status in the Church, and its ministers—even though they have been freed of the ecclesiastical penalty—do not legitimately exercise any ministry in the Church" (*L'Osservatore Romano* March 13, 2009, 8). Further, he indicated that it was his "intention henceforth to join the Pontifical Commission 'Ecclesia Dei'—the body which has been competent since 1988 for those communities and persons who, coming from the Society of Saint Pius X or from similar groups, wish to return to full communion with the Pope—to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith." This he did officially by issuing his *motu proprio*, *Ecclesiæ unitatem* of July 2, 2009, which restructured the Pontifical Commission Ecclesia Dei, linking it organically to the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH. With that restructuring Cardinal Castrillón ended his nine-year tenure as president when he reached the age of eighty, the same age at which his three predecessors had also relinquished the presidency. With the provisions of the new *motu proprio*, in 2009 the prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Cardinal William Levada (1936–), also held the presidency of the commission. Monsignor Guido Pozzo, formerly an official of the congregation and adjunct secretary of the INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL COMMISSION, was named secretary and charged with arranging the dialogue between theological experts of the HOLY SEE and those of the Society of St. Pius X.

As of 2009 matters remained open on two different fronts: whether the Society of St. Pius X will be reconciled to the Catholic Church and to what extent the celebration of the Mass and the Sacraments according to the 1962 liturgical books will become more established in the Church and whether eventually the ordinary (postconciliar) and extraordinary (1962) forms of the ROMAN RITE will coalesce.

SEE ALSO CANON LAW, 1983 CODE; DIASPORA, JEWISH; SUMMORUM PONTIFICUM; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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ECCLESIA DE EUCHARISTIA

Ecclesia de Eucharistia is the title of the fourteenth and final encyclical letter of Pope JOHN PAUL II (in office 1978–2005). The name of the letter comes from its opening sentence: "*Ecclesia de Eucharistia vivit* (the Church draws her life from the Eucharist)." The encyclical consists of six chapters and a total of sixty-two sections or numbers. It is dated HOLY THURSDAY, April 17, 2003.

Context of the Encyclical. Thematically, the encyclical builds upon Vatican II's recognition of the Eucharistic sacrifice as "the source and summit of the entire Christian life" (*Lumen gentium*, no. 11). The letter, therefore, reflects upon the centrality of the Eucharist for the life of the Church. John Paul II also places the encyclical within the context of his annual letters to the priests of the world marking Holy Thursday, "the day of the Eucharist and the priesthood" (*Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, no. 7). He also notes that an encyclical dedicated to the Eucharist is a special way of "thanking the Lord for the gift of the Eucharist and the priesthood" in the twenty-fifth year of his pontificate, something he previously did in his book, *Gift and Mystery* (1996), published on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his priestly ordination (no. 7). The encyclical likewise seeks to continue "the Eucharistic amazement" (no. 6) expressed in the apostolic letter, *Novo millennio ineunte* (2001), which marked the new millennium as well as the Marian link to the Eucharist within the context of the Year of the ROSARY (October 2002–October 2003).

Summary of Contents. In the introduction (nos. 1–10), John Paul reflects on the "cosmic character" of the Eucharist celebrated "on the altar of the world" in a way that unites heaven and earth (no. 8). He notes that the Eucharist is "the most precious possession which the Church can have in her journey through history" (no. 9). This is why the Church has taken "a lively concern" for the Eucharistic mystery reflected in the authoritative teachings of the councils and the popes (no. 9). In this context, he mentions the decrees of TRENT on the Eucharist and the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, as well as the Eucharistic encyclicals of Popes LEO XIII, PIUS XII, and PAUL VI. Since Vatican II, he recognizes both highlights and shadows with respect to the Eucharist. While the liturgical reform of the Council "has contributed greatly to a more conscious, active and fruitful participation in the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar on the part of the faithful," there are also indications of the abandonment of Eucharistic adoration and the reduction of the Eucharistic mystery to a "fraternal banquet" (no. 10). In this regard, he expresses "profound grief" over reports of "Eucharistic practices contrary to the discipline of the Church," and he states that "the Eucharist is too great a gift to tolerate ambiguity and depreciation" (no. 10).

In chapter one, "The Mystery of Faith" (nos. 11–20), John Paul II reflects on the sacrificial meaning of the Eucharist, drawing upon the witness of Scripture and Church fathers such as St. AMBROSE and St. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA. He affirms the fitting and proper use of the term "transubstantiation" as an expression of the mysterious transformation of the bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood (no. 15). He also teaches that "the Eucharist is a true banquet, in which Christ offers himself as our nourishment" (no. 16), thereby linking the sacrificial meaning of the Eucharist to its significance as a meal or banquet. He reaffirms the traditional Catholic themes of the Eucharist as purification from sins (no. 17) and a "pledge of future glory" (no. 18). John Paul II likewise highlights the Eucharist as a "communion with the Church in heaven" (no. 19) and a stimulus for "our sense of responsibility for the world today" (no. 20).

Chapter two, "The Eucharist Builds the Church" (nos. 21–25), stresses "the causal influence of the Eucharist" that is "present at the Church's very origins" (no. 21). The Eucharist incorporates the faithful into Christ and helps them become a "sacrament" for humanity (no. 22). He reflects on "the inseparable activity of the Son and the Holy Spirit" at work in the Eucharist and the life of the Church (no. 22), and he notes how "the seeds of disunity" which are present because of sin "are countered by the unifying power of the Body of Christ" (no. 24). Thus, the Eucharist builds up the Church and "creates human community" (no. 24). John Paul II points to "the inestimable value" of the worship of the Eucharist outside of the Mass (no. 15). Eucharistic

adoration enables the faithful, like the Beloved Disciple, to lie close to the breast of the Lord "in silent adoration," and this is why the practice of Eucharistic adoration outside of Mass has been "repeatedly praised and recommended by the Magisterium" (no. 25).

In chapter three, "The Apostolicity of the Eucharist and of the Church" (nos. 26–33), John Paul II considers how the Eucharist is linked to the apostolicity of the Church. In this regard, he explains how the ministerial priest, acting *in persona Christi*, is "a gift which the assembly receives through episcopal succession going back to the Apostles" (no. 29). With respect to ecumenism, he notes the unfortunate "lack of the sacrament of Holy Orders" and "the genuine and total reality of the Eucharist" in "the Ecclesial Communities that emerged in the West from the sixteenth century onwards" (no. 30). In light of this, the Catholic faithful, "while respecting the religious convictions of these separated brethren, must refrain from receiving the communion distributed in their celebrations, so as not to condone an ambiguity about the nature of the Eucharist" (no. 30). John Paul II also highlights the centrality of the Eucharist to the life and ministry of priests and to the worship and pastoral life of the Christian community. In this regard, he notes the incompleteness of Catholic communities without a priest, and he exhorts all "to pray with greater fervor" for priestly vocations (no. 32).

In chapter four, "The Eucharist and Ecclesial Communion" (nos. 34–46), John Paul II underlines the importance of the Eucharist for ecclesial communion in both its invisible and visible dimensions. He notes how invisible communion "presupposes the life of grace" and worthiness for reception (no. 36). In this regard, those who are conscious of grave sin or who "obstinately persist in manifest grave sin" are "not to be admitted to Eucharistic communion" (no. 37). In terms of visible communion, the Holy Father points out how the Eucharist unites the worshipping assembly to its own bishop and to the Roman Pontiff (no. 39). He also highlights the importance of Sunday Mass (no. 41) and examines the relationship of the Eucharist to ecumenical activity (nos. 42–46).

In chapter five, "The Dignity of the Eucharistic Celebration" (nos. 47–52), John Paul II relates how "architecture, sculpture, painting and music" have found in the Eucharist "a source of great inspiration" (no. 49). In light of the beauty and dignity of the Eucharistic mystery, he exhorts priests to celebrate the Eucharist "with great fidelity" (no. 52). Because various abuses have emerged, he mentions that he has asked "the competent offices of the Roman Curia to prepare a more specific document" on the proper norms for Eucharistic celebration (no. 52). (On March 25, 2004, this document appeared as the instruction *Redemptionis Sacramentum*, issued by the Congregation for DIVINE WORSHIP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS.)

Chapter six, "At the School of Mary, Woman of the Eucharist" (nos. 53–58), marks the encyclical as a contribution not only to Eucharistic theology but also to MARIOLOGY. Drawing upon some of the themes expressed in his Apostolic Letter for the Year of the Rosary, *Rosarium Virginis Mariae* (which includes the Eucharist as a "mystery of light"), John Paul II notes how Mary is "a woman of the Eucharist in her whole life" (no. 53). Not only is she a model of Eucharistic faith (no. 53), but she is also intimately linked to the sacrificial dimension of the Eucharist by her "spiritual communion" with the passion of her Son, which is made present at every Eucharist (nos. 56–57). The Holy Father recommends "re-reading the Magnificat in a Eucharistic key" (no. 58), as a "school" of Eucharistic contemplation. In the conclusion, he encourages the faithful to "listen to Mary Most Holy, in whom the mystery of the Eucharist appears, more than in anyone else, as a mystery of light" (no. 62).

Many of the themes of *Ecclesia de Eucharistia* provided the inspiration for the Apostolic Letter *Mane nobiscum domine* (October 7, 2004), which proclaimed the Year of the Eucharist (October 2004–October, 2005), the year in which John Paul II passed from this world.

SEE ALSO APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION; CURIA, ROMAN; LUMINOUS MYSTERIES OF THE ROSARY; MAGNIFICAT (CANTICLE OF MARY); TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); TRANSUBSTANTIATION; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (HIGHER) IN THE UNITED STATES

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, 16 percent (or 219 in total) of the Catholic colleges and universities in the world were in the United States, although U.S. Catholics made up only 6 percent (or 75 million) of the world's Catholic population at the time. These colleges and universities have some of the most mature and sophisticated curricula and research programs in Catholic institutions of higher learning worldwide. The vast majority of these institutions (over 90 percent) were founded by religious communities, while thirteen are women's colleges and twelve are diocesan institutions. Since 1963, eighteen new Catholic colleges have been founded in the United States.

The History of American Catholic Education. The beginnings of Catholic education in the United States were humble, however. Religious communities, especially women's congregations, founded boarding schools and academies as early as the seventeenth century. The Spanish FRANCISCANS opened a school in St. Augustine, Florida, in 1606, and the French Franciscans founded a school for boys in New Orleans in 1718 (the Ursuline Sisters founded a school for girls in 1727 in the same city). Early Protestant colleges included Harvard College (now University), founded in 1636; The College of William and Mary, founded in 1693; and Yale College (now University), founded in 1701.

Bishop John Carroll founded the nation's first Catholic college, Georgetown Preparatory Academy, in 1789. Located in Bethesda, Maryland, the school was later handed over to the JESUITS. Since there were relatively few Catholics in the nation at this time (an estimated 25,000 in 1776), the leaders of Georgetown welcomed students regardless of their religious tradition. By 1840, the Jesuits, SULPICIANS, DOMINICANS, and VINCENTIANS had all established colleges in America. Colleges for women followed later, with religious congregations of women establishing the College of Notre Dame of Maryland (in 1873), St. Mary-of-the-Woods College in Indiana (1894), Trinity College in Washington, D.C. (1897), and the College of New Rochelle in New York (1904).

By the middle of the nineteenth century, immigration had increased the number of Catholics in the United States considerably, though upon arrival they were confronted by a largely Protestant, and sometimes hostile, country. In 1884, at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, the American bishops decreed that every Catholic parish establish a grade school and that there should be a national Catholic University at which Catholics, especially priests and religious, could take up graduate studies. The CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA was founded five years later in Washington, D.C., under the direct control of the hierarchy, and its first class consisted of forty-six clerical students. Eventually, over fifty religious congregations of men built houses of study near the university. The university admitted its first lay students in 1895, and in 1905 it opened all its divisions to undergraduates, mainly for financial reasons. Until 1920, most students pursued their graduate education at the Catholic University.

The nineteenth-century Catholic colleges followed the European system. That is, they offered a six-year college program (four years of *gymnasium* followed by two years of college). By the late nineteenth century, however, the standard arrangement in the country was four years of high school followed by four years of college. Admissions officers at secular universities did not understand, and sometimes simply rejected, the undergraduate transcripts from Catholic institutions. By 1930, therefore, nearly all the nation's Catholic colleges had adopted the American educational structure.

The Twentieth Century. At the beginning of the twentieth century, religious orders of women began establishing more colleges. By 1926 twenty-five Catholic women's colleges existed, comprising more than one-third of the sixty-nine colleges then accredited by the Catholic Educational Association (founded in 1904, and renamed the NATIONAL CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, or NCEA, in 1927). Some of these colleges became quite distinguished (St. Catherine's in Minneapolis, for example, was recognized by the prestigious Phi Beta Kappa association in 1937), and at St. Mary's College in Indiana, Mother Madaleva established the first doctoral program in theology for women in the 1940s (women were not then admitted to such programs in men's universities).

From 1920 to 1960, the number of Catholic colleges and universities in the United States increased from 130 to 231. Enrollment increased during that same period, from 34,000 to over 300,000, a nearly ten-fold

increase. From the beginning of the twentieth century, professionalism forced these institutions to increase their quality and become accredited, and it became necessary for their faculties to obtain graduate degrees and eventually publish. From the 1920s to the late 1950s, these colleges used neoscholastic philosophy to integrate their undergraduate curricula. The teaching of theology for credit did not become common until the 1950s and 1960s, however. Before then, theology was primarily taught to seminarians.

It is difficult to describe the powerful winds of change that swept through U.S. Catholic colleges and universities (and through the country in general) in the 1960s. At least four major forces contributed to the profound change: (1) the postwar economic boom, (2) the widespread dissolution of Catholic neighborhoods, (3) the cultural revolution of the 1960s, and (4) the Second Vatican Council. During the postwar years, the GI Bill made it possible for tens of thousands of World War II veterans to attend college. At the same time, the growth of the American economy and the rapid growth of the middle class allowed many urban Catholics to move to the suburbs where they found few Catholic schools and Catholic neighborhoods.

The cultural revolution of the 1960s involved a youth culture marked by money, rock music, drugs and greater freedom. The times strained the relationship between young people and their parents (the so-called generation gap) and distanced them from most normative institutions, including the Church and the government, which was waging the Vietnam War. Finally, VATICAN COUNCIL II (1962–1965) effectively changed the liturgical life of ordinary Catholics and profoundly affected the members of religious orders, many of whom left their communities in the latter part of the decade. It was a heady and difficult time, as well as a time of innovation and change for educational institutions.

The 1967 Land O'Lakes Statement represented one of the most powerful currents for change in Catholic higher education. A meeting was convened in Land O' Lakes, Wisconsin, by Theodore HESBURGH, the president of the University of Notre Dame. The meeting was attended by a group of prominent Catholic educators, and the statement they released argued that a Catholic university must have "a true autonomy and academic freedom in the face of authority of whatever kind, lay or clerical, external to the academic community itself." In subsequent years, however, it seemed that many educational leaders paid more attention to protecting that freedom and autonomy than they did to another important requirement of the statement, namely that "the Catholic university must be an institution, a community of learners or a community of scholars, in which Catholicism is perceptibly present and effectively operative."

By the late 1960s, Catholic colleges and universities in the United States began to transfer fiduciary authority for their institutions to boards of trustees largely composed of lay persons, many of them alumni who generously offered their skills (largely managerial and financial), loyalty, and wealth to these institutions. Meanwhile, the religious who taught and led these institutions dramatically decreased in number. At the same time, the military draft made going to college more attractive to many young men, at least as an alternative to going to Vietnam. Thus, enrollments swelled at Catholic universities, and many more professors had to be hired, nearly all of them lay persons. Some of these new hires had only master's degrees, and a few had doctoral degrees, but nearly all of their degrees had been acquired at secular universities.

At least partially as a result of this shift, major controversies about faculty governance and academic freedom exploded on several campuses. Court cases in Maryland and New York led to rulings stating that institutions that explicitly privileged the hiring of Catholic faculty were "pervasively sectarian" and not eligible for federal aid for residence halls and science buildings. Thus, both internal and external forces pushed many Catholic institutions to prove that they were not "pervasively sectarian."

In 1967 the Catholic historian Philip Gleason described the challenge Catholic colleges and universities faced if they were to remain Catholic:

> In what sense is a university Catholic if it is composed predominantly of lay professionals who employ, in their teaching and research, the same methods and norms as their counterparts in secular universities, and who are engaged in the pursuit of knowledge in autonomous spheres that are in no way dependent upon any overall "Catholic position"? What, in short, is the reason for the being of the Catholic college or university? (Hassenger 1967, p. 52)

On both the national and international ecclesial levels, moves were taken to help Catholic colleges and universities answer Gleason's question. The Second Vatican Council called for the first revision of Canon Law since 1917. That revision, completed in 1983, contained several canons on Catholic colleges and universities. In 1985 the Vatican began a worldwide process of consultation, which culminated in Pope John Paul II's 1990 apostolic exhortation, *ex corde ecclesiae*. JOHN PAUL II recognized in this document the need for institutional autonomy and academic freedom called for by the Land O'Lakes Statement, but just how these terms should be understood still remains to be seen. *Ex corde ecclesiae* developed more fully the identity and the mission of the

Catholic university, providing an inspiring description of the identity and mission of the Catholic university.

The ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES (ACCU) devoted most of its annual meetings in the 1980s and 1990s to issues surrounding mission and identity. One of the major concerns of the 1990s was precisely how the American bishops would implement the pope's 1990 Apostolic Exhortation. After years of debate and discussion with the leaders of Catholic higher education, the American bishops agreed on a largely pastoral form of implementation. However, under considerable pressure from Rome, they agreed at a subsequent meeting to include some juridical requirements specified in the 1983 Code of Canon Law, among them a MANDATUM that those who teach Catholic theology were to request from the local bishop.

The Twenty-first Century and the Future. The 220 Catholic colleges and universities in the United States (as of 2007) vary greatly in size and resources. As many as half of these institutions struggle to maintain enrollment, are almost completely tuition driven, and depend on alternative forms of instruction (e.g., distance education, weekend programs) to remain open. About twenty of them can afford to be selective in admitting students and benefit from their endowments. The rest of the institutions remain tuition driven and compete for students who enjoy a variety of choices. Only a few colleges for women continue to exist, most having merged in the 1970s and 1980s with coeducational universities.

Several major challenges face all these institutions. Two shall be mentioned here. First, there are the issues that come from funding—both the lack of funding and solid funding. On the one hand, for those institutions facing possible closure, finding financial resources becomes such a preoccupation that the mission and identity of the institution may fall out of view. On the other hand, for those few institutions with excellent funding, pressure to join the ranks of prestigious private and public institutions may also lead them, for quite different reasons, to be inattentive to their Catholic mission and identity. Moreover, the vast majority of Catholic colleges and universities are unable to offer generous financial aid packages, which means that few families have the financial resources to send their children to these schools. No Catholic college or university is able to meet the financial needs of all the students they admit, so need-blind admission is possible only at the very few institutions that have very large endowments.

A second challenge facing these institutions is hiring faculty and administrators who understand the mission and identity of Catholic higher education. While many Catholics have doctorates, few are Catholic intellectuals—that is, few are scholars who approach their disciplines with presuppositions that flow from the doctrine of creation, the Incarnation, and Catholic social thought, especially as it applies to the professions. Few faculty candidates, even Catholics, bring such intellectual vision to the academy. An increasing number of lay university presidents are chosen by the predominantly lay boards of trustees for their administrative and fundraising skills above all else. In the increasing absence of priests and religious as administrators and faculty (not all of whom provided intellectual leadership in the past), the Catholic mission and identity of these institutions needs to be located in more than Catholic presidents who are good administrators, campus ministries, and service programs, as important as all of these elements are.

Some steps are being taken to meet this second challenge. Colleges and universities are devising, with more or less success, ways to hire faculty and administrators who contribute to their distinctive religious missions. This has been achieved in some institutions through special appointments to endowed chairs, the appointment of "mission effectiveness" officers, the establishment of Catholic Studies programs, and closer attention to the content of the core curriculum. While it is forbidden by law in the United States to inquire about candidates' personal religious beliefs, it is perfectly legal to inquire as to whether they have the competencies to teach certain courses (e.g., Literature and Catholicism, Economics and Catholic Social Teaching, or Natural Law and Moral Norms) and how they will contribute to the mission of the institution. Besides careful attention to hiring, which may yield faculty open to but largely ignorant of Catholic intellectual traditions, colleges and universities are collaborating (as in the case of supporting the *Collegium* summer program), organizing, and promoting opportunities for faculty to learn about these traditions.

Finally, given the publication of *Ex corde ecclesiae* and its implementation in the United States, Catholic colleges and universities need to meet the challenges associated with being part of both the local and the international Church. Catholic higher education needs to help address the pastoral needs of the larger Church, just as bishops need to support the intellectual mission of the university. The academic freedom of individual professors needs to be respected, just as faculty members need to respect and contribute to the mission of a Catholic university. How these challenges are met will determine in large part the strength, distinctiveness, and future of Catholic colleges and universities in the United States.

SEE ALSO BALTIMORE, COUNCILS OF; CANON LAW, 1983 CODE; EDUCATION (PHILOSOPHY OF); EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (K

THROUGH 12) IN THE UNITED STATES; EX CORDE ECCLESIAE; SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE OF ST. MARY-OF-THE-WOODS; URSULINES.

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EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (K THROUGH 12) IN THE UNITED STATES

Catholic K-12 schools have a long and distinguished history in the United States. As Harold Buetow points out in *Of Singular Benefit* (1970), they were originally founded in what are now Florida and Louisiana in the seventeenth century, though they experienced various conflicts with the Protestant British colonial government.

Nineteenth-Century Growth. Immigration spurred the establishment of Catholic schools in the mid-nineteenth century. Approximately 2.5 million immigrants, many of them Irish and Catholic, entered the United States between 1821 and 1850 (U.S. Census Bureau 1890). Many Germans, both Lutheran and Catholic, came to the United States at this time as well. These groups encountered the pan-Protestant common school, which had been founded by Horace MANN (1796–1859) in Massachusetts and were allegedly nonsectarian, although they featured the devotional reading of the King James Version of the BIBLE. The best known of Catholic difficulties with the public schools occurred in New York City in the 1840s, when Archbishop John HUGHES led an unsuccessful fight for a share of the tax funds for Catholic schools. Rebuffed, Hughes established the beginning of what has been referred to as the "Catholic school system."

German-American Catholics were especially active in support of Catholic schools, regarding the parish school as necessary to preserve their German heritage. The professional staff of Catholic schools was usually made up of religious women (nuns), and sometimes religious brothers, with many of the orders having European origins. Elizabeth SETON (1774–1821) founded the first order of American nuns, the SISTERS OF CHARITY, in 1809. Because of the foreign origin of many of the parents and teachers, the different languages they sometimes used, and their adherence to the pope as their spiritual head, Catholic schools were often seen by Protestant America as "foreign," and therefore "un-American."

Catholic Schools after the Civil War. The ANTI-CATHOLIC school movement intensified in the wake of patriotism for the Union engendered by the Civil War. The BLAINE AMENDMENT, which was nearly enacted by the U.S. Congress in 1875, would have prohibited any aid by the federal government to sectarian schools. In response, at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, the U.S. Bishops enacted a decree that required each parish to have a school within two years, unless the bishop of the diocese decided otherwise, and mandated that all Catholic parents send their children to these schools, unless the bishop exempted them. Despite these decrees, the heroic efforts of the women religious who staffed the schools (their number in the country grew from 6,000 in 1866 to 32,000 in 130 different religious communities by 1890 according to George C. Stewart in *Marvels of Charity* [1994]), and the sacrifices by Catholic parents, the number of parishes with schools increased only from 40 percent to 44 percent in the ten years after Baltimore III (Brown 1953, p. 323)

Catholic schools were an issue within and outside of the Church as the nineteenth century neared its end. Internally, some "liberal" bishops, led by Archbishop John IRELAND of St. Paul, Minnesota, sought a compromise with public education by turning parish schools over to the civil authority, with religion being taught after "official" school hours ended each day. Ireland's plan, the best known of several such compromises in the nineteenth century, lasted but a year and was heatedly criticized by a number of his fellow bishops, especially Archbishop Michael CORRIGAN of New York, Archbishop Frederick KATZER of Milwaukee, and Bishop Bernard MCQUAID of Rochester, New York. It took a plea from Cardinal James GIBBONS, the archbishop of

Baltimore, to Pope LEO XIII for the pontiff to intervene directly and end the controversy. Leo called for Catholic schools to be zealously promoted, but he stated that it was up to the bishop of the diocese to decide when attendance at public schools could be allowed.

Externally, the existence of Catholic schools was felt by some Catholic leaders to be the biggest problem between American Catholics and their fellow citizens, who identified public schools with good American citizenship. The states of Illinois and Wisconsin attempted to regulate nonpublic schools within their borders. In Wisconsin, this attempt (the Bennett Law) was viewed by Catholic and Lutheran leaders as an effort to eliminate, or at least control, their schools. The law defined a school as one that taught subjects in the English language and required students to attend school in the public school district in which they lived. Catholic and Lutheran leaders held that parents, not the state, were the primary educators of their children, and attendance at public school was not necessary for citizenship. The law was repealed in early 1891.

The Early Twentieth Century. According to Buetow, Catholic school enrollment continued to increase in the early years of the twentieth century, going from 405,234 in 1880 to 1,701,219 in 1920 (p. 179). The presence of ethnic parish schools gradually diminished, however, due to the assimilation of Catholic immigrant families into American society. The efforts of some members of the American hierarchy and leading Catholic educators also contributed to this decline.

World War I, however, led to intensified opposition to anything "foreign." Once again, political attempts were made across the nation to eradicate Catholic schools as centers of "foreignism." The most dangerous of these efforts occurred in the state of Oregon, where a law was passed that would have required all children in the state between the ages of eight and fifteen to attend public schools, on the basis that public school attendance was necessary to develop good citizenship. It took a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court to stop this assault. In *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* (1925), the Court ruled that attendance at public schools was not necessary for citizenship, and that parents were the primary educators of their children. This period also witnessed the founding of the Catholic Education Association (CEA) in 1908, a national professional voluntary organization founded to serve Catholic education. The CEA became the NATIONAL CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION (NCEA) in 1927.

Catholics schools, as was the case with their public counterparts, were overwhelmingly at the elementary level throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Secondary school enrollment, in the Catholic and public sectors, grew rapidly in the years between the two world wars. Buetow notes that Catholic secondary schools enrolled 284,736 students in 1,945 schools in 1936, while 7,929 elementary schools reported an enrollment of 2,102,889 (National Catholic Welfare Conference 1938, p. 21). This period marks the beginning of interparish high schools, which were usually coeducational. Previously, almost all Catholic secondary schools had been owned and operated by religious orders, and they were almost always single-gender institutions.

Church-state conflicts over education continued during the interwar period. Inspired by the rise of totalitarian states in Europe, Pope PIUS XI authored his encyclical, *Divini illius magistri* (On Christian Education) in 1929, in which he reaffirmed the "God-centered" nature of education and the primacy of the rights of parents as the educators of their children. In the United States two Catholic educators, Thomas Edward SHIELDS and George JOHNSON, both of the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA (CUA), took leading roles in the professionalization of Catholic education. Shields, a psychologist, applied progressive education to Catholic schools, including the teaching of religion. He encountered opposition, however, especially from the conservative pastors who headed the parish schools. Shields was a prolific author, and he also founded Sisters College at Catholic University, which was established for the education of sister-teachers. Shields's pupil, George Johnson, was known as the "bridge builder" (between Catholic educators and between Catholic and public education). An NCEA official, Johnson spearheaded the Commission on American Citizenship, which developed curricular materials that fostered the principles of Christian democracy.

The Aftermath of World War II. Catholic schools continued to expand in the decades following World War II. In cities like Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis, Bishops labored to provide Catholic schools for the burgeoning suburban Catholic population. Catholic elementary schools reported an enrollment of 4,373,422 students in the 1961 to 1962 school year (p. 81), while Catholic secondary schools had 958,617 pupils that year (p. 82–83). Neil McCluskey, in *Catholic Viewpoint on Education* (1962), observed that private school enrollment, of which Catholic schools made up the vast majority, had grown by 119 percent between 1940 and 1960, while public schools had increased by only 42 percent (p. 91). In a number of regions, Catholic schools strained under the weight of such numbers.

The financial pressures on bishops and pastors to provide Catholic schools for Catholic children in this period were tremendous. Perhaps the pressure was felt even more deeply by the orders of vowed religious women who provided the low-cost personnel to staff the

schools. Partially as a response to this pressure, the SISTER FORMATION CONFERENCE was formed in 1952 to prepare sisters for their ministry. The superiors of women religious orders were hard-pressed to staff the schools, and they were concerned about whether the religious were fully prepared, spiritually and professionally, when they were sent to teach in the schools.

Vatican II and Turmoil. The Second Vatican Council was opened by Pope JOHN XXIII in October 1962, and it contributed to a shaking of the very foundations of Catholic life in the United States, including Catholic schools. In 1964, Mary Perkins RYAN authored *Are Parochial Schools the Answer? Catholic Education in Light of the Council*, a book that was to cause consternation for the nation's Catholic educators. Ryan answered her question in the negative, arguing that Catholic schools had done well in serving a poor, besieged immigrant population, but that they had become anachronistic, clerical dominated, and served but a minuscule of the Catholic population. Ryan felt the focus of Catholic education should be on adult education and the liturgy.

At the same time, Msgr. O'Neil C. D'Amour, an NCEA official, called on Catholic schools to emphasize the professional, rather than the pastoral. This would include the creation of school boards composed of lay men and women at the parish and diocesan levels. In 1966, Andrew Greeley and Peter Rossi published the results of a study they had undertaken in *The Education of Catholic Americans*. They showed that Catholic schools were not divisive, that they did not impair the economic futures of their graduates, that they were most effective in imparting religious values to students who hailed from religious families, and that their graduates were more likely to be informed of the Church's doctrinal teaching.

The forces unleashed by VATICAN COUNCIL II had their effect. In the 1965–1966 school year, there were 5.6 million pupils in Catholic K-12 schools, making up 87 percent of nonpublic school enrollment and 12 percent of all students in K-12 American schools (Hunt and Kunkel 1984, p. 1). Stewart notes that there were 209,000 women religious, the majority of them serving in Catholic education, in the United States at this time (p. 449). By 1971–1972, Catholic school enrollment had plummeted to 4,034,785, a drop of over 1.5 million in six years, according to Kenneth Simon and W. Vance Grant in the *Digest of Education Statistics* (1987). Vowed religious, male and female, were leaving religious life; others, in line with the teaching of Vatican II that had urged the orders to research their original charisms in pursuit of their renewal, were opting for careers other than education. They were replaced by lay teachers, who commanded much higher salaries and benefits. At the same time, urban Catholics moved with increasing frequency to the suburbs, where there were few parochial schools and where the public schools had solid reputations.

With the election of the first Catholic U.S. president, John F. KENNEDY, in 1960, Catholics moved into the American mainstream, which led some Catholics to believe that Catholic schools were superfluous. The financial difficulties that plagued Catholic schools remained following the 1971 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Lemon v. Kurtzman*. The Court adjudged the "purchase of secular services" from Catholic schools to be unconstitutional because it constituted "excessive entanglement" between church and state, and thus violated the establishment clause of the First Amendment.

It was in this context that the American bishops issued a pastoral letter, "To Teach as Jesus Did," aimed at stemming the defeatist attitude that had enveloped American Catholic schools. In 1976, the priest-sociologist Andrew Greeley and his colleagues claimed, in *Catholic Schools in a Declining Church*, that the laity still supported Catholic schools. In a controversial "Afterword," Greeley called for the hierarchy to get out of the school business and leave the field to the laity (1976, pp. 324–325).

The 1980s: The Decline Is Stemmed. Catholic schools experienced a slight upswing in the 1980s. Simon and Grant reported in 1987 that they entered the decade with 3,094,000 students, down approximately one million from 1971–1972. Yet the success of Catholic schools was recognized by scholars such as the eminent sociologist James Coleman. Greeley pointed to their success with minority students, in particular.

Government financial aid seemed more likely with the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency. Reagan supported tuition tax credits, an idea championed by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York and Senator Robert Packwood of Oregon. That assistance was not to be forthcoming, however. At the end of the decade, there were 7,395 Catholic elementary schools and 1,324 Catholic high schools in operation, according to the U.S. Department of Education.

Catholic Education in the 1990s. Catholic educators were buoyed by the publication of *Catholic Schools and the Common Good,* coauthored by Anthony Bryk, Valerie Lee, and Peter Holland in 1993. These authors reported that Catholic high schools were successful due to decentralization; a shared set of ethical beliefs and a shared code of conduct on the part of faculty, students, and parents; smallness of size; and a curriculum that emphasized academics (pp. 298 and 304). In *Catholic School Growth, 1985 to 1999* (2000), John Augenstein

and Neal Meitler wrote that Catholic school enrollment increased by 3.8 percent during the years of their survey, although their market share declined from 6.3 percent to 5.6 percent during these years.

Financial realities became more disturbing for Catholic schools during the 1990s. In 2002, Theodore Wallace reported that 47 percent of Catholic school-age children attended Catholic schools in 1969, and that parishes paid 63 percent of the total cost of their schooling. By 1994, however, the percentage of Catholic children in Catholic schools had dropped to 18 percent, and the parishes paid 25 percent of the cost (p. 209). The escalating rate of tuition placed an enormous burden on middle- and lower-income Catholic families and resulted in a higher percentage of children from upper-income Catholic families in attendance at Catholic schools, with a corresponding decline of children from lower-income Catholic families.

Catholic Schools in the Third Millennium. Catholic school enrollment continued to decline in the early years of the third millennium. Figures from the NCEA in 2005, for instance, reveal that in 2004–2005 enrollment stood at 2,484,252—of which over 1.8 million were in elementary/middle schools (p. 1). It is interesting to note that minorities made up over 27 percent of that figure, and that over 325,000 of these students were not Catholic. That same year, 95 percent of the 160,153 member professional staff were lay persons, while only 5 percent were religious, of whom 3.7 percent were nuns, 0.7 percent were brothers, and 0.6 percent were clergy (p. 2).

These demographics have led to a number of developments. One is the sponsorship of Catholic private schools by religious orders. One consequence of this trend has been the development of methods to instill the charism of the respective order in the sponsored school. Another result has been the sponsorship by certain colleges and universities of students who volunteer to teach in under-resourced Catholic schools. These teachers commit to several years of teaching and living in community, and they have a communal spiritual life. The fourteen institutions involved (all but one Catholic) form the University Consortium for Catholic Education.

Several religious orders have started schools that are not tuition driven, such as the Cristo Rey high schools (modeled on the Cristo Rey Jesuit High School of Chicago). These schools enter into a partnership with the local business community and derive their support from that community. There are also a number of philanthropic groups that contribute to the financial support of Catholic schools, such as the Big Shoulders Fund in Chicago and the Children's Scholarship Fund (CSF) in New York City (the CSF also has many affiliates across the nation). These funds enable children from the lower socioeconomic classes, regardless of their religious affiliation, to attend Catholic schools, and in some instances their aid keeps the schools open. Catholic schools themselves have turned to marketing. Catholic high schools were the first to hire development directors, and a number of elementary schools, which have long been supported by parishes, have adopted the practice.

With the scarcity of clergy and vowed religious, lay Catholics have assumed leadership positions in Catholic schools in growing numbers, not only in the professional staff but in the rapidly expanding school board movement as well. These individuals have taken leadership positions in the ministry of Catholic education. Catholic K-12 schools in the United States, with a long and storied history of serving the Church and nation, have successfully met a myriad of challenges. They face, however, new and equally formidable challenges in the third millennium.

SEE ALSO Baltimore, Councils of; Education (Philosophy of); Education, Catholic (Higher) in the United States.

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ELIA DI SAN CLEMENTE, BL.

Nun of the Order of Discalced Carmelites; b. January 17, 1901, Bari Vecchia, Italy; d. December 25, 1927, Bari Vecchia, Italy; beatified March 18, 2006, by BENEDICT XVI.

Christened Theodora Fracasso in the church of San Giacomo, Elia di San Clemente was one of nine children born to Joseph Fracasso and Easter Cianci. Four of her siblings died in early childhood. Her father, who had had little education because he left school to help his family, supported his wife and children with his painting and construction business. Her mother taught the children about God.

When she was about four or five, Dora, as her family called her, dreamed of a nice lady surrounded by blooming lilies. When she described the dream, her mother explained that she had seen Our Lady, and from that day on Dora had an ardent desire to live for God.

Dora went to third grade under the Stigmatine Sisters and, after a long, careful preparation, she received her first communion on May 8, 1911, at the age of ten. The night before her communion, she dreamed that St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus told her she, too, would become a nun. Dora then learned sewing and embroidery and became part of the Blessed Imelda Lambertini Society. She and her friends spent time in prayer and reading the GOSPEL and other religious books, including *The Life of St. Teresa of Jesus* as well as the lives of other saints.

On April 20, 1914, she became a novice in the Dominican Third Order. Because she was so young, she received special dispensation to make her profession on May 14, 1915, at the age of fourteen. In 1920 she entered the Discalced Carmelite Monastery of St. Joseph and took the name Sr. Elia di San Clemente. She taught embroidery to young girls but was dismissed from the position. Afterward she spent much of her time in her cell, sewing altar cloths. She made her solemn profession on February 11, 1925.

Beginning in January 1927, she had frequent, painful headaches that she called "her little brother." She refused medicine, because she said the headaches drew her to God. On December 21 she came down with a fever and headache, which were dismissed as her usual ailments. A doctor was not called until December 24, after she had gone into a coma. Her condition was diagnosed as possible meningitis or encephalitis. Sr. Elia died the following day at noon. She had said she would die on a feast day, and indeed she did. She left the world on Christmas, the day of Our Lord's birth. Sr. Elia was beatified March 18, 2006, at a Mass at the Cathedral of Bari presided over by Archbishop Francesco Cacucci of Bari-Bitonto, who called her "the little Saint Teresa of Italy."

Feast: December 25.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; CARMELITES, DISCALCED; DOMINICANS; THÉRÈSE DE LISIEUX, ST.

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EMMERICK, ANNA KATHARINA, BL.

Augustinian nun, mystic, stigmatic, and visionary; b. September 8, 1774, Flamschen, a village near Coesfeld, Westphalia, Germany; d. February 9, 1824, Dülmen, Westphalia; beatified by Pope John Paul II on October 3, 2004.

Anna Katharina Emmerick was born into a large peasant family. Her humble childhood was characterized by a profound piety, an extraordinary spirituality, and religious expressions of ascetic self-denial. At the age of twenty, after laboring as a seamstress, her ardent faith called her to the religious life. She sought to enter several convents, but was unsuccessful due to her poverty. In an effort to be accepted by the POOR CLARES in Münster, she attempted to learn the organ, but devoted herself instead to helping the poor family with whom she was lodging.

At the age of twenty-eight, she finally began her novitiate at the Augustinian convent of Agnetenberg in Dülmen and professed her religious vows one year later in 1803. Until the convent was forced to close in 1811, her years spent there were marked with much physical and emotional suffering. Her extraordinary spiritual gifts of ecstasy, religious obedience, and zeal soon made her the object of curiosity and jealousy among her religious sisters. Enduring persistent pain in body and soul, she understood her affliction to be the manifestation of the mystical crown of thorns, which she freely accepted when offered to her in a vision by CHRIST, her Divine Spouse. She attributed her frequent illnesses to her desire to take on the suffering of others.

In 1811 she began to experience severe pain in her hands and feet. The following year she received several recurring wounds on her body, each in the shape of a cross. Beginning in December 1812, the stigmata on her forehead, hands, feet, and side painfully bled and illuminated rays of light. Soon thereafter she fell bedridden and was unable to eat, consuming no food except the Holy Eucharist. Beginning the following year, after physicians and ecclesiastical authorities thoroughly examined her condition, she was frequented by a great variety of people. She continued to suffer her bleeding stigmata for the rest of her life, especially during LENT.

Of great significance are her striking visions of Christ's passion. Over a period of five years, the poet Klemens Brentano (1778–1842) copiously transcribed her visions in the most vivid detail. Anna Katharina likewise had visions concerning the life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which Brentano also recorded. Encouraged by local bishops who regarded the visions as edifying inspirations of piety, Brentano eventually published the writings.

Anna Katharina was beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II on October 3, 2004. In his homily the Holy Father referred to her as the "Mystic of the Land of Münster," who not only told of the sorrowful passion of Christ, but physically lived it in her body. Through her example of uniting her own suffering to the suffering of Christ, "she passes on to all the saving message: Through the wounds of Christ we have been saved."

Feast: February 9.

SEE ALSO AUGUSTINIANS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); STIGMATIZATION; VISIONS.

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ERRICO, GAETANO, ST.

Priest and founder of the Missionaries of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Secondigliano, Italy; b. October 19, 1791, Secondigliano; d. October 29, 1860, Secondigliano; beatified April 14, 2002, by Pope JOHN

PAUL II; canonized October 12, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

The second of nine children, Gaetano was the son of pasta factory manager Pasquale Errico and his wife Marie Marseglia, a weaver. Gaetano applied for admission to the Capuchin and Redemptorist seminaries at fourteen; he was rejected by both orders because of his age. At sixteen, he was accepted into the seminary for the Diocese of Naples. Because his parents' financial circumstances prevented Gaetano from boarding at the seminary, he lived at home and walked five miles to and from school. The young seminarian was a daily communicant and devoted his free time to comforting the sick and promoting the value of a catechetical education among the town's youth.

On September 23, 1815, Fr. Errico was ordained in the cathedral of Naples. He was assigned to teach and distinguished himself in the field for twenty years. Fr. Errico also served as a parish priest. In 1818, during his annual retreat to the Redemptorist house in Pagani, in the diocese of Salerno, Fr. Errico received a vision of St. ALPHONSUS LIGUORI, in which he was told to found a new religious order and build a church dedicated to Our Lady of Sorrows in Secondigliano.

The humble priest accepted the challenge. Though early community support for the project was undermined by petty rivalries and concerns about the costs of the construction, Fr. Errico remained undeterred. Sustained by his dedication to the Blessed Virgin, he continued his work, and the church was completed; it was consecrated on December 9, 1930.

Fr. Errico also supervised the building of a nearby house that would serve as headquarters for the new congregation. Fr. Errico initially offered it as a place of retreat for priests, and he counseled his visitors on the importance of missionary work. He commissioned a statue of Our Lady of Sorrows from Neapolitan sculptor Francesco Versella, insisting that the final product be consistent with his vision of the Blessed Virgin. It was installed at Secondigliano in 1835 and became a destination site of pilgrims soon after. In 1836 Fr. Errico received a divine revelation that his new order be dedicated to the Sacred Hearts of Christ and the Blessed Virgin.

Fr. Errico drew statutes and obtained approval for the order; he opened a novitiate in October 1836. The congregation grew over the years, with several houses opening throughout southern Italy. In 1846 Pope PIUS IX granted final papal approval for the Missionaries of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. Fr. Errico was elected superior general and, indeed, was known in the lay and religious communities as "O Superiore." Personally and through the work of the religious order he created, Fr. Errico served as a tireless champion for those who were sick or suffering physical or spiritual pain. He fasted and followed austere methods of personal penance and self-sacrifice and spent countless hours hearing confessions.

Fr. Errico died in 1860. In 1876 Pope LEO XIII declared him Venerable. In 1952 Salvatore Caccioppoli was cured, without medical intervention, of a life-threatening perforated duodenal ulcer after he prayed with a relic of Venerable Errico. Pope John Paul II approved the miracle and signed a decree of BEATIFICATION on April 14, 2001. In beatifying Venerable Errico, the pope noted the former's devotion to "welcoming and listening to penitents." He lauded Blessed Errico's commitment to proclaiming "the greatness of the mercy of God." At the canonization ceremony on October 12, 2008, Pope Benedict XVI declared that St. Gaetano Errico was "enrolled among the extraordinary priestly figures who tirelessly made the confessional the place for dispensing God's mercy, helping people to find themselves, fight against sin and progress on the path of the spiritual life."

Feast: October 29.

SEE ALSO CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); REDEMPTORISTS.

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ESCRIVÁ DE BALAGUER Y ALBÁS, JOSEMARÍA, ST.

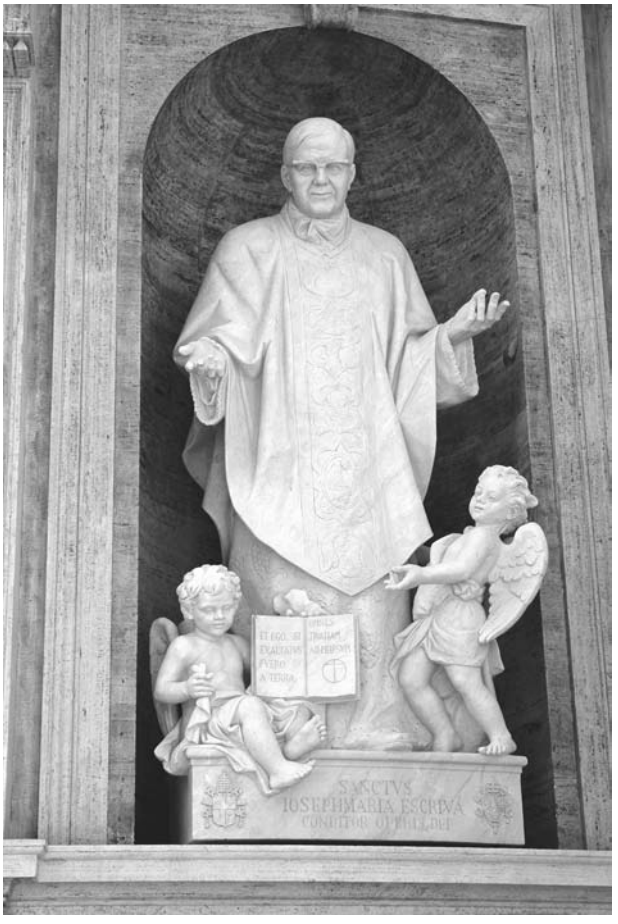
Founder of the Prelature of the Holy Cross and OPUS DEI; b. Barbastro, Spain, January 9, 1902; d. Rome, Italy, June 26, 1975; beatified May 17, 1992; canonized October 6, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Early Life and Education. The second of six children of José Escrivá and María de los Dolores Albás, Josemaría Escrivá entered the seminary and began to study law at the University of Saragossa. He received a doctorate in law from the University of Madrid in 1939. Upon completing his seminary formation in Saragossa, he was ordained a priest on March 28, 1925. Later, he received a doctorate in theology from the Pontifical Lateran University, Rome. His priestly work began in the rural parish of Perdiguera and continued in Madrid, where he cared for university students, priests, workers, and people from all backgrounds, while dedicating many hours to children, the sick, and the poor.

Opus Dei. On October 2, 1928, upon seeing his vocation from God, he founded Opus Dei, so that all might realize that God calls them to holiness, each in their own place in the world. Thereupon, he dedicated his life to teaching that God calls us in the ordinary circumstances of life and that these ordinary circumstances become the very substance of sanctification when one works with a loving response to God's grace and with apostolic zeal for souls by striving to draw others closer to God. In the papal decretal letters of canonization (October 6, 2002), Pope John Paul II confirmed Escrivá's message by explaining that when work becomes a personal encounter with Christ, it is a wellspring of inexhaustible fruitfulness and a means for "lifting up the Cross and placing it on the summit of all human activity, so that the world is transformed ... from within, according to the Spirit of Christ, and reconciled with God" (*Romano* 2002, p. 198).

While celebrating Holy Mass in 1943, Escrivá received a new foundational grace that led to the birth of the Priestly Society of the Holy Cross within Opus Dei. The Priestly Society consists of priests who were lay faithful of Opus Dei and are incardinated into the prelature after ordination to the priesthood, as well as other secular priests who are called to live the vocation of Opus Dei by sanctifying their diocesan priesthood.

In 1946 Escrivá moved to Rome. While frequently traveling throughout Europe, he expanded and consolidated the apostolic work of Opus Dei and promoted a vast range of initiatives on all continents to promote human dignity and further advance the GOSPEL in society. In the last years of his life, from 1970 to 1975, while continuing to govern Opus Dei from Rome, he carried out an extensive work of catechesis throughout Latin America and in various European countries.



A Memorial. *A statue of Opus Dei founder José Maria Escrivá, canonised 2002, in an exterior niche of Rome's St. Peter's Basilica.* © **MARION KAPLAN/ALAMY**

Scholarly and Spiritual Writings. In addition to historical, juridical, and theological writings, Escrivá wrote widely read spiritual books that have been translated into many languages, including *The Way* (1953), *Holy Rosary* (1953), and *Christ Is Passing By* (1974). International media interviews with Escrivá were collected in *Conversations with Msgr. Escrivá de Balaguer* (1968), a publication that concludes with his homily "Passionately Loving the World," delivered on the campus of the University of Navarre on October 8, 1967, in the presence of forty thousand people. *The Way*, first published in a shorter version in 1934 under the title *Consideraciones espirituales*, had sold five million copies in nearly fifty languages by 2009.

Beatification and Canonization. Addressing a crowd of more than 200,000 faithful gathered on May 17, 1992, in St. Peter's Square in Rome for Escrivá's BEATIFICATION, Pope John Paul II said that Escrivá "untiringly preached the universal call to holiness and apostolate" with "supernatural intuition" (*L'Osservatore Romano* 1992, p. 1). After his beatification, Escrivá's body was entombed in the main altar of the Prelatic Church of Our Lady of Peace in Rome, above the crypt where he had been buried after his death in 1975.

On December 20, 2001, John Paul II approved the decree *super miro* confirming a miraculous cure attributed to the INTERCESSION of Escrivá. In November 1992, an orthopedic surgeon, Dr. Manuel Nevado of Badajoz, Spain, was cured of cancerous, chronic radiodermatitis, in its third and irreversible stage, on his hands. The cure was very rapid (about two weeks), complete, lasting, and scientifically inexplicable and allowed Dr. Nevado to return to his professional work.

On October 6, 2002, in St. Peter's Square, John Paul II canonized Escrivá before a crowd even larger than that of his beatification. The overflow extended into the nearby streets and all the way to the Tiber River, even to Castel Sant'Angelo. In the decree of canonization, John Paul II declared Escrivá "the saint of ordinary life" (*L'Osservatore Roman* 2002, p. 198). And in a discourse on October 7, 2002, in St. Peter's Square, John Paul II declared that Escrivá's deep appreciation for divine filiation led him to teach how to contemplate "the tender face of a Father in God.... A Father who loves us ... and waits for a response of love from each one of us" (*L'Osservatore Romano* 2002, p. 8).

Escrivá challenged especially the laity to place Christ at the apex of all human activity by passionately loving the world. In a 2002 article titled "St. Josemaría: God Is Very Much at Work in Our World Today," Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger (Pope BENEDICT XVI) explained how Escrivá corrected an erroneous concept of holiness, understood as doing great or important things or being superior to others or living in a world apart. Rather, Ratzinger explained that, for Escrivá, holiness consists in being "simply transparent and available for God's work.... Being holy is nothing other than speaking with God as a friend speaks to a friend. That is holiness." Those who enjoy an uninterrupted conversation with God can dare to respond to the challenges of this world and, as Ratzinger concluded, "are no longer afraid because those who are in God's hands always fall into God's hands. This is how fear disappears and, instead, the courage is born to respond to the contemporary world."

Feast: June 26.

SEE ALSO LAY SPIRITUALITY.

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EUPHRASIA OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS, BL.

Baptized Rose (Rosa) Eluvathingal, also known in religion as Blessed Eufrasia of the Sacred Heart of Jesus Eluvathingal; mother superior of the Congregation of the Mother of Carmel; b. October 17, 1877, Edathuruthy, Thrissur, Kerala, India; d. August 29, 1952, Ollur, Thrissur, Kerala, India; beatified December 3, 2006, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Christened Rose Eluvathingal, Euphrasia of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was born to a pious mother, who taught her about St. ROSE OF LIMA, and young Rose aspired to be like the saint. At age nine, Rose had a vision of Mother Mary and, from then on, gave herself to God. Her father, the well-to-do owner of coconut plantations, wanted her to marry into wealth, so he opposed her entering the convent. Rose remained ardent in her devotion, and she fasted and prayed. Following her younger sister's sudden death, her father relented and allowed her to enter the convent of the Congregation of the Mother of Carmel.

Rose did not have an easy adjustment to religious life because she frequently suffered from illnesses, and the sisters even considered sending her away. She, however, received a miraculous healing that allowed her to become a postulant on May 10, 1897. She took the name Euphrasia of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and received the holy habit of Carmel on January 10, 1898. She made her perpetual vows on May 24, 1900, the day of the founding of St. Mary's Convent, where she served as novice mistress from 1904 to 1913. Sr. Euphrasia earned a reputation as the "Praying Mother." Carmelite sisters were cloistered, so she could not leave the convent, but many people came to her for help with problems. She trusted God's grace during her bouts of illness, some of which led to visions and others to tortures from evil spirits. Bishop John Menachery of Trichur Diocese asked her to write about her spiritual life, and he kept her letters, which proved inspirational.

Sr. Euphrasia did not feel qualified to take over as superior of the convent in 1913, but she was obedient when asked to do so. She put a statue of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the center of the convent and turned the administration over to Him for the three years she held the post.

After her death on August 29, 1952, two children—one dumb and one lame—who visited her tomb claimed to be healed. Others also said miracles occurred there, including the remission of bone cancer. In 1990 her remains were moved to the convent chapel.

Pope JOHN PAUL II declared her Venerable on July 5, 2002, and Pope Benedict XVI, who beatified her on December 3, 2006, noted her charismatic gifts and her selflessness during an outbreak of cholera. Varkey Cardinal Vithayathil sent out a pastoral letter to be read in all Syro-Malabar churches on November 12, 2006, in which he praised her PATIENCE, HOLINESS, and stability in the faith.

Feast: August 29.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; INDIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; SACRED HEART, DEVOTION TO.

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Regensburg Address. *Pope Benedict XVI giving a speech at the Regensburg University, September 12, 2006.* **OSSERVATORE ROMANO ARTURO MARI/AFP/GETTY IMAGES**

EUROPEAN UNION AND THE PAPACY

The European system of absolute state sovereignty was introduced by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The PAPACY, which is the world's oldest transnational institution, had reservations about the system from the start. Papal concerns intensified following the French Revolution of 1789 and during the Napoleonic Era (1800–1814), when nationalism bolstered state sovereignty in Europe. It was felt that this posed a threat to the multinational states such as Austria, Russia and the Ottoman Empire, and the Papal State, which formed the basis of the Pope's temporal power. This development was criticized in the nineteenth century by Pope GREGORY XVI (1831–1846) in his *mirari vos* of 1832, and by PIUS IX (1846–1878) in *quanta cura* and its "Syllabus of Errors" of 1864. Pius also opposed the *risorgimento*, the movement for Italian unification, due to similar objections. In fact, the papacy did not officially come to terms with Italy until the conclusion of the Lateran Accords of 1929.

Papal concerns about the dangers of excessive state sovereignty and nationalism prevailed during the early twentieth century, as nationalist agitation in the multinational Habsburg state and the Franco-German rivalry contributed to the outbreak of WORLD WAR I. During the course of that conflict, Pope BENEDICT XV (1914–1922) invoked an alternative system of international relations, and he later proved supportive of the League of Nations championed by President Woodrow Wilson of the United States at the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920). Pius XI (1922–1939), like his predecessor, supported the league, and he also warned of the danger of excessive nationalism and state idolatry in his *mit brennender sorge* of 1937. His successor, PIUS XII (1939–1958), had to confront the consequences of WORLD WAR II, which he attributed, in part, to the excesses of national state sovereignty. Indeed, in his first encyclical, *summi pontificatus* (1939), he argued for a limitation on state authority. Confronted by the devastation of the war, Pius hoped that the United Nations, formed at the war's end, would prove more successful than the League of Nations in the preservation of peace.

Pius XII Favors European Integration. Within war-torn Europe, Pius championed economic and political integration as a means of easing people's suffering and effecting a reconciliation between the victors and the vanquished, while also serving to stop Soviet expansion into Western Europe. His vision was shared by the Christian Democratic leaders who emerged in the postwar period, including Robert Schuman of France, Konrad ADENAUER of West Germany, and Alcide de GASPERI of Italy. These men, and the parties they led, seconded the papal commitment of defending Western Europe against the Soviet Union and defending the

"free" capitalist economy against the communist alternative.

Economic realities, as well as the emergence of the Cold War (1945–1990) and American pressure, contributed to the call for some form of supranational and intergovernmental European union. In fact, the first step toward integration followed the American insistence in 1947 on the establishment of a European organization to distribute the U.S. aid provided by the European Recovery Program, commonly known as the Marshall Plan. This led to the formation in 1948 of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) by seventeen Western European nations. A year later the Council of Europe was established to advance European integration. Its task proved difficult, however, as the Eastern European states, pressured by Joseph Stalin, refused to participate, and a number of Western European states, particularly Great Britain, were fearful of any infringement on their sovereignty and offered only a limited commitment. Pope Pius XII, citing the supranational nature of the Church, regretted the obstacles placed in the path of European union. In his Christmas message of December 1948, he again rejected absolute state sovereignty and invoked an alternative.

European Economic Integration. The resistance to political integration and the determination of a number of states to protect their national sovereignty led Europeanists, such as the French foreign minister Robert Schuman and the economist Jean Monnet, to call for a pooling of the continent's coal and steel resources and production. In May 1950 they proposed placing Franco-German coal and steel production under a common authority and having other European states join this economic entity. Following their suggestion, the Treaty of Paris was signed in April 1951, and in 1952 six countries—France, Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg)—established the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). Britain, still concerned about the infringement of its sovereignty, refused to join, and it also rejected the European Defense Community (EDC), which was proposed in 1950 in order to provide for a unified European army. British unwillingness to participate, combined with other domestic factors, led the French to torpedo the EDC in 1954.

However, the French did not abandon plans for the establishment of economic integration, and they proposed the establishment of a European Economic Community (EEC). This was created by the Rome Treaties of 1957, which abolished tariffs between member states and made provisions for a common tariff on goods from non-EEC countries. These objectives were achieved by 1968 under the guidance of four entities: (1) the Council of Ministers, (2) a directing Commission, (3) the Court of Justice, and (4) the European Parliament. A separate treaty established the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). The objectives of the EEC were applauded by Pius XII, and he cataloged the advantages provided by the European organization.

The EEC confronted numerous obstacles, particularly the concern about the diminution of national authority, which delayed but did not stop further integration. To allay the fear of loss of sovereignty the Council of Ministers of the EEC was composed of the foreign ministers (or their representatives) of the various member states, the justices of the court were appointed by the member countries, and the European Parliament was composed of delegates from the various state parliaments. These concessions did not satisfy the British, who suspected that the EEC represented the first step toward European union, for which they were not prepared. Determined to preserve their sovereignty without restriction and retain their special relationships with the United States and the Commonwealth countries, the British refused to join the EEC. Instead, at the end of 1959, Britain formed the loosely structured European Free Trade Association (EFTA), together with Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Portugal, Switzerland, and Austria—popularly known as the "outer seven." The EFTA proved unable to compete with the "inner six," however, leading the British to apply for membership in the EEC in the 1960s. Paradoxically, their entry was now blocked by France's Charles de Gaulle, who charged that the British were not ready to participate in a European union. He was able to prevent their admission because the inclusion of new members required the unanimous approval of all the existing members. In July 1967, the ECSC, Euratom, and the EEC merged into the European Community (EC), indicating its political as well as economic aspirations.

European Political Integration. Only in 1973, when de Gaulle was dead, did France alter its position and approve the admission of Britain, along with Ireland and Denmark, into the European Community. This was the first of six enlargements of the EC. The years that followed saw the entry of Austria, Finland, Greece, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, bringing the membership to fifteen. The year 1993 saw the completion of a single market and yet another name change. That year, the Treaty of European Union (also known as the Treaty of Maastricht) established the European Union (EU), whose membership soon increased. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the reunification of Germany and withdrawal of Soviet forces from Eastern Europe in 1990, and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, an additional twelve states were approved for admission into the EU, with ten entering in May 2004 (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithua-

nia, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia). Bulgaria and Rumania were admitted in January 2007, bringing the total membership to twenty-seven. Several extra-European dependencies and overseas territories of member states—such the Azores, Canary Islands, French Guiana, and Martinique—also form part of the European Union.

European states that have been tentatively approved for membership are known as "official candidates." In 2007 these included Croatia, whose independence was recognized by the Vatican in 1992; Turkey, which applied for membership as early as 1987; and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Other states, whose applications have not yet been reviewed and approved, are deemed "potential candidates." In 2007 these included Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia. Although the EU does not have an official capital, Brussels, which houses many of its offices and institutions, unofficially serves that role.

Nature of European Union and Papal Response. European integration has evolved in the post–World War II period. The nature as well as the numbers have changed, bringing many of the formerly Communist Eastern European and Baltic states into the Western orbit and, in the view of Pope JOHN PAUL II (1978–2005), weaning them from atheism and placing them within a Christian ambience. In this fashion, the EU has helped end the split between capitalism and communism, between democracies and dictatorships. Its expansion and evolution brought institutional changes, and 1979 witnessed the first direct election of members of the European Parliament, who serve a term of five years. The representation in the Parliament is based on population, and in 2007 Germany had the most seats (99), while Malta had the fewest (5).

One of the articles of the Treaty of Maastricht stipulated that those who wished to join had to have a governmental system based upon democratic principles. Subsequently, in a meeting at Copenhagen, the member states elaborated three other criteria for entry, known as the Copenhagen criteria: (1) the need for stable institutions to guarantee their democratic government, respect for human rights, and the rule of law; (2) a functioning market economy capable of coping with the competitive forces within the Union; and (3) the ability to implement the changes and practices determined by the members. The Vatican appreciated the EU's respect for human rights and its efforts to promote peace and prosperity in the European community and beyond. It concurred with the decision to abolish the death penalty and appreciated the EU's Latin motto: *In varietate concordia* (United in Diversity). John Paul II was supportive of the EU, though he did not approve all of its actions or all of the provisions of the Charter of Fundamental Rights that the EU proclaimed in Nice in December 2000, especially those articles that contradict the Church's teaching. His successor, BENEDICT XVI, who was elected in 2005, has taken a similar position of general support, with reservations about certain policies.

Although the population of Europe is religiously diverse, Christianity—in the form of Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, and Eastern Orthodoxy—remains the most widespread and influential faith in the officially secular European Union. The Christian contribution has been recognized by the EU's reference to Christianity as part of the "European heritage." Near the end of 1991, Pope John Paul II, concerned about the future of Catholicism in Europe, convoked the first Synod of European Bishops, which included seventy bishops from Western Europe and fifty from its eastern half. Its final declaration, which acknowledged the influence of Judaism and Islam in Europe, proclaimed the special role of Christianity on the European continent, which they insisted provided the basis for its foundation. Thus, the bishops and the Vatican have been distressed by those positions taken by the EU that challenge Church principles and teaching. In February 1994, John Paul II assailed the resolution by the European Parliament that supported the right of homosexual couples to marry and adopt children, claiming that it legitimized "moral disorder."

Subsequently, during the course of the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in September 1995, the Vatican delegation criticized the position taken by the representatives of the EU on population control as "anti-religious and anti-family." This opposition was outlined by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, who in 2005 became Pope Benedict XVI, assuming the name of the patron of Europe. In his first encyclical, *deus caritas est* (God is Love), promulgated in December 2005, Benedict explained that the Church had no desire to govern the state, but that it could not ignore political developments. He thus showed himself to be determined to preserve Europe's Christian identity, and he looked to the Christian Democratic–European Democratic coalition, the largest political bloc in the European Parliament, to protect Christian interests. However, this coalition did not possess a majority and was reluctant to expose itself to the charge of being subservient to Rome. Nonetheless, Benedict XVI, like John Paul II before him, has continued to emphasize the Christian roots of Europe.

In 2004, a year before becoming pope, Ratzinger, who was the prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, opposed Turkey's entry into the EU, adding his voice to those who objected to Turkey's entrance on the basis of its peripheral geographical location and its occupation of one-third of Cyprus. Benedict's opposition stemmed from his belief that a

predominantly Muslim country would never fit into Christian Europe. Some charged, however, that his use of an anti-Muslim quotation in a speech at Regensburg University in September 2006 represented an attempt to revive the mentality of the crusades and exclude Turkey from the EU. The Vatican denied both accusations, and during Benedict's visit to Turkey, from November 28 to December 1, 2006, he abandoned his position against Turkey's entry into the EU, sought reconciliation with Islam, and prayed in Istanbul's famed Blue Mosque. Benedict's stance, as well as his apology for his use of the controversial quotation, was defended by José Manuel Barroso, the president of the European Commission, one of the three central organs of the EU.

Institutions of the European Union. The Treaty of Maastricht and the Treaty of Rome form the basis for the EU's laws, activities, and institutions. Its principal organs evolved from those of the EEC and the EC and include the European Parliament, the Council of the European Union, and the European Commission. One important change provided that the 785 members of the European Parliament would be elected directly by the citizens of the member states and share legislative power with the Council of the EU, formerly known as the Council of Ministers. The membership of the council is drawn from the ministries of the member states and chaired by the president or prime minister of the country assigned the task. The member countries take turns holding the presidency of the council, with each serving a six-month term. Membership in the council, as in the parliament, is based on population, so larger states such as Germany, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom each held 29 seats of the total of 345 in 2007, while tiny Malta was assigned only 3.

The rights of the smaller states are safeguarded by the provision stipulating that a unanimous vote is required for important matters, such as amending the treaties, initiating a new policy or program, or admitting additional states. Furthermore, since 2004, the European Commission, which functions as the executive of the organization, has been composed of one member from each member state. Likewise, the European Court of Justice is composed of one judge from each member state, who serves a six-year term. The role of the court is to assure that the laws of the EU are followed and its legislation and treaties properly interpreted. The EU has twenty-three official languages, and all but three of the twenty-seven members (Greece, Cyprus, and Bulgaria) utilize the Latin alphabet. In addition, there are some 150 regional and minority languages spoken by some 50 million people. Various religions are followed in the EU, but Christianity remains the largest faith.

Future of European Union. This supranational, intergovernmental EU, which is the world's largest political and economic conglomeration, is more than a confederation, for its legislation takes priority over that of member states. An agreement concluded in 1985 (the Schengen Agreement) provides for the collaboration of its police forces and activities as well as a common asylum and immigration policy. The United Kingdom and Ireland did not accept these terms, and the United Kingdom and others balked at aspects of the Union's monetary policies. In 2005 the EU adopted a comprehensive energy policy that involved a strenuous effort to control carbon dioxide emissions, though the results have been mixed. Furthermore, while some decisions are made by majority vote, the more important ones continue to require unanimity. Clearly, the EU is not yet a federal state, and several moves to enhance the sense of European citizenship and political centralization have been frustrated, particularly the 2004 attempt to provide an EU constitution. The proposed constitution, which was ratified by seventeen members, was rejected by French voters in 2005, and their rejection was repeated by the Dutch soon after. Thus, the future of European constitutionalism and the timetable for closer political union remain uncertain.

On the other hand, economic and fiscal integration have proceeded apace. The EU has a substantial budget, which is provided by custom duties on products imported from outside the EU, a percentage of the value-added tax on goods and services throughout the union, and contributions from member states based on their overall wealth. In 2002 euro notes and coins were adopted, and by 2007 the euro had become a strong international medium of exchange, competing with the dollar and replacing the currency of thirteen member states. The European Central Bank (ECB) has successfully managed the euro as well as the EU's monetary policies, and it has contributed to making the EU the world's largest economy and exporter of goods. Not surprisingly, many (though not all) of the European states that remain outside the union are anxious to join, and the Vatican has generally supported its expansion. While the HOLY SEE has not accepted or sanctioned all the actions and positions of the EU, it has been consistent in asserting the need for this transnational organization.

SEE ALSO CHURCH AND STATE; CHURCH AND STATE (CANON LAW); NATURAL LAW IN POLITICAL THOUGHT.

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EX CORDE ECCLESIAE

Ex corde Ecclesiae ("From the Heart of the Church") is an APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION issued on August 15, 1990, by Pope JOHN PAUL II. It was intended to supplement the Apostolic Constitution on ecclesiastical faculties and universities, *Sapientia Christiana* (1979), by providing for non-ecclesiastical universities and other Catholic institutions of higher learning a description of their nature and purpose and general norms to govern their activities.

Historical Prelude to *Ex corde Ecclesiae*. The Church's interest in learning goes back to APOSTOLIC times, and schools or academies for higher study emerged in the late Patristic and early medieval periods, often connected to monasteries or cathedrals. In the thirteenth century, the Church inaugurated the great universities of Europe in Bologna, Paris, Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere. With the advent of secular intellectual movements of the eighteenth-century ENLIGHTENMENT, the Church needed to reassert the importance of her colleges and universities. Along these lines, Vatican II upheld the essential role of Catholic colleges and universities in investigating new and current questions "according to the example of the doctors of the Church and especially of St. Thomas Aquinas" (*Declaration on Christian Education, Gravissimum educationis*, no. 11).

After Vatican II, social movements emphasizing freedom had an impact on Catholic higher education. The widespread resistance to the condemnation of contraception in Pope PAUL VI's 1968 ENCYCLICAL, *Humanae vitae*, led to the belief that there can be "responsible dissent" from magisterial teaching. During this time, numerous Catholic colleges and universities in the United States, formerly governed by religious congregations, opted for incorporation under boards of trustees consisting mostly of laity. Many presidents and leaders of Catholic colleges and universities also endorsed the 1967 Land O'Lakes statement, which asserted the need for a Catholic university "to have a true autonomy and academic freedom in the face of authority of whatever kind, lay or clerical, external to the academic community itself" (Gallin 1992, p. 7). Leaders of Catholic higher education issued similar (though not as radical) statements at conferences held in Kinesha, Africa (1968), and in Rome (1969 and 1972). In 1973, Cardinal Garrone, Prefect of the Congregation for Catholic Education, wrote a letter responding to *The Catholic University in the Modern World*, the document issued in 1972 by the participants at the ROME conference. The cardinal noted the need for each university "to set out formally ... its character and commitment as Catholic" and to "put into effect proper self-regulation in the sectors of faith, morality, and discipline" (Gallin 1992, p. 60).

In the 1970s, the Congregation for Catholic Education began work on new academic laws governing ecclesiastical faculties and universities, namely, those erected by the APOSTOLIC SEE of Rome. This work culminated in the April 29, 1979, Apostolic Constitution of John Paul II, *Sapientia christiana*. During his visit to the United States in the fall of 1979, John Paul II spoke at THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA to the presidents of Catholic colleges and universities. He made it clear that Catholic universities and colleges "are part of the Catholic community of evangelization," and therefore, "they have an essential relationship to the hierarchy of the Church" (*Address to the Catholic University of America*, October 7, 1979, no. 6). This countered the claim of institutional autonomy from "external" clerical control made in the 1967 Land O'Lakes statement. In this address, John Paul also

underscored the role of bishops in safeguarding the "unity of faith and moral teaching" and the need for theologians to be open to "the truth and the light that comes from faith and fidelity to the Church" (no. 6).

In 1980, the Congregation for Catholic Education began work on a new document to address the nature of a Catholic university. After the revised *Code of Canon Law* was promulgated in 1983, there was also the need to incorporate what canons 807–814 say about Catholic universities. A preliminary *schema* or draft of the document appeared in 1985. Following several years of widespread consultation and revision, John Paul II's Apostolic Constitution, *On Catholic Universities, Ex corde Ecclesiae* (dated August 15, 1990), was issued.

The Document, *Ex corde Ecclesiae.* After an introduction (nos. 1–11), the text is divided into two parts. The first, "Identity and Mission" (nos. 12–49) briefly describes the nature of a university and locates Catholic identity in the Christian inspiration of individuals' and the whole community's "reflection in the light of the Catholic faith upon the growing treasury of human knowledge, to which it seeks to contribute by its own research," "fidelity to the Christian message as it comes to us through the Church," and an institutional commitment to the service both of the PEOPLE OF GOD and of the whole human family (no. 13). Research undertaken at a Catholic university should be characterized by the search for the integration of knowledge, a dialogue between faith and reason, ethical concern, and a theological perspective (nos. 15–20).

The next sections discuss the university community—teachers, students, and administrators (nos. 21–26)—and the university's place and role in the Church, both universal and local, and the responsibility of bishops to promote and assist in the preservation and strengthening of Catholic identity, with due regard to the autonomy of the sciences and to academic freedom in accord with the "principles and proper methods" of each disciple (no. 29). Theologians also "enjoy this same freedom so long as they are faithful" to "the principles and methods" which define theology "as a branch of knowledge" (no. 29).

The mission of the Catholic university is described, first, in terms of its service to Church (no. 31) and to society (nos. 32–37). For the latter the emphasis falls on the university's becoming an "instrument of cultural progress," bringing to bear Christian "ethical and religious principles," promoting social justice, and encouraging interdisciplinary research projects. The Catholic university should also be a place in which pastoral ministry assists an integration of faith and life, demonstrating this by opportunities for community worship and concern for the poor and those suffering injustice (nos. 38–42). The institution should promote the dialogue between the GOSPEL and culture, with special reference to local cultures and contemporary problems. It should in particular promote a dialogue between Christian thought and the modern sciences. It should encourage and contribute to cultural and ecumenical dialogue (nos. 43–47). In all these ways the Catholic university will make an indispensable contribution to the Church's primary task of evangelization (nos. 48, 49).

The second part of the document is devoted to eleven general norms to supplement other ecclesiastical legislation. Article 1 requires that the norms be applied locally and regionally "taking into account the statutes of each university or institute and, as far as possible and appropriate, civil law." The general norms are "to be applied concretely at the local and regional levels by episcopal conferences and other assemblies of Catholic hierarchy in conformity with the *Code of Canon Law* and complementary Church legislation" (*General Norms*, Article 1 no. 2). Article 2 legislates for the Catholic identity, which is to be made known in a public document and preserved by suitable means. Moreover, "Catholic teaching and discipline are to influence all university activities," and "any official action or commitment of the University is to be in accord with its Catholic identity" (Article 2 no. 4). All this should occur with due regard for the freedom of conscience of each person as well as "freedom in research and teaching … according to the principles and methods of each discipline" (Article 2 no. 5). Article 3 lists three different ways in which a Catholic university may be established: by the HOLY SEE, an episcopal conference, or a local bishop; by a religious institute or other public juridical person; by other ecclesiastical or lay people.

Article 4 entrusts the primary responsibility for maintaining and strengthening Catholic identity to the university itself and its officials. All teachers and administrators are to be informed about this Catholic identity and expected to promote or at least respect it in ways appropriate to the different disciplines. Catholic teachers, particularly in theology, are to be faithful to Catholic doctrine and morals, and others are to respect them. Article 4 no. 3 refers to canon 812 of the 1983 *Code of Canon Law* and states that, "Catholic theologians, aware that they fulfill a mandate (*mandatum*) received from the Church, are to be faithful to the Magisterium of the Church as the authentic interpreter of Sacred Scripture and Sacred Tradition." Non-Catholic teachers and students are to recognize and respect Catholic identity, and non-Catholic teachers are not to constitute a majority within the institution; education of all students is to include a formation in ethical and religious principles and courses in Catholic doctrine are to be made available.

Article 5 requires that the university remain in communion with the universal Church and with the local Church; bishops are to promote the good of the institution and have a right and duty to supervise the preservation and strengthening of their Catholic identity; the institution is to make periodical reports to the competent church authority on the university and its activities. Article 6 makes provisions for the pastoral ministry at the institution. Article 7 encourages cooperation among Catholic universities and between them and the programs of governments and other national and international organizations on behalf of justice, development, and progress. Articles 8 to 11 provide transitional guidelines for the application of these norms.

Application to the United States. After *Ex corde Ecclesiae* appeared in 1990, the U.S. Catholic bishops began a long process of dialogue and consultation to formulate guidelines for applying the norms of the constitution to the United States. An ad hoc committee of bishops and universities was formed, directed by Bishop John Leibrecht of Springfield-Cape Girardeau, Missouri. The desire was to produce norms for application that were acceptable to both the presidents of Catholic colleges and universities in the United States and the Holy See. After a 1993 draft proposal, another was produced in 1995, which some groups praised but others, such as the CARDINAL NEWMAN SOCIETY and the FELLOWSHIP OF CATHOLIC SCHOLARS, found deficient. A modified draft received widespread support at the November 1996 meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and it was approved by a vote of 224 to 6. The Holy See, however, refused to give *recognitio* to the document because it lacked the "necessary juridical elements to resolve conflicts" (cf. *Origins* 27, June 12, 1997, pp. 53–55). A revised version of the document, which the U.S. bishops approved at their November 1999 meeting by a vote of 223 to 231, finally did receive the necessary approval, or *recognitio*, of the Congregation for Bishops on May 3, 2000. Published as *The Application of Ex corde Ecclesiae for the United States* in July 2000, the guidelines took on the force of particular law for the United States on May 3, 2001, and they are subject to review every five years.

Not all were pleased with the approved guidelines for implementing *Ex corde Ecclesiae*. Resistance mostly centered on the statement that "Catholics who teach the theological disciplines in a Catholic university are required to have a *mandatum* granted by competent ecclesiastical authority" (NCCB, *The Application of Ex corde Ecclesiae for the United States*, 2000, Part Two, Article 4, 4e, p. 16). Even though this requirement was already clearly stated in canon 812 of the 1983 Code and in *Ex corde Ecclesiae* itself (Article 4 no. 3), some groups were hoping the bishops would not enforce it. The CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA issued a sixty-one-page report arguing that the mandate could have a negative effect on "the credibility of Catholic academics and institutions" and receiving the *mandatum* could be "based on criteria that are ambiguous, ideological or idiosyncratic" (*Academe*, January–February, 2001). The U.S. bishops, though, seemed to dismiss such fears. At their June 2001 General Meeting, they endorsed a set of guidelines for issuing the *mandatum* to theologians in Catholic colleges and universities. These guidelines clearly affirm the need for the *mandatum*, but no penalty is specified for theologians who do not cooperate. The competent ecclesiastical authority, however, is directed to inform the authorities of the Catholic college or university of the theologian's noncompliance.

In addition to the *mandatum*, another significant element of *Ex corde Ecclesiae* has been the expectation that "any official action or commitment of the University" must be "in accord with its Catholic identity" (Article 2 no. 4). Groups such as the Cardinal Newman Society have invoked this directive to criticize funded groups at Catholic colleges and universities that promote legal abortion and/or homosexual relations. This requirement has also been used to protest awards being given to public officials who support abortion and/or other actions in violation of Catholic teaching. *Ex corde Ecclesiae* very likely was an influence on the U.S. bishops' June 2004 statement, *Catholics in Political Life*, which stipulates that, "the Catholic community and Catholic institutions should not honor those who act in defiance of our fundamental moral principles." This statement was widely cited by those who opposed the honorary doctorate of laws bestowed by the University of Notre Dame on President Barack Obama (1961–) at its May 2009 commencement.

SEE ALSO EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (HIGHER) IN THE UNITED STATES; HUMANAE VITAE; MANDATUM, ACADEMIC; SAPIENTIA CHRISTIANA; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); THOMAS AQUINAS, ST.; UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS (USCCB); VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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EXCOMMUNICATION

The term *excommunication* (*excommunicatus*, ἀκοινώνητος) first appeared in Church documents in the fourth century. As the term suggests, excommunication involves a varying degree of "exclusion from the communion of the faithful" (1917 CIC, c. 2257§1). From the beginnings of Christianity, the central realization and embodiment of "the communion of the faithful" has always been the Eucharistic Communion. Hence, it is from the Eucharist, the center of the common socio-mystical life of the FAITHFUL, that the excommunicate is primarily excluded. This is the prime factor characterizing excommunication in all the stages of its historical development.

HISTORY

Excommunication has a long history in the Church. It is helpful, therefore, to begin this discussion with an overview of the major periods through which excommunication has passed on the way to assuming its modern form.

Excommunication in the New Testament. Faced with the scandal of a gravely sinful brother who resisted all correction and rebuke, the New Testament ἐκκλησία (*ecclesia*, that is, the early Christian community or primitive Church) was constrained to isolate such a sinner from its midst (1 Cor 5:2, 13), though without necessarily taking away his membership in the community (see 1 Cor 5:11). The Church was, however, no holy

remnant ruthlessly ridding itself of sinners (see Mt 13:28–30); rather, it remained open to the return of the penitent sinner, so that the segregation of the obdurate sinner had a hopeful outlook (see 2 Thes 3:15; 2 Cor 2:5–11). Even when Saint PAUL uses a seemingly harsh curse, there is still the perspective of hope (see 1 Cor 5:4–5; 1 Tm 1:20).

Matthew 18:15–18 is the classical locus in which the Church, after having vainly tried to turn a sinful brother from his ways, is presented as competent to dissociate the sinner from its midst by a judgment that is divinely ratified. If there can be a "binding" of the sinner in his sinful alienation from God and from God's people, the alternative of a "loosing" of the same sinner always remains, providing the sinner repents and heeds the voice of the Church.

Patristic and Medieval Period. Two factors distinguish the penitential practice of the ancient Church from that of later ages. First, until about the sixth century the grave sinner was permitted to avail himself of the Church's sacramental penitential procedure only once in his lifetime. Second, the canonical, disciplinary phases of PENANCE, imposed by ecclesiastical authority, were closely inserted into the strictly sacramental elements of penance in a unified procedure. The grave sinner, resolved to make his peace with God in the Church, presented himself to the BISHOP, who assigned him, through a liturgical excommunication, to a special category of Christians with a separate and juridically inferior status in the Church. That is, the sinner now belonged to the class of penitents (*ordo paenitentium*). The Church also imposed a varyingly protracted period of public penitential works.

At the close of this period of onerous penance, during which the penitent was publicly cut off from the central life of the Church, the bishop lifted the liturgical excommunication. The penitent was then reconciled to God in the Church and was received once again into communion with the Church, primarily into the Eucharistic life of the Church and a sharing in its whole common life. The excommunication of the sinner was thus a part of the sacramental penitential process, done with the hope of an ultimate reconciliation with God in the Church. The ancient Church wished for as little dissociation as possible between what would now be called the internal and the external forums, or between sacramental penance and the canonical penalty of excommunication.

The decisive step in the widespread development of a canonical excommunication separated from sacramental penance was the gradual introduction, starting in the sixth and seventh centuries, of a sacramental penitential procedure that was repeatable. Once it became possible for the grave sinner to approach the Sacrament of Penance more than once, a more simplified procedure had to be introduced into sacramental penance. By about the eleventh or twelfth century, the external forms of the administration of Penance had become much the same as they are in the early twenty-first century. One result of this development was the gradual, clear emergence, from the seventh century onward, of a canonical disciplinary excommunication, dissociated from its former prominent place within sacramental penance. As a consequence, it was applied not to repentant, but to impenitent, sinners. By the High Middle Ages, and for centuries afterward, the interior and exterior forums were, both in theory and in practice, less intimately associated than in patristic times.

The Meaning of Excommunication to the Penitent. Once it has become clear to a member of the Catholic Church that any culpable dissociation from the common life of the Church marks some measure of disruption of the full interior life of grace in the Body of the Lord, there is less likelihood that members of the Church will exaggerate the admitted distinction between SIN and delict, and consequently between punishment and penance. Just as the theology of sacramental penance has regained a firmer ecclesial dimension, in that the *res et sacramentum* of the sacrament is often described as peace with the Church, so too can canonical excommunication be seen as a firmer delineation of the sinner's alienation from full communion. The lifting of the censure can thus be seen as a preliminary stage to the sacramental absolution, which confers on the repentant sinner the peace with the Church that signifies peace with God.

CANON LAW

Breaches of ecclesial FAITH or order may lead to the declaration or imposition of ecclesiastical penalties. Accordingly, Church members are deprived of certain spiritual or temporal goods of the Church, either temporarily or permanently. Expiatory penalties highlight the ecclesial goods of restoring community order, repairing scandal, and precluding further disciplinary violations. Censures or so-called medicinal penalties are geared much more toward reconciling the offending party with the community.

Excommunication in Canon Law. The most ecclesially significant censure is excommunication, described in the 1917 Code of Canon Law as exclusion from the communion of the faithful, which entails various inseparable effects (cc. 2257–2267). The present code, promulgated in 1983, does not define this most serious penalty, but simply specifies its inseparable effects, such as various

prohibitions to one's involvement in the Church's public life (c.1331). The distinction between "forbidden" excommunicates and "tolerated" excommunicates found in the 1917 code is now gone. The first part of canon 1331 indicates the effects of any excommunication, while the second part describes specific effects of excommunication when there has been a formal intervention by ecclesiastical authority. This may involve either administrative procedure or judicial process before a collegiate court of three judges (c. 1425§1, 2).

An intervention may involve a declaration that an automatic excommunication (*latae sententiae*) has been incurred, or it may entail the infliction of a so-called *ferendae sententiae* excommunication, which means that the judgment of a court or superior is required. The intervention of Church authority lends a special solemnity to the legal situation and results in more serious restrictions on the penalized party.

Some restrictions affecting the excommunicated person are liturgical in character, such as the prohibition of active ministerial participation in the EUCHARIST and other acts of public worship, or the prohibition of celebrating the SACRAMENTS. During the code revision process, it was proposed that penance and anointing be exempted from the aforementioned prohibition, but it was finally decided that the excommunicated person needed to have the penalty remitted before receiving any sacraments. Some restrictions flowing from excommunication are governmental in nature, such as prohibitions of holding various ecclesiastical offices, exercising various ministries or functions, or positing acts of governance. If an excommunication has been formally inflicted or declared, the affected person is also barred from enjoying privileges already acquired; validly acquiring any ecclesiastical dignity, office, or function; and receiving certain ecclesiastical income.

The current law is somewhat circumspect about establishing censures, especially excommunication. Such penalties are reserved for the most serious disruptions of ecclesiastical order (cc. 1318; 1349). Not surprisingly, the revised law notably reduces the number of excommunications specified in the 1917 code. Nine ecclesiastical offenses may make a guilty party liable to an excommunication—seven involve *latae sententiae* or automatic penalties, while two entail *ferendae sententiae* penalties. The following offenses may lead to a latae sententiae excommunication: apostasy, heresy, schism (c. 1364§l); violation of sacred species (c. 1367); physical attack on the pope (1370); absolution of an accomplice (c. 1378§l); unauthorized episcopal consecration (c. 1382); direct violation of confessional seat by confessor (c. 1388§2); and procuring of an abortion (c. 1398). Two offenses may warrant a *ferendae sententiae* excommunication: pretended celebration of Eucharist or conferral of sacramental absolution by one not a priest (c. 1378), and violation of the confessional seal by an interpreter or those other than confessor (c. 1388§2).

The trend toward reducing the number of offenses for which excommunication may be incurred *latae sententiae*, a trend that appeared as early as 1869 under Pope Pius IX, is reflected, as noted above, in the revised Western canon law, and it can be seen even more clearly in the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches (promulgated in 1990), which precludes the automatic incurrence of any sanction, excommunication or otherwise (c. 1402 of the Eastern Code).

The incidence of excommunication has been rising since the mid-1990s, both at the universal level (where excommunications have been imposed or declared in response to illicit or invalid presbyteral and episcopal ordinations) and at the local level (where excommunications have been threatened or applied in response to abortion, offenses against ecclesiastical authority, and physical violence against the innocent). In all such cases, however, one must recall the implications of canon 16, whereby the results achieved in one case are not necessarily indicative of the results to be obtained in similar cases.

Finally, it is important to distinguish between the canonical penalty of excommunication, whose most visible element may be the denial of participation in the Eucharist, and the operation of various sacramental disciplinary norms, particularly canon 915, by which one might be prohibited from approaching the Eucharist. Excommunication is always a response to a canonical crime, while a formal denial of the right to receive Holy Communion, outside of excommunication cases, is a response to gravely offensive, but not specifically criminal, behavior. The juridical requirements to be satisfied prior to the declaration or imposition of excommunication are considerably higher than those to be met prior to suffering a denial of the Eucharist under canon 915, and the reconciliation process for those laboring under canon 915 is simpler than those visited by the sanction of excommunication.

SEE ALSO ANATHEMA; BINDING AND LOOSING; CANON LAW, 1983 CODE; PENANCE, SACRAMENT OF; SCHISM; SOCIETY (CHURCH AS); VISIBILITY OF THE CHURCH.

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FABRIS, EUROSIA, BL.

Known after her marriage as Eurosia Fabris Barban, also known as Mamma Rosa; mother of nine, caretaker of orphans, member of the Franciscan Third Order; b. September 27, 1866, Quinto Vicentino, Italy; d. January 8, 1932, Torri di Quartesolo, Vicenza, Italy; beatified November 7, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Eurosia Fabris, called Rosina by her family, was born to a farming family in 1866. Luigi and Maria Fabris, her parents, moved to Marola when Rosina was four. Because her help was needed on the farm and with household chores, Rosina completed only two grades in elementary school. She had learned to read and write, so she used religious books such as the Holy Scriptures and the Catechism to improve her abilities.

As she grew older, Eurosia helped her mother with dressmaking and later taught this skill to young girls. She made her First Holy Communion at age twelve. Eurosia joined the Association of the Daughters of Mary and taught catechism to children. By the time she was eighteen, many men wanted to marry this pious, hard-working young woman, but she turned them all down.

The following year, a woman in her village died and left behind two daughters, Chiara Angela and Italia, both under the age of two. Their father was caring for ill, querulous relatives, so Rosina took care of the children and cleaned house for them every morning before going off to the fields to work. Her family and the parish priest urged her to marry the father of the young girls. Rosina was reluctant to live in a household with three quarrelsome men, but she agreed to do God's will. After praying about the matter, she wedded Carlo Barban on May 5, 1886. They raised the two girls and were blessed with seven more children.

Mamma Rosa, as she was now called, loved and sacrificed for her husband and children. She was thrifty but never neglected sharing with the poor. Known for her diligent prayer life and spirituality, Mamma Rosa raised her children in the Christian faith, and three of her sons went on to become priests.

She cared for the sick, including her husband, Carlo, who died in 1930. Mamma Rosa, a member of the Franciscan Third Order, or Secular Franciscans, worked to maintain always that spirit of poverty and joy in her home until her death on January 8, 1932, at the age of sixty-five.

Pope PIUS XII held her up as an example for Christian families, and Pope JOHN PAUL II proclaimed her Venerable on July 7, 2003. On February 3, 2005, after settling some misunderstandings among those who were promoting her cause, the diocesan curia of Padova initiated the BEATIFICATION and canonization process. On November 7, 2005, Archbishop Cesare Nosiglia of Vicenza, Italy, presided over a beatification Mass, and Cardinal José Saraiva Martins read the formula for Fabris.

Feast: January 8.

SEE ALSO CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); FRANCISCANS, THIRD ORDER SECULAR.

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FASCISM

The period between the two world wars (1919 to 1939) saw the rise of a new political movement called "fascism," which spread rapidly across much of the European continent. In its wake, democratic institutions were uprooted, labor movements were destroyed, educational systems were "reformed" in order to create a new fascist youth, and novel uses of mass propaganda were employed to spread the movement's hypernationalistic ideology. Most shocking of all, however, was the attempt to exterminate, in a virtual "holocaust," an entire people, European Jewry—an attempt unprecedented in the annals of civilization.

Since the end of WORLD WAR II, scholars and laymen alike have attempted to understand the fascist movements and to make sense of the Holocaust, or Shoah. How could the cultured nations of Europe, with their strong Christian traditions, fall under the spell of an ideology that sparked a second world war and unleashed the horror of the Shoah? What was the response of the Catholic Church to fascism? Did it, as some argue, ignore the evils of fascism for the sake of political accommodation? Or was its relationship with the fascist movements of the interwar period more complex and nuanced?

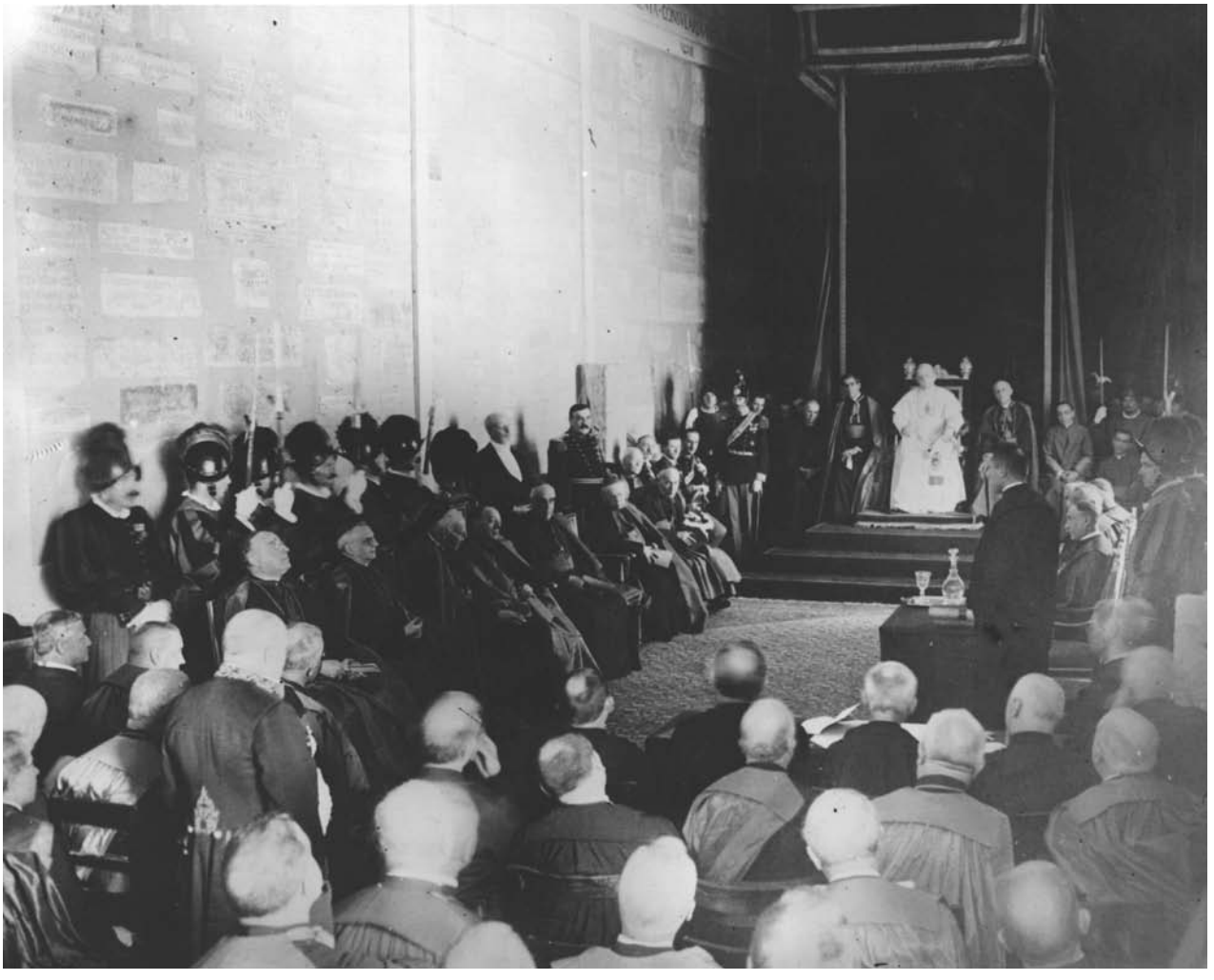
To answer these questions, one must first understand the nature of fascism. This was not a monolithic movement, nor was it a generic concept. Since its birth in the chaos of post–World War I Italy, the term *fascism* has been indiscriminately applied to movements of the political radical right that flourished in the 1930s and 1940s in Europe and, much less so, in Latin America. There are, however, serious problems inherent in such a blanket use of the term, including the inability to reach an objective assessment of the relationship between the Church and fascist movements.

Furthermore, in examining the interaction between fascism and Catholicism, one must recognize the Church's heterogeneous nature. The papal response to fascist movements, while critically important, was not the sum and substance of the Catholic reaction. In countries where fascism flourished, Catholic bishops, lower clergy, Catholic lay movements, political parties, newspapers, intellectuals, and prominent laypersons held a variety of views and followed diverse courses of action. The Catholic interaction with fascism was thus genuinely complex.

Defining Fascism. Historians have long debated the origins of fascism. Some have argued that the intellectual seeds of the movement were sown in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a counterculture that rejected the rationally ordered progress of the industrial age. The work of the naturalist Charles DARWIN seemed to justify theories of racial superiority, while the followers Friedrich NIETZSCHE rejected bourgeois life and looked to the coming of a group of "supermen" who would sweep away the rottenness and sterility of the nineteenth century. In Austria and Germany, this intellectual reaction against reason included proponents of the superior attributes of the German people, or *volk*, and went hand-in-hand with virulent ANTI-SEMITISM. The Futurists in Italy added to this philosophical maelstrom with their glorification of speed, action, and violence and their disdain for the "old order." A modern world that was fast-paced and shorn of traditionalism, led by an elite cadre of men of action, and with power based upon exaggerated nationalism and the uninhibited pursuit of power—this was the pre–World War I intellectual vision that was, in part, the harbinger of the Fascist regimes to come. The political disasters and human carnage of WORLD WAR I and subsequent revolutions, depressions, and inflations created a social vacuum that, for many, the ideology of fascism seemed able to fill.

Fascism may have had antecedents prior to World War I, but it crystallized as a political force and ideology in Italy in the 1920s, and it eventually developed local and national varieties in Europe and beyond, until its advance was halted in 1945. Since then, historians have disagreed on many aspects of the fascist experience, but scholars have tended to coalesce around a general understanding that explains fascism in terms of what it stood for and what it was against. Indeed, while there were many types of fascist movements and regimes, the varieties of fascism shared certain basic characteristics.

All fascist movements were hypernationalistic and sought to do away with the existing political structures in their countries and replace them with an authoritarian or dictatorial model. Their goals were to re-order society in its entirety, to offer a form of social integration that they believed would do away with the destruc-



Pope Pius XI (1922–1939). *Seen here in audience, Pius XI was a strident opponent of communism. He viewed the anticommunism of Fascism favorably.* **TOPICAL PRESS AGENCY/STRINGER/GETTY IMAGES**

tive class warfare of the Marxists and the parasitic control and dominance of wealthy capitalists. This was to be accomplished through a single political party and through a form of government that was called "corporatism" or "national socialism." Fascists decried parliamentary government, but they used the referendum as a mechanism to appeal to the "will of the people."

Fascists glorified violence, and they developed paramilitary party organizations, used modern methods of mass mobilization, and effectively exploited the emotions of huge choreographed rallies that were replete with symbols, music, and myths. In some instances, this myth-making embraced neo-pagan concepts of religion and the outright rejection of institutional churches. Fascists saw themselves as creating a new order that would sweep away the old. There was thus a strong emphasis on the culture of youth, exalting the young, and asserting the nation's rights above those of parents and other institutions in educating the young.

To bring about this revolution, fascism had to destroy pre–World War I European political and social structures. The fascist movements were antiliberal, anticommunist, antidemocratic, anticonservative, anticlerical and even somewhat anticapitalist. Striving for totalitarian societies, fascists sought to eliminate rival institutions, ideologies, and groups. They attacked all opposition political parties, but they especially despised those that they believed emphasized social differences at the expense of the nation, such as workers' parties or clerical parties. As hypernationalist movements, they were unalterably opposed to international institutions and ideologies, such as communism, international socialism, the League of Nations, the Catholic Church, Freemasonry, and the Jews, whom they deemed a state-

less people with questionable loyalty to the nation in which they resided.

While other political regimes of the time shared certain fascist characteristics, they were not necessarily fascist. These included General Francisco Franco's Spain, Admiral Nicholas Horthy's Hungary, Engelbert Dollfuss's Austria, as well as the wartime Nazi client states of Slovakia and Croatia. Some historians have described these states as being ruled by "varieties of fascism," arguing that there are sufficient commonalities to do so. However, Franco, Horthy, and Dollfuss never articulated the need for a totalitarian state, nor did they assert the preeminence of the state over family and religion. These regimes are therefore more properly understood as right authoritarian or radical right in nature, for they relied for support upon monarchy and appealed to the Catholic neocorporatists. These regimes generally supported existing social hierarchies, opposed the secular irrationalism of the fascists, depended upon the military, and were skeptical of paramilitary forces.

Catholicism and Fascism. The view that Catholicism and fascism somehow had a great deal in common is based on a number of factors. Vatican diplomacy in the interwar period sought to protect Catholic interests by concluding treaties, or concordats, with various nations. These concordats, however, often had the unintended consequence of giving Fascist regimes a measure of legitimacy and respectability in the eyes of the Catholic faithful. Concordats were signed, for example, with Fascist Italy in 1929 and Adolf Hitler's Germany in 1933 in an attempt to ensure the continuance of Catholic education, lay activist movements, freedom of worship, and a functioning clergy and independent hierarchy. The concordat policy proved ineffective, however, for the Church's rights under these treaties were frequently ignored by fascist regimes.

The papacies of PIUS XI (1922–1939) and PIUS XII (1939–1958) were marked by an unflagging opposition to communism, which the Church perceived as a mortal enemy of religion. Therefore, the anticommunism of the fascist movements and regimes of the radical right was favorably viewed by the Vatican, the local hierarchies, and most of the lower clergy. In Italy, for example, at the height of the 1920 "Red Scare," many conservative Catholics and churchmen pleaded unsuccessfully with Don Luigi STURZO to ally his Catholic-oriented Italian Popular Party (PPI) with the Fascists to stop the Communists.

In many countries, regimes of the radical right used the social language of papal encyclicals to put forth concepts of the corporatist state that criticized capitalism and communism alike. These nations instituted a modern form of medieval corporatism that regulated relations between labor and capital, while also organizing parliaments on the basis of trades and vocations in order to eliminate class conflict. Italy, Spain, Austria, Portugal, Hungary, Slovakia, and Croatia were nations that gave lip service to the teachings of Pope Leo XIII's *Rerum novarum*, and they thus took on, from time to time, the patina of being "Catholic" regimes. Usually, the adoption of corporatist ideas and institutions was greeted warmly by local Catholic hierarchies and clergy.

Finally, comparisons were drawn between the Church's traditional anti-Judaism and the strident anti-Semitism of many fascist movements. European Catholicism's opposition to the Jews was founded on popular theological perceptions. It stemmed from the Jewish "rejection" of Jesus and included charges of "Christ killing" that had been common among Christians for centuries. The Church sought to convert Jews to Catholicism, but its anti-Judaism often resulted in engendering strong prejudices and acts of discrimination. Nazi and fascist anti-Semitism, however, was rooted in racial, not religious, theory. Jews, whether Christian converts or not, were seen as racially inferior, unredeemable, and destined for segregation and eradication. This latter view was never accepted by the Church and was frequently condemned in the interwar period by the Vatican and by Catholic leaders.

At the Fulda Episcopal Conference of 1931, German bishops reacted to Hitler's racist and supernationalist ideology by forbidding Catholics from joining the National Socialist (Nazi) Party and ordering the clergy to refuse communion to anyone wearing a swastika. However, the influence of anti-Judaism on the European masses may well have left them more susceptible to the more virulent anti-Semitism of HITLER and his Nazis. Almost half a century later, Pope JOHN PAUL II recognized this when he stated, "In the Christian world [of the 1930s and 1940s], the wrong and unjust interpretations of the New Testament relating to the Jewish people contributed to soothing consciences to the point that when a wave of persecutions swept Europe fueled by pagan anti-Semitism,... the spiritual resistence of many was not that which humanity expected from the Disciples of Christ" (Coppa 2006, p. 310).

Genuine Fascist governments took power in Italy and Germany in the interwar period, while quasi-Fascist regimes of the radical right arose in the midst of the chaos of World War II in smaller states like Croatia, Slovakia, Hungary, and Romania. The existence of Catholic political parties, most notably the Center Party in Germany and the PPI in Italy, usually caused problems for the Fascists at the ballot box. The Nazis, for example, did not succeed in penetrating the Catholic regions of Germany to the same extent they did in Protestant areas. The Center Party, which represented both the urbanized and rural Catholic population, largely held on to its voters through the 1933 elections, when the Nazis man-

aged to garner only about 24 percent of the Catholic vote. In Italy, the PPI was a less developed Catholic party in that it was only able to compete when the papal *non expedit*, which urged Catholics not to engage in politics, was completely lifted in 1919. However, with its strong appeal to social justice and Catholic principles, the PPI still managed to compete against both the Fascist and Socialist parties in post–World War I Italy. In Spain, the Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right (Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas, or CEDA), a Catholic party led by José María Gil Robles, drew its support from the peasantry and provincial middle classes, and it competed head-to-head with the Falangists until its dissolution during the Spanish Civil War. Spanish Catholics, however, generally continued to regard the fascist Falange with suspicion. Across Europe, wherever Catholic political parties existed, they often opposed fascist and radical-right parties and competed for votes from the same socioeconomic strata.

In many ways, Catholicism was incompatible with fascism. The Church could not accept the domination of the state over all aspects of life; it rejected hypernationalism as anathema to the universal nature of man; it fought to retain its privileges in education; and it denied the racism of fascist ideologies. Whenever right-wing authoritarian regimes began to toy with totalitarianism and racism, the hierarchies and clergy in those countries reacted negatively. Although there were instances of individual prelates and clergy supporting fascists, the Church was more favorably inclined to traditional authoritarian governments and movements that did not embrace the revolutionary aspects of fascism, such as Franco's Spain, pre-Anschluss Austria, Vichy France, and Slovakia. These regimes tended to repudiate the class struggle, accept corporatism and its critique of both capitalism and socialism, oppose communism, and regard the Church as a pillar of society.

Papal Reactions to Fascism. Pius XI and Pius XII presided over the Church during the years of fascism and dictatorship in Europe. Pius XI, who appointed Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli (later Pius XII) as his secretary of state in 1930, was a strong and outspoken leader. Both Pius XI and Cardinal Pacelli were rabid anticommunists, and they put their faith in a foreign policy based upon treaties with individual nations that protected the rights of the Church. The Vatican signed concordats with all types of governments, including fascist and radical-right regimes, and it was believed that these agreements would protect Catholic interests better than native Catholic political parties could do.

In 1929 the LATERAN PACTS between the Vatican and Fascist Italy put an end to the ROMAN QUESTION and included a concordat that governed church-state relations in Italy. Catholicism was recognized as the state religion, and the Church was granted recognition and protection of its religious and lay institutions. In 1933 the Vatican signed a concordat with the new Nazi government in Germany, and Pius hoped that this would protect Catholic institutions and youth movements from Nazi harassment. In both Italy and Germany, however, the Catholic political parties (the PPI and the Center Party, respectively) were outlawed when Benito MUSSOLINI and Hitler consolidated their power.

Pius XI's papacy was replete with examples of his staunch antifascism and his disdain for the tenets and policies of this new ideology. Early on, Pius articulated a firm opposition to anti-Semitism and racism as fundamentally incompatible with Christianity. He condemned the quasi-fascist ACTION FRANÇAISE as racist and pagan, although it outwardly professed loyalty to the Church. He criticized the totalitarian bent of Italian Fascism in his encyclical *Non abbiamo bisogno* (1931), and he asserted the Church's rights in education in *Divini illius magistri* (1929). Pius also supported the expressions of hostility to Nazism by German bishops in 1931 both at the Fulda Conference and in Bavaria and Prussia, where the hierarchies, even before Fulda, jointly condemned Nazism as contrary to the Faith.

After the 1933 concordat with Germany was concluded, relations between the Vatican and the Nazis did not improve. The sterilization laws, promulgated only months after the concordat's signing, brought vociferous papal protests. In 1934, the Holy Office condemned the Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg's *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, a rambling diatribe against Christianity. Pius then asked the Holy Office to undertake a broad condemnation of the errors of Nazism. The report, which was never publicly issued, was completed in March 1935 and concluded that Nazism and Catholicism were inherently incompatible. On issues ranging from racism to education to the suppression of the Catholic press, Pius made more than thirty protests against Nazism between 1933 and 1936. His criticisms culminated in the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (1937), which denounced the treatment of the Church in Germany, rejected Nazism's totalitarian claims, and protested Nazi efforts to divide the human race on racial grounds.

In the year that followed the publication of this encyclical, Pius XI continued his outspoken attack on Nazism, despite voices in the Vatican that argued for a more diplomatic approach. The Jesuit journal *Civiltà Cattolica* published a series of articles critical of the fascist tendencies toward racism and totalitarianism. Pius himself instructed Catholic universities and seminaries to articulate a Catholic basis for opposition to Nazi theories, calling them "ridiculous." When the Austrian primate, Theodor Cardinal INNITZER, gave the Nazi salute upon leaving a voting booth during the plebiscite

approving the Nazi takeover of Austria, he was summoned to Rome by an angry pontiff and saw his power curtailed in his diocese. Pius was outraged as he witnessed Italy move closer to Germany. When Mussolini issued Italy's first set of racial laws, the pope condemned them and urged Italian Catholics to ignore them. In a final act, as Pius grew steadily more infirm, he instructed an American Jesuit, John La Farge, to draft an encyclical condemning the evils of anti-Semitism, racism, and racial myths. The draft, entitled *Humani generis unitas*, was completed in late September 1938, but it did not reach the pope until three weeks before his death in February 1939. It was never published.

Pius XI's closest collaborator, Cardinal Pacelli, was quickly elected pope in 1939, taking the name Pius XII. Although Pacelli had carried out the Vatican's policies toward fascism in the 1930s as secretary of state, he was more cautious than Pius XI. He agreed with Pius XI that fascism was a serious threat to Catholicism and incompatible with the Faith, but he did not share his belief that the papacy had a moral responsibility to speak out regardless of the consequences. On more than one occasion, Pacelli served as a moderating voice and a brake on Pius XI, as the Vatican struggled to deal with increasing Fascist and Nazi threats. The fact that Cardinal Pacelli was elected in a conclave that lasted just one day indicates that there were many cardinals who shared his more prudent approach toward the dictators.

There is a great deal of controversy surrounding the papacy of Pius XII during the years of World War II. His detractors claim that he abdicated moral responsibility with his "silence" in the face of the monstrous crimes of the Holocaust, while his defenders point to his wartime statements and his quiet diplomacy on behalf of the Jews. It is clear that Pius XII took a careful and diplomatic approach to the coming of the war, scrupulously avoiding any public perception of favoritism for one side or the other. He sought to preserve diplomatic channels with all combatants and protect the Church's interests. Pius XII feared that an energetic and outspoken policy would only create more misery for the persecuted and more problems for the FAITHFUL.

In his first encyclical, *Summi pontificatus* (1939), the new pope condemned, in more subtle language than his predecessor, the deification of the state and the destruction of the principle of human solidarity. Pius XII attempted to keep Italy out of the war and expressed sympathy with the peoples of the Low Countries when the Nazi war machine overran them. In 1940, the Vatican condemned anew the German sterilization laws and Vatican radio denounced atrocities that had been reported at the Dachau concentration camp. However, Pius's condemnations were largely of war in general and of unspecified violations of human rights. His reluctance to condemn specific regimes and crimes applied to both sides equally, as he remained largely silent concerning the atrocities of both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

In Pius's 1942 Christmas radio broadcast, the pontiff alluded to the destruction of the Jews by expressing sorrow for those who, through no fault of their own except their race or nationality, were being killed or condemned to a slow death. By May 1942, some officials in the Vatican Secretariat of State began to realize that Jews were being systematically destroyed in Nazi-occupied Europe. Although the pope was aware that some in the Church thought that he would cede the moral high ground by failing to speak out forcefully and specifically, he steadfastly held that public protests and a loss of strict neutrality would only make matters worse. It was not until 1945 that the pope finally expressed publicly what he held privately, branding Nazism a "satanic spectre" that was absolutely contrary to Christianity.

Although Pius XII may not have raised a clear and unmistakable voice of protest, the Church quietly assisted many victims of Fascist and Nazi atrocities. In Croatia, Slovakia, Romania, Vichy France, and Hungary, the Vatican and its allies intervened to assist Jews caught in the Nazi genocide. Many were hidden or given false baptismal certificates or visas to travel to safety in Spain and Portugal, Catholic countries that the Vatican persuaded to cooperate in rescuing Jews. During the Nazi occupation of Rome, thousands of Jews were hidden inside the Vatican and within Church buildings, including the papal summer residence in CASTEL GANDOLFO. Although it is difficult to know exactly to what extent Pius was involved in these activities, it is certain that key Vatican officials and many clergy were specific actors in the rescue of Jews.

The Catholic Church and Fascism in Retrospect. Catholicism's reaction to fascism from 1920 to 1945 was complex. In part, this was a function of the varieties of fascism itself, from Italian Fascism to Nazism to an array of authoritarian regimes of the radical right that were, in many aspects, not fascist at all. Strictly speaking, fascist ideology was incompatible with Catholicism. Pope Pius XI and Catholic leaders made this argument repeatedly in the 1920s and 1930s, although this did not prevent many rank-and-file Catholics from supporting fascist movements. This incompatibility was seen as particularly stark in Catholic circles during the rise of Hitler and Nazism. Unlike Italian Fascism and the neofascism of right-wing authoritarian regimes, Nazism made no pretext of compatibility with Catholicism. Its overt paganism, racism, and totalitarianism brought into sharp focus the fact that Catholicism and fascism could not exist side-by-side for any length of time.

Perhaps the most difficult issue surrounding the Church's interaction with fascism is arriving at an objec-

tive understanding of the early papacy of Pius XII. There is no doubt that Pius XII shared his predecessor's views on the evils of fascism and Nazism. They differed, however, in their views on the most effective response to those evils. Pius XI believed that the Church had to speak out, clearly and forcefully, against fascist tendencies in society. Pius XII was convinced that keeping the Vatican neutral in wartime and relying upon diplomacy was the surest way to oppose fascism while doing the least harm to Catholicism and to the victims of Nazi terror. The correctness of this policy is still debated in historical circles.

SEE ALSO CHURCH AND STATE; HOLOCAUST (SHOAH); FRANCO, FRANCISCO; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS; POLITICS, CHURCH AND; RISORGIMENTO.

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FAWKES, GUY

English conspirator; b. Stonegate, Yorkshire, England, April 13, 1570; d. Old Palace Yard, Westminster, England, January 31, 1606, by hanging.

Although not the originator or leader of the so-called Gunpowder Plot of 1605, Guy Fawkes has survived in history and legend as the symbol of Catholic resistance to the English Reformation. The thwarting of his spectacular plan to blow up the Royal Family and the members of Parliament has been commemorated over the centuries, and his given name has long served as a contemptuous epithet.

The England of Fawkes's childhood was characterized by religious and political ambivalence. Although the Church of England was established by law, many still adhered to Catholicism and were tacitly tolerated. Some still hoped for a return to the "old faith." Such a likelihood diminished in the 1580s after the execution of Queen Elizabeth's (1533–1603) cousin and heir presumptive, Mary Stuart (1542–1587), exiled queen of Scotland, and the outbreak of war with Spain.

Fawkes, the son of a Protestant lawyer in Yorkshire, was officially an Anglican until his father's death and his mother's marriage into a Catholic family. He was thereafter raised as a Catholic in his step-family, and his relatives and friends seem to have been exclusively Catholic. Despite the formal war still being carried on between England and Spain through the end of the century, the decision of young men like Fawkes to enlist in the Spanish army was not regarded as treasonable or even unusual. He was commissioned as an ensign, or junior lieutenant, and served for a number of years against the Dutch in Flanders. Although there is no evidence that Fawkes rendered particularly distinguished service, his experience with various types of munitions would later lead to his connection with the Gunpowder Plot.

The death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603 was at first regarded by many as opening up new possibilities in political and religious affairs. The monarch was succeeded by King James VI of Scotland (1566–1625), son of her old rival, Mary Stuart. Now King James I of England, his attitude toward Catholics was not at first entirely clear. Irish Catholic rebels, for instance, had welcomed Spanish invaders into their country in 1601, but they now fancied that James might be more sympathetic to them than Elizabeth had been. England's Recusants (as the Catholics were formally called in England) shared similar speculations. James I soon demonstrated the skills of evasion and manipulation in matters of religion and politics that would characterize his reign. Only the most optimistic Catholics persisted in the belief that he would do something for them. His conclusion of a peace treaty with Spain in 1604 effectively ended any notion that the champions of the COUNTER REFORMATION would pursue any intervention in the British Isles.

Fawkes, having found neither fame nor fortune in Spanish Flanders, returned to England during this period of frustrated hopes among his old friends and soon



Foiled Plot. *Guy Fawkes brought before King James.* **SIR JOHN GILBERT/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY/GETTY IMAGES**

became a member of a conspiratorial band ready to employ desperate measures. The members in this circle of militants knew Fawkes and were perhaps somewhat inclined to exaggerate his military expertise. They concocted a plan to slay the lords and magnates of England, all at a single stroke, by blowing up Parliament in full session with the king enthroned in their midst. As James I had lost all his credibility with the Catholic plotters, they proposed to replace him with his daughter, Princess Elizabeth (1596–1662), who was rumored to have Catholic sympathies. It was not clear that these beliefs were well founded or that, even if they were, the princess could be diverted from the parliamentary chamber where she would otherwise be killed with her family.

Fawkes now stepped forward to the center of what came to be known as the Gunpowder Plot. Whether he actually conceived the idea of placing hundreds of barrels of gunpowder beneath the parliamentary session or merely assured his friends that he could handle the task for them, Fawkes was now the effective leader of the enterprise. With almost unbelievable good fortune, the conspirators discovered that a cellar beneath the Houses of Parliament was vacant and available for rent to anyone who had anything to store there. Furthermore, no one paid any attention to the dozens of barrels of unknown content that were placed there in the autumn of 1605 during the days leading up to the meeting of the Houses of Parliament.

As with so many other details of this plan, the exact circumstances under which it was discovered are in dispute. One account asserts that a warning to absent himself from the scheduled meeting was sent to a Catholic lord who was still entitled to occupy his hereditary seat. This gentleman then supposedly passed the suspicious message on to the authorities. In any case, the officers of Parliament decided to make a belated inspection of the cellar on November 5, 1605, where they discovered not only a vast store of gunpowder but also Fawkes himself.

Most of the conspirators fled from London but were tracked down and killed. Fawkes was given a summary trial, but with his intentions so obvious and apparently readily admitted by him, his fate was inevitable. He was sentenced to the traditional punishment for high treason: to be hanged, cut down while still alive, and hacked into pieces. In January 1606, Fawkes was taken to a place of public execution. He escaped the more ghastly elements of his sentence, however, by the quick death of a broken neck. Some accounts say that he contrived this more dignified death by leaping from the scaffold before the hangman could adjust the noose properly. In another version of the story, King James himself ordered the

hangman's knot to guarantee a quick death for the would-be assassin, whom he admired for his courage.

Almost from the day of his execution, Fawkes became a historical personage. The Gunpowder Plot and its ringleader would long serve as justification for fear and loathing of Catholics on the part of English Protestants. Taken as evidence of religious fanaticism and loyalty to a foreign prince (the POPE), Fawkes and the conspiracy would be invoked for some 200 years as justification for discrimination against and persecution of Catholics by English Protestants.

Each year the anniversary of the plot was celebrated by burning an effigy known as the Guy. Children marched through the streets chanting, "Do you remember the 5th of November, Gunpowder treason and plot?" In time, *guy* became a verb signifying to mock or torment, and the Guy, originally a noun signifying the effigy made for burning, became a label applied to anyone who was to be treated dismissively. Still later the word *guy* became a casual reference or even form of address used toward both men and women. By the early nineteenth century Guy Fawkes the traitor was being presented in works of fiction as a patriot, champion of freedom, or noble idealist, and this reversal of identity has persisted into the era of film and television.

SEE ALSO CHURCH AND STATE; ELIZABETH I, QUEEN OF ENGLAND; ENGLAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; HENRY VIII, KING OF ENGLAND; JAMES I, KING OF ENGLAND; MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTS; POLITICS, CHURCH AND; RECUSANT; REFORMATION, PROTESTANT (IN THE BRITISH ISLES).

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FELIŃSKI, ZYGMUNT SZCZĘSNY, ST.

Archbishop of Warsaw and founder of the FRANCISCAN SISTERS of the Family of Mary; b. Wojutyn in Volinia, Russia (present-day Ukraine), November 1, 1822; d. Kraków, Austria (present-day Poland), September 17, 1895; beatified August 18, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized October 11, 2009, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Zygmunt (Sigmund) Feliński was raised in a devout Catholic, Polish family. He was eleven when his father died and sixteen when his mother was exiled to Siberia for advocating on behalf of the local farmers. Feliński was learned and cultured. From 1840 to 1850, he studied mathematics at the University of Moscow and French literature at the Sorbonne in Paris. He also took part in the revolt of Poznan in 1848. Feliński returned to Poland in 1851 and joined the diocese of Zytomierz as a seminarian. He was sent to the Catholic Academy of St. Petersburg for his formation and was ordained on September 8, 1855. His first assignment was at a parish in St. Petersburg, followed by a position as professor of philosophy and as spiritual director at the Ecclesiastical Academy. Feliński founded the Congregation of the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary in 1857.

On January 6, 1862, Pope PIUS IX appointed Feliński archbishop of Warsaw, and he was consecrated on January 26, 1862, in St. Petersburg. The Warsaw he inherited had just undergone a siege by the Russians, who had retaliated against the city for its uprising against Russia in 1861. Upon his arrival in February 1862, Archbishop Feliński reconsecrated the cathedral of Warsaw, which had been profaned by the Russian Army, and reopened the city's churches. For the next sixteen months, he regularly visited the parishes and charitable organizations, reformed the programs for the formation of priests, and started an orphanage.

In early 1863, Feliński protested Russia's violent response to the "January Revolt" by resigning from the Council of State, and he petitioned Czar Alexander II (1818–1881) to end the violence. On June 14, Feliński was exiled to Siberia for twenty years. During this time, he became known as the "holy Polish bishop." He cared for the needs of his fellow prisoners, and even managed to build a Catholic church. In 1883 Russia permitted him to enter semi-exile, and Pope LEO XIII transferred him from the archbishopric of Warsaw to the titular See of Tarsus. He left Siberia for the town of Dzwiniaczka (present-day Ukraine). During the next twelve years, he pastored the local people, built the town's first school, and built a church and convent for the Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary.

Archbishop Feliński died in Kraków on September 17, 1895. In the HOMILY at his canonization Mass, Pope Benedict XVI noted:

> In every situation he retained his steadfast trust in Divine Providence and prayed: "O God, protect us not from the tribulations and worries of this world … only multiply love in our hearts and obtain that in deepest humility we

may keep our infinite trust in your help and your mercy." Today his gift of himself to God and to humankind, full of trust and love, becomes a luminous example for the whole Church.

Feast: September 17.

SEE ALSO POLAND; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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FELIX OF NICOSIA, ST.

Lay brother; b. Nicosia, Sicily, November 5, 1715; d. Nicosia, May 31, 1787; beatified February 12, 1888, by Pope LEO XIII; canonized October 23, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Felix's devout mother, Carmela, had him baptized on the day of his birth, naming him Philip James. His father, Philip Amoroso, a poor shoemaker, had died a month earlier. Philip James grew up working in a shoemaker's shop near the friary at Nicosia, where his desire to join the order would grow over the years. At age twenty, he began petitioning the order for admittance, but his illiteracy proved to be an obstacle. At twenty-seven, after eight years of petitioning, he entered the Capuchin Order at Mistretta on October 1, 1743. He received the name Felix after St. FELIX OF CANTALICE, the first Capuchin saint. He professed his vows on October 10, 1744, and was assigned to the friary at Nicosia, contrary to the custom of the Capuchins, who generally did not assign friars to their hometowns, where family and friends might distract them.

During the forty-four years of his religious life, Felix served his brethren in the duties of a lay brother, especially as a seeker of alms. He was renowned for his charity, especially toward the sick and prisoners, and for his austere penances, constant prayer, and his power of miracles, which earned him the title *thaumaturgus*, or wonderworker. He was deeply devoted to the Eucharist and to the Blessed Mother. Each Friday, he contemplated the death of the Lord. For thirty-three years he lived under a superior who considered it his role to sanctify Felix by subjecting him to relentless severity and fantastic humiliations, all of which he heroically endured. He succumbed to an illness while working at the friary, and died there on May 31, 1787.

Felix was beatified by Leo XIII on February 12, 1888; three years later, his remains were transferred to the Cathedral of Nicosia. In April 2004, during the pontificate of Pope JOHN PAUL II, Felix's cause was advanced by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. He was canonized by Pope Benedict XVI on October 23, 2005. During the canonization ceremony, Pope Benedict pointed to Felix's powerful experience of God's love. At all times, Felix would state, "So be it for the love of God." The pope described Felix as "humble ... austere and penitent, faithful to the most genuine expressions of the Franciscan tradition." The pope further observed that the love of God molded Felix, who lived out this love in service to his neighbor: "Bro. Felix helps us to discover the value of the little things that make our lives more precious, and teaches us to understand the meaning of family and of service to our brothers and sisters, showing us that true and lasting joy, for which every human heart yearns, is the fruit of love."

Feast: June 2.

SEE ALSO FRIARS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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FELLOWSHIP OF CATHOLIC SCHOLARS

The Fellowship of Catholic Scholars (FCS) is an organization of academics and scientists dedicated to supporting and developing Catholic doctrine in an intellectual and social environment that its members believe is often biased against such teachings. The group was formed in 1977 to promote interdisciplinary intellectual activity. Many of its original members belonged to specialized Catholic academic organizations that they felt had moved away from ORTHODOXY. A number of them also believed that their own careers had suffered, even to the point of losing teaching positions, because they did not conform to a prevailing orthodoxy of dissent.

The Origins of the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars. Strong public dissent from the 1968 papal encyclical *Humanae vitae* laid the seeds for the FCS, but it was not founded until nine years later. In early 1977, Monsignor George A. Kelly, a New York archdiocesan priest and professor at St. John's University, made a cross-country trip in order to interest scholars in forming such a group. Later that year a group of like-minded scholars met to discuss the possibility, and in August 1977 the decision was made to form the FCS. Its first annual convention was the following April in Kansas City, Missouri.

The FCS published a "Statement of Purpose" in the first edition of its newsletter (December 1977), in which it stated the following:

> We wish to form a fellowship that is gladly obedient to the Word of God spoken in His Catholic Church. We accept willingly in faith the defined teachings of the Church's ordinary and universal Magisterium.... Aware of the duty scholars have to serve the whole community of faith, we wish to give whatever assistance we can to the Church in answering contemporary questions. (Whitehead 2006, p. 280)

Since then, the FCS has particularly involved itself with LITURGY, ECCLESIOLOGY, and religious education, and it has addressed disputed moral questions, especially those related to sexual ethics and life issues. In addition, historical, literary, sociological, artistic, and scientific subjects that have religious implications have been examined.

The Scholarly Role of the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars. From its beginning, members of the FCS have been conscious of being "countercultural" in American Catholic intellectual life. Thus, the group strongly and officially supported the HOLY SEE's document *Ex corde ecclesiae* (From the Heart of the Church), which defined the nature of Catholic higher education, even though most American Catholic colleges and universities were resistant to it. A condition of tension has often existed between the official hierarchy of the Church and various leading Catholic thinkers, but the FCS holds that Catholic scholarship must exist in harmony with official teaching, a position described as "faith seeking understanding." The FCS regarded Pope JOHN PAUL II as both an authoritative teacher and a thinker who led the Church into a new era of intellectual vitality.

In the beginning, many FCS members envisioned a close working relationship with the American bishops, many of whom had experienced theological dissent in their own dioceses. On the whole, however, the bishops proved to be cautious in entering into such a relationship. Thus, while individual members of the group have been consulted by particular bishops, there has been no established relationship between the FCS and the hierarchy. Indeed, the FCS has often been critical of position papers generated by official bureaucracies at both the national and diocesan levels.

Activities of the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars. While generally dubbed "conservative," the FCS has confined itself exclusively to issues with clear religious and moral implications, and it has avoided political questions as such. Similarly, its religious conservatism has been limited to doctrinal questions and has not extended to such things as the restoration of the Tridentine liturgy, to take just one example. While many of its members are Thomists, the order includes scholars from other traditions that are compatible with theological orthodoxy, such as the phenomenology of John Paul II.

The FCS publishes the *Fellowship of Catholic Scholars Quarterly* (formerly the *Fellowship of Catholic Scholars Newsletter*), as well as an annual anthology of the papers read at its convention. The organization bestows an annual John Cardinal Wright Award (named after the American prelate who became prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Clergy) on an outstanding scholar, and an annual Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle Award (named for the late archbishop of Washington) on an individual who has shown singular zeal on behalf of the Church over his or her lifetime. It also occasionally bestows awards on Catholics in public life who have shown a notable commitment to the moral teachings of the Church.

The organization has about a thousand members, including "regular" members who possess terminal degrees in their fields. Other members are designated as "associates." While theologians are the largest single

group, followed by philosophers, there is significant representation from other disciplines.

SEE ALSO EVOLUTION; EX CORDE ECCLESIAE; HUMANAE VITAE; TRIDENTINE MASS.

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FERNANDES, BARTOLOMEU DEI MARTIRI, BL.

Also known as Bartolomeus a Martyribus or Bartolomeu dos Mártires; archbishop of Braga; b. May 3, 1514, Verdela, Portugal; d. July 16,1590, Viana do Castelo, Portugal; beatified November 4, 2001, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Baptized Bartolomeu dos Mártires (Bartholomew of the Martyrs), Bartolomeu dei Martiri Fernandes was the son of Domingos Fernandes and Maria Correia. In 1528 he entered the Dominican Order. After his profession on November 20, 1529, he completed his studies and went on to teach PHILOSOPHY at the college of St. Dominic of Lisbon from 1538 to 1540; he then taught theology at the college of Batalha for the next eleven years.

In 1551 he earned a master's degree in Salamanca, Spain, after which he spent two years in Évora as the royal tutor of Dom António, son of the Infante Dom Luis. In 1558 Queen Catherine chose him as archbishop of Braga. He did not want the appointment, but he obeyed his superior and received the episcopal consecration the following year in the church of St. Dominic in Lisbon.

From October 4, 1559, on, he devoted himself to his large archdiocese and to writing. He also opened schools of MORAL THEOLOGY for the clergy to encourage them in HOLINESS. Known for his pastoral visits and evangelization, he shared his commitment in composing the *Catechism of Christian Doctrine and Spiritual Practices*. Another of his thirty-two works, *Stimulus Pastorum*, was distributed at the councils of Vatican I and Vatican II.

From 1561 to 1563, he participated in the Council of TRENT, where he presented more than two hundred sixty petitions and summaries of request for reform. Both PIUS IV and St. Charles BORROMEO respected him and often asked for his advice. Following the council, the archbishop held a diocesan synod in 1564 and the Provincial Council of Braga in 1566.

When the plague and a famine struck, the archbishop gained a reputation for great charity; he often gave from his own pocket to alleviate suffering. Sometimes criticized for his poor appearance, he responded that he would not spend money on himself that could be better used to help the poor.

He resigned on February 23, 1582, and moved to the Dominican convent of the Holy Cross in Viana do Castelo, where he gained a reputation for HUMILITY. He dedicated himself to prayer and religious study and, while his health permitted, went out on foot to preach and share all that he had with the poor—even giving up his own bed and his pension. He suffered during his final years of illness until his death on July 16, 1590. GREGORY XVI declared him Venerable in 1845. Pope John Paul II, who beatified him on November 4, 2001, praised his zeal and commended him for his contributions to Church reform at the Council of Trent.

Feast: July 16.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; DOMINICANS; PORTUGAL, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; VATICAN COUNCIL I; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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FILIPPINI, LUCY, ST.

Foundress of the Pontifical Institute of the RELIGIOUS TEACHERS FILIPPINI; b. Tarquinia, Italy, January 13, 1672; d. Montefiascone, March 25, 1732; beatified June 13, 1926 by Pope PIUS XI; canonized on June 22, 1930 by Pope Pius XI.

As a child Lucy helped her pastor teach catechism. Cardinal Marc'Antonio BARBARIGO, Bishop of Montefiascone, sent lucy to a monastery of nuns when she was sixteen. There, under his guidance, she prepared for her future mission. She remained at the monastary until 1692, when she joined St. Rose VENERINI (canonized October 15, 2006, in Rome by Pope BENEDICT XVI) in the work of educating the poorer girls of the diocese until she took over the girls education completely in 1694. On October 15, 1704, the community was formally established, receiving their rule and habit from the cardinal and pronouncing their Oblation. After the death of the cardinal in 1706, the community was called to Rome by CLEMENT XI, developing into the institute of today, which is under the sponsorship of the Apostolic Almoner. As of 2009, 1,100 Religious Teachers Filippini were active in Albania, Brazil, England, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Ireland, India, Italy, Switzerland and the United States.

St. Lucy was noted for her great virtue and, through the schools that she founded, many were brought closer to God. She hoped that her students would, inturn, convey to their parents and relatives what they learned during their instruction, and in this way become "so many young teachers as well." When she died of cancer at the age of sixty, she was laid to rest in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome.

Feast: March 25.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS EDUCATION; VENERINI SISTERS.

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FINALY AFFAIR

The Finaly Affair (1945–1953) began as a judicial case in France involving the custody of two Jewish orphans of the SHOAH: Robert (b. 1941) and Gérald (b. 1942) Finaly. The affair polarized the French nation and became an international crisis when some in the French Church refused to allow the boys, who had been illegally baptized in 1948, to return to their relatives, despite the ruling of the Grenoble Court of Appeals in favor of their family. The Finaly Affair became a symbol of the strained relations between Church and SYNAGOGUE.

Dr. Fritz Finaly (1906–1944) and his wife Anni Schwarz (1915–1944), Austrian Jews, fled Nazi persecution in 1939 and settled in La Tronche, a suburb of Grenoble, where their two sons, Robert and Gérald, were born. The family circumcised both boys, in spite of the risks that this entailed in a Nazi-occupied country. Fearing for their lives, the Finalys gave their two young sons to a Catholic nursery, St. Vincent de Paul. Because of the children's young age, the boys were entrusted to the municipal nursery of Grenoble, directed by Antoinette Brun (1894–1988). On February 14, 1944, the doctor and his wife were deported to Auschwitz, where they were murdered.

Shortly before the Liberation, in February 1945, Finaly's sister Marguerite Fischel, living in New Zealand, located her two nephews and contacted Brun to express gratitude to her and to request custody of the boys. She obtained visas for the children to move to New Zealand in May 1945. Brun gave different excuses for not allowing the boys to leave. In November 1945, Brun convened a family council that did not include Finaly relatives. She asked for custody of the children but failed to report Fischel's request to the magistrate. Believing that all family members had perished, the magistrate named Brun temporary guardian of the boys. With the power of her temporary guardianship, Brun proceeded for the next three years to obstruct all attempts by Finaly relatives to contact her or the children.

In 1948 the family decided that Hedwig and Moshe Rosner, the boys' aunt and uncle living in Israel, should

become their guardians because they lived closer to Grenoble. They appointed their friend Moïse Keller (1907–1982) as legal representative. Upon learning that Brun had baptized the boys without their consent in 1948, the family initiated judicial proceedings against Brun for custody of the children.

French Clergy Involvement. Beginning in 1948, Brun entrusted the two boys to the nuns of Our Lady of Zion, who became responsible for their Catholic education and upbringing. Many clergy at that time believed that baptized Jewish children had to be separated from their Jewish relatives because they belonged to the Church.

On June 11, 1952, the Grenoble Court of Appeals ruled that Rosner was the permanent guardian of Robert and Gérald and that Brun was obligated to turn over the children to her or to Keller. With the help of nuns of Our Lady of Zion, Brun arranged to hide the children. Mother Superior Antonine enrolled the children under false names in a school directed by Our Lady of Zion in Marseille. Antonine asked Cardinal Pierre Marie Gerlier (1880–1965) for advice regarding the case of the Finaly children. In September 1952 Gerlier and his attorney gave Antonine permission to hide the Finaly boys. The children were transferred from school to school, wearing disguises and given false identification. The Finaly Affair now involved open revolt against French law.

No member of the Church hierarchy in France or in any other country ever publicly denounced the hiding or illegal baptism of the boys or called for their return to their family. A division of opinion existed among French Catholic clergy and their faithful during the affair. While progressive clergymen such as Paul Démann, Pierre Chaillet (1900–1972), and Bishop Alexandre Caillot (1861–1957) believed that the boys' baptism was illegal and wanted to see the children returned to their relatives, conservative clergymen, including Bishop Léon-Albert Terrier (1893–1957) and Cardinal Maurice Feltin (1883–1975), believed that the baptism imposed a duty to remove the converts from the influence of non-Christians.

An International Crisis. In February 1953 Gerlier contacted Cardinal Pla y Deniel of Toledo, Spain, to convince him to hide the Finaly children so they would not be returned to their family (ADL, Gerlier, 1953). The boys were led by Basque priests across the Pyrenees into Spain on February 13 and hidden in a monastery in Lazcano (known today as Laskao). The government of Francisco FRANCO opposed releasing the children.

International awareness of the Finaly Affair grew during February to June 1953. The affair created a polemic in the French press as anti-Semitic calumny suggested comparisons with the DREYFUS AFFAIR and anti-clericalism reappeared in France. The Israeli Knesset and spokespeople from many other nations made appeals to return the children to their family.

Rabbi Jacob Kaplan (1895–1994) became chief negotiator representing the Jewish Consistory. Kaplan worked with Chaillet, who represented the French Church. They reached an accord on March 6, 1953, to return the children to Rosner and to respect the boys' religious preferences, once the children had been found. While agreeing in principle to negotiations, Gerlier allegedly followed papal directives to prevent the boys' return to their family. In his letter to Cardinal Pla y Deniel, Gerlier wrote about his conversation with PIUS XII, who reportedly advised him: "We must do everything possible to safeguard the right of these children to remain Christian" (ADL, Gerlier, February 12, 1953).

Role of Pius XII. On January 23, 1953, Pope Pius XII reportedly advised Gerlier to hide the Finaly children:

> If the definitive court ruling is contrary to [Brun], it would be advisable for this woman to resist in all ways possible the order to turn the children over [to the aunt], and to adopt all means that may slow down the execution of a court ruling that violates their rights. (CDJC, Ribière 1953)

In his correspondence with Gerlier during 1953, Pius XII expressed an unwillingness to support the return of the boys without guarantees that the children's Catholic education and faith would be protected, and that all lawsuits against clergy would be dropped (Lazarus 2008, pp. 52–54).

Release of Children. On June 26, 1953, the Finaly boys were released to their family. They settled in Israel with Rosner and returned to their Jewish faith. The children's release was due in large part to Kaplan and Keller's efforts to raise international awareness of the affair. The French Supreme Court ruling of June 23, 1953, in favor of Rosner put pressure on the French Church. Gerlier's emissary, Germaine Ribière (1917–1999), and Basque monk Maur Elizondo freed the children.

Consequences of the Affair. Following the resolution of the Finaly Affair, Kaplan dropped charges against Our Lady of Zion, which then underwent an ideological transformation. The order rededicated its mission from conversion of Jews to engagement in Jewish-Christian dialogue. Leaders of Our Lady of Zion worked with Cardinal Augustin BEA (1881–1968) during the Second Vatican Council and made important contributions to *Nostra aetate*. The Finaly Affair contributed to accelerating Vatican II and acted as a catalyst for Jewish-Christian

rapprochement. It united French Jews and strengthened Kaplan's position as chief rabbi.

SEE ALSO JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (PUBLIC); JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (THEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF); VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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FINDYSZ, WŁADYSŁAW (LADISLAUS), BL.

Priest, MARTYR for the faith, b. Krościenko Niżne, near Krosno, Poland, December 13, 1907; d. Krościenko Niżne, August 21, 1964; beatified June 19, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Ladislaus Findysz, the son of Stanislaus Findysz and Apollonia Rachwal, joined the Marian Solidality as a young student. At age twenty, he entered the seminary in Przemyśl and was ordained a priest on June 19, 1932. Fr. Ladislaus served in numerous parishes before being appointed pastor of Saints Peter and Paul parish in Nowy Żmigród on August 13, 1942. He and the rest of his town were expelled by the Germans on October 3, 1944, being permitted to return on January 3, 1945. In 1946 Fr. Ladislaus came under the surveillance of the secret service when he defended Greek Catholics from expulsion by the Communist regime. He was then suspended from teaching catechism classes by the government in 1952, and on two occasions was not permitted to live within the boundaries of his parish. Church officials recognized his passion for the Faith by giving him the title of honorary canon in 1946 and awarding him the rochet and mantelletta (honorary clerical garments) in 1957. The following year, Fr. Ladislaus founded the Conciliar Works of Charity, a letter campaign to exhort parishioners living in irregular moral situations to reorder their lives.

Fr. Ladislaus's commitment to fallen-away Catholics led the Communist authorities to accuse him of forcing citizens to participate in religion. On November 25, 1963, he was interrogated, arrested, and later sentenced to two-and-a-half-years imprisonment. During this time, he suffered greatly from malnutrition and physical, psychological, and spiritual abuse. Prior to his arrest, Fr. Ladislaus had undergone an operation to remove his thyroid gland. In prison, complications during his recovery went uncared for and a cancerous growth in his esophagus also went untreated. Although lower courts denied his petition for release due to health reasons, the supreme court in Warsaw granted his request and released him on February 29, 1964. This was too late to treat the cancer, however, and Fr. Ladislaus died on August 21, 1964.

Fr. Ladislaus was recognized as a martyr for the Faith on December 20, 2004, becoming the first Polish martyr under COMMUNISM. His BEATIFICATION was approved by Pope JOHN PAUL II and scheduled for April 24, 2005, but it was delayed due to the death of the Holy Father. Fr. Ladislaus was beatified by Pope Benedict XVI on June 19, 2005. The beatification ceremony was held in Piłsudski Square in Warsaw at the close of a Eucharistic Congress. Cardinal Józef GLEMP, then archbishop of Warsaw, presided over the beatification.

Feast: August 21.

SEE ALSO POLAND; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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FLESCH, MARGARET, BL.

Known in religion as Mother Rose or Mother Mary Rose Flesh; also known as Margherita Flesch; foundress,

Franciscan Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Angels; b. February 24, 1826, Schönstatt, near Koblenz, Germany; d. March 25, 1906, Waldbreitbach, Germany; beatified by Pope Benedict XVI, May 4, 2008.

Christened Margaretha, Margaret Flesch was the first of seven children born to an impoverished oil miller. When she was about six, her mother died, and the family moved to Niederbreitbach, hoping to better their financial position. Ten years later her father died, leaving sixteen-year-old Margaret and her stepmother to care for the six younger children. Margaret worked as a day laborer, collected herbs to sell, and made crafts to support the family. By the time she was twenty-five, the family no longer needed her income, so she and her epileptic sister Marianne moved into tiny quarters in the Cross Chapel in Waldbreitbach, Germany. They spent little on themselves, but instead used their funds to help the needy. Margaret felt called to serve the sick and orphaned, so she took some orphans into her home while she continued to work her day job. She also taught home economics at nearby schools.

Two other women joined her in 1856. In 1861 a pastor offered them an apartment in nearby Hausen, but after they moved, they found it unlivable. That spring they constructed a building on Waldbreitbacher Chapel Mountain, where they could care for the sick. They moved into the home on November 11, 1861.

In Cross Chapel on March 13, 1863, the three women professed vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience to God. Margaret took the name Rose and became the first general superior of the FRANCISCAN SISTERS of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Angels. Seven women joined them, and Mother Rose opened a mission house. In spite of KULTURKAMPF (1876–1881), German policies that restricted the Catholic Church and resulted in the imprisonment of many priests, Mother Rose's congregation grew swiftly. By 1878, when she ended her term as superior general, 105 sisters served twenty-two houses. From that point on, she stayed in the background, so much so that few sisters knew she had founded the community. By the time of her death on March 25, 1906, the congregation had expanded to 900 sisters and 72 mission houses. In 1923 they sent the first missionaries to the United States. Over the next fifty years, the congregation expanded into the Netherlands, Brazil, Portugal, and Africa.

The cause for Mother Rose's beatification was introduced in ROME in 1957, but the process was delayed until 1987. About eighty years after her death, Mother Rose's remains were moved to the Motherhouse Church. She was beatified in Trier, Germany, on May 4, 2008.

Feast: March 25.

SEE ALSO GERMANY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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FOUCAULD, CHARLES EUGÈNE DE, BL.

Priest, hermit, MARTYR; b. Strasbourg, France, September 15, 1858; d. Tamanrasset, Algeria, December 1, 1916; beatified November 13, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Charles Eugène de Foucauld, who came from a distinguished and devout family, was left an orphan in 1864 and was entrusted to the care of his maternal grandfather, a retired colonel. While pursuing his secondary studies at Strasbourg and Nancy, Foucauld lost his faith. So deeply did he plunge into dissipation that he had difficulty in completing his military education at Saint-Cyr (1876) and at the cavalry school in Saumur (1878). He received a commission as a second lieutenant, but he was discharged for disorderly conduct at the garrison of Pont-à-Mousson (1881). He was soon restored to his rank and regiment during a native revolt in the Sahara. In the ensuing eight-month campaign, he turned from his dissolute ways and distinguished himself in the field for bravery and leadership qualities.

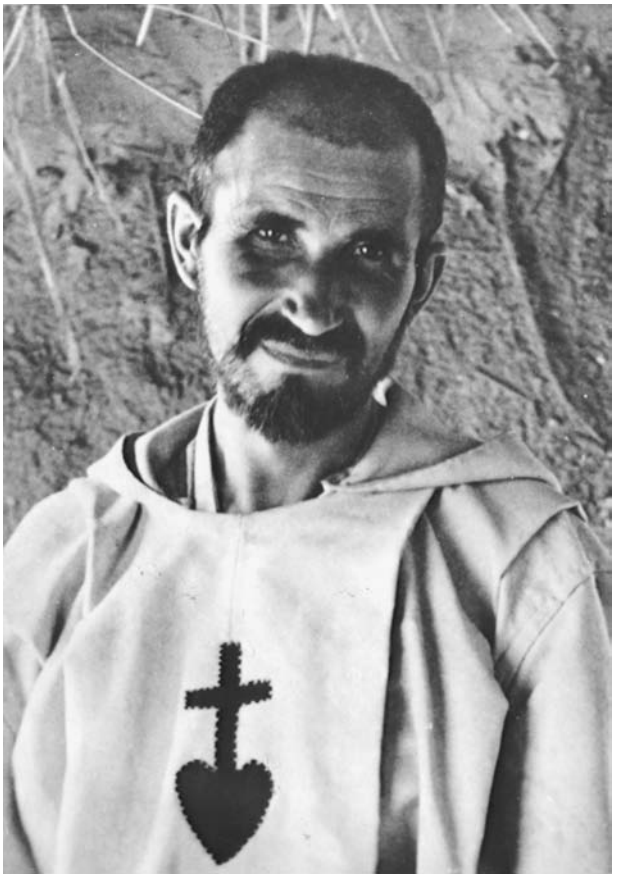
When Foucauld returned to France, he could not adjust to garrison life and resigned his commission. He then returned to the Sahara to engage in exploration. After a year spent in Algiers studying the local language and customs, he passed two years in the desert disguised as the Jewish servant of a rabbi (1883–1884). His topographical, ethnological, social, and military findings were published as *Reconnaissance au Maroc, 1883–1884*

(1888), which won him recognition from the Geographical Society of Paris.

Deeply impressed by the desert solitude and the religiousness of the Muslims he encountered, Foucauld reconsidered the Christian faith that he had lost. Once he moved to Paris, he accepted the invitation of Abbé Henri Huvelin (1830–1910) to confess and receive Holy Communion (October 1886). With characteristic intensity he began to live a life of prayer and asceticism, seeking to imitate the humility of Jesus. On a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he joined the TRAPPISTS in the Monastery of Notre Dame des Neiges in Nazareth (1890), but he soon transferred to a poorer house at Akbès in Syria (1890–1996). In search of even greater poverty and self-sacrifice, he transferred to the Abbey of Staoüeli in Algeria (1896). The superior there sent him to Rome to study theology, but he left the Trappists before ordination and returned to Nazareth to live as a servant of the POOR CLARES (1897–1900). Working as a poor gardener and living in a shed outside the convent, he was eventually convinced that he was called to become a priest, a call connected to bringing Eucharist to the poor in remote regions. In 1901 he was ordained at Viviers.

Thereupon, he went back to the Sahara and established a hermitage at Beni-Abbès on the Morocco-Algeria frontier (1901). He sought to bring Christianity to the Muslim desert tribes, not by preaching but by good example. By his life of contemplation and charity, he aimed to show himself as a man of God and as "the universal brother," and thereby to prepare the way for later missionaries. In his hermitage, which he called "la Fraternité du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus," he kept the Blessed Sacrament always exposed and spent long hours in adoration. In 1905 he penetrated deeper into the Sahara and set up his hermitage in the Ahaggar Mountains near Tamanrasset. Respected by the Tuareg tribesmen, who revered him as a Marabout or holy man, Foucauld was able to learn a great deal concerning their customs and language. The desert, however, did not shield Foucauld from the effects of WORLD WAR I (1914–1918). As a Frenchman in Algeria, he was a target. In 1915 he began transforming his hermitage into a small fort that would serve to protect the population of Tamanrasset from raiders on camelback.

On December 1, 1916, Foucauld was lured outside of his fortified hermitage by one of the Tuaereg, who had been bribed by members of the militant Senusi sect. He was bound and killed by a single gunshot to the head. Foucauld had no disciples during life, but the publication of his personal papers inspired the founding of the LITTLE BROTHERS OF JESUS (1933) and the LITTLE SISTERS OF JESUS (1936).



Bl. Charles Eugéne de Foucauld. *This hermit and martyr inspired the founding of two religious orders: Little Brothers of Jesus and Little Sisters of Jesus.*

The first steps toward Foucauld's BEATIFICATION were taken by the prefect apostolic of Ghardaia in 1927. In 1947 the relevant documents were forwarded to Rome. In December 2004, Pope JOHN PAUL II approved the decree recognizing the miraculous healing of Joanna Citeri Pulici, an Italian, from cancer. Foucauld was beatified on November 13, 2005, in Rome by Pope Benedict XVI, who emphasized Foucauld's insight that Jesus, by joining us in our humanity, invites us to universal brotherhood.

Feast: December 1.

SEE ALSO AFRICA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; ALGERIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; APOSTOLATE AND SPIRITUAL LIFE; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); WESTERN SAHARA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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498 MARTYRS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, BB.

Martyrs; 2 bishops, 24 priests, 462 religious, 1 deacon, 1 subdeacon, 1 seminarian, and 7 laity; d. various cities in Spain, 1934–1937; beatified October 28, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

These 498 martyrs of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) were men and women, clergy and laity, murdered because of their faith by Republican forces before and during the conflict. They ranged in age from sixteen to seventy-eight and came from all strata of society. Most were Spanish; however, the list includes martyrs from France, Mexico, and Cuba.

The Spanish Civil War decided the power struggle between the elected government of the Second Spanish Republic, which had come to power in 1931 and included Communists and anarchists, as well as groups with more moderate political views, and the opposition, known as Nationalists, comprised of a broad range of political factions that had common anti-Communist sentiments. The Republican government was firmly anticlerical, and militias carried out a program of oppression and violence against Catholic clergy and laity, who were mostly aligned with the Nationalist movement. It is estimated that almost seven thousand Church clergy were murdered by the Republican government.

Accounts of these deaths note the extreme brutality of the killers and the terrible suffering of the victims. Despite this, the martyrs maintained dignity in the face of cruelty and derision and extended forgiveness to their persecutors. Bartolomé Blanco Márquez (1914–1936), a twenty-one-year-old leader of CATHOLIC ACTION, in a letter from prison, said "May this be my last will: forgiveness, forgiveness, forgiveness," and he asked his relatives "to avenge me with the vengeance of a Christian: returning much good to those that have tried to do me evil." Bishop Cruz Laplana y Laguna (1875–1936) refused efforts by local authorities to help him avoid arrest because the plan required him to remove his clerical garb and pretend to be a lay person. He was shot by firing squad; reportedly, his last words were, "May God forgive you, as I forgive and bless you."

Some critics say that the new blesseds, while certainly victims of religious persecution, should not be considered martyrs; others challenge the Vatican's motives, arguing that the BEATIFICATION is really a condemnation of the socialist leadership in Spain. There are some allegations that individuals in the group were responsible for immoral and violent political and criminal acts of their own. However, Church records and witnesses' accounts support the martyrs' great faith and their unwillingness to subjugate the teachings of Christ to secular mores, even in the face of death.

Pope Benedict XVI reminded pilgrims to the beatification that "the supreme witness ... is not an exception reserved for only a few individuals, but a realistic possibility for the entire Christian People." At the Mass of beatification, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins said the new blesseds "expressed their love for Jesus Christ, their fidelity to the Catholic Church and their intercession with God for the whole world," and he noted that they forgave and "even prayed for" those who persecuted them.

The martyrs are listed below organized by their religious affiliations. Also included are their birth and death dates along with the city where they were martyred. In some cases this information could not be established, and so was not included. Where place of death could not be confirmed, we have listed their possible sites of martyrdom.

BROTHERS OF CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS (58)

Leonardo José (José María Aragonés Mateu), F.S.C. May 21, 1886–August 8, 1936 (Barcelona)

Dionisio Luis (Mateo Molinos Coloma), F.S.C. August 21, 1890–August 8, 1936 (Barcelona)

Jacob Samuel (José Enrique Chamayou Oulés), F.S.C. April 21, 1884 [France]–August 18, 1936 (Barcelona)

Crisóstomo (José Llorach Bretó), F.S.C. February 9, 1881–November 5, 1936 (Barcelona)

Cándido Alberto (José Ruiz de la Torre), F.S.C. March 26, 1896–November 3, 1936 (Barcelona)

Leónides Francisco (Colóm González), F.S.C. July 12, 1887–November 3, 1936 (Barcelona)

Cirilo Pedro (Cecilio Manrique Arnáiz), F.S.C. February 1, 1899–November 3, 1936 (Barcelona)

Indalecio María (Marcos Morón Casas), F.S.C. April 25, 1899–July 24, 1936 (Barcelona)

Lorenzo Gabriel (José Figuera Rey), F.S.C. August 22, 1912–August 9, 1936 (Barcelona)

Cayetano José (Ramón Palos Gascón), F.S.C. August 11, 1885–July 30, 1936 (Barcelona)

Celestino Antonio (Ismael Barrio Marquilla), F.S.C. April 22, 1911–August 20, 1936 (Barcelona)

Félix José (José Trilla Lastra), F.S.C. September 14, 1908–March 19, 1937 (Barcelona)

Lamberto Carlos (Jaime Mases Boncompte), F.S.C. April 14, 1894–December 26, 1936 (Barcelona)

Benito Clemente (Félix España Ortiz), F.S.C. February 1, 1889–September 1, 1936 (Barcelona)

Adolfo Mariano (Mariano Anel Orreu), F.S.C. June 16, 1910–October 1936 (Barcelona)

Florencio Miguel (Ruperto García Arce), F.S.C. July 10, 1908–October 13, 1936 (Barcelona)

Ildefonso Luis (José Llorach Bretó), F.S.C. June 20, 1886–October 1936 (Barcelona)

Agapio José (José Luis Carrera Comas), F.S.C. February 4, 1881–December 1936 (Barcelona)

José Benito (José Mas Pujobrás), F.S.C. August 13, 1913–July 25, 1936 (Barcelona)

Mariano León (Santos López Martínez), F.S.C. October 16, 1910–July 25, 1936 (Barcelona)

Vicente Justino (Vicente Fernández Castrillo), F.S.C. August 31, 1912–1936 (Barcelona)

Arnoldo Julián (Jesús Juan Otero), F.S.C. June 6, 1902–July 25, 1936 (Barcelona)

Benedicto José (José Bardalet Compte), F.S.C. July 20, 1903–July 25, 1936 (Barcelona)

Esiquio José (Baldomero Margenat Puigmitjá), F.S.C. July 4, 1897–September 2, 1936 (Barcelona)

Hilarión Eugenio (Eugenio Cuesta Padierna), F.S.C. March 2, 1912–August 13, 1936 (Barcelona)

Francisco Alfredo (Francisco Mallo Sánchez), F.S.C. August 16, 1916–August 13, 1936 (Barcelona)

Edmundo Ángel (Pedro Masó Llagostera), F.S.C. April 20, 1897–August 5, 1936 (Barcelona)

Hugo Julián (Julián Delgado Díez), F.S.C. January 9, 1905–September 12, 1936 (Barcelona)

Emerío José (José Plana Rebugent), F.S.C. September 16, 1900–September 12, 1936 (Barcelona)

Eusebio Orrés (Eusebio Roldán Vielba), F.S.C. December 15, 1895–November 17, 1936 (Barcelona)

Luis de Jesús (Joseph-Louis Marcou Pecalvel), F.S.C. August 19, 1881 [France]–July 22, 1936 (Barcelona)

Adolfo Jaime (Antonio Serra Hortal), F.S.C. December 19, 1880–August 6, 1936 (Barcelona)

Miguel de Jesús (Jaime Puigferrer Mora), F.S.C. July 12, 1898–September 12, 1936 (Barcelona)

Victorio (Martín Anglés Oliveras), F.S.C. October 1, 1887–July 31, 1936 (Barcelona)

Jaime Bertino (Antonio Jaume Secases), F.S.C. November 19, 1895–July 26, 1936 (Barcelona)

León Justino (Francisco del Valle Villar), F.S.C. May 25, 1896–December 2, 1936 (Barcelona)

Honesto María (Francisco Pujol Espinalt), F.S.C. April 9, 1894–July 27, 1936 (Barcelona)

Raimundo Eloy (Narciso Serra Rovira), F.S.C. May 1, 1876–July 27, 1936 (Barcelona)

Francisco Magín (Antonio Tost Llavería), F.S.C. January 17, 1915–July 27, 1936 (Barcelona)

Olegario Ángel (Eudaldo Rodas Mas), F.S.C. August 1, 1912–August 18, 1936) (Barcelona)

Honorato Alfredo (Agustín Pedro Calvo), F.S.C. September 8, 1913–August 18, 1936 (Barcelona)

Eliseo Vicente (Vicente Alberich Lluch), F.S.C. January 29, 1896–August 23, 1936 (Barcelona)

Valeriano Luis (Nicolás Alberich Lluch), F.S.C. January 1, 1898–August 23, 1936 (Barcelona)

Onofre (Salvio Tolosa Alsina), F.S.C. January 31, 1880–August 25, 1936 (Barcelona)

Ovidio Beltrán (Esteban Anuncibay Letona), F.S.C. December 26, 1892–November 18, 1936 (Cartagena)

Hermenegildo Lorenzo (Modesto Sáez Manzanares), F.S.C. July 30, 1913–November 18, 1936 (Cartagena)

Luciano Pablo (Germán García García), F.S.C. May 28, 1913–November 18, 1936 (Cartagena)

Estanislao Víctor (Augusto Cordero Fernández), F.S.C. October 8, 1908–November 18, 1936 (Cartagena)

Lorenzo Santiago (Emilio Martínez de la Pera y Álava), F.S.C. August 8, 1913–November 18, 1936 (Cartagena)

Agapito León (Remigio Olalla Aldea), F.S.C. August 2, 1913–August 18, 1936 (Ciudad Real)

Josafat Roque (Urbano Corral González), F.S.C. December 6, 1899–August 18, 1936 (Ciudad Real)

Julio Alfonso (Valeriano Ruíz Peral), F.S.C. September 15, 1911–August 18, 1936 (Ciudad Real)

Dámaso Luis (Antolín Martínez Martínez), F.S.C. January 12, 1915–August 18, 1936) (Ciudad Real)

Ladislao Luis (Isidro Muñoz Antolín), F.S.C. May 8, 1916–August 18, 1936 (Ciudad Real)

Teodosio Rafael (Diodoro López Hernoro), F.S.C. (religious) September 27, 1898–August 7, 1936 (Toledo)

Eustaquio (Luis Villanueva Montoya), F.S.C. September 10, 1888–August 7, 1936 (Toledo)

Carlos Jorge (Dalmacio Bellota Pérez), F.S.C. November 22, 1898–August 7, 1936 (Toledo)

Felipe José (Pedro Juan Álvarez Pérez), F.S.C. June 27, 1914–August 8, 1936 (Toledo)

CARMELITE SISTERS OF CHARITY OF VEDRUNA (1)

Apolonia Lizarraga del Santísimo Sacramento (Apolonia Lizarraga y Ochoa de Zabalegui), C.C.V. April 18, 1867–September 8, 1936 (Barcelona)

DISCALCED CARMELITE FRIARS (31)

Lucas de San José (José Tristany Pujol), O.C.D. December 14, 1872–July 20, 1936 (Barcelona)

Jorge de San José (Antonio Bosch Verdura), O.C.D. September 6, 1889–July 20, 1936 (Barcelona)

Jaime de Santa Teresa (Jaime Gascón Bordás), O.C.D. July 25, 1886–July 24, 1936 (Barcelona)

Juan José de Jesús Crucificado (Juan Páfila Montlleó), O.C.D. August 19, 1911–July 20, 1936 (Barcelona)

Romualdo de Santa Catalina (José Guillamí Rodó), O.C.D. February 3, 1866–July 24, 1936 (Barcelona)

Pedro Tomás de la Virgen del Pilar (Pedro de Alcántara Fortón y de Cascajares), O.C.D. April 26, 1888–October 10, 1936 (Barcelona)

Luis María de la Merced (Luis Minguell Ferrer), O.C.D. June 13, 1892–October 22, 1936 (Barcelona)

José Mariano de los Ángeles (Mariano Alarcón Ruiz), O.C.D. (religious priest) November 24, 1912–January 5, 1937 (Barcelona)

Marcelo de Santa Ana (José María Masip Tamarit), O.C.D. March 2, 1914–September 7, 1936 (Barcelona)

Antonio María de Jesús (Antonio Bonet Seró), O.C.D. March 20, 1897–September 7, 1936 (Barcelona)

Alfonso del Sagrado Corazón de María (Alfonso Arimany Ferrer), O.C.D. (May 19, 1895–September 24, 1936 (Barcelona)

Eduardo del Niño Jesús (Ricardo Farré Masip), O.C.D. April 20, 1897–July 25, 1936 (Barcelona)

Gabriel de la Anunciación (Jaime Balcells Grau), O.C.D. October 12, 1898–July 25, 1936 (Barcelona)

Joaquín de San José (José Casas Juliá), O.C.D. December 22, 1914–September 28, 1936 (Barcelona)

Eusebio del Niño Jesús (Ovidio Fernández Arenillas), O.C.D. (religious priest) February 21, 1888–July 22, 1936 (Toledo)

Nazario del Sagrado Corazón (Nazario del Valle González), O.C.D. July 28, 1891–July 31, 1936 (Toledo)

Pedro José de los Sagrados Corazones (Pedro Jiménez Vallejo), O.C.D. February 22, 1861–July 31, 1936 (Toledo)

Ramón de la Virgen del Carmen (José Grijalvo Medel), O.C.D. March 29, 1896–July 31, 1936 (Toledo)

Tirso de Jesús María (Gregorio Sánchez Sancho), O.C.D. April 19, 1899–September 7, 1936 (Toledo)

José Agustín del Santísimo Sacramento (Tomás Mateos Sánchez), O.C.D. September 17, 1912–July 22, 1936 (Toledo)

Hermilo de San Eliseo (Pedro Ramón Rodríguez Calle), O.C.D. April 14, 1913–July 22, 1936 (Toledo)

Eliseo de Jesús Crucificado (Esteban Cuevas Casquero), O.C.D. December 26, 1913–July 22, 1936 (Toledo)

Perfecto de la Virgen del Carmen (Perfecto Domínguez Monge) O.C.D. April 18, 1914–July 22, 1936 (Toledo)

Melchor del Niño Jesús (Melchor Martín Monge), O.C.D. July18, 1914–July 31, 1936 (Toledo)

Constancio de San José (José Mata Luis), O.C.D. August 23, 1914–July 30, 1936 (Toledo)

Félix de la Virgen del Carmen (Luis Gómez de Pablo), O.C.D. January 9, 1912–July 31, 1936 (Toledo)

Plácido del Niño Jesús (José Luis Collado Oliver), O.C.D. January 25, 1912–July 31, 1936 (Toledo)

José María de la Dolorosa (Vicente Álamo Jiménez), O.C.D. August 3, 1891–July 30, 1936 (Toledo)

Daniel de la Sagrada Pasión (Daniel Mora Nine), O.C.D. February 17, 1898–July 31, 1936 (Toledo)

Clemente de los Sagrados Corazones (Clemente López Yagüe), O.C.D. November 25, 1911–July 22, 1936 (Toledo)

Eufrasio del Niño Jesús (Barredo Fernández), O.C.D. (Oviedo)

CARMELITE MISSIONARY SISTERS (4)

Esperanza de la Cruz (Teresa Subirá Sanjaume), C.M. February 27, 1875–July 31, 1936 (Barcelona)

María Refugio de San Ángelo (María Roqueta Serra), C.M. April 20, 1878–July 31, 1936 (Barcelona)

Daniela de San Bernabé (Vicenta Achurra Gogenola), C.M. April 4, 1890–July 31, 1936 (Barcelona)

Gabriela de San Juan de la Cruz (Francisca Pons Sardá), C.M. July 18, 1880–July 31, 1936 (Barcelona)

LAYPEOPLE (7)

Antero Mateo García (Barcelona)

Miguel Peiró Victori (Barcelona)

Prudencia Canyelles Ginesta (Barcelona)

Álvaro Santos Cejudo February 19, 1880–September 17, 1936 (Ciudad Real)

Juan de Mata Díez (Madrid, Cuenca, Oviedo, Málaga, or Albacete)

Bartolomé Blanco Márquez November 25, 1914–October 2, 1936 (Madrid, Seville)

Teresa Cejudo Redondo (Madrid, Cuenca, Oviedo, Málaga, or Albacete)

ORDER OF PREACHERS (DOMINICAN SISTERS) (11)

Josefina Sauleda Paulis, O.P. (Barcelona)

María del Camen Zaragoza, O.P. (Barcelona)

María Rosa Adrover Martí, O.P. (Barcelona)

Ramona Fossas Románs, O.P. (Barcelona)

Adelfa Soro Bo, O.P. (Barcelona)

Teresa Prats Martí, O.P. (Barcelona)

Otilia Alonso González, O.P. (Barcelona)

Ramona Perramón Vila, O.P. (Barcelona)

Reginalda Reginalda Picas Planas, O.P. (Barcelona)

Rosa Jutglar Gallart, O.P. (Barcelona)

Buenaventura García Paredes, O.P. (Madrid)

ORDER OF PREACHERS (DOMINICAN FRIARS) (61)

Alfredo Fanjul Acebal, O.P. (Madrid)

Félix Alonso Muñiz, O.P. (Madrid)

Juan Mendibelzúa Ocerin, O.P. (Madrid)

José Gafo Muñiz, O.P. (Madrid)

José López Tascón, O.P. (Madrid)

Reginaldo Hernández Ramírez, O.P. (Madrid)

Vicente Álvarez Cienfuegos, O.P. April 29, 1863–August 25, 1936 (Madrid)

Vicente Peña Ruiz, O.P. (Madrid)

Vicente Rodríguez Fernández, O.P. (Madrid)

Vidal Luis Gómara, O.P. (Madrid)

Antonio Varona Ortega, O.P. (Madrid)

Amado Cubeñas Diego-Madrazo, O.P. (Madrid)

Cipriano Alguacil Torredenaida, O.P. (Madrid)

Eduardo González Santo Domingo, O.P.–August 5, 1936 (Madrid)

Manuel Moreno Martínez, O.P. (Madrid)

Higinio Roldán Iriberri, O.P. (Madrid)

Inocencio García Díez, O.P. (Madrid)

Juan Crespo Calleja, O.P. (Madrid)

Juan Herrero Arroyo, O.P. (Madrid)

José Luis Palacio Muñiz, O.P. May 20, 1870–July 25, 1936 (Madrid)

José Santonja Pinsach, O.P. (Madrid)

Leoncio Arce Urrutia, O.P. (Madrid)

Maximino Fernández Marínas, O.P. (Madrid)

Teófilo Montes Calvo, O.P. (Madrid)

Víctor García Ceballos, O.P. (Madrid)

Jesús Villaverde Orrés, O.P. (Madrid)

Isabelino Carmona Fernández, O.P. (Madrid)

Jacinto García Riesco, O.P. August 28, 1894–July 20, 1936 (Madrid)

Luis Furones Furones (Arenas), O.P. (Madrid)

Manuel Álvarez Álvarez, O.P. (Madrid)

José María López Carrillo, O.P. (Madrid)

Nicasio Romo Rubio, O.P. (Madrid)

Pedro Ibañez Alonso, O.P. (Madrid)

Manuel Santiago Santiago, O.P. (Madrid)

José Delgado Pérez, O.P. (Madrid)

Francisco Fernández Escosura, O.P. (Madrid)

José Prieto Fuentes, O.P. (Madrid)

Celestino José Alonso Villar, O.P. (Oviedo)

Santiago Franco Mayo, O.P. (Oviedo)

Gregorio Díez Pérez, O.P. (Oviedo)

Abilio Sáiz López, O.P. (Oviedo)

Miguel Menéndez García, O.P. (Oviedo)

José María Palacio Montes, O.P. (Oviedo)

Isidro Ordoñez Díez, O.P. (Oviedo)

Cristóbal Iturriaga-Echevarría, O.P. (Oviedo)

Pedro Vega Ponce, O.P. (Oviedo)

José María Laguía Puerto, O.P. (Oviedo)

Enrique Izquierdo Palacios, O.P. (Santorer)

Enrique Canal Gómez, O.P. (Santorer)

Manuel Gutiérrez Ceballos, O.P. February 4, 1876–December 23, 1936 (Santorer)

Eliseo Miguel Largo, O.P. (Santorer)

Miguel Rodríguez González, O.P. (Santorer)

Bernardino Irurzun Otermín, O.P. (Santorer)

Eleuterio Marne Mansilla, O.P. (Santorer)

Pedro Luis Luis, O.P. (Santorer)

José María García Tabar, O.P. (Santorer)

Estanislao García Obeso, O.P. (Santorer)

Germán Caballero Atienza, O.P. (Santorer)

José Menéndez García, O.P. (Santorer)

Victoriano Ibáñez Alonso, O.P. (Santorer)

Eugenio Orrés Amo, O.P. (Santorer)

MISSIONARIES OF THE SACRED HEARTS OF JESUS AND MARY (4)

Simò Reynes Solivellas, M.SS.CC. (Barcelona)

Miquel Pons Ramis, M.SS.CC. (Barcelona)

Francésc Mayol Oliver, M.SS.CC. (Barcelona)

Pau Noguera Trias, M.SS.CC. (Barcelona)

ORDER OF FRIARS MINOR (FRANCISCAN SISTERS) (2)

Catalina Caldés Socias, O.F.M. (Barcelona)

Miquela Rullan Ribot, O.F.M. (Barcelona)

ORDER OF FRIARS MINOR (FRANCISCAN FRIARS) (29)

Félix Echevarría Gorostiaga, O.F.M. 1893–1936 (Mérida-Badajoz)

José María Azurmendi Mugarza, O.F.M. (Mérida-Badajoz)

Francisco Carlés González, O.F.M. (Mérida-Badajoz)

Luis Echevarría Gorostiaga, O.F.M. (Mérida-Badajoz)

Simón Miguel Rodríguez, O.F.M. (Mérida-Badajoz)

Miguel Zarragúa Iturriaga, O.F.M. (Mérida-Badajoz)

Antonio Sáez de Ibarra López, O.F.M. (Mérida-Badajoz)

Víctor Chumillas Fernández, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Ángel Hernández-Ranera de Diego, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Domingo Alonso de Frutos, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Martín Lozano Tello, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Julián Navío Colado, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Benigno Prieto del Pozo, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Marcelino Ovejero Gómez, O.F.M.–August 16, 1936 (Toledo)

José de Vega Pedraza, O.F.M. (Toledo)

José Álvarez Rodríguez, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Santiago Mate Calzada, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Orrés Majadas Málaga, O.F.M.–August 16, 1936 (Toledo)

Alonso Sánchez Hernández-Raner, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Anastasio González Rodríguez, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Félix Maroto Moreno, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Federico Herrera Bermejo, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Antonio Rodrigo Anton, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Saturnino Río Rojo, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Ramón Tejado Librado, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Vicente Majadas Málaga, O.F.M.–August 16, 1936 (Toledo)

Valentín Díez Serna, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Félix Gómez-Pinto Piñero, O.F.M. (Toledo)

Perfecto Carrascosa Santos, O.F.M. (Toledo)

CARMELITE NUNS (17)

Ángel María Prat Hostench, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Eliseo María Maneus Besalduch, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Anastasio María Dorca Coromina, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Eduardo María Serrano Buj, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Pedro Ferrer Marín, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Orrés Corsino M. Solé Rovira, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Miguel María Solér Sala, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Juan María Puigmitjá Rubió, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Pedro Tomás María Prat Coldecarrera, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Eliseo M. Fontdecava Quiroga, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

José María Escoto Ruiz, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Elías María Garre Egea, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Ludovico María Ayet Canós, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Ángel María Presta Batlle, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Fernoro M. Llovera Puigsech, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

Eufrosino María Raga Nadal, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

María Patrocinio de San José, O.Carm. (Barcelona)

MARIST BROTHERS (47)

Laurentino (Mariano Alonso Fuente), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Virgilio, (Trifón Lacunza Unzu), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Alberto (Nestor Vivar Valdivielso), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Ángel Orrés (Lucio Izquierdo López), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Anselmo (Aniceto Falgueras Casellas), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Antolín (Antonio Roig Alibau), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Baudillo (Pedro Ciordia Hernández), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Bernabé (Casimiro Riba Pi), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Carlos Rafael (Carlos Brengaret, Pujol), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Dionisio Martín (José Cesari Mercadal), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Epifanio, (Fernoro Suñer Estrach) F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Felipe José (Fermín Latienda Azpilicueta), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Félix León (Felíx Ayúcar Eraso), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Fortunato Orrés (Fortunto Ruíz Peña), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Frumencio (Julio García Galarza), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Gabriel Eduardo (Segismundo Hidalgo Martínez), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Gaudencio (Juan Tubau Perello), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Gil Felipe (Felipe Ruíz Peña), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Hermógenes (Antonio Badía Oralé), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Isaías María (Victoriano Martínez Martín), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Ismael (Nicolás Ran Goñi), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Jaime Ramón (Jaime Morella Bruguera), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

José Carmelo (Gregorio Faci Molins), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

José Federico (Nicolás Pereda Revuelta), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Juan Crisóstomo (Juan Pelfort Planell), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Juan de Mata (Jesús, Mechon Franco), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Laureano Carlos (Pedro Sitjes Puig), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Leónides (Jerónimo Messegue Ribera), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Leopoldo José (Florentino Redondo Insausti), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Lino Fernoro (Victor Gutierrez Gómez), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Licarión (Ángel Roba Osorno), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Martiniano (Isidro Serrano Fabón), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Miguel Ireneo (Leocadio Rodríguez Nieto), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Porfirio (Leoncio Pérez Gómez), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Prisciliano (José Mir Pons), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Ramón Alberto (Feliciano Ayúcar Eraso), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Silvio (Victoriano Gómez Gutierrez), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Santiago (Serafín Zugaldía Lacruz), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Santiago María (Santiago Sáiz Martínez), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Santos (Santos Escudero Miguel), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Teódulo (Lucio Zudarie Aramendia), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Víctor Conrado (José Ambrós Dejuán), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Victorino José (José Blanch Roca), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Vito José (José Miguel Elola Arruti), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Vivencio (Juan Núñez Casado), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Vulfrano (Ramón Mill Arán), F.M.S. (Barcelona)

Bernardo (Plácido Fábrega Juliá), F.M.S. February 18, 1889–October 6, 1934 (Burgos)

DIOCESAN PRIESTS DEACONS AND SUBDEACONS (27)

José María Cánovas Martínez, August 9, 1894–November 18, 1936 (Burgos)

Julio Melgar Salgado, April 16, 1900–August 22, 1936 (Ciudad Real)

Félix González Bustos, February 23, 1913–August 18, 1936 (Ciudad Real)

Pedro Buitrago Morales, January 24, 1883–August 18, 1936 (Ciudad Real)

Justo Arévalo y Mora, July 19, 1869–August 18, 1936 (Ciudad Real)

Fernoro Español Berdié, 1875–1936 (Cuenca)

Vicente Toledano Valenciano (Madrid, Cuenca, Oviedo, Málaga, or Albacete)

Enrique Vidaurreta Palma (Madrid, Cuenca, Oviedo, Málaga, or Albacete)

Ribogerto A. de Anta y de Barrio (Madrid, Cuenca, Oviedo, Málaga, or Albacete)

Fortunato Arias Sánchez (Madrid, Cuenca, Oviedo, Málaga, or Albacete)

Miguel Díaz Sánchez (Madrid, Cuenca, Oviedo, Málaga, or Albacete)

Antonio Rodríguez Blanco (Madrid or Sevilla)

Liberio González Nombela, December 30, 1895–August 18, 1936 (Toledo)

Francisco López-Gasco Fernández-Largo, October 4, 1888–August 9, 1936 (Toledo)

Miguel Beato Sánchez, April 30, 1911–September 10, 1936 (Toledo)

Bartolomé Rodríguez Soria, September 7, 1894–July 29, 1936 (Toledo)

Mamerto Carchano Carchano, July 21, 1879–August 28, 1936 (Toledo)

Agrícola Rodríguez G. de los Huertos, March 18, 1896–July21, 1936 (Toledo)

Saturnino Ortega Montealegre, November 29, 1866–August 6, 1936 (Toledo)

Domingo Sánchez Lázaro, August 4, 1860–August 12, 1936 (Toledo)

Joaquín de la Madrid Arespacochaga, November 6, 1860–July 27, 1936 (Toledo)

Justino Alarcón Vera, August 1, 1885–August 1, 1936 (Toledo)

José Polo Benito, January 27, 1879–August 22, 1936 (Toledo)

Ricardo Pla Espí, October 10, 1914–July 30, 1936 (Toledo)

Juan Duarte Martín, (deacon) (Madrid, Cuenca, Oviedo, Málaga, or Albacete)

Francisco Maqueda López (subdeacon) October 10, 1914–September 11, 1936 (Toledo)

José Casas Ros (seminarian) August 26, 1916–September 28, 1936 (Barcelona)

BISHOPS (2)

Narciso Estenaga y Echevarría, October 29, 1882–August 22, 1936 (Ciudad Real)

Cruz Laplana y Laguna, May 3, 1875–August 7, 1936 (Cuenca)

CLARETIAN MISSIONARIES (3)

María del Carmen Fradera Ferragutcasas, C.M.F. (Gerona)

María Rosa Fradera Ferragutcasas, C.M.F. (Gerona)

Magdalena Fradera Ferragutcasas, C.M.F. (Gerona)

ORDER OF THE HOLY TRINITY (10)

Mariano de San José (Santiago Altolaguirre), O.SS.T. (Jaén or Cuenca)

José de Jesús María (José Vicente Hormaechea y Apoitia), O.SS.T. (Jaén or Cuenca)

Prudencio de la Cruz (Prudencio Gueréquiz y Guezuraga), O.SS.T. (Jaén or Cuenca)

Segundo de Santa Teresa (Segundo García y Cabezas), O.SS.T. (Jaén or Cuenca)

Juan de Jesús María (Juan Otazua y Madariaga), O.SS.T. (Jaén or Cuenca)

Luis de San Miguel de los Santos (Luis de Erdoiza y Zamalloa), O.SS.T. (Jaén or Cuenca)

Melchor del Espíritu Santo (Melchor Rodríguez Villastrigo), O.SS.T. (Jaén or Cuenca)

Santiago de Jesús (Santiago Arriaga y Arrien), O.SS.T. (Jaén or Cuenca)

Juan de la Virgen del Castellar (Juan Francisco Joya y Corralero), O.SS.T. (Jaén or Cuenca)

Francisca de la Encarnación (María Francisca Espejo y Martos), O.SS.T. (Jaén or Cuenca)

ADORERS OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT AND CHARITY (23)

Manuela del Sagrado Corazón (Manuela Arriola Uranga), A.A.S.C. (Madrid)

Blasa de María (Juana Pérez de Labeaga García), A.A.S.C. (Madrid)

Lucila María de Jesús (Lucía González García), A.A.S.C.–November 10, 1936 (Madrid)

Rosaura de María (Rosa López Brochier), A.A.S.C. (Madrid)

Casta de Jesús (Teresa Vives y Missé), A.A.S.C. (Madrid)

Borja de Jesús (Ma Zenona Aranzábal Barrutia), A.A.S.C. (Madrid)

Luisa de la Eucaristía (Luisa Pérez Orriá), A.A.S.C. (Madrid)

María de la Presentación (María García Ferreiro), A.A.S.C. (Madrid)

Sulpicia del Buen Pastor (Dionisia Rodríguez de Anta), A.A.S.C. (Madrid)

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Feast: November 6.

SEE ALSO MARTYR; SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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FRANCIA, ANNIBALE MARIA DI, ST.

Founder of the Rogationist Fathers of the Heart of Jesus and the Daughters of Divine Zeal; known as the "father of orphans and the poor"; b. Messina, Sicily, Italy, July 5, 1851; d. Messina, June 1, 1927; beatified October 7, 1990; canonized May 16, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Annibale Maria di Francia was the son of a noble family headed by Francis di Francia, marquis of Santa Catarina, and his wife Anna Toscano. When Annibale was two, his father, who was papal vice counsel to Pope PIUS IX, died. Stories about Annibale's days in a Cistercian boarding school (1858–1866) describe acts of the heroic compassion that characterized his entire life. When the school was closed during the revolution of 1866, the Sicilian poet Felice Bisazza (1809–1967) tutored him. Annibale used his writing skills to compose poetry (*The Hymns of July First*), prayers, and pamphlets, as well as articles for his uncle's periodical, *La Parola Catolica*.

From his childhood, Annibale had a unique love for the Eucharist, even becoming a daily communicant. In prayer before the Blessed Sacrament when he was seventeen, he understood the necessity of the Lord's command: *rogate ergo*, Latin for "pray therefore," referring to Matthew 9:38: "Pray therefore the Lord of the harvest to send out laborers into his harvest." At eighteen, Annibale recognized his call to the priesthood. A month before his ordination on March 16, 1878, he encountered a blind youth, Francis Zancone, who introduced him to the need for charity. Thereafter, he joyfully dedicated himself to the spiritual and temporal relief of the most neglected, beginning in the neighborhood of Avignone in Messina. He established evening and boarding schools for boys, a kindergarten for girls, and orphanages dedicated to St. ANTHONY OF PADUA (to whom Annibale later built a shrine in Messina). Like others who heroically give of themselves, he encountered opposition, but received the support of Archbishop Giacomo Guarino, as well as John BOSCO. For the physically poor, especially children in the Anthonian orphanages, Annibale begged from door to door.

For the purpose of praying for vocations to the priesthood and religious life and for caring for needy children and the poor, Annibale formed the Rogationist Fathers in 1897 and Daughters of Divine Zeal in 1887. Bl. Mélanie Calvat, one of the visionaries of LA SALETTE, spent a year at the female institute (1897–1898), helping Annibale firmly establish it following some setbacks. Orphanages run by the sisters multiplied quickly after 1902 to meet each new crisis in Italy (e.g., earthquakes, cholera, war). Additionally, to invite others to unite spiritually to pray for vocations, Annibale established a HOLY ALLIANCE for bishops, prelates, and priests, as well as the Pious Union of Evangelical Prayer for laity.

For many years, Annibale was the spiritual director for the writings of Luisa Piccarreta (1865–1947, cause opened in February 1994), who recorded private revelations on the divine will. Among the nineteen volumes to which Annibale gave the *nihil obstat* (lit: "nothing hinders"), a form of official Church approval for publication, were Piccarreta's *The Virgin Mary in the Kingdom of the Divine Will* and *The Hours of the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ*.

Throughout his life, Annibale conscientiously fulfilled his priestly obligations, showed Christlike love to the most vulnerable, and trusted completely in divine providence. The Rogationists have expanded beyond the borders of Italy to other countries in Europe, as well as to Argentina, Brazil, India, Korea, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Rwanda, the United States, and Vietnam. In beatifying Annibale on October 7, 1990, Pope John Paul II held him up to the Church as the "authentic precursor and zealous teacher of the modern pastoral ministry of vocations."

During the canonization Mass of May 16, 2004, Pope John Paul said that in St. Annibale's love for others he sensed the urgency of Jesus' words *rogate ergo*. The pope stressed the duty of prayer for vocations—an "unceasing and universal" task—that Annibale had left to the Rogationist Fathers and to the Daughters of Divine Zeal. With Annibale's work, "a great movement of prayer for vocations rose up within the Church." In his HOMILY, the pope noted that Annibale frequently exhorted others to "Fall in love with Jesus Christ," an expression that resonates with young people of today as well: "I hope with all my heart that the example of Fr. Hannibal Mary Di Francia will guide and sustain such pastoral work even in our times."

In a papal address to pilgrims in Rome the day following the canonization, John Paul emphasized Annibale's Marian devotion. He had received the name Maria at baptism, and his love for Our Lady continued throughout his life. He often invoked the Blessed Virgin

under the names "Mother of the Church" and "Mother of Vocations." Annibale recommended devotion to Our Lady as the "secret to holiness and the special glory" for the Rogationists and his Daughters. Immediately before his death, he had the grace of a comforting vision of Our Lady.

Feast: June 1.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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FRANCISCANS, CONVENTUAL

The movement of FRIARS into the main cities of Europe that took place in the 1240s was one of the main currents of change within the Franciscan movement that officially began in 1209, when a primitive rule of life was approved by Pope INNOCENT III. Along with the convents that sprung up around the educational centers of the major cities, friars were attracted to the cities because of the call of pastoral ministry, that is, the care of souls. These friars proved to be useful to the papacy and local bishops in the pastoral care of the people in the urban environment. Obedience to Church leaders in regard to pastoral ministry often meant that friars had to make compromises when it came to the strict observance of poverty.

In the centuries that followed, friars working in large parishes grew increasingly involved in the social, economic, and political life of the cities. This entailed a downside, from the perspective of the Observant Franciscans, namely, the temptation to accumulate goods and money from the ministries in which they were engaged. Certain friars became involved in ecclesiastical and social circles that enticed them to serve the powerful and thereby be involved in the structures of power and prestige. In order to maintain the lifestyle that came with this power and prestige, oftentimes friars would seek privileges and dispensations from living in accord with the strict Franciscan approach to poverty. This attempt to find compromise and accommodation in a Franciscan environment came at a cost, primarily in the form of protests by those who believed friars were betraying the embrace of poverty envisioned by Francis and the earliest companions and legislated in the Franciscan Rule and the Testament of Francis.

In many cases, the Conventual way of life was based on the economic system in which the fixed incomes of pastoral work gave friars a stable form of life in the cities where they lived. The income and goods that were generated from their pastoral work and the donations from their churches would not only allow stability of lifestyle (they did not have to beg, but instead they worked for their living). Also, these resources would be passed on to the poor of the cities. The ownership of goods was therefore only temporary, in the sense that they would be passed on to others, but it was also permanent in that it allowed for stability in the maintenance of the friaries. The large convents in which they lived were emblematic of this: they were "fortresses of faith" that allowed a regularized life of prayer, study, and work. They were also centers of social outreach. Friars of various reform movements saw this stability of life as a violation of the Rule of Francis, according to which friars were to work not for tomorrow but only the present day.

In the early Franciscan movement friars also became more involved with cultural things, such as art, architecture, literature, music, and highly developed liturgy. Throughout western Europe, there was a



Communal Prayer. *Franciscan monks pray during the Easter Solemn Mass at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem's Old City, April 15, 2006.* **GALI TIBBON/AFP/GETTY IMAGES**

tremendous increase in the building of Franciscan churches in the 1240s, and friars became very much involved in the material construction and decoration of their own churches. The edifices of these churches were built primarily after the style of preaching churches, but the walls and side chapels showed great flourishes of the decorative arts (primarily frescos and stained glass). The income to provide this art came for the most part from the rich and powerful families of the cities, with whom friars were socially and economically involved. Many of the Franciscan churches being built in the major cities of Italy served multiple purposes—they were centers of spirituality for the administration of sacraments and for preaching, but they were also aesthetic centers, given the abundance of artistic work that filled their walls. The Conventuals excelled in music, as evidenced by a number of famous composers, choirs, organists, and other musicians. A major focus of many of the Conventual churches was a rich and vibrant celebration of the liturgy of the Eucharist and a lively devotional life that led people to a fuller celebration thereof (which was also a hallmark of Jesuit churches of the Baroque period).

Because many of the large convents also served as educational centers or were located near independent centers of higher learning, the Conventuals participated in the arts and sciences of these educational places. They were involved in many of the applied sciences, such as astronomy, cartography, mathematics, and psychology. In some cases, such as the large friary in Paris, the Franciscan way of life was at least partly influenced by the the scholarly lifestyle.

"Conventual" means living the life of a convent or friary, and the Conventuals tended to be more "monastic" in terms of everyday living. Large convents led to a much more developed practice of the regular life, which included Mass and the liturgy of the hours in common. A typical feature of the Conventual way of life is the house chapter, a monthly meeting of the friars of the convent or friary. The chapters fostered much more autonomy of the individual friaries within each province (juridical zone based on location) and the order at large.

Numerically the Conventuals are much smaller than the other two major groups of First Order Franciscans. The decreasing number of Conventuals in Europe and the United States has meant a loss of the richness of Conventual tradition within many of the convents of the order and the loss of the centers of Conventual

living. Nearly defunct in the late 1900s, they have since grown. Currently the Conventuals are growing in numbers in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

SEE ALSO FRANCIS OF ASSISI, ST.; FRANCISCANS, FIRST ORDER; POVERTY, RELIGIOUS.

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FRANCO, FRANCISCO

Spanish political and military leader; b. El Ferrol, Spain, December 4, 1892; d. Madrid, Spain, November 20, 1975.

Francisco Franco Bahamonde descended from a family of naval officers. He was destined for a career in that service but became an army cadet after his country's great naval defeat in the Spanish American War of 1898. He graduated from military academy in 1910 and rose rapidly in rank, serving mostly in North Africa. His courage and leadership in battle against Muslim rebels singled him out for advancement, and when he was promoted to brigadier general in 1926, he was the youngest general in any European army. Franco showed an early gift for self-publicity while commanding the newly created Spanish Foreign Legion, whose exploits he arranged to be portrayed in films. A national hero, he was honored by King Alfonso XIII (1886–1941), who was best man at his wedding. Franco's bride, Carmen Polo (1900–1988), whom he married in 1923, was a deeply religious woman who influenced her husband to become a more observant Catholic. Named head of the Military Academy at Zaragoza (1928), the young general experienced only a brief interruption in his success after the proclamation of the republic in 1931, which led to the termination of his appointment.

During the early 1930s, Franco held several regional commands, thanks to his ability to preserve a stance of political neutrality and to remain apparently aloof from the intrigues of his fellow officers. In 1936, however, he discarded his mask of detachment and emerged as one of the principal leaders of a military revolt that was to change the course of Spanish history. From his headquarters in Morocco, he led the Army of Africa (composed of Foreign Legion and colonial troops) across the Strait of Gibraltar and soon gained dominance in southern Spain.

Takes Power after Crusade. Between the summer of 1936 and early 1939, Franco led what came to be known as the National Crusade against the republic, whose supporters he denounced as godless communists and betrayers of all of Spain's most sacred traditions. His principal associates among the military rebels having died or been pushed aside, Franco emerged as chief of state and commander in chief of the armed forces. In a bloody civil war that involved not only his own Nationalist troops but also Republican forces made up of civilian loyalists drawn from party militias of the Spanish Left and regional separatists, Franco called on the aid of German and Italian Fascist leaders in what would later be considered a rehearsal for World War II. By the time the remnants of the Republican forces retreated across the Pyrenees into French internment camps, over 100,000 soldiers and civilians had been killed in battle or murdered, imprisoned, or forced into exile. The true winner of the war was Francisco Franco himself. Franco would remain the undisputed master of Spain for the rest of his life.

Various political groups, including monarchists who expected that he would merely be regent until the return of Alfonso XIII, found themselves subordinated to the man who was now referred to as El Caudillo, a title of leadership analogous to Adolf HITLER's Fuehrer and Benito MUSSOLINI's Duce. Franco would exercise power through a police state based on a minor political party founded before the Civil War, the Falange (Phalanx). Around this nucleus he built the National Movement. No other parties were permitted to exist. All democratic institutions were abolished or reduced to nullity, and the cult of personality supplanted that of royalism.

World War II Years. The immediate aftermath of Franco's victory saw Spain sunk in economic ruin and desperate POVERTY that left large segments of the population near starvation. While El Caudillo busied himself arranging for the construction of a massive memorial to the war (The Valley of the Fallen) and assembling the loyalist prisoners necessary to construct the monument to their own defeat, he was confronted by the outbreak of a world war in September 1939. Barely able to sustain his own country amid domestic problems, he was plagued by demands from Germany and Italy to repay their recent military assistance to him. At the same time, France and Britain (and later the United States) denounced him as an international pariah. The Caudillo's adroit maneuvers to bring Spain back into some semblance of internal sustainability were matched by his skill in dealing with the Fascist regimes, whose demands

ranged from a free passage across the country for German troops to attack Gibraltar to the repayment of a blood debt by Spanish troops being shipped to fight alongside the Axis forces.

Franco welcomed Hitler to a conference at his border with occupied France in 1940 but baffled the Fuehrer with a long string of reasons why Spaniards could not welcome their friends into Spanish territory at that moment. He fended off further demands for payment of debts until Germany had launched its invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. Ultimately Franco supplied a division of Spanish "volunteers" to fight on the Russian Front along with several squadrons of warplanes, but he withdrew all of these units after the Eastern Campaign turned against Hitler.

Cold War and New Directions. For all his maneuvers, Franco nevertheless reached the end of World War II in an even worse position: on the losing side. Only the almost immediate start of the Cold War saved him from permanent contempt and isolation. Counting on time to heal old resentments and Spaniards working abroad and sending remittances to support their families (and their county), the Caudillo concentrated on winning over American politicians who were prepared to welcome any ally, no matter how unsavory, in their global confrontation with Communism. By 1952 Spain had negotiated a treaty to lease several naval and air bases to the United States. The outcast nation, which had been excluded from membership in the UNITED NATIONS and was not invited to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), now became a de facto collaborator in the defense of the West against Communism. Franco thus emerged with a degree of legitimacy in the role that he had claimed for himself by force of revolution when he declared war on his own leftist countrymen in 1936. The early 1960s presented El Caudillo with new opportunities for enhancing his national and international prestige. At home, he began, very slowly and cautiously, an experiment in liberalization. These positive gestures affected both economic and political policies and led some to hope that there was indeed light at the end of a tunnel of dictatorship. Advisers who permitted themselves to be regarded as moderates hinted that a democratic MONARCHY might be created in the not too distant future. Touristic aspirations exchanged the scowling face of FASCISM for a smile of welcome. At last, shepherded by their American patrons into the United Nations, Spaniards began to feel, once again, a sense of being members of the international community.

Final Years. As Franco entered the final decade of a regime that could end only with his own demise, he created a complex of laws that designated a legitimate heir to Alfonso XIII as his own personal choice for successor. With this gesture, the man who had ruled for decades with all the pomp and pretense of a king finally decreed that Juan Carlos (1938–), the grandson of his old master, Alfonso XIII, would be his heir. At the same time that he assured conservatives, both civilian and military, that their values would still be protected, he raised the hope of reformers that he had now accepted the principle of evolution, guaranteeing that all would come out right at the end. Astute Spanish observers doubted this "soft landing," after an era of dictatorship, could be achieved. Those abroad who posed as expert analysts of Spain prophesied that Communism would surge up as soon as Franco was gone and precipitate a catastrophic battle with the forces of tradition.



Franco, Francisco (1892–1975). *Spanish political and military leader.*

Franco and the Church. Many predicted that the outcome of El Caudillo's departure would be decided by the role of the Catholic Church. Their calculations were, however, belied by a review of the period since Franco had first raised the flag of rebellion in 1936. His relationship to the Church had been ambivalent, and her response to him had been inconsistent. What could a careful examination of Franco's policies and the VATI-

CAN's reply to his claims tell the world about the ultimate outcome of Spain's Francoist experience?

Prior to the uprising in July 1936, the natural ANTICLERICALISM of most Republican supporters had been held in check by the republic's desire to maintain order, just as the Church had sought to achieve a *modus vivendi* with the government. The uprising unleashed a torrent of proletarian rage and ideological resentment against the clergy and confirmed the opinion of most conservatives that Catholicism was the only secure protector of everything that Spain held most dear. Hundreds of priests and at least a dozen bishops fell victim to leftist fury while surviving prelates fulminated against the infamy of the Loyalists. Franco was hailed as the Church's protector almost from the beginning of the military insurrection. His forces were excused for their most ruthless actions, and he loudly proclaimed his solidarity with the Spanish hierarchy. After his victory in 1939, he was heaped with unreserved praise by prelates who placed in his hand the relics of Spain's greatest historical achievements, such as the banner carried in triumphant battle against medieval Moors and the sword borne by Don Juan de Austria (1547–1578), conqueror of the Turks at the victory of Lepanto in the sixteenth century. Republican refugees assured their friends abroad that Franco was the embodiment of Catholic fanaticism and invoked the "black legend" that had built up around Spanish extremism over the centuries. Journalists spoke freely about the Spanish Inquisition as if that long-extinct institution were ready to inflict a reign of sectarian terror upon Franco's enemies. Facile generalizations linked the Vatican not only with the new Spanish regime but also with the Fascist dictatorships that were now about to launch a great war against Western DEMOCRACY.

The truth was more prosaic. The PAPACY and its leading supporters in Spain welcomed Franco's reinstatement of Catholic teaching in schools and Catholic doctrines on ABORTION, DIVORCE, and other matters that had been legalized by the republic, as well as a whole range of positions dear to conservatives throughout the Western world, even if they were neither Catholic nor Spanish. Franco was prepared to be accommodating on most of these questions. He was more pragmatic than doctrinaire. His prime concern was solidifying his power base and exalting his own status. He wanted to enjoy the power and deference granted to monarchs in the Age of ABSOLUTISM. Whenever a rivalry between the divine right of secular monarchy and the divine mandate claimed by the papacy arose, Franco proved just as assertive as any medieval king, clashing with ROME and those local prelates who seemed more loyal to the supreme pontiff than to the supreme leader in Madrid. This pattern of Church-state relations became more evident as World War II ended in 1945 and Franco spent the next decade trying to enhance his country's image and influence. Some of the very bishops who had sung his praises in 1939 now warned against his tendency to flatter international opinion and even to open Spain to the blandishments of American Protestantism. These critics were quickly marginalized by a dictatorship that wanted its hierarchy to be as submissive as its bureaucracy.

Franco's drive to conclude a treaty with the United States that would open Spanish bases to the NATO alliance in 1952 was also calculated to secure the respectability of United Nations membership (which came three years later). He was, at the same time, determined to achieve a concordat with the Vatican that would settle pending Church-state disputes. This, too, was attained in 1952. As with his goal of regularizing Spain's international political status, El Caudillo was determined to clear away the negative implications of the right to name Spanish bishops and to interfere with non-Catholic residents of Spain.

Franco found Pope JOHN XXIII and Pope PAUL VI troublesome when new tendencies in Church doctrine conflicted with what he considered the good order of Spanish society. Aided by fellow conservatives at home and abroad, he was generally able to restrict the pace of change. This became easier when his own advisers persuaded him that a degree of so-called liberalism was warranted in the ongoing management of Spain's affairs. In both CHURCH AND STATE issues, nevertheless, he retained an ultimate commitment to what he considered to be prudent programs. Moreover, no POPE or priest could persuade him to yield on his own prerogatives.

Much has been made of the influence of OPUS DEI. Founded in 1928 by the Spanish priest (later canonized) Josemaria ESCRIVÁ DE BALAGUER Y ALBÁS, it has been both praised and criticized. This organization, which has the character of a religious order with categories of laypeople as active and influential members, has come to be regarded by many in Spain and overseas as sinister. Ironically, it has been viewed with the sort of suspicion that conservative Catholics have long directed toward Freemasonry. Some, on the other hand, saw its "infiltration" during the Franco era into government ministries (as well as universities and businesses) as a positive development, facilitating a more open and progressive trend in Spain. Like most analyses of the Church's role in Spain, the facile characterization of Opus Dei as a secret power wielder ignored the fact that Franco would tolerate no encroachment on his total authority. He was ready to monitor initiatives from the Church with as much suspicious rigor as organizations in civil society.

For all the supposed trend toward progressivism and modernization during the last decade of Franco's life, he was still determined, at the end, to control a Spain that he had shaped in his own image and likeness. Thus, when he breathed his last in November 1975, he left the leading personalities of Church and state uncertain of what was going to become of them or their country. Some have said that it was the final joke of a man not usually given to humor. Having created modern Spain, he now demanded of those who had helped him or hindered him that they show what they could make of his legacy. Like all of the other institutions of twentieth-century Spain, the Church, despite its pretensions to universality, was obliged to work within what Franco had left to it. It would be well into the next century before the leaders of Spanish Catholicism could judge any more clearly than other institutional leaders what the future held for them.

SEE ALSO COLD WAR AND PAPACY; SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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FRASSINELLO, BENEDETTA CAMBIAGIO, ST.

Married foundress of the Congregation of the Benedictine Sisters of Providence (Suore Benedettine della Provvidenza); b. October 2, 1791, Langasco (near Genoa), Italy; d. March 21, 1858, Ronco Scrivia, Italy; beatified May 10, 1987; canonized May 19, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Benedetta Cambiagio was the daughter of Giuseppe and Francesca Cambiagio, who moved to Pavia while Benedetta was still young. Following a mystical experience in 1811, Benedetta wanted to devote herself to prayer in a convent, but instead she complied with her family's wishes and married Giovanni Battista Frassinello on February 7, 1816. In 1818 the couple agreed to live in continence as "brother and sister." During that time, Benedetta cared for her younger sister Maria, who was suffering from intestinal cancer. Following Maria's death in 1825, the couple chose to enter religious life: Giovanni joined the Somaschi Fathers, while Benedetta took the habit of the URSULINES of Capriolo. However, illness forced Benedetta to leave the convent and return to Pavia, where she decided to help abandoned girls. By request of Bishop Luigi Tosi (1763–1845) of Pavia, Giovanni left his monastery to assist her in this task.

Although Benedetta was appointed "Promoter of Public Instruction" and the couple publicly vowed perfect CHASTITY, they suffered criticism for the unusual relationship. Moreover, Benedetta's work to educate young girls troubled those in power and even some religious leaders. In 1833, with her husband and five companions, Benedetta founded the educational Institute of Benedictine Sisters of Providence, which continues its work in Italy, Spain, and several African and South American countries. In 1838 the couple turned over their work to the bishop and retired to the village of Ronco Scrivia, where they opened a girls' school. Benedetta helped to guide the newly formed congregation of BENEDICTINES until her death in 1858.

Benedetta was beatified in Rome by Pope John Paul II on May 10, 1987. On the feast of PENTECOST in 2002, the pope raised Benedetta to the glory of the altars. During his HOMILY at the canonization Mass in Rome, the pope observed that the "precious inheritance" Benedetta left to her congregation was her commitment to the love of God. She had abandoned herself totally to doing the will of God in all things: "With boundless confidence in the Lord's goodness, she abandoned herself to his 'loving Providence,' deeply convinced, as she liked to repeat, that one must 'do everything for love of God and to please him.'"

Feast: March 21.

SEE ALSO BENEDICTINE NUNS AND SISTERS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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FREINADEMETZ, JOSEPH, ST.

Priest and missionary; b. Oies, Val Badia, Italy, April 15, 1852; d. Taikia, China, January 28, 1908; beatified October 19, 1975, by Pope PAUL VI; canonized October 5, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Joseph Freinademetz was the fourth of twelve children born to peasant farmers Giovanmattia and Anna Maria Freinademetz; they lived in a mountainous region then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. An intelligent and devout child, Joseph attended local school before boarding at a German school in Bressanone. He graduated from college in 1872 and went on to study at the seminary at Bressanone. He was ordained on July 25, 1875.

Fr. Freinademetz was assigned to a parish in the town of St. Martin in Thurn. He was much appreciated in the community, but after two years, he decided to pursue his interest in missionary work. He contacted Fr. Arnold JANSSEN (canonized on October 5, 2003, by Pope John Paul II), who had founded the Divine Word Missionaries in 1875. Fr. Janssen arranged for Fr. Freinademetz to transfer to the mission house in Steyl, Netherlands, for training.

In 1879 Fr. Freinademetz and Fr. John Baptist Anzer (1851–1903) were sent to China, where they first settled in Hong Kong. In 1881 the young missionaries moved to a part of South Shantung that had been given to the mission order by the diocese and began their work. The priests built a chapel in Puoli, where most of the area's Catholics lived. A gifted linguist who spoke several languages, Fr. Freinademetz had learned the local dialect and took on most of the duties of traveling throughout the region, preaching and bonding with the people. Through hard work and his true respect and admiration for and identification with the Chinese, he earned their trust, and by 1888 had converted about one thousand people from many villages. Fr. Freinademetz understood the importance of building a community of catechists to assist in spreading the teachings of the Church, and he wrote a teachers' manual in Chinese to assist them. He and Fr. Anzer recruited local priests and missionaries and devoted themselves to the education and spiritual development of new clergy. They built a seminary in Puoli, later moved to Tsining, and a retreat house.

Fr. Freinademetz and his colleagues faced persecution due to political conditions in China and the widespread view that Christians were avatars of European imperialism. Oppression and violence increased during wars between China and France, and later China and Japan, during which two members of the Divine Word Missionaries were killed. The Boxer Rebellion (1900) saw a peak in violence; hundreds of missionaries were murdered, but Fr. Freinademetz, undeterred, continued his work. In later years, Fr. Freinademetz saw the pervasive westernization of China as the greatest threat to the future of his adopted people; he spoke against secularism and temporal opportunism.

Fr. Freinademetz was chosen to be diocesan administrator during several periods when Bishop Anzer, and later his successor, were away. Fr. Freinademetz served as rector of the order's seminary and visitator, a post to which he was appointed by Fr. Janssen; in the latter capacity, he visited every member of the order in 1896. From the order's retreat house in Taikia, he acted as provincial superior, responsible for the spiritual life of all missionaries in the province.

Fr. Freinademetz died after becoming ill while providing care and spiritual comfort to victims of a typhus outbreak. In canonizing him in 2003, Pope John Paul II observed that the new saint "made a gift of himself to the Chinese peoples of southern Shandong" and that he "imitated Jesus, who saved men and women by sharing their existence to the very end." In a visit to his birthplace in 2008, Pope BENEDICT XVI remarked that St. Joseph Freinademetz "shows us that faith does not mean alienation for any culture, for any people."

Feast: January 29.

SEE ALSO CHINA, CHRISTIANITY IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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FUSCO, ALFONSO MARIA, BL.

Priest, religious founder; b. Angri, Italy, March 23, 1839; d. Angri, February 6, 1910; beatified October 7, 2001, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Alfonso Maria Fusco was the first of five children born to Aniello Fusco and Josephine Schiavone. It was through the intercession of St. ALFONSUS DE LIGUORI that they were able to conceive their first child after four years of marriage. Alfonso was educated by priests in his early years, and at the age of eleven, he entered the Seminary of Nocera dei Pagani. He was ordained in 1863. In 1869 he joined the Congregation of Nocerini Missionary Priests. In 1873 he became cantor in the collegiate church in Angri, and then in 1897 became canon. He was known among the clergy for his diligence and zeal. The laity sought after him for the Sacrament of Reconciliation, and he was well loved by needy youth.

While in the seminary, Fusco was called in a dream to found an orphanage and an institute of sisters. This dream was fulfilled some fifteen years later, though not without obstacles. In 1878 he established the Congregation of the Baptistine Sisters of the Nazarene (Sisters of St. John the Baptist) with four devoted women. The order and the school for young orphans grew quickly, but they were forced to rely on divine providence for their basic needs. Fr. Fusco also faced continuing trials from two senior clergymen, who tried to remove him from the institute. In 1889 he opened a second house for needy youths, and went on to open several more throughout Italy. On the morning of February 6, 1910, Fr. Fusco died in his bed surrounded by the Sisters of St. John the Baptist.

There are over seventy-five graces attributed to his INTERCESSION, but the miracle highlighted for his BEATIFICATION was the complete healing of a young Zambian boy, Gershom Chizuma, from cerebral malaria. The cause for his beatification was opened in 1929. On January 9, 1976, Fr. Fusco received the title of VENERABLE, and in 2001 he became a BLESSED in Rome along with Archbishop Ignatius MALOYAN, Émilie TAVERNIER GAMELIN, Nikolaus GROSS, Euthymia UFFING, Tommaso Maria FUSCO, and Eugenia PICCO. The HOMILY, delivered by Pope John Paul II, connected each of the new blesseds to the theme of Habakkuk 2:4 that the just shall live by faith. The section dedicated to Fr. Alfonso Fusco highlighted the great works of his life.

Feast: February 7.

SEE ALSO ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, SISTERS OF; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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FUSCO, TOMMASO MARIA, BL.

Founder of the Daughters of Charity of the Most Precious Blood; b. Pagani, Italy, December 1, 1831; d. Pagani, February 24, 1891; beatified October 7, 2001, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Tommaso Fusco was the seventh of eight children born to the pious family of the noblewoman Stella Giordano and her husband, Dr. Antonio Fusco. Baptized

Tommaso, he later added "Maria" to his name out of devotion to Our Lady. When both his parents died, Tommaso's uncle Giuseppe, a priest and schoolteacher, took over the youth's early education. In 1847 Tommaso entered the seminary of Nocera, as had several of his brothers before him. He was ordained in 1855. Shortly thereafter, he began teaching catechetical classes for boys at his home and holding "evening chapel." In 1857 he joined the Congregation of the Missionaries of Nocera and became an itinerant missionary in southern Italy. In 1860 he became chaplain and spiritual director of the Shrine of Our Lady of Carmel in Pagani.

Continuing to teach from his home, Fr. Fusco began in 1862 to train priests in the ministry of confession. In the same decade, he founded the (Priestly) Society of the Catholic Apostolate to consolidate unity among the priests in his diocese and to aid missions among the common people. He also published a periodical funded by contributions from local priests. The society received papal approval in 1874.

In 1867 Fr. Fusco drew up the rule of life for the Institute of the Handmaids of Charity of the Most Precious Blood, whose purpose was to serve orphans. Now known as the Daughters of Charity of the Most Precious Blood, the order was officially recognized in 1873. The next year, Fr. Fusco became parish priest for the church of San Felice e Corpo di Cristo in Pagani.

Toward the end of his life, Fr. Fusco patiently endured persecution at the hands of envious fellow priests. He died on February 24, 1891, of liver disease. The cause for his BEATIFICATION was initiated in 1955, and the diocesan proceedings began in 1957. The HOLY SEE declared him VENERABLE in April 2001, and in July 2001 it recognized his INTERCESSION in the miraculous healing in 1964 of Maria Battaglia in Sicily.

In October 2001 Fr. Fusco became a BLESSED in Rome along with Archbishop Ignatius MALOYAN, Émilie TAVERNIER GAMELAN, Nikolaus GROSS, Euthymia ÜFFING, Alfonso Maria FUSCO, and Eugenia PICCO. The HOMILY, delivered by Pope John Paul II, connected each of the new blesseds to the theme of Habakkuk 2:4 that the just shall live by faith. The section dedicated to Bl. Tommaso Fusco highlighted his gift of faith.

Feast: February 24.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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G

GALEN, CLEMENS AUGUST GRAF VON, BL.

Cardinal, bishop of Münster, Germany; b. March 16, 1878, Dinklage, Oldenburg, Germany; d. March 22, 1946, Münster; beatified by Pope Benedict XVI, October 9, 2005.

Clemens August Graf was the son of Count Ferdinand Heribert von Galen and Elizabeth, Countess of Spee. After being educated by the JESUITS in Feldkirch, he studied at the Catholic University in Freiburg, Germany; the Jesuit theological college in Innsbruck, Austria; and the diocesan seminary in Münster, Germany. He was ordained in 1904. Following parish work in Berlin, he became pastor of St. Lambert's, Münster (1929). Having denounced the godlessness of Germany after World War I in his book *Die Pest des Laizismus und ihre Erscheinungsformen* (1932), von Galen became an outspoken critic of Adolf Hitler's regime after his consecration as bishop of Münster (1933). His sermons attacked Nazi racial doctrines, totalitarian methods, and state confiscation of religious property. He was critical, too, of the Gestapo, the policy of euthanasia for insane and "unproductive" members of society, and the efforts to undermine youth. Von Galen displayed no concern for his personal safety, but Hitler, fearing that the support of Westphalia might be entirely lost, seems to have ordered that no restraints be placed on the "Lion of Münster." After WORLD WAR II, the bishop continued his denunciation of injustices under the occupation authorities. He was created cardinal on February 17, 1946, shortly before being stricken with a fatal attack of intestinal paralysis.

In recognition of his courageous opposition to the atrocities committed by the Nazi regime, von Galen was declared venerable by Pope JOHN PAUL II on December 20, 2003, and on October 9, 2005, he was beatified by Pope Benedict XVI. The VATICAN in 1995 affirmed a miracle attributed to von Galen's intervention, which involved a sixteen-year-old Indonesian boy suffering from a severe attack of appendicitis that would have been fatal. The boy's life was saved after his nurse invoked von Galen's intercession. At the Mass of beatification in the Vatican Basilica, the homily of Cardinal José Saraiva Martins laid great emphasis on von Galen's profound faith, which called him to follow his Christian duty by bravely and publicly denouncing the Nazi government in its disrespect for the sanctity and dignity of human life. In the midst of depraved and destructive social policies, van Galen's unshakable commitment to living the GOSPEL encouraged the German people to do the same. Regarding his own integrity and responsibility as bishop, von Galen stated: "The good Lord gave me a position that obliged me to call what was black, black, and what was white, white, as outlined in episcopal ordination." Von Galen forever serves the Church and the German people in his testament to the veracity and superiority of Christian moral doctrine, demonstrated through the examples of his personal life and his ecclesiastical authority, in denouncing any regime or social policy that disrespects human life, however powerful or threatening it may be.

Feast day: March 22.

SEE ALSO HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM, PAPAL RESPONSE TO.

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GALLICAN LIBERTIES

In 1594, the French jurist Pierre PITHOU, a former Protestant, published *The Liberties of the Gallican Church (Recueil des libertés de l'Église gallicane)*. Its eighty-three articles represented a critique of both papal power in France and the power of French bishops versus royal authority. The articles stand as a veritable code of Gallicanism.

The claims were further embodied in the book published in 1636 by the brothers Pierre (1582–1651) and Jacques Dupuy (1586–1656), titled *The Rights and Liberties of the Gallican Church, with Their Proofs*. Subsequently, in 1663, as King LOUIS XIV attempted to extend royal Gallicanism, the Sorbonne endorsed the principles of Gallicanism. In 1682, the French prelate Jacques-Bénigne BOSSUET drew up the Gallican Articles, which he presented in his *Declaration of the French Clergy (Déclaration du clergé français)* in an effort to clarify the theological justification for Pithou's theses. They were also published in an official statement that same year by the Assembly of the French Clergy, which had been convened by order of Louis XIV for that purpose. Their principles are reducible to four statements, known as the Four Gallican Articles. In summary, they are:

1. That St. Peter and his successors, the popes, and in fact the Church itself, have received from God power only over spiritual matters and matters concerning salvation and not over temporal affairs. As such, kings and sovereigns are not, by God's will, subject to any ecclesiastical authority in temporal matters. Moreover, they cannot be deposed by papal authority, nor can their subjects be dispensed from obedience or allegiance by the same.
2. That papal authority does not supersede the decrees of the Council of CONSTANCE (1414–1418), as stated especially in its fourth and fifth sessions, which were approved by the HOLY SEE and confirmed by the practice of the entire Church, including the Gallican.
3. That the exercise of papal authority must also be regulated in accordance with the canons of the Church and that the customs and constitutions practiced in the Kingdom of France by the Gallican Church must be respected, obeyed, and remain inviolate. Therefore, papal authority must be exercised with respect for local and national church usages.
4. That although popes have "the principal part in questions of faith" and their decrees apply to all Churches, papal judgments are not irreformable unless confirmed by the consent of the universal Church through general councils.

King Louis XIV ordered that the articles be taught in all French universities as classic expressions of French national Catholicism, or Gallicanism. Because the articles were unacceptable to ROME, however, various French bishoprics remained vacant for many years. Pope ALEXANDER VIII (1689–1691) proclaimed null and void the declarations of the Assembly of the French Clergy concerning papal authority but allowed the French Crown to retain the revenues from such bishoprics. Meanwhile, Louis XIV forbade the bishops whom he had nominated to seek their bulls in Rome. In 1693, however, in a compromise with Pope INNOCENT XII (1691–1700), Louis XIV stated that he would no longer insist on the French clergy's unconditional adherence to the articles. For his part, the pope promised to ratify the appointment of bishops made by the king and reaffirmed King Louis's right (known as the regalia) to collect revenues from French bishoprics throughout the

kingdom. This compromise resulted in the rule of Gallicanism in the French Church until the FRENCH REVOLUTION of 1789. The Gallican Articles continued to be taught in France throughout the same period.

Gallicanism, the tradition in French Catholicism to resist complete papal authority over the universal Church, was a combination of various political positions and theological doctrines supporting the relative independence of the French Roman Catholic Church and the French government in their relations with the papacy. Four distinct, but closely related, forms of Gallicanism existed. Theological Gallicanism denied the absolute papal supremacy, arguing instead for the supremacy of ecumenical councils. Royal Gallicanism upheld the particular rights of the French monarch in the French Church and upheld the independence of the French crown from Rome in all temporal affairs. Ecclesiastical Gallicanism sought to retain for the French hierarchy a certain amount of administrative independence from Rome. Parliamentary Gallicanism, which developed later and represented a position taken by the French *parlements*, advocated the complete subordination of the French Church to the state and even advocated the government's intervention in matters of finance and discipline.

A number of these aspects of Gallicanism were in theory developed during the crisis of the Great WESTERN SCHISM (1378–1417), particularly the conciliar theories that asserted the supremacy of general councils over the popes. At that time, the University of Paris, under the aegis of Jean GERSON and Pierre d'Ailly (1350–1420), formulated the principles of theological Gallicanism to support and justify the withdrawal of obedience by France (1398, 1407) and the convocation of the Council of Constance (1414–1418). These theories were further developed at the Council of BASEL (1431–1449).

In 1438, King Charles VII of France (1402–1461) formalized these same views in the PRAGMATIC SANCTION of Bourges, which represented the effort of the French clergy to assert certain articles that had been put forth at the Council of Constance. Thus, conciliarism can be seen as an earlier form of Gallicanism.

But if such Gallican provisions disappeared from French laws, their principles continued to influence the schools of theology and parliamentary jurisprudence. They even emerged at the Council of TRENT (1545–1563), where French theologians, bishops, and delegates consistently upheld them, especially in terms of the question of whether episcopal jurisdiction comes directly from God or through the pope and whether or not the council must seek confirmation of its decrees from the supreme PONTIFF. Invoking the *Liberties of the Gallican Church*, a section of the French clergy and members of *parlement* opposed the publication of the decrees of that council. Finally, the crown published only those that seemed to be ordinances emanating from the royal authority.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, as a reaction to Protestantism's denial of all papal authority, Gallican sentiment declined among the French clergy and to an extent in the *parlements* despite Pithou's publication of the *Gallican Liberties*. But the assassination of King HENRY IV (1610), which was exploited to move public opinion against ULTRAMONTANISM, precipitated a strong revival of GALLICANISM that steadily increased. During the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) it was also supported by the Jansenists and within the royal court.

During the eighteenth century, Gallicanism spread into other parts of Europe, notably the Low Countries and Germany, where it took the form of FEBRONIANISM and Josephism. However, the development of Gallicanism would eventually be curtailed by the French Revolution, which removed one of its cornerstones by overturning royal power. Initially, a large part of the French clergy, who generally supported Gallicanism, accepted the Revolution's CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY (1790), but as the Revolution became more extreme and deposed the monarch, much of the clergy and the hierarchy moved closer to Rome.

With the CONCORDAT OF 1801, and especially its addendum, the Organic Articles, the French government made an effort to revive the Ancient Gallican Liberties, and even the obligation of teaching the articles of 1682, but ecclesiastical Gallicanism never fully revived. Finally in 1869, with the Vatican Council, particularly its proclamation of papal infallibility and its condemnation of most of the Gallican Articles, Gallicanism almost disappeared. It survives only in the teachings of the Old Catholic Church.

SEE ALSO CHURCH AND STATE; CHURCH AND STATE (CANON LAW); CONCILIARISM (HISTORY OF); CONCILIARISM (THEOLOGICAL ASPECT); FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; GALLICAN RITES; JANSENISM.

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GALVÃO, ANTHONY OF SAINT ANNE, ST.

Franciscan priest, founder, first Brazilian native elected to sainthood; b. 1739, Guaratinguetá, São Paulo, Brazil; d. December 23, 1822, São Paulo; beatified October 25, 1998, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized May 11, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Antonio Galvão's socially prominent, devout father encouraged his son's religious vocation by sending him to study (1752–1756) at the Jesuit seminary of Belém. Eventually, Antonio entered the novitiate of the Alcantarine Franciscans at Macacu near Rio de Janeiro (1760), professed his solemn vows (1761), and was ordained a priest (1762). Upon completing his studies in 1768, he was appointed porter at St. Francis Friary in São Paulo and engaged in priestly ministry.

While serving as chaplain to the Recollects of St. Teresa (1769–1770), Fr. Galvão met the mystic nun Helena Maria Espírito Santo. With her, in 1774, he founded the convent of Our Lady of the Conception of the Divine Providence, a women's religious community that initially required no vows. Following Helena's death in 1775, Galvão continued to nurture the community—the Recolhimento de Nossa Senhora da Luz (Recollects of Our Lady of Light)—by writing its rule and ensuring the completion of its convent and church (dedicated in 1802). The community was incorporated into the Order of the Immaculate Conception in 1929.

In addition to this work, Galvão served as novice master in Macacu (1781), guardian of St. Francis Friary in São Paulo (1798, 1801), definitor (1802), visitator general, and chapter president (1808). He founded St. Clara Friary in Sorocaba in 1811. Above all, he responded to his religious vocation by caring for the poor, sick, afflicted, and enslaved. In his declining years, Galvão lived at the Recolhimento da Luz, where his mortal remains are enshrined in its church. On March 8, 1997, he was declared VENERABLE.

Pope John Paul II beatified Galvão on October 25, 1998. The pope called Galvão "a fervent worshiper of the Eucharist, a teacher and defender of Christian charity, a prudent counselor for the spiritual life, and a defender of the poor." Many miracles have been attributed to Galvão, whom Brazilians continue to seek at the monastery where he is buried. Two cures in particular advanced Galvão's cause for canonization, including that of an infertile woman with a malformed uterus, who, through Galvão's INTERCESSION, was able to carry her child to term.

More than a million people attended the canonization in São Paulo on May 11, 2007. During the Mass, Pope Benedict XVI remarked that, as with Christ, the poor and the sick journeyed to Fr. Galvão because of his burning charity. The pope further noted that many had sought out Galvão as a confessor because of his zeal, wisdom, and prudence.

Fr. Galvão stands out as a distinctly Marian saint. He defended Mary's title of "Immaculate" during his life, though he did not live to see the dogmatic definition offered by Pope PIUS XII in 1854. Galvão also stands out in a unique way among the saints through his devotion of Marian consecration—a gift he had made of himself "irrevocably" from his youth and one he encouraged for his spiritual daughters. In the canonization Mass, Pope Benedict directed believers to the saint's love for Our Lady, saying that Galvão had left a "fine example" for true Marian devotion:

> Mary, Mother of God and our Mother, stands particularly close to us at this moment. Frei Galvão prophetically affirmed the truth of the Immaculate Conception. She, the Tota Pulchra, the Virgin Most Pure, who conceived in her womb the Redeemer of mankind and was preserved from all stain of original sin, wishes to be the definitive seal of our encounter with God our Savior. There is no fruit of grace in the history of salvation that does not have as its necessary instrument the mediation of Our Lady....There is a phrase included in the formula of his consecration which sounds remarkably contemporary to us, who live in an age so full of hedonism: "Take away my life before I offend your blessed Son, my Lord!" They are strong words, the words of an impassioned soul, words that should be part of the normal life of every Christian.

Feast: December 23.

SEE ALSO BRAZIL, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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GARCÍA ZAVALA, MARÍA GUADALUPE, BL.

Baptized Anastasia, Superior General of the religious congregation Handmaids of St. Margaret Mary and the Poor, Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico; b. April 27, 1878, Zapopan, Jalisco, Mexico; d. June 24, 1963, Guadalajara, Mexico; beatified by Pope John Paul II, April 25, 2004.

María Guadalupe García Zavala showed unusual compassion for the poor and sick, even as a young girl. The daughter of Fortino García, who ran a religious goods shop, and Refugio Zavala de García, she was one of eight children, two of whom died as infants. María was taught at home by her aunt, who was a nun.

The young María often visited the Basilica of Our Lady of Zapopan, beside her father's shop. She joined the St. Vincent de Paul Society and cared for the sick to demonstrate her love for God. She was engaged to be married but broke off the engagement at twenty-three, saying JESUS was calling her to serve him by helping the poor and the sick.

Her spiritual director, Father Cipriano Iñiguez, asked María to help him found a religious congregation to help the poor who needed hospitalization. They established the Handmaids of St. Margaret Mary (Alacoque) and the Poor on October 13, 1901.

María became a nurse at the hospital, where she gave special care to the elderly and helped feed and clothe the poor of the community, showing motherly compassion. She taught the other sisters by example to be sincerely and joyfully "poor with the poor." Father Cipriano Iñiguez died in 1931, and Mother María was assigned director of the Conference of St. Margaret Mary; she was named Superior General one month later.

When the Catholic Church was persecuted in Mexico (1911–1936), Mother María, fondly known as Mother Lupita, provided sanctuary for the priests and the archbishop. When times were hard, she and the other sisters begged for offerings to meet their patients' needs.

Eleven foundations were established in Mexico during her lifetime. As of 2009, the congregation had twenty-two, in Mexico, Peru, Iceland, Greece, and Italy.

Mother María died at eighty-five, after a two-year illness. The VATICAN later recognized a miracle of healing after a Chicago truck driver with severe pancreatitis prayed for Mother Lupita's intercession. She was beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II on Easter Sunday in 2004. The pope said during the homily, "Mother 'Lupita' ... lived the motto which she left to her daughters: *Charity to the point of sacrifice and perseverance until death*."

Feast: June 24.

SEE ALSO MEXICO (MODERN), THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; ST. VINCENT DE PAUL, SOCIETY OF.

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GARIBALDI, GIUSEPPE

Italian military and nationalist leader; b. Nice, France, July 4, 1807; d. Caprera Island, near Sardinia, June 2, 1882.

Giuseppe Garibaldi's reputation as the most popular political figure in the history of modern Italy rests on solid ground. His modest social origins, easy manner, and physical appearance contributed to his image as a man of the people who lacked pretensions and fought selflessly for the causes he embraced. His native town of Nice was part of Napoleonic France at the time of his birth, but from an early age he identified with the Italian culture of the city. At the age of sixteen he set out to pursue his father's trade as a seaman, journeyed in the

Mediterranean, worked his way up the chain of command, and served as a lieutenant in the navy of the Kingdom of Sardinia. His political awakening is ascribed to the influence of Henri de SAINT-SIMON, whose ideas reached him on his voyages by contact with followers of the French social theorist. He joined Giuseppe MAZZINI's Young Italy, took part in the unsuccessful conspiracy of 1834, and escaped abroad under sentence of death. From 1835 to 1848 he made a name for himself fighting in South America, most notably for the cause of Uruguayan independence. In these early ventures the qualities of leadership, physical courage, and resourcefulness in dangerous situations emerged—the same qualities that would make him the preeminent figure in the struggle for Italian independence.

In 1848 Garibaldi offered his military services to Pope PIUS IX, whose early liberal reforms endeared him temporarily to Italian patriots. Receiving no reply from the pope, he sailed for Italy nonetheless, offering his services to King Charles Albert of Piedmont-Sardinia, who was at war with Austria. Rebuffed, he obtained a command in Lombardy, where insurgents were also fighting the Austrians. When the Austrians prevailed, he fought for the Roman Republic of 1849. His gallant actions in Lombardy and ROME burnished his reputation as a courageous fighter for the cause of liberty and earned him more years in exile. He returned to Italy in 1854, settling on the island of Caprera, which became his place of refuge. In 1859 he was given a command in the Sardinian army and once again fought well against the Austrians. The next year he led the legendary expedition of "The Thousand" to Sicily, which resulted in the political unification of most of the Italian peninsula in 1861, minus Rome and Venice. He fought against the Austrians in 1866, when Italy gained Venice, and in 1862 and 1867 he led volunteers in two unsuccessful attempts to take Rome, which was finally seized by the Italian regular army in September 1870. Garibaldi's republican sentiments did not prevent him from cooperating with monarchists for the sake of national unity.

Garibaldi held on to a few fundamental principles that appealed because of their simplicity. He regarded the cause of Italian independence as part of the larger struggle by all oppressed nationalities to gain respect and dignity. He proclaimed himself a democrat, championed universal suffrage, and even spoke against war; but he argued that the people must be trained to fight for their liberty, and that in times of emergency power should be entrusted to a temporary dictator. He was not fundamentally antireligious, but anticlerical sentiments eventually dominated his mind. He was married in the Church to his first wife, the Brazilian Anita Riveiro da Silva (1821–1849). He professed belief in a Newtonian God that was regulator of the natural order, and in the TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS. The ANTICLERICALISM of his later years was motivated largely by papal opposition to Italian unification and by concern that a religious education would undermine the people's sense of PATRIOTISM and readiness to fight for their own liberty. His name has served as a rallying cry to patriotic Italians of virtually all political persuasions.

SEE ALSO CHURCH AND STATE; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; NAPOLEON I.

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GIACCARDO, TIMOTEO, BL.

Baptized Giuseppe Domenico Vicenzo Antonio (Joseph Dominic Vincent Anthony) Giaccardo; publisher, Pauline priest, founder of the Pious Disciples of the Divine Master; b. June 13 1896, Narzole (diocese of Alba), Cuneo, Italy; d. January 24 1948, at Rome; beatified October 22, 1989 by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

His parents were peasant farmers who began instilling in their son a strong spirit of prayer from infancy. Giaccardo met Bl. James ALBERIONE (beatified on April 27, 2003 by Pope John Paul II), founder of the Society of St. Paul, while serving Mass at St. Bernard's Church in Narzole in 1908. Giaccardo entered the diocesan seminary in Alba (1917), but he received his bishop's permission to join the Paulines, despite the bishop's initial caution about the new society. Giaccardo was ordained in 1919 as the first priest of the new order, taking the name Timothy upon his profession in 1920.

Giaccardo's ministry consisted of writing, editing, and distributing religious material. In addition, he helped in the formation of younger members of the order as a teacher of theology and served as vocation director. In 1926, he was entrusted with founding the society's first house in Rome. There he edited the weekly *The Voice of Rome* and managed the pressroom. He was recalled to Alba to direct the motherhouse, but sent back to Rome in 1946 as provincial superior of the Society of St. Paul and vicar general of the congregation.

Recognizing the importance of prayer to support the active ministries of the Pauline Family, he established the nucleus of the contemplative branch, the Sister Disciples of the Divine Master. When the Holy See opposed the division of the Daughters of St. Paul, Giaccardo was given the delicate task of persuading Vatican authorities to approve the community, which happened in 1948.

Although Giaccardo was Alberione's chosen successor, he died shortly after the approbation of the new contemplative order. His body was laid to rest in the lower crypt of the Basilica of Mary, Queen of Apostles, next to the house he founded.

During the beatification Mass, John Paul II declared: "Timothy Giaccardo, the first disciple of Father Alberione, interpreted fidelity to his own priestly vocation as proclaiming the Gospel through the press, thereby having an even broader and deeper effect on his brothers and sisters. Thus he proposed to spread the Gospel and the Church's teaching through the modern means of social communication, which he saw as the principal and typical apostolate of the modern world." He is the patron saint of publishers.

Feast: October 22.

SEE ALSO MODERN MEDIA AND THE CHURCH; PAULINE FATHERS AND BROTHERS.

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GINARD MARTÍ, MARÍA DE LOS ÁNGELES, BL.

Baptized Angela, known in religion as Mary of the Angels, professed religious sister, Congregation of the Zealous Sisters of Eucharistic Adoration, martyr; b. April 3, 1894, Llucmajor, Majorca, Balearic Islands, Spain; d. August 26, 1936, shot and killed by a firing squad in Dehesa de la Villa, Madrid, Spain; beatified by Pope Benedict XVI, October 29, 2005.

The third of nine children born to Margherita Martí Canals and Sebastiano Ginard Garcia, Angela Ginard Martí made her first Holy Communion on April 14, 1905, at which time she felt called to religious life. After the family moved to Palma de Majorca, Angela and her two older sisters helped support the family. Young Angela regularly went to Mass, recited the Holy Rosary, and prayed for others.

Angela sought her parents' permission to enter the convent when she was twenty years old, but they asked her to wait, because they still needed her at home. They consented when she was twenty-seven, and she entered the Congregation of the Zealous Sisters of Eucharistic Adoration on November 26, 1921.

Upon her first vows, she became known as Sister Mary of the Angels. She received an assignment in Madrid, then in Barcelona, and then again in Madrid, where she was appointed superior of the convent.

When the Spanish Civil War broke out in 1936, the Catholic Church was persecuted by the Republican militia. Desperate to stop the killing and destruction, Sr. Mary of the Angels offered her life as a martyr, if it were God's will. When she and the sisters had to flee the convent on July 20, 1936, she told them, "All they can do to us is to kill us, nothing more."

She lived in hiding with a family until August 25, when she was betrayed by a porter. Militiamen came to arrest her and the landlord's sister. Sr. Mary saved the other woman's life by telling the soldiers, "I am the only nun here." The troops forced her to walk to Dehesa de la Villa, where a firing squad shot and killed her at sunset on August 26. Her remains were found in a common grave.

On April 19, 2004, Pope JOHN PAUL II approved the decree of martyrdom for her beatification. She was proclaimed blessed by Pope BENEDICT XVI's representative, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins, on October 29, 2005. The pope venerated her relics and said that through community service and long adoration of the Holy Sacrament, Sr. Mary prepared herself "to give her life as a supreme expression of love for Christ."

Feast: August 30.

SEE ALSO MARTYR; MARTYRDOM, THEOLOGY OF; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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GIUSSANI, LUIGI

Italian priest and teacher, founder of lay group COMMUNION AND LIBERATION; b. Desio, Italy, October 15 1922; d. Milan, February 22, 2005.

Luigi Giussani entered the minor seminary of St. Peter Martyr in 1933, and in 1937 he entered the major seminary of Venegono in Milan. After being ordained a priest in 1945, he taught dogmatic and oriental theology at the seminary for the next twelve years. At that point, a casual encounter with some young people on a train made him realize how foreign the Faith had become to a people that, historically, were strongly Catholic. Following this realization, he decided to abandon what looked to be a successful academic career in order to dedicate himself to the education of young people in the beauty of the Incarnation, the reasonableness of faith, and the fullness of humanity disclosed in Christ.

In 1954, Giussani began to teach religion at Milan's Berchet Classical High School, where, with some of his students, he began a movement called Gioventù Studentesca (Student Youth, or GS), which originally emerged from within Azione Cattolica (CATHOLIC ACTION). Giussani's educative work structured Christian life according to the dimensions of culture, charity, mission, liturgy, and poverty. He taught that Christ is the meaning of all things. This teaching took on a variety of forms, including a critical and public engagement with the most varied issues and a weekly meeting—first called "radius" and later "school of community." This meeting is a focused, personal confrontation with Christian existence as it is expressed both in magisterial documents and in Giussani's own texts. Every Sunday, thousands of GS members went to a rural area south of Milan to share the lives of the poor children, and thus learn the meaning of charity. Giussani gave spiritual exercises twice a year, and he taught the prayer of the liturgy of the hours and the Church's musical tradition in order to present the life and meaning of Christian LITURGY and PRAYER. Starting in 1962, the missionary impulse of the movement moved many to leave Italy for other countries.

Gioventù Studentesca soon became a self-standing reality that, after Giussani began to teach theology at Milan's Catholic University in 1964, took the name Comunione e Liberazione (Communion and Liberation, or CL). This name, coined by university students in 1968, was meant to indicate that man's true liberation is not the fruit of any ideology or man's efforts, as Europeans generally believed in the 1960s. Instead, according to this view, only Christian communion can really make man free. Although CL members are of all ages, its mature expression is the Fraternity of Communion and Liberation, founded by Giussani and pontifically recognized as a lay association by John Paul II in 1982.

Monsignor Giussani witnessed the beauty of consecrated life and motivated hundreds to follow Christ in that path. In 1964 he founded Memores Domini, which was recognized as a pontifical lay association in 1988 and is composed of CL members who follow a vocation of total dedication to God while living in the world. Some CL members founded the Sisters of Charity of the Assumption in 1993, while others became diocesan priests or joined the Cistercian Trappists of Vitorchiano. A few of them, under the close guidance of Giussani, founded the Benedictine monastery of Cascinazza in Milan. His charism also educates men for the ordained priesthood with the Fraternity of the Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo, a society of apostolic life of pontifical right founded by Monsignor Massimo Camisasca, one of Giussani's first students. Giussani died in Milan on February 22, 2005. Cardinal Joseph RATZINGER presided at his funeral, which was attended by over 40,000 people. The movement of Communion and Liberation is now present in over 70 countries.

Giussani's written work (over fifty volumes) grew out of the concrete experience of Christian faith lived in dialogue with those he was educating. His most widespread and cited work is a trilogy that (1) sets out a path toward the truth of man (2) revealed by Christ, whose divine life and saving presence (3) can be met and lived in the Church. The trilogy is thus comprised

of *The Religious Sense* (1997), *At the Origin of the Christian Claim* (1998), and *Why the Church?* (2001). Giussani's work aims at overcoming a misconception of Christianity as a theory or a helpful ethical system. His work teaches that Christianity is rather the event of the encounter with Jesus Christ, God's presence in history. The event of Christ reveals man to himself and educates him to recognize and adhere freely to what man most truly desires: to live out his constitutive relation with the paternal Mystery, whose existence is revealed within man's experience but whose face remains unknown until Christ discloses it. The baptized person is therefore a new creature, one whose ontology constitutes the root of that truly moral existence determined by the ever-new following of Christ, in the Church and at the Church's service, for the sake of the world.

SEE ALSO LIBERATION THEOLOGY; LIBERATION THEOLOGY, LATIN AMERICA.

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GOJDIČ, PAVOL PETER, BL.

Baptized Peter, known in religion as Pavol; priest, bishop; b. July 17, 1888, Ruské Pekľany, near Prešov, Slovakia; d. July 17, 1960, Leopoldov, Slovakia; beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II, November 4, 2001.

Peter Gojdič was born in Ruské Pekľany, near Prešov, Slovakia, to Greek Catholic priest Štefan Gojdihc and Anna Gerberyová. He was ordained a priest on August 27, 1911.

He joined the Order of St. Basil the Great at Černicia Hora, and he adopted the name Pavol when he took the habit on January 27, 1923. In 1926 he became administrator of the eparchy of Prešov. He said his goal was "to be a father to orphans, a support for the poor and consoler to the afflicted."

On March 25, 1927, he was consecrated bishop at the Church of Harpaš. He erected new parishes and built an orphanage and a school, becoming known as "a man with a heart of gold" for his kindness and charity.

Pope PIUS XI appointed him residential bishop of Prešov on August 8, 1940. He was given jurisdiction over the Greek Catholics in all of Czechoslovakia on January 15, 1946.

When the Communist Party came to power in 1948, Bishop Gojdič resisted its attempts to make the Greek Catholic Church submit to Russian Orthodoxy. On April 28, 1950, the state outlawed the Church, and Bishop Gojdič was arrested. The so-called high-treason bishops—Gojdič, Vojtaššák, and Buzalka—were tried in January 1951. They were given life sentences in prison, fined 200,000 crowns, and deprived of their civil rights.

Over the next ten years, Bishop Gojdič was transferred from prison to prison. Although he was offered release many times, on the condition that he renounce his faith and serve in the Russian Orthodox Church, he always refused.

On his seventieth birthday, Pope PIUS XII sent him a telegram in prison, assuring him his heroism would not be forgotten. Due to illness and mistreatment, Bishop Gojdič died in the prison hospital. As he had wished, it was on July 17, 1960, his seventy-second birthday. He was buried in the prison cemetery at Leopoldov as Prisoner 681.

His remains were moved in 1968 to Prešov, where, in 1990, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, they were transferred to the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist. Bishop Gojdič was decorated posthumously with the Order of T.G. Masaryk, second class, and with the Cross of Pribina, first class.

In his homily, Pope John Paul II said the bishop "profoundly shared the saving mission proclaimed by Christ" (Luke 19:10) and, because of his suffering, "now [shared] the same crown of glory."

Feast: July 17.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; COMMUNISM; GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH (EASTERN CATHOLIC); ORTHODOX CHURCH OF RUSSIA; SLOVAKIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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GONZÁLEZ, EMMANUEL GÓMEZ, BL.

Also known as Manuel, priest, missionary, MARTYR; b. São José de Ribarteme, Spain, May 29, 1877; d. shot to death at Feijão Miúdo, Três Passos, Brazil, May 21, 1924; beatified October 21, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Emmanuel Gómez González was the son of José and Josefina González of the diocese of Tuy, Spain. Ordained a priest on May 24, 1902, Fr. González served in his home diocese for two years and then asked to serve in the neighboring diocese of Braga, Portugal, where he was a parish priest from 1905 to 1913. When persecutions of the Church began in 1913, he was permitted to sail to Brazil on an evangelizing mission. He began serving as a parish priest in Saudade, in the diocese of Santa Maria, on January 23, 1914.

Fr. González was transferred in December 1915 to a large parish in the same diocese, at Nonoai. In eight years of evangelism there, he significantly increased the number of faithful, ministering especially to the native Indians. He also served as administrator for the remote vacant parish of Palmeiras das Missões.

Fr. González founded a school at Nonoai; one of the students, (Bl.) Adílio DARONCH, was an altar server who often accompanied him on his pastoral visits. After HOLY WEEK in 1924, the two set out on an assigned mission to visit a colony of European planters in Três Passos. The priest and Adílio, then fifteen, had no idea that they would be endangering their lives by passing through territory controlled by revolutionaries.

After stopping in Palmeiras to administer the sacraments, the two continued on to a military colony, where Father González celebrated Mass for the last time, on May 20. In spite of a warning by local Christians not to enter the Três Passos forest, the zealous priest pressed on. The next day, when he and Adílio stopped to ask for directions, some soldiers offered their aid. The soldiers led them to a remote forest plateau near Feijão Miúdo, where revolutionaries bound them to two trees and shot them to death. Their remains were removed to the parish church at Nonoai in 1964, and a monument was built at the site where they were martyred.

Fr. González and Adílio were beatified in a 2007 ceremony by Pope Benedict XVI's representative, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins, in Frederico Westphalen, Brazil. In his HOMILY, Cardinal Martins observed that Father González and Adílio "defied the dangers and disregarded the threats, offering their holocaust together, so that their final communion might shine aloft like a light in human darkness held hostage by hatred and violence."

Feast: May 21.

SEE ALSO BRAZIL, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN)

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GOOD SHEPHERD, CATECHESIS OF THE

Founded in ROME in 1954 by two Italian laywomen, Sofia Cavalletti and Gianna Gobbi, the Catechesis of the Good Shepherd (CGS) is a unique approach to the religious formation of children between the ages of three and twelve. Cavalletti, a scripture scholar, and Gobbi, a

Montessori teacher, sought to engage the whole child through movement, sensorial materials, work, and song—through a kind of lived experience—and thus nurture the child's deep love for and communion with God. By carefully observing children for many years, they concluded that young people are fully capable of joyous peace and quiet contemplation—virtues we tend to think are only possible for adults. Using the child's joy as a criterion, they found that children responded to the deepest, most essential message of the Christian announcement, particularly to the message of a tender God who cherishes his people and calls them by name: the GOOD SHEPHERD.

Cavalletti and Gobbi worked with children and made their observations in a so-called atrium. Originally conceived by Maria MONTESSORI, this room is specially designed and equipped with the aim of preparing children for fuller participation in the liturgical and sacramental life of the Church. The name for the room comes from the architecture of early Christian churches, where the atrium was a front courtyard in which catechumens were instructed. The materials in the atrium are movable, adapted to children's sizes, interests, and abilities, and they invite children to look, touch, and move around. The atrium and its specially prepared materials are at the heart of the Catechesis of the Good Shepherd.

The atrium is not viewed as a classroom, lest religious faith be considered as one among many academic subjects; rather, it is an environment where the child, through contemplatively working with the materials and hearing the word of God, can absorb and ponder the INCARNATION, the KINGDOM OF GOD, the Paschal Mystery, baptism, and the Eucharist. The catechist in the atrium setting is not viewed as a teacher but as a colistener, whose main task is to nurture discretely the child's relationship with God and to provide an environment where the child may enter into conversation with Christ, the teacher.

Using Maria Montessori's principles, Cavalletti and Gobbi developed materials to introduce children to Scripture and the liturgy. Refinements of the catechesis over the years lead the two women to keep only those materials that evoked joy, reflection, and contemplation in children. They found these appealed to children of all cultures and economic conditions and included such items as a miniature altar, a tabernacle, vestments, a baptismal font, and small dioramas with movable figures, depicting both the parables and historical events in the life of Christ.

CGS is divided into what the Association for the Catechesis of the Good Shepherd calls three "pathways to God's Kingdom." The first, Level I, is for the three- to six-year-old child, who, they have observed, "is particularly capable of receiving and enjoying … the announcement of God's love, in the person of the Good Shepherd, who died and is risen." The other Scripture passages that evoked that the same joyous response were the parables describing the Kingdom of Heaven, namely, those concerning the mustard seed, the yeast, the seed of grain, the pearl of great price, and the hidden treasure.

Level II is for ages six to nine. It cultivates children's developing moral capacity, their desire to respond actively to the gift of God's love. The primary image for this level is Christ the True Vine, to whom we are attached as branches. The moral life is seen as an organic development of the relationship with the person of Christ, a fruit of "remaining" in the Vine. The Sacrament of Reconciliation, introduced at this age, is described as removing blocks or obstacles that prevent the vivifying sap from flowing into the branch. The child is also invited to ponder the moral life through parables such as those concerning the wise and foolish virgins, the good Samaritan, the insistent friend, and the Prodigal son. These parables assist older children's need to grow in their relationship with God, as well as with the wider community of friends, family, and the Church. The bible is introduced at this level. Salvation history is introduced in the large framework of three significant times: CREATION, redemption, and PAROUSIA. Children are simultaneously invited to consider what their own roles and tasks might be to bring about the kingdom of God.

In Level III, nine- to twelve-year-old children continue to grow in knowledge of the Sacraments and Salvation history. The material focuses on a typological reading (i.e., a prefigurative reading of the Old Testament, which interprets events, persons, and things as a foreshadowing of events, persons, and things in the New Testament) of biblical narratives that are also liturgically significant: Creation, the Fall, the Flood, the Covenant, and the Exodus. The Jewish understanding of "memorial" is used to deepen appreciation for the Eucharist. Children look more intently at the history of God's collaboration with the human race as the unfolding of His plan. In the great book of this history, children understand that they, too, have been given a blank page on which to write.

The appeal of CGS is very broad. According to the National Association, it is present in thirty-five countries and interest continues to spread worldwide. With its focus on the emotional needs of the child, the essential Christian message, and attentive listening to Scripture, CGS has attracted Christians of many denominations. Atriums have been established not only in Catholic homes, schools, and parishes, but also in a variety of other Christian settings. As of August 2009, there were 957 registered atriums in the United States; while predominantly Catholic, about a third are run by Episcopalians. Some atriums supplement the CGS

materials with explicitly Catholic devotions such as the ROSARY and celebrations of the saints. Many parishes have found a way to introduce into their customary religious education classrooms the sense of home, work, and conversation that is characteristic of the CGS.

SEE ALSO BAPTISM, SACRAMENT OF; BAPTISTERIES AND BAPTISMAL FONTS; COVENANT (IN THE BIBLE); LITURGICAL VESTMENTS; PARABLES OF JESUS; REDEMPTION (IN THE BIBLE); SALVATION HISTORY (HEILSGESCHICHTE).

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GORAZDOWSKI, ZYGMUNT, ST.

Priest and founder of the Bonus Priest Association and the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Lviv, Ukraine; b. November 1, 1845, Sanok, Poland; d. January 1, 1920, Lviv; beatified June 26, 2001, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized October 23, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

The second of seven children, Zygmunt was part of a pious Roman Catholic family. Though difficult living conditions and a series of lung ailments challenged him from an early age, Zygmunt completed his primary education in Przemysl, Poland, and decided to pursue further studies in the law at Lviv University. Recognizing a vocation for the priesthood, he left the university in his second year and entered the Latin Catholic Seminary in Lviv. Despite the need for medical treatment, and after a long period of convalescence, Gorazdowski was ordained in the LATIN RITE on July 25, 1871.

In his first six years as a priest, Fr. Gorazdowski served the communities of five towns in the Lviv region. In 1877 he was appointed to St. Nicholas parish in Lviv, where he worked for the next forty years. Fr. Gorazdowski distinguished himself by his great works of charity. During a serious cholera outbreak in Wojnilow, the young priest demonstrated selfless dedication by caring for the afflicted and attending to the final rites and burial of those who succumbed, despite the extreme danger of contagion.

Fr. Gorazdowski's personal commitment to working for the sick, poor, and powerless is undisputed. Moreover, seeing great needs, the dedicated priest acted to establish a variety of organizations to address the issues and bring together like-minded people to better serve the community. Among others, he established a soup kitchen where the poor members of the community and students without financial means could have meals on a daily basis. He founded an institution that offered people who had been reduced to begging an opportunity to do voluntary work. Fr. Gorazdowski's program offered the participants an avenue by which they could regain self-respect and find their way back into the regular workforce. He also established a home for single mothers and abandoned children, a hospice for the dying and chronically ill, and a teacher's college.

Fr. Gorazdowski promoted catechetical studies and wrote and published several editions of a popular catechism. Based on his regard for German priest Alban Stolz, he wrote *Educational Norms and Principles*, for use by teachers and parents. He established St. Joseph's Polish-German Catholic School, providing lessons in both languages.

To assist in the preparation and development of priests, Fr. Gorazdowski started the Bonus Pastor Association. In 1884 he established the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph, a group that would work in the many organizations that he had created or otherwise supported. The order continues its charitable and educational mission in several countries in Europe and Africa.

On December 20, 1999, Pope John Paul II venerated Fr. Gorazdowski on the basis of his heroic virtues. On April 24, 2001, the Congregation for the Causes of Saints promulgated a decree regarding a miracle attributed to Fr. Gorazdowski. The miracle was approved by Pope John Paul II, who beatified the priest on June 26, 2001. In extolling Fr. Gorazdowski's unflagging devotion to those in physical and spiritual need, the pope said, "His apostolic activity was bolstered by *a commitment to charity which knew no pause*," and he noted that his "creativity and dedication in this area were almost boundless." In canonizing him, Pope Benedict XVI spoke of Fr. Gorazdowski's devotion to the Holy Eucharist and said that "[l]iving Christ's offering urged him toward the sick, the poor and the needy."

Feast: January 1.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); UKRAINE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; VIRTUE, HEROIC.

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GREELEY, ANDREW M.

Priest, author, scholar, and educator; b. February 5, 1928, in Oak Park, Illinois, a Chicago suburb; son of Andrew T. Greeley, a broker, and Grace McNichols Greeley.

Although only a high school graduate, Andrew M. Greeley's father was an avid reader who respected knowledge. Both he and his wife were devout Catholics, but neither wore their piety on their sleeves. For them, being a Catholic was as natural as breathing, as Andrew junior noted in his autobiography *Confessions of a Parish Priest* (1986). Greeley and his two sisters attended the local parish school, staffed by nuns. When one of them asked the boys in her class how many wanted to be priests, young Greeley was one of those who raised his hand—and he later fulfilled this pledge.

In 1942 Greeley enrolled in a Quigley Preparatory Seminary, where the course of study was arduous. Yet he was usually able to complete his homework during the hour-long trolley ride home. Students were expected to hear mass every day before classes. Greeley said he enjoyed this time at Quigley, calling it five good years. His positive evaluation flowed partly from the fact that he discovered the works of John Henry NEWMAN, Joseph CONRAD, Charles Dickens (1812–1870), William SHAKESPEARE, and G.K. (Gilbert Keith) CHESTERTON while at Quigley. In 1947 Greeley graduated from Quigley and entered the major seminary of St. Mary of the Lake (Mundelein), which he described as a comfortable ivory tower that did not facilitate maturity. Instruction was from textbooks, but Greeley educated himself by studying contemporary French theologians. From his reading he came to view the Church as people, not hierarchy, and deemed many religious principles as alterable and undetermined rather than fixed or rigid.

In 1950, Greeley received a bachelor's degree, in 1952 his Bachelor of Sacred Theology, and two years later his License of Sacred Theology. That same year he was ordained a priest. Between 1954 and 1963, Greeley served as assistant pastor of Christ the King Church in Chicago, widely attended by American Irish parishioners who had achieved upper-middle-class status. His experience among what he called "spoiled rich kids" stirred his interest in young people and led to his first book, *Strangers in the House: Catholic Youth in America* (1961), in which he attempted to explain the apathy among teenagers, as well as the absence of a worthwhile tradition of youthful radicalism.

The book reflected the training Greeley was receiving as a graduate student in sociology at the University of Chicago, where in 1961 he received his master's degree and the following year his doctorate, which opened doors for him. Beginning in 1963 he lectured in sociology at the University of Chicago, where in 1991 he was appointed a professor of social science. Between 1962 and 1968 he was senior study director of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) and, beginning in 1973, he served as director of the study of American Pluralism.

Greeley has written more than 100 nonfiction books. Some examine the American Catholic Church from a sociologist's perspective. In *The Hesitant Pilgrim: American Catholicism after the Council* (1966), Greeley attempted to envision the future direction of the Church and to understand its response to the Second Vatican Council. His book *From Backwater to Mainstream: A Profile of Catholic Higher Education* (1970) concluded, among other things, that Catholic schools were not vital to the durability of American Catholicism. Greeley has also explored the American priesthood in *Uncertain Trumpet: The Priest in Modern America* (1968), which

delved into the problems confronting the Church in America, including the looming instability within the priesthood.

Subsequently, Greeley and his staff at NORC finished a thorough two-year appraisal of the priesthood in the United States, authorized by United States Council of Catholic Bishops. The results, based on replies to questionnaires from roughly 6,000 priests, distressed many bishops, who doubted the study's conclusions. They deplored the fact that Greeley focused on the divide between the hierarchy and parish priests. At the same time, they questioned his finding that roughly one-third of the priests surveyed never said the BREVIARY, and one-fifth had given communion to non-Catholics. They could not be pleased by his report that a majority of priests rejected the Church's teachings on birth control, DIVORCE, and necessity of celibacy, whereas roughly 70 percent of the priests did not consider MASTURBATION a MORTAL SIN. In turn, Greeley reportedly retorted that he found the present leadership of the American Church wanting.

Aside from his work for the Church, Greeley has written extensively about ethnicity. In *Why Can't They Be Like Us? America's White Ethnic Groups* (1971), he championed the pluralism and the heterogeneity that ethnic loyalties have contributed to American life. Noting the positive function of ethnicity in America, he maintained that an ethnic cultural tradition offered a source of identification in a complex society. A year later, Greeley turned his attention to the American Irish in *That Most Distressful Nation: The Taming of the American Irish* (1972). Here Greeley argued that the Irish had arrived in America too early to catch the wave of ethnic pride that was generated among later groups, such as the Italians and the Poles. Indeed, much to Greeley's chagrin, the American Irish, in their effort to fit into the American society, had virtually become white Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs).

Finally, Greeley has written more than fifty novels, which have reached a wide audience, and has also contributed regularly to diocesan newspapers. Moreover, he is associate editor of the *Review of Religious Research* and is a member of the editorial board of *Sociological Analysis* and the Catholic Sociological Society. His fictional works have brought him a considerable fortune, most of which he has given away. Among other charities, he has contributed more than $1 million to religious causes and pledged another million to Chicago's inner-city schools.

No stranger to controversy, Greeley, when asked how he would like to be remembered, said "nothing but a loud-mouth Irish priest"—a name some have apparently hurled at him—"would not be a bad epitaph."

SEE ALSO CELIBACY, CLERICAL, HISTORY OF; CONDOMS AND AIDS PROTECTION; CONTRACEPTION; PRIESTHOOD IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION; RELIGION, SOCIOLOGY OF.

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GREGORIAN CALENDAR

On February 24, 1582, Pope GREGORY XIII (1572–1585) published the bull *Inter gravissimas*, which formally introduced a new calendar that would begin in October of that year. The new system took its name from the pope, and the Gregorian calendar was eventually adopted by most of the world's nations. Like its predecessor, the Julian calendar (of which the Gregorian is but a variant), the Gregorian calendar is a solar calendar consisting of twelve months and 365 days, except for leap years, which have 366 (and which, with important exceptions, are divisible by four).

Calls for reform of the calendar had already surfaced in the fifteenth century, and they were repeated at the council of TRENT in 1563. Astronomical advances at the time confirmed what common sense suggested: The passage of the seasons had diverged from the days of the calendar year. In particular, the vernal (spring) equinox

had drifted to later in the year. By 1545 it differed from the Julian calendar by ten days, so spring and summer were getting later and later, which also affected the calculation of the date of Easter Sunday, which was calculated on the basis of the vernal equinox. Thus, both practical and liturgical usage demanded an adjustment in the calendar.

The Julian calendar was named after Julius Caesar, who established a calendar reform in the year 46 with the help of the famous Alexandrian astronomer Sosigenes. Like other Roman calendars before it, the Julian calendar had weeks of seven days and years of twelve months. It did, however, initiate new rules for the calculation of leap years. In antiquity the year was calculated at 365.24219 days, and the Julian calendar called for one hundred leap years in each cycle of four hundred years, which by the fifteenth century had proved to be too many. The Gregorian calendar revised this usage.

The Italian astronomer Aloysius Lilius (c. 1510–1576) had, by the mid-sixteenth century, calculated that the solar year was in fact 365.2425 days long. The reform of the calendar, then, essentially consisted of two steps. First, *Inter gravissimas* declared that October 4, 1582, would be followed by October 15, 1582. Thus were ten days simply stricken from the calendar. Second, a new method of calculating leap years was introduced. Whereas the Julian calendar simply made each year in four a leap year, the Gregorian calendar said that leap years must be divisible by both one hundred and four hundred, a rule which particularly applied to the last year of a calendar century. Thus, the years 1600 and 2000 were leap years, but 1700, 1800, and 1900 were not, nor will 2100 be.

The Gregorian calendar, in spite of its mathematical and astronomic rigor, was not immediately adopted everywhere, since a reform of the calendar was, for many people, not merely a matter of the tables of planetary motion and arithmetical calculations. Professors at the University of Paris feared that the Gregorian calendar amounted to an admission that the ancient church had erroneously calculated the date of Easter. In addition, the adoption of the calendar served as a historical barometer for the Catholic COUNTER REFORMATION. The calendar was, of course, adopted immediately in Spain, France, Portugal, Poland, and most of Italy—the Catholic regions of Europe with friendly ties to the papacy. The Catholic states of the German Empire adopted the calendar in 1583, over the initial reservations of Emperor Rudolf II, who feared that the adoption of a papal initiative would intensify religious divisions in the empire.

Protestants, however, greeted the news of the new calendar with derision. Many claimed that the pope aimed to confuse Christians about the date of the end of the world, so that they would be unready for the Second Coming, although there was no agreement about precisely what that year would be. The first Protestant country to accept the Gregorian was Denmark. Lutheran Sweden first attempted to establish the calendar gradually, beginning in 1700. That country then decided to eliminate the eleven leap years between 1700 and 1740. This hesitation caused many inconveniences, however, and King Charles XII abandoned the project altogether in 1713 and reverted to the Julian. Sweden remained on the Julian calendar until the Gregorian was wholly adopted in 1753, making it the last country of Latin Christendom to do so. Great Britain, where antagonism to a calendar named after a hated pope ran deep, converted to the Gregorian calendar only in 1752, by which time eleven, rather than ten, calendar days had to be removed: The Calendar Act of that year declared that September 2 was to be immediately followed by September 14.

The calendar caused tensions even within the Catholic communion. Eastern-rite Catholics, such as the Melkites of Syria, believed that the new calendar cast doubts on the church's indefectibility, and some reacted against it by returning to the Orthodox communion. Indeed, well into the twentieth century, some Eastern Catholic churches continued to follow the Julian calendar, even though the Roman Catholic Church used the Gregorian. Even in the early twenty-first century, many Eastern Catholics still use the Julian calendar, although many Eastern Catholics in North America follow the Gregorian.

The Gregorian calendar was also anathema to the Orthodox Church, although many Orthodox outside of Greece and Russia adopted the so-called revised Julian calendar in 1923, when a synod held in CONSTANTINOPLE proclaimed that the following October 1 would instead become October 14. The synod also provided for a new calculation of leap years, thus adopting the Gregorian approach without having to credit the PAPACY. Greece adopted the revised Julian for purposes of government and commerce, but not for worship. Many Orthodox Christians still follow the Julian calendar, believing it to be more ancient, apostolic, and patristic.

The scientific and mathematical superiority of the Gregorian calendar also meant that most countries could adopt it for secular purposes. For instance, Shinto Japan did so in 1873, and the militantly atheist Soviet Union adopted it in 1918.

SEE ALSO EASTER AND ITS CYCLE; EASTERN CHURCHES, CONGREGATION FOR THE; EASTERN SCHISM; MELKITE GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH; ORTHODOX AND ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES.

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GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY

Established by St. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA, the founder of the Jesuit order, on February 18, 1551, the Pontifical Gregorian University, ROME's oldest Catholic college, has long been considered the world's preeminent Catholic university for Theology and many other disciplines. The Jesuit university has been called the training ground for saints and popes by virtue of its long list of famous Catholic priest alumni.

Early History. Staffed mostly by JESUITS, the university was first called the School of Grammar, Humanity, and Christian Doctrine, but it was better known as the Jesuit Collegio Romano, or Roman College. It was opened on February 22, 1551, on Capitoline Hill in Rome at the site now called the Piazza Collegio Romano. Ignatius initially founded the college to pilot curricula, teaching methods, and university texts for the benefit of other colleges. He envisioned the college as a "university of all nations," intending that its increasingly multinational graduates would have an international impact ("Gregorian University Foundation: Who We Are"). Its original lodgings consisted of a simple house rented with money donated by St. Francis BORGIA, the third general of the Jesuit order and Pope ALEXANDER VI's great-grandson. By year's end, the school was forced to relocate to a larger house owned by the Frangipani family to accommodate the growing number of students. Enrollment was 250, and Hebrew was added to Greek and Latin in the curricular offerings.

In 1552, Pope JULIUS III granted the college permission to bestow academic degrees, and the departments of Philosophy and Theology, for which the university is most famed, were added, along with several professorships in various disciplines. To accommodate increasing enrollment, which had reached 800, the college again relocated in 1557 to the Salviati house. After three years there, the college secured several houses donated for its use. By 1563, when enrollment totaled more than 1,000 students, course offerings in Aristotelian moral philosophy and Arabic were expanded. A *motu propio* by Pope PAUL IV on January 17, 1556, granted permission to the Roman College to bestow doctorates in philosophy and theology. Because St. THOMAS AQUINAS's pedagogy in *Summa theologiae* had made a favorable impression on Ignatius, Aquinas's ideas were emphasized in the college's early years.

Soon renowned as Latin Christendom's finest university, in 1584 the Collegio Romano was rechristened the Papal Gregorian University in tribute to Pope GREGORY XIII, afterward considered the university's founder and protector, having saved the college from its long-standing financial difficulties. In 1582 Gregory XIII had provided new quarters and an endowment for the college when it was forced to move yet again because of rising enrollment. Whether engaged in the study of the humanities, science, or church teaching, students from around the world flocked to the Gregorian University, which possessed many of the RENAISSANCE's most highly regarded faculty.

By 1591, the university served 2,100 students. Graduates included the missionaries Matteo RICCI and Roberto di NOBILI.

The university achieved its greatest reknown in philosophy and theology, subjects in which it continues to excel. Philosophy professor Francisco SUÁREZ, who developed the basis for his later work *Disputationes metaphysicae* while teaching at the Roman College in the early 1580s, and theology professors such as Gabriel VÁZQUEZ and the Jesuit Robert BELLARMINE influenced thinkers for more than a century. The university also gained fame in the areas of mathematics, physics, and ASTRONOMY during the seventeenth century, when it was at the forefront of scientific inquiry. One of its graduates and professors, Father Christopher CLAVIUS, the famous Jesuit astronomer and mathematician, created the GREGORIAN CALENDAR, which was proclaimed by Gregory XIII in 1582; introduced the decimal point in 1593; and exerted a strong influence on Galileo GALILEI. Scientific successors to Clavius at the Roman College included the astronomers Christopher Grienberger (1564–1636) and Christoph Scheiner (1573–1650) and the scientist and mathematician Father Athanasius KIRCHER.

The Gregorian University has been governed by the Jesuit order except during the time of the order's suppression from 1773 to 1814 and for ten years afterward when the college was entrusted to secular clergy for the purpose of hosting a secular Roman seminary. Pope CLEMENT IV had succumbed to anticlerical pressure from the Bourbon kingdoms of France, Naples, and Spain to disband the ultramontanist Jesuits. By the time Pope LEO XII restored Gregorian University to the Jesuits in 1824, at which time the secular Roman seminary was

relocated, the university had lost some of its earlier academic vitality.

History from Vatican I to Vatican II. In 1873 the university's lodgings and the library's collection of 45,000 books and manuscripts were confiscated by the Kingdom of Italy. The university relocated its classes to the Borromeo Palace and was awarded the title Pontifical University of the Roman College by Pope PIUS IX. However, after the state's seizure of the buildings of the Collegio Romano, most people came to refer to the institution only as Gregorian University, and enrollment fell for several years. In 1876, a chair of Canon Law was added to the college's offerings by order of Pius IX.

In response to *Aeterni Patris*, the August 4, 1879, encyclical by Pope LEO XIII calling for a restoration of Thomistic philosophy in Catholic seminaries, Gregorian University was the first Catholic seminary to replace some of its professors to reflect the pope's theological wishes. The Jesuit Louis BILLOT, a devoted Thomist who taught philosophy at the university from 1885 to 1910 and had Eugenio Pacelli (later Pope PIUS XII) as one of his students, was such a staunch opponent of MODERNISM that his ideas, and even his words, can be detected in some of the passages of Pope PIUS X's 1907 encyclical against modernism, *Pascendi dominici gregis*. The change in professors revived the earlier international character of the university's faculty, which had been largely lost during the 1773–1814 suppression of the Jesuits and the ten years of absence which followed. (The Jesuits were revived by 1814, but their presence at the Gregorian was not reestablished until 1824.) By the end of the nineteenth century, the university had diminished its commitment to scientific study.

Enrollment pressures at the university combined with the City of Rome's wish to expand into the land occupied by the Borromeo Palace prompted Pope BENEDICT XV to buy new land for the university around the Piazza della Pilotta in 1919. Construction on the university's new buildings began in 1927 during the pontificate of Pope PIUS XI. On November 4, 1930, the Gregorian was moved to its present location at the end of the Quirinale hill in downtown Rome, only steps from the Trevi Fountain. While outside of Vatican City, the university's new buildings remained part of VATICAN territory because of the right of extraterritoriality granted by the 1929 Lateran Treaty with the Benito MUSSOLINI government. The massive main building, constructed of travertine stone, accommodated twenty-two auditoriums, some of which had 1,800 seats, housing for 100 professors, and many scientific laboratories that were considered modern in the 1930s. The six-story library, built in 1928, houses six reading rooms and offers space for 800,000 books, with emphasis on theology, philosophy, culture, and literature.

Since Pius XI's September 30, 1928, *motu propio Quod maxime*, Gregorian University has been connected with the Pontifical Biblical Institute, founded by St. Pius X in 1909, and the Pontifical Oriental Institute for Eastern Christian Studies, founded by Benedict XV in 1917 as part of a university consortium. In 1972 the Gregorian University Foundation was initiated in the United States for the purpose of funding scholarships and underwriting the expenses of the Pontifical Gregorian University Consortium. By the decision of Pius XI on June 21, 1932, the chancellor for all three of the separate colleges within the consortium is the CARDINAL prefect of the Congregation for Catholic Education. The vice grand chancellor for the three colleges is the superior general of the Society of Jesus. The rector of Gregorian University has since 1932 been chosen personally by the pope to administer the university for a three-year term.

Among the many notable professors at the Gregorian University in the early twentieth century were the moral theologian Arthur VERMEERSCH, who wrote a popular summation of moral theology; canon law professor Felix Cappello (1879–1962), whose advice helped pave the way for Vatican II; and theology professor Giuseppe Filograssi, who consulted with Pope Pius XII on the definition of the Assumption.

In 1952, an Italian Jesuit priest named Alighiero Tondi, vice director of the Institute of Higher Religious Culture connected to the university, sparked media attention when he became active in the Communist Party, claiming that Catholicism was antiquated. He subsequently married a Communist politician and in 1965 returned to the Church. In 1954, Carlo Boyer, Prefect General of Studies and dean of the theological faculty of the Pontifical Gregorian University, announced to an ecumenical group of religious leaders that there could be no unity among Christians outside of the Catholic Church, an opinion believed to be held by the Vatican at the time and reported in the Vatican daily newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*.

History since Vatican II. This view contrasted sharply with that later voiced by other Gregorian University notables during the spirit of ecumenism ushered in by the pontificate of Pope JOHN XXIII. The Jesuit Augustin Cardinal BEA, former professor of scripture at the university, was selected by John XXIII to seek an improved Catholic dialogue with believers in the Orthodox and Protestant faiths. The renowned Jesuit theologian John Courtney MURRAY was the leading contributor to *Dignitatis humanae*, the 1965 Vatican II document on religious liberty. The university's appointment of Hervé Carrier (1921–), a Canadian Jesuit professor of the sociology of religion, as its new rector in 1966 was seen as representative of the efforts of Catholic

universities worldwide to revise their curricula to accommodate the goals of the ecumenical council.

In the year following the close of the Second Vatican Council, the university served 2,900 students, taught by 117 Jesuits, six secular priests, and three lay professors. Reflecting the Church's newfound spirit of ecumenism, in 1969 Gregorian University hosted a symposium on ATHEISM cosponsored by the Vatican Secretariat for Non-Christians (now the PONTIFICAL COUNCIL FOR INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE) and the University of California at Berkeley.

In the late 1960s the Greg, as it is affectionately called, became coeducational, with laywomen and nuns in regular clothing taking classes. In recent years, the university's students have hailed from over 150 nations and territories and included believers in the Protestant, Orthodox, and Muslim faiths. About three-quarters of the roughly 3,800 students at Gregorian University are priests, seminarians, and nuns. About 20 percent of students are laymen and laywomen. Students reside off campus. Of the 380 professors, Jesuits continue to teach the majority of classes.

Since the 1970s the curriculum has remained conservative under pressure from the Vatican, despite the identification of many of its students and professors with what they might call more progressive DOCTRINE. One example of the discouragement of DISSENT against traditional interpretations of Church doctrine and administrative structure was the Jesuit order's 1973 suspension of José María Díez-Alegría (1911–), a professor of sociology at the Gregorian University who expressed sympathy for parts of Karl MARX's philosophy and criticized Vatican wealth. In 1998, the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH conducted an investigation of Jacques DUPUIS, S.J., a CHRISTOLOGY professor at the university from 1984 to 1998 and editor of *Gregorianum*, the university's theological journal.

The university currently possesses six faculties—in theology, philosophy, canon law, Church history, MISSIOLOGY (evangelization), and social sciences—and four university postgraduate institutes (Psychology, Spirituality, Religious Sciences, and Religion and Culture, which includes the Cardinal Bea Center for Judaic Studies). In recent years, the Philosophy and Theology departments have increased their emphasis on the study of the connection between their disciplines and that of science and nature. The university also offers studies in communications, Marxism, and numerous other fields.

More than a third of the students study theology, seeking one of three degrees, a professional baccalaureate (S.T.B.), equivalent to a Master of Divinity degree in the United States; a two-year graduate licentiate in a specialized area (S.T.L.); or a doctorate (S.T.D.).

In 2005 the university opened a new congress hall named after alumnus Matteo Ricci, the sixteenth-century Jesuit missionary to China. In 2006 the university initiated an interdisciplinary program of study for lay students and canceled Latin courses, which lacked a sufficient number of paying students. Gregorian University has sponsored numerous conferences on interreligious dialogue. In May 2007 the university offered courses on the Vatican's international relations to Muslim diplomats. That same year, seminarians and priests from the Pontifical Gregorian University squared off against those from fifteen other pontifical institutions of higher learning in vying for the first Clericus Cup, a soccer championship for Catholic clergy in Rome.

Role and Impact. Conceived by St. Ignatius as a "university of all nations, for the defense and propagation of the faith and for the training of wise and qualified leaders of the Church and society," the Gregorian University has served as a major center of scholarship and a house of formation for many a future church leader, teacher, missionary, and Catholic university president ("Gregorian University Foundation: Who We Are"). Long considered primarily a training ground for priests, especially prospective church leaders, the Gregorian University opened its doors to an increasing number of laymen and for the first time, to women, after the reforms ensuing from Vatican II. Hundreds of nuns and laywomen now attend the Gregorian University annually.

The PAPACY has offered consistent and strong support for the university. During an address to the student body in 1979, Pope JOHN PAUL II complimented the Gregorian University for its centuries-long commitment to integrating theology into its varied curricula. In his November 3, 2006, visit to the university, Pope BENEDICT XVI praised the Gregorian University as an essential part of the ministry of the Jesuits.

Eight of the past eleven popes either taught or studied at the Gregorian University. Of the university's roughly 12,000 living alumni, over one-fifth of the current bishops and about one-third of the cardinals today have studied at the Gregorian University. Philosophical and theological tracts written by many of the university's professors have been read at seminaries throughout the world. Examples of the plethora of famous works published by university professors include: Francis A. Sullivan's (1922–) *Magisterium*, Jacques DUPUIS's *The Christian Faith*, and *Vatican II: Assessment and Perspectives, Twenty-five Years After*, a three-volume collaboration by sixty-eight professors from the Gregorian Consortium, edited by René Latourelle (1918–). The writings of other theological titans at the Greg, such as Zoltan Alszeghy (1915–1991), Charles Conroy (1943–), Dermot Cox (1939–), Robert Faricy (1926–), Josef FUCHS, John Navone (1930–), Gerald O'Collins

(1931–), and Jared Wicks (1929–), have also been popular religious works.

Alumni. Its alumni include twenty saints, thirty-eight beatified individuals, sixteen popes, hundreds of cardinals, and thousands of bishops. Among the saints are Jesuit Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, a Doctor of the Church and the patron of Gregorian University; John OGILVIE, Scotland's only native-born saint; and Father Maximilian KOLBE, a martyr at AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU. Among the popes are Pius XI, Pius XII, PAUL VI, and JOHN PAUL I. Among the cardinals are Laurean Rugambwa (1912–1997) of Tanganyika, the Church's first black cardinal; William Cardinal Levada (1936–), Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith; and Edward Cardinal Egan (1932–), Archbishop of New York. Among the bishops who graduated was Oscar ROMERO, the martyred Archbishop of El Salvador. Other famous former students include: Don Luigi STURZO, founder of Italy's Partito Popular party, the predecessor to Italy's Christian Democrats; Monsignor Edward Joseph FLANAGAN, founder of BOYS TOWN in Nebraska; and longtime Notre Dame President Theodore Martin HESBURGH, C.S.C. The American theologians Avery Cardinal DULLES, Richard P. McBrien (1936–), and David Tracy (1939–) all studied at Gregorian University.

Pope Benedict XVI, while not a graduate, served as a visiting professor of DOGMATIC THEOLOGY at Gregorian University in 1972–1973. Among other visiting professors of note are Owen Chadwick (1916–) of Cambridge (1986), Jürgen Moltmann (1926–) of Tübingen (1987), and George Lindbeck (1923–) of Yale (1989).

Scholarly Publications. About 700 articles and books are published annually in a myriad of languages. Among the university's twenty-two major academic journals are *Gregorianum*, the university's theological journal; *Periodica de re morali canonica liturgica*, a well-respected journal read in seminaries around the world; *Analecta Gregoriana*; *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, a journal founded in 1963 to document the history of the papacy; and *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae*.

SEE ALSO AETERNI PATRIS; CHRISTIAN EDUCATION, RELIGIOUS OF; EDUCATION (PHILOSOPHY OF); ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; PONTIFICAL ROMAN UNIVERSITIES; RELIGIOUS EDUCATION; SEMINARY EDUCATION.

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GUADALUPE, OUR LADY OF

Founded on an old tradition, this image and sanctuary is one of the most famous in all Latin America, and devotion to it has increased in modern times. According to tradition, on Dec. 9, 1531, St. Juan Diego CUAUHTLATOATZIN (canonized at the Basilica of Guadalupe by Pope John Paul II on July 31, 2002), a man more than 50 years old, saw the Virgin Mary at Tepeyac, a hill northwest of Mexico City. She instructed him to have the bishop build a church on the site. Three days later



Patroness of the City of Mexico. *Image of Our Lady of Guadalupe, preserved in the sanctuary of Guadalupe.*

in a second appearance she told Juan Diego to pick flowers and take them to the bishop. When he presented them as instructed, roses fell out of his mantle and beneath them was the painted image of the Lady.

Documentary Basis. The oldest documentary evidence of this event comes from the interpreter. Since Juan Diego did not know Spanish and Bishop Zumárraga did not know the Indian language, Juan González served as interpreter. González was, at 18, a fortune seeker whom the bishop had sheltered, taught, and ordained, and who became a canon of the cathedral. After Zumárraga died, González gave up his canonry and devoted himself to the evangelization of the native peoples. At the same time he left his papers to Juan de Tovar, whose brief summary of them in Nahuatl was kept in the library of Tepozotlán because Tovar entered the Society of Jesus in 1572. The summary is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de México and is of importance as a document based on the evidence given by a witness to the meeting of Juan Diego and Bishop Zūmárraga. However, it is not a detailed account.

A better-known document is the Valeriano Relation, drawn up between 1560 and 1570. It was written by Valeriano and a group of Native Mexicans under the direction of Fray Bernardino de SAHAGÚN. First used by Miguel Sánchez, the document was published by Luis Lazo de la Vega in 1649. There are manuscript copies in several North American libraries, and in Paris a version prepared by Picardo in the 18th century. It has two parts: a direct account of the event, the nucleus of the tradition, and an account of the miracles worked in the sanctuary or through the invocation of the Virgin Mary in this manifestation. The first part, prepared by the students of Tlatelolco under Sahagún's direction, is arranged in a literary fashion, according to Nahuatl stylistics, but the facts coincide with those in the Tovar document. The account of the miracles, also written in Nahuatl, is much later and includes events of the 17th century. Thus it is most important for the study of the progress of the devotion and the cult in that century. Some have attributed this part of the Relation to Carlos de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl. There is little evidence for this, although the document is contemporary with the Texcocan historian.

Among the minor documents are at least 15 *Anales de los Indios.* These give communal testimony of the most notable happenings in the native world and include many references to the Tepeyac apparitions. While it has been stated that Bishop Zumárraga made special reports on this event, none is extant; and it is probable that none was ever written. Reports on such supposed supernatural events were not required until the Council of Trent.

The second archbishop of Mexico, Alonso de Montúfar, was a great promoter of the devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe. In the Provincial Council of 1555, he, along with other bishops, formulated canons that indirectly approved the apparitions, for the order to abolish and prevent the worship of images and the propagation of traditions not well founded did not mention the Guadalupan image and devotion to it. Canon 72 ordered the examination of songs sung at native feasts and dances for taint of paganism; some testimony indicates that these included songs in honor of the apparition of Mary, but no authentically Guadalupan songs are extant. In 1666 a formal inquiry was made from February 18 to March 22 in order to give authority to the tradition. Information concerning the endurance of the tradition and the general belief in it was given by witnesses, some of them centenarians. References to early events are vague and rather weak. The investigation was not canonical or timely, since it was held 135 years after the event. Another was made in 1723, by order of

Archbishop Lanziego y Eguilaz. These have no value except to bear witness to the permanence of the tradition. Of even less value are some of the inquiries that were held during the 19th century.

Cult and Its Extension. The first sanctuary was erected about 1533. It is the little hermitage that rests in the foundations of what was for many years a parish church. In 1556 Archbishop Montúfar began the erection of this second church. In 1695 the first stone of the new sanctuary was laid in the place it now occupies. The sanctuary was solemnly dedicated in 1709. With the additions made in 1893 and the following years, and again in the 1930s, this was the basilica of 1964. However, plans were then being made for a new church.

The image was carried to various parts of the world, particularly after the religious of the Society of Jesus were expelled from the Spanish dominions (1767). But the diffusion had started even earlier. In Italy and France the image and the tradition were already known. In 1564 Andrés DE URDANETA carried an image with him on the first formal expedition to the Philippine Islands. One was taken to Puerto Rico. Those who returned from the Indies spread the devotion in Spain. A well-known image is to be found in Trent and another, which made miraculous demonstrations in 1796, is now located in Rome, where it is enshrined in the church of S. Nicola in Carcere Tulliano.

In 1746 the knight BOTURINI BENADUCCI promoted the solemn and official coronation of the image. The coronation took place in 1895, with pontifical authority and the attendance of a great part of the episcopate of the Americas. This coronation was made later in various parts of the world: in Santa Fé, Argentina (1928), and later in Los Angeles, Calif., in several places in Europe, and even in Asia, where the image was placed in a Hindu temple.

In 1737 the Most Holy Mary of Guadalupe was chosen as the patroness of the city of Mexico. In the course of the year, other important cities of the country followed suit. In 1746 the patronage was accepted for all of New Spain, which then embraced the regions from Upper California to Guatemala and El Salvador. In 1754 BENEDICT XIV approved the patronage and granted a Mass and Office proper to the celebration of the feast on December 12. In 1757 the Virgin of Guadalupe was declared patroness of the citizens of Ciudad Ponce in Puerto Rico. In 1910 PIUS X declared the Virgin Patroness of Latin America, and in 1935 PIUS XI extended the patronage to the Philippines. PIUS XII, speaking in 1945 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the coronation, stated that the Virgin of Guadalupe was the "Queen of Mexico and Empress of the Americas" and that she had been painted "by brushes that were not of this world." JOHN XXIII assisted at a coronation in a church in Rome and gave the image special praise in his brief discourse. On January 22, 1999, Pope JOHN PAUL II declared Our Lady of Guadalupe the Patroness of the Americas. By a decree dated March 25, 1999, the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of Sacraments mandated the obligatory celebration of the Feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe on December 12 throughout the Americas.

SEE ALSO MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, ICONOGRAPHY OF; VISIONS.

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GUÉRIN, MOTHER THEODORE, ST.

Founderess of the SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE OF ST. MARY-OF-THE-WOODS, Indiana; b. October 2, 1798, Etables-sur-Mer, Brittany, France; d. May 14, 1856, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana; beatified by Pope JOHN

PAUL II, October 25, 1998; canonized by Pope BENEDICT XVI, October 15, 2006.

Christened Anne-Therese by her parents, Laurent, a lieutenant in Napoleon's navy, and Isabelle Guérin, she was one of four children, two of whom died tragically by fire in early childhood. The Guérin family suffered another terrible loss in 1813, when Laurent was murdered during his journey home from military service. Anne-Therese briefly attended a local primary school, but she was taught principally by her mother. Her education was supplemented when a young seminarian cousin came to live in the Guérin household. He provided instruction in theology, history, and philosophy. Though she had professed her desire to enter a religious community when she was only ten years old, Anne-Therese set aside her own wishes in order to care for her mother, who had fallen into a deep depression after the murder of her husband. From the tender age of sixteen until she was twenty-six, Anne-Therese not only cared for her ailing mother but was also the teacher and guardian of her younger sister, Marie Jeanne, her only surviving sibling. After a decade of selfless care for her mother and sister, Anne-Therese's dearest wish was realized when, after finally recognizing the depth of her daughter's desire to enter a religious order, Isabelle gave her daughter her blessing. Anne-Therese entered the Congregation of the Sisters of Providence at Ruille-sur-Loire, where she took the religious name Sr. St. Theodore. Having taken her final vows on September 8, 1825, Sr. St. Theodore embarked on a varied and successful career as an educator, teaching in Rennes for eight years before being transferred to Soulaines. It was during her time in Soulaines that the University de France awarded her a medal for excellent teaching methods.

In the summer of 1839, the new bishop of Vincennes, Indiana, Celestine de Halandiere, called for volunteers to travel to the United States to bring "the French religious spirit" to his new flock. Though initially uncertain that she was capable of such an undertaking, Sr. St. Theodore pledged herself to the endeavor. She and five other members of her order—Sr. Olympiade Boyer, Sr. St. Vincent Ferrer Gagé, Sr. Basilide Sénéschal, Sr. Mary Xavier Lerée, and Sr. Mary Liguori Tiercin—joined the ranks of indomitable Catholic pioneer religious and left France in July 1840. Their terrifying sea voyage to the United States took forty days, and though the sisters suffered terrifying storms, a hurricane, and unremitting seasickness, Sr. St. Theodore and her companions found joy in the beauty of God's creation. They spent their days in prayer, which deeply touched the other passengers on the ship, and in marveling in the beauty of the ocean. As Sr. St. Theodore wrote in her journal, "How grand, and what a religious pensiveness seizes the soul on beholding the ocean above and the ocean below—symbol of God's eternity!"

The remainder of their journey—taken alternately by steamboat and stagecoach—finally ended in October 1840, when they arrived at St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana. They stepped from the stagecoach into a wilderness. The only sign of civilization was a small farmhouse across a ravine, which was owned by the Thralls family. The sisters, four American postulants, and the Thralls family lived together in the house for a month until, in November of that year, the diocese purchased the land and the house became the first convent for the Sisters of Providence of St. Mary-of-the-Woods. In July 1841, St. Mary's Academy for Young Ladies was established, an institution that became St. Mary-of-the-Woods College, the oldest Catholic liberal arts college for women in the United States. Over the next nine years, Mother Theodore also established parish schools throughout Indiana, in addition to two orphanages and another school in Illinois. Her accomplishments are all the more extraordinary given the poor health from which she suffered throughout her life and the rough conditions in which she spent her last sixteen years.

On May 14, 1856, after a lifetime of service, Mother Theodore Guérin died at St. Mary-of-the-Woods. She was buried in the sisters' cemetery, and her own words were used on her monument: "I sleep but my heart watches over this house which I have built."

The first miracle attributed to Mother Theodore occurred in 1908, when Sr. Mary Theodosia Mug prayed at Mother Theodore's tomb to be cured of breast cancer and an abdominal tumor. When she awoke the next day, Sr. Mary Theodosia was cured. The second miracle was performed in 2001, when Philip McCord, an employee of the Sisters of Providence, prayed to Mother Theodore to restore the sight in his right eye so he could be spared a risky corneal transplant. He had been declared legally blind, as his sight was rated 20-800 in one eye and 20-1000 in the other. When he returned to the doctor a few weeks later, he was informed that the dangerous swelling in his right eye had disappeared and he no longer needed an operation. A routine laser treatment was performed, and his sight was fully restored.

Pope Benedict XVI canonized Mother Theodore Guérin at the Vatican on October 15, 2006. In his sermon, the Holy Father stressed Mother Theodore's devotion to the words of Christ: "Go, sell everything you own, and give it to the poor … then come, follow Me." Praising her for responding "unreservedly to the call of the divine Teacher," Pope Benedict also empha-

sized her complete reliance throughout her life on the goodness of Divine Providence.

Feast: October 3.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); INDIANA, CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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GUERRERO GONZÁLEZ, ANGELA DE LA CRUZ, ST.

Foundress of the Sisters of the Cross; b. Seville, Spain, January 30, 1846; d. Seville, March 2, 1932; beatified November 5, 1982; canonized May 4, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Angela de la Cruz (Angela of the Cross) was baptized María de los Ángeles (Mary of the Angels) Guerrero González. She was one of fourteen children (eight of whom died before reaching adulthood) and was known in her family as Angelita. She had a special devotion to Our Lady of Good Health and prayed the ROSARY with her family from her youth.

The growing sanctity of this uneducated daughter of a simple family was recognized by Fr. Torres Padilla as Angela was working in a shoe factory in Seville. After she was initially rejected by the CARMELITES of Seville because of her poor health, she turned her attention to helping the sick during a cholera epidemic. She was admitted in 1868 to the Daughters of Charity, despite her health, but was forced to leave because of illness.

In November 1871, Fr. Torres suggested that she live as a religious in the secular world. Thereafter, she professed an annual private religious vow and recruited peasants as sisters in the Company of the Cross to serve the sick and needy in rural areas. When they were not serving the poor and the dying, the sisters dedicated themselves to contemplation and silence. The year following the founding of the congregation on August 2, 1875, the sisters heroically ministered to victims of an epidemic in Seville. Angela became known as the Mother of the Poor. Twenty-three more convents were established during her lifetime.

Angela was beatified in Seville by Pope John Paul II on November 5, 1982, for her service to the poorest of the poor, and for her spirituality in a life of poverty, detachment, and humility. She was canonized in Madrid on May 4, 2003, alongside four other Spanish saints, with whom, the pope observed, she shared "an unshakable adherence to the risen and crucified Christ," as well as a "decision to imitate him." During his HOMILY, the pope emphasized her simplicity, holiness, and "spirit of mortification." Through her Company of the Cross and its ministry, Angela, in her exceptional love for the poor, had an "enormous impact on the Church and society of Seville in her day."

Feast: March 2.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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GUEST HOUSE

Guest House, founded in 1956 by Austin Ripley, is a lay-governed apostolate that provides treatment services for Catholic clergy and religious suffering from alcoholism and other addictions. It provides treatment without regard to the ability of a diocese or religious congregation to pay for the services. Ripley, himself a recovering alcoholic, established the first Guest House in Lake Orion, Michigan, in the sixty-seven-room mansion previously owned by William Scripps, the publisher of the *Detroit News*. This location continues to serve as the organization's headquarters.

The assistance and intervention of Edward Cardinal Mooney, then the archbishop of Detroit, was necessary for Ripley's project to bear fruit. After Ripley experienced a frustrating start in Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin, Cardinal Mooney interceded with the Holy See, which pronounced Ripley's concept of a lay-run treatment center for priests a "holy and worthy enterprise." Cardinal Mooney then assisted Ripley in finding the funding necessary to open his center in the Archdiocese of Detroit. Ripley's treatment approach was to prepare priests to receive the benefits of the twelve-step program of Alcoholics Anonymous and to provide treatment in the Benedictine Rule of hospitality, under which each guest is received as Christ himself would be received (hence, the name "Guest House"). It was felt that the natural inclination of priests to be helpers to others impeded their ability to receive help themselves, thus necessitating specialized treatment to make recovery from alcoholism possible. Modern treatment research bears out the improved success of specialized treatment programs for persons with addictions.

Ripley's program became an immediate success, and there was soon a waiting list of up to two years. He resolutely maintained a maximum of twenty priests in his treatment center in order to prevent the sense of an institutionalized environment for the clergy in treatment. As a result, an additional facility was opened in Rochester, Minnesota, in 1969, and this greatly expanded the number of priests who could receive services. The world-renowned Mayo Clinic continues to provide medical services for the priests in treatment.

The number of priests admitted to Guest House began to decline in the 1980s, and it was forced to close



The Rochester Treatment Center. *This center is an inpatient facility for the care of priests and male religious.* **COURTESY OF GUEST HOUSE, THE ROCHESTER TREATMENT CENTER**

its Lake Orion facility in 1992 and consolidate treatment in Minnesota. In 1994 the Lake Orion location was reopened for the treatment of women religious with alcoholism. It has since expanded to include services for women religious with addictions to eating, gambling, and spending.

More than 7,000 priests and religious have undergone treatment at Guest House since it opened. The facilities provide treatment that addresses the physical, mental, and spiritual aspects of the person with an addiction, and treatment generally lasts from three to six months, depending on the complexity of the issues. Outcome studies, which measure the results of treatment, have been done, beginning with a study by the Jesuit sociologist Father Joseph Fichter in 1974. That study demonstrated that 75 percent of those treated at Guest House maintained a lifetime of abstinence from alcohol.

Guest House added halfway-house services for clergy in 1999 in a lakefront home in Lake Orion, Michigan. Since the decline in number of priests in the 1970s and 1980s, Guest House reversed the lowering number of admissions in 1996 and reached a twenty-year high in persons treated in 2006.

Expanded educational services by Guest House in the twenty-first century marked efforts to prevent, as well as to treat, addictions among clergy and religious. A series of on-campus seminars for the leadership of women's religious communities called "Walking with the Wounded" began in 1997. Programs for seminarians offered at seminary locations provide instruction in the awareness of personal risk for addiction and the competencies necessary for effective ministry to addicted parishioners or students. A new subsidiary, Guest House Institute, was created in 2005 to provide the educational and research activities of Guest House.

Guest House continues to be governed by a lay-controlled board of trustees from across the United States, although clergy and religious representation is included on the board. The archbishop of Detroit appoints a bishop as Guest House's Episcopal Moderator, a role designed to facilitate ecclesiastical problem solving. Guest House's former residents serve in all fifty states and in dozens of other countries.

SEE ALSO PERSON (IN PHILOSOPHY); PERSON (IN THEOLOGY).

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GUÍZAR VALENCIA, RAFAEL, ST.

Bishop of Veracruz, Mexico; b. Cotija, Michoacán, Mexico, April 27, 1878; d. Mexico City, June 6, 1938; beatified January 29, 1995, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized October 15, 2006, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Rafael Valencia Guízar was one of eleven children born to the wealthy hacendados Prudencio Guízar González and Natividad Valencia Vargas. His brother Antonio became bishop of Chihuahua. Rafael's studies were begun at home and completed in the seminary of his native Diocese of Zamora; he was ordained on June 1, 1901.

Missionary Work. From the first, the future bishop felt an overwhelming impulse to work as a home missionary. He had physical and spiritual gifts that fitted him for this work, and eight days after his ordination he began his first missionary journey, which lasted almost two years. While assigned to the diocesan seminary as spiritual director, Guízar continued his mission work by founding with his own funds a school for poor girls. On June 3, 1903, he also founded the Congregation of Missionaries of Our Lady of Hope with a special college in Jacona, Michoacán, as well as another college for boys in Tulancingo, whose graduates he hoped would enlist in large numbers in his missionary congregation. The missionaries were to dedicate themselves to work in Mexico and the neighboring nations.

In 1905 Guízar became spiritual director of a seminary in Zamora. There, he emphasized among his students Eucharistic and Marian devotion. In June 1910 Guízar was forced to order the dissolution of his foundation of missionaries. Neither the disappointment of the failure of his personal foundation nor the honors that he received dimmed the zeal of this priest for the missions, and by 1910 he had preached innumerable missions in six Mexican states, especially in southeastern Mexico.

The chaos in Mexico consequent on the fall of President Porfirio Díaz (1830–1915) ended the home missions but opened for the young priest new opportunities to serve the souls of his fellows. Disguised as a peddler, a homeopathic physician, or an accordion player, Guízar traveled with the armies of the revolution, ministering to the wounded and preaching whenever the opportunity presented itself. Often he returned from these missions of mercy with his hat and clothes pierced with bullet holes. Often too, his priestly ministrations would rouse the anger of the revolutionary leaders, and on numerous occasions he was condemned to death. His success in escaping this supreme penalty made him a marked man in so many areas that he finally fled to Guatemala in 1916.

Under the name of Rafael Ruíz, he was able to resume his life as a home missionary, and in one year he officiated at the marriages of seven thousand couples. In 1917 Guízar landed in Cuba, and until the end of 1919 he preached 143 missions there. While preaching a mission in the cathedral of Havana in August 1919, Guízar was told that he had been named bishop of Veracruz. His first reaction was to flee to Colombia, where he preached for about four months. But on November 30, 1919, Archbishop Tito Trocchi consecrated Guízar bishop in Havana, and on January 4, 1920, he arrived in Veracruz. His arrival coincided with a disastrous earthquake in a number of cities of his diocese, and the new bishop immediately went to help his stricken people. With the permission of his brothers, he sold the beautiful pectoral cross of gold set with precious stones that they had given him, used the money for the poor, and thenceforth wore a cross made of brass.

Reaction to Persecution. During his episcopate, Guízar faced persecution, as did his brother bishops, especially after Plutarco Elías Calles (1877–1945) came to power. Guízar had his own particular cross in the person of the governor of Veracruz, Adalberto Tejeda (1883–1960), who on June 17, 1931, decreed that he would permit only one priest for each 100,000 inhabitants. Guízar, recognizing that this decree made it physically impossible for the priests to carry out their duties, closed all the churches in the state in order to force the situation on the attention of the people. Tejeda answered with a decree ordering that the bishop should be shot wherever he was found in the state. At the time, Guízar was in Mexico City, but he ordered his secretary to drive as rapidly as possible to the governor's palace in Jalapa. He boldly walked into the governor's office, stating that he respected authority and that he wished to spare the governor's lieutenants the trouble of shooting him. The daring move paid off because the surprised governor did not dare shoot the bishop.

Thus, Guízar was free to organize more than three hundred Eucharistic centers, where his priests could minister to the people in ever-increasing numbers while the churches were closed. He was even able to maintain a seminary with more than one hundred seminarians, who, though forced to move from place to place, were able to complete their studies and be ordained. In this way, the diocese counted more priests at the end of the period of persecution than at its beginning. Worn out with his work, Guízar died in Mexico City in 1938. In 1950 his body was exhumed and found to be incorrupt. Thereafter, his remains were translated to his titular chapel in the cathedral of Veracruz.

Beatification and Canonization. The cause for his BEATIFICATION was introduced in Rome on August 11, 1958. At Bishop Guízar's beatification in 1995, Pope John Paul II said that "no difficulty prevented him from fulfilling his missionary tasks." Guízar's spirituality, the pope stated, was based upon his love for the Eucharist and devotion to the Blessed Mother. Since Guízar was a bishop of faith and action, his attention was ever centered upon the salvation of the souls entrusted to his pastoral care.

In March 2006, the VATICAN accepted the testimony of a team of medical doctors and the conclusions of a theological commission, approving the supernatural character of a miracle attributed to Guízar's INTERCESSION: the healing of an unborn boy with a developmental defect. The boy was born completely healthy. On April 28, 2006, Pope Benedict XVI signed the decree approving the miracle and paving the way for the canonization.

During the canonization in Rome, Pope Benedict praised the virtues of the "bishop of the poor," who despised the power and wealth of the world, and thus received a hundredfold the inheritance of the kingdom of Christ. "Imitating the poor Christ, he renounced his goods and never accepted the gifts of the powerful, or rather, he gave them back immediately." The pope strongly emphasized the pride of place Guízar put upon the seminary: "The example of St. Rafael Guízar y Valencia is a call to his brother bishops and priests to consider as fundamental in pastoral programs, beyond the spirit of poverty and evangelization, the promotion of priestly and religious vocations, and their formation according to the heart of Jesus!"

Feast: June 6.

SEE ALSO MEXICO (MODERN), THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MISSION IN POSTCOLONIAL LATIN AMERICA; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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GUTIÉRREZ, GUSTAVO

Peruvian theologian, priest, and philosopher; b. Lima, Peru, June 8, 1929.

Gutiérrez grew up in a humble neighborhood in Lima, where he experienced a lack of material wealth but never lacked the love of a caring family. At a young age he suffered from osteomyelitis, which kept him bedridden from twelve to eighteen.

Formative Years. Gutiérrez graduated from Marist High School in Lima. From 1947 to 1950 he attended the School of Medicine at San Marcos University. At the same time he studied humanities at the Catholic University of Lima. In 1951 he traveled to Belgium to pursue studies in philosophy and psychology at the University of Louvain, which he concluded in 1955. From 1955 to 1959 he studied theology at the Catholic University of Lyon, and from 1959 to 1963 he was at the Gregorian University and the Catholic Institute of Paris. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1959. As a theologian he participated in the 1968 Medellín Conference, and he attended the Conference of Puebla in 1979 as a personal adviser to a group of Latin American bishops.

Theology of Liberation. In 1968 Gutiérrez gave a lecture in a meeting of priests and laypeople in the town of Chimbote, Peru. This lecture became the first draft of his major work of theology and best-known book, *A Theology of Liberation*, which was first published in 1971. European theologies, especially political theologies developed by scholars such as Johannes Metz, were the main source of inspiration for Gutiérrez. In *A Theology of Liberation*, which is considered the first major synthesis of LIBERATION THEOLOGY, Gutiérrez clearly articulates a new vision of theology as a critical reflection on praxis, that is to say, a reflection based on experience and social reality. Gutiérrez raises questions such as, How can we talk about God in a continent (e.g., Latin America) where millions of people live in extreme poverty and injustice? He believed that the task of theology must involve a reflection on the concrete social and economic conditions of people. But Gutiérrez went beyond reflection. Ideas like SALVATION within history convinced him of a need for Christians to act and eventually played a transformative role in many Latin American societies.

His theological reflections also draw from literature and poetry, especially those of Peru. His books are filled with quotations and excerpts from major Peruvian literary figures such as poet César Vallejo and novelist José María Arguedas.

The reception of Gutiérrez's ideas and of liberation theology in general has been positive, despite criticisms and clarifications from the CONGREGATION FOR THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH. As Gutiérrez himself remarked in several interviews, liberation theology has been incorporated in the mainstream of Catholic thought and practice. Ideas like the preferential option for the poor are now common in Catholic discourse. The documents of the Conferences in Medellín, Puebla, and Santo Domingo—an important pastoral legacy of liberation theology for the Church in Latin America—still resonate in contemporary Church statements. *A Theology of Liberation* remains the most influential source of liberation theology. It has been translated into English, French, German, Italian, and many other languages. Gutiérrez's books have been the subject of countless studies, reviews, and doctoral dissertations worldwide.

The continued relevance of Gutiérrez and liberation theology lies in the fact that the poor now have a central position in the theological discussion and in the life of the Church. The Catholic Church and Christian churches in general have found in this perspective a language and a source of inspiration in the difficult struggle for justice in our world. In a 2006 article, Christian Duqoc, teacher and friend of Gutiérrez, calls him a theologian of the unexpected who rescued the poor from the forgotten side of history to a pivotal position in history.

Other Writings. Gutiérrez is a most prolific theologian, as he has written on topics such as liberation spirituality, the Bible, and history. He has penned many reflections on Christian spirituality, which have enriched his theological perspective. Unfortunately, some of his critics have failed to take into account this side of his theological work, and have judged him solely on the basis of his political theology. In his books *We Drink from Our Own Wells* and *On Job*, both based on biblical readings, Gutiérrez outlines a vision of spirituality rooted

in the Hebrew prophets, wisdom literature, and the Gospels.

Gutiérrez also contributed to historical theology with a book on the sixteenth-century Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas, *In Search for the Poor of Christ*. This volume is a reflection on the audacity of las Casas to create a theology in the midst of oppression of the native population, for which the Catholic Church was partially responsible. Gutierrez quotes las Casas—"God did not die for gold"—as a way to convey the point that God's message cannot be used to justify conquest and colonization. His admiration for las Casas also influenced his decision to become a member of the Dominican order in 1999.

His numerous travels, honorary degrees, awards, and teaching positions have given Gutiérrez international recognition as a public intellectual in Church circles and beyond. His work among the poor in the Rimac parish of Lima, Peru, has been honored with the award of the Prince of Asturias (Spain), and he has received an honorary degree from Yale University. In his native Peru, newspapers frequently publish interviews with Gutiérrez in which he reflects on Peruvian life from a theological perspective.

SEE ALSO Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano (Celam); Dominicans; Liberation Theology, Latin America; Louvain, Catholic University of; Medellín Documents; Papal Volunteers for Latin America; Peru, The Catholic Church in.

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H

HADDAD, JACQUES GHAZIR, BL.

Capuchin Franciscan priest, founder of the Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Cross of Lebanon; baptismal name Khalil, also named Abuna Yaaqub (Arabic); b. February 1, 1875, Ghazir, Lebanon; d. June 26, 1954, Lebanon; beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI, June 22, 2008.

Khalil Haddad was the third of five children of Boutros Saleh and Shams Yoakim. After studying Arabic, French, and Syriac, in 1892 he moved to Alexandria, where he taught Arabic at the Christian Brothers' College. When he was nineteen years old, after receiving permission from his father, Khalil Haddad joined the Capuchins near Ghazir and received the religious name Jacques. He was ordained in 1901 in Beirut and was appointed director of schools for the Capuchin Friars in Lebanon.

From 1903 to 1914 he was an itinerant preacher, walking across Lebanon and appearing in Syria, Palestine, Turkey, and Iraq, earning the title "Apostle of Lebanon." During that time, in his capacity as director of schools, he fostered the growth the order's work in education. By 1910 he was overseeing nearly two hundred schools. His preaching in the region was interrupted in 1914, when Turkey entered WORLD WAR I. In the aftermath of the war he founded soup kitchens and orphanages.

In 1919 he erected a large cross and built a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of the Sea at Jall-Eddib, a hill seven miles north of Beirut. Originally founded as a place of prayer, by 1950 the establishment became an important psychiatric hospital.

In 1920 he founded the Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Cross of Lebanon to assist him in his charitable work. He continued to found charitable institutions in many regions of Lebanon, including: the House of the Sacred Heart, an orphanage for girls, in 1933; the Hospital of Our Lady, which served the elderly, in 1948; St. Joseph's Hospital, one of the most important medical centers in the region, in 1949; and St. Anthony's house for beggars, in 1950.

After spending more than fifty years preaching, praying, and serving Lebanon's poor and sick by founding hospitals, schools, orphanages, and soup kitchens, Haddad died of leukemia on June 26, 1954.

He was declared venerable by Pope John Paul II on December 21, 1992. After the miraculous cure of Martha Khattan, whose cancer was in advanced stages, Haddad was beatified at a June 22, 2008, Mass in Beirut, celebrated by Cardinal José Saraiva Martins, C.M.F., Prefect for the Congregation of the Causes of Saints.

Feast: June 26.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; FRANCISCAN SISTERS; LEBANON, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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HELL (THEOLOGY OF)

This article outlines the theological concept of Hell and then traces its development in the fields of dogma and of theology. Developments that occurred after Vatican II are also noted.

Theological Concept. To construct an adequate theological concept of Hell is not easy. Christ did not speak of Hell to convey information about an object beyond present experience but as a decision to which the human person is called by the proclamation of the gospel. Ideas of Hell that appeared in the course of Christian theology varied according to the different concepts from which they were derived. To elaborate a theological idea of Hell that interprets all the elements, with their priorities, of Christian belief in Hell, the concept of the KINGDOM OF GOD is essential.

The kingdom of God was the dominating concept Jesus used in proclaiming His gospel (Schnackenburg 1963, p. 94). Jesus did not create this idea; it was, in the form of the kingdom of heaven, one current in the thought-world of His Jewish contemporaries. But the content Jesus gave to this concept was original (H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck 1965–1969, pp. 172–184). He used it as an eschatological metaphor that expressed God's merciful love for the human race and the divine saving will for creation. For Jesus the metaphor of the kingdom of God gathered the whole of the history of SALVATION into a unity, as it was the focal point of the self-manifestation of God. When the theological idea of Hell is derived from and controlled by the concept of the kingdom of God, its eschatological character and relation to the mercy and saving will of God receive due priority.

Deriving the theological idea of Hell from the kingdom concept respects its nature as an objective reality. For Christian theology the kingdom metaphor expresses the conviction that God's saving will is realized in the exalted Jesus and the humiliated Satan. The theological idea of Hell is designed to express the second part of this statement, and the construction of the idea should reflect this.

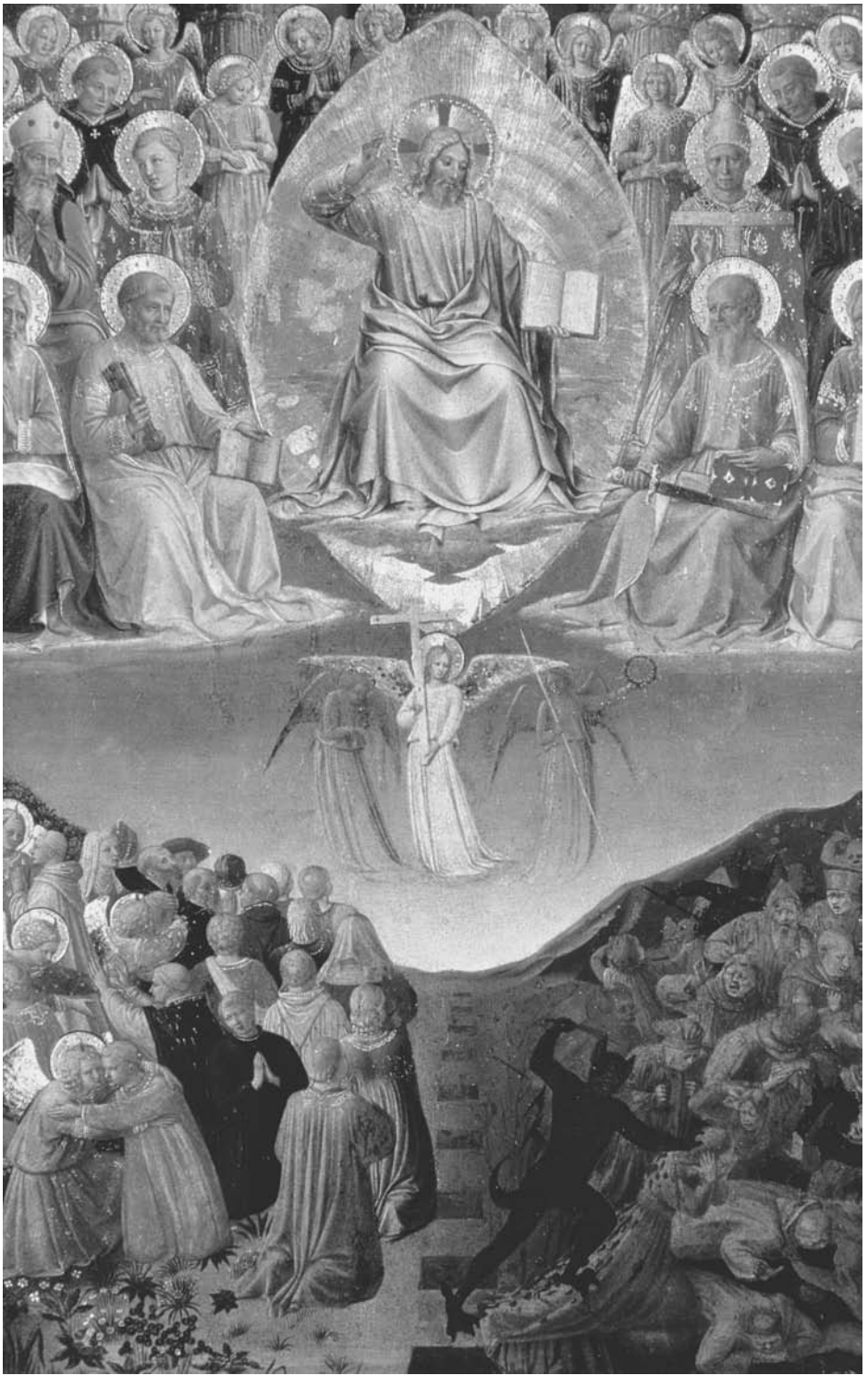
The theological idea of Hell expresses a present reality as well as something still to come. This too is reflected in the way Jesus used the kingdom metaphor. There is the Lordship of Jesus that will continue until all things are subject to Him (1 Cor 15:27); there is what that Lordship prepares for: that God may be all in all (1 Cor 15:28). To be adequate, the theological idea of Hell needs to be elaborated in terms of the Lord Jesus (Jn 17:2) and of God all in all.

Given the Christian belief in Hell, one function of theological reflection is to explain the possibility of Hell in as far as that is possible. Here, too, the advantage of deriving the idea of Hell from the kingdom metaphor is apparent. Intimately associated with the kingdom is the issue of belief (Mk 1:15). The possibility of Hell is made intelligible by the concept of UNBELIEF. The theological idea of Hell does not explain unbelief, a problem that involves human freedom and God's will (Hoskyns 1947, p. 295), but it clearly indicates the eschatological character of the object, the Lord Jesus, and of the testimony, that of the Spirit, involved in unbelief. The theological idea of Hell supposes the mystery of the Father sending the Son and the Holy Spirit, with the reality of the saving work within the human race (Eph 2:14) and on the cosmic level (Col 1:20) that this implies. Hell is not justified in terms of SIN alone; behind sin is unbelief (Jn 16:9). The concept of sin is one pole of God's recognition of human historicity; REPENTANCE is the other. The theological idea of Hell is designed to convey this meaning.

The theological idea of Hell uses SATAN, who "sins from the beginning. To this end the Son of God appeared that he might destroy the works of the devil" (1 Jn 3:8). Constructed on this model, the idea of Hell indicates the result of unbelief: persons become like Satan (1 Jn 3:10), because their attitude toward God—who is disclosed in the Lord Jesus and in the testimony of the Holy Spirit—is similar to that of Satan. Using this model, the ultimate meaning of Hell is metaphorically expressed in the words: "And the light shines in the darkness" (Jn 1:5).

The classical theology of the West approached the problem of Hell mainly from the angle of retribution for sin. This idea of Hell is built from the analysis of the concept of sin and developed by using analogously the concepts of sanction, perfection, and retribution drawn from morals, metaphysics, and religion. Theology today approaches the problem of Hell as separation from God.

Dogmatic Development. Belief in the possibility of Hell has always been present in the Church. Since New Testament times the doctrinal statement of belief in the mystery of Hell is found in the professions of faith. The early *Fides Damasi* states this retribution will take place when Christ returns to judge the living and the dead: "aut poenam pro peccatis aeterni supplicii" (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 72); so too the *Quicumque*: "qui



The Last Judgement. *This central panel from a triptych shows sinners being separated from the Faithful under the Judgment of God.* **FRA ANGELICO/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY/GETTY IMAGES**

vero mala [egerunt], in ignem aeternum" (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 76). In 1201, Pope Innocent III distinguished between Hell as the deprivation of the beatific vision (for those who die with original sin only)

and Hell as everlasting torment for those who die with actual mortal sins (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 780). The important profession of faith used in the dialogue between East and West, at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 and again in 1385, states belief in the mystery of Hell in the context of the retribution that takes place immediately after death: "Illorum autem animas, qui in mortali peccato vel cum solo originali decedunt, mox in infernum descendere, poenis tamen disparibus puniendas" (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 856). Although there is no creedal statement of belief in Hell, the creedal statement that Christ will return to judge the living and the dead entails the doctrinal statement of belief in the possibility of Hell.

Two points of this statement of belief in Hell have been formally defined. In 543, in a definition reflecting the faith of the Church of the East and West, the punishment of the demons and the damned was declared unending. The ninth of the so-called canons against Origen reads: "Si quis dicit aut sentit, ad tempus esse daemonum et impiorum hominum supplicium, ejusque finem aliquando futurum … an. s." (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 411). And in 1336, the constitution *Benedictus Deus*, by defining the doctrine that retribution takes place immediately after death, indicated that the punishment of the damned begins immediately after death. "Diffinimus insuper, quod secundum Dei ordinationem communem animae decedentium in actuali peccato mortali mox post mortem suam ad inferna descendunt, ubi poenis infernalibus cruciantur" (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 1002). These two definitions emerged in the course of the long debate within the Church concerning the return of Christ, the PAROUSIA. The content of this belief is complex; the return of Christ is associated with other events, such as the END OF THE WORLD, the RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD, and the divine judgment.

To determine the nature of these events and the way they are related to one another and to the return of Christ is not easy. The interpretation of the eschatological statements found in the New Testament and the evaluation of the imagery they employ is beset with difficulties. In the second century Justin held that the punishment of the demons and the damned is delayed until after the final judgment (1 *Apol.* 28; *Dial.* 5.3). The great apologist (*Dial.* 80) deduced this from his interpretation of the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body, an interpretation influenced by Jewish eschatology in the form of CHILIASM. Known as the *dilatio inferni* theory, Justin's opinion was widespread in the West until the sixth century, when the teaching of Gregory the Great (*Dial.* 4.27) superseded it.

Those who understood the return of Christ according to the theory of chiliasm read the eschatological statements of the Scriptures in a purely literal sense. Origen reacts strongly against these literalist believers (*De prin.* 2.11.2). In doing this he translates the sufferings of the damned into spiritualized terms (*De prin.* 2.10.4). The real punishment of the damned is their sense of separation from God. According to his theory of APOCATASTASIS, Origen (*De prin.* 1.6.2) understands these punishments as remedial and as ending when final restoration is reached (*In Ezech. hom.* 1.2).

Origen's influence on the understanding of Hell was considerable. He was largely responsible for the disappearance of chiliasm and so restored the return of Christ to its eschatological setting. By questioning the purpose of the punishment of the damned, he opened the way for the interpretation of scriptural statements about remedial punishment, the FIRE OF JUDGMENT, and PURGATORY. Thus, belief in Hell was stated in the context of an individual's retribution at death.

Origen attempted to provide an intelligent understanding of the traditional belief in Hell. The result at which he arrived was eventually declared by the Church incompatible with that belief. What he attempted remains a problem. His positive contribution to the solution of that problem was, besides showing the folly of relying on the purely literalist reading of scriptural statements about the sufferings of the damned, to place the understanding of Hell within Christian belief in the saving work of Christ and in God's merciful love for humankind.

After Origen, some interpretations mitigated the unending punishment of the damned by maintaining that these punishments would end for Christians (Jerome, *Ep.* 119.7; Ambrose, *In Ps.* 36.26), or for certain categories of Christians, such as those who always retained belief in Christ or those who had received the Eucharist. These views, under the influence of Augustine's teachings (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 112–13), eventually gave way before the traditional belief in the unending punishment of the damned. Others, for whom this belief was incompatible with their belief in the MERCY OF GOD, resolved the problem of the punishment of the demons and the damned by the theory of conditionalism, in which the demons and the damned will be annihilated, or by the theory of universalism, which postulates the final restoration of all things, including the demons and the damned. These views are excluded by the dogmatic statement that the punishment of the demons and the damned is unending. But the fact that such views continue to be held by some Christians is a reminder of the problem involved in understanding the traditional belief in the mystery of Hell. The Church concurred with the belief in unending punishment of the demons and the damned, but this is not to be equated with the total expression of the Church's belief in the mystery of Hell; nor can belief in

Hell in that form alone provide an adequate basis for the elaboration of the theological idea of Hell.

Theological Development. The various ideas of Hell elaborated during the course of theology were influenced by the different categories used to integrate the theology of Hell within a systematic theology. In his category of apocatastasis, Origen described Hell as the ultimate stage in the process by which all things return to their primeval order. When Origen's followers hardened his speculations into a doctrine of universalism, the Church excluded this idea of Hell: "Si quis dicit ... restitutionem et redintegrationem fore daemonum aut impiorum hominum, an. s." (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 411). The Church's long reflection on belief in the return of Christ resulted in a clearer identification of the different eschatological events and states, both at the collective and at the individual level. Thus, scientific theology, when it emerged in the West during the twelfth century, was better placed to work out a theological idea of Hell. Peter Lombard integrates the theology of Hell into his systematic theology, *Libri 4 sententiarum*, using the category of resurrection (*3 Sent.* prol.). This category he linked, by way of the category of Sacrament, to the category of Christ the Samaritan restoring man from the effects of sin—infirmity and death. Lombard's theological speculation about Hell is mainly confined to discussing questions arising from scriptural statements and patristic opinions, especially those of Augustine (*4 Sent.* 43–50).

Thomas Aquinas (*In 2 sent.* prol; *Summa theologiae* 3a, prol.) more fully exploited Lombard's categories, but he died before completing his own systematic theology (*Summa theologiae*); what is included under the rubric Resurrection (*Summa theologiae* 3a, suppl., 69–99) is taken from his earlier work (*In 4 sent.* 43–50). Aquinas traces the horizons within which an intelligent understanding of belief in Hell is possible: the place of the will in fault and punishment (*In 4 sent.* prol.), the mutability and fixity of the created will (angels': *Summa theologiae* 1a, 63–64; men's: *Comp. theol.* 174). By working out these horizons in the concrete situation, revealed in FAITH, of the creature's freedom and of God's GRACE, he indicates the mystery of Hell. He was aware, too, of the relation of the theology of Hell to pneumatology (*Comp. theol.* 147). These possibilities for the development of the theology of Hell were little exploited by later theologians. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, theological interest was chiefly confined to Books 1 and 2 of Peter Lombard's *Libri sententiarum*. And when in the following century Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* became the text used in the theological faculties, the incompleteness of that work caused eschatology and the theology of Hell to be isolated from their traditional place within theology. L. Lessius, *De perfectionibus moribusque divinis* 13.24, inserts the theology of Hell under the rubric Judgment and Wrath of God. C. Mazzella's *De Deo creante* (Disp. 6) places it with the theology of man. Until recent times, a similar treatment of the theology of Hell was common in theology manuals (e.g., A. Tanquerey's). Retribution for sin is the dominant feature of the idea of Hell developed by these theologies.

The category of revelation is increasingly used to integrate the theology of Hell, and eschatology, within systematic theology (e.g., in Schmaus's work). This category of revelation introduces into the theology of Hell the concepts of the kingdom of God and of unbelief. Both concepts express personal realities and entail a concept of freedom: the freedom in which a person rejects the self-giving that another freely makes. In this context separation from God is the theological idea of Hell. And by reference to the divine self-giving manifested now in the Lord Jesus and to be manifested when God is all in all, this idea of Hell as separation from God is worked out. The consequence of this separation from God is expressed in the idea of Hell as retribution for sin; the theological concepts of damnation and hellfire are used to interpret this consequence. While respecting the mystery of God's dealings with unbelief, this theology of Hell makes a statement of belief in the mystery of Hell that is wider in form than the present doctrinal statement of that belief. But it is aware that the truths its idea of Hell interpret cannot be held together in logical equilibrium (Jn 17:12).

Developments since Vatican II. Vatican II does not treat the topic of Hell in any extensive way. It does, however, assume it in a number of passages that warn of the possibility of not being saved. *Lumen gentium* 14 states: "Whosoever, therefore, knowing that the Catholic Church was made necessary by Christ, would refuse to enter it or remain in it, could not be saved." Moreover, Catholics who fail to respond to God's grace "in thought word and deed, not only shall they not be saved but they shall be the more severely judged" (*Lumen gentium* 14). In speaking about the end times, *Lumen gentium* 48 cites the Scriptures that affirm the images of Hell as "the eternal fire" (Mt 25:41) and the darkness where there is "weeping and gnashing of teeth" (Mt 22:13; 25:30).

Vatican II also upholds the universal salvific WILL OF GOD, citing 1 Timothy 2:4 that the "Savior wills that all men be saved" (*Lumen gentium* 16). Within this context, the possibility of salvation of non-Christians is affirmed if, "through no fault of their own," they do not know the GOSPEL of Christ or his Church but "sincerely seek God and moved by grace strive by their deeds to do His will as it is known to them through the dictates of conscience" (*Lumen gentium*, 16). The possibility of salvation for non-Christians, however, does not take

away the duty of Christians to preach the Gospel, because salvation can only come through Christ and a relationship to the Catholic Church—a truth upheld both at Vatican II (cf. *Ad gentes* 7) and later reaffirmed by the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH in its declaration, *Dominus Iesus* of the year 2000 (cf. *Dominus Iesus* 2000 20–22).

Pope PAUL VI affirms the reality of Hell in his *Credo of the People of God* (1968) where he states that those who have refused "the love and piety of God" will go "to the fire that is not extinguished" (no. 12). During the pontificate of Paul VI, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith sent a letter to the bishops of the world, *On Certain Questions Regarding Eschatology* (May 17, 1979). While recognizing that "neither Scripture nor theology provides sufficient light for a proper picture of life after death," the traditional teaching on Hell is affirmed in these words: "She [the Church] believes that there will be eternal punishment for the sinner, who will be deprived of the sight of God, and that this punishment will have a repercussion on the whole being of the sinner" (no. 7).

Pope JOHN PAUL II, in his 1994 book, *Crossing the Threshold of Hope*, mentions the difficulty some thinkers, such as Origen, Sergé BULGAKOV, and Hans Urs von BALTHASAR, had with "the problem of Hell," and he raises the question: "Can God, who has loved man so much, permit the man who rejects Him to be condemned to eternal torment?" (p. 185). The POPE responds by noting that Christ's words about Hell in Matthew 25:36 are "unequivocal." Nevertheless,

> the Church has never made any pronouncements in this regard. This is a mystery, truly inscrutable, which embraces the holiness of God and the conscience of man. The silence of the Church is, therefore, the only appropriate position for Christian faith. Even when Jesus says of Judas, the traitor, "it would be better for that man if he had never been born" (Mt 26:24), his words do not allude for certain to eternal damnation. (pp. 185–186)

John Paul II also touches on Hell in his General Audience of July 28, 1999. He notes that eternal DAMNATION is not from God's initiative, "because in his merciful love he can only desire the salvation of the beings he created" (no. 3). Hell results for "the creature who closes himself to God's love." Damnation, therefore, "consists precisely in definitive separation from God, freely chosen by the human person and confirmed with death that seals his choice forever. God's judgement ratifies this state" (no. 3). The Holy Father speaks of eternal damnation as "a real possibility" though "we are not granted, without special divine revelation, the knowledge of whether or which human beings are effectively involved in it;" but the "thought of Hell and even less the improper use of biblical images must not create anxiety or despair, but it is a necessary and healthy reminder of freedom within the proclamation that the risen Jesus has conquered Satan, giving us the Spirit of God who makes us cry 'Abba, Father!'" (Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6) (no. 4).

The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1997) mentions Hell as the result of dying in MORTAL SIN "without repenting and accepting God's merciful love" (no. 1033). It describes Hell as a "state of definitive self-exclusion from communion with God and the blessed" (no. 1033). The *Catechism* likewise affirms the traditional teaching on the ETERNITY of Hell (no. 1034).

Because Hell is mentioned in the context of self-exclusion, the question has been raised whether unbaptized babies can be saved, because they never made a personal choice against God. The deprivation of sanctifying grace, due to ORIGINAL SIN, had led to the speculation of a state of LIMBO for these unbaptized babies, where they would be deprived of the BEATIFIC VISION but given some type of "natural joy." The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* states that people have reason to hope that God has a way of saving these unbaptized babies, though it must remain on the level of hope not certitude (no. 1261).

Some had thought that Pope John Paul II, in his ENCYCLICAL, *Evangelium vitae* [EV] 99 assured women who had an ABORTION that their child was "living in the Lord." Because of the possibility for misinterpretation, a change was made in the definitive text of EV 99 as it appeared in the *Acta apostolicae sedis* 87 (AAS 1995, 515). Instead of telling women that their aborted child was "living in the Lord," they were instead instructed to entrust their child to the Father and his mercy "with hope" (*cum spe*).

The INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL COMMISSION (ITC) took up the question of the fate of unbaptized babies in a document published April 19, 2007. The commission concluded in *The Hope of Salvation for Infants Who Die without Being Baptized* "that there are theological and liturgical reasons to hope that infants who die without baptism may be saved and brought into eternal happiness, even if there is not an explicit teaching on this question found in Revelation" (ITC 2007, opening section). Contrary to some reports, the commission did not entirely rule out the thesis of limbo because it "remains a possible theological opinion" (no. 41).

In terms of theological speculation, considerable attention has been given to the 1986 book by the Swiss theologian Hans Urs von Balthasar (1905–1988), *Was dürfen wir hoffen?* (What may we hope for?), which was

published in English in 1988 under the title, *Dare We Hope "That All Men Be Saved?*" Balthasar avoided absolute universalism or *apokatastasis*, because he admitted that Hell is everlasting for the demons. With respect to the fate of humans, however, Balthasar, like the Jesuit Karl RAHNER (1904–1984), maintained that God's universal salvific will (cf. 1 Tim 2:4) made the salvation of all humans a real possibility. Although Balthasar did not claim the salvation of all people as a fact, he did believe that there was an obligation to hope for the salvation of all (Balthasar 1988, pp. 211–221).

Balthasar's position received support from many, including Father Richard John Neuhaus (1936–2009), the editor of the journal, *First Things*. Many others, however, such as Dale Vree, the editor of *New Oxford Review*, found Balthasar's position problematic from the viewpoint of the Catholic tradition. Some criticized Balthasar for giving too much weight to the private revelations of mystics and not enough attention to magisterial statements (O'Connor 1989, pp. 13, 16). Others suggested that Balthasar's "trajectory" runs counter to Church teaching even if he does not explicitly reject Catholic DOCTRINE (Flannery 1991, p. 479). A moderate assessment of Balthasar's position was provided by Avery Cardinal DULLES (1918–2008), who described it as "at least adventurous" because it "runs against the obvious interpretation of the words of Jesus in the New Testament and against the dominant theological opinion down through the centuries, which maintains that some, and in fact very many, are lost" (Dulles 2008, p. 393).

SEE ALSO ACTA APOSTOLICAE SEDIS; BAPTISM OF INFANTS; BENEDICTUS DEUS; DEMON (THEOLOGY OF); DOMINUS IESUS; ESCHATOLOGY, ARTICLES ON; ESCHATOLOGY (IN THE BIBLE); ESCHATOLOGY (IN THEOLOGY); EVANGELIUM VITAE; GEHENNA; HELL (IN THE BIBLE); HELLFIRE; JUDGMENT, DIVINE (IN THE BIBLE); JUDGMENT, DIVINE (IN THEOLOGY); ORIGEN AND ORIGENISM; SANCTION, DIVINE; TRADITION (IN THEOLOGY); VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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HELL, HARROWING OF

Some twentieth-century theologians have subjected the articles of faith to radical processes of demythologization and questioning. The fifth article of the APOSTLES' CREED, "Jesus descended into Hell, and on the third day he rose from the dead," has been particularly assailed. It is not easy for modern scientific and often materialistic minds to understand, much less to imagine, these truths. Examining the problem of the image of the abode of the dead and JESUS' harrowing of HELL from Scriptural images and concepts to the iconographical and theological efforts can help to make it more understandable. The Descent, or as it has been referred to in medieval English terminology, "the harrowing of Hell," presents the interesting and urgent task of reinterpretation without eviscerating it of theological and pastoral content. Both JOHN PAUL II and BENEDICT XVI addressed both topics and attempted to expound the rich significance of both the Descent and the RESURRECTION.

The Theological Problem. This article of faith immediately questions one's ability to speak about the metahistorical, or disembodied, dimensions of Jesus' redemptive work. No human being saw the Descent or the Resurrection. Indeed one cannot see these anymore than one can listen to the Father speak to the Eternal Son about His future INCARNATION. But is it possible to imagine referring to those realities without falsifying them, without inventing unacceptable myths, without imagining an unacceptable otherworldly geography? How can one pretend to speak about the condition of the "souls of the dead" in an authentic, rational, honest way without falling into temporal and spatial falsification? Is theology only to address reason and not the inescapable human need to imagine what one believes? Even if one accepts the need to represent—not just to conceptualize but also to represent a belief—how is it possible to judge the validity of such representations or images lest they betray the original contents of the FAITH that is to be transmitted through them? Imaginative representations of the harrowing can obscure the contents of faith, but should they all be banished as incompatible with contemporary secularity?

This is not only a problem for theology, with its notions and concepts, but for literature, for words evoke images even if they do not describe these images. It is an even more pressing problem for iconography, which pretends to represent in an authentic way to avoid giving a false image or idol of an eternal truth. How can a mystery be represented in a visual manner while making an accurate historical, liturgical, and theological statement? All of ESCHATOLOGY is perilously close to vanishing if society cannot speak or represent these ineffable realities. Are people necessarily bound to a dualistic, supposedly Hellenistic, non-Hebraic understanding of the human condition if they speak of souls of the dead? Can they make any credible statements about invisible realities at all? The need to defend the analogical, but truthful, character of the theological discourse immediately comes to the fore.

Believers have always sought to translate the words of Scripture into the visible, sensible way. Indeed ISRAEL did not develop an idea of God, but rather had an experience of God, before its sages developed a theology of God. The content of the mysteries of faith cannot be evacuated because they cannot be subjected to physical/material or strictly historical evidence. Since mankind is forced to speak of mysteries such as God, the holy angels, and the souls of the dead only in terms they can experience, that is, in spatial and temporal terms, they have to accept the limitations of language and visual images while not denying the ability to speak authentically about such spiritual realities. Israel and the Church, precisely by generating images of the realm of the dead and Jesus' relationship to it, were witnessing to their vital faith in fundamental convictions about God's action on behalf of mankind. Preaching faith in Yahweh or Jesus as Lord is not contrary to authentic images, to religious imagery (be it poetic or descriptive, speculative or artistic representations). These images should be purified so as not to acquire an independent life of their own, detached from the other elements of belief.

Old Testament Images. The HEBREWS' evolving notions of the condition of the dead tended to be austere



Liberation from Hell. *This fifteenth-century depiction of Christ's decent into Hell shows Satan fleeing before the Savior, as He stretches out His hand to the first of the newly freed souls. The gates of Hell are shattered under His feet.* © ARTE & IMMAGINI SRL/CORBIS

in comparison to the flamboyant imaginations and highly developed views of the afterlife of their successive pagan neighbors, be they Egyptians with their netherworld monsters, Canaanites, Babylonians, or Greeks and Romans with their tourist trips to HADES to satiate mortal men's curiosity about the realm of the dead. Among the pagan visitors to Hades were Ulysses, Aeneas, Theseus, Hercules, and Orpheus. The Hebrews resisted speculating about the fate of the dead, and to invoke the deceased was punishable by death. They did not submit easily to mythological imaginations of the abode of the dead.

Yet, in the oldest strata of the Old Testament, when they mention the abode of the dead, they affirm the survival of a particular individual, even when they wrap it in the phrase "he was gathered up to his ancestors" (Gn 15:15; 25:8; 47:30; 49:33; Dt 31:16; Jgs 2:10; 2 Sm 7:12; 1 Kg 2:10). The dead were not "nothing," meaning they were not annihilated, but the living could barely relate to them, and they certainly could not do anything for them. The Hebrews held a rather desolate view of this terminal state of existence. The notion of the abode of the dead is present in most, if not all, literary genres of the Jewish Scriptures and is

present in the intertestamental and apocryphal literature as well.

The shadowy Jewish concepts of the abode of the dead or the afterlife are varied and evidence a complex evolution. Normally the Hebrew dead were buried, so the notion of a hole in the ground unto which the dead descend is basic to the notion of SHEOL (cf. Is 38:18; Nm 16:30ff; Jb 7:9; Is 14:4–19; Ez 32:18ff; Ps 106:9). Because the Hebraic cosmological concept envisioned Earth as standing above underground primeval waters that God tamed as He created (cf. Dt 33:13; Prv 3:20, 8:24; Am 7:4; Ps 24:2, 136:6; Jb 26:5), waves and slimy muck were intimately associated with Sheol, or as it was translated into Greek: the Abyss, or Hades (cf. Ps 5:10, 55:24, 69:16; Jb 9:31). God was conceived as One who triumphed over the watery chaos, a notion that was also common in Mesopotamian cosmologies (cf. Ps 46:3; 69:2,3,15,16; 92:9–10; 93:2ff; 104:7). Sometimes the waters were personified by water monsters called LEVIATHAN and Rahab that were defeated by Yahweh (cf. Ps 74:13, 89:10ff).

The poetic language with which the abode of the dead is described not only in the Psalms but also in the Prophetic and Wisdom literature is theologically charged with a wealth of intuitions as it attempts to describe the "spiritual" condition of the dead by diverse images that entail an eschatological geography as well as personified powers of Death. Sheol was a land of darkness, and the souls who inhabited it were literally *rephaim*, or shadows (cf. Ps 5:10, 55:24, 69:16; Jb 9:31; Prv 21:16; Is 14:9, 29:14). The dead slept because they could not look forward to any better day (Jb 14:12; Is 26:19; Jer 51:39; Ps 39:16; Dn 12:2). No light, life, or hope ever penetrated this chaotic world of eternal solitude (cf. Ez 26:20), a house of silence where no praises of the Lord were heard (cf. Ps 94:17; Is 38:18 ff; Ps 6:5ff, 115:17ff, 142:8), this everlasting prison (cf. Ps 88:9; Jb 12:14; Lam 3:7), where the presence of all the dead consoled no one. If remembrance of Yahweh was the prelude to blessing and praising Him, there was none of that in Sheol; it was a land of forgetfulness and of the forgotten (cf. Ps 88:6). All who entered it lost hope of exiting. This was symbolized by the all-powerful, barred gates of Hell that closed behind everyone who entered, never to open again (cf. Is 38:10; Jb 38:17; Ps 9:14; Jon 2:7). Death was seen as aggressive, like unto a hunter (cf. Ps 124), with claws (cf. Jb 17:16), open jaws (cf. Ps 46:3), with an insatiable throat that swallowed all (cf. Nm 16:31–33; Is 5:14; Ps 69:16), and a sterile womb that bore no offspring (cf. Prv 30:16; Is 5:14; Sir 51:7).

In Sheol souls were separated from God, who is the source of life; they had no positive relation with Him. Psalms 88 and 49 give terrible descriptions of Sheol that defy God to have mercy on the poor and destitute souls who inhabit it. Only the Resurrection of Jesus will answer the heart-wrenching sadness and accusations of the unique and hopeless in Psalm 88. In SIRACH the sullen primitive image of the abode of the dead is still vibrant (cf. Sir 14:17, 22:11, 41:1–7, 9:17). The Book of Qohelet (ECCLESIASTES) is rather skeptical and nihilistic in its understating of the afterlife: A living dog is better than a dead lion (cf. Eccl 9:4ff). This book implies that in Sheol all reason, intelligence, and consciousness of individual existence was lost (cf. Eccl 9, 10). It denies any meaningful existence of the souls of the dead: They have no sense of their identity; they are anonymous shadows and certainly have no hope. In a sense the SADDUCEES defended the beliefs about the condition of the dead and the impossibility of the resurrection manifested in Ecclesiastes.

The later writings of the Old Testament, including some Psalms, and some important, though difficult, passages of the PROPHETS, attest to an increasing interest in and more hopeful view of the afterlife. The abode of the dead increasingly becomes an intermediate state of the soul, not a terminal fate. Certain passages of ISAIAH 26 and 19 and Wisdom (3:1ff, 4:16ff, 5:2–23) attest not only to the existence of the souls with self consciousness, but with a degree of enjoyment and life-giving relationship with God. This is the case with Psalms 49, 73, and 16, where the souls of the dead have substantive individuality. The Jewish idea of the survival of the individual soul is much older than the notion of the resurrection of the body (Sayés 2006, p. 49). The PHARISEES subscribed to these developed, more hopeful notions of the afterlife. The notion of the resurrection also limited the length of time of passage through the state of death.

Jewish intertestamental literature, especially 4 Maccabees and the Book of Jubilees, speaks of immortal souls. These books are much closer to the cultural world that Jesus lived in than Qohelet (Sayés 2006, p. 55). 1 ENOCH speaks of different abodes for the dead: The righteous are not with the wicked, whereas 2 BARUCH conceives of Sheol as a place where all souls are guarded until final judgment. 4 Esdras speaks of two abodes of the dead: one where the souls experience joys, and the other where the wicked experience pain. It speaks of the womb of death begetting souls in travail (cf. 4 Esdras 4:40–43). The Psalms of SOLOMON speaks of a Sheol from which the just souls rise and of one for the wicked where they remain forever in punishment. 1 Enoch speaks of a PARADISE where the Patriarchs are living, and where the souls expect a MESSIAH (22:9–13, 61:12, 70:4).

Some of these writings speak of visits to Sheol by famous personages. 1 Enoch speaks of a special figure who will come to the abode of the dead. The relationship of the angels to the abode of the dead is also quite developed in this apocryphal Jewish literature at the end

of the first century BC and the beginning of the Christian era.

New Testament Imagery. Jesus himself refers to the abode of the dead in various ways. Jesus speaks of the Hell of damnation rather frequently, but here He refers to the abode of the dead who await the resurrection and REDEMPTION. When He charges St. PETER with the keys of the Kingdom, He speaks of His power over the gates of Hell (cf. Mt 16:18). He speaks of the three days in the womb of the Earth, just as JONAH was in the womb of the whale (Mt 12: 40). He also speaks of the paradisiacal state of LAZARUS, who dines with ABRAHAM (cf. Lk 16:19–31). He speaks of the ransacking of the powerful man who does not guard his belongings (Mk 3:27). Jesus walking over the raging waves of the Sea of Galilee gives a powerful reference to His power over death, so frequently symbolized in the Old Testament as chaotic waters (Mk 6:46–51). His power over death is clearly affirmed not only in the revivals of the dead that He performed but also in His statements that even the dead shall hear His voice and that He is the Resurrection Himself; He is Life Himself.

The New Testament shows a notable reserve in describing the specific circumstances of the Resurrection. There is a certain reticence to describe what happened to Christ during His disembodied state. The first witnesses of the risen Christ made use of the available Old Testament imagery of the abode of the dead to express their conviction that Jesus the Christ was the universal SAVIOR of mankind. Preaching the mystery, the central event of Christian faith, could not just remain with the empty tomb. If Jesus had extended His powerful realm over the Abyss of the Dead, how were the APOSTLES to proclaim it? The Psalms were amply harvested for imagery expressing the triumph, not only of the Creator God, but of Jesus Himself as the Victor over the powers of evil, death, and sin.

The credal statement "He rose *from the dead* (*anastasis ek nekron*)" (1 Thes 1:10; Mk 9:9; Mt 17:9, 27:64; Lk 24:46; Jn 2:22, 20:9, 21:14) already implies the abode, not just an empty cemetery tomb. The images used by the first preachers to describe the Resurrection refer to the abode of the dead. Jesus, the Firstborn from the dead, can only be understood in reference to PROVERBS 30:16: "the sterile womb has finally given birth to One." In Acts 2:24ff, St. Peter speaks of the ropes of Hades not being able to retain the Messiah.

The katabasis/anabasis scheme presented by St. PAUL in Romans 10:6–7, Philippians 2:10, and Ephesians 4:8–10 presents a humiliating descent that starts with the Incarnation and culminates with the death-descent of the soul to the lower regions of the Earth, only to become the starting point of the Resurrection to the highest abode of the living God, from whence Christ had commenced His coming down in order to be taken up. All of those states of His life were salvific. St. Gregory Naziazen's soteriological principle must be observed: What was not assumed was not saved. To save the dead, Christ chose to share their condition as a disembodied soul.

Other New Testament texts also imply the Descent, the victory of Christ over death, in poetic language that implies liberation from the abode of the dead. In Colossians 2:15, for example, He has taken captives to HEAVEN, much like emperors used to display in public their defeated enemies. In Hebrews 2:14–15, Jesus liberated from the fear of death those who awaited SALVATION and had to wait for Him in order to enter the Heavenly sanctuary. St. Matthew in 27:51–54 speaks of the power of the dying Jesus' voice to crack open the stones, the tombs, and the veil of the Temple as the direct cause of the rising of the just, who will enter JERUSALEM after the Resurrection of Christ. The APOCALYPSE also clearly states that Jesus, who has subjected all creatures in the air, on the sea, on the ground, and under it has the keys of Hades (Rev 1:18). The much more ambiguous texts that literally speak of the Descent and Jesus' preaching to the dead in 1 Peter 3:18ff and 4:6 brittle with serious problems and, with the exception of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, are not used until the COUNTER REFORMATION as texts that avow this article of faith in the Scriptures.

Apocryphal Imagery. The rich apocryphal literature of both Jewish and Greek Christians delighted in describing the combat between Jesus and SATAN. Indeed it is from one such apocryphal book, the Acts of Pilate (fourth century), also called the Gospel of Nicodemus, that Christian iconography, preaching, and theater derived or strengthened some, though not all, of the best known and recurring imagery of the Harrowing of Hell (Kartsonis 1986, pp. 13–16). Jean Daniélou goes as far as saying that the Descent article is foreign to the New Testament and is purely a Jewish Christian dogmatic development that was accepted by common tradition (1964, p. 233). He says that the Gospel of Peter 41–42 is the first writing that speaks explicitly and openly about the Descent and only in the sense of Jesus preaching to the Old Testament (OT) saints. The next stage of development is the actual salvation of these saints, and the final development will be the overthrow of the demonic powers and Death itself.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, in particular that of Levi 4 and 18, speaks of the Messiah liberating the just from the power of Death. The Testaments of Dan and Benjamin 8 also attest the Descent mystery. The Odes of Solomon are also rich in depicting Christ's liberation of the Old Testament just, especially the very beautiful Odes 42:11–20 and 17:7–17 (Quenot

1997, p. 75), where the actions of Christ are noted in detail: Jesus descends to Sheol, proclaims His victory over the Satanic powers, delivers the saints held captive, places His Name on their heads and their faith in His heart, and ascends to heaven with them. Ode 17 portrays the encounter between Jesus and the saints as a baptismal mystery. Ode 22 also praises the mighty Jesus who descends and ascends from the bonds of death. The apocryphon of Jeremiah, a Christian midrash, speaks of how God remembered the dead and Jesus went down unto them to proclaim the good news.

Iconographic Tradition of the Descent. Scriptural imagery offers firm notions of the importance of the redemptive work of Christ's soul during His time as a disembodied soul. But Sacred TRADITION upholds the justified utility of icons that provide illustrative visual images (not just verbal images) that correspond to the KERYGMA as representations. Holy images often enable the faithful to grasp intuitively what the richest texts are unable to express fully. Early Christian artists exhibited a marked reluctance to depict the representation of the Resurrection of Christ (Kartsonis 1986, p. 19). They frequently used allegorical or symbolic representation of it (with OT scenes such as Jonah's emergence from the whale, the raising of Lazarus, or the phoenix), but they resisted description of it beyond its notional assertion; indeed there seems to have been an iconographic vacuum, even though secondary events surrounding the Resurrection were portrayed, such as the Marys bringing the myrrh, or the tomb filled with exploding light and overthrown guards, or the angels announcing the empty tomb (Kartsonis 1986, pp. 21–22). The artists were much more reticent than the preachers to expand on the theme of the activities of Christ's soul during His state as a dead man. But, the image of the CRUCIFIXION was a relative latecomer in Christian art as well, since it appears to have only been represented in a descriptive manner in the fifth century (Kartsonis 1986, p. 33). It seems Christological controversies, in particular the need for Christ to remain perfect God and perfect Man not only in life, but also in death, finally overcame the initial hesitation to represent the dead, dying, or rising Christ (Kartsonis 1986, p. 38).

The Harrowing of Hell has a very important presence in the iconographical traditions of the ROMAN CATHOLIC, Byzantine, Coptic, and Ethiopian churches. These liturgical traditions accent different aspects of the mystery that is presented to the faithful. The Roman Catholic tradition is rooted in late Patristic representations of the mystery. The first dated icon of the Descent is a fresco at Santa Maria Antica on the Roman Forum (seventh century). The mandorla, or almond-shaped explosion of light that surrounds Christ, who has a scroll (of the GOSPEL) in His hand, is a forceful illustration of the will and energy of Christ's divinity, united to His soul, as He tramples Hades, depicted as a muscular ancient pagan god, and then raises ADAM from his tomb (Kartsonis 1986, p. 71). EVE is present but next to Adam, in a secondary, passive role. The dark naked body of the trampled Hades contrasts significantly with the lightness of the LOGOS. The liturgical use of Psalm 24 encouraged the association of the door symbolism with the theme of the Descent (Kartsonis 1986, p. 77). The Descent is also depicted in eighth-century frescoes in the Lower Basilica of St. Clement in Rome, accentuating the theme of Christ bringing light into the darkness of Hell. Since this representation emphasizes the triumph of Jesus over Satan, they seem to adapt ready-made allegorical models of imperial iconography (Kartsonis 1986, p. 10). The scroll is replaced by a staffed cross, and fiery flames appear in some other eighth-century Roman portrayals of the Descent (Kartsonis 1986, p. 83).

The figures of King DAVID and Solomon appear in the early ninth-century depiction of the descent in the chapel of St. Zeno in St. Prassede in Rome. It also offers the first surviving depiction of an angel in the Descent mystery. During the MIDDLE AGES, beginning with the ninth century, this mystery continuously adds triumphal twists to the struggle between Jesus and the Devil, the raiding siege by Christ of Satan's abode, and the manifestation of His superior power over the souls of the dead. This includes the fettering of Satan as well as the inclusion of angels beating down the minions. The souls of the Old Testament saints are usually portrayed as naked beings that are liberated from their roasting condition by a warrior Christ who crushes a trampled Satan or stabs him with a patriarchal Cross or the flag of the Risen One. The hellish topography of the abode of the dead is overemphasized in the West, concomitant to the confusion between the lower world (*inferus*) and Hell itself (*infernus*). Hell/Hades is sometimes represented as a fortress that is assailed by Christ. In other instances the abode of the dead is represented as Leviathan's open mouth or Hell riddled with flames. But by the eleventh century, another representation of the Resurrection of Christ started to take firm root in the West: Christ rising bodily from the tomb (Quenot 1997, p. 74).

The Scholastics gave a new twist to the image of the abode of the dead when they began speaking of this as the LIMBO of the Fathers, Patriarchs, and Prophets. This transient limbo was an effort to distinguish their abode from the state of damnation, of eternal suffering. The image of Abraham's bosom, which comes from the parable of Lazarus in Luke, also distinguished the abode of the holy dead from the fate of the damned, Hell itself. Jesus harrowed, emptied, redeemed the souls of the just whom Satan unjustly prevented from entering

the gates of heaven that Adam's sin had closed. The representation of the bosom of Abraham was thus another version of the Descent mystery.

The Descent became a common iconographical composition, especially in Sinai and Cappadocia between the eighth and tenth centuries (Quenot 1997, p. 73). The pictorialization of the Resurrection in the Byzantine iconographical tradition makes its appearance later than the other major scenes in the Christological cycle that eventually configured an important part of the iconostasis. It does not draw its imagery from the texts of the Gospel, yet it achieved a great popularity in all the Eastern Churches (Kartsonis 1986, p. 3). The image that finally crystallized in the Middle Byzantine period, in the tenth century, shows Jesus extending His hand to touch the life-giving pulse of Adam. Though compositional variants exist of Christ's attitude toward Adam, the essential message is still the same: Jesus, the Creator Logos Incarnate, is re-creating Man. The icon refers simultaneously to the Resurrection of Christ as well as to Adam and all mankind (Kartsonis 1986, pp. 5, 6). Jesus died and rose *for all*.

During the early RENAISSANCE in Italy the depiction of the Descent became more historically illustrative, abandoning the medieval notion of naked and almost anonymous Patriarchs being snatched from the devil by the victorious Lord. In all probability this is due to a strong Byzantine influence. The particular Patriarchs and Prophets tend to be identified with individual traits or signs: NOAH with his Ark, Abraham with his knife over the head of Isaac, JOSHUA with his military helmet, St. JOHN THE BAPTIST with his disheveled hair, MOSES with the two "horns of light" or the Ten COMMANDMENTS, David with his crown and harp, and some prophets with a scroll from their announcements concerning the Messiah's mission.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, in particular in Italy, the representation of the mystery became more problematic as the nude figures of the Old Testament saints became more sensuous and distractive. Even in Spanish religious painting of the seventeenth century, which was very discreet and austere, some sensuality accompanies this representation of Christ's descent into the Limbo of the Fathers. In Latin American religious art, the Descent was still represented rather sparingly from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century in both the viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru.

During the Middle Ages and into the Baroque period the Descent was also present in dramatic performances, especially those celebrated during HOLY WEEK. As late as 1803 an Italian musician named Antonio Salieri (1750–1825) composed an oratorio with a libretto written by Luigi Prividali, with the theme of Jesus in the Limbo of the Fathers.

By the sixteenth century the Eastern churches also started to borrow from the Latin West the rising from the tomb motif (Quenot 1997, p. 74), though at times they combined it with the Descent and also the saints entering Heaven with Jesus. The affirmation of the holiness of the Old Testament saints, and their representation, however, resurged during the nineteenth century in Catholic churches, and neo-Gothic stirrings arose even among the Anglicans.

The Coptic and Ethiopian iconographical traditions are heavily indebted to the Byzantine tradition, and, after the sixteenth century, to Latin themes as well. In their particular manner, they also exult the triumphal Christ who tramples Death and raises the frequently naked Adam and Eve who cling to His cloak. Many variations on a common theme also appear in this iconographic tradition.

Mystery of Descent Assailed by Protestants. Martin LUTHER abhorred the distinction between soul and body to such an extent that he did not admit to an intermediate state of the soul after death and before the general resurrection of the dead. Most other Protestants also questioned the Biblical foundations of this article of faith. They were distraught by icons and more so by some of the medieval representations of the dramatic harrowing of Hell, which was tainted by supposedly non-Biblical, Greek, or philosophical falsification of the faith. They abandoned this mystery altogether. With the advent of radical "enlightened" rational Biblical exegesis, any belief in an intermediate state of the soul was considered a betrayal of Biblical faith.

The mystery of the Descent was defended and explained in the *Catechism of the Council of Trent for Pastors*, "*The Roman Catechism*," (Part I, Article V). However, the Protestant attack on the mystery as well as the immodest representations of late Renaissance artists explains the gradual visual disappearance of this article of faith from the iconographical landscape of the Roman Catholic Church. After the sixteenth century, the representation of the Resurrection was increasingly limited in Western art to Christ's bodily rising from the tomb. In this image the rich soteriological implications of Christ's triumph over Death for mankind are not present at all. History is not explicitly or visibly redeemed by Jesus, and His Resurrection is only a future hope for mankind, until the Second Coming. This hesitation to visually represent the Descent also explains many of the faithful's lack of understanding of the contents of the creedal statement.

Sacred Liturgy and Catechism. It is worthy of note that one of three new Eucharistic prayers approved after the Second Vatican Council by a Decree of the Congregation of Rites dated May 23, 1968, as one of the four

options in the Roman MISSAL, Eucharistic Prayer IV, itself an adaptation of the so-called Alexandrian Anaphora of St. Basil, speaks explicitly of Christ's descent to the dead in the anamnesis. Since the Mass' Eucharistic prayers have definitive creedal value and are reliable witnesses of the Church's faith, this solemn recognition of the importance of this mystery of faith is very significant. The Congregation for Divine Worship in its 2002 *Directory for Popular Piety and Liturgy* attempted to reintroduce the contemplation of the mystery of the Descent alongside the contemplation of the dead body of Christ and of his Mother's hope in His Resurrection (section 146).

The new *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (nos. 631–637) also offered a synthesis of the images of the Descent and reaffirmed its role in the general scope of belief not only in Christ's true experience of death but also in its soteriological significance as an essential aspect of His Paschal mystery and in the triumph of God's love over death.

Recent Papal Statements. As part of his catechesis of the CREED, Pope John Paul II in his General Audience of January 11, 1989, devoted an entire AUDIENCE to explaining the Descent of Christ into the Limbo of the Fathers. In his June 20, 2001, explanation of the LITURGY OF THE HOURS, he also referred to the Descent connotations of Psalm 23 (24). Pope John Paul II, when he spoke of Hell as a condition, not a place, made a significant contribution to a more correct understanding of eschatological realities. The abode of the dead is also a state of the soul of dead people. In his catechesis of the Canticle of King Hezekiah in Isaiah 38 on February 27, 2002, he also referred to the Descent. In his November 2001 visit to the Parish of Santa Maria, Mater Dei, in ROME, he also referred to the Descent mystery.

Pope Benedict XVI also spoke of the Descent mystery as part of the celebration of the Eucharist (Angelus, September 11, 2005). In his homily on the occasion of the baptism of some adults in ST. PETER'S BASILICA in the Easter Vigil on April 7, 2007, he also mentioned the Descent mystery. In his ENCYCLICAL on Hope, *Spe Salvi* (37), he speaks of the Descent as a very personal, dark suffering that makes a human being experience profound solitude and abandonment. "Why have you abandoned me?" cries Psalm 22(21). Pope Benedict XVI is convinced this Psalm is given full meaning by Jesus on the Cross as the very psychological expression of the experience of Descent itself.

Recent Theological Developments. After the Tridentine and post-Tridentine theologians' defense of Descent mystery, especially Robert BELLARMINE, Francisco SUÁREZ, and Dionysio Petavio, the Descent was left in limbo itself. But in the twentieth century, a significant interest in the explanation of this article of the creed occurred. French scholars stressed the need to demythologize this article of faith and return to the core or original sense of the mystery (Christian Duquoc, Jean Galot, and Louis Lochet). Hell is not a reference to a childish view of cosmology but a way of describing man's relationship to God. Some stretch the mystery's content into a personal, spiritual dimension: Jesus descends to my hell, my vices, my dark spaces, my unconscious secrets, my solitude, my indifferences and alienations (Houziaux 2003, pp. 214–215).

Italian and Spanish theologians did not pay much attention to the topic and instead repeated the classical and traditional affirmations about it. Marcello Bordoni insisted that more than another way of saying that Jesus truly died, this article is an intrinsic part of Jesus' Paschal experience, an essential aspect of His Ascension, emphasizing the Greek insistence on it being part of Christ's universal triumph over the bonds of death for all mankind, not just for himself (Bordoni 1986, pp. 535–537). An American theologian, Martin Connell, however, affirmed the need to preach the mystery of the Descent as a necessary counterbalance to a culture that denies death itself.

Among late-twentieth-century theologians, however, the German speaking seem the most interested in giving fresh, alternate explanations of the Descent. Karl RAHNER, for example, identifies Hell with the state of cosmic-universal death, the ultimate consequence of Christ's Incarnation. Hans KÜNG eliminates this article altogether as having no real content for modern man, but meaning only that Jesus really died. In his view it has no reference to psychological suffering, and the Cross itself is enough to offer salvation to all. There is no clear New Testament affirmation of this activity of Christ after His death and before His Resurrection. Hans Urs von BALTHASAR discusses the Descent mystery as central to the Paschal TRIDUUM, the core of the whole Christological edifice. He avoids the term *Descent* in favor of Christ's "going to the dead" to evangelize them, as 1 Peter 3:19 suggests. It is an essential soteriological event: Jesus' proclamation and realization of God's triumph over death and suffering on behalf of all those who had died before him and would die afterward. The Descent is Jesus' solidarity with all mankind in death, the utmost kenotic experience, His experience of the state of extreme suffering, the *poena sensus* of the damned.

Born on Holy Saturday, April 16, 1927, Joseph Ratzinger was already bound by his birth day to the Descent mystery, celebrated in the Church the very day he was born. Ratzinger has written insistently on eschatological topics and co-authored with Johann Auer a dogmatic theology course. For this course he wrote the volume on eschatology: *Eschatology: Death and Eternal*

Life. There he gives a synthetic exposition of the theology of death both in the various schools of Hebraic theological reflection and in the diverse books of the Jewish Scriptures as well as in the New Testament. He develops a fundamentally dialogical view of life: Man is created for communion with God. Since Ratzinger stresses that, for an Israelite believer, life is communion with God, death is not non-existence, but it is "no life." He criticizes the Lutheran teaching that eliminated the intermediate state of the soul after death and before the general resurrection (Ratzinger 2007, pp. 119–120, 247–249). He is rightly critical of the unsustainable theory developed by some theologians who envision an immediate resurrection after death, and he also dismisses the shaky supposedly Biblical rejection of the immortality of the soul (Ratzinger 2007, pp. 119–161, 241–274).

Ratzinger extensively addresses the notion of Sheol or Hades and its concomitant issue of the immortality of the soul not only in the Scriptures but also in the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH and in the medieval Magisterium. His description of the redemptive value of the death of Christ is reinforced by some passages of the later Old Testament books, where death is not perceived as a disaster or as an abolition of any relationship with the living, or with God Himself. In the passages of the Suffering Servant on Isaiah, as well as in the books of Wisdom, DANIEL, and Maccabees, death and suffering are given a purifying and redemptive value. The death of holy believers can have a vicarious value on behalf of others. Death is not only a biological necessity but a spiritual happening. It strikes at the heart of every human being's desire for eternity, of connectedness with God and others. Death indeed was the expulsion from the sphere of love and relationships. Jesus' cry on the Cross, "Why have you abandoned me?" (Mk 15:34), is his verbalization of his sense of impending death. Life for Jesus is full communion and dialogue with the Father. Death is thus absolute disconnectedness with the Father. Jesus' sharing the experience of being dead literally makes love triumph over death, because it transforms the state of non-communion with the Father into a situation where He is now present in the Son in the midst of death. Paradise is being with Christ in the Father's love. Ratzinger thus defends the redemptive power of the Descent in a very original manner.

In his well-known *Introduction to Christianity*, Ratzinger devotes a subsection to the mystery of the Descent within the explanation of the creedal formulas regarding Jesus Christ in chapter 9. He affirms that the traditional Scriptural texts that evidence this mystery are too difficult and ambiguous to ground this truth; thus he proposes a text that has no Patristic or Medieval precedence: Jesus' cry from the Cross (Mk 15:34) is his verbalization of his Descent unto Hell. Jesus' Descent is God's silence. God is not only Word, but He is also silence. When Jesus dies, God embraces man's universal fear of the solitude of death, of existential insecurity. Hell and death speak of the same absolute solitude where no voice penetrates; the gates that not even love could break are shattered by Jesus' entering utter solitude. After Jesus rises from the dead, death itself is no longer hellish.

In his 2007 book *Jesus of Nazareth*, Ratzinger speaks frequently, vividly, and insightfully about the aspects of the Descent that are already present in the earthly life and ministry of Jesus. He sees the anticipation of Jesus' Descent in his going into the "liquid sepulcher" of the JORDAN's waters when He was baptized, which Byzantine iconography sometimes represented akin to the cave of the dead (cf. Lk 11:22) and which the Liturgy of the Hours evokes as part of the theology of the Cross. Ratzinger correctly recalls the Old Testament association of the dangerous waters of the ocean with death, vanquished by the Creator God, and again put in their place when the PEOPLE OF GOD crossed the RED SEA. In His Baptism Jesus plunged into a sign of his death (the waters of the Jordan River) only to rise victorious over its prefiguration.

When he discusses the temptations of Jesus in the Judean desert, Ratzinger suggests that Jesus' Descent does not refer only to his personal state of death but to his walking through human history, from its beginning in Adam, to suffer its total consequences and thus be able to redeem it. Jesus did not jump from the roof of the Temple, but he was willing to jump into the utter abandonment and defenseless solitude of the dead as an act of God's love toward man. When Ratzinger explains the Beatitude concerning the pure of heart that shall see God (cf. Mt 5:8), he says that Jesus was able to ascend to the vision of God in his Resurrection because he was first able to "descend" into humble service and then unto the very Cross of death. When he explains the parable of Lazarus and the rich man from Luke 16:19–31, Ratzinger underlines the fact that Jesus speaks of the intermediate state of the soul between death and resurrection and, in so doing, approves the essential truth of this notion, which is a provisional bosom of Abraham, not the GEHENNA of eternal damnation.

SEE ALSO APOCRYPHA, ICONOGRAPHY OF THE; ASCENSION OF JESUS CHRIST; BEATITUDES (IN THE BIBLE); CANAAN AND CANAANITES; CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE; DESCENT OF CHRIST INTO HELL; DIVINE WORSHIP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS, CONGREGATION FOR; EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO THE; GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, ST.; HEBREW SCRIPTURES; ISAAC BEN ABRAHAM; LUKE, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; MACCABEES, BOOKS OF; PATRIARCHS, BIBLICAL; PETAU, DENIS

(PETAVIUS); PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE; PROPHETIC BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT; PSALMS, BOOK OF; ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE; SPE SALVI; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); VATICAN COUNCIL II; WISDOM, BOOK OF.

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HERESY, HISTORY OF

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I. EARLY CHURCH

The word αἵρεσις in classical Greek signified a school or party. It was used by the Hellenists to designate a philosophical school and by Josephus to describe the Jewish theological sects.

The primitive Christians were considered at first another school or sect within Judaism (Acts 24:5; 14:28, 22). But among themselves the early Christians quickly distinguished between those who accepted the doctrine as preached by the Apostles and received by the Church, or assembly of the faithful, and those who tried to adapt the Christian message to their own personal, doctrinal, or disciplinary notions (1 Cor 11:19; Gal 5:20). What the Church rejected in thought or deed was heretical. Thus both the doctrines propagated by the Gnostic sects and the QUARTODECIMAN adherence to the Jewish paschal calendar were condemned as heretical (Hippolytus, *Philos.* 7:18, 19).

Second and Third Centuries. During the second century little distinction was made between heresy and SCHISM, and the criterion of true faith and practice appealed to was that of the Roman Church. The earliest collection of heretical doctrines was made by JUSTIN MARTYR in his *Syntagma* against all heresies. This work is mentioned by Justin himself (*1 Apol.* 26:8). RENAEUS in his *Exposé and Refutation of the False Gnosis*, usually

quoted as *Adversus haereses*, used the *Syntagma* of Justin and mentions a *Contra Marcionem* that appears to be part of Justin's work (*Adversus haereses* 4.19.9). The exposé concentrates on the Valentinian Gnostics but also gives a résumé of the beginnings of Gnosticism with the teachings of Simon, Menander, and other early sectaries.

During the reign of Pope ZEPHYRINUS (199–217), HIPPOLYTUS OF ROME wrote a *Syntagma* directed against all heresies; it is cited by Eusebius of Caesarea (*Ecclesiastical History* 6.22) and by Photius (*Bibliotheca codex* 121). A fragment of this work, the *Contra Noetum*, has been discovered and published by Pierre Nautin. Hippolytus wrote also an *Elenchus* or collection of thirty-three heresies from that of the Naassenians to that of Noetus, together with their refutations. It is known under the incorrect title of the *Philosophumena.* The author traces each doctrinal aberration to a school of false philosophy but in general follows Irenaeus for his information. The work seems likewise to have been synthesized by TERTULLIAN as an appendix to his *De praescriptione.* Jerome (*De Viris illustribus* 74) attributes an *Adversus omnes haereses* to VICTORINUS OF PETTAU (d. 304).

Treatises of Epiphanius and Augustine. Epiphanius of Constantia between 374 and 377 composed a *Panarion* or box of antidotes against all heresies. He names and refutes eighty heresies, relying on Irenaeus and Hippolytus for the older doctrinal errors, and citing the writings of heretics themselves for the more recent heresies. The *Panarion* was used by Filastrius of Brescia (d. 397) for his *Liber de haeresibus* (385–391).

Toward 428 AUGUSTINE wrote a *De haeresibus* for the deacon Quodvultdeus; it is in the main a catalog of eighty-eight heresies. The last eight cited, however, including Pelagianism, give evidence of his personal study and knowledge. THEODORET OF CYR (d. c. 460) wrote a compendium of heretical fables (c. 451) in five books, claiming that he culled these false doctrines from his reading of the early Church Fathers. For ARIUS, Eudoxius, NESTORIUS, and EUTYCHES, he cites primary evidence. At the close of the patristic period, JOHN DAMASCENE (d. 749) lists a catalog of heresies as the second part of his *Source of Knowledge*. Only the three final heresies mentioned, namely, Islam, ICONOCLASM, and the Paulician heresy, are examined from contemporary evidence.

Church Condemnations of Early Heresies. Popes, bishops, councils, and creeds condemned various heresies in the early Church, either directly or indirectly. In the second century, Marcion's repudiation of the entire Old Testament and all the Gospels, except that of Luke, was censured by St. Irenaeus (c. 130–200), the Bishop of Lyons, who affirmed the four Gospel canon and the scriptural status of the Old Testament. The Council of Rome in 382 condemned the Trinitarian heresy of Sabellius (the reduction of the three divine Persons to three modes or names) as well as Tritheism, the understanding of the Trinity as several gods (cf. Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 154, 176). Pope Leo I, in his letter to Bishop Turibius of Astorga of July 21, 447, condemned Patripassianism, the heretical belief that the Father suffered as the Son on the Cross (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 284).

The Symbol of Nicea-Constantinople of 381 proclaimed Jesus as "true God from true God, begotten not made, consubstantial to the Father" (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 150) in direct opposition to the heresy of Arius (c. 260–336), who taught that the Word of God was a divine-like being created in time. The Council of Ephesus of 431 condemned the heresy of Nestorianism, which rejected Mary as *Theotokos* (birthgiver or Mother of God) and reduced the Incarnation to the moral union of two persons, the Word of God and the man Jesus. The Council of Chalcedon of 451 reaffirmed the condemnation of Nestorianism and also repudiated Monophysitism, the heresy that only one nature exists in Christ after the Incarnation (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 302). The Third Council of Constantinople of 681 condemned Monothelitism, the heresy that teaches that only one will exists in Christ (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 558–559). The Second Council of Nicea, in 787, repudiated Iconoclasm, the heresy that rejects the use of sacred images or icons (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 600–603). The heresy of Pelagianism was not only rejected by St. Augustine; the Council of Ephesus also censured it in 431, via the condemnation of Celestius, the follower of Pelagius (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 268).

SEE ALSO CONFESSIONS OF FAITH; GNOSTICISM; PELAGIUS AND PELAGIANISM.

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II. MEDIEVAL PERIOD

During the Middle Ages both eastern and western Europe were essentially Christian societies. Thus, heresy, a body of doctrine substantially differing in some aspect from the doctrine taught by the Church, had reverberations in the secular world as well as in the Church. The early Christian community, essentially a minority Church (especially in the West) before Constantine's Edict of Religious Toleration (313), had been shaken in the fourth and fifth centuries by such major heresies as ARIANISM, DONATISM, NESTORIANISM, MONOPHYSITISM, and, in the West, by Pelagianism. In the sixth and seventh centuries, while Europe was absorbed in regrouping after the mass migrations of the barbarian nations, the BYZANTINE EMPIRE remained split over the question of Monophysitism, complicated also by the controversy over the THREE CHAPTERS, and the East turned to MONOTHELITISM in its attempt to reestablish religious unity throughout the empire.

Earlier Middle Ages. When the West revived its interest in learning in the eighth and ninth centuries—a phenomenon often labeled the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE, but with its religious facets called the Carolingian Reformation—new study of the inherited theology of late antiquity resulted in the exposure of the first truly "medieval" heresies. The FILIOQUE controversy had overtones of heresy, as did the contemporary predestination and Eucharistic controversies, the latter spearheaded by the opponents PASCHASIUS RADBERTUS and RATRAMNUS. ADOPTIONISM flourished and died. The pantheistic concept of the world, inherent in the Stoic and Neoplatonic philosophy behind Arianism, seems to have received some impetus from the writings of JOHN SCOTUS ERIUGENA—although it is probable that this was the result of misunderstanding Eriugena's thought. At the same time the BYZANTINE CHURCH and State were convulsed by the great struggle over heretical ICONOCLASM.

High Middle Ages. With the revitalization of all facets of life in Europe during the High Middle Ages, heresy once again became an issue in the religious and secular worlds. Despite the CLUNIAC and GREGORIAN reforms, the eleventh century saw the return of the Eucharistic heresy in BERENGARIUS OF TOURS, who adopted the older teachings of Ratramnus. During the twelfth century—the century of the CRUSADES, of the CISTERCIANS, and of the nascent medieval universities—the CATHARI, the most serious heretical threat with which the Middle Ages had to contend, arose. The religious equilibrium of the early twelfth century became unbalanced by the sporadical heresies of PETER OF BRUYS and his PETROBRUSIANS, of HENRY OF LAUSANNE, and of ARNOLD OF BRESCIA, all of whom advanced certain antisacramental and antisacerdotal ideas, and by AMALRIC OF BÈNE and his AMALRICIANS, who were essentially pantheists. But only the Cathari, with their roots in the DUALISM of the BOGOMILS and PAULICIANS, had a viable doctrinal framework. The heresy, originally Eastern, was brought to Europe after the Second Crusade and by 1175 counted members in northern France, the Rhineland, and Italy, but especially in southern France, the Midi. There, the orthodox Christian Church waged spiritual and material war on the strongholds of the Cathari (or ALBIGENSES). The Cistercians, the Albigensian Crusade, the inquisition, the University of Toulouse, and, most importantly, the MENDICANT ORDERS finally proved effective, and by 1300 Catharism had been defeated in Europe.

The same twelfth century also saw the rise of serious non-Manichaean heresies. Although heretical fringe groups, such as the Judaizing Passagini and the followers of radicals (e.g., ÉON OF STELLA or TANCHELM at Antwerp), were of only passing interest, a number of heresies arose from the contemporary demand for extreme Church reform in the spirit of apostolic poverty and preaching. These heresies shook the religious foundations of all Europe. Although the same spirit had motivated orthodox reform interests among the PATARINES, HUMILIATI, and FRANCISCANS, the original ideal of evangelical poverty deviated in the WALDENSES into

an antisacerdotal heresy. In 1173 Valdés of Lyons, a layman, renounced all his worldly possessions, took a vow of poverty, and began preaching to the people. As the Poor Men of Lyons grew more numerous, Pope LUCIUS III and Emperor FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA agreed at Verona in 1184 that Waldenses who preached without permission or who attacked the Church's hierarchy or Sacraments would be branded as heretics, but that others would be accepted as orthodox. Thus small sects of Waldenses stayed within the Church, although the greater number eventually fell into antihierarchical heresy. The Waldenses were never as strong numerically as the contemporary Cathari; they were banned from the empire in 1253, and from that time on their membership decreased except in the valleys of the Piedmont and the Briançonnais, where they survive into the twenty-first century.

The Church's Magisterium reacted to the Waldenses and the Cathars on several occasions. In 1208 Pope Innocent III prescribed a Profession of Faith for the Waldenses (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 790–797), and in 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council proclaimed a Profession of Faith (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 800–802) that specifically repudiated the errors of the Albigensians and the Cathars concerning the creation of the material world and the origin of evil.

In the twelfth, but especially in the thirteenth, century, groups of heretical spiritualists became discernible in European society. Molded by essentially Catharist ideas wedded to the ideology of JOACHIM OF FIORE, the various groups all adopted an extreme stand on poverty as a protest against the possessions of the Church. Thus the Franciscan SPIRITUALS, as corrupted into the FRATICELLI under ANGELUS CLARENUS, were declared heretical by Pope JOHN XXII. Amalrician ideas, now combined with rejection of the sacramental Church, lived on among the BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF THE FREE SPIRIT who were found in Swabia and along the Rhine from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. A similarly oriented group were the APOSTOLICI, founded by Segarelli of Parma (burned 1300) and his successor Fra DOLCINO (burned 1307).

Later Middle Ages. The major heresy of the fourteenth century was that initiated by John WYCLIF, who adopted Berengarius's Eucharistic position concerning the permanence of bread and wine after consecration and propounded questionable doctrine concerning the Church and the ownership of property. He was silenced in May 1377 by Pope GREGORY XI and was finally condemned after his denial of TRANSUBSTANTIATION (c. 1380). The LOLLARDS, who adopted Wyclif's radical views on lordship, grace, the Sacraments, and the temporal power of the papacy, ceased to exist effectively after 1431.

In the meantime, however, Wyclif's teachings became of primary importance in Bohemia, where they influenced John HUS, leader of the reform movement in Prague. The Council of CONSTANCE in 1415 censured forty-five errors attributed to Wyclif and thirty attributed to Hus (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1151–1195, 1201–1230). Although Hus was condemned and burned as a heretic at Constance, some scholars believe his only formal heresy was his rejection of the primacy of the pope's jurisdiction. His followers, the HUSSITES, adopted the full teaching of Wyclif and abandoned orthodoxy as they denied transubstantiation and other traditional Catholic teachings. Emperor SIGISMUND led crusades against the Hussites for fifteen years until their defeat in 1436; the Catholic UTRAQUISTS (moderate Hussites), however, survived alongside the orthodox Catholics in Bohemia until Lutheranism arose. The radical Hussite ideas were revived in the BOHEMIAN BRETHREN, a group that provided a direct link between the Hussites and the Protestants of the sixteenth century.

Repression. The medieval concept of a kingdom as a morally unified society explains the cooperation of Church and secular power in repressing heresy during the Middle Ages. Medieval man believed that civil society, to survive, had to adhere to a well-defined moral system. When HUGH OF SAINT-VICTOR declared that "the spiritual power must institute the temporal that it might exist," and when Pope BONIFACE VIII asserted in UNAM SANCTAM that the Church had both swords, spiritual and temporal, they meant that the contemporary civil powers, deriving their justification from Christian moral doctrine, depended necessarily on the fountainhead of that doctrine. Thus, temporal power was expected to react against doctrines that undermined its own position. To cite an extreme example, when the Cathari branded pregnancy and normal sexual intercourse as Satan's work or when they counseled their members to commit suicide (*endura*), contemporary society felt that such action could not go unpunished. The Church's attitude toward the challenges of heresy resulted in much conflict between men, such as the eleventh-century Bishop WAZO OF LIÈGE or BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, who insisted that faith was a matter of persuasion, and others, such as Pope INNOCENT III or St. DOMINIC, who approved of the Church repressing heresy. Similar tension is found in the two attitudes of St. AUGUSTINE, one stressing the voluntary character of faith and the other underlining the right of society to compel its members to good actions. Prominent medieval Christians realized that the repression of heresy remained essentially a pastoral problem and that a delicate balance was required between justice and charity: leniency in the chastisement of heresy could endanger the faith of others, but excess zeal in adminis-

tering justice might be a major impediment to the apostolate. In practice, the Church's medieval antiheresy campaign adopted the process of legatine inquest and the cooperation of ecclesiastical and civil power to stamp out heresy that had gained a popular following.

SEE ALSO CONFESSIONS OF FAITH; GOTTSCHALK OF ORBAIS; INQUISITION.

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III. MODERN PERIOD

Heresies upon condemnation do not die but reappear, often with vigorous new growth. Thus the primitivism (the search for a more authentic Christianity in the infancy of the Church) that is found in evangelical Protestantism, as well as Modernism, was already a cry of the Montanists of the second century. The Neoplatonist mysticism of the medieval Beghards and Beguines, condemned at the Council of Vienne (1311), appeared once again in the behavior of the Spanish ALUMBRADOS of the sixteenth century and again later in the Quietist movement. Conciliarism, formulated at the University of Paris by Conrad of Gelnhausen and Henry of Langenstein and expressed in an extreme form by PETER OF AILLY and JEAN GERSON at the Council of Constance (1414–1417), persisted in the many types of Gallicanism. Moreover, the theories of Church and State that appeared during this modern period were influenced by caesaropapist ideas of the Roman emperors, the exaggerated charges of the French legists of Philip the Fair and the equally pretentious claims of the papal curialists, the doctrine of dominion by grace of John Wyclif, the proimperial theses in the *Defensor pacis* (1324) of MARSILIUS OF PADUA, the power politics of Niccolò MACHIAVELLI's *Il principe* (1513), and the Venetian theorist, Paolo Paruta's *Discorsi politici* (1599). Therefore many heresies of this period are more noted for their eclecticism than for their originality.

The reunion Council of Florence (1439–1445) repudiated Conciliarism and affirmed papal primacy (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1307–1309). The Fifth Lateran Council of 1513 defended the immortality of the individual human soul against the Neo-Aristotelian philosophers of Padua who either doubted or denied the survival of the individual rational soul after death (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1440–1441).

Protestantism. It is principally on the dogmas of justification, predestination, and sacramental theology that the reformers departed from orthodox belief. Though expressing divergent views on these theological doctrines, they agreed that the Bible must be the sole source of faith that rejected or neglected tradition.

Lutheranism. The theology of Martin LUTHER as synthesized in the Book of CONCORD (1580) was still creedal, accepting the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian formulas, but avowing Scripture as the sole and constant guide of the Christian. Luther taught the total depravity of man after the Fall, which left him powerless before indomitable concupiscence to perform deeds of merit, so that he is justified by his faith in Christ alone and the imputation of His merits. This rejection of all forms of synergism, whereby the human will can or should cooperate with grace, leaves God the sole agent in converting the soul to justification. Of the Sacraments, only two were sanctioned by Scripture: baptism, incorporating the recipient into membership of a nonhi-

erarchical church, and the Lord's Supper, commemorating the redemptive act. In place of transubstantiation Luther defended consubstantiation in which Christ becomes present in the substance of the elements, not hypostatically, but in a transcendent, though real, manner.

Reformed Theology. The doctrines of the Reformed Churches, based upon the tenets and church organization of Huldrych ZWINGLI, Martin BUCER (BUTZER), Heinrich BULLINGER, and, principally, John CALVIN, also rely upon the Bible as sole source of authority and accept the fundamental Lutheran doctrine of total human depravity. Calvin established the principles of his system in the *Institutes* (1536), where he taught that God by divine ordinance disregards the acts of the creature and predetermines him to salvation or doom. It is God's unconditioned will, independent of any foreknowledge of merit or demerit, that determines justification.

This image of an inexorable God was resisted by Jakob Arminius, the Dutch divine, who asserted against Calvin that divine sovereignty is compatible with human will and that grace is not irresistible. The propositions of this modified conception of CALVINISM were drawn up in the Remonstrance (1610) by Simon Episcopius (1583–1643) and defended unsuccessfully at the Synod of Dort (1618). Though rejected by Calvinists, ARMINIANISM spread to England and eventually divided Methodism into the moderate party of John WESLEY and the strict Calvinists, led by George WHITEFIELD.

Zwingli, who formulated his doctrine in the sixty-seven theses (Zurich 1523) and in Bullinger's First Helvetic Confession (1536), was more insistent on reliance upon Scripture and upon primitivism. To restore the Church to its original simplicity he removed the liturgy, turned the conduct of his church over to congregational direction, and gave ultimate control of its revenues to civic tribunals. Zwingli met with Luther, Philipp MELANCHTHON, and Johannes OECOLAMPADIUS at the Colloquy of Marburg (October 1–4, 1529) to attempt a doctrinal compromise, but their theories upon the presence of Christ in the Eucharist were irreconcilable. After Zwingli's death (1531), Calvin, Guillaume FAREL, and Bullinger met in Zurich in 1549, where they formulated the Zurich Consensus on the Eucharistic presence; by 1580 ZWINGLIANISM and Calvinism became the Reformed Church.

Radicalism. The ANABAPTISTS (Zwichau Prophets, Swiss Brethren, Jorists, Hutterian Brethren, Melchiorites, Familists, and MENNONITES) constituted a more radical Protestant motion that appealed to an infallible Scripture and an apocalyptic expectation. Their theories of Christian communism, put into practice in the polygamic kingdom of Münster, made them particularly unloved by conservative Protestants as well as Catholics. The Radicals were characterized by the phenomenon of prophetic charism that had been a by-product of Christian heresies since the primitive Church. It appeared in the hysteria of the Montanist prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilia, and the Circumcellions of the fifth century who brought Donatism into ridicule; the rantings of the eleventh-century Cathars and later medieval mystics; the exhibitionism of the Jansenist *convulsionaires* at the cemetery of St. Médard (1731); the prophecies of the Calvinist CAMISARDS who terrorized eighteenth-century France; the feats of revivalism of the American frontier; and the glossolalia (speaking in tongues) that appeared in some twentieth-century Protestant sects.

The Council of Trent (1545–1563) condemned most of the heresies associated with Protestantism without mentioning any of the Protestant reformers by name. The formula of condemnation typically used in the Tridentine canons was: "If anyone says ... anathema sit." Among the most notable heresies repudiated at Trent were Luther's denial of free will (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1554), the Anabaptist rejection of infant baptism (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1625–1627), the denial of the Mass as a sacrifice (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1751–1759), and the rejection of the invocation of the saints and the veneration of their relics and images (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1821–1825).

Baianism and Jansenism. The Council of TRENT established a body of dogma, but could not prevent further heresy in the question of grace and human justification. Michael BAIUS and John Hessels, Flemish theologians of the University of Louvain, believed that Catholic reaction to Protestantism had turned too far and that the great villain dividing the Church was Scholasticism, especially in its Thomistic expression. For the dialectic of the schoolmen, Baius substituted greater use of scriptural and patristic sources, especially Cyprian, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine, since Protestants most often appealed to these. Baius's fundamental tenet was God's creation of man in a state of natural integrity, so that after the Fall all his actions were motivated by a nature vitiated toward concupiscence and thus evil to God. Accordingly, after the Redemption, only those actions that proceed from a perfect love of God are of merit. Justification is a continuing process of works that merit heaven only if motivated by perfect charity in a triumphant battle over concupiscence. These elements of Baianism as found in the *Opuscula* and the seventy-nine propositions condemned by Pius V in the bull *Ex omnibus afflictionibus* of October 1, 1567, have been criticized as Pelagian, Calvinistic, and Socinian.

Far more reaching in its effect was the theology of Cornelius JANSEN, Louvain professor and bishop of Ypres, who with his friend Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, Abbé of St. Cyran and guide of the consciences of the nuns of PORT-ROYAL from 1636, planned to save the Church from Protestantism, from Jesuits, for whom Jansen had an eminent dislike, and from itself. This was to be achieved again by clearing Scholasticism from the path that led back to Augustine and to the simplicity of the primitive Church. Jansen exposed his doctrine in the AUGUSTINUS, published posthumously (1640) and for whose preparation he read the works of Augustine ten times, and for his anti-Pelagian tractates, thirty times. Like Baius he asserts man's creation in a state of natural integrity, so that fallen man is radically depraved and at the mercy of concupiscence. In his redeemed state man is still drawn to earthly delectation (*delectatio terrestris*), unless impelled by an irresistible heavenly impulse (*delectatio coelestis*). Thus man is irresistibly attracted to good or evil, depending upon which delectation prevails (*delectation victrix*). As a corollary he discouraged the use of the Sacraments of the Eucharist and Penance. The first was to be received rarely and as a reward for virtue; the second held worthless unless repentance was motivated by perfect love of God. The course of this heresy was a series of ineffectual condemnations, reprisals, insincere submissions, subterfuges, and casuistry that continued even after CLEMENT XI's sweeping condemnation in 1713 in the bull UNIGENITUS. In Holland Jansenists were involved in the irregular consecration of Cornelius Steenhoven as archbishop of Utrecht (1723), which led to schism with Rome. These Utrecht Jansenists remained separated and later allied themselves with the Old Catholic party, which declared against papal infallibility in 1870.

Laxism. Contemporary with the Jansenist crisis were the disputes among theologians over the degrees of probability needed for a licit moral action. The Jesuits accepted and taught the theory of probabilism (it is licit to act on a probable opinion even though the opposite is more probable), but the Jansenist Blaise PASCAL in his *Lettres provinciales* (1657) attacked it as dangerous casuistry. This opened an active controversy with George Pirot, S.J. (1599–1659), whose *L'Apologie pour les casuistes* (1657) widened the scope of licit probability to the extreme of laxity. The book was proscribed by the Parlement of Paris, the Sorbonne, and censored by the Holy Office in 1659. Laxism was further condemned by Alexander VII by decrees of September 24, 1665; March 18, 1666; and May 5, 1667. Innocent XI condemned sixty-five laxist propositions on March 2, 1679. Tutiorism (it is not allowed to follow even the most probable among probable opinions) as expressed by the Irish Jansenist John SINNICH in *Saul Exrex* (1662), was also condemned by Alexander VIII on December 7, 1690.

Quietism and Semiquietism. Mysticism is a borderland infrequently traversed, so the expression of the phenomena that occur there cannot be easily touched with precise phrase. Thus the great Rhineland mystic, Meister Eckhart (d. 1327) was accused of being pantheistic and Beghardic; SS. Ignatius Loyola, Teresa of Ávila, Francis Borgia, and Joseph Calasanctius were suspected of the Neoplatonic tendencies of the Alumbrados. In the seventeenth century, however, a great revival of quietistic mysticism occurred. Miguel de MOLINOS in his book, *Guía espiritual*, taught a complete contemplative passivity before God. The soul in seeking interior annihilation can allow all license to carnal desire, acts of which are not blameworthy but produce a salutary disinterestedness to sensible devotion as well as personal salvation. Though denounced by the Holy Office (1685), Quietism in a modified form became prominent through the Barnabite François Lacombe (c. 1640–1715) and his more famous disciple Madame GUYON (Jeanne Marie Bouvier de la Motte). They accepted the doctrine of pure love from Molinos's theology, according to which the soul becomes powerless to act in its own interest. This thesis was expanded in Madame Guyon's *Moyen court et très facile de faire oraison* (1685) and the *Explication des maximes des saints* (1697) of her follower, François FÉNELON, eminent churchman and, at the time of the appearance of his book, the governor of Louis XIV's grandson, the duke of Burgundy. Madame Guyon was arrested and imprisoned (1695) at Vincennes, Vaugirard, and the Bastille, where she signed a retractation. Fénelon's book, after two years of bitter controversy with Jacques BOSSUET, was condemned by Innocent XII in the letter *Cum alias*, on March 12, 1699.

Caesarism. From the time of Protestantism, State interference in the affairs of the Church was much more significant than the ancient Byzantine CAESAROPAPISM or the pope-king quarrels of the Middle Ages. Now that Europe contained Christian communities no longer a part of Catholicism, opposition of monarchs to Rome was not only political but touched faith or was founded upon principles that could destroy beliefs.

Anglicanism. The divorce proceedings that effected the English schism and set Henry VIII at the head of a national church did not yet place England in heresy. The six Henrician articles (June 1539) attest to the king's demand for orthodoxy. During the short reign of his son Edward VI (1547–1553), Continental Protestantism took hold. Peter Martyr Vermigli and Martin Bucer were instrumental in the formation of the Edwardine

Ordinal (1550). Thomas CRANMER, long an admirer of the Lutheran movement, produced the revision of the Book of COMMON PRAYER in 1552, and in the next year prevailed on the king to sign the forty-two Articles of Religion into the law of the land. Edward's action effectively established England as a Protestant nation, and the king as its religious arbiter, a position that was strengthened by the Stuart claim to authority by divine right within their hereditary line of succession. In the later development of ANGLICANISM, the Erastian idea of State ascendancy over the Church in ecclesiastical matters took hold in the Westminster Assembly (1643) and in the ideal secularization of the church as conceived by Thomas Hobbes.

Gallican Liberties. In sixteenth-century France a distrust of Rome and its ultramontane foreign policies sometimes resulted in papal alliances with French enemies, especially the Hapsburg emperor. When the French crown felt oppressed, it appealed to the *libertés de l'Église gallicane*, which it could proudly trace back to King Clovis and his Merovingian successors. The concordat between Leo X and Francis I in 1516 annulled the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438) that had accepted many of the conciliarist decrees of the Council of Basel (1431–1437); GALLICANISM, however, persisted and came to a crisis when Louis XIV attempted to extend the *regalia* (royal right to the revenues of vacant sees) to all the sees of France. Innocent XI (1676–1689) repudiated this usurpation of right and threatened ecclesiastical sanction. In reply Louis gathered the clergy of France who adopted the Four Gallican Articles of 1682, which were conciliarist and limited the exercise of papal primacy to the customs of the French Church. Though Louis and Innocent came to terms in 1693, these articles became a formula of anti-Romanism adopted when convenient elsewhere in Europe.

Febronianism and Josephinism. In Germany the suffragan bishop of Trier, Johann Nikolaus von HONTHEIM, under the pen name of Justinus Febronius, attacked Roman power as compared to papal primacy and as founded upon the False Decretals and advocated an ecclesiastical order regulated as much as possible by episcopal and civic control. These ideas, absorbed by Hontheim from the Gallican canonist of Louvain, Zeger Bernhard van ESPEN, led the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, Cologne, and Salzburg to assert their grievances against Rome at a congress at Bad Ems in Hesse-Nassau, even though Clement XIII had condemned FEBRONIANISM in 1764. The Punctation of Ems, issued August 25, 1786, restrained appeals to Rome and declared papal bulls to be conditioned upon the acceptance of the German episcopate. The force of Febronianism was felt in the empire and expressed in the policies of Empress MARIA THERESA and her son, JOSEPH II, whose Toleration Edict of 1781 suppressed certain religious orders, placed exempt monasteries under diocesan control, and required civic authorization for publishing papal documents. Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany and brother of the emperor, introduced Josephinist ideas to northern Italy. In 1786, under the presidency of Scipione de' RICCI, Bishop of Pistoia-Prato, a synod passed reform measures based upon the Gallican articles, eighty-five of which were condemned by Pius VI in the bull *Auctorem fidei*, August 28, 1794.

Kulturkampf and Old Catholics. In the nineteenth century Caesarism appeared in the anti-Romanism of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. His KULTURKAMPF oppressed the Church, interfered in its educational processes, limited its disciplinary powers by the May Laws (1873), and exiled religious orders. Unexpectedly, this oppression effected a Catholic revival in Germany and strengthened the Catholic political party. The publication of the *Syllabus errorum* by Pius IX on December 8, 1864, and the definition of infallibility by Vatican Council I (1870) aroused the resistance of Johannes J. I. von DÖLLINGER, who met with some professors at Nuremberg and Bonn, where it was agreed that the pope's measures would paralyze the Church. Despite Döllinger's disapproval, they formed the schismatical church of Old Catholics, receiving episcopal succession from the bishops of the Church of Utrecht, in schism since 1723. The Old Catholics, with affiliated churches in the Netherlands, Poland, and the United States, retain most of the Roman rite (but in the vernacular), allow a married clergy, and make the Sacrament of Penance optional.

Traditionalism. Much Catholic thought in the nineteenth century grew as a reaction to the philosophies of the Enlightenment or as an attempt at adaptation. Against the *primum mobile*, the depersonalized god of the rationalists, the skepticism as expressed in David Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (1738), and the sophistication resulting from new technology and travel abroad, especially during England's Augustan age, some Catholic theologians proposed theories of traditionalism, placing the norm of human certitude in the *sens commun* rather than in distrusted individual intellectual ability. The traditionalists, Casimir Ubaghs, Louis E. BAUTAIN, Augustin BONNETTY, and Hugues Félicité de LAMENNAIS, tried to revive faith, just as the ontologists, Vincenzo GIOBERTI and Jakob Frohschammer, by their central tenet that God is the first object of our intelligence, established an optimistic rationalism. Georg HERMES attempted to adjust theology to Kantian philosophy, and Anton GÜNTHER, after studying the pantheistic idealism of Georg HEGEL and Friedrich von

SCHELLING, proposed that it was within human power to deduce the mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation.

All these figures were condemned. Bautain was removed from his chair of philosophy at Strasbourg by Bishop Lepappe de Trévern in 1834; Ubaghs was censored by the Holy Office, September 21, 1864; Bonnetty was denounced by the Congregation of the Index on June 11, 1855; Gioberti's writings were placed on the Index on January 14, 1853; Hermes was condemned by the brief *Dum acerbissimas* on September 26, 1835; Günther's works were doomed by the Index on January 8, 1857; and propositions from the books of Rosmini-Serbati were condemned by a decree of the Holy Office on December 14, 1887. (In 2001, however, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith qualified these condemnations to prepare the way for Rosmini's eventual beatification in 2007.) Frohschammer, professor at the University of Munich, refused to submit to the condemnatory letter of Pius IX, *Gravissimas inter*, which found unorthodox propositions in his *Einleitung in die Philosophie und Grundriss der Metaphysik* (1858), and was suspended. Lammenais believed the future of the Church in post-Napoleonic France would be brighter if its dependent affiliations with the restored monarchy were replaced by a Catholic liberalism. Together with several French intellectuals, such as Charles de MONTALEMBERT and Jean B. LACORDAIRE, he published the brilliant *L'Avenir* (1830–1831), advocating freedom of the press, freedom of speech, and labor unions; the magazine, however, was suppressed for indifferentism by Gregory XVI in an encyclical *Mirari vos* on August 15, 1832. The adherence to Royalism among many of the French clergy persisted into the twentieth century, when a number rallied to the monarchist crusade of Charles MAURRAS and his collaborator, Léon DAUDET. Pius XI denounced their publication, *L'Action Française* on December 20, 1926.

Modernism. A more pervading heresy was the complex of movements condemned under the name of MODERNISM by Pius X in the decree, *Lamentabili sane exitu* of July 3, 1903, and the encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis* of September 8, 1907. Attempting to reconcile the Church with the present, Modernism viewed Scholastic Aristotelianism no longer suitable to illustrate and defend Christian belief. The prominent Modernists, Maurice BLONDEL, Lucien LABERTHONNIÈRE, Alfred LOISY, Édouard LE ROY, Eudoxe I. MIGNOT, Antonio Fogazzaro, Romolo MURRI, Friedrich von HÜGEL, and George TYRRELL, composed no theological school or consistent doctrine, but they agreed upon the necessity of reconciling the Church with modern times. From their writings the following beliefs appeared: dogmatic statements have a spirit that is absolute and fixed and a form that is relative and mutable; Christ's messianic mission and His divinity are not to be sought from Scriptural sources, whose authors were subjected to the limitations of all human historians, but deduced from the *conscientia christiana*; the Christ of history is thus less than the Christ of faith, and it is not important to know whether He instituted a church, since the Holy Spirit guides its progress; and in Christianity there is a religious immanence that effects a continual evolution and pragmatic adaptation to historical situations.

Americanism. By the end of the nineteenth century the term "adaptation" meant a dangerous tampering with faith, as is witnessed in the so-called heresy of AMERICANISM. From a French translation of a biography of Isaac T. HECKER, founder of the Paulists, Roman theologians extracted statements that advocated adapting the external form of the Church to modern American life and extolled the active virtues (humanitarianism, democratic fellowship) to the depreciation of passive virtues (subjection to authority, humility). By an Apostolic Letter to Cardinal James GIBBONS of Baltimore, TESTEM BENEVOLENTIAE on January 22, 1899, Leo XIII cautioned against these notions, and, by referring to them as Americanism and implying that they were widespread, created what F. Klein called a phantom heresy (Klein 1949).

The Fathers of Vatican Council II chose not to condemn any errors by means of anathemas. At the same time, the pastoral constitution *Gaudium et spes* cited many errors prevalent in modern society. Debates upon the floor of the council and continual written discussions on its schema emphasized the need to consider theological realities in their place in the stream of history. In terms of understanding heresy, they emphasized the difference between the rejection of an eternal, unchanging truth and the rejection of its changing historical manifestation.

SEE ALSO ERASTIANISM; INFRALAPSARIANS (SUBLAPSARIANS); INSTITUTES OF CALVIN; REFORMED CHURCHES; SUPRALAPSARIANS.

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IV. AFTER VATICAN II

The popes, since the ending of Vatican II in 1965, have mostly relied upon the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF; formerly the Holy Office) to defend the integrity of the faith and to guard against real or potential heresies. In some cases the CDF has issued documents noting certain dangerous movements or theological trends. For example, in 1984 it issued the *Instruction on Certain Aspects of the "Theology of Liberation"* to warn against the politicization of the Gospel, the appropriation of Marxist analysis, and the use of violence in movements of social liberation. In 2000 it published the declaration, *Dominus Iesus,* On the Unicity and Salvific Universality of Jesus Christ and the Church to warn against new forms of religious indifferentism and relativism.

Since Vatican II the Church has mostly dealt with individual theologians by means of notifications issued by the CDF. Hans KÜNG, for example, was censured in 1975 for (among other things) denying the dogma of papal infallibility. In 1979 the CDF decreed that he could no longer teach as a Catholic theologian. Many believe that the CDF's 1973 declaration, *Mysterium Ecclesiae*, was intended as a rejection of Küng's positions.

In 1984 the CDF warned Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P., about his thesis that, in extraordinary circumstances, someone other than an ordained priest could offer the Eucharist. The year before, with Schillebeeckx in mind, the CDF issued a letter to the bishops of the world titled, *Sacerdotium ministeriale*, making it clear that only an ordained priest could offer a valid Eucharist.

In 1985 the CDF published a notification regarding the 1982 book *Church: Charism and Power* of Leonardo Boff, O.F.M. The CDF criticized the book for challenging the hierarchical nature and unicity of the Church. On November 30, 2000, the CDF issued a notification regarding some publications of Professor Dr. Reinhard Messner because they obscured apostolic succession and the divine institution of the Sacrament of holy orders. In 2004 the Congregation published a notification on the book *Jesus: Symbol of God* by Roger Haight, S.J., because of this work's inadequate view of the divinity of Christ. In 2006 a similar notification was issued by the CDF for two works of Jon Sobrino, S.J., because they obscured the divinity and salvific work of Jesus Christ.

Although these theologians received notifications from the CDF, since Vatican II the Magisterium has been more concerned with teaching the Catholic faith than with censuring and punishing heretics. As Pope John XXIII declared in his October 11, 1962, opening of the Second Vatican Council: "Nowadays, however, the Spouse of Christ prefers to make use of the medicine of mercy rather than that of severity" (Abbott 1966, p. 716).

SEE ALSO DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE; DOMINUS IESUS.

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HIGGINS, GEORGE GILMARY

"Labor priest," monsignor, on staff of the UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS, scholar, columnist; b. Chicago, Illinois, January 21, 1916; d. LaGrange, Illinois, May 1, 2002.

Monsignor George Higgins was born, raised, and ordained a priest in the Archdiocese of CHICAGO. His father, a postal clerk with an eighth-grade education, loved to read. He took his son to a reading by the English writer G.K. CHESTERTON, and the two also went to hear Franklin Delano Roosevelt speak at the 1932 Democratic Convention. Because of this paternal influence, Higgins was a voracious reader all his life, and he had a consuming interest in the issues and people of public life. The young priest was sent to Washington, D.C., to undertake advanced studies in economics, and he received a Ph.D. from the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA in 1944. For the remainder of his life, he made the nation's capital his home and Catholic social teaching his life's work.

In 1944 Monsignor Higgins joined the staff of the Social Action Department of the United States Catholic Welfare Conference (the predecessor of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops). He would eventually become the director of the social action department of the conference, and for nearly five decades he assisted the U.S. bishops and guided the conference's work in areas of worker rights, economic justice, and social action. He was a leader in areas of civil rights, ecumenism, and JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS. At the Second Vatican Council, Higgins was on the Preparatory Commission on the Lay Apostolate, and he served as *peritus*, or expert, for the council, participating in a daily press panel where he helped interpret all four sessions of the Vatican II to the world.

As a leader of a generation of "labor priests," Higgins represented the Catholic Church to the American labor movement (and the labor movement to the Church) for more than 50 years. He claimed that he had never turned down an invitation to pray at a labor meeting, and his invocations often drew more applause than the speeches that followed. However, Monsignor Higgins offered much more than a clerical presence. For example, he was a powerful advocate and ally of Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers, and he helped mediate contracts between farmworkers and growers from California to the Great Lakes. For three decades, he chaired the United Auto Workers Review Board, dealing with disputes within the union. He was a powerful and persistent advocate for workers and their unions in the Church and the broader society.

Higgins served on many boards and committees, including the Bishops' Committee on Farm Labor, the American Arbitration Association, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and the Martin Luther King Jr. Fund of the United Farm Workers. He was an early supporter of SOLIDARITY in Poland, and he spoke at the organization's first congress. He was also an official adviser to the U.S. Delegation to the Belgrade Conference on Human Rights.

Monsignor Higgins was a pioneer and respected leader in interfaith and ecumenical activities, especially Catholic-Jewish relations. For this work, he was publicly recognized by the International Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee, which is sponsored by the VATICAN and the International Jewish Committee for Interreligious Consultations.

From 1945 through 2001, Higgins wrote "The Yardstick," a syndicated column that appeared in Catholic newspapers. In his nearly 3,000 columns, Hig-

gins offered weekly commentary on ecclesial and public issues, with a regular focus on economic justice and the applications of the Church's social teaching in national and Catholic life.

In 1980, Higgins retired from his position as secretary for research at the Bishops' Conference. For the rest of his life, he lived and taught at the Catholic University of America. His continuing energy, commitment, and eloquence were demonstrated as he traveled to countless conferences, labor rallies, picket lines, and organizing campaigns. He stood with janitors, hospital workers, coal miners, and auto workers, and he continued to champion the Solidarity movement.

Higgins's entire ministry reflected his personal credo, drawn from his mentor and predecessor at the Bishops' Conference, Monsignor John A. Ryan: "Effective labor unions are still by far the most powerful force in society for the protection of the laborer's rights and the improvement of his or her condition. No amount of employer benevolence, no diffusion of a sympathetic attitude on the part of the public, no increase of beneficial legislation, can adequately supply for the lack of organization among the workers themselves" (Higgins with Bole 1993, p. 228).

Higgins received numerous prestigious awards from labor, academic, and religious organizations, including the Laetare Medal (2001), the highest honor given by the University of Notre Dame (which had previously named its labor studies center in his honor), and the Presidential Medal of Freedom, conferred at the White House in 2000. Monsignor George Higgins was, to many, the quintessential "labor priest," and as such he was a leading architect, advocate, and articulator of Catholic social action in the United States in the twentieth century.

SEE ALSO Economic Justice for All; Social Justice; Social Thought, Catholic; Society (Theology of); United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB); Vatican Council II; Worker Priests.

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HITLER, ADOLF

Leader of National Socialist (Nazi) Party, chancellor of Germany (1933–1945); b. Braunau am Inn, Austria, April 20, 1889; committed suicide in Berlin, April 30, 1945.

Adolf Hitler was the fourth child of Alois Hitler, a customs officer in Upper Austria, and Clara Pölzl. The child was illegitimate, but Alois and Clara were married some months into the pregnancy. Named Adolfus on his birth certificate, the child was baptized by Father Ignaz Probst.

In order to marry Clara, his second cousin, Alois received a dispensation from Rome. Altogether, Alois fathered nine children, including a child of a pre-marital liaison and four who died as infants. His children with Clara were Gustav (1885), Ida (1886–1888), and Otto (1887). Adolf's siblings who survived were Edmund (1894–1900) and Paula (1896–1960). With his second wife, Franziska (Fanni) Matzelberger, Alois had fathered two children, Alois Jr. and Angela, who later became Adolf's half-brother and half-sister. Alois's marriage with his first wife, Anna Glässl, was childless. Alois had been born illegitimately to Anna Schicklgruber. He had been baptized Aloys Schicklgruber, which he had changed to Alois Hitler in 1876. The most likely contender for paternity of Alois was Johann Georg Hiedler (or Hüttler, or Hitler); the names commonly were interchangeable and meant "smallholder." Speculation that Adolf's grandfather had been Jewish has been unsubstantiated.

As a customs official, Alois provided his family with a comfortable middle-class existence. He received a promotion in 1892 that caused the family to move to the historic city of Passau, and another promotion in 1894 prompted a relocation to Linz. Family life was unharmonious. As a child Adolf was extremely willful and had strong opinions. His mother was loving and protective, while his father was authoritarian and stern. Throughout his life Adolf remained closely attached to his mother.

Early Life. Adolf was an average student at school, receiving poor grades in history, geography, and drawing, though he was impressed by the baroque architecture of the local cathedral in Linz. He was confirmed on May 22, 1904, when he was fifteen. An ill-tempered boy, Adolf enjoyed taunting his teachers, and he was expelled from school in 1905. He remained in Linz for two and a half years, practicing his drawing, painting, and writing poetry. He dreamed of redesigning the architecture of Linz. According to a childhood friend, August Kubizek, Hitler was impatient, temperamental, and a compulsive and emotional speaker. He was also

quite determined to become an artist, and this determination carried him to Vienna.

Unfortunately, Hitler's application to the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna was rejected. He then drifted aimlessly, read indiscriminately, discussed politics with acquaintances, and frequently attended the operas of Richard Wagner. His resources were soon exhausted, however, and he resorted to living in a homeless shelter and selling small paintings. He would later claim that his anti-Semitism originated during his years in Vienna, but this is not the case. He was, however, influenced by two powerful ANTI-SEMITIC politicians, the extreme nationalist Georg von Schönerer and the mayor of Vienna, Karl Lueger.

Hitler's anti-Semitism cannot be understood without reference to Lanz von Liebenfels, a former monk who propagated occult racial views. Liebenfels depicted Aryan Germans as exalted beings, and Jews and other races were categorized as inferior "animal men." Hitler was also influenced by the life and ideas of Richard Wagner, whose operas later inspired the staging of Nazi ceremonies. Underlying all of his ideas was the social Darwinist belief in the struggle for survival. Yet it was racial anti-Semitism that was at the core of his developing ideology, in which the Jews were held to be responsible for all of society's ills, including capitalism, Marxism, DEMOCRACY, PACIFISM, and even PROSTITUTION. Hitler believed that the German race and blood had been contaminated by the Jews, whom he considered to be akin to a virus that had to be eradicated. This belief led eventually to the horror of the HOLOCAUST (SHOAH).

World War I and National Socialism. In order to escape being drafted into the Austrian army, Hitler moved to Munich. When World War I broke out, however, he enthusiastically volunteered for the Bavarian army and served on the western front as a messenger. He attained the rank of corporal and received the Iron Cross, First Class, for his bravery. The war gave his life a purpose that it had previously lacked. He was temporarily blinded in a gas attack, and he thus heard of Germany's defeat and surrender while recovering in a military hospital. Like so many other Germans, he could not bring himself to believe that Germany had lost the war. Instead, he chose to believe the "stab in the back" legend, which claimed that Germany's defeat was caused by weakness on the home front and a Jewish-Marxist conspiracy. Hitler later claimed that he had experienced an epiphany while in the hospital, and he became convinced that he was called to enter politics and save Germany.

After his recovery, Hitler was assigned to an army barracks in Munich. Like so many other Bavarians, he was surprised at the success of the November Revolution, which was led by the Independent Socialist Kurt Eisner and overthrew the Bavarian monarchy. In September 1919, Hitler was recruited as a military spy and was sent to observe the German Workers' Party (DAP), a small right-wing, racist, nationalist party in Munich. The party leadership was impressed with Hitler, and he was invited to join. Because of his speaking ability, enthusiasm, and ability to organize rallies, he quickly became the party's most popular spokesman. In 1920 the party's name was changed to the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), though it came to be known as the Nazi Party. A paramilitary organization called the Sturmabteilung, or SA (commonly known as the Storm Troopers or Brownshirts) was organized to protect meetings, and a 25-point program declared the party's opposition to capitalism, democracy, and the Jews.

By 1922 membership in the Nazi Party, which appealed to the lower and upper middle classes, had grown to approximately six thousand. University students, with their nationalist idealism, also found the party attractive, as did the Bavarian elite, who hoped for the restoration of the Wittelsbach monarchy. On November 9, 1923, Hitler headed an alliance of right-wing groups in an attempt to take over the Bavarian government and march on Berlin. Their attempt, the so-called Beer Hall Putsch, failed, however, and Hitler was imprisoned in Landsberg. It was here that he dictated the first volume of *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle) to a fellow Nazi, Rudolf Hess. In the book, Hitler discussed his role as leader of the Nazi movement and outlined the ideas that he would follow once he achieved power. His principal original ideas concerned propaganda methods and mass psychology. Thus, his incarceration became a significant turning point in his career.

The Rise to Power. After his early release from prison, Hitler struggled to regain control of the Nazi Party from two challengers, Gregor and Otto Strasser, who had stronger socialist leanings than Hitler. By July 1926, the control of the party under Hitler was established and best expressed through the *führerprinzip*, a concept of leadership that was dictatorial and related to Hitler's ideas of racial struggle and the establishment of a *volkstaat* (racial state). In order to mold the German people into a *völkish* community, Hitler believed that his will had to be dominant. This leadership cult also was an important means by which unity was maintained in the highly factionalized Nazi Party.

Political stability and moderate prosperity had returned to the Weimar Republic, and through the efforts of the foreign minister, Gustav Stresemann, Germany's international position had improved. In 1925

the war hero General Paul von Hindenburg was elected president. For his part, Hitler now decided to acquire power constitutionally, and he began to compete with other parties in the political process. After 1928 the Nazi electioneering effort was redirected toward the rural voters and the lower middle class in small towns. Party membership increased to 108,000 in 1929, and the new members were committed to Hitler's leadership. The Nazi Party also won a new respectability by forming a temporary alliance with the right-wing German National People's Party (DNVP) in a campaign against the restructuring of Germany's debt through the Young Plan. With the onset of the Great Depression, the Nazis won an unprecedented 107 seats in the Reichstag elections of September 14, 1930.

Hitler's appointment as chancellor on January 30, 1933, was the culmination of a political process that began with the creation of an authoritarian presidential system in 1930. This gave the president the power to choose the chancellor by emergency decree, regardless of majorities in the Reichstag. From 1930 through 1932, the Nazi electoral machine staged very dynamic campaigns that included demagogic oratory and street violence. These campaigns were astutely geared to appeal to different social groups, with emphasis on anticommunism, nationalism, and Christian values. The party's anti-Semitism was downplayed at this time. In the Reichstag elections of July 31, 1932, the vote for the Nazis rose dramatically, increasing their delegates to 230, which made them the largest party. Although Hitler lost the presidential election in 1932 to Hindenburg, he nonetheless received almost 37 percent of the vote. In these elections the Nazi vote was weak in the big cities and strong in the small towns and countryside. From a denominational perspective, their vote was strongest in rural Protestant areas and weakest in rural Catholic southern Bavaria. By the end of 1932 the membership in the Nazi Party had risen to 400,000, quadruple the size of the regular army. Backroom deals by Hindenburg's friends and advisers determined the rise and fall of three chancellors: Heinrich Brüning, Franz von Papen, and General Kurt von Schleicher. Waiting for his opportunity, Hitler finally agreed to become chancellor in an alliance with the Nationalists that made the Catholic nobleman Franz von Papen the vice chancellor.

A dictatorship was quickly created by political manipulation and terrorism. Ruling by emergency decrees, civil liberties were restricted on February 28, 1933, after the Reichstag building was burned. The Enabling Act of March 23, 1933, made it possible for Hitler to legally establish a dictatorship. The police came under Nazi control, and Hitler quickly secured the support of the army. The Communist Party was brutally suppressed, some Catholic leaders were killed, other political opponents were placed in concentration camps, and in what is now known as the Blood Purge, Ernst Röhm and some other leaders of the SA that Hitler viewed as rivals were assassinated by members of the Schutzstaffel (SS, or "Elite Guard") in June 1934.

As part of the seizure of power, all state governments and organizations were banned or taken over by the Nazi Party. In 1935 the Nuremberg Laws were passed, depriving Jews of their German citizenship and prohibiting future marriages between non-Jews and Jews. Hitler's popularity with ordinary Germans, and with many Catholics, was probably based on his promises to restore Germany's national pride, overcome social divisions, and create a new community inspired by German ideals.

Concordat with the Vatican. In 1929 the LATERAN PACTS were concluded between the VATICAN and the Italian government under Benito MUSSOLINI, and Hitler hoped to come to an agreement with the PAPACY as well. Hitler's interest in a concordat arose from his realization that the Church was a fundamental obstacle to his establishment of a dictatorship. He was also aware that a concordat would provide an endorsement of his government by the papacy. Consequently, Hitler pursued a sham conciliatory policy toward the Church, and the German bishops dramatically reversed their earlier condemnations of National Socialism. While the Catholic Center Party could have blocked the Enabling Act (March 1933), which gave Hitler dictatorial powers, it did not.

Both PIUS XI and PIUS XII maintained that the concordat was first sought by the German government, which offered numerous concessions that the Vatican could not refuse. Already under the threat of hostile acts by Nazi officials, a concordat was quickly negotiated, with the expectation in ROME being that it would serve as a legal wall in defense of the Church. It was hoped that the provisions of the concordat would be observed, but as Cardinal Pacelli, the Vatican secretary of state, expected, numerous violations soon occurred. The Church protested, but their petitions went unanswered.

A second phase of the struggle against Hitler's dictatorship lasted from 1936 to 1940. The most dramatic event in this phase was the issuance of the famous papal encyclical, *Mit brennender Sorge* (With Deep Anxiety), which condemned the ongoing persecution of the Church in Germany. The encyclical enraged Nazi leaders to such a degree that even greater repression occurred. There was soon to be one significant success for the Church, however. On September 1, 1939, Hitler issued the order for compulsory euthanasia for all



Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945). *While leader of Germany, he plotted to kidnap Pope Pius XII and loot the Vatican. The plot never came to fruition.* © **BETTMANN/CORBIS**

persons with incurable diseases. On August 3, 1941, Clemens von GALEN, the Bishop of Münster, made a public speech in which he protested against the regime's euthanasia program. This courageous act pressured the Nazi government to back down, and Galen's popularity kept the Nazis from acting against him with significant force. Galen also intended to denounce the persecution of the Jews, but was restrained by Jewish leaders in Münster for fear of reprisals. He was made a cardinal after the war. Nevertheless, the persecution of the Church by the Nazi regime continued, and at times it appeared to be aimed at Christianity itself.

The Road to War. Hitler claimed that his foreign policy was defensive and peaceful in nature and designed to include all Germans in one state. Secretly, however, he planned for war. By 1936 he changed the balance of power in Europe through a "diplomatic revolution." In October 1933, Hitler withdrew Germany from the League of Nations, then negotiated a nonaggression pact with Poland, a naval pact with Great Britain, started rearmament and introduced military conscription, both of which violated the Versailles Treaty. He concluded a secret treaty with Italy that established the so-called Rome-Berlin Axis and occupied the demilitarized Rhineland in 1936. In 1938 he felt confident enough to annex neighboring Austria. He also secured the borderlands of Czechoslovakia, known as the Sudetenland, where many Germans lived. The infamous Munich Agreement of September 1938 allowed Hitler to occupy the Sudetenland, and this was soon followed by the occupation of the rest of Czechoslovakia. Believing that England and France would continue their policy of appeasement and not honor their defensive alliance with Poland, he ordered the invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, starting World War II.

Hitler's true intentions concerning the Soviet Union were only gradually revealed. The conquest of Russia was first presented as a way to defeat Great Britain, then as the acquisition for living space, and finally as a preemptive strike against an imminent Soviet invasion. It was during 1941 that Hitler gave the order for the GENOCIDE of the Jews, known as the Final Solution, which was planned at the Wannsee Conference on January 20, 1942. No one has ever found any documents that prove Hitler gave the order to annihilate the Jews, but his approval was indispensable for Heinrich Himmler and the SS to execute the policy. In 1941 Hitler assumed direct control of the military, and his meddling in tactical planning would later contribute to the disastrous German defeats in North Africa and at Stalingrad. Shortly after the Normandy invasion on June 6, 1944, by the Allies, an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate Hitler and take over the government. On July 20, 1944, Colonel Klaus von Stauffenberg, a Catholic officer who had regular contact with Hitler, carried out the plot by planting a briefcase containing a bomb near Hitler during a briefing. However, another officer inadvertently moved the briefcase before it went off, and Hitler survived the explosion. As the war came to an end and the Soviets surrounded Berlin, Hitler hid in his bunker, married his mistress, Eva Braun, and committed suicide with her on April 30, 1945.

Hitler and the Catholic Church. Hitler was no more than a nominal Catholic who occasionally attended Mass and continued to pay his church taxes. He never officially left the Church. While the Nazi Party supported a vague "positive Christianity," Hitler's real goal was to convert the German people to the PAGAN Nazi worldview by undermining the beliefs of Catholics through public morality trials and a propaganda program that would make the clergy look ridiculous. To give the impression that he favored Christianity, he proclaimed that Christianity was the foundation of national morality and the family, and he distanced himself from the more radical Nazis like Alfred Rosenberg. He tolerated the churches in order to secure the loyalty of Christians, and he never repudiated their legal right to conduct services. His real intention was to destroy them after the war.

Most German Catholics supported Hitler's wars, and they probably would not have been willing or able to oppose Hitler's policy against the Jews even if Pope Pius XII had vigorously protested against the genocide. With all the evils that Hitler perpetrated during World War II, he and the other Nazi leaders who were raised Catholic, such as Joseph Goebbels, Himmler, and Martin Borman, were never excommunicated.

Hitler's most notorious attempt to undermine the Catholic Church was his 1943 plan to seize and loot the Vatican, kidnap Pope Pius XII, and perhaps even have him killed. The plot had further ramifications, in that it was linked to a Nazi threat to silence the pope concerning the deportation of the Jews of Rome to death camps. Hitler loathed Pius and considered him a rival in a struggle for the allegiance of Christians around the world. Far from having defended the dictator, as some critics have alleged, the pope had demonstrated his contempt for Hitler in 1939 and 1940 by his active participation in an unsuccessful plot led by General Ludwig Beck to overthrow the dictator.

In 1943 the coup against Mussolini and the entry of the German army into Rome brought the hostility between the two leaders to a head. General Karl Wolff, a chief of staff of Himmler, became SS commander in Italy and was chosen to carry out the abduction. Wolff, however, who was a Protestant, delayed and sabotaged the kidnap plan. He and other conspirators approached the pope and argued that his silence about the impending roundup of the Jews could save his life, and perhaps even soften the blow against the Jewish community. Wolff also convinced Hitler that the deportation of the pope would seriously hinder the German war effort. From the pope's point of view, he had prevented the pillage of Rome until it could be liberated by the Allies.

SEE ALSO CONCORDAT WITH GERMANY (1933); DARWINISM, SOCIAL; GERMANY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; HOLOCAUST.

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HOLY CROSS, CONGREGATION OF

(CSC; Official Catholic Directory #0600 brothers, #0610 priests) Founded in France in 1837, its members include priests and brothers dedicated to parochial education, social justice, spiritual renewal, and foreign mission work. The congregation has a generalate in Rome, six provinces in the United States, three in Canada, two in Bangladesh, and one in India.

Origin and Development. The Congregation of Holy Cross was founded March 1, 1837, at Le Mans, Sarthe, France, by Blessed Basil Anthony MOREAU (beatified September 15, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI), who united into one religious institute the Congregation of the Brothers of St. Joseph—founded in 1820 at Ruillé-sur-Loir, Diocese of Le Mans, by Canon Jacques-François Dujarié—and the Auxiliary Priests of Le Mans—which Moreau himself had founded in 1835. The Brothers of St. Joseph had been established to provide primary education for children in rural villages where the FRENCH REVOLUTION had practically destroyed the previously existing system for the education of the children of the common people. To counteract the evil influences of the Revolution in the more strictly religious and spiritual order, the Auxiliary Priests had taken as their specific aim assistance of the parish clergy in different dioceses, particularly by preaching parish missions and retreats.

In 1835, Dujarié's ill health led Bishop Jean-Baptiste Bouvier of Le Mans to entrust to Moreau the direction of the Brothers of St. Joseph. After first attempting to govern the two communities separately, Moreau united them into one institute. The Brothers of St. Joseph had some time earlier begun to adopt perpetual religious vows, whereas the Auxiliary Priests were still diocesan priests living in community while engaging in joint apostolic activities under the direction of their superior. However, on Aug. 15, 1840, Moreau pronounced his perpetual vows in the presence of Bouvier and was followed by several of his first collaborators, among whom was Edward F. SORIN, CSC, first superior of the congregation in the United States and first president of the University of Notre Dame, Indiana.

The congregation, composed of priests and brothers, was granted a papal decree of praise on June 18, 1855, and definitive approval was decreed on May 13, 1857. It had been Moreau's original intention to include in the organization a congregation of religious women that he had founded as the Marianite Sisters of Holy Cross. However, the sisters were eventually excluded from the approval granted by Rome, and Moreau was instructed to govern them as a separate and autonomous community. They later developed three distinct congregations, in France, the United States, and Canada. From the beginning the apostolate of the Brothers of Holy Cross, formerly the Brothers of St. Joseph, was confined to education, especially on the primary level, in France. The Priests of Holy Cross, on the other hand, devoted themselves to both teaching and the works of the sacred ministry.

Early in its history, the Congregation of Holy Cross extended its activities outside France, establishing houses in Algeria (1840), the United States (1842), Canada (1847), Italy (1850), and India (1853), in addition to scattered temporary foundations in Poland and the French Caribbean possessions. In 2009 foundations existed in Bangladesh, Brazil, Canada, Chile, France, Ghana, Haiti, India, Ireland, Italy, Kenya, Mexico, Peru, Tanzania, and the United States, organized into thirteen provinces and seven religious districts.

Special Characteristics. According to its pontifically approved constitutions, the Congregation of Holy Cross is a clerical institute of pontifical right, composed of two societies that, while canonically united, remain nevertheless distinct and, within the limits determined by the constitutions, autonomous. The distinction of the two societies within the congregation is established on the provincial and local levels, where each society has its own government and administration. Union between the two societies is maintained by the same general administration, under a priest as superior general, and a general council composed of an equal number of priests and brothers; by the observance of the same constitutions and the use of the same manual of prayers and religious practices; and by the canonical visitation of all the houses of the congregation by the superior general or his delegate.

In the priests' society there are two canonical classes of religious, namely, priests or clerics and brothers. The brothers' society has only one class of religious, engaged either in teaching or in other activities. All the perpetually professed members of the congregation enjoy full active and passive voice in the government of the congregation, irrespective of occupation. The members of each society have a special name: Priests of Holy Cross (earlier called Salvatorists) and Brothers of Holy Cross (formerly known as Josephites). Under the general name of Religious of Holy Cross, all belong to the same religious institute known as the Congregation of Holy Cross or Congregatio a Sancta Cruce (CSC). The name of the congregation does not come from the Holy Cross, but from the suburb of Le Mans, called Sainte-Croix (Holy Cross), where Moreau established the first motherhouse of the congregation.

Local houses, provinces, and religious districts are, in principle, autonomous according to the prescriptions

contained in the constitutions, that is, they are composed of members of the two societies of the congregation, and are governed by superiors chosen from among the religious of that society which has jurisdiction. It pertains to the provincial superiors to establish coordination between the activities proper to each society or common to both, and to determine what assistance shall be provided by each society in its respective provinces.

Because of this common direction and pooling of efforts, the members of one society may be employed in the houses or activities of the other society. The priests of the congregation often serve as chaplains in the houses of the brothers, according to ordinances drawn up by the respective provincial superiors regulating the residence, duties, and rights of these chaplains.

Purpose and Constitutions. The congregation has as its general goal the glory of God and the perfection of its individual members through the practice of the simple vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. The nature of the vows is, in general, identical with the traditional significance of the vows in similar congregations.

The special goals of the congregation, as specified in the constitutions, are: to follow Christ, to serve all people, believers and unbelievers alike, and to spread the Gospel and to work for the development of a more just and humane society.

In the first years of the congregation, each society of priests, brothers, and sisters had its own particular constitutions. At the time of papal approval in 1857 there existed only one summary text of constitutions for both priests and brothers. Each society, nevertheless, retained its own particular capitular rules, which were more detailed than the constitutions and served as a commentary on them. Some years later, the capitular rules were likewise unified into one volume for both societies. The text of both the constitutions and the capitular rules underwent successive modifications over the years. Finally, the general chapter of 1950 undertook a complete revision of the rules and constitutions, synthesizing them into one text henceforth known as the *Constitutions of the Congregation of Holy Cross.*

The constitutions were revised by the general chapter of 1968 to bring them into accord with the Second Vatican Council's call for the renewal of religious life. They were again separated into constitutions, which can be amended only with the approval of the Holy See, and statutes, which can be amended by an absolute majority of the general chapter. The governance of the congregation was decentralized so that the superior general was henceforth elected to a six-year term renewable once. His role became to "guide and govern," and many of his powers were given to the provincial superiors and their councils. After 1968, only a general chapter, not the superior general, could establish and suppress provinces.

The 1974 general chapter established an annual meeting of provincial superiors with the general administration as the Council of the Congregation. The general chapter of 1980 proposed that the office of superior general should not be restricted to priests, but should be open to any member of the congregation professed for at least ten years. This proposal was repeated by the general chapters of 1986, 1992, and 1998, but was not approved by the Holy See. The general chapter of 1986 rewrote the constitutions in an exhortative rather than a canonical style.

Activities. The congregation developed extensively in the United States where, in 2001, it had its greatest number of members and apostolic works. Three provinces of priests have headquarters located respectively at Notre Dame, Indiana; Bridgeport, Connecticut; and Austin, Texas. Three provinces of brothers have administrative centers at Notre Dame; New Rochelle, New York; and Austin. The Notre Dame province of priests is affiliated with the University of Notre Dame and the University of Portland in Oregon. It also owns Ave Maria Press, which publishes spiritual books and religious educational materials, and is engaged in multiple other phases of educational, parochial, social justice, and spiritual renewal in the United States. The Bridgeport province is affiliated with King's College in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, and Stonehill College, in North Easton, Massachusetts, in addition to parish and spiritual renewal ministry. The province is also responsible for Holy Cross Family Ministries, founded as the Family Rosary Crusade by Rev. Patrick J. Peyton. The Austin province is engaged in parochial work in Louisiana, Texas, and Mexico.

The Notre Dame brothers' province conducts high schools in two dioceses and Holy Cross College at Notre Dame, and directs schools for exceptional and needy boys in the United States. The brothers' provinces of New Rochelle (four dioceses) and Austin (four dioceses) engage in the same general type of apostolic work; St. Edward's University, Austin, is affiliated with the brothers of that province.

In Canada, the chief house of the priests' province is the Oratory of St. Joseph in Montreal, made famous by Brother André Besette, CSC, as an international center of devotion and pilgrimage in honor of St. Joseph. The Collège Notre-Dame, Montreal, is under the direction of the Canadian brothers' province. There are also other educational, parochial and missionary activities in other localities throughout the provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick. The Canadian priests' province directs the Fides publishing house, one of the largest religious publishers in Canada. The English Canadian priests'

province is engaged in education, sponsoring schools in Welland and St. Catherine's in Ontario, and in parish work in Nova Scotia, Ontario, and Alberta.

Just as in the United States and Canada, the congregation carries out a twofold apostolate of education and parish ministry elsewhere in the world. In Bangladesh, the priests' province conducts Notre Dame College in Dhaka and staffs parishes throughout the country. The brothers' province conducts high schools in Dhaka and Chittagong. In India, the priests' province is engaged in education and parish ministry in the North East Territory, while the brothers conduct several schools in southern India.

There is one novitiate in Cascade, Colorado, used by all the provinces in North America. Other novitiates are located in India, Bangladesh, Ghana, Haiti, Peru, and Uganda. Houses of studies are maintained in Montreal, Notre Dame, and San Antonio in North America, and in Nairobi, Kenya; Santiago, Chile; Port-au-Prince, Haiti; Dhaka, Bangladesh; and Bangalore, India.

The priests' Notre Dame province in the United States is responsible for the district of Chile and, together with the New Rochelle brothers' province, for Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania. The Canadian priests' Montreal province is responsible for districts in Haiti and Brazil. The Bridgeport priests' province is responsible for the district of Peru. The Canadian brothers' province is responsible for the brothers' district in India. The brothers' province of Austin operates two colleges in Brazil.

Since its foundation, the congregation has furnished to the Church several members who were raised to episcopal rank, including Cardinal John Francis O'Hara, Archbishop of Philadelphia (1951–1960) and most recently, Bishop Daniel R. Jenky, who was appointed the head of the Diocese of Peoria, Illinois, in January 2002.

In 2009 its members numbered 1,523 (734 priests), including two archbishops and eight bishops, in 221 houses (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 467). Thirty percent of the members in 2009 were serving outside of North America and Europe.

SEE ALSO NOTRE DAME DU LAC, UNIVERSITY OF; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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HOLY CROSS, CONGREGATION OF SISTERS OF THE

(CSC; Official Catholic Directory #1920, 1930) In 1841 Bl. Basil Anthony MOREAU (beatified by Pope Benedict XVI on September 15, 2007) founded at Le Mans, France, the MARIANITES OF HOLY CROSS, a female counterpart to his community of priests and brothers. Out of the missions of the sisters in the United States and Canada, the Congregation of Sisters of the Holy Cross emerged.

In 1843 four Marianite Sisters of Holy Cross left France for the United States to join Father Edward SORIN, whom Moreau had sent to Indiana two years earlier. There, the sisters cared for the domestic service at the college (later University of NOTRE DAME) that Sorin had founded at South Bend. In addition, they opened their first school at Bertrand, Michigan, six miles north of Notre Dame. Their first pupils included Potawatomi Indians, deaf mutes, orphans, and neighboring children.

Additional sisters, trained by Mother Mary of Seven Dolors Gascoin, arrived from France and soon American girls also joined the community. One of the latter group, Eliza Gillespie, was sent to France for her novitiate. Upon her return to the United States, Mother Angela GILLESPIE greatly improved the congregation's educational program. In 1855 the community moved the convent, novitiate, and school to St. Mary's, Notre Dame, Indiana. Between 1855 and 1882, 45 schools were opened in the United States, and a curriculum of studies was organized and adapted to parochial and private schools.

With the outbreak of the Civil War the sisters responded to the government's call for nurses and were the first to serve on the hospital ship, *Red Rover,* plying the Mississippi, where fighting was heaviest. At the sacrifice of schools, which had to be closed temporarily

in Washington, D.C., 80 members of the Holy Cross community staffed eight military hospitals in Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and the District of Columbia. This experience in hospital work later expanded into a large network of training schools and hospitals in the United States and clinics in foreign missions. In 2000, through a consolidation of resources with the Sisters of Mercy's Detroit Regional Health System, the Sisters of the Holy Cross hospital system became Trinity Health, the fourth largest Catholic healthcare system in the United States.

During the 1860s, communications with the motherhouse in France became increasingly difficult; accordingly, the government of the sisters was transferred from Moreau and the French motherhouse to Sorin and the province of Indiana. The sisters in France obtained papal approbation in 1869; those in the United States continued to live according to the rule given to them by Moreau. In 1882, with the permission of Bishop Joseph Dwenger of Fort Wayne, Indiana, they canonically elected Mother M. Augusta Anderson as superior general. Papal approbation of the U.S. Sisters of the Holy Cross was obtained in 1889.

Through the years, the community has exercised leadership in developing higher education for women. In the earliest curricula of what later became St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana, modern languages, artists-in-residence, and liberal and fine arts were integral. Following the establishment (1887) of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., one of its early rectors, Bp. Thomas SHAHAN, organized and conducted summer schools at St. Mary's. In 1874 St. Catherine's, a Holy Cross school in Baltimore, Maryland, held what was probably the first teacher-training institute for women under Catholic auspices. The establishment in 1944 of the Graduate School of Sacred Theology at St. Mary's, where lay and religious women can earn advanced degrees in sacred doctrine, was the work of Sister M. Madeleva Wolff, with the cooperation of eminent theologians.

When the Holy See assigned the missions in Bengal, India (1852), to the priests of Holy Cross, the sisters likewise became missionaries there. The American congregation has continued this work. In 1934 Rose Bernard Gehring, CSC, responding to episcopal and papal requests, organized a native sisterhood in Pakistan named the Associates of Mary, Queen of the Apostles. In 1947 the sisters opened a mission area in São Paulo, Brazil, where they conduct secondary schools and village mission stations. Graduates of St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, work as lay missionaries with the sisters in both Pakistan and Brazil. As of 2009, 509 sisters living in 101 houses were spread all throughout the United States, Bangladesh, Brazil, Uganda, Ghana, Mexico, India, and Peru (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 489).

SEE ALSO HOLY CROSS, CONGREGATION OF; INDIANA, CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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HOLY FAMILY, SONS OF THE

(*Congregatio Filiorum Sacrae Familiae,* SF; Official Catholic Directory #0640) This congregation of priests and brothers was founded in 1864 by St. José MANYANET Y VIVES (canonized by Pope JOHN PAUL II, May 16, 2004) in Tremp, Lerida, Spain. It was granted final approval by the Holy See in 1901. The purpose of the congregation is to promote devotion to the Holy Family and to foster Christian family life. This apostolate is accomplished through the education of youth and the organization of a family movement consisting of instruction in the faith and in the management of the ideal Catholic home. The early development of the congregation was slow and uncertain; political upheavals and persecutions, especially during the Spanish civil war, brought the society close to extinction. Not until the reconstruction in Spain in the 1940s did the Sons of the Holy Family begin to prosper. Since then they have spread outside Spain and have founded new schools and institutions. By the 1960s they were well established as a teaching society in Spain, Italy, and Argentina.

The Sons of the Holy Family came as missionaries to the United States in 1920 and worked in the Diocese of Santa Fe, New Mexico, among the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest. The generalate is located in Barcelona, Spain. The United States headquarters is located in Silver Spring, Maryland. In 2009 there were 140 members living in 92 houses (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 467).

SEE ALSO SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939).

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HOPKO, VASIL', BL.

Also known as Basil; priest, bishop, MARTYR; b. Hrabské, Slovakia, April 21, 1904; d. Prešov, Slovakia, July 23, 1976; beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II, September 14, 2003.

Vasil' Hopko was born in poverty to Vasil' Hopko and Anna Petrenko. His father died when the boy was one year old, and his mother left Slovakia for the United States when he was four (they reunited twenty-two years later). Cared for by his grandfather until age seven, Vasil' then went to live with his uncle, Demeter Petrenko, a Greek Catholic priest.

After attending the Greek Catholic Seminary of Presŏv, Hopko was ordained a priest on February 3, 1929, and he went to serve the Greek Catholic parish in Prague.

In 1936 he returned to Prešov, and in 1941 he was appointed secretary of the bishop's Curia. In 1943 he became professor of moral and pastoral theology at the Theological Faculty in Prešov, where he became the first editor of the magazine *Blahovistnik* (Gospel Messenger).

After WORLD WAR II, the Czechoslovakian Republic fell under Soviet Bolshevik and atheist influence. Facing the threat of COMMUNISM, (Bl.) Bishop Pavol Peter GOJDIČ of Prešov asked the HOLY SEE for an auxiliary bishop to help him defend against the attacks on the Greek Catholic Church. Fr. Hopko was ordained a bishop on May 11, 1947.

On April 28, 1950, the Communists declared the Greek Catholic Church of Czechoslovakia dissolved; Bishops Gojdič and Hopko were among those who refused to accept the dissolution.

After a show trial, on October 24, 1951, Bishop Hopko was condemned to fifteen years in prison, where he was beaten, starved, deprived of sleep, and forced to walk for hours. In failing physical and emotional health, he was released in May 1964 and transferred to a home for the aged at Osek in Bohemia.

He continued to contribute to the resurgence of the Greek Catholic Church, which occurred on June 13, 1968, during the "Prague Spring." On December 20, 1968, Pope PAUL VI confirmed his appointment as auxiliary bishop for all the Greek Catholic faithful in Czechoslovakia.

Bishop Hopko died on July 23, 1976, in Prešov. An autopsy revealed that he had been slowly poisoned in prison; his body had a level of arsenic a thousand times above established human tolerance. Because his death resulted from his imprisonment, he is considered a MARTYR.

In his homily on September 14, 2003, in Bratislava, Pope John Paul II called him a "radiant example of faithfulness in times of harsh and ruthless religious persecution."

Feast: June 23.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH (EASTERN CATHOLIC); MORAL THEOLOGY; SLOVAKIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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HÖSS, CRESCENTIA, ST.

Baptized Anna; eminent mystic of the Franciscan Third Order; b. Kaufbeuren, Bavaria, October 20, 1682; d. Kaufbeuren, April 5, 1744; beatified October 7, 1900; canonized by Pope JOHN PAUL II on November 25, 2001.

The sixth of eight children of a weaver and a barber-surgeon, from her childhood she showed unusual spiritual maturity and special regard for VIRGINITY. Known for her exceptional intelligence and beautiful singing voice as a youth, Höss's desire to enter the convent was initially frustrated. Subjected to scrutiny by the other sisters because of her lack of a dowry, her entrance was aided by the benevolence of a Protestant burgomeister who had often come to hear her sing at the local Mass, and she was accepted as a novice in 1703. There she endured continued trials that developed her religious perfection and allowed her to deal charitably with her fellow sisters and those they served. Appointed portress in 1710, she became well known for her hospitality, and soon many came to seek her counsel. Receiving hundreds of letters each year, from both poor and aristocratic individuals, Höss's reputation as a wise spiritual counselor became one of the hallmarks of her life as a sister. During her appointments as mistress of novices (1717) and superior (1741), her directives were known to be marked with keen discernment, decisiveness, and charity. She also displayed a continued interest in the arts, as she commissioned paintings often depicting her mystical experiences and composed songs and poems. She continued to experience visions, ecstasy, and mystical suffering of the Passion until her death.

Beatified on October 7, 1900, Höss was canonized after the miraculous recovery of a young girl who had nearly drowned in 1986. On November 25, 2001, during the canonization Mass in VATICAN CITY, John Paul II recalled how she had used her God-given talents for the service of the Kingdom, and he described her as a "midwife" who "helped those seeking counsel to bring forth the truth in their hearts."

Feast: April 6 (formerly April 5).

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); ECSTASY (IN CHRISTIAN MYSTICISM); FRANCISCANS, THIRD ORDER REGULAR.

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HOUBEN, CHARLES OF MOUNT ARGUS, ST.

Baptized Johannes Andreas; Passionist missionary priest; b. December 11, 1821, Munstergeleen, The Netherlands; d. January 5, 1893, Dublin, Ireland; beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II, October 16, 1988; canonized by Pope BENEDICT XVI, June 3, 2007.

The fourth of eleven children of his parents, Peter Joseph and Elizabeth, Houben had difficulties with his studies, but he persevered and realized his religious vocation. From an early age Houben displayed a deep interior life, as he would regularly stop by the local church on the way home from school and frequently participate in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. At the age of nineteen he entered the military. After serving for five years (1840–1845), Houben entered the Passionist novitiate at Ere (1845), took his vows (1846) and the name Charles of St. Andrew, and was ordained (1850). Thereafter he worked among the poor and humble in England. In July 1857 he was assigned to the newly established Mt. Argus Retreat House in Dublin, Ireland,

where he immediately began to celebrate Mass twice a day and hear confessions from morning to evening, to accommodate the large number of people who came to Mt. Argus. Though initially given the task of collecting donations to help pay for the monastery's building costs, Houben quickly became known for his generosity in offering counsel and blessings to those who would come to the monastery and call for him. Many testified to miraculous cures through these blessings, and crowds of both Catholics and non-Catholics began to gather at Mt. Argus daily, traveling from all over Great Britain and even from America. Ill and exhausted from his ministry, Houben was sent to England in 1866, in hopes of regaining health. In 1874 he eventually returned to Dublin, where he would spend the rest of his life. Houben suffered patiently in his later years; he died in 1893 of erysipelas from a leg wound he had received twelve years earlier in a carriage accident. Since 1949 his relics have been interred in the Passionist church at Mt. Argus.

Beatified in 1988, Houben would be canonized after the miraculous cure of Adolf Dormans of Munstergeleen, who suffered a ruptured appendix that had infected other internal organs.

Houben was then canonized on June 3, 2007, in VATICAN CITY, where Benedict XVI recalled the saint's constant devotion to the "Crucified Christ" and the testimony of his life that had caused the Passionist superior to observe at his funeral: "The people have already declared him a saint."

Feast: January 5.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); IRELAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; PASSIONISTS.

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HUMILIS DE BISIGNANO, ST.

Franciscan religious; christened Lucia Antonio; b. Bisignano (Cosenza), Italy, 1582; d. Bisignano, November 26, 1637; beatified January 29, 1882, by Pope LEO XIII; canonized May 19, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Born to Giovanni Pirozzo and Ginevra Giardino and raised in an agricultural village in southern Italy, Humilis de Bisignano was recognized, even at an early age, for his faith and Christian zeal. He was known to attend daily Mass and to constantly ponder the life and message of Christ while laboring in the fields.

As a young man, Humilis became a member of the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception, which encouraged devotion to the Blessed Virgin and personal holiness. His renown for piety and humility continued to grow. A story is told in which Humilis was publically struck in the face. Rather than respond with force, he restrained himself and, following the witness of Christ, offered the other cheek. Although he desired to enter the religious life at the age of eighteen, Humilis was accepted as a postulant nine years later when he presented himself to the Franciscan order. He became a lay brother with the Observant Franciscans, taking the name Humilis on September 4, 1610, the day of his profession.

His life as a lay Franciscan consisted of manual labor and unskilled jobs entrusted by his superiors. His daily tasks included gardening and petitioning for alms, while being occupied by prayer and service to the community. Additionally, Humilis was devoted to sharing with the poor of Mesoraca, the town housing the friary.

Over the course of his life, Humilis was known for two great gifts, his holiness and his impressive theological understanding. In terms of holiness, Humilis demonstrated tremendous dedication to prayer as well as personal mortifications. He was devoted to fasting and took on difficult ascetic practices. Additionally, humility became his trademark. Humilis took seriously the rule of the order and lived a life of simple obedience to his superiors. In addition to his humility, piety, and prayerfulness, he was also given to ecstasies. These experiences were so frequent that he was known as the "ecstatic friar." However, these spiritual occurrences provided an added cross for Humilis to bear, as his superiors tested him rigorously in order to discern the

reality and fruitfulness of these ecstatic episodes. However, being a humble servant, Humilis persevered in prayer and fidelity.

Beyond his exceptional spirituality, Humilis was regarded for his impressive learning and wisdom. Although he was raised in a working family and remained illiterate throughout his life, Humilis showed such profound understanding of the scriptures and theology that he left theologians baffled. Word of his acumen spread quickly, and Humilis was summoned to Rome by Pope GREGORY XV for council. Humilis remained in Rome for several years, serving Gregory XV as well as URBAN VIII in a theological capacity. Upon his return from Rome, he continued to serve others in the friary. In 1628 Humilis petitioned his superiors to take part in the missions, but, with characteristic humility and obedience, accepted their denial. He remained dedicated to prayer, community life, and the needs of the less fortunate until his death on November 26, 1637.

Humilis was beatified on January 29, 1882, by Pope Leo XIII and canonized on May 19, 2002, PENTECOST Sunday, by Pope John Paul II. In his HOMILY, John Paul II compared St. Humilis's life to the experience of the Apostles in the upper room when the risen Christ offered to them the gift of his peace. John Paul II explained that St. Humilis "became the constant bearer of the peace of Christ which is also the principle that has to inspire social peace." Focusing on Humilis's personal holiness and love of his neighbor, John Paul II highlighted the profound witness given by this new saint's "joyful and encouraging invitation to meekness, kindness, simplicity, and a healthy detachment from the transient goods of this world."

Feast: November 27.

SEE ALSO FRANCISCAN SPIRITUALITY; FRIARS.

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HURTADO CRUCHAGA, ALBERTO, ST.

Jesuit priest; b. Viña del Mar, Chile, January 22, 1901; d. Santiago de Chile, August 18, 1952; beatified October 16, 1994, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized October 23, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Alberto Hurtado Cruchaga, known as the "Apostle of the Poor," experienced poverty himself following the death of his aristocratic father when he was four. While attending the Jesuit Colegio San Ignacio (1909–1917) in Santiago, he spent his Sunday afternoons attending the city's poor. He postponed entering the Jesuit novitiate until August 14, 1923, in order to support his family, complete his military service, and earn a law degree (August 1923) at the Catholic University of Santiago. In the midst of his law studies, Hurtado remained committed to serving the poor, organizing a legal clinic for workers and participating in a study circle dedicated to the reading of the Church's social encyclicals.

Hurtado entered the Jesuit novitiate at Chillán (1923–1924) and Córdoba, Argentina (1925). After professing his first vows on August 15, 1925, he continued his studies in the humanities, philosophy, and theology in Spain (1927–1932), Ireland, and finally Belgium, where he was ordained at Louvain in 1933. After completing his final year of training at Drongen, he returned to Santiago de Chile in 1936 to teach theology at the Colegio San Ignacio and pedagogy at Catholic University of Santiago.

As a teacher and frequent retreat master, Fr. Hurtado affected the lives of many young men. He fostered more than one hundred priestly vocations and led others to committed service as laymen. In 1941 he undertook the chaplaincy of CATHOLIC ACTION's youth movement in Santiago, and later nationally. In 1944, having been moved by the experience of being approached by a suffering, homeless man, the charismatic priest challenged female retreatants to assist the city's poor:

> Christ roams through our streets in the person of so many suffering poor, sick, dispossessed and people thrown out of their miserable slums; Christ huddled under bridges, in the person of so many children who lack someone to call father, who have been deprived for many a year of a mother's kiss upon their foreheads.... Christ is without a home! (Centro de Estudios y Documentación "Padre Hurtado" de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile)

Their response resulted in the first donations to help found El Hogar de Cristo (Christ's Home), hous-

ing for homeless children, which would eventually be extended to adults, providing vocational training and rehabilitation. In 1945 to 1946, while studying sociology at the Catholic University of America and residing with the Jesuit community at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C., Fr. Hurtado visited Fr. FLANAGAN's Boys Town in Nebraska, finding inspiration for his own Chilean project, and in 1946 El Hogar de Cristo began its inaugural year.

The following year, Hurtado founded the Chilean Trade Union Association (ASICH) based on the social teachings of the Church. His last years were spent extending his work and the social teachings of the Church. He died in 1952 of pancreatic cancer.

Hurtado's most famous composition is *Is Chile a Catholic Country?* (1941). Between 1947 and 1950, he wrote on the Church's social teachings, including *Social Humanism, On Unions,* and *The Christian Social Order*. In 1951 he founded the journal *Mensaje* (Messages) to further explain magisterial teaching on social justice.

Hurtado was beatified on October 16, 1994. The final miracle for his canonization occurred in 1996 when Vivian Galleguillos Fuentes, a sixteen-year-old Chilean girl, left brain-dead and comatose after an automobile accident, was miraculously healed after her father prayed at El Hogar de Cristo.

Hurtado was canonized in Vatican City on October 23, 2005, during the Mass that concluded the Synod on the Eucharist and the Year of the Eucharist. In his HOMILY, Pope Benedict XVI highlighted Hurtado's Jesuit formation, prayer, and frequent adoration of the Eucharist as the source of his apostolate to the poor, stating that the saint wished to "identify himself with the Lord and love the poor with this same love."

Feast: August 18 (Jesuits).

SEE ALSO CHILE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; JESUITS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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I

IGNATIUS OF SANTHIÀ, ST.

Baptized Lorenzo Maurizio Belvisotti; priest; b. June 6, 1686, Santhià, Italy; d. September 22, 1770, Turin, Italy; beatified April 17, 1966, by Pope PAUL VI; canonized May 19, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Lorenzo Maurizio was the fourth of six children born to Pierpaolo Belvisotti and Maria Elisabetta Balocco; the family was financially secure and well-positioned socially. The Belvisottis suffered a great loss when Pierpaolo died while Lorenzo was still a child. The boy was educated under the supervision of a priest and realized that he had a vocation to religious life. Fr. Belvisotti was ordained in the Diocese of Vercelli in 1710.

Fr. Belvisotti became first a canon and then a parish priest. Though he was situated to advance in the hierarchy of the Vercelli Diocese, he felt the call to a more contemplative life. To the surprise of many, he joined the Friars Minor Capuchin of Turin in 1716, and took the name Ignatius. During his year as a novice, the thirty-year-old priest was placed under the guidance of a very young member of the order, a situation that he accepted with characteristic humility. On May 24, 1717, he was professed in the order. Fr. Ignatius served as a SACRISTAN at the convent of Saluzzo and an assistant novice-master at Chieri. In 1723 he was assigned to the Convento del Monte in Turin. Each of the convent's eighty-seven priests performed daily Mass; Fr. Ignatius served ably in the very difficult role of sacristan. In 1731 Fr. Ignatius became the novice-master at the convent of Mondovi, where he remained for thirteen years, until an eye disease of unknown etiology forced his resignation from the post. In accounts of the episode, Fr. Ignatius is said to have given his own eyeglasses to a Franciscan novice, Bernardino da Vezza, who could not continue missionary work due to severe vision problems. The novice was healed of his condition, however, at the same time Fr. Ignatius acquired an infection that took two years to heal.

After his recovery, Fr. Ignatius was assigned as senior chaplain to the Piedmontese armies of the King of Sardinia, Charles Emmanuel III. The king's army was engaged in repelling invading French and Spanish forces, and the Capuchins, upon request of the sovereign, furnished medical care and spiritual guidance. Fr. Ignatius worked long hours comforting the sick and dying in the hospitals and on the fields of battle. In 1746 hostilities ended, and Fr. Ignatius returned to Convento del Monte, where he remained until his death, in the roles of spiritual instructor and confessor to the lay brothers. Even at an advanced age, the priest visited the sick and poor of Turin and participated in the Franciscan duty of begging alms to support the work of the convent. Fr. Ignatius gained a reputation as a devout and obedient servant of God, and many visited the convent to ask for his blessing. In the final two years of his life, he was confined to the convent's infirmary, where he continued to hear confessions and provide a spiritual example to his Franciscan brothers and the lay population. At his death, he had served as a Capuchin friar for fifty-four years.

On March 17, 1827, Pope LEO XII venerated Fr. Ignatius. Pope Paul VI beatified him on April 17, 1966. In his homily, the pope called the new Blessed "admirable in every aspect of his Franciscan life." On December 20, 2001, the Congregation for the Causes of Saints promulgated a decree regarding a miracle attributed to Blessed Ignatius of Santhià. The miracle was approved by Pope John Paul II. In canonizing St. Ignatius of Santhià, the pope said the priest "lived uniquely the

mission of forgiving sins and of guiding men and women on the paths of evangelical perfection.... Even today he continues to remind everyone of the values of poverty, simplicity and authentic Christian life."

Feast: September 22.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); FRIARS.

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IMPRIMATUR

In Latin *Imprimatur* means *Let it be printed*, indicating the permission granted by the BISHOP of a DIOCESE to print or publish a book or other material written by a ROMAN CATHOLIC on matters regarding the FAITH AND MORALS. This permission is given by the bishop or the local ordinary and follows the *Nihil obstat* (nothing hinders), a declaration by the censor appointed by the bishop that the writing is free of errors regarding faith and morals. The censor works with the author in case of inaccuracies or other problems. When a member of a religious order writes a work, the superior issues the *Imprimi potest* or *Able to be printed*.

Neither the *Nihil obstat* nor the *Imprimatur* indicates that the censor or ordinary agrees with the content of the book, that it is free of inaccuracies, or that it can be considered an official text of the Church. It simply states that the book does not contain anything that contradicts Catholic DOGMA and morals. The *Nihil obstat* and *Imprimatur* appear in front of the book as typed stamps and signatures (with name and title) followed by the date and place of signing. Subsequent versions or editions of the work require a new *Imprimatur*, which can be revoked if doctrinal errors are discovered upon further examination.

History of the Imprimatur. The scope, modality, and procedures of the *Imprimatur* have changed during the history of the Church. The early Church proscribed the *Apocrypha*, or noncanonical Scriptures, and various councils and synods did the same with heretical and superstitious writings as well as forgeries of acts of martyrs and PENITENTIALS. The *Decretum gelasianum* (405) of Pope St. INNOCENT I is considered the first *Roman Index* of prohibited (forbidden) books. Preventive censorship was requested as early as the fourth century by St. AMBROSE and in the fifth by GENNADIUS. With the numerous heresies of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, prohibitions of books became numerous, and decrees were issued against heretical translations of the BIBLE, and restrictions were imposed on reading the Bible in the vernacular, the language of a country or locality.

By papal statutes in 1342 the professors of the University of Paris had to submit their lectures to the chancellor and THEOLOGY professors before distributing them to the booksellers. In the fourteenth century all the universities had similar statutes. However, as long as the books were handwritten and literacy remained restricted, there was no need for preventive censorship. This changed in the fifteenth century with the invention of the printing press (1440). Pope SIXTUS IV granted the right of censorship to a few German dioceses. Later in 1487 INNOCENT VIII prescribed censorship for the entire Church and in 1515 entrusted its implementation to the bishops (the equivalent of the *Imprimatur*) and to the inquisitor. The printing press, the explosion of knowledge, the secularizing influence of the RENAISSANCE, and the Protestant Reformation made it imperative for the Church to preserve the uniformity of teaching and LITURGY. The General Inquisition took charge in 1542 of the supervision of books and in 1543 composed a catalog of forbidden books.

The Council of Trent (1545–1563) in 1546 established that any religious book needed an *Imprimatur* from the Church. In the sixteenth century various catalogs of forbidden books were published by political and ecclesiastical authorities, but the 1559 catalog of the INQUISITION was the first Roman list meant for the whole world; it was also the very first one that bore the title *Index*. Emphasis was put on education: In 1560 the CONFRATERNITY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

(CCD) was established and in 1566, the first general Catholic catechism—*Catechismus romanus*—was issued, although there had been prior, a less-universal CATECHISMS. A commission was appointed in 1562 to draft an Index of Forbidden Books, and in 1564 Pope PIUS IV published the *Index librorum prohibitorum* that served as a guide for future censors and compilers: All heretical, superstitious, and immoral (obscene) books were prohibited as well as all Latin translations of the Bible. EXCOMMUNICATION was decreed for those who possessed and read heretical books.

The updating of the *Index* and punitive sanctions included the establishment of the *Congregatio indicis librorum prohibitorum* (1571), the abolition of the excommunication for publishers and authors not submitting their works to censorship by PIUS IX (1869), the reforms by LEO XIII (1897) and PIUS X (1905), in addition to numerous papal *bullaria*, dispositions of various dicasteries of the Roman Curia, and decisions of the Roman Rota, the Catholic Church's highest tribunal. Rejection of the vernacular versions of the Bible, the Index of Forbidden Books, and the *Imprimatur* were among the major mechanisms to preserve the purity of DOCTRINE.

Developments during the 1800s to 1900s. The upheavals of the FRENCH REVOLUTION and the Napoleonic era, including the promulgation of the Napoleonic code in 1804, combined with the growing SECULARISM of society, impelled the Catholic Church to codify its laws. The various collections of ecclesiastical laws and decrees that had begun in the early centuries of Christianity culminated during the Tridentine reform in the *Corpus iuris canonici*, but changes were needed, as was noted during the VATICAN COUNCIL I (1869–1870). However, the alleged opposition of the Roman Curia delayed the systematization of Church laws until 1904 when Pius X authorized the codification of the canon law. The code was completed in 1917 through a laborious process and promulgated for the ROMAN RITE by BENEDICT XV in 1918 as *Codex iuris canonici* with a clear centralizing intent and the inclusion of new norms. Canon 1398 provided that prohibited books could not be published, read, held, sold, translated, or passed on (an all-inclusive prohibition). Canon 1399 prohibited editions of Sacred Scriptures by non-Catholics; books written by anyone propagating HERESY or attacks on religion and good morals in any form; books written by non-Catholics on religion, except if proven acceptable; books dealing with VISIONS, apparitions, superstitions, MAGIC, or divinations; books advocating DUELING, SUICIDE, or DIVORCE; books with obscenities; liturgical books at variance with those approved by the APOSTOLIC SEE; and books dealing with apocryphal INDULGENCES or with portraits of JESUS, Mary, and saints that were at odds with Church decrees.

Developments since the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). With the assistance of a young Joseph RATZINGER, Cardinal Joseph Frings (1887–1978) leveled a sharp criticism of the Holy Office (known before 1908 as the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition). *Lumen gentium*, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church gave renewed importance to the bishops who collectively succeed the college of the Apostles and who govern the Church "in communion" with the successor of Peter. Pope PAUL VI reorganized the Congregation of the Holy Office and renamed it *Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith*, providing new procedures to examine doctrines. The 1975 decree *Ecclesiae pastorum* reorganized the matter of book censorship and stated that the pastors of the Church have the duty and the right to be vigilant and condemn books and writings that attack faith or morals. The decree demanded that the publication of writing concerning the faith and morals should be submitted to the Church's approval. This mandate was reiterated in canon 823 of the 1983 Code of Canon Law. Canon 823 states that the pastors of the Church (the pope and bishops) have the right and duty to demand that any writing destined for public distributions, prepared by the Christian faithful (no longer books written by everyone) and touching on faith or morals be submitted to their judgment before publication (pre-publication censorship). Canon 824 states that the permission to publish a book must be sought by the local ordinary of the author or the place where the book is published. Canon 825 provides that the "approval" of the Apostolic See or the conference of bishops, not just the ordinary, is required to publish original texts of the sacred Scriptures or their translation, which must be accompanied by necessary and sufficient annotations, into vernacular; the local ordinary has jurisdiction over books of prayers. In canon 827 the *Imprimatur* is requested for three types of books: (a) catechisms and catechetical material (and their translations), though not for writings about catechetics; (b) textbooks in scripture, theology, canon law, Church history, as well as religious, moral, and other sacred disciplines. Reference here is made to all levels of schooling that take place in official Catholic schools. It recommends that non-textbook writings in all these disciplines be submitted to the local ordinary. Canon 828 requires previous approval of the ordinary for the reprint of official decrees and acts (proceedings) of the Church. Meanwhile, Canon 838 on liturgical books establishes a clear hierarchy of jurisdictions and competencies. Article 2 reserves to the Apostolic See to order liturgy for the universal Church, including liturgical books; article 3 states that the conference of bishops

can publish vernacular translations of liturgical books only after prior review of the Holy See; article 4 authorizes the local bishop to issue liturgical norms "within the limits of his competence."

In 1984 two American bishops were asked to withdraw their *Imprimatur* on a catechism and on a book on sexual MORALITY. In 1998 the U.S. bishops withdrew their 1995 *Imprimatur* on a Psalter under instruction of then Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger. Some critics see in these interventions an indication of centralization and of the erosion of the principle of SUBSIDIARITY. However, canon law is based on theological principles and, therefore, its practice is based on the Magisterium of the collective governance of the Church. Moreover, it seems reasonable to expect the assistance of the experts of central Congregations in matters of Scriptures and difficult theological issues that affect the whole Church. The new norms guarantee due process and other rights to authors who come under scrutiny. The writing under scrutiny goes through a multi-step process of evaluation, beginning with experts, then going to a standing committee of experts of the Congregation, then to all the members of the congregation, and finally to the pope. The author under scrutiny is given an opportunity to respond, but if the reply is judged insufficient a *Notification* of his erroneous propositions is published. Notifications issued from the 1960s to 2006 with an explanation of the issues and the reasons for the Notification can be read on the Congregation's Web site, available at http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/index.htm.

The guarantee of uniform teaching by a hierarchical structure stands out as an exception in twenty-first century society, which is often described in terms of relativization of cultural and disciplinary boundaries as well as fragmentation of social institutions. The millennial continuity of the Church governance and the individual and institutional integration once provided by the state are in sharp discontinuity with the much needed governance of global affairs that is described by some in terms of "chaos theory" and by others with references to "Empire" or military hegemony.

SEE ALSO APOCRYPHA; AUTHORITY, ECCLESIASTICAL; BOOK, THE PRINTED; CANON LAW, 1983 CODE; CANON LAW, HISTORY OF; CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS (CANON LAW); CORPUS IURIS CANONICI; CURIA, ROMAN; DISPOSITION; DIVINATION; DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE; ERROR; GELASIAN DECREE; HERESY (CANON LAW); INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS; MAGISTERIUM, ASSENT TO THE; NIHIL OBSTAT; ORDINARIES, ECCLESIASTICAL; PARIS, UNIVERSITY OF; REFORMATION, PROTESTANT (ON THE CONTINENT); SUPERSTITION; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); TRENT, COUNCIL OF; TRIDENTINE MASS; UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS (USCCB).

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INTERDICT

Second only to EXCOMMUNICATION in terms of severity, according to the Code of Canon Law (c. 1331), the ecclesiastical penalty of interdict essentially prohibits one's access to the Church's liturgical and sacramental life (c. 1332). Evidence of what eventually developed into the modern form of interdict can be found as early as the Patristic Age, but the sanction reached its zenith only under Pope INNOCENT III. Since that time, however, interdict has been in slow, steady decline. Post–Vatican II calls to drop interdict entirely from what would be the Johanno-Pauline Code were rejected, but with each major reform of penal canon law, interdict gives additional signs of drifting toward desuetude.

Because interdict is an ecclesiastical penalty, it can only be imposed in response to criminal violations of ecclesiastical law (cc. 221, 1311–1312, 1400–1401). Notwithstanding that the conduct criminalized in canon law today is gravely morally wrong in itself, interdict is most properly understood in the specific context of crime, not sin. However, because interdict is classified along with excommunication and suspension as a canonical censure (c. 1312), interdict has as its primary goal the reform and reconciliation of the offender. The possibility of applying interdict as an expiatory penalty (*olim* vindicative penalty) was eliminated during the postconciliar reform of canon law.

A single norm of the Johanno-Pauline Code, canon 1332, describes interdict as if it were a mitigated form of excommunication; indeed, in most respects, interdict is distinguishable from excommunication only in that interdict does not affect an offender's ability to serve in ecclesiastical office (such as is also seen in the norm on suspension, c. 1333). But some important aspects of interdict are lost if it is regarded only as a hybrid between excommunication and suspension. First, while suspension can only affect clerics, interdict (like excommunication) can be imposed on any member of the faithful. Second, unlike excommunication (but like suspension), interdict is not understood to affect one's juridical communion with the Church (1917 CIC 2268). In this light, it becomes clear why occasional references to interdict as a "minor excommunication" should be read with caution: Excommunication implies a juridical break in communion between an offender and the Church, whereas interdict connotes no such rupture. Moreover, minor excommunication, properly so-called, differs from modern interdict in several respects, including its manner of incurrence and the scope of its consequences. Finally, most authors after Vatican I have held that minor excommunication had been eliminated under Pope PIUS IX's great reform of penal law in 1869, an opinion that was confirmed by the Holy Office as early as December 1883.

Modern interdict prohibits an offender from having ministerial (generally understood as leadership) participation in liturgy and restricts (with certain exceptions, cc. 1335, 1338) one's right "to celebrate the sacraments or sacramentals and to receive the sacraments" (c. 1332). Incidentally, the fact that the modern prohibition regarding reception of the sacraments is complete, instead prohibiting an offender only from certain sacraments as was repeatedly urged during the revision process, is a sign that the Church is not ready to dispose of interdict from her penal system.

The number of offenses for which interdict is an express possibility is small: physical attack on a bishop (c. 1370); inciting animosity or hatred against the APOSTOLIC SEE or an ordinary (c. 1373); promoting an association that plots against the Church (c. 1374); simulation of certain sacraments (c. 1378); simoniac celebration of a sacrament (c. 1380); false accusation of a confessor (c. 1390); and attempted civil marriage by a religious (c. 1394). To these, however, should be added several penal norms that authorize the imposition of a "censure" without specifying the type of censure (cc. 1366, 1372, 1385, and 1390), and a number of norms that authorize the imposition of an unspecified "just penalty" in response to delictual behavior (e.g., cc. 1365, 1369, 1393).

Interdict, like other censures, can be incurred automatically (*latae sententiae*) or imposed or declared formally (*ferendae sententiae*), depending on the penal norm in question, but interdict formally incurred carries with it somewhat higher consequences (c. 1332). In any case, canon law's preference that formal procedures be followed in the penal cases (cc. 221, 1314, 1341–1342) should be recalled. So, too, should the fact that one "who withdraws from contumacy" has a right to relief from interdict (c. 1358). A few non-penal but noteworthy consequences of interdict can be found in other books of the revised code, for example, the inability of those under interdict to serve as godparents (c. 874) or as the official witnesses of a Catholic marriage (c. 1109).

Perhaps the most notable change between the former Pio-Benedictine discipline on interdict and that found in the revised law is that interdict today can be applied only to specific human persons. Earlier norms by which interdict could be applied to a class of persons based solely on the fact of their membership in a group (such as all members of a religious house), or upon all persons in or attached to a territory (such as all persons residing in a parish or city), have been eliminated. Whatever might be said in defense of such penalties at other points in history, it was concluded that indiscriminate punishment of persons without showing a personal culpability was inconsistent with justice in general and with the medicinal goals of censures in particular. Even before the formal elimination of territorial or class interdicts from current canon law, territorial or group interdicts were rarely applied out of concern for their impact on the innocent residents of territories or members of those classes.

SEE ALSO ANATHEMA; SACRAMENTALS.

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INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL COMMISSION

Pope PAUL VI, in response to a recommendation made during VATICAN COUNCIL II and the specific proposal of the 1967 SYNOD OF BISHOPS, established the International Theological Commission (ITC) on April 28, 1969. The function of the ITC is "to study doctrinal questions of major importance in order to offer advisory assistance to the Holy See and, in particular, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith." It has only a consultative and not a deliberative voice in the functioning of the ordinary Magisterium of the Church.

Format. The commission consists of thirty members chosen by the pope from names recommended by the cardinal prefect of the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH (CDF) after consultation with the national episcopal conferences. The members, representing various nations and diverse schools of theology, are chosen for their proficiency in one or another of the theological disciplines and for their fidelity to the Magisterium. The initial appointment is for five years and may be renewed for another quinquennium. The cardinal prefect of the CDF presides over the commission and is assisted in the administration by a secretary general.

When the commission was first established in 1969, it had among its members many of the most prestigious Catholic theologians of the time. Several had been *periti* at the Second Vatican Council: Hans Urs von BALTHASAR, Louis Bouyer, Yves CONGAR, O.P., Philippe Delhaye, André Feuillet, P.S.S., Henri de LUBAC, S.J., Gerard Philips, Karl RAHNER, S.J., Joseph RATZINGER, and Rudolf Schnackenburg. The English-speaking theological community was represented by Barnabas AHERN, C.P., Walter Burghhardt, S.J., and Bernard LONERGAN, S.J. Several of these were reappointed for the second quinquennium (1974), and they were joined by Edouard Hamel, S.J., and Jean-Marie TILLARD, O.P. (Canada), and John Mahoney, S.J., (England). Half the appointees named to the commission in 1980 by Pope JOHN PAUL II were holdovers; new members included Michael Ledwith (Ireland), Carl PETER (United States), Walter Principe, C.S.B. (Canada), John Thornhill, S.M. (Australia), and Christoph von SCHÖNBORN (Switzerland).

In 1986 a new term of the commission began. Among the members were the distinguished theologians Hans Urs von Balthasar and Georges Cottier, O.P. (Switzerland), Giuseppe Colombo (Italy), Jean Corbon (Lebanon), Philippe Delhaye and Jan Walgrave, O.P. (Belgium), and Joachim Gnilka and Walter Kasper (West Germany). At the time of their appointment in 1986, Bonaventura Kloppenburg, O.F.M. (Brazil) and Franc Perko (Yugoslavia) were auxiliary bishops. The English-speaking world was represented by John Finnis (England), Gilles Langevin (Canada), Michael Ledwith (Ireland), Carl Peter and William May (United States), Francis Moloney, S.D.B. (Australia), and Felix Wilfred (India). Professors Finnis (Oxford University) and May (The Catholic University of America) were the first laymen to be appointed to the commission. By the end of the quinquennium in 1991, several members had been named diocesan bishops and were no longer eligible to serve on the commission, whose function is to offer informed advice to the Magisterium. By reason of their position as residential bishops, Walter Kasper, André-Jean Léonard (who had been appointed to the commission to replace the deceased Walgrave), Jorge Medina Estevez (Chile), a member from the beginning, and Franc Perko all belonged to the Magisterium.

Among internationally significant theologians appointed to the commission in 1992, Colombo, Corbon, and Gnilka continued to give their prestigious service. They were joined by Joseph Doré, S.S., (France), Adolphe Gesché (Belgium), Hermann Pottmeyer (Germany), and Max Thurian (Switzerland and Italy). Langevin, Ledwith, May, and Moloney, joined by Avery DULLES, S.J. (United States), Charles ACTON (England), Sebastian Karotemprel, S.D.B. (India), and Joseph Osei-Bonsu (Ghana), represented the English-speaking theological community. A longstanding member of the Commission, Christoph von Schönborn, O.P., and three first-time members, Joseph Doré, S.S., Norbert Strotmann Hoppe, M.S.C. (Peru), and Joseph Osei-Bonsu, were appointed bishops during the course of the quinquennium. Professor Gösta Hallonsten (Sweden) was a new lay member of the commission, replacing Professor Finnis. During the course of the quinquennium, Max Thurian passed away and was not replaced.

Appointees in 1997 for a new quinquennium included holdovers Pottmeyer and Gesché, as well as three-termers Francis Moloney, S.D.B., Jean-Louis Bruguès, O.P., and Henrique Noronha Galvão. They were joined by new members: Roland Minnerath (France), Bruno Forte (Italy), Gerhard Müller (Germany), and several lesser known theologians. The anglophone world was represented by Charles Acton (England), Christopher Begg and Joseph Di Noia, O.P. (United States), George

Karakunnel and Sebastian Karotemprel, S.D.B. (India), Thomas Norris (Ireland), Anthony Ojo (Nigeria), and Luis Tagle (Philippines). An obvious effort was made to internationalize the commission further with the appointments of Tanios Bou Mansour, O.L.M. (Lebanon), Fadel Sidarouss, S.J. (Egypt), and Rafael Salzar Cardenas, M.Sp.S. (Mexico). The increased internationalization of the commission has had the unintended result of a diminution of the representation of the European centers of theological learning and, to some extent, a lessening of the expertise of the group as a whole. It has also made communication more difficult, especially in the subcommissions where instantaneous translation is not generally available.

Of the theologians appointed in 2004, Santiago del Cura Elena, Bruno Forte, Pierre Gaudette, Roland Minnerath, and Thomas Norris were holdovers. Before the first meeting Forte and Minnerath were elevated to the episcopacy; during its quinquennium Basil Cho (Korea) and Ignazio Sanna (Italy) also received episcopal ordination; at its termination its new Spanish secretary, Luis Ladaria, S.J., was ordained archbishop and appointed secretary to the CDF. The commission's international composition was clearly manifested with the nomination of Peter Damian Akpunonu (Nigeria) and Leonard Santedi Kinkupu (Democratic Republic of the Congo), Savio Hon Tai-fai (China), Paul Rouhana (Lebanon), and Dominic Veliath, S.D.B. (India). Eastern Europe was well represented with Tomislav Ivančić (Croatia), István Ivancsó (Hungary), and Jerzy Szymik (Poland). This commission was notable for the first inclusion of female theologians: Sara Butler, M.S.B.T. (United States) and Barbara Hallensleben (Switzerland). Other representatives of the anglophone world included Anthony Kelly, C.Ss.R. (Australia), John McDermott, S.J. (United States), and Paul McPartlan (England). Latin America contributed Geraldo Borges Hackmann (Brazil), Ricardo Ferrara (Argentina) and Antonio Castellano, S.D.B. (Chile). Western Europeans, however, still dominated with the Dominicans Serge Bonino (France) and Giles Emery (Switzerland), as well as Adelbert Denaux (Belgium), Jan Liesen (Holland), and Johannes Reiter and Thomas Söding (Germany).

In the first thirty years the commission had only two presidents. Cardinal Franjo Seper, prefect of the CDF during the latter part of Pope Paul VI's pontificate, presided from 1969 to 1981. Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger became president in 1981, when Pope JOHN PAUL II appointed him as prefect of the CDF. With his election to the papacy he resigned the presidency and named Cardinal William Levada prefect of the CDF. Monsignor Philippe Delhaye of Belgium served as secretary general of the commission from 1972 until 1989, when ill health forced him to resign. Cardinal Ratzinger appointed Georges Cottier, O.P., of Switzerland to replace Delhaye in 1990. Cottier was replaced by Luis Ladaria, S.J., of Spain in 2004.

Procedures and Themes. The commission begins each quinquennium with a wide-ranging discussion of a number of theological issues that the members regard as worthy of the HOLY SEE's attention. The themes that are chosen for examination become the focal points of the commission in the following four years. In its early years the commission examined and published documents dealing with sacerdotal ministry (1971); the unity of faith and theological pluralism (1972); the apostolicity of the Church and APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION (1973); criteria for the knowledge of Christian morality (1974); the relation between the Magisterium and theologians (1975); Christian SALVATION and human progress (1976); and the sacrament of marriage (1977). These were followed by published statements dealing with the selected questions in CHRISTOLOGY (1979); theology, christology, and anthropology (1981); reconciliation and PENANCE (1982); and the dignity and rights of the human person (1983). In commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of the close of Vatican II, the commission published a document on selected items in ECCLESIOLOGY (1984); and in 1985 it published a commentary on four propositions dealing with Jesus' self-consciousness and His awareness of His mission.

The four themes selected by the commission for study during the quinquennium beginning in 1986 were: faith and inculturation; interpretation of DOGMA; fundamental MORAL THEOLOGY; and current questions in eschatology. The commission established in 1992 devoted itself to an examination of contemporary SOTERIOLOGY; Christianity in relation to other religions; a contemporary presentation of the mystery of God; and the Eucharist. The commission established in 1997 directed its attention to the Church and the sins of the past; the permanent diaconate; the inculturation of revelation; and the theology of CREATION.

In response to many bishops' requests concerning the issue of LIMBO, a topic which has been omitted from the *Cathechism of the Catholic Church*, the 2004 ITC replied with "The Hope of Salvation for Infants Who Die without Baptism." To assist bishops with moral questions it published "The Search for a Universal Ethic: A New Look at Natural Law," the first document approved unanimously by the commission.

The procedures of the ITC follow a routine. After the selection of the themes to be studied during the quinquennium, the president appoints subcommissions to examine them and draft a working paper, the *instrumentum laboris,* that serves as the basis for discussion and debate by the commission as a whole. When the members agree upon and approve a final text, the docu-

ment is submitted to a plenary session of the commission for formal approval. The CDF receives the finished documents and decides how best to use the work of the ITC. Some documents have been used as a resource for the CDF, and others have been published. The commission's study that resulted in the 2000 document *Memory and Reconciliation: The Church and the Sins of the Past* took on a particular significance. On the second Sunday of Lent of that year, Pope John Paul II made the presentation of the document a highlight with his own memorable comments at an event marking the celebration of the Jubilee Year.

On July 25, 2009, several new members were appointed to the ITC joining those continuing from the previous quinquennium. Charles Morerod, O.P. was named the new secretary of the ITC, replacing Luis Ladaria, S.J., who had been ordained archbishop and appointed the secretary of the CDF in 2008. On November 19, 2009, Dr. John C. Cavidini of the University of Notre Dame was added to the commission. The first plenary session of the 2009–2114 quinquennium was held November 30–December 4, 2009, with special consideration given to the question of theological methodology.

SEE ALSO ANTHROPOLOGY, THEOLOGICAL; CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; ESCHATOLOGY (IN THEOLOGY); INCULTURATION, THEOLOGY OF; NATURAL LAW; REVELATION, THEOLOGY OF; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM).

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IRAQ, WAR IN (CATHOLIC CHURCH AND)

The Iraq War began in late March 2003 with the aim of toppling the regime of Iraqi president and dictator Saddam Hussein. It was launched by the United States with the support of several allied countries, most particularly Great Britain. Pope JOHN PAUL II, supported by bishops from the United States and around the world, actively sought to prevent it. Although Saddam was captured shortly after the invasion and executed in 2006, the Iraq War showed little sign of ending as of the beginning of 2010. The Iraq War was a watershed event of the first decade of the twenty-first century with major ramifications for the United States, the Middle East, and the international community. From a Catholic perspective, the war in Iraq can perhaps first be understood according to the roles played by three major actors: Saddam, who was the object of the invasion; U.S. President George W. Bush, who decided on the invasion; and Pope John Paul, who cautioned against it.

The Dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. Saddam's brutal exercise of power was certainly a precipitating factor of the war. He had become secretary-general of Iraq's ruling Ba'ath party and president of Iraq in 1979, ruthlessly concentrating all power in his hands. From 1980 to 1988 Iraq engaged in a destructive war with Iran, in which the United States supported Saddam with financial and military assistance. In 1991, Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait, from which it was expelled by a United Nations (UN) coalition force assembled by President George H.W. Bush. The UN imposed sanctions on Iraq to prevent it from again wielding aggression. These restrictions, which were interpreted to include the elimination of weapons of mass destruction and an almost complete trade embargo on Iraq, reduced Iraqi sovereignty over the semi-autonomous region of Kurdistan and "no-fly zones" and helped reduce Saddam for the remainder of the 1990s to a declining, although still obstreperous, force in the Middle East. As a result of the economic sanctions under Saddam's brutal regime, the 1990s were a decade of misery for the Iraqi people.

The Lead-Up to War. From the beginning of his presidency in 2001, George W. Bush made the removal of Saddam Hussein from office the centerpiece of his foreign policy, especially after the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. He presented three major reasons, as summarized in a January 16, 2003, article by Professor Michael Klare: to eliminate Saddam's weapons of mass destruction; to quash Saddam's role in international terrorism, as part of an announced "War on Terror"; and to promote democracy in



Catholic Soldiers. *U.S. Army infantry soldiers queue for Holy Communion during a Catholic Sunday Mass in the desert outside Kuwait City, March 16, .2003.* © KAI PFAFFENBACH/REUTERS/CORBIS

Iraq and throughout the Middle East (Klare 2003). On January 29, 2002, President Bush declared Iraq, Iran, and North Korea an "Axis of Evil." On June 1, 2002, he presented a new strategy for American foreign and military policy, which came to be called the *Bush Doctrine*. This doctrine, as it was codified in the September 20, 2002, "National Security Strategy of the United States" issued by the administration's National Security Council, proclaimed the unilateral right of the United States to engage in preemptive military actions to eliminate threats to its safety and to promote democratic regime change. In a speech to the UN General Assembly on September 12, 2002, Bush accused Saddam of threatening "the lives of millions and the peace of the world." President Bush accused Saddam of supporting terrorist organizations and demanded that the UN take action against Iraq or "the United States of America will make that stand." On October 16, 2002, Bush obtained from the U.S. Congress the "Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002" as the president determined to "be necessary and appropriate." However, obstacles remained to the plan for war. UN weapons inspectors were unable to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, and Chief UN Inspector Hans Blix reported that Saddam, who had earlier ejected weapons inspectors from Iraq, was finally cooperating with arms inspections. The UN was not willing to authorize the United States and its allies to take armed intervention against Iraq, unlike prior to the 1990 Gulf War. As a consequence, on February 23, 2003, the United States withdrew a UN resolution seeking authorization for a military solution.

Pope John Paul II and the Iraq War. Throughout the twentieth century the popes were fervent opponents of war, beginning with BENEDICT XV's efforts to mediate an end to World War I. After the horrors of World War II, Pope JOHN XXIII wrote the Encyclical "Pacem in Terris" ("Peace on Earth"), and Pope PAUL VI, in a visit to the UN on October 4, 1965, proclaimed, "No more war, never again war. Peace, it is peace that must guide the destinies of people and of all mankind." In this tradition, Pope John Paul II urged a diplomatic solution to the conflict with Iraq. On February 8, 2003, he reminded the world, "One should not give up, as if war is inevitable" (2). On March 5, 2003, John Paul sent

Cardinal Pio LAGHI as envoy to President Bush. Laghi delivered a personal letter from the pope and stated that the United States must take "into account the grave consequences of such an armed conflict: the suffering of the people of Iraq and those involved in the military operation, a further instability in the region and a new gulf between Islam and Christianity." On March 16, 2003, in his address before the midday Angelus in St. Peter's Square, John Paul II declared, "There is still time to negotiate. There is still time for peace" (United States Conference of Catholic Bishops [USCCB] Web site, "Church Leaders on the Threat of War in Iraq"). On March 22, 2003, shortly after the invasion, John Paul repeated, "Violence and weapons can never resolve the problems of man" ("To the Staff of the Italian TV Channel Telepace" 2003, 2). On March 25, he declared that "war used as an instrument of resolution of conflicts was rejected, even before the Charter of the United Nations ... except in the case of defense against an aggressor" ("To the Military Chaplains" 2003, 4). Likewise, the UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS issued four major statements on September 13, 2002, November 13, 2002, February 26, 2003, and March 19, 2003, rejecting the notion that the looming war in Iraq would be justified. The Catholic bishops in Iraq also pleaded against the war, with special concern for the historic Chaldean community of approximately 600,000 Iraqi Catholics, along with the Iraqi Assyrian Christian population, some of the last flourishing Christian communities in the Middle East. Speaking on VATICAN radio on January 9, 2003, for example, Chaldean Bishop Shlemon Warduni warned that an invasion would devastate his country.

Nevertheless, several American Catholics allied with conservative politics, who were wont to be supporters of John Paul II, found themselves in disagreement. George Weigel, author of a splendid biography of John Paul II, was perhaps the most articulate and vocal supporter of the theory that the war in Iraq was justified under Catholic doctrine and wrote in a March 31, 2003, article in *America* in favor of "proportionate and discriminate armed force against the Saddam Hussein regime" (Weigel 2003, p. 10). In February 2003, the prominent Catholic writer and philosopher Michael Novak made a trip to the Vatican to argue the American case for war, under Catholic principles.

Progress of Iraq War and Just War Theory. The allied invasion of Iraq in the spring of 2003 swiftly succeeded in defeating the Iraqi army, capturing Saddam, killing his sons Uday and Qusay and grandson Mustafa, and decimating his loyalists and henchmen. Nevertheless, those events turned out to be the beginning rather than the end of the Iraq War. Over the next six years, Iraq descended into chaos as its historical treasures were looted, its infrastructure crippled, and its population riven by sectarian violence. Acts of terrorism and violence against allied troops and Iraqi civilians by insurgents, militia men, and foreign subversives escalated. The once flourishing Christian churches were left exposed to persecution and more than half their population forced to flee in the wake of the invasion. Reputable estimates, such as by the medical journal the *Lancet*, indicate that as many as six hundred thousand Iraqi civilians died through 2006 as a result of the conflict, with four million Iraqis made refugees. Supporters of the war praised the removal of Saddam's dictatorship, the beginnings of free elections, and the 2007 surge of American troops, which brought an improved measure of security to Iraqi population centers. Still, it could be argued that of President Bush's three war aims, laudable as they were, none was accomplished: weapons of mass destruction were not found in Iraq (although developed in North Korea and Iran during the course of the war); Islamic terrorist groups, such as al-Qaeda, once enemies of Saddam, infested Iraq; and even the war's supporters were hard put to argue that Iraq had become a stable democracy and a beacon for the Middle East. The HOLY SEE had been dismissed by some war advocates for naïvety in light of Saddam's threats, but the bombing of civilians, fratricide between Sunnis and Shiites, increased hostility among religious factions in the Middle East, prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib, debates about whether captured prisoners were subjected to interrogation techniques akin to torture, and attacks on Iraqi Christians seemed to render prophetic John Paul II's warnings about the "evils and injustices that all war brings" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2327).

Popes John Paul II and BENEDICT XVI and bishops throughout the world continued humanitarian efforts through the course of the war in Iraq. The future of the beleaguered Chaldean community remained uncertain, as symbolized by the 2008 kidnapping and murder of Archbishop Paulos Rahho. And voices called for a better understanding of the Church's just war doctrine. It is certainly startling that, applying the same criteria for war as expressed in paragraphs 2307 through 2314 of the Catechism of the Catholic Church, prominent lay American Catholics—whose goodwill can hardly be doubted—reached opposite conclusions from the Holy See. Several explanations can be ventured, all of which raise questions about whether these proponents of military action applied the criteria for a just war in the "rigorous manner" demanded by the CATECHISM. It is certainly natural to be well-disposed to the actions of one's own leaders, but the Holy See is compelled to take a more universal perspective. The ultimate responsibility for deciding on just war criteria lies with the competent public authorities—but the competence of the American

authorities could have been called into question by the alleged use of manipulated data, evidence of a personal enmity to Saddam, and most of all by the failure of the U.S. Congress to declare war—even though Article Eight, Section One of the U.S. Constitution vests Congress with the exclusive authority to do so. As Iraq had not attacked the United States, an attempt was made to extend just war criteria to preemptive wars, but as Cardinal Joseph RATZINGER pointed out in an interview published by the Italian newspaper *Avvenire* on September 21, 2002: "The concept of a 'preventive war' does not appear in the Catechism of the Catholic Church" (Zenit 2002). Certainly it is hard to conceive of a war against an Iraq nation steadily contained and weakened over the course of the 1990s as necessary for self-defense as required by just war doctrine, especially when its advocates trumpeted it as a means to promote democracy, remove an objectionable leader, and transform the Middle East. George Weigel in his March 31, 2003, article suggested that just war doctrine does not contain a "presumption against war" (p. 8), but this is in seeming contradiction to a century of papal teaching and the very message of "the Prince of Peace" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church* 2330).

Perhaps the just war doctrine must be understood in the context of modern times and from the perspective of centuries of wars hopefully begun and horrifically ended. The concept of a just war was certainly an advance over pagan celebrations of conquest, plunder, and pillage. But the modern era had seen the creation of governmental bodies to promote international diplomacy and peaceful relations, such as the UN, described by Vatican spokesman Joaquin Navarro-Valls as the "guarantor of international law" (USCCB Web site, "Church Leaders on the Threat of War in Iraq"). Simply put, modern war is too deadly for its initiation to be left to partisan judgments that do not harmonize with an international framework that itself articulates the moral and jurisprudential criteria for self-defense. It seems absurd for nations to wage war on behalf of UN resolutions in a manner not authorized and even contradictory to UN directives. As papal envoy Cardinal Laghi elaborated on a modern notion of a just war in his March 5, 2003, address: "The Holy See maintains that there are still peaceful avenues within the context of the vast patrimony of international law and institutions which exist for that purpose. A decision regarding the use of military force can only be taken within the framework of the United Nations."

SEE ALSO ASSYRIAN CHURCH OF THE EAST; CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; CHALDEAN CATHOLIC CHURCH (EASTERN CATHOLIC); CHALDEANS; IRAQ, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; PACEM IN TERRIS; UNITED NATIONS AND THE PAPACY; WORLD WAR I, PAPAL REACTION TO; WORLD WAR II AND THE PAPAL ROLE.

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IRISH NATIONALISM AND THE PAPACY

Arnold J. Toynbee's magisterial *A Study of History* (1934–1961), in reviewing more than a dozen distinctive civilizations, defined "Far Western Christian Civilization" as the merger of Celtic culture and western European Christianity in Ireland. By the end of the fifth century, paganism in Ireland had yielded to Catholic missionaries from the Continent. Whichever of the versions of St. Patrick's life and work one accepts, the Irish proved remarkably open to the new religion. Over the millennia, Ireland has remained synonymous with the triumph of Catholicism.

The story behind the image is complex, however. The medieval Irish had no intention of abandoning all of their traditional customs and practices, which ranged from the tonsure of the clergy (derived from the Druids) to clerical marriage. They celebrated Easter according to their own calendar, attached monastic communities to clan chieftaincies, and treated bishops as mere itinerant consecrators without jurisdiction. It was not until the early twelfth century that a diocesan structure was completely established in Ireland and a hierarchy organized along this structure was recognized. Such a system had been established by early missionaries in the fifth and sixth centuries, but it was soon supplanted by a monastic system that stayed in place for centuries. In short, the Church in Ireland mingled Celtic practice with Latin rules. The decrees of ROME were implemented only when convenient, and they were often ignored altogether.

It was not surprising, then, that successive popes regarded their flock in Ireland as eccentric or even heretical. By the 1160s, HENRY II of England had been charged with the task of imposing discipline upon his unruly neighbors across the Irish Sea. This monarch's invasion of Ireland derived a certain legality from papal approval, and some Irish bishops actually welcomed the Anglo-Norman conquest, which had been formalized by 1200. Nevertheless, Rome's alliance with England would, over time, be held against the PAPACY by some Irish patriots.

Whatever ambivalence lingered during the ensuing centuries, the English Reformation of the early 1500s brought about a clear identification of Catholicism with Irish nationalism. HENRY VIII (1509–1547) was not only the first English ruler to call himself King of Ireland, he also described himself as the founder and "Only Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of Ireland." Most of the Irish people remained loyal to the papacy, however, and Catholicism became clearly identified with the traditional structure of Irish society.

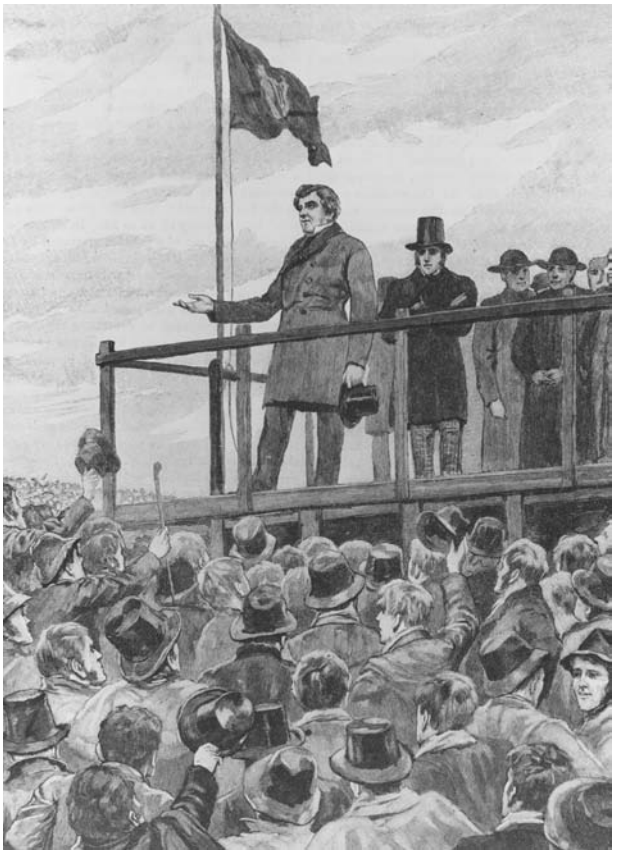
Several rebellions culminated in an offer by the Irish resisters in 1599 to accept Queen Elizabeth I as their rightful sovereign, provided that she restore a whole panoply of traditional Irish rights, including the free exercise of Catholicism and the return of banished Catholic clergy and confiscated Catholic property. When this offer was rejected, Irish Catholic leaders recognized

the king of Spain (the leader of the COUNTER REFORMATION) as king of Ireland. A failed Spanish invasion in 1601 opened a century of religio-political warfare. The "plantation" of thousands of Scottish Presbyterians established by the British in the northern province of Ulster introduced a new complicating factor into Irish history that would have lasting consequences. Finally, the presence of a papal nuncio in Ireland as the de facto overseer of a major Catholic rebellion in the 1640s merely confirmed the English opinion that "Irish" and "Catholic" had become synonymous.

When King JAMES II (1633–1701), who had imprudently embraced Catholicism, was driven from England during the Glorious Revolution of 1688, his coreligionists in Ireland gave him shelter and fought on in his name until 1691. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Irish Catholic loyalty to the Jacobite cause (deriving its name from *Jacobus*, the Latin for "James") confirmed the English perception of "Irish Popery." Jacobite volunteers served in the armies of France and Spain during the frequent wars between England and the Bourbon monarchies. Catholics in Ireland, meanwhile, were denied all civil rights and the open practice of their religion was forbidden.

With the onset of the FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789) and the spread of revolution across Europe, England and the papacy found themselves drawn into an alliance. The papacy, which had formerly named bishops for Irish sees and smuggled exiled Jacobites into their homeland to preside over a clandestine clergy, was now permitted to function freely in Ireland, and Catholics were gradually freed from many of the legal strictures under which they had labored. Catholic officers (many of them former soldiers under Louis XVI) were granted commissions in the British forces, and Catholics were admitted to the legal profession and permitted to acquire landed property. By the end of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the papacy had gone through many vicissitudes, and it came to appreciate the value of collaboration with London.

Ireland, on the other hand, had ceased to exist as a separate kingdom (a status which it had preserved since the sixteenth century). By the Act of Union of 1801 it became part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Irish political nationalism had seemingly become a dead letter, and its adherents had scattered, with many going to America. During the next three decades, Irish public life was centered on the figure of Daniel O'CONNELL (1775–1847), a lawyer and parliamentarian who was prepared to accept the Union (at least for the time being) while concentrating on a full restoration of religious equality. His campaign for "Catholic Emancipation," carried on from 1823 to 1829, was aimed at eliminating the last of the so-called Penal



Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847). *The Irish political leader known as "the liberator" at a meeting in Trim, Co. Meath, Eire in 1843.* **SPENCER ARNOLD/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES**

Laws that had been imposed on Catholics after the Jacobite War of the 1690s. In pursuit of this goal, O'Connell formed what was, in effect, the first mass-based democratic political movement in the Western world, called the Catholic Association. He enlisted, for a nominal membership fee, tens of thousands of Catholics, whom he mobilized in pressure groups and led in mass rallies. Money contributed by the members of the Catholic Association was used to buy ownership of newspapers that would support the cause of emancipation.

The key to O'Connell's success was his enlistment of the Catholic hierarchy, which provided him with a parish structure for collecting funds. These funds were sent to the headquarters of the Catholic Association in Dublin. There was thus a Church-based framework for what was, in everything but name, an Irish political party. Some of the bishops were too innately conservative to favor popular movements, while others were suspicious of a leftward trend in contemporary politics, but most of the clergy saw O'Connell's enterprise as the only real hope for attaining emancipation. By 1829 the British government had decided to support the concept

of equal civil rights, and it granted Catholic Emancipation. O'Connell and other Catholics were now eligible for election to a seat in the Union Parliament.

O'Connell's death in 1847 marked the beginning of a new epoch in the relationship between the Church and Irish nationalism. Once Catholic Emancipation had been attained, Rome could take advantage of new opportunities in Ireland by working through an expanded hierarchy and cooperating with the British regime. It was no longer necessary to flirt with radicalism—and the papacy of the strongly conservative PIUS IX (1846–1878) was one in which nationalism anywhere in Europe was regarded as radical. Moreover, the last years of O'Connell's life saw his relatively moderate nationalism challenged by the revival of the Irish separatist movement that had been associated with the French Revolution. The Young Irelanders and their successors, the Fenian Brotherhood, were the heirs of those who had sought to break entirely with England in the 1790s. From the late 1840s through the 1870s, they pursued a policy of armed struggle aimed at achieving an Irish republic.

Many of these radical nationalists regarded O'Connell as a mere pawn of London and Rome. The fact that many of the new nationalist leaders were Protestants or Deists, like their predecessors in the 1790s, further repelled the VATICAN. Plus IX sought to meet the forces of disarray in Catholic Ireland by introducing a vigorous new hierarchical structure. He also sought to make the best of the years of the Great Famine and massive emigration by supporting the development of a sober orderly society on the ruins of the old Celtic culture. These policies were generally comparable with those of Victorian England. When a new nationalist leader, Charles Stewart Parnell, emerged in the 1880s, his Protestantism and open contempt for the Irish bishops made him a target of the hierarchy's enmity. His downfall in 1890 was equally gratifying to London and Rome.

During the first years of the twentieth century, most of the Irish, clergy and laity alike, seemed satisfied with the continuance of the United Kingdom in its current form. However, by the eve of the First World War, a resurgence of the Fenians, with their commitment to separatist republicanism, brought a new crisis. The Easter Rebellion of 1916 and the Anglo-Irish War of 1919–1921 brought an abrupt end to the Irish Question as it had evolved over the previous 200 years. Except for the six predominantly Protestant counties of northeastern Ulster, Ireland became a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire, and in 1949 the completely sovereign Republic of Ireland was born. Catholicism emerged as the dominant religion, and the Catholic Church in Ireland developed its own relations with Rome and achieved the imposition of its own standards and values on most aspects of Irish life.

Some Irish nationalists, who had never truly accepted the partition of the island and condemned the ongoing membership of the "Six Counties" in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, blamed a supine Catholic leadership for the frustration of their ultimate national goals. These unreconstructed rebels—grouped in the Sinn Fein (Ourselves) Party and its armed wing, the Irish Republican Army—launched a new war against England in 1969 that lasted for nearly thirty years. It was essentially focused in Northern Ireland, which had a two-thirds Protestant population. Sectarian killings mounted to over 3,000 during this period, which came to be known as "the Troubles."

Although many religious leaders insisted that the conflict was political, the tendency was to assume that all Catholics in the province were republicans—and to punish them accordingly. Despite international indignation, Christian leadership in Northern Ireland proved largely ineffectual in ending the conflict. It was not until a cease-fire was brokered by the president of the United States and the prime ministers of Britain and the Irish Republic in 1998 that the worst of the fighting came to an end. Even then, Catholic and Protestant antagonism in Northern Ireland had become so ingrained that a power-sharing provincial government was not established until early 2007.

Once known as the Land of Saints and Scholars, Ireland was famed for its role in preserving Western civilization during the Dark Ages, dispatching Christian missionaries all over Europe (and later throughout the world), and creating a distinctive cultural heritage. The collapse of Christian unity affected Ireland with particular intensity. The forces of religion and nationalism became entwined in a prolonged and bitter struggle that tore apart the lives of many, and only time will tell if this conflict has truly reached its end.

SEE ALSO CELTIC RELIGION; CELTIC RITE; EMANCIPATION, CATHOLIC; ENGLAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; IRELAND, CHURCH OF; IRELAND, MARTYRS OF, BB.; IRELAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; IRISH CONFESSORS AND MARTYRS; PATRICK, ST.

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IRWA, JILDO, BL.

Catechist, MARTYR; b. Bar-Kitoba, Kitgum, Uganda, 1906; d. Paimol, Uganda, October 18, 1918; beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II, October 20, 2002.

Jildo Irwa was the son of Acholi tribesman Okeny Irwa and his wife, Ato. Taught by the Comboni Missionaries, who founded the mission of Kitgum in 1915, Jildo was baptized on June 6, 1916, at about ten years of age, and he was confirmed on October 15 of the same year.

Irwa's life and fate were entwined with that of another young catechist, Bl. Daudi OKELO, of Payira, who was four years older. Irwa worked as Okelo's assistant as they spread Christianity in northern Uganda. Through his lively spirit and playful insistence, Irwa brought many children to the faith, encouraging them to study the catechism.

In November 1917, Irwa volunteered to go with Okelo to Paimol, a troubled village in the Upper Nile basin, to replace a catechist who had died. Afflicted by smallpox, famine, slave trading, and the ousting of tribal leaders, Paimol was a dangerous place for Christian missionaries. Young Irwa and Okelo were harassed and threatened but continued their work. Although friends encouraged them to leave, they refused to run away, saying, "It will be as God wills it to be."

At daybreak on October 18, 1918, four men came to Irwa and Okelo's hut and demanded that they stop teaching the catechism. When they refused, the men dragged Okelo outside and speared him. One man gave Irwa a chance to escape because he was only a boy, but Irwa replied in tears, "We have done nothing wrong. For the same reason you killed Daudi you must also kill me, because together we came here and together we have been teaching God's word." One of the other men then pushed Irwa outside the hut and, holding up the catechism, speared him, as another stabbed him in the head with a knife.

The name of the place where Irwa and Okelo were killed, originally Palamuku, was changed to Wi Polo ("In Heaven") in tribute to the "Our Father" prayer, which the young catechists had been teaching, and as a testimony to their heavenly reward.

In his homily of BEATIFICATION, Pope John Paul II called Irwa and Okelo "models and intercessors for catechists throughout the world, especially in those places where catechists still suffer for their faith, sometimes facing social marginalization and even personal danger."

Feast: October 18.

SEE ALSO CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; COMBONI MISSIONARIES OF THE HEART OF JESUS; UGANDA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; UGANDA, MARTYRS OF, SS.

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IZQUIERDO ALBERO, MARÍA DEL PILAR, BL.

Foundress, Missionary Work of Jesus and Mary, Madrid, Spain; b. July 27, 1906, Zaragoza, Spain; d. August 27, 1945, San Sebastián, Spain; beatified November 4, 2001, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

María Pilar was born into a pious family of modest means. Though she had almost no formal education, she

developed an ethic of charity and devotion at a young age, and she was greatly valued in her community. Foreshadowing the challenges she would face throughout her life, at twelve María Pilar was stricken with a disease of unknown etiology and spent four years hospitalized at a clinic in Alfamén. She recovered and took a job at a shoe factory in her hometown.

In 1926 María Pilar fell and broke her pelvis. In 1927 she developed cysts so severe that she lost her sight and became paraplegic. This disease remained undiagnosed, and she spent twelve years in and out of hospitals. Throughout she maintained a strong faith in God, and her home became a spiritual center for many. With the start of the Spanish civil war in 1936, María Pilar turned her thoughts to the ideal of promoting a culture of charity modeled on the life of Christ. On December 8, 1939, the Feast of the IMMACULATE CONCEPTION, María Pilar was spontaneously cured of her blindness and paralysis. She put herself to work organizing a community to implement the concepts she had been formulating over the prior three years.

In Madrid, María Pilar and a group of followers calling themselves Missionaries of Jesus and Mary ministered to the poor. Though the community was sanctioned by the bishop of Madrid, his approval was soon withdrawn. María Pilar was barred from doing any apostolic work until 1942, when the bishop granted approval for the reformed community now called the Pious Union of Missionaries of Jesus, Mary and Joseph. Two years later, a recurrence of her illness and petty jealousies and allegations of impropriety combined to impact the group's work negatively. María Pilar voluntarily withdrew from the community and, with nine others, settled in San Sebastián, where she died at the age of thirty-nine.

María Pilar's congregation again reorganized and was renamed the Missionary Order of Jesus and Mary; it received canonical approval in 1948. Over 200 members of the order serve the poor around the world. In beatifying María Pilar, Pope John Paul II noted that "[h]er life bore the mark of constant, and not just physical, suffering." He prayed that the life story of the new Blessed would "renew in us a deep commitment to the service of the needy so that the present world may become the witness of the renewing force of the Gospel of Christ."

Feast: August 27.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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J

JACINTO DE LOS ÁNGELES AND JUAN BAUTISTA, BB.

Zapoteca martyrs; b. San Francisco Cajonos, Oaxaca, Mexico, 1660; d. San Pedro at Tanga Hill, Oaxaca, Mexico, September 16, 1700; beatified August 1, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Jacinto de los Ángeles and Juan Bautista, Zapoteca Indians from the state of Oaxaca in southern Mexico, were martyred on September 16, 1700, near San Pedro at Tanga Hill (known today as Monte Fiscal-Santos) and beatified by Pope John Paul II three centuries later in the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City.

Both men were born in 1660 in San Francisco Cajonos in Oaxaca. Jacinto de los Ángeles, a descendant of a Zapoteca tribal chief, was married to a woman named Petrona, with whom he had two children, Juan and Nicholasa. Juan Bautista was married to Josefa de la Cruz, with whom he had a daughter named Rosa. Both men were lay Catholics who held the position of *fiscal de iglesia,* which can be translated as "attorney general of the church." *Fiscales de iglesia* held a critical position between Mexico's native peoples and the Church. This title was granted after years of faithful service, and the *fiscales* were charged with assisting the local religious by guiding the newly evangelized people in faith and moral practice. Jacinto and Juan assisted two Dominican priests, Fr. Alonso de Vargas and Fr. Gaspar de los Reyes.

On September 14, 1700, Jacinto and Juan alerted Fr. Vargas and Fr. Reyes that an idolatrous ceremony was to be held that evening. Deciding to intervene, the *fiscales* and the priests went to the ceremony and reproved the idolaters, who fled with their faces covered. The four Catholics seized the idolaters' ceremonial instruments and took them to the convent.

The next day, the *fiscales* learned that the idolaters planed to retaliate and took refuge in the convent. That evening, a group of masked men reached the convent carrying spears and clubs. They threatened to kill everyone present unless Juan and Jacinto were handed over. When Fr. Vargas and Fr. Reyes refused to give the men up, the mob threatened to torch the church. They then forced their way into the convent and reclaimed their ceremonial instruments. They also set fire to Juan Bautista's house. The two *fiscales* finally gave themselves up because they feared for the safety of the others.

Before he was taken away, Jacinto asked the priests to hear his confession and give him Holy Communion. He said that he wished to "die for love of God and without using weapons." Juan, for his part, challenged the mob, saying, "Here I am. If you have to kill me tomorrow, do it now instead." When the two men were beaten and tortured, they did not defend themselves. Rather, they asked their opponents: "If your religion is authentic, why don't you build temples for public worship instead of practicing at night to trick the poor Christians who are ignorant?"

After further torture at a nearby prison, Jacinto and Juan were brought to San Pedro. There, on September 16, they were thrown from a summit and their hearts were cut out and fed to dogs. Their remains were later moved to the Church of Villa Alta. In 1889 the martyrs' remains were entrusted to Bishop Eulogio G. Gillow y Zavalza of Oaxaca (1841–1922), who took them to the Cathedral of Oaxaca. The site of the two men's martyrdom has become a pilgrimage destination.

At the BEATIFICATION Mass, which incorporated seven different Indian languages, Pope John Paul II praised the Indian martyrs as examples of "how one can reach God without renouncing one's culture." He added

that the beatified Zapotecs "encourage indigenous people today to appreciate their cultures and languages and above all their dignity as the children of God."

Feast: September 16.

SEE ALSO MARTYR; MEXICO, COLONIAL; SAINTS AND BLESSEDS.

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JACOBINS

The Jacobins were a radical political club which, as the largest and most powerful political club of the FRENCH REVOLUTION of 1789, played a central role in its events. Known also as the Jacobin Club, the group was founded in 1789 as the Friends of the Constitution, also known as the Club Benthorn, which was formed at Versailles as a group of Breton deputies to the Estates General. In Paris the club met in a former Dominican monastery on the rue St. Jacques, hence the name. Both the Count de Mirabeau and Maximilien ROBESPIERRE were early members. Although it had only 3,000 members in Paris, the club controlled 1,200 related societies throughout France, thereby giving it enormous political power. At first a moderate organization, the Jacobin Club had a diverse membership. (Besides Mirabeau and Robespierre, who ultimately took control, members included such leading figures of the revolution as Emmanuel Sieyès, Charles de Talleyrand-PÉRIGORD, Antoine Barnave, the Abbé Grégoire, the Duc de Aiguillon, and the Marquis de Lafayette.) The club also expanded its membership to include others besides deputies. (Arthur Young became a member in this way in 1790.)

At first the Jacobin Club was not distinquished by radical or unconventional political views, and it even ostensibly supported the monarchy. But, after the attempted escape of King Louis XVI in 1791 and the affair of the Champ-de-Mars, opposition to a royal form of government began to grow. The Jacobin Club was radicalized also by the departure of its conservative members to form the more moderate Feuillants Club in July 1791. After the fall of the monarchy, Robespierre became a central figure in the club, and his faction in the National Convention of late 1792 became known as the Jacobins. At first a minority, they were also called "the Mountain" or "Montagnards," because they sat together in the highest seats in the convention. They questioned the war with Austria and supported more revolutionary measures within France. In the spring of 1793, the Jacobins, supported by the Parisian mob, increased their power and dominated the convention. They gained more control in the coup d'état of May 1793. Maintaining power until the summer of 1794, the Jacobins repeatedly removed from the convention those deemed disloyal or opposed to the revolution and the Republic, a process that culminated, during their final months in power, with the vast purges known as the Reign of Terror. Led by Robespierre, they established the so-called Republic of Virtue, which lasted until their final purge of 9 Thermidor 1794 (July 27). At that point, Robespierre himself was denounced and, unable to hold on to power, the Jacobin Club was dissolved in the fall of that year. Various attempts to reestablish and reorganize the club were made in 1794 and 1799, but in that latter year, with members scattered, it was completely disbanded.

The success of the Jacobins was due in large part to their encouragement of liberty and PATRIOTISM among the people. Also, they were well organized and quickly gained control of important political positions within the governments of the revolution, in particular the Committee of Public Safety and, through it, the National Convention which itself had vast powers. Trusted by the general populace, especially the so-called sans-culottes—members of the poorer classes—the Jacobins satisfied calls for FREEDOM, equality, and social progress. Identified with the purity of the revolution, the Jacobins were seen as its defenders as France faced war from both within and outside the nation. Cultivating the idea of "citizenship," the Jacobins sought to rally the

people to uphold the gains of the revolution and to create a new national identity.

Opposed to both ATHEISM and the Church, the Jacobins aggressively continued the policy of de-Christianization that had begun already in the earlier stages of the revolution. The main goal was the elimination of Catholic religious practices and of the Church itself in France. It was in one sense an extension of certain rationalist and materialist theories of the Enlightenment. Waged against Catholicism and eventually all forms of Christianity, the de-Christianization program included the destruction of all external forms of worship and devotion, including crosses, statues, and church bells, as well as the institution of the Cult of Reason and soon of the Supreme Being and the enactment, in late 1793, of a law making all nonjuring priests and any who harbored them subject to execution. Soon after, the Goddess of Reason was installed in Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris.

In legislative terms, the 1790 Civil Constitution of the Clergy had already confiscated all Church property and made all clerics employees of the State. In 1792 the National Assembly legalized DIVORCE and at the same time dissolved the Church's authority to record births and marriages—responsibilities that were then assigned to the State. During the September Massacres of 1792, three bishops and more than 200 priests were killed by angry mobs. Meanwhile, anti-Church legislation continued to be enacted, and the GREGORIAN CALENDAR was replaced by a Republican one that deliberately disposed of Sundays and saints' days. Towns and streets bearing the names of saints were renamed. The de-Christianization of France reached its peak during the Jacobin control and the rule of Robespierre in 1794. In the Reign of Terror (mid-1793 to mid-1794), hundreds more clerics and nuns, along with many other citizens, were massacred in Paris, Lyon, and other cities, as well as throughout the countryside. While the Terror's victims were from all socioeconomic and professional classes; Catholic clergy likely suffered the greatest proportional persecution, however. Thousands also fled the country before and during this period, and thousands of churches and monasteries were closed. In the Catholic region of the Vendée, where the population rebelled against the Jacobin veneration of the "tree of liberty" and the installation of revolutionary symbols in place of religious ones, the persecution of practicing Catholics and clergy was especially intense. Indeed, the long and intense Vendean revolt against Jacobin rule was in large part based in Catholic resistance to the government's de-Christianization policies.

To replace both Catholicism and atheism, Robespierre officially instituted the Cult of the Supreme Being. The formal inauguration of this new faith was held in Paris just a few weeks before Robespierre's downfall. In the aftermath of the fall of Robespierre and in turn the Jacobins, elements of the program of de-Christianization subsided. A law of 1795 made religious worship legal once again, but external signs of devotion, such as public processions or ringing church bells, were still forbidden. As late as 1799, Catholic priests were still being arrested and imprisoned or deported. That same year French forces invaded ROME and removed Pope PIUS VI, who died in exile in Valence. The policy of de-Christianization would only formally end with Napoleon Bonaparte's Concordat of 1801.

SEE ALSO CONCORDAT OF 1801 (FRANCE); FEUILLANTS; FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; NAPOLEON I; RATIONALISM; REASON, CULT OF GODDESS OF; SUPREME BEING, CULT OF THE; TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD, CHARLES MAURICE DE.

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JÄGERSTÄTTER, FRANZ, BL.

Layman and MARTYR; b. May 20, 1907, St. Radegund, Austria; d. August 9, 1943, Brandenburg, Germany; beatified October 26, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Born into poverty, Franz was the son of Rosalia Huber and Franz Bachmeier, unmarried servants; his father was killed during WORLD WAR I. In 1917 Franz's mother married Heinrich Jägerstätter, a farmer, who adopted the boy. Franz became an avid reader when his step-grandfather took an interest in the boy and shared his own love of books and learning.

In 1933 Franz became the father of a daughter, Hildegard, from a relationship with Theresia Auer. Though some in his family questioned paternity, Franz had a close relationship with the girl and was on cordial terms with her mother. In 1936 he married Franziska Schwaninger, with whom he had three daughters. In this settled environment, Franz began to take a more serious interest in his faith; he became a SACRISTAN in the parish church and was a daily communicant.

Franz was an early opponent of the Nazi regime and in 1938 voted against the annexation of Austria, the only person in St. Radegund to do so. Fear of fascist reprisals caused many in the village to shun him, but

Franz remained firm in his beliefs. In 1940 he was inducted into the military. He was twice released from service and allowed to return to his family based on the efforts of local authorities. At home Franz continued to be vocal in his condemnation of the Nazis, and clear that he would never fight in the war. In 1943 he was recalled to active service. He appeared in response to the order, but announced that, as a conscientious objector, he would not fight. He was arrested, held for a time in Linz, and then transferred to Berlin. Having been refused the possibility of serving in a noncombatant role, Franz was court-martialed and found guilty of sedition on July 6, 1943; he was condemned to death. On August 9, 1943, at Brandenburg, he was executed by beheading.

Though some speculate that Franz was motivated by a self-destructive religious fervor, and that he forfeited his life in a campaign of resistance that had no possibility of succeeding, the life of this simple man is a stark illustration of the power of CONSCIENCE in opposition to evil. Awaiting execution, Franz wrote, "I am convinced that it is best that I speak the truth, even if it costs me my life." Cardinal José Martins Saraiva, during the Mass of his BEATIFICATION, said that Franz was an example to Christians "to live their faith with coherence and radical commitment, even accepting extreme consequences if necessary."

Feast: May 21.

SEE ALSO CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION; FASCISM; WORLD WAR II.

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JAKI, STANLEY L.

Benedictine monk (final profession May 13, 1944), priest (ordained June 29, 1948), professor, writer; b. Györ, Hungary, August 17, 1924; d. Madrid, Spain, April 7, 2009.

Stanley L. Jaki ranks as one of the foremost Catholic thinkers of the present era, in his profound historical, philosophical, and theological studies on the relations between science and religion and also on CHRISTOLOGY and ECCLESIOLOGY. He studied in Rome (1947–1950) at the Pontificio Ateneo Sant'Anselmo, under C. Vagaggini, who greatly stressed a proper appreciation of the historical role of St. THOMAS AQUINAS. His doctoral dissertation in theology was *Les tendances nouvelles de l'ecclésiologie* (New tendencies in ecclesiology [1956]), which aroused much interest at the beginning of the Second Vatican Council. In late 1950, because of the cruel Stalinist oppression in Hungary, he was sent to Saint Vincent's Archabbey, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, to teach creation theology (*inter alia*), and study the two famous allocutions of Pope PIUS XII to the Pontifical Academy of Sciences dealing with the proofs of God's existence in the light of modern science (February 21, 1943, and November 22, 1951). In December 1953 Jaki suffered complications from a tonsillectomy, and for ten years lost the use of his vocal cords; he then pursued advanced studies in physics at Fordham University, under the Nobel Prize–winner Victor F. Hess, publishing his doctoral thesis in 1958. He was a fellow at Princeton University (1960–1962), and took part in various graduate seminars in the history and philosophy of science. In 1966 his first major work, *The Relevance of Physics*, was published by the University of Chicago Press.

Jaki was the author of over fifty books and 150 articles, many of which have been translated into various languages, including French, Italian, Spanish, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, and Chinese. His translation of Immanuel KANT'S *Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens* links Kant's weaknesses in science with his IDEALISM, which locates reality in ideas perceived by the mind rather than in the external, objective world. In his translation of J.H. Lambert's *Cosmological Letters of the Arrangement of the World Edifice*, Jaki has offered scholars of the history of science the first translation of a classic of the history of COSMOLOGY.

In addition to his critique of the various forms of EMPIRICISM and idealism, both ancient and modern, Jaki argued that the history of science has repeatedly been used unfairly and inaccurately as an anti-Christian

ideological tool, especially by a long line of French anticlerical propagandists, from the ENCYCLOPEDISTS to George Sarton and Alexander Koyre. Jaki stressed the importance of the work of Pierre Duhem (1861–1916), who argued that the ancient Greeks failed in science because of their belief in eternal cycles. In his *Science and Creation*, Jaki extended this concept vastly to include all ancient cultures He accounts for the "stillbirths of science" in all major ancient cultures on the basis of the absence, in all of them, of belief in creation out of nothing and in time. Jaki further illustrated how science became a self-sustaining enterprise only in the medieval Christian West, as a result of the impact of Christian faith in the INCARNATION upon the doctrine of creation. For Jaki, all science is cosmology: Each basic scientific law reveals something all-encompassing about the universe, the reality of which he defended from scientific, philosophical, and theological perspectives.

Jaki is an heir to the methodical REALISM of Étienne GILSON. Jaki also regarded G.K. CHESTERTON and Jacques MARITAIN as important influences upon his realist perspective concerning the cosmos. He has also explored in detail the thought of John Henry Cardinal NEWMAN (1801–1890) and corrected a variety of common misperceptions of the famous English churchman, especially those approaches that diminish Newman's deep appreciation of the Church and the SUPERNATURAL.

The central strand in Jaki's work is respect for all facts, historical and physical, a respect for objective knowledge across its full spectrum, of the material world as known by scientists, of the God we know through the material world and through His revelation, of the teaching of His Incarnate Son, of the authority vested by Christ in Peter and his successors, and of the teaching they give us in His Name.

From 1965 Jaki was on the faculty of Seton Hall University at South Orange, New Jersey; from 1975 he was a distinguished professor in that faculty. International recognition for his work on science and religion came on May 12, 1987, when he received the Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion. In September 1990 Pope JOHN PAUL II named Fr. Jaki an honorary member of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences. Fr. Jaki offered guest lectures at over fifty major universities, colleges, and research institutes in North America, Europe, and Australia, and was an invited lecturer at over twenty-five congresses, symposia, and colloquia, including various plenary meetings of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, the World Congress of Catholic Physicians, New York (1998), and the International Giordano Bruno Conference, Rome (2000). He delivered the Gifford Lectures at the University of Edinburgh in 1974–1975 and 1975–1976. The lectures were published as *The Road of Science and the Ways to God*. He was also invited as the Olbers Lecturer, Bremen (1970); Fremantle Lecturer, Balliol College, Oxford (1977); Hoyt Fellow, Yale University (1980); McDonald Lecturer, University of Sydney (1981); McDermott Lecturer, University of Dallas (1983); Wethersfield Institute Scholar (1986, 1987, 1992); Farmington Institute Lecturer, Oxford University (1988, 1989); and Forwood Lecturer, University of Liverpool (1992); as well as receiving other guest lectureships in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, Spain, Greece, Hungary, Sweden, Japan, and Australia. Fr. Jaki held honorary doctorates from Central Michigan University (1974), Franciscan University of Steubenville (1986), St. Anselm's College (1988), Marquette University (1989), St. Vincent College (1989), Fordham University (1991), and Seton Hall University (1991). In addition to his honorary degrees and lectureships, Fr. Jaki's honors also include the Lecomte du Nouy Prize and Medal (1970), the Templeton Prize (1987), and the Széchenyi Medal of the Széchenyi Társaság (Hungary, 1997). He also held memberships in Sigma Xi, the History of Science Society, Olbers Gesellschaft (Bremen), Hellenic Society for Humanistic Studies (Athens), Academie Nationale des Sciences and Belles-Lettres et Arts de Bordeaux (*membre correspondent*).

Fr. Jaki died, following a heart attack, on April 7, 2009, in Madrid, and is buried at the Archabbey of Pannonhalma (Hungary), in the crypt of the Chapel of Our Lady.

SEE ALSO ANTICLERICALISM; GOD, PROOFS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF; KANT, IMMANUEL; PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE; THOMISM; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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Stanley Jaki also edited works by Pierre Duhem, John Henry Newman, Alexis Carrel, J.H. De Groot, K.A. Kneller, A. Barruel, H.E. Manning, J.B. Bossuet, and C. Hollis.

He translated several works, including Giordano Bruno's *The Ash Wednesday Supper* (1584); the first English translation of the first book on Copernicus (1975); J.H. Lambert's *Cosmological Letters of the Arrangement of the World Edifice* (1761/1976); and Immanuel Kant's *Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens* (1775/1981).

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JANSSEN, ARNOLD, ST.

Founder of the Society of the Devine Word; b. november 5, 1837, Goch, in the Rhineland, Germany; d. January 15, 1909, Steyl, Netherlands; beatified by Pope PAUL VI, October 19, 1975; canonized by Pope JOHN PAUL II, October 5, 2003.

Arnold Janssen was the second of seven children born to Gerhard and Anna Katharina Janssen, and his parents impressed upon him and his siblings the importance of the Church's missionary needs. After passing a state examination to teach natural sciences in the secondary schools in Bonn (1859), he studied for the priesthood in Münster and was ordained in 1861. For the next twelve years, he taught science in a secondary school in Bocholt. From 1867, he was also diocesan director of the APOSTLESHIP OF PRAYER, which he promoted throughout Germany by publishing a periodical and distributing free leaflets.

After relinquishing his teaching duties in 1873, he devoted himself to propagating devotion to the Sacred Heart and mission work. With four companions, he opened a house to train German priests for foreign missions. Because of the anti-Catholic atmosphere of the KULTURKAMPF in Germany at the time, they selected a site for this house in the Netherlands at Steyl, near the German border. Janssen's original plan for a missionary society whose members would not take religious vows crystallized in 1885 into the *Societas Verbi Divini* (SVD), translated as the Society of the DIVINE WORD, a congregation with simple vows.

The brothers operated the presses in his large printing establishment at Steyl, publishing journals and almanacs that actively recruited volunteers for the mission field. Although Janssen never traveled from Steyl due to his health and age, he continually worked to organize missions around the world, and many of his letters to the mission congregations have been preserved by the society. During Janssen's term as the first superior general, the order grew rapidly and spread to China, Togo, New Guinea, Japan, the Philippines, and Latin America, instituting secondary schools in most of these mission plants. In 1889, Janssen founded the HOLY SPIRIT MISSIONARY SISTERS to educate girls in mission territories. He also founded the cloistered Sisters Servants of the Holy Ghost of PERPETUAL ADORATION, dedicated to perpetual adoration and prayer for SVD missionaries. In the United States, the society began a school and printing press at Techny, Illinois, and also founded a number of schools for black children in Mississippi. By 2009, the SVD included more than six thousand missionary personnel operating in more than seventy countries worldwide.

The Roman decree introducing Janssen's cause for beatification was issued in 1942. He was beatified on October 19, 1975, by Pope Paul VI. On December 20, 2002, Pope Fohn Paul II decreed that Pamela Avellanosa, a fourteen-year-old girl from Baguio City, Philippines, who had been rendered comatose after a bicycle accident, had been miraculously healed after intercession through the Blessed Arnold Janssen. He was later canonized by Pope John Paul II on October 5, 2003. In his canonization homily, the pope remembered Janssen as one who "zealously carried out his priestly work, spreading the Word of God by means of the new mass media, especially the press."

Feast: January 15.

SEE ALSO GERMANY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MISSION AND MISSIONS.

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JERUSALEM, LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF

A Latin presence in JERUSALEM dates back to the origins of Christianity in Jerusalem. The primitive Church of Jerusalem in Roman Judea (Province of *Syria Palaestina*), being Judeo-Christian, practiced the Judeo-Christian rite. Its first bishop was James the Less. Until the second Jewish War, when HADRIAN turned Jerusalem into the Roman colony of *Aelia Capitolina* (AD 135), all the

bishops of Jerusalem were Jewish Christians probably connected to Jesus' family. This colony became a new community worshipping in the Syriac Rite. At this time, when Jerusalem became a suffragan bishopric of the capital, Caesarea, Mark became the first Gentile bishop of Jerusalem. All of his twelve successors bore Latin names. The Council of Nicea (AD 325) reduced Jerusalem to fourth place among suffragan sees in the Holy Land.

Once Constantine moved the imperial capital to Constantinople in AD 330, Latins and the LATIN RITE (initially synonymous with the Western Church) became a more established presence. The Latin Rite, therefore, is an authentic rite of PALESTINE and the most ancient of the three principal rites practiced there. The Patriarchate of Jerusalem came into being when the Patriarch Juvenal (422–458) obtained approbation from the Council of CHALCEDON (AD 451) to have primacy over Palestine as it raised the bishop of Jerusalem to the rank of patriarch. At this time the institution of the oriental patriarchates occurred (though use of the term *patriarch* became common only a century later), so that Jerusalem, together with ROME, Constantinople, ALEXANDRIA, and ANTIOCH, formed the Pentarchy.

The CRUSADES established the Latin Kingdom (1099–1291) whose ecclesiastical primate became the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. July 15, 1099, marks the official date of the erection of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem. In 1187 Jerusalem was conquered by the Muslims forcing the patriarchal seat to move to Acre until the city was defeated in 1291. It then moved to Cyprus and, after 1374, to Rome. Therefore, from 1291 until its re-establishment in 1847, the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem had only titular patriarchs. The Franciscan Custos of the Holy Land (Grand Master of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre) held the title of patriarch from 1342 to 1830 under the Papal Bull *Gratiam agimus* by Pope CLEMENT VI (unless someone was specifically appointed in the honorary office). The restoration of resident Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem with jurisdiction occurred in 1847 with the Apostolic Brief *Nulla celebrior* in response to the needs of Latin Catholics and to the growing threat of Protestant proselytism. Thus, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem is the Latin Rite Catholic archbishop of Jerusalem with jurisdiction for all Latin Rite Catholics in ISRAEL, the Palestinian Territories, Jordan, and Cyprus.

The first modern patriarch, Monsignor Joseph Valerga (1847–1872), established Catholicism in Transjordan from where it had been absent for six hundred years and opened the first mission in Beit Jala in 1853, where he also established in 1857 the seminary that had been founded in 1852. After seven Italian predecessors, the indigenization of the patriarchate began in 1987 when Michel Sabbah (1933–) became the first Palestinian patriarch, followed in 2008 by Fouad Twal (1940–), a Jordanian. With five patriarchal vicars (one for a Hebrew-speaking vicariate in Israel) and three auxiliary bishops, the Latin patriarch is responsible for the cure of souls within his diocese, supervising the extensive patriarchate school system, overseeing numerous Catholic religious communities, and fostering Catholic unity, ecumenical relations, and diplomatic relations with Israel, the Palestinian Authority, and Jordan.

SEE ALSO CAESAREA IN PALESTINE; CONSTANTINE I, THE GREAT, ROMAN EMPEROR; CONSTANTINOPLE (BYZANTIUM, ISTANBUL); GENTILES; HADRIAN, ROMAN EMPEROR; JAMES (SON OF ALPHAEUS), ST.; JERUSALEM, PATRIARCHATE OF; MARK, EVANGELIST, ST.

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JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (PUBLIC)

The New Testament, the foundational text of Christianity, may best be understood as an internal Jewish argument about what JUDAISM is and ought to be. It represents a set of strongly held views written mostly by Jews, addressed to other Jews, arguing about Judaism. Its newness lies not so much in its moral teachings, which in the main fall within the range of Jewish teachings, but in the fact that it refracts Jewish teaching, tradition, law, and liturgy through the radical lens of the death and resurrection of the Jew, JESUS of NAZARETH, whom it affirms is CHRIST, the promised MESSIAH and, more, the SON OF GOD.

To the extent that the New Testament records a protracted family argument, it reflects something of the bitterness of family quarrels, especially in its later passages. There are, however, more fundamental continuities than discontinuities between the Christian and the rabbinic readings of the Scriptures the two traditions share in common. A statement of the PONTIFICAL BIBLICAL COMMISSION, *The Jewish People and Their Sacred Scriptures in the Christian Bible* (2002), argues that Christians not only can, but should, learn from Jewish interpretations of Scripture.

The Patristic Period. In the Patristic literature, as the Church became more and more gentile and less and less Jewish, Jews as a people were increasingly seen, not from the inside as fellow members of one PEOPLE OF GOD, but from the outside as the Other. This negative "teaching of contempt" against Jews and Judaism was developed in the early centuries by the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH for a number of historically understandable, if today no longer defensible, reasons. At the heart of all the negativity lay the idea that the Jews were collectively guilty for the death of Jesus and that subsequent generations of Jews continued collectively to bear this guilt. The teaching was that GOD, angry at the Jews, punished them by destroying the temple and sending them into exile. It became common in Patristic times for Christian apologists to point to the destroyed temple as proof that God was angry at Jews, which proved inversely, they felt, that Jews must have done something terrible for God to be that angry at them. It must have been worse than killing a prophet. For God to become so angry, Jesus must have been more than a man. He must have been God's own Son! Thus the destruction of the JERUSALEM Temple was used as an inverted proof for the divinity of Christ. The Church Fathers were worried when the emperor Julian, called the Apostate in Christian history, declared that he would rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem and were inordinately happy when he died before he could do so, pointing to this as yet another proof of Christian triumph.

A significant question needs to be asked at this point: Given the level of anti-Judaic rhetoric of the period, why was it that, of all of the various religions existing in the ROMAN EMPIRE during the fourth century, when Christianity attained political power through Constantine and his successors, Judaism alone was allowed to survive and continue to be a *religio licita* (a licit religion)? The answer to this is found in the writings of St. AUGUSTINE, whom many attack as being anti-Jewish. True, Augustine does not disagree with the collective guilt charge, and he uses typically negative rhetoric in affirming it. But if one looks closely at one of the key passages those critical of Augustine cite, where he states that as murderers of Christ they have the mark of Cain on them, it is not necessarily negative in its outcome, though it is in its rhetoric. What is the mark of Cain? It is God's protective mark. God reserves to Himself the right to deal with the Jews and nobody else is to touch them. Augustine goes on to talk about how the Jews continue to worship as their fathers and mothers did and must be allowed to do so. The Jews worship, after all, the way God taught them to worship. The Jews, and the Jews alone, give witness to the validity of their BIBLE as God's word, which Christians need, because the New Testament needs the Old to provide the fullness of its witness. Augustine's achievement should not be understated. He came up with this remarkable set of insights in direct contradiction to many of the writings of those who came before him, including his own mentor, Ambrose of Milan.

Pope St. GREGORY the Great (r. 590–604) was persuaded by Augustine's arguments and began to put them into canon law. Judaism became, for the papacy, not only a licit religion but one that had the special protection of the papacy (cf. Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 480). On a number of occasions over the centuries, Jews petitioned the pope, who served as a court of last recourse in those times, against local rulers, both clerical and lay, who would persecute them. And thus it was that Judaism survived over centuries.

1096: A Historic Turning Point. The first millennium of the relationship between Jews and Christians was, in retrospect, not all that terrible. Some nasty incidents occurred, but nothing like what happened in 1096 and subsequently. In 1096 the First Crusade was launched, and that is when things began to go terribly wrong. A huge mob of people who had missed the boats used to transport the crusaders decided to travel to the Holy Land on their own, and began the long march through Europe to reach their destination. As they were going up the Rhineland Valley in what is today modern Germany, they came up with the idea: "Well, if we're going over to fight infidels, why don't we take care of the infidels in our midst?" And so they attempted to forcefully convert or kill all the Jews they found. Bishops along the way tried to save their Jews and strongly opposed the crusading mob's actions. They failed, however, to stop the slaughter. The bishop of Mainz hid the Jews in his own palace, but the mob broke in and killed them all. Some of the bishops did save Jews, one by hiding them in his various country places, so a remnant of that Jewish community of the Rhineland Valley survived. Christian and Jewish chroniclers agree that upwards of 10,000 Jews were killed. The mob never made it to the Holy Land, though. The Catholic king of Hungary got word of what had happened in the Rhineland, gathered his troops, and destroyed the mob when they reached his lands.

It was only after this great, unprovoked bloodletting that the things typically associated with the negative treatment and portrayal of Jews began. Before that period, the classic model of Jewish blindness and Christian triumph was illustrated in the statues on French Gothic cathedrals: one, *ecclesia*, the church, resplendent and beautiful; the other *synagoga*, the synagogue, also a beautiful woman, but portrayed blindfolded, with the tablets of the LAW falling out of one hand and the broken staff of the law held in the other. That was the level of Christian triumphalism

before the CRUSADES. It was essentially theological. It was not racial in any sense. After the first Crusade, however, there appear much uglier portrayals of Jews, such as the infamous *Judensau* on the cathedral in Regensburg, Germany. The *Judensau*, as the name indicates, was a large female pig, a sow, portrayed with Jews suckling on her teats. This is denigration of a qualitatively different sort than the juxtaposition of a beautiful triumphant woman with that of an equally beautiful, albeit defeated, one.

Only after 1096 did the tradition of the demonization of the Jews begin in earnest. One can find some precedent for the demonizing of Jews, that is, their identification with the DEVIL, with Jews being shown as having horns and even the forked tail of the devil in the world. Thus Jews began to be depicted as an incarnation of pure evil in the world, rather than simply blind for having failed to recognize their own Messiah.

From 1096 to 1492. Beginning in the twelfth century, expulsions of Jews occurred in every country in western Europe except for Italy, specifically the Papal States, which took in Jewish refugees from Spain and elsewhere, because papal canon law required allowing Jews to worship freely as Jews. It prohibited the forced conversion of Jews (cf. Canon 8 of *Nicea II* [787]; Tanner, 1990, pp. 145–146). There exist in archives letters from the Roman Inquisition to the Spanish Inquisition, indicating the former's disapproval of what they felt was the brutality of the latter. These letters were ignored, but not in the Papal States, where the law of the Church regarding the treatment of Jews prevailed even in the worst of times.

It is not surprising, then, in the twentieth century during the Holocaust, that Italy was one of the few countries that saved over 75 percent of its Jews. And wherever the Italian Army went, the Jews were safe. Had the Italian Army been given the city of Thessalonica in Greece, for example, that very ancient, now lost, community would have been saved. Benito MUSSOLINI did get the trains running on time, but he was not able to get anywhere near as many Jews on them as the transportation administrator, Adolf Eichmann (1906–1962), who was in charge of all the trains designated to transport Jews to the concentration camps, wanted.

Modern Racial Anti-Semitism. This brief history thus far leads to the question of how to define terms and to the careful distinctions that need to be made. It was not until the eighteenth century, when the West had the language of the ENLIGHTENMENT, that modern racial ANTI-SEMITISM could have been invented. Racialism is a fairly recent concept, perhaps originating as a justification of the European slave trade. By defining Africans as less than human, Europeans could justify treating them like animals. If one applies this concept of race, unknown in the ancient or medieval world, to the peoples of Europe, Europe's perennial other, the Jews, will lead the list. The Jews, originally labeled blind and guilty of deicide, condemned by God to wander the face of the earth, had been turned in the late MIDDLE AGES into agents of evil. Now they became, by race, both subhuman and still agents of evil. Whereas in the Middle Ages, they could convert to Christianity and become equal to other Christians, in racial theory this was impossible. One can change one's religion but not one's race.

So a new and vastly more dangerous set of ideas began rattling around in Europe, and not just in the lower classes. VOLTAIRE (François-Marie Arouet, 1694–1778) argued that no matter what one did for Jews, they could still not be trusted to fit into "enlightened" French society. They were doomed to be dangerous because of their race. Classical composer Richard WAGNER's (1813–1883) anti-Semitism, similarly, is well known. Indeed, the philosopher Friedrich NIETZSCHE (1844–1900) broke with Wagner in part because Nietzsche could not tolerate Wagner's racial hatred of Jews. It was this distinctively modern set of ideas, radically different from those of the preceding centuries, though unlikely to have occurred to anyone without the centuries of the Church's teaching of contempt, that made it possible to conceive what had been before that inconceivable: genocide, the systematic murder of an entire race.

There are, then, at least three broad categories of anti-Jewishness over the centuries: (a) the theological anti-Judaism of the Fathers of the Church; (b) the denigrating anti-Jewishness of the Middle Ages; and (c) modern racial, genocidal anti-Semitism. These are different categories. It was not always and everywhere like it was when it was at its worst, as, in fact, many people seem to believe. One tends to project back into history the worst of the racism of the twentieth century. But Jews, over the centuries, even with the expulsions, blood libels, pogroms, and other cruelties kept choosing, in large numbers, to stay within Christendom when, for example, they could have moved to Muslim countries. They could have left Christian lands altogether. They did not. More often than not, Jews moved from Western to Eastern Europe to stay within Christendom. And that can only be because, in a lot of times and in a lot of places, they did reasonably well living among Christians, at least as well as their relatives living under Muslim domination.

***Nostra aetate,* no. 4.** In 1962, when the Second Vatican Council began, there was still a collective Christian sense, which was assumed but had never debated as such in any ecumenical council prior to Vatican II, that the

Jews collectively were responsible for the death of Jesus. This notion persisted, so the Fathers of the Church or bishops at any of these councils never made a formal statement about it. Nor was there ever any doctrinal pronunciation on the matter. With *Nostra aetate* the Church took its first serious look at the issue of God's relationship with the Jewish people and the relationship of the Jewish people to the Church. Given the backdrop of the HOLOCAUST and the terrible realization of what a consistent denigration of Jews and Judaism could lead to, the scales fell off Christian eyes. They began to read Romans 9 to 11, which was the last doctrinally significant statement in the history of the Church before *Nostra aetate*, in a new light, seeing the positive things it had to say about Jews and Judaism for the first time since not long after St. Paul penned his reflections. If one reads *Nostra aetate*, all fifteen sentences of it, one will not find any references to the Patristic writings, making it very distinct as a Second Vatican Council document, because the authors of other documents relish in quotations from the Fathers and Doctors of the Church.

The first result of this relooking at the New Testament by *Nostra aetate* authors revealed that it is very difficult, based on the New Testament texts themselves, to conclude any collective guilt of Jews, then or now, for the death of Jesus. All three SYNOPTIC GOSPELS, for example, speak of a plot by the chief priests and the elders (not the PHARISEES) in collusion with Pilate and portray Jerusalem as so pro-Jewish that Jesus had to be arrested at night, for fear of a riot by Jews if they saw it happening.

To presume that all Jews in Jesus' time were guilty of his death is an incredibly far-fetched idea. Most Jews lived outside Jerusalem, indeed, outside of ISRAEL at the time. (The Diaspora was already a reality long before the destruction of the Temple.) How could they even have known he was on trial until long after it had taken place? So it is only simple historical reality to say with *Nostra aetate* that Jews cannot be presented in Catholic classrooms or from Catholic pulpits as accursed by God or rejected as if this followed from sacred Scripture.

Without that, the rest of the teaching of contempt crumbled. If the Jews cannot be blamed as a people for the death of Jesus, there is no reason for God to punish the Jews. The individual Jews who took part in it—Caiaphas (high priest AD 18–37) and his priests—did what they did. But as the Catechism of the Council of TRENT said in 1566, Christians bear more guilt for the death of Jesus than do the Jews, for in their sins Christians crucify Christ knowingly, because they are aware that Christ died for their sins, whereas what the Jews did was done in ignorance: "They know not what they do" (Lk 23:34).

The council took a renewed look at Romans 9 to 11, where St. Paul meditates upon God's "irrevocable" covenant with the Jewish people. The council felt it necessary at long last to take seriously Paul's notion that God's ongoing choosing of the Jewish people continues after the Christ event, that God's covenant with them will endure, as God promised the Jews, "forever." God, the council Fathers decided when the issue was put before them, spoke the truth to the Jews, a truth He did not take away or change when Christ came. Thus framed, the issue becomes: Is God true to His promises? If so, then God's covenant with the Jews endures. If not, then everyone is doomed. If God has not remained true to the divine promise to Jews, unequivocally and as He gave it to them, then what grounds do Christians have to feel confident that God will remain true to them? They have sinned as grievously as Jews over the centuries, arguably more grievously, for they had more power and resources to sin with.

Similarly, the council noted that it is when searching into her own mystery that the Church encounters the mystery of Israel, for the Church is an offspring of God's People, the Jews. There is inevitably, then, a sacred bond between Christians and Jews. The council adapted Paul's image of root and branch, with the root being biblical Israel and the branches being Christianity and rabbinic Judaism. *Nostra aetate* thus challenged the Church to come up with a new vocabulary to describe its unique relationship with the Jewish people, which, Pope JOHN PAUL II famously stated in Mainz in 1983, is not just an external relationship as it is with all other world religions, but a relationship internal to the Church, the relationship between its Scriptures. Catholics are only just, as Cardinal Walter KASPER, the president of the Pontifical Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews (CRRJ), has said on a number of occasions, at "the beginning of the beginning" in pondering and drawing out the implications of these conciliar and papal insights.

Implementing *Nostra aetate,* no. 4. In January 1967, the UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS (USCCB) issued, as a follow up to the council, the first set of "Guidelines for Catholic-Jewish Relations" ever issued in the history of the Church. These guidelines (updated in 1985) noted the significance of the dialogue in America, because it enjoys the world's largest Jewish community that has, like the Catholic Church, numerous institutions of higher learning to engage in the effort of mutual understanding and enrichment. It set forth major areas that could be explored together, such as the common scriptures, liturgies, and common social values, areas in which the two communities could work together for the benefit of society as a whole. Any attempt at proselytizing was, of

course, to be avoided within the context of the dialogue of mutual esteem called for by the council.

In 1973 the French bishops issued their own initial statement on the relationship of the Church and the Jewish people, exploring some of the theological themes opened up by the council and reflecting upon the significance for Jews of their ingathering into the land of Israel at that time. In 1974, with these two documents at hand, the Holy See issued its own "Guidelines and Suggestions for Implementing the Conciliar Declaration, Nostra aetate, (n. 4)." These reaffirmed the council's condemnation of anti-Semitism and called for the Church and the Jewish people to jointly witness to the shared values and common understanding of the meaning of human history and its destiny at the end of time. The Holy See noted with theological precision that although Christians affirm that Christ fulfilled the biblical promises, they yet await, with Jews, their "perfect fulfillment" with, as the VATICAN's 1985 "Notes on the Correct Way to Present Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis of the Roman Catholic Church" put it, "the coming or return of the Messiah," which Christians and Jews await together and toward which they are jointly called to prepare the way.

The 1985 *Notes* also for the first time, citing a 1975 statement of the U.S. bishops, affirmed not only the ancient Jewish religious attachment to the land of Israel but also affirmed the existence of the State of Israel, not as a theological entity, but with reference to international law. In 1998 the Holy See issued *We Remember: A Catholic Reflection on the Shoah*, which called on Catholics to preserve the memory of the Holocaust as a *memoria futuri,* memory for the sake of educating future generations on the tragic lessons the Church and all humanity must take from it. The document acknowledged, with repentance, that Christians on all levels, including popes, were involved in developing the negative image of Jews and Judaism that Nazism exploited to spread its distinctly different racial anti-Semitism. In 2000 the U.S. bishops approved their own document implementing *We Remember*.

It is important to note that all of these documents, including *Nostra aetate* itself, have been met with concerns as well as appreciation by the Jewish community. These questions have been a vital part of the ongoing evolution of Church teaching on Jews and Judaism, helping Catholics understand better what areas need to be clarified and thought through more carefully.

In the JUBILEE YEAR 2000, Pope John Paul II fulfilled a dream that he had spoken of since early in his pontificate, to visit the Holy Land, the sacred geography where Jesus, the Jew of Nazareth, was born, preached his saving truths, and died at the hands of the Roman Empire. In so doing, John Paul II fulfilled another dream as well, quite consciously and purposefully, a dream also of the Jewish people and at the same time a dream of the Fathers of the Church who had gathered for the Second Vatican Council thirty-five years earlier: the dream of reconciliation between the Catholic Church and the Jewish people. Few pilgrimages in the two millennia of Christian history have had such pregnant hopes and such significant results.

John Paul II's pontificate saw more progress in Catholic-Jewish relations and certainly more dramatic gestures toward the Jewish people by the bishop of ROME than occurred during the reigns of all of his predecessors combined. This remarkably open pope telegraphed his hopes for all to see, yet moved with magisterial prudence, step by step, toward goals that appeared impossibly distant on the horizon when he first assumed his office in 1978.

The pope spoke on Judaism on numerous occasions and in a remarkably wide range of locations throughout the world. Virtually wherever he traveled, a Jewish community existed, whether large, as in the United States, or tragically small, as in the tiny remnant of the once-flourishing Jewish community of Poland; and, wherever he went, he sought out those communities to extend reconciliation and affirmation of the infinite worth of Judaism's continuing proclamation of the name of the One God in the world.

The papal talks and gestures provide a record of a profound spiritual pilgrimage for the pope and the Church, almost two millennia after the Church's birth as a Jewish movement in the land and among the people of Israel. One finds in these talks and gestures a growth and development in the pope's understanding of and appreciation for how "the Jews define themselves in the light of their own religious experience" (CRRJ 1974, prologue, cited by the pope in his first address to representatives of Jewish organizations, March 12, 1979 [Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 5]). This development teaches the Church how it, too, must reinterpret its relationship to the Jewish people as "people of God."

Motivation. The pope spoke of the Jewish friends of his youth on many occasions, including in his personal reflection, *Crossing the Threshold of Hope*, and in meeting with some of the few survivors during his prayerful visit to the Israeli memorial to the victims of the Holocaust (Shoah), Yad VaShem, on his Jubilee pilgrimage there in 2000. The pope grew up in Wadowice in the 1930s, one of many Polish towns which, like much of Poland, has endured shifting sovereignties over the centuries. Had he been born thirty years earlier, Karol Wojtyła would have been an Austrian citizen, though, indubitably, a Pole at heart. Jews made up a substantial minority of Wadowice's citizens in Wojtyła's youth, as they had for centuries. Poland, indeed, at that time enjoyed the distinction of

having the world's largest Jewish population and the greatest concentration of Jewish centers of learning in Jewish history. Jews had been welcomed into Poland throughout the late MIDDLE AGES after they were exiled from most of the countries of Western Europe. By the time of Wojtyła's youth, they had been an integral part of Polish society and history for nearly a thousand years, enriching it culturally, intellectually, and (though not all Poles would acknowledge this) spiritually as well. There were anti-Semitic Catholics in Wadowice, of course, but according to Jerzy Kluger, one of the pope's childhood friends, these were relatively few and normally contained by other Polish Catholic youth.

When Nazi Germany invaded Poland, the centuries long and mutually beneficial co-existence of Polish Jews and Polish Catholics was forever destroyed. In an astonishingly brief period of time, the ancient Polish-Jewish community, many close friends of Wojtyła's youth, were systematically hunted down by the Germans, concentrated first in newly erected ghettos and then into labor camps, and, finally, systematically murdered. Poles who know their history say that this loss of the significant Jewish segment of *Polonia* represents one of the greatest tragedies of Polish history.

This great loss happened on Polish soil to its Polish citizens of Jewish descent. For Wojtyła the loss was both national and personal. And it was unhealable. Poland would never, could never, be the same again. John Paul II remained to his dying day quite attached to the friends of his youth, organizing and continuing regular class reunions of his high school classmates—those who survived the war—not only when he was archbishop and cardinal, but even as pope. When he spoke of feeling still the presence of the Jewish victims of Nazi genocide, as he did at the 1994 Vatican concert memorializing them on Yom HaShoah that year, he was believed. The Holocaust, for this pope, was a personal event. It happened not to *them*, but to him, to his friends, and to his friends' parents, relatives, and families. It is no wonder, then, that no one, Jewish, Christian, or secular-academic, has done more to defeat Holocaust denial than John Paul II. He evoked this sense of personal loss and remembrance poignantly during the Yom HaShoah Concert:

> Among those who are with us this evening are some who physically underwent a horrendous experience, crossing a dark wilderness where the very source of love seemed dried up. Many wept at that time, and we still hear echoes of their lament. We hear it here too; their plea did not die with them but rises powerful, agonizing, heartrending, saying, "Do not forget us!" It is addressed to one and all. Thus we are gathered this evening to commemorate the Holocaust of millions of Jews. The candles lit by some of the survivors are intended to show symbolically that this hall does not have narrow limits. It contains all the victims: fathers, mothers, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters, and friends. In our memory they are all present, they are with you, they are with us. (Fisher and Klenicki 1995, pp. 188–189)

Rabbi James Rubin, one of the organizers, was standing quite close to the pope when John Paul spoke these words. The pope, Rabbi Rubin reports, could see real faces of real people in his mind as he spoke. He spoke the words to them, the murdered friends of his youth.

The pope's personal stake in what happened to the Jews of Europe, the families and the friends of his youth, explains much about the concentration on Catholic-Jewish relations that so marked his pontificate. His personal caring also launched him on a journey of theological discovery, of careful reconsideration of the essential nature of the Church's understanding of its relationship with the people of Jesus and Mary—the Jews—and of the faith they have held dear through centuries of discrimination and persecution.

Building a Theological Bridge of Hope and Reconciliation. The ongoing papal reconsideration over the years and gradual, step-by-cautious-step redefinition of ancient theological categories represent the fruits of a painstaking effort, supported by the efforts of Catholics and Jews in dialogue throughout the world, as the pope acknowledged ("Historic Visit to the Synagogue of Rome" [1986], no. 4; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, pp. 60–73), to articulate anew the mystery of the Church in the light of a positive articulation of the abiding mystery of Israel. The results have been as breathtaking as they have been painstaking.

Progress since the Second Vatican Council has been measured in small steps: a word uttered here to clarify an awkward phrase there; a slightly less ambiguous wording to replace a more ambiguous, potentially misleading theological formula; and so forth. But the direction is clear and the basic message starkly unambiguous: The Church is not alone in the world as People of God. The Church is joined by the Jewish people in its proclamation of the oneness of God and the true nature of human history, which Jews and Christians alike pray daily, and through their prayers, proclaim universally (cf. CRRJ 1985, II, 9–11). The following thematic categories serve to organize some of these small steps and interventions by which Pope John Paul II sought to frame and to move forward the Church's side of historic dialogue between Catholics and Jews.

Spiritual Bond between the Church and the Jewish People. The notion of a "spiritual bond" linking the Church and the Jewish people ("Abraham's stock") was central to the Second Vatican Council's "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions," *Nostra aetate*. It became a major theme of John Paul II's own reflections on the subject over the years, one that he constantly tried to probe and refine. In his first address to Jewish representatives, for example, he interpreted the conciliar phrase as meaning "that our two religious communities are connected and closely related at the very level of their respective identities" (Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 4), and he spoke of "fraternal dialogue" between the two.

Using terms such as *fraternal* and addressing one another as *brothers* and *sisters* reflect ancient usage within the Christian community. They imply an acknowledgment of a commonality of faith, with liturgical implications. It was an ecumenical breakthrough, for example, when the Second Vatican Council and Pope PAUL VI began the practice of addressing Orthodox and Protestant Christians in such terms. John Paul II's extension of this terminology to Jews is by no means accidental. The relationship reaches to the very essence of the nature of Christian faith itself, so that to deny it is to deny something essential to the teaching of the Church (cf. *Notes,* I, 2). The spiritual bond with Jews, for John Paul II, was properly understood as a "'sacred' one, stemming as it does from the mysterious will of God" (Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 56).

In bringing this lesson home, the pope used startling and powerful language. In his important allocution to the Jewish community of Mainz, West Germany (1980), he likened the relationship to that between "the first and second part" of the Christian Bible. The dialogue between Catholics and Jews is not a dialogue between past (Judaism) and present (Christianity) realities, as if the former had been "superseded" or "replaced" by the latter, as certain Christian polemicists would have it. "On the contrary," the pope made clear in Mainz, "it is a question rather of reciprocal enlightenment and explanation, just as is the relationship between the Scriptures themselves" (cf. *Dei Verbum,* 11; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 15).

In this vein the pope also moved Catholics to formulate more sensitive biblical terminology. The pope cautioned against interpreting the "old" in "Old Testament" to mean that it has been abrogated in favor of the "new;" he suggested using the phrase "the Hebrew Scriptures" ("Address to the Jewish Community in Australia" 1986; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 83).

In the pope's view, so close is the spiritual bond between the two peoples of God that the dialogue is properly considered—unlike any other relationship between the Church and a world religion—to be "a dialogue within our Church" (Mainz 1980; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 15). Interpreting *Nostra aetate* during his visit to the Great Synagogue of Rome, the pope brought these themes to a dramatic culmination:

> The Church of Christ discovers her "bond" with Judaism by "searching into her own mystery" (*Nostra Aetate*, 4). The Jewish religion is not "extrinsic" to us, but in a certain way is "intrinsic" to our own religion. With Judaism, therefore, we have a relationship which we do not have with any other religion. You are dearly beloved brothers and, in a certain way, it could be said that you are our elder brothers. (Rome 1986; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 63)

A Living Heritage. The phrase, "elder brothers," used here with caution, raises the question of how the pope dealt with the sometimes awkward (for Christians) question of the Church's spiritual debt to Judaism. This debt has been acknowledged, traditionally—as in the medieval canon law exception allowing Jews freedom of worship (within certain limitations), a right granted to no other religious group outside Christianity.

Yet the acknowledgment often came negatively. For many Christians over the ages, for example, the application of the term *elder brother* to the Jews would have conjured images of apologetic interpretations of the younger/elder brother stories of Genesis in which the younger brother takes over the heritage or patrimony of the elder (e.g., Esau and Jacob). The powerful imagery of the Gothic cathedrals of Europe is another example of this. Juxtaposed on either side of the portals of many medieval cathedrals is a statue of the Synagogue (portrayed in the physical form of a woman), her head bowed, holding a broken staff of the Law, with the tablets of the Ten COMMANDMENTS slipping from her fingers, and a statue of the Church, resplendently erect and triumphant. The pairings symbolized for the medieval artists the passage of the covenant from Judaism to Christianity.

Pope John Paul II sought to reinterpret ancient apologetics and to replace negative images with positive affirmations. In his address to the Jewish community in Mainz, he cited a passage from a declaration of the bishops of the Federal Republic of Germany, issued earlier that year, calling attention to "the spiritual heritage of Israel for the Church." He added to the citation, however, a single word that removed any possible ambiguity and opened up a new area of theological reflection, calling it "a *living* heritage, which must be understood and preserved in its depths and richness by us Catholic Christians" (Mainz, 1980; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 14).

In March 1982, speaking to delegates from episcopal conferences gathered in Rome from around the world to discuss ways to foster improved Catholic-Jewish relations, the pope confirmed and advanced this direction in his thought:

> Christians have taken the right path, that of justice and brotherhood, in seeking to come together with their Semitic brethren, respectfully and perseveringly, in the common heritage, a heritage that all value so highly.... To assess it carefully in itself and with due awareness of the faith and religious life of the Jewish people *as they are professed and practiced still today,* can greatly help us to understand better certain aspects of the life of the Church. (Fisher and Klenicki 1995, pp. 18–19; italics added)

The "common spiritual patrimony" of Jews and Christians, then, is not something of the past but of the present. Just as the Church, through the writings of its doctors and saints and the statements of its councils, has developed a rich tradition interpreting and clarifying its spiritual heritage, so has Judaism developed, through rabbinic literature and the TALMUD, through Jewish philosophers and mystics, what was given to it in its founding by God (cf. *Notes*, VI). John Paul II called Christians to understand the "common spiritual patrimony" not only positively, but assertively, as a joint witness of God's truth to the world: "Jews and Christians are the trustees and witnesses of an ethic marked by the Ten Commandments in the observance of which man finds his truth and freedom" (Rome 1986; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 65).

Permanent Validity of God's Covenant with the Jewish People. Underlying the previous considerations is a central message, implicit in the teaching of the Second Vatican Council, that John Paul II made explicit. Not only *Nostra aetate* but also the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen gentium*, drew upon the strong affirmation of St. Paul in Romans 11:28–29 when seeking to define the role of the Jewish people in God's plan of salvation, even after the time of Christ: "On account of their fathers, this people [the Jews] remains most dear to God, for God does not repent of the gifts He makes nor of the calls He issues" (*Lumen gentium* 16).

Logically, the conciliar affirmation means that Jews remain God's chosen people in the fullest sense ("most dear"). This affirmation, the pope teaches, is unequivocal and in no way diminishes the Church's own affirmation of its own standing as people of God. In Mainz the pope addressed the Jewish community with full respect as "the people of God of the Old Covenant, which has never been revoked by God" and emphasized the "permanent value" of both the Hebrew Scriptures and the Jewish community that witnesses to those Scriptures as sacred texts (Mainz 1980; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 15).

In meeting with representatives of episcopal conferences, the pope stressed the present tense of Romans 9:4–5 concerning the Jewish people, "who have the adoption as sons, and the glory and the covenants and the legislation and the worship and the promises" (Rome 1982; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 18), while also affirming "the universal salvific significance of the death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth" (Rome 1982; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 18). The pope did not seek a superficial reconciling of these two great truths but affirmed them both together, commenting: "This means that the links between the Church and the Jewish people are founded on the design of the God of the Covenant" (Rome 1982; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 18).

The pope's remarkable formulation in Australia distilled years of theological development: "The Catholic faith is rooted in the eternal truths of the Hebrew Scriptures and in the irrevocable covenant made with Abraham. We, too, gratefully hold these same truths of our Jewish heritage and look upon you as our brothers and sisters in the Lord" (Australia 1986; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 83).

Catechetics and Liturgy. Pope John Paul II insisted that this renewed vision of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity must permeate every area of church life. In his address to representatives of episcopal conferences, for example, the pope stressed the need for Catholics to know the Jewish roots of their liturgy, and for catechesis to involve a full appreciation of the Jewish heritage (Rome 1982; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 19). In his response to the International Conference of Christians and Jews, the pope noted that the "great common spiritual patrimony" shared by Jews and Christians rests on a "solid" foundation of "faith in a God ... as a loving father ... in a common basic liturgical pattern, and in a common commitment, grounded in faith, to all men and women in need, who are our 'neighbors'" (cf. Lev. 19:18, Mark 12:32, and parallels) (Rome 1984; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 42). Catechesis and the liturgy itself have as a primary goal making clear the "spiritual bond" that links the Church to the people Israel (cf. *Notes* 1985, II, VI). Also the often tragic history of Christian-Jewish relations over the centuries needs to be made clear to Catholic youth (Rome 1984; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 42).

At the time of his visit to the Rome synagogue, John Paul II reminded "my brothers and sisters of the Catholic Church" of the 1974 *Guidelines* and the 1985 *Notes* issued by the Holy See's Commission for Religious

Relations with the Jews. The pope concluded that "it is only a question of studying them carefully, of immersing oneself in their teachings, and of putting them into practice" (Rome 1986; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 64).

The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* duly reflects these papal concerns flowing out of the Second Vatican Council. In the section on the Creed "Jesus Christ Suffered under Pontius Pilate, Was Crucified, Died and Was Buried" (571–598), the Catechism devotes considerable attention to a nuanced discussion of Jesus' relationship to his people, Israel; to God's Law, the Torah; to the Jerusalem Temple; and to "Israel's Faith in the One God and Savior." Rather than pillorying the Jews as earlier catechisms might have done, it stresses the "ignorance" of "the Sanhedrin's tragic misunderstanding" (591). It is noteworthy that the Catechism speaks specifically of certain "religious authorities of Jerusalem," as did *Nostra aetate*, rather than collectively of the Jews as a people. The Catechism reminds the reader of the depth of the mystery of salvation in Christ, and, indeed, of the "act of faith" itself. It stresses the "divisions among Jewish authorities concerning Jesus' death," so that readers will not stereotype the religious leadership of the Jews of Jesus' time, much less the people as a whole. The Catechism devotes two very strong paragraphs to debunking any remaining temptation that Christians might have to blame the Jews as a people, then or now, for Jesus' death: "Jews are not collectively responsible for Jesus' death" (597), and "all sinners were the authors of Christ's passion" (598).

Paragraphs 839 and 840 similarly summarize both papal themes and statements of the Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews, especially the 1985 *Notes*. The Jewish people are called (following the wording of the revised "Good Friday Prayer for the Jews" in the Roman MISSAL) "the first to hear the Word of God." "The Jewish Faith," the Catechism states, "unlike other non-Christian religions, is already a response to God's Revelation in the Old Testament." Jews and Christians, the section concludes, are similarly posed in the perspective of the history of salvation: "When one considers the future," Jews and Christians "tend toward similar goals: expectation of the coming (or the return) of the Messiah." The Catechism represents the official teaching of the Magisterium and as such provides a solid doctrinal basis for theological dialogue between the Church and the Jewish people leading toward joint witness to sacred truths both share in common as well as joint action for the betterment of humanity.

Condemnations of Anti-Semitism and Remembrances of the Shoah. In his first audience with Jewish representatives, John Paul reaffirmed the Second Vatican Council's repudiation of anti-Semitism "as opposed to the very spirit of Christianity," and "which in any case the dignity of the human person alone would suffice to condemn" (Rome 1979; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 5). The pope repeated this message in country after country throughout the world, calling on Catholics, especially in Europe, to remember, "in particular, the memory of the people whose sons and daughters were intended for total extermination" ("Homily at Auschwitz" 1979; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 7). From the intensity of his own experience, the pope was able both to articulate the *uniqueness* of the Jewish experience of the *Shoah* and to revere the memory of all of Nazism's millions of non-Jewish victims. (The pope would have, it may be appropriate to say, agreed unreservedly with the formulation of Elie Wiesel (1928–): "Not every victim of the Holocaust was a Jew, but every Jew was a victim.")

In his 1987 address to the Jews of Warsaw, the pope acknowledged the priority as well as uniqueness of Jewish suffering in the *Shoah*: "It was you who suffered this terrible sacrifice of extermination: one might say that you suffered it also on behalf of those who were likewise to be exterminated" (Warsaw 1987; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 99). From this, he derived the very significant theological insight that the Jewish witness to the *Shoah* is for the Church as well as for all of humanity, a "saving warning," indeed a continuation "in the contemporary world" of the prophetic mission itself. The Church, in turn, is called to listen to this uniquely Jewish proclamation and to unite its voice to that of the Jewish people in their continuing "particular vocation" to be a light to the nations.

The order of the pope's theological reflection on the *Shoah* is important. As he stated in a 1987 letter to Archbishop John L. May (1922–1994), an "authentic" approach first grapples with the "specific" and, therefore, specifically Jewish reality of the event. Only then, and with this continually in mind, can one begin to seek out its more "universal meaning" (Fisher and Klenicki 1995, pp. 100–101).

In Miami the pope spoke of the "mystery of the suffering of Israel's children," and he called on Christians to learn from the "acute insights" of "Jewish thinkers" on the human condition and to develop in dialogue with Jews "common educational programs which ... will teach future generations about the Holocaust so that never again will such a horror be possible. Never again!" (Miami 1987; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 108). From "the suffering and martyrdom of the Jewish people," understood within the context of their "constant progression in faith and obedience to the loving call of God" over the centuries, then, one's remembrance of the *Shoah* may lead to "a much deeper hope ... a saving cry of warning for the whole human race" (Vienna 1988; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 121), a prophetic "prick of

conscience" that may tell us "what message our century [can] convey to the next" (Mauthausen 1988; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 118).

Over the years Pope John Paul issued strong statements condemning acts of terrorism against synagogues and Jewish communities, sending messages of sympathy for their victims. He also seldom missed a chance to remind Europeans of the *Shoah*. He frequently cited the statement of the Thirteenth International Catholic-Jewish Liaison Committee meeting held in Prague with its call for Christian *teshuvah* (repentance) for anti-Semitism over the centuries as well as its statement that anti-Semitism is "a sin against God and humanity" (cited in Pontifical Council on Christian Unity 1990, no. 75, 4:172–178), to place that joint statement firmly within Catholic teaching. On September 26, 1990, in his annual Jasna Góra meditation celebrating the feast of Our Lady of Częstochowa, the pope spoke as a Pole to his fellow Poles, reminding them:

> There is yet another nation, a particular people, the people of the Patriarchs, of Moses and the Prophets, the heirs of the faith of Abraham.... This people lived arm and arm with us for generations on that same land which became a kind of new homeland during the Diaspora. This people was afflicted by the terrible deaths of millions of its sons and daughters. First they were marked with special signs, then they were shoved into ghettos, isolated quarters. Then they were carried off to the gas chambers, put to death simply because they were the sons and daughters of this people. The assassins did all this in our land, perhaps to cloak it in infamy. However, one cannot cloak a land in infamy by the death of innocent victims. By such deaths the land becomes a sacred relic. The people who lived with us for many generations has remained with us after the terrible death of millions of its sons and daughters. Together we await the Day of Judgment and Resurrection. (Pontifical Council on Christian Unity 1990, no. 75, 4:172)

On Friday, October 31, 1997, John Paul II convened in Rome a symposium of theologians and historians to analyze the relationship between Christian anti-Judaism and modern, racial anti-Semitism. He saw the former as a contributing cause leading to the development of the latter, though by no means the only (or even the main) cause. He spoke of how centuries of Christian anti-Judaic teachings based upon serious "misunderstandings" of the New Testament itself, had by the twentieth century so "lulled the consciences" of many Christians in Europe that when the test came with the rise of Hitler and his ideology of anti-Semitic hatred, they "failed to act as the world had a right to expect" (John Paul II, October 31, 1997).

Similarly, the 1998 Vatican document *We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah* noted the distinction between Nazism's racist ideology and traditional Christian theological polemics against Judaism and the "blindness" of the Jews themselves and by implication the historic fact that the latter paved the way for the former by its constant, centuries-old attribution of negative stereotypes to Jews and Judaism, lulling the conscience, as it were, of a continent. The document concluded with this call to repentance:

> At the end of this millennium the Catholic Church desires to express her deep sorrow for the failures of her sons and daughters (toward the Jews) in every age. This is an act of repentance (*teshuvah*), since as members of the Church we are linked to the sins as well as the merits of all her children.... It is not a matter of mere words, but indeed of binding commitment.... We pray that our sorrow for the tragedy which the Jewish people has suffered in our century will lead to a new relationship with the Jewish people. We wish to turn awareness of past sins into a firm resolve to build a new future in which there will be no more anti-Judaism among Christians or anti-Christian sentiment among Jews, but rather a shared mutual respect as befits those who adore the one Creator and Lord and have a common father in faith, Abraham. (National Conference of Catholic Bishops 1998, p. 54)

In the week prior to his Jubilee Year pilgrimage to Israel, on the first SUNDAY of LENT, 2000, during the Mass at St. Peter's, the pope modified the penitential rite into a prayer for forgiveness for the sins of Catholics throughout the past millennium. The prayer is remarkable in many ways. It divides the sinfulness of the repentant Church into seven categories, one of which is the centuries of sins against the Jews. A few days before the pope's liturgical prayer, the INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL COMMISSION, chaired by then Cardinal Joseph RATZINGER (Pope Benedict XVI), issued a lengthy document that defines with greater specificity what the calls for God's forgiveness meant in each case. Section 5.4 of the document, referring to *We Remember,* quite specifically raises the question of the Church's ancient teaching of anti-Judaism and the Holocaust: "it may be asked whether the Nazi persecution of the Jews was not made easier by the anti-Jewish prejudices imbedded in some Christian minds and hearts."

Finally, during his historic pilgrimage to the Holy Land, John Paul observed a moment of prayerful silence at Yad VaShem, Israel's memorial to the victims of the Holocaust, and then intoned:

> In this place of memories, the mind and heart and soul feel an extreme need for silence. Silence in which to remember. Silence in which to try to make some sense of the memories which come flooding back. Silence because there are no words strong enough to deplore the terrible tragedy of the Shoah. My own personal memories are of all that happened when the Nazis occupied Poland during the war. I remember my Jewish friends and neighbors, some of whom perished while others survived.... We wish to remember. But we wish to remember for a purpose, namely to ensure that never again will evil prevail as it did for millions of innocent victims of Nazism.... As Bishop of Rome and successor of the Apostle Peter, I assure the Jewish people that the Catholic Church, motivated by the gospel law of truth and love and by no other consideration, is deeply saddened by the hatred, acts of persecution and displays of anti-Semitism directed against Jews by Christians at any time and in any place. In this place of solemn remembrance, I fervently pray that our sorrow for the tragedy which the Jewish people suffered in the twentieth century will lead to a new relationship between Jews and Christians. Let us build a new future in which there will be no more anti-Jewish feeling among Christians or anti-Christian feeling among Jews, but rather the mutual respect required of those who adore the one Creator and Lord, and look to Abraham as our common father in faith. (Jerusalem, March 23, 2000)

Many Israelis in attendance—survivors, politicians, religious leaders, and security officers—cried. Prime Minister Ehud Barak (1942–), himself a former general not given to sentimentality, spoke equally from his heart:

> When my grandparents, Elka and Shmuel Godin, mounted the death trains at Umschlagplatz near their home in Warsaw, headed toward their fate in Treblinka—the fate of three million Jews from your homeland—you were there, and you remembered. You have done more than anyone else to bring about the historic change in the attitude of the church toward the Jewish people, initiated by the good Pope John XXIII, and to dress the gaping wounds that festered over many bitter centuries. (Jerusalem, March 23, 2000)

Land and State of Israel. On December 30, 1993, representatives of the Holy See and the State of Israel signed in Jerusalem the *Fundamental Agreement* that would lead the way to full diplomatic "normalization of relations" between the two. On August 16, 1994, the apostolic pro-nuncio Archbishop Montezemolo (1925–) was accepted as the first ambassador of the Holy See to the Jewish State. As the *Fundamental Agreement* acknowledged, this was not just a moment of international diplomacy between two tiny Mediterranean states. It was a theologically significant moment in the nearly two-millennia-long history of the relationship between the Jewish people and the Catholic Church.

John Paul II's references to Israel over the years were positive ones, as they were as well toward the Palestinians as a people. This supportive attitude was expressed as early as his apostolic letter *Redemptionis anno* (1984), and he cited it many times after that. The implications for Catholic religious education preaching this papal affirmation on the right of the Jewish State to existence and security were drawn out in theological terms in the 1985 *Notes*, which distinguished between land, people, and State of Israel, affirming each appropriately. In the process the Vatican document gave a positive theological interpretation of the Diaspora as Israel's universal and "often heroic" witness to the world. Christians are invited to understand this religious attachment of Jews to the land of their forefathers, which finds its roots in biblical tradition, without, however, making any particular religious interpretation of this relationship. The existence of the State of Israel and its political options should be envisaged not in a religious perspective but in reference to the common principles of international law.

Over the years John Paul II increasingly expressed his deep concerns over and profound hopes for the Holy City:

> Jerusalem, called to be a crossroads of peace, cannot continue to be the cause of discord and dispute. I fervently hope that some day circumstances will allow me to go as a pilgrim to that city which is unique in all the world, in order to issue again from there, together with Jewish, Christian and Muslim believers, [the] message of peace (Rome 1991; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 144).
>
> What a blessing it would be if this Holy Land, where God spoke and Jesus walked, could become a special place of encounter and prayer for peoples, if the Holy City of Jerusalem could be a sign and instrument of peace and recon-

ciliation. (Rome 1992; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 162)

This is, again, language redolent with theological nuance in Catholic terms. "A sign and instrument of peace and reconciliation" is specifically *sacramental* language. To use it of an earthly city, albeit one with a "heavenly" analogue according to both Jewish and Christian traditions, is breathtakingly daring from one point of view. Catholic reverence for the Holy City of Jerusalem is not political but born of the sacredness of the city expressed in the psalms that the Church prays daily.

In March 2000 the Holy Father made a historic and, for him, long-awaited trip to the Holy Land, stopping en route at Mt. SINAI in Egypt (where God revealed the Ten Commandments to the Jewish people). He prayed at the ancient monastery there with the Greek Orthodox monks who keep penitential vigil at the foot of the mountain. The papal pilgrimage took John Paul first to BETHLEHEM and JERICHO in the Palestinian Authority. Then he went as a pilgrim to NAZARETH and Jerusalem, sites pregnant with sacred memories for Jews and Christians alike. As a pilgrim he prayed, not only at Christian sites but at Jewish ones: the Western Wall (the *Kotel*), the only remnant of the Temple of Jerusalem at which Jesus prayed and which he sought to cleanse, and Yad VaShem, Israel's profoundly moving memorial to the six million lives so brutally ended by Nazism. Despite the distracting extent of the media's coverage of the event and the various ongoing differences in viewpoint between Catholics and Jews, the pope's prayers were healing ones, offering reconciliation to both ancient communities.

Although the visit to Yad VaShem understandably and rightly garnered the central attention during the pope's trip, it may well be that in the long run his simple prayer at the Western Wall will have the longest and most profound impact. For this gesture marked the definitive end of the ancient polemical stance of the Catholic Church toward Judaism: the aptly named "teaching of contempt." According to this teaching, the Jews were not only ignorant of the true fulfillment of their (and also the Christian) Scriptures in the New Testament, they were willfully so.

For nearly two millennia, Jews have prayed at the Western Wall, all that was left of the Jerusalem Temple compound after the Romans destroyed the city following the second Jewish revolt. Now came the bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter, to pray at the Kotel as a humble pilgrim who acknowledged the full validity of Jewish prayer on its own terms at the site over the centuries. The Western Wall is for Jews the central physical remnant of Biblical Israel, that is, the central symbolic referent for Jews as a people and for Judaism as a four- to five-thousand-year-old faith tradition. The pope expressed no hesitation in his religious affirmation of Judaism, no political, theological, or social caveat. Once the pope prayed at the Wall, Jewish-Christian relations would never again be the same.

In Jerusalem, as well, the pope met with the two chief rabbis of Israel—a meeting of dialogue not diatribe, a meeting of reconciliation after centuries of alienation. It was a meeting neither the pope's nor the chief rabbis' parents' could have dreamed to be possible in their wildest imaginations. The pope seized the opportunity not just of a lifetime but of the millennium.

Controversies and Dialogue. While the pontificate of John Paul II was marked by the most solid and extensive advances in Catholic-Jewish relations, it also saw some vocal controversies. These revolved, not surprisingly, around the two key events of Jewish history in the twentieth century: the Holocaust and the State of Israel. The substantive position of the pope on both of these issues has been stated already. A series of incidents with regard to the *Shoah* greatly increased awareness of the fragility of the contemporary dialogue between the two communities.

In 1982 the pope met with Yasir ARAFAT, the leader of the Palestinian Authority who at the time was seen by many—and by all Jews—as nothing more than a terrorist. In 1987 the pope met with Kurt WALDHEIM, the newly elected president of Austria whose hidden Nazi past was then being revealed. The 1987 meeting with Waldheim precipitated a crisis for Catholic-Jewish relations in the United States because it came just weeks before the pope's visit, which was scheduled to open in Miami with a meeting with several hundred Jewish leaders from around the country.

Also controversial was the beatification in 1987 and canonization in 1998 of Edith STEIN, Sr. Benedicta of the Cross, a Jewish convert whose canonization raised questions in Jewish minds about the Church's intentions with regard to proselytism as well as its memory of the Holocaust. Was the Church about to launch a missionary effort targeted at the Jews? Was the Church trying to appropriate the *Shoah* to its own lexicon of suffering, thus whitewashing Christianity's role in paving the way for the death camps? (Papal statements on Edith Stein, along with Catholic and Jewish commentaries can be found in Sullivan 2000).

Although the Holy Father had nothing to do with the problem but only with its resolution, the Auschwitz convent controversy of the late 1980s absorbed a huge amount of energy and generated painful reflection, especially among the European Catholic hierarchy. In 1984 CARMELITE nuns in Poland established a small, cloistered convent in an abandoned building adjacent to the AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU death camp complex. A

well-meaning priest in Belgium, without the knowledge of the nuns, decided to raise money for it. The flyer he sent around to do this spoke of the convent as representing "the triumph of the Cross over Auschwitz." Auschwitz is the world's largest Jewish cemetery and, for Jews, symbolic of the *Shoah*. Again, Jews feared that the Church was trying to take over the Holocaust for its own purposes, blurring the Jewish specificity of the *Shoah*.

Controversies arose over the causes of canonization of two popes, PIUS IX and PIUS XII. Pius IX may have been put forward by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints of the Holy See to remind Catholics of the importance of continuity in Catholic TRADITION, because he was the pope who called the First Vatican Council. The memory of Pius IX is quite negative in the Italian Jewish community. At the beginning of his pontificate, Pius IX freed Jews from the ghetto of Rome, but later reinstated it. To make matters worse, there was also the case of Edgardo Mortara, a young Jewish boy whose Catholic nanny swore she had secretly baptized him as an infant. Because of this alleged baptism, Pius IX ordered the papal police to take the boy from his parents. Edgardo was raised in the Vatican, despite a worldwide outcry, became a priest, and died in 1942 in Belgium shortly before the Nazi invasion of the Lowland countries. The Mortara family was and is a very prominent one in the Italian Jewish community. The memory of their bitter loss of their child was still very fresh to them. The criticism of Pius XII was that he failed to speak out with sufficient explicitness on the fate of the Jews and that the Holy See did not do enough to prevent or oppose the Holocaust. Father Pierre Blet, one of the editors of Vatican archival material documenting Pius's policies concerning the deportation of Jews strongly repudiates the charge, and some Jewish scholars have been persuaded by the evidence, whereas others are reserving judgment until the full disclosure of the Vatican archives from Pius XII's pontificate.

Each of these controversies has its specifics and, especially on the symbolic level from the Jewish perspective, commonalities with the others. Indeed, some Jewish commentators have perceived a rather ominous pattern in these incidents: an attempt not so much to deny as to appropriate the Holocaust for the Church.

It must be said, first, that in each of these events there has been, if one takes the time to look, a papal response. The Holy See's responses tend to address the substance of Jewish concerns and do not always have an eye to media relations. In the meeting with Arafat, for example, the Vatican secretariat of state on the day of the meeting issued a tersely worded statement defining the meeting as not intending to give any credence whatsoever to Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) claims and explaining that the pope was meeting with Arafat to express humanitarian concerns for the Palestinian people and to exhort him to eschew violence against Jews. The Catholic press picked this up, but neither the Jewish nor the secular media did much with it. The result was that many Jews still speak of the pope embracing Arafat. He did not; the photo shows only a rather distant handshake, nothing resembling an embrace at all. Catholics, on the other hand, were rather satisfied that the pope, while meeting with Arafat, took the occasion to lambast him about PLO terrorism.

Likewise, a careful reading of the text of the pope's homily in beatifying Edith Stein reveals that, far from seeking to foster conversionism, as some have charged, the pope took the occasion to acknowledge the uniqueness of the *Shoah* for the Jews and to urge Catholics to greater sensitivity to the trauma suffered by the Jewish people. Again, the Catholic press tended to emphasize these healing elements of the pope's talks whereas the Jewish press expressed concern over what they saw as the possibility of a new wave of proselytism.

So, too, with John Paul II's visit to Austria in 1988. What the pope actually did and said during his meeting with the Jewish representatives in Vienna and later that same day in Mauthausen was reported very differently by and for the two communities. Understood on their own—which is to say, Catholic—terms, the pope's actions in these very authentically sensitive areas for Jews do not carry the symbolic weight or intent that the Jewish community appears to derive from them. For Catholics the pope's meetings with Arafat and Waldheim did not in any way give credence to either figure as such; in the course of his pastoral work, the pope, like any priest, meets many different individuals, and, like any head of state, meets with numerous people of whom he may or may not personally approve.

But it must also be said that this is exactly the problem. Catholics do not understand sufficiently the suffering and trauma that lie behind these largely symbolic (for Jews more so than for Catholics) actions on the part of the pope. The symbolism is very different on both sides. And while John Paul II, perhaps more than any other pope, was sensitive and open to Jews and Judaism, he acted, as in a very real sense he needed to act, as a Catholic. Both sides need, then, an understanding of each other's symbolic referents and a very real measure of mercy toward each other's words and gestures.

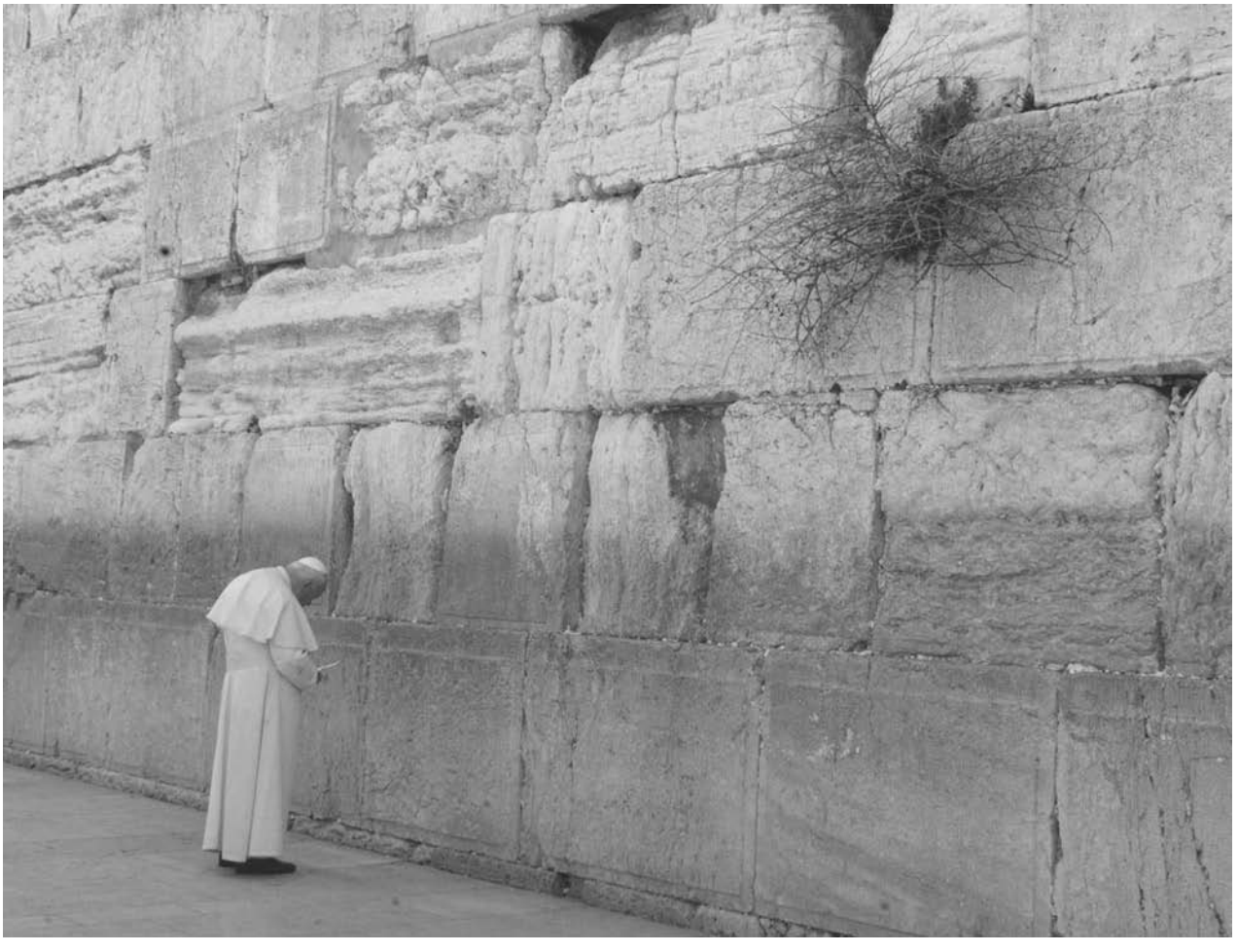
A Vision for the Future: The Call to Joint Witness and Action in History. Central to Pope John Paul's vision of the Christian-Jewish relationship is the hope that it offers an opportunity for joint social action and a witness to the One God and the reality of the KINGDOM OF GOD as the defining point of human history. In his address in Mainz, the pope called this "third dimension" of the dialogue a "sacred duty": "Jews and Christians, as

children of Abraham, are called to be a blessing for the world [d. Gen. 12:2ff] by committing themselves to work together for peace and justice among all peoples" (Mainz 1980; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 16).

Such joint action, for John Paul, is far more than simple good neighborliness. It is a fulfillment of the essential mission of both Judaism and Christianity, for, "certainly, the great task of promoting justice and peace [cf. Ps. 85:4], the sign of the messianic age in both the Jewish and Christian tradition, is grounded in its turn in the great prophetic heritage" (Rome 1984; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 32). The possibility of a joint proclamation by word and deed in the world, which yet avoids "any syncretism and any ambiguous appropriation" (Rome 1986; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 64), is seen by the pope as no less than a divine call:

> The existence and providence of the Lord, our Creator and Saviour, are thus made present in the witness of our daily conduct and belief. This is one of the responses that those who believe in God and are prepared to "sanctify his name" [*Kiddush ha-Shem*] [cf. Matt 6:91] can and should give to the secularistic climate of the present day. (Rome 1985; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 54)

This way of collaboration "in service of humanity" as a means of preparing for God's Kingdom unites Jews and Christians on a level that, in a sense, can be said to be deeper than the doctrinal distinctions that divide them historically. "Through different but finally convergent ways we will be able to reach, with the help of the Lord, who has never ceased to love his people (Rom 11:1), true brotherhood in reconciliation and respect and to contribute to a full implementation of God's plan in history" (Rome 1982; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 20). That "full implementation" the pope defines in religious terms. It is a "society ... where justice reigns and where ... throughout the world it is peace that



Solemn Prayer. *Pope John Paul II (1978–2005) stands at the Western Wall, Judaism's holiest site in Jerusalem's Old City on the final day of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.* **AP IMAGES**

rules, the *shalom* hoped for by the lawmakers, Prophets, and wise men of Israel" (Rome 1986; Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 65). To use the words of the 1985 *Notes* to summarize Pope John Paul II's thoughts on Christian-Jewish relations, one can say that it is his vision that through dialogue:

> We shall reach a greater awareness that the people of God of the Ancient [Hebrew] Scriptures and the New Testament are tending toward a like end in the future: the coming or return of the Messiah—even if they start from two different points of view. Attentive to the same God who has spoken, hanging on the same word, we have to witness to one same memory and one common hope in Him who is the master of history. We must also accept our responsibility to prepare the world for the coming of the Messiah by working together for social justice, respect for the rights of persons and nations, and for social and international reconciliation. To this we are driven, Jews and Christians, by the command to love our neighbor, by a common hope for the Kingdom of God, and by the great heritage of the Prophets. (CRRJ 1985, II:10–11)

The note that Pope John Paul placed in the Temple Wall in Jerusalem in 2000 was, by prior arrangement, immediately taken to Yad VaShem to be preserved and displayed there for future generations of Jews and Christians: "God of our fathers, you chose Abraham and his descendants to bring your Name to the Nations. We are deeply saddened by the behavior of those who in the course of history have caused these children of yours to suffer, and asking your forgiveness, we wish to commit ourselves to genuine brotherhood with the people of the Covenant" (March 26, 2000). The note distills in simple language much of what the pope had come to Israel to say to the Jewish people as the head of the Catholic Church and, in this instance, undoubtedly for all of Christianity. Jewish-Christian relations would never be the same. In a letter to the chief rabbi of the Rome synagogue on its 100th anniversary (May 22, 2004), John Paul II brought together several key themes:

> Not only the Sacred Scriptures, which to a large extent we share, not only the liturgy but also very ancient art forms witness to the Church's deep bond with the Synagogue; this is because of that spiritual heritage which without being divided or rejected has been made known to believers in Christ and constitutes an inseparable bond between us and you, the people of the Torah of Moses, the good olive tree unto which a new branch was grafted (cf. Rom 11:17). (John Paul II, May 22, 2004)

When John Paul II died, the Jewish world mourned his passing alongside Catholics. Many wondered if the great progress in relations John Paul II had made would continue or be slowed by his successor.

Pope Benedict XVI: The Pilgrimage Continues. At the beginning of his pontificate, Pope BENEDICT XVI stated clearly that with regard to Jews and Judaism, he would follow in the footsteps of his predecessor. In many ways he has. He visited a synagogue in Cologne, Germany, as John Paul II went to the Great Synagogue in Rome. He went to and prayed at Auschwitz, the infamous Nazi death camp, condemning anti-Semitism and holocaust denial.

In April of 2008, he met with the leaders of the world's largest Jewish community at the POPE JOHN PAUL II CULTURAL CENTER in Washington, D.C., as his predecessor had met with the American Jewish leadership in Miami in 1987, and also made a last-minute addition to his schedule to visit a synagogue, becoming the first pope to visit an American synagogue. And in May of 2009 he visited Israel, repeating there his predecessor's prayerful visits to Yad Vashem, Israel's memorial to the victims of the Shoah, and to the Western Wall (Kotel), placing there a prayer for peace between Israel and the Palestinians.

A few examples of what he said on these occasions will illustrate the depths of Benedict's dedication to fostering lasting relations with the Jewish people. At the John Paul II Center, Pope Benedict noted that Passover (Pesah) was approaching, so gave a special greeting:

> While the Christian celebration of Easter differs in many ways from your celebration of Pesah, we understand and experience it in continuation with the biblical narrative of the mighty works which the Lord accomplished for his people. At this time of your most solemn celebration, I feel particularly close, precisely because of what *Nostra aetate* calls Christians to remember always: that the Church received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God in His inexpressible mercy concluded the Ancient Covenant. Nor can she forget that she draws sustenance from the root of that well-cultivated olive tree onto which have been grafted the wild shoots, the Gentiles (*Nostra aetate*, 4). In addressing myself to you I wish to re-affirm the Second Vatican Council's teaching on Catholic-Jewish relations and reiterate the Church's commitment to the dialogue that in the past forty years has fundamentally changed our relationship for



Pope Benedict XVI and Jewish-Catholic Relations. *Pope Benedict XVI is presented with a gift by Sephardic chief rabbi Shlomo Amar, second from left; Israel's Ashkenazi chief rabbi Yona Metzger, second from right; and Israel's Chief Rabbinate director-general Oded Wiener, left, as President of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity Cardinal Walter Kasper looks on during their meeting in the pontiff's summer residence of Castel Gandolfo, Italy, Thursday, September 15, 2005. Israel's two chief rabbis urged Pope Benedict XVI to speak out against the desecration of synagogues and other forms of anti-Semitism during a meeting.* **AP IMAGES**

> the better. Because of that growth in trust and friendship, Christians and Jews can rejoice together in the deep spiritual ethos of the Passover, a memorial (*zikkaron*) of freedom and redemption. (April 18, 2008)

Arriving at Ben Gurion airport in Israel on May 11, 2009, the pope immediately addressed the significance of the Shoah, reaffirming the Church's commitment to remembering, side by side with the Jewish people, the fighting and victims of all manifestations of anti-Semitism, and announcing his intention

> to honor the memory of the six million Jewish victims of the Shoah, and to pray that humanity will never again witness a crime of such magnitude. Sadly, anti-Semitism continues to rear its ugly head in many parts of the world. This is totally unacceptable. Every effort must be made to combat anti-Semitism wherever it is found, and to promote respect and esteem for the members of every people, tribe, language and nation across the globe.

Finally, on August 9, 2009, in Rome, the pope noted the feast days of two saints, Edith Stein and Maximilian KOLBE, both of whom died in Auschwitz, Stein as but one of the six million Jews murdered by the Nazis in the Shoah. He said:

> The Nazi concentration camp as every death camp, can be considered an extreme symbol of evil, of the hell that comes to earth when man forgets God, and when he is replaced, usurping from him the right to decide what is good and what is evil, to give life and or to take life. (*Catholic News Agency* 2009)

Such activities and strong affirmations have helped to move forward the Catholic-Jewish relationship. Benedict's tenure, however, has not been without controversy, any more than was that of his predecessor. The first

controversy arose when the pope allowed widespread usage of the Tridentine, or pre-Vatican II, liturgy, for in that liturgy there was the rather infamous prayer for the conversion of Jews, with its references to the "blindness of the Jews," to the "lifting of a veil from their heart," and to their "being pulled from darkness."

Benedict, however, rewrote the GOOD FRIDAY prayer, the only revision in the old liturgy that he made. He eliminated the blatant negatives. The prayer as it now reads has two sentences. The first prays that the Jews will come to Christ, but does not say when. The second paraphrases the ending of Romans 9–11, a passage relied on by the Second Vatican Council, in which St. Paul states that "all Israel will be saved" when the "fullness" or "abundance" of the GENTILES comes to Christ, which is eschatological. Read this way, as both Cardinal Walter Kasper of the Holy See's Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews and the Vatican secretary of state have said it should be read, the prayer is eschatological, in no way a call for efforts to convert the Jews in the present time.

The second controversy stung the German pope in a more personal way. Hoping to heal a schism that had its origins in dissatisfactions with the Second Vatican Council, the pope remitted the excommunications of four bishops of the Society of St. Pius X (SSPX), who had been ordained by Archbishop Marcel Lefevre (1905–1991) in defiance of the orders of the pope. It turned out that one of the four was not merely conservative theologically but a rabid anti-Semite and Holocaust-denier. Did the pope mean to sanction such views? He did not, but the resulting turmoil was, to put it mildly, explosive. The pope once again condemned anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial and took the unusual step of writing an explanatory letter to the world's bishops. In it, the pope admitted that he had not known the full record of the bishop in question and that the Holy See should have investigated more closely, using the Internet, and deplored the setback in relations between Catholics and Jews. He stated that for the full reconciliation of the SSPX with the Church, the former would have to acknowledge to the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH that such teachings as those of the renegade bishop were false, and that the teachings of the Second Vatican Council on this and other matters of contention were valid. As of 2009, the SSPX had not done so.

In the United States, efforts for deeper dialogue between Catholics and Jews led to a document issued on August 12, 2002, by Catholic and Jewish scholars titled "Reflections on Covenant and Mission." Because of some questions raised about this document, the Committee on Doctrine and the Committee on Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs of the USCCB released "A Note on Ambiguities Contained in Reflections on Covenant and Mission," dated June 18, 2009. This note explained that the 2002 document was not an official statement of the USCCB, and it likewise tried to clarify some perceived ambiguities in the original 2002 "Reflections." On August 18, 2009, leaders of the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, and Conservative, Reform and Orthodox Judaism expressed their joint concern that paragraph seven of the USCCB's *Note* (of June 18, 2009) appeared to state that, for Catholics, dialogue with Jews is a means of proselytism or a disguised invitation to baptism and that God's covenant with the Jews had been abrogated at the time of Christ. By way of response, on October 2, 2009, Cardinals Francis E. GEORGE and William Henry KEELER, along with Archbishop Wilton Gregory (1947–) of Atlanta, Georgia; Bishop William Lori (1951–) of Bridgeport, Connecticut; and Bishop William Murphy (1940–) of Rockville Centre, New York, issued a joint response announcing that two final sentences of paragraph seven of the June 2009 *Note* would be excised and affirming the ongoing validity of God's covenant with the Jewish People. At the same time, they also released a statement of "Six Principles for Catholic-Jewish Dialogue" in order "to promote deeper bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between the members of our two communities."

In conclusion, it can be said that relations between Jews and Christians, over the centuries, have had their ups and downs, with the nadir reached during the period of the *Shoah*, but a new beginning with fresh hope was made by the Second Vatican Council and the efforts of many Catholics, with the leadership of the popes, showed fruitful results, but much is yet to be done.

SEE ALSO ABRAHAM, PATRIARCH; AMBROSE, ST.; CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; CONSTANTINE I, THE GREAT, ROMAN EMPEROR; COVENANT (IN THE BIBLE); DIASPORA, JEWISH; DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH; FINALY AFFAIR; HEBREW SCRIPTURES; INQUISITION; JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (THEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF); JOHN PAUL II AND INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE; JULIAN THE APOSTATE; KAROL WOJTYŁA: EARLY YEARS; MORTARA CASE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH WILHELM; PASSOVER, FEAST OF; PAUL, APOSTLE, ST.; PILATE, PONTIUS; ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); TRIDENTINE MASS; UT UNUM SINT: JOHN PAUL II'S ECUMENICAL COMMITMENT; VATICAN COUNCIL I; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (THEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF)

The major disagreements between Jews and traditional Christians (i.e., those who accept the canon of the New Testament and the theological decisions of the first seven ecumenical councils) focus on the mystery of GOD and the person of the MESSIAH. The antithetical approaches to the questions of three persons in one God and the person of the Messiah, believed by Christians to be JESUS of NAZARETH, true God and true man, will not be set aside; however, clarification of the Catholic understanding regarding the Jewish stance can remove generalized accusations of blindness and/or malice. A review of key

passages of the New Testament will set the stage for presentation of theological issues.

The Gospel on Jewish Leaders. The New Testament texts present the public ministry of Jesus as a progressive revealing of his personhood and mission in the context of growing opposition from Jewish leaders and teachers. The religious authorities in the Temple of JERUSALEM claimed to be the guardians of proper interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures (TORAH of MOSES, Prophets and Writings, the latter not yet a "closed canon") as well as mediators of sacrificial worship. They were supported by the SADDUCEES, nobles, and others who benefited from a stable relationship with the Roman military presence. During and after the time of Jesus, some of those who became high priests were accused by their contemporaries of compromise with the Romans (Brown 1994, pp. 315–660). This involved decisions that emphasized expediency rather than the pursuit of justice (see John 11:45–53).

The PHARISEES respected the role of the priests in worship, but they insisted that Moses had received an oral Torah along with the written Word, which was handed on to JOSHUA and to succeeding generations of prophets and teachers down to their own time (see Mishnah Abhot 1:1). Through prayerful study these Pharisees learned to interpret the commandments and apply them to their own time. Jewish life was centered on the Temple, where the divine Presence was experienced, and they brought this into their daily lives by imitating priestly practices of prayer. Thus, people were encouraged to find meals and the marital relationship as contexts for recognizing that God's presence imbues all facets of life. People are called to purify themselves to be prepared for holiness, that is, a life separated from sin and oriented forward to the coming of the KINGDOM OF GOD. These principles, linked to observance of the Decalogue and other commandments governing one's relationship with God, neighbor and nature, provided a deep spiritual understanding of life (Frizzell 1994, pp. 53–55).

The presentation of ideals may lead to fanatical extremes, breeding intolerance of the seeming flawed existence of the uneducated. Jesus defended his disciples when they were accused of laxity and pointed to inconsistency and hypocrisy on the part of some Pharisees (Mt 15:1–20; Mk 7:1–23) (Frizzell 1980, pp. 87–91). Unfortunately the evangelists did not distinguish between groups within the Pharisaic movement. The seven woes against the Pharisees (Matt 23:1–39) were directed against the strict House of Shammai, which at that time was more influential than the more tolerant House of Hillel (Finkel 1974, pp. 134–143). Jesus was patient with the limitations of the general populace but criticized his peers, those who claimed to be teachers and protectors of the correct way to keep the commandments (see Mt 22:15–45 par.).

The GOSPEL in its fourfold presentation became the texts which, for Christians, corresponded to the Torah of Moses as the high point of the early Christian liturgy of the WORD; the Gospel was the prime focus for the homily. By the early second century, the majority of Christians were of Gentile origin. They failed to see the debates and accusations in the Gospels as evidence of inner-family quarrels, with the Jewish use of sharp critique and name-calling as a challenge for listeners to examine their consciences. Rather than noting the continuity of the Israelite prophet's role as an admonisher of leaders, these preachers declared that Jesus was expressing alienation from his Jewish roots. The general tendency of a younger group to protest against the perceived inadequacies (legalism, ritualism, hypocrisy) of the older community is evident in much early Christian preaching and apologetics. Some preachers created volatile situations in Christian-Jewish relations in various parts of Europe and the Middle East by using negative generalizations and accusing all Jews, even those of subsequent generations, of malice toward Jesus in his PASSION (e.g., Mt 27:25).

The issue of responsibility for Jesus' condemnation cannot be ignored. The Passion narratives describe the involvement of the Temple priests and their collaborators; the final judgment was in the hands of Pontius PILATE. "True, the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ; still, what happened in his passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today" (Vatican II *Nostra aetate*, 4).

New Testament Sources. The documents of the New Testament span a long period, from Paul's letters to the Gospels and Acts two or more decades later. However, these theological presentations of the work of Jesus and the apostles are grounded in oral traditions that can be traced back to the infant church and/or to the public ministry of Jesus.

Paul of Tarsus. The Pharisee who received the name Saul at circumcision (Phil 3:4–6) expressed his commitment to God by persecuting the early Jewish Christians (Gal 1:13; 1 Tim 1:12–15). After Jesus was revealed to him (Gal 1:15–16, Acts 9 par), he channeled his zeal in nonviolent service of the Gospel. At times, he expressed his defense of the Christian minorities in terms that echoed pagan bigotry: Jews "displease God and oppose all men" (1 Th 2:14–16). The generalized accusation that they "killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets" should be read in the light of his statement that God's hidden wisdom was not known to "the rulers of this

age, for if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory" (1 Cor 2:6–8).

Later, Paul's Letter to the Romans discussed Christian-Jewish relations in a more extended and calm reflection. Using techniques from Jewish interpretation of the Scriptures and preaching, he analyzed the rejection of the Gospel by many Jews of his time. First, he listed seven gifts of God to the Jewish people (Rom 9:4–5), gifts that perdure after the time of Jesus. The mystery of election, typified in the choice of the younger sons, ISAAC and JACOB, is derived from divine mercy (9:6–29, 11:30–32) and is linked to righteousness, a divine gift to which the initial human response is faith (3:21–4:25; 9:30–33). The Messiah is the goal of the Torah (10:4), for which Moses ascended and Jonah descended (10:6–8 in light of ancient Jewish tradition interpreting Deut 30:12–13). Paul interpreted Isaiah 65:1–2 as a contrast between the favorable lot of Gentile converts and "a disobedient and contentious people" (Septuagint) in Romans 10:19–21. However, God has not rejected His people (11:1), and a remnant has always remained faithful (11:2–10). The GENTILES' acceptance of the Gospel should stimulate a holy jealousy among Jews (11:11, 14), for all are consecrated and sanctified by the first fruits of dedication to God and endowed with strength from the root of the cultivated olive tree onto which the Gentiles have been grafted (11:16–24). "A hardening has come upon part of Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles comes in, and so all Israel will be saved" (11:25–26). The Jews are beloved because of the patriarchs, "for the gifts and calling of God are irrevocable" (11:25–29). In regard to such a mystery, Paul's theological reflection rooted in prayer becomes a doxology (11:33–36). (See Frizzell in Kessler 2005, pp. 383–385; Romans 9–11.)

In the "Declaration of the Church's Bond with the Jewish People" (*Nostra aetate*), the Fathers of the Second Vatican Council drew heavily on Paul's Letter to the Romans, quoting 9:4–5. Theologians must continue to draw upon the insights of Paul's Letters, taking into account the vicissitudes of history and the misuses of the Sacred Scriptures in polemics over the centuries.

Matthew, Mark and Luke. The SYNOPTIC GOSPELS have been the subject of intense study over many centuries. During the difficult decades from 1920 to 1950, German scholars dominated the scholarly scene. Their methods were often compromised by their presuppositions, denying miracles and doubting the reliability of oral traditions. In recent decades the contributions of Jewish scholars in ISRAEL and in English-speaking areas, along with the discovery of the Qumran (Dead Sea) Scrolls, have brought new respect for the historical value of the Gospels. The comparative study of sources and the appreciation that each evangelist was a theologian serving the needs of a local church have enabled scholars to explain differences in the records, noting ways in which the narratives allow ecclesial communities to answer urgent questions and solve disputes. In this way a deeper understanding of Jesus' teachings and their application to the Christian life contribute to an appreciation of both continuity and new insights in the Gospel.

The Fourth Gospel. The Gospel according to JOHN is rich in Jewish sources, especially regarding the Temple liturgy. However, the frequent use of the term *the Jews* to designate the opponents of Jesus has led to generalizations that preachers and teachers have applied to all Jews. Careful study has shown that *the Jews* are implicated in all threats against the life of Jesus except in John 11:45–54, where chief priests and Pharisees consult and the reason is political. Elsewhere the motivation is religious (5:18; 8:59; 10:31–33; 19:7), so the phrase *the Jews* designates the Temple leaders and those following them (Frizzell in Radici 2000, pp. 127–146).

Off-quoted words of Jesus to the Samaritan woman, "salvation is from the Jews" (John 4:22) should be understood in relation to the work of the Messiah, whose "hour" will bring people to worship the Father in spirit and truth (4:23–24). Tension between Jews and Christians is described in 9:22 and 16:2–3, the only texts that speak of Christians being put out of the synagogue. "Indeed the hour is coming when whoever kills you will think that he is offering service to God" (16:2). From the Christian perspective this involved an erroneous conscience (see Phil 3:6). Was this text used to offset the charge of deicide? Rather, the pattern of popular teaching was often to accuse *the Jews* of killing Jesus, knowing that He was the SON OF GOD. The ancient concept of solidarity between leaders and the entire community was applied (perhaps unwittingly) to indict all Jews of the time and even those of later generations. However, at the time of Jesus, Jews were scattered widely throughout the ROMAN EMPIRE and beyond; many did not follow the Sadducean model of adherence to the priests as teachers, so the image of a monolithic expression of Jewish practices is erroneous.

Another stereotype developed from the application of John 8:44 and Apocalypse 2:9 and 3:9 (*synagogue*, i.e., assembly, of Satan). This originally referred to specific groups, not to all Jews and synagogues. Thus, in Epistles 40–41 of St. AMBROSE and eight sermons of St. John Chrysostom, all Jews were depicted in the service of the devil. This judgment, attributing malice and evil to the essence of Jewish prayer, has caused grave harm to Jews over the centuries.

The Second Vatican Council. Pope JOHN PAUL II repudiated the accusation of diabolical servitude by visiting the main synagogue of Rome on April 13, 1986. In preparation for the JUBILEE YEAR, he led a penitential service on March 12, 2000, in which he asked God to forgive the sins of Christians against seven groups, including the Jews. Later that month, his pilgrimage to Jerusalem included a visit to the Western Wall, where he inserted the same prayer into a crevice between the stones. In this and many contexts, the Polish pope set the tone for the Church to develop in the new millennium.

In discussing this history, one should distinguish between ANTI-SEMITISM and ANTI-JUDAISM. The former term describes anti-Jewish prejudice, discrimination, and bigotry in all its forms. The rather common tendency to ascribe negative characteristics to an entire group in a society can lead easily to generalizations and stereotypes that affect individuals and their group adversely. This has been devastating for the Jewish people, a minority in so many societies. The term *anti-Judaism* is used increasingly to describe Christian bigotry as a result of "long standing sentiments of mistrust and hostility" (National Conference of Catholic Bishops [NCCB] 1998, p. 51). The effects on Jews may be the same as other forms of anti-Semitism, but the distinction allows Christians to focus on the precise factors that made *their* prejudice so virulent over so many centuries. Nazi anti-Semitism was "based on theories contrary to the constant teaching of the Church on the unity of the human race and on the equal dignity of all races and peoples" (NCCB 1998, p. 51). Christian leaders combated this ideology, but many ordinary people listened rather to the Nazi propaganda that stressed the continuity of their regime's discriminatory legislation and atrocious attacks on the rights and very persons of Jews with the laws, persecutions, and expulsions of earlier times.

The different forms that anti-Jewish bigotry takes in the present situation should be recognized so that Christians, whose leaders have worked diligently to overcome "the teaching of contempt" for Jews and Judaism, will stand with the Jewish people, both locally and in the national and international arenas, in a concerted effort to unveil and defeat all forms of anti-Semitism. This is a sin against God and humanity and should be recognized by all to be a particularly virulent and long-standing form of intolerance (Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace 1988).

Theological Issues. by definition theology must be grounded in faith and prayer, so that effort to elucidate aspects of the mysteries of god and creation should be made in this spiritual context. Christian theologians learn from Moses and the other prophets, from psalmists and sages, as from Jesus and the Apostles, to find the principles that have guided the Church's doctrinal and moral message. From these foundations of the Church Magisterium the following reflections develop to face the challenges of the Christian faith in regard to the Jewish people.

Covenant: Old and New. In his address to the Jewish community of Mainz, Germany, on November 17, 1980, Pope John Paul II spoke of "the meeting between the people of God of the Old Covenant, never revoked by God (cf. Rom 11:29), and that of the New Covenant, which is at the same time a dialogue within our Church, that is to say, between the first and second part of her Bible" (Fisher 1995, p. 15). The reference to "the Old Covenant never revoked by God" has led some scholars to include the Sinai Covenant, but others to restrict it to the covenant with ABRAHAM (Gen 15) (Lohfink 1991).

Since the Greek term *diatheke* may be rendered as *covenant* or *testament*, this term for Christians designates the Sacred Scriptures (2 Cor 3:14) as well as the solemn agreement God initiated in favoring Abraham's descendants. God's gift may be unilateral or bilateral. First, God called Abram to respond in faith to the promissory pact wherein God gave the Land to his descendants. Abram's only response was the act of faith, accepting the gift (Gen 15:1–21). The covenant of circumcision was bilateral, with God's promise that the patriarch would be the father of many nations, signified by changing his name to Abraham. This would be an everlasting covenant for him and his descendants, with the land of Canaan as an everlasting possession (Gen 17:1–21). The command to walk before God and be blameless (17:2) was completed by the covenantal sign of male circumcision.

The Sinai Covenant, celebrated fifty days after the Exodus from EGYPT, was a bilateral agreement whereby the Israelites became a "kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Ex 19:6), oriented to the service of God in the Land, guided by the commandments (Ex 20–23). The commandments govern the human relationships with God, neighbor, self, and nature. Sins of idolatry and injustice were at the forefront of prophetic indictments of the leaders and ordinary people over the generations. The favorite model for these teachers to present the covenant and its demands was marriage (Hos 3:1; Ez 16:15–52). As bride and spouse, Israel is expected to be faithful to her one Lord. Idolatry is called adultery, yet God will forgive and restore her (Jer 3:1–13).

The new covenant promised by JEREMIAH (31:31–34) and its analogues in EZEKIEL (11:19; 16:59–63; 18:31; 34:25–31; 36:22–28) were realized when the people returned from the Babylonian exile and rebuilt the Temple. However, the hope for restoration of all twelve tribes was not achieved. Instead, prophet and

psalmist pointed to the goodwill of people from the nations and the desire of some to unite with the Jews (Zech 2:10–12; 8:20–23; Is 56:3; Ps 87). Both the Qumran texts and the New Testament refer to the "new Covenant" (CD 6:19; 8:21; 20:12; 1 Cor 11:24–25). The renewal of Temple worship under a revitalized priesthood (Zech 3:1–10) gave evidence that God had restored the COVENANT bond with his people. Although the Qumran leaders rejected the Hasmonean line of high priests, Jesus and the first generation of his followers frequented the Temple. At the Last Supper Jesus opened the new covenant to believers from among the nations, who were also beneficiaries of divine forgiveness (Mt 26:27–28 and Jer 31:34). The mission to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Mt 10:6, 23; 15:24) points to Jesus' expectation for the restoration of the twelve tribes (Jer 31:31; Ez 37:15–28), after the Church's mission to make disciples of all nations (Mt 28:19–20; see 10:23, 19:28). The Great Commission should be seen in the light of Jesus' demand that all Christians be one in service of the Father so that the world will know Jesus' mission (Jn 17:21–23). Worldwide missionary efforts have been less fruitful because Christians have neglected to become one fold under one shepherd (Jn 10:16–17) (Frizzell 1981, pp. 141–150). Rather than aggressive proselytizing, only the witness of a Christian response to the Gospel call to imitate God (Mt 5:48; Lk 6:36; Jn 17:21–23) will stimulate a holy jealousy on the part of Jews (Rom 11:11).

The renewal of the bilateral covenant with the reciprocal bond between God and his people (Lev 26:12; taken up in Jer 31:33; 32:38–40; Ez 36:28) is implied by Paul in his list of seven privileges of Israel, especially the covenants (plural in most manuscripts) and worship (Rom 9:4–5). Although the promises to Abraham regarding the nations (Gen 12:3; 17:4) are seldom mentioned by the prophets (see Is 51:1–2), Israel's mission to the nations is an integral part of Temple worship. The role of the Servant to bring justice to the nations will be the result of the divine mission to be "a covenant of the people, a light for the nations" (Isa 42:1, 6; see 49:6). This is a task for the PEOPLE OF GOD in the context of hope for the Messiah.

The Gospel tradition contains a comparison between old and new with images of garments and wineskins (Mt 9:14–17; Mk 2:18–22; Lk 5:33–39). Luke alone includes a comment about old and new wine: "The old is good" (5:39). "This verse is merely another way of commenting on the incompatibility of the 'old' and the 'new'; it expresses the negative attitude of Jesus' opponents" (Fitzmyer 1981, p. 597). Rather, this may acknowledge that those who were imbued with the Pharisees' spirituality and had learned only superficially Jesus' teaching would prefer to retain their tradition. Their attitude need not be merely negative; they may have been testing and holding fast to what they found to be good (1 Thess 5:19–21). The interpretation that their minds were hardened and that a veil remains when they read the Old Testament (2 Cor 3:12–18) is linked to faith in the person of Jesus as the Christ. However, as Paul wrote to the Christians of Rome: these Jews are elect, "beloved for the sake of their forefathers" (Rom 11:28). Their continuing role in the divine plan is to be evaluated in a benign, rather than judgmental, manner. So that Christians can learn the depths of Jewish insights into *their* Sacred Scriptures, the Christian scribe and teacher should be "like a householder who brings out of his treasure what is new and what is old" (Mt 13:52).

The learned treatise known as "The Letter to the Hebrews" contains a lengthy discussion of themes of CHRISTOLOGY and ECCLESIOLOGY related to covenant and tabernacle. As SON OF DAVID, Jesus is high priest after the model of MELCHIZEDEK, who has entered the heavenly sanctuary after his unique self-offering on the cross. In quoting Psalm 95 in Hebrews 4:1–11 and in using the SEPTUAGINT of Jeremiah 31:31–34 (in chapter 38:31–34) in Hebrews 8:7–13, the author refers to the inadequacy of the tabernacle in the wilderness. This reminds the reader of the Damascus Document in the Qumran texts that discuss this community's dispute with the Hasmonean priests and their claim to be "the people of the new covenant in the land of Damascus" (CD 6:19; 8:21; 20:12).

Drawing on Exodus 25:40 and 26:30, Hebrews rightly notes that the earthly tabernacle is but a copy of the heavenly reality. Just as the mysterious Melchisedek represented the priesthood exemplified uniquely by Jesus (Heb 5:1–10), so is Jesus "the mediator of a better covenant, founded on better promises" (8:6). The summary review of the PONTIFICAL BIBLICAL COMMISSION document of 2002 said Hebrews meant that "the covenant announced and prefigured in the Old Testament is fulfilled. It is not simply a renewal of the Sinai covenant, but the establishment of a covenant that is truly new, founded on a new base, Christ's personal sacrificial offering" (cf. 9:14–15) (Pontifical Biblical Commission 2002, p. 108). This section concludes with the assessment that "Israel continues to be in a covenant relationship with God, because the covenant-promise is definitive and cannot be abolished. But the early Christians were also conscious of living in a new phase of that plan, announced by the prophets and inaugurated by the blood of Jesus, 'blood of the covenant,' because it was shed out of love (cf. Rv 1:5[b]–6)" (Pontifical Biblical Commission 2002, p. 109).

In recent decades a number of Jewish scholars have emphasized the Covenant of God with NOAH on behalf of all creation (Gen 9:8–17) and the rabbinical teaching that the nations must observe only the seven Noahide

laws to achieve salvation. Thus those among the nations who reject idolatry, murder, adultery, theft, false witness, and cruelty to animals, and establish courts to achieve justice will be pleasing to God. This approach implicitly dismisses the Christian claim to relate to God through messianic hope rooted in the call of Abraham and the teachings of the prophets. Is the title "righteous of the nations" sufficient from the perspective of Christian self-definition? The Pauline description of Gentile Christians becoming adopted children of Abraham through faith and Baptism (Gal 3:26–29) implies a closer relationship than the common human descent from our protoparents. This should not be interpreted as replacing the Jews but of a collaborative bond that invites Christians to a humble union with God's people.

The Jewish theologian Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929) used the image of the Star of David to depict a two-fold covenant experience. Israel as "eternal people" is already with God the Father at the center of the star. Christianity and ISLAM carry its rays of light to the world at large, presenting a witness to the one God, so that the nations can overcome idolatry. However, such a dual covenant theory places the Jewish people beyond history and does not take into account the space dimensions of the human situation added to the scenario through the dramatic creation of the State of ISRAEL. Like other nations, the Jewish state faces the challenge "to uphold and observe the human right to freedom of religion and conscience..." (*Fundamental Agreement* 1993, p. 1).

Salvation of Jews. During the Nazi period Irene Harand (1900–1975), an Austrian Catholic laywoman, challenged her fellow believers to recognize that the command to "love your neighbor as yourself" (Lev. 19:18; Rom 13:8–10, etc.) cannot exclude the Jews. The fact that this was not obvious to all constitutes an indictment of preachers and teachers in the Church. Even those Jews who were opponents of the Church and the Christian political parties in European countries should have been viewed from the Gospel perspective (Mt 5:43–48). Unfortunately, the fact that *some* Jews were linked with anti-Christian political groups led many to consider *all* Jews to be dangerous opponents of the FAITH. Even in times less politically charged than those in Europe of the 1930s, antipathy and animosity experienced in the home and on the street are difficult to overcome but must be countered by balanced teaching. This means that adult education is of great importance; it must be founded in the New Testament, "conformed to the truth of the Gospel and the Spirit of Christ" (*Nostra aetate* 4), interpreted in the light of guidelines offered by the HOLY SEE (Fisher and Kelenicki 1990, pp. 29–50).

Matthew recorded the Gospel challenge to Christians: "Unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the Kingdom of Heaven" (5:20). Examples follow that give Jesus' insights into the commandments and their observance (5:21–48). Jesus criticized some teachers for laxity (5:19) or hypocrisy (15:3–9), yet commended others. Thus a rich young man was told to keep the commandments to gain eternal life (19:16–22). The parable of the sheep and goats introduces corporal acts of mercy as the basis for gaining entrance into the kingdom (25:31–46). The commandments must be observed; this obedience and the service of others in need will be the basis for hearing the LORD's welcome into eternal life. Christians might emphasize the importance of faith, but this must lead to deeds that respond to the heavenly Father's will (7:21–23; see James 1:22–25). Surely Judgment Day will bring a surprise to those who deny that observant and charitable Jews will enter the Kingdom.

Just as JOHN THE BAPTIST exhorted Jews who were proud of their Abrahamic pedigree to "bear fruit that befits repentance" (Mt 3:8), so Christians in every age should focus on a life of good deeds, responding to the covenantal gifts that provide the basis for a life of service. The Decalogue and the call to imitate God's holiness by acts of mercy have been presented by prophets and teachers in both traditions.

Those Christians who badger Jews to accept Jesus as their personal SAVIOR fail to grasp the biblical message about judging (Mt 7:1–2; James 4:11–12). The burden of European history weighs far more heavily on Jews than on others. The explicit invitation to become a Christian led Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907–1972), a theologian much appreciated by Pope PAUL VI, to reply: "I would rather go to Auschwitz." Although the pope repudiated forced Baptism during the First Crusade, this memory comes to mind immediately for those who know Jewish history. What Christians see as fulfillment, most Jews call apostasy.

The philosophy of dialogue, developed by Ferdinand Ebner (1882–1931), an Austrian Catholic, and applied by Martin BUBER to Jewish-Christian relations, calls for each partner to respect the personal self-understanding of the other (Stahmer 1968, p. 148). Each should stand open to learning from a person of similar background in the other faith. Any intention to change the other's faith involves a betrayal of trust and becomes an attempt to control or manipulate the other person. Through dialogue both sides may change, but each person usually integrates the insights into the principles and values deriving from his or her own heritage. All partners should witness to their faith and practice in an exemplary fashion, which should stimulate all to excellence.

The situation is different when someone of any, or no, faith background asks for guidance in personal

growth that may involve conversion. For decades the Reform and Conservative movements in Judaism have been engaged in outreach programs for the unchurched and for baptized Christians as well. No people from any faith should be expected to "hide their light under a bushel basket" (Mt 5:14–16). Granted that people of a religious commitment dislike hearing of a departure from their fold, this does occur and those in ecumenical and interfaith dialogue must acknowledge the fact.

Prayers for the Jews. Over the centuries in Catholic countries, HOLY WEEK has been the context for tensions with the Jewish community, resulting at times in persecution. The tragic irony of bad theology and catechesis has led pious people to lash out against their neighbors. On GOOD FRIDAY the proclamation of the Passion was in Latin, as were the Solemn Orations and the IMPROPERIA (Reproaches) sung during the veneration of the CROSS. Most of the laity would not have understood the prayers, so much depended on the homily as a guide into the spiritual benefits of their participation. Thus the clergy had a serious responsibility as teachers, so that the liturgy would challenge people to acknowledge that *they* are in need of divine mercy. This is clear from the congregation's refrain to the Reproaches: "Holy God, Holy and Mighty One, Holy Immortal One, *have mercy on us*." The use of Micah 6:3–4 and themes from Israel's wilderness wandering were intended to be typological (see 1 Cor 10:6), but many interpreters focused on "the Jews" in sermons and in learned commentaries (Frizzell and Henderson 2001, pp. 197–203).

"*Lex supplicandi statuit legem credendi*" (The rule of petition establishes the norm for belief). This original form of the laconic "*Lex orandi, lex credendi*" focuses on prayer of petition, and rightly so; these prayers should not be mere lip service but should be reflected in the daily lives of the faithful. The concern of Catholics should not be on how prayers sound to outsiders, but with the integrity of their own prayer lives. Because petitionary prayer is linked to action and Christians wish to prepare the way for the final days by their deeds, praying for "the conversion of Jews" (not merely for moral dimensions of everyone's life but for faith in Jesus as Messiah and Son of God) could lead easily to concrete and focused efforts to convert Jews in their midst. Such was the practice of an annual obligatory sermon for the Jews of Rome in the MIDDLE AGES. The Church now recognizes that such practices are contrary to the dignity of the other. The advice of GAMALIEL might be applied to the survival of the Jews through the ages: "Therefore, in the present case I advise you: Leave these men alone! Let them go! For if their purpose or activity is of human origin, it will fail. But if it is from God, you will not be able to stop these men; you will only find yourselves fighting against God" (Acts 5:38–39).

Before the Second Vatican Council, the adjective already had been deleted from the prayer title "Pro perfidis Judaeis," and the deacon was instructed to tell all to kneel for the silent period before the oration as in the other petitions. The English translation "For the Perfidious Jews" had been changed to *Unbelieving*, (i.e., to lack of faith in Christ), but the prayer spoke of "Jewish faithlessness" and "the blindness of that people so that they may acknowledge the light of your Truth, which is Christ, and be delivered from their darkness."

The prayer prepared for the 1970 Roman MISSAL of Pope Paul VI acknowledges in the introduction that the Jews were "the first to hear the Word of God" and asks "that they may continue to grow in the love of his Name and in faithfulness to his covenant." Then the oration recalls that long ago God gave his promise to Abraham and his posterity. "Listen to your Church as we pray that the people you first made your own may arrive at the fullness of redemption." The Christian understanding of the divine plan clearly states that the Messiah who is to come at the consummation of history is the risen Jesus of Nazareth. The traditional Jewish hope for the coming of the Messiah relates to the pilgrimage of the nations to Jerusalem, the place of divine judgment (Isa 2:1–5; Joel 3:9–12). "The Church awaits that day, known to God alone, on which all peoples will address the Lord in a single voice and 'serve him of one accord'" (Zeph 3:9) (*Nostra aetate*, 4). Facing a secular world of doubts and contrasting opinions, those who adhere to the biblical heritage can work together in mutual respect to prepare for a better future, within history and ultimately beyond time. "As Christians and Jews, following the example of the faith of Abraham, we are called to be a blessing for the world [cf. Gen 12:2ff]. This is the common task awaiting us. It is therefore necessary for us, Christians and Jews, to be first a blessing to one another" (Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 169).

Christology. Christian faith in Jesus is rooted in the doctrine of the Trinity and in the unique nature of His conception (the Virgin Birth) and in His RESURRECTION from the dead. From the beginning He was a "sign of contradiction" (Lk 2:34), but in early times the older community left a meager record of debates with Christians.

As the Church grew and encountered established Jewish communities in the great cities of the Roman Empire, St. AUGUSTINE of Hippo (354–430) postulated that the Jews had a role as "witness people." If pagan intellectuals questioned the antiquity of biblical prophecies, the Christian teacher could point to the Jews. They would acknowledge that Isaiah and the other prophets were authentic.

Deep devotion can often be accompanied by intolerance and impatience toward the unenlightened, so the commitment of orthodox Christians to the Gospel and the adherence of Jews to the Torah led on occasion to confrontations. In general, polemical literature is destined for the community of the given teacher and/or writer, so members of the other group may receive only garbled versions of various arguments. In both communities the depiction of the other was far from courteous.

In the past century or so, some Jewish thinkers have come to a positive assessment of Jesus as a teacher within the great line of Jewish learning (Buber, Borowitz, Flusser). They may not deal with the central questions of Christian faith, but they do not interpret Jesus in light of the dismal experience of Jewish-Christian encounters over the centuries.

In recent decades Christian scholars have made great progress in their discussion of the varied background to the New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism. The Qumran (Dead Sea) Scrolls and other archaeological discoveries have cast light upon the Hasmonean-Herodian period in the Land, and comparisons among known texts have given great assurance concerning the antiquity of Jewish pseudepigraphical (falsely ascribed) literature preserved in Greek and other translations. These advances have been incorporated into many commentaries on the Gospels and other New Testament texts. Rather than referring to this period as *Late Judaism*, giving the impression that the Jewish faith and culture became fossilized after the two defeats by the Roman legions (AD 70 and 135), scholars now speak of *Early Judaism*, depicted as a vibrant and varied development from the time after the Babylonian exile (586–538 BC).

Jesus is placed fully within the dynamics of the liturgical and intellectual life of the Jews living in the Land; as He moved from Galilee to JUDAEA, He encountered the spiritual leaders of the time in several places and entered into debate with them. Although John differed from the Synoptics regarding the number of visits to Jerusalem, both traditions emphasize the experience of pilgrimage as a key to understanding Jesus' teaching and actions. Pilgrims adopted simple garments and developed patterns of prayer to prepare for their communal encounter with God in the Temple. They might encounter hostility and danger on the way. When Jesus sent the apostles on their first mission, He oriented them toward the Kingdom in their service of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" in an exchange of gifts (healing for hospitality). They would face persecution, but the Spirit would inspire their response (Mt 10:5–23; Lk 9:1–6, 10:1–16). The coming of the kingdom through acceptance of God's manifest presence in the works of the Messiah and the collaborators sent in His Name prepared the entire convoked community ("Church") for the risen Lord's worldwide commission (see Lk 9:51–24:49; Acts 1:3–8; and Frizzell 1982, pp. 365–367). A number of related themes are presented in essays on the biblical background for reflections on the Mother of Jesus (Frizzell, 1995, pp. 26–40; 1999, pp. 38–59).

At times Christian theologians have developed doctrine upon New Testament texts that they interpreted without reference to the Biblical culture. For example, the Synoptic Gospels state that "the curtain of the Temple was torn in two from top to bottom" (Mt 27:51; Mk 15:38; Lk 23:45). In the light of Jewish mourning practices, this might be seen as the rending of the garment on the death of a loved one, a sign that the Father is mourning the Son's death. Over the centuries many Christian teachers have interpreted this to signify the end of Temple worship, saying its validity ceased at the time Jesus died. This interpretation fails to take into account Luke's message that after Jesus ascended, the disciples "returned to Jerusalem with great joy and were continually in the Temple blessing God" (Lk 24:52–53); according to Acts this practice continued. Thus, early Christians saw a place for Temple worship, as well as for participation in synagogue services, in their life of prayer. The theologian's task should be grounded in a careful analysis of the biblical heritage, so that the result of study will be "conformed to the truth of the Gospel and the Spirit of Christ" (*Nostra aetate* 1965, 4).

Moving toward Mutual Respect. The Second Vatican Council recommended the two communities move toward "that mutual understanding and respect which is the fruit, above all, of biblical and theological studies as well as of fraternal dialogues" (*Nostra aetate* 1965, 4). This positive development has built on the work of pioneers in Europe during the most difficult period of recent history. The years since the 1960s have been a time of growth in collaboration on a number of levels. Christians have much to learn from Jewish scholars and, together, leaders of communities can built alliances that unite them "in the face of the evils which are still threatening: indifference and prejudice, as well as displays of anti-Semitism" (Fisher and Klenicki 1995, p. 169).

SEE ALSO GOD (FATHER); HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE; JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (PUBLIC); LUKE, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; MATTHEW, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; PAUL, APOSTLE, ST.; ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE

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I. ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIOD (67–622)

The history of the Jewish people is primarily the history of their religious development and, at the same time, in the Old Testament period, the history of man's salvation. From the time God made ISRAEL His chosen people through His covenant with them on Mount SINAI, the TORAH, or the Mosaic LAW, has been regarded by the Jewish people as the center of their life, and since the Babylonian Exile, the Jews have considered the study and fulfillment of this law their principal duty.

The history of the Jews reveals its real and deep meaning only if one concentrates attention on the religious element in it. The same is true of the post-Biblical era, which for the Jewish people on the whole was an almost uninterrupted period of suffering and persecution. Even the unfriendly attitude Christendom has shown the Jews throughout the centuries must be considered. The objective, chronological presentation of the most important events in the history of the Jews is neither tendentious nor accusatory. The external happenings in this history, frightful though they frequently were, especially in recent times, have always been subservient to the very special plan of God, whose call and gifts of grace to Israel are, according to the testimony of Saint Paul (Romans 12:29), irrevocable. Justice can be done to the history of the Jews only if it is primarily regarded as the expression of God's inscrutable government of the world.

The post-Biblical era is reviewed here in a survey of the seven main periods of the Jewish history: (1) the Roman and Byzantine period (AD 67–622); (2) the Islamic period (622–1096); (3) the period of the CRUSADES and the Spanish INQUISITION (1096–1492); (4) the period of the RENAISSANCE and the Reformation (1492–1650); (5) the beginning of the modern era (1650–1750); (6) the emancipation (1750–1948); and (7) contemporary history (1948–2009).

The history of the Jews in the Roman and Byzantine Period (67–622) was marked by their first revolt against ROME (67–70), which brought about the destruction of JERUSALEM; by their second revolt under BAR KOKHBA (132–135), which ended in the complete devastation of PALESTINE; and by the survival of the Jews in the Babylonian and other Diasporas.

First Revolt. The ever-increasing tension between the Jews and the Roman authorities in Palestine reached its breaking point when the tyranny of the Roman governor Gessius Florus (64–66) provoked the Jews to open, armed rebellion against Rome. The military preparations on the Jewish side were supervised by Joseph ben Mattathiah, who later, under the name of Flavius JOSEPHUS, left to future generations, together with other historical writings, a description of this revolt in his *Jewish War*. The Jewish military forces, however, could not withstand the legions of the Roman General Vespasian (AD 9–79) and, after heavy losses, withdrew to Jerusalem. A siege of several months followed; the city was conquered by Vespasian's son Titus (AD 39–81) in the year 70 and, together with its Temple, utterly destroyed. The Roman soldiers, after inflicting a terrible massacre on the population, led thousands of Jews away into slavery.

The national catastrophe of the year 70 made a renewal of religious life imperative for the Jews. From that point on they placed emphasis on the academies. While Jerusalem was still under siege, Rabbi JOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI, with wise foresight, obtained permission from Titus to settle with his disciples at Jamnia, which now became the new seat of the SANHEDRIN. Even after the year 70, the Jews of Palestine retained a certain amount of local autonomy, which the Romans sanctioned by conferring on GAMALIEL (II), the head of the Jamnia academy, the title of patriarch. The main concern at this time of the doctors of the Law, among whom Rabbi AKIBA BEN JOSEPH was outstanding, was in the field of HALA KAH, that is, the interpretation of the various prescriptions of the Law that assured for the future that the observance of the commandments of the Torah would hold the first place in the life of the Jewish people.

Second Revolt. Meanwhile the hand of Rome lay heavy on the land, and several uprisings occurred among the Jews, sometimes, as in 115, extending into the DIASPORA; all of them were cruelly suppressed. The limit was reached in 132, when the Roman Emperor HADRIAN decided to erect a heathen sanctuary on the site of the ruined Temple. The whole population rose in protest under the leadership of Simeon bar Koziba, called Bar Kokhba by his disciples. For three years he held the country under his control. But the conquest of Bether by the Roman legions put an end to this last attempt to regain national independence. The Judean population was decimated, and the remnant of those seeking to maintain their religious and national life sought refuge in the mountains of Galilee, because strictly enforced laws made every practice of the Jewish religion liable to severe penalties.

Under the Emperor Antoninus Plus (138–161) conditions became better for the Jews, and they even received some local autonomy. The leading Jewish academies now concentrated on codifying all the extra-Biblical traditions that until then had been handed down only orally, but that, due to the unfavorable conditions of the time, were in danger of being entirely lost. This work is mainly contained in the MISHNAH, completed

by the Patriarch Rabbi JUDAH HA-NASI about AD 200. The gradual dissolution, however, of Palestinian JUDAISM could not be checked, and, with the abolition of the patriarchate in 425, its whole political life was practically extinguished.

Babylonian Diaspora. In Mesopotamia, where, following the first (Babylonian) destruction of Jerusalem (587 BC), a Jewish colony grew in importance, the political situation—first under the Parthians and then under the Sassanians—was considerably better than in Palestine. The Jews were subject to an *exilarch*, whom they acknowledged as their official head and whose authority extended to all the Jewish communities in the Persian Empire; they thus enjoyed considerable autonomy. Academies for the study of the Law were established in the chief centers of Jewish life. The most important of these were the academies of Sura and Pumbedita, which were founded by two famous doctors of the Law, Rab (175–247) and Samuel (175–254). The heads of the Babylonian school, who later held the title of *gaon*, were regarded as the highest religious authority in Judaism.

The discussions of the scholars both in Palestine, especially in the academies of Caesarea and Tiberias, and in BABYLONIA concerning the religious decisions of the Mishnah were in turn codified and resulted in the two Talmuds—one of Palestine, inaccurately called the Jerusalem TALMUD, and the other of Babylonia. The former was completed toward the end of the fourth century and the latter toward the beginning of the sixth. From this time on, the norms of the Talmud formed the supreme guide for the religious life of Judaism. At the same time other ancient traditions were likewise being recorded, and these were passed down in the MIDRASHIC LITERATURE, which is partly of a halakic-juridical character and partly of a haggadic-edifying character. All these writings constitute what is known as the ancient rabbinical literature.

Jewish Diaspora in Other Countries. Besides those in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Asia Minor, Jewish communities also existed in most of the commercially important areas of the ROMAN EMPIRE. The catastrophes that the Jewish nation suffered in Palestine did not, on the whole, seriously affect the juridical status of the Jews in the Diaspora. They were the only people in the empire who, for recognized religious reasons, did not have to take part in the official state worship.

During the first Christian centuries, the cleft widened between Judaism and rising Christianity. The latter, despite periodic waves of persecution, grew stronger and stronger and, thanks to the well-organized activity of its missionaries, made considerable progress everywhere. Since Christians who converted from paganism soon vastly outnumbered Judeo-Christians, Christian doctrine had to be adapted for these converts from the heathen world; hence, a more and more noticeable alienation appeared between Judaism and Christianity, which subsequently had a decisive influence on the relations between the two religions throughout the centuries (cf. Wilde 1949).

With the Edict of MILAN, which Constantine the Great issued in 313, the way opened for Christianity to become the official state religion. Consequently the juridical status of the Jews changed, and against them a large number of theologically biased laws were enacted, limiting their freedom of action and increasingly discriminating against their social life. A short period of relief for them occurred under JULIAN THE APOSTATE (361–363), who even considered rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem. But under Theodosius II (408–450), the regulations against Jews in the Theodosian Code remained from then on a fixed part of all subsequent laws regulating Jewish life in Christian countries.

Following the invasion by the barbarians, Jewish communities shared in a common misery, but, even in the new states these invaders eventually founded and in which the rulers converted to Christianity, the general situation of the Jews hardly improved. The popes of Rome, particularly Gregory the Great (590–604), objected to the persecutions and forced conversions of the Jews, yet even canonical regulations increasingly limited the freedom of the Jews.

Especially oppressive were the conditions in the BYZANTINE EMPIRE, where the Jews were accused of colluding with the enemies of the country, particularly the Persians. Thus, Emperor Heraclius (610–642), during whose reign the Persians conquered Jerusalem, forbade all practice of the Jewish religion. At that time in Europe, too, the expulsion of the Jews had already begun, as in France under King Dagobert (626). The condition of the Jews was terrible also in Spain, where, in the last centuries of Visigothic domination, regulations made in the provincial synods of Toledo rendered the exercise of Jewish worship practically impossible.

SEE ALSO BAR KOKHBA, SIMON (BAR COCHEBA); CAESAREA IN PALESTINE; CONSTANTINE I, THE GREAT, ROMAN EMPEROR; GREGORY (THE GREAT) I, ST. POPE; HERACLIUS; ISRAEL; JACOB, PATRIARCH; PASSOVER, FEAST OF; THEODOSIUS II, BYZANTINE EMPEROR.

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II. ISLAMIC PERIOD (622–1096)

Despite certain discriminatory legislation, the Jews generally prospered in the lands conquered by Muslims, and, in the mutually beneficial symbiosis between Judaism and ISLAM, Jewish medieval culture reached its greatest heights, especially in Spain. Some scholars, such as Bat Ye'or, however, argue that in places other than Spain, Jewish communities were not well treated by Muslim rulers.

Jewish-Arabic Symbiosis. A new era began for Judaism with the appearance of Islam on the scene of history and with the establishment of the caliphate. At the height of the Islamic power, the caliphate was able, after several internal ruptures, to subject to Arab hegemony under the law of the Prophet all the nations from India to the Atlantic Ocean and from Arabia to the borders of the Pyrenees.

MUḤAMMAD, who had borrowed much from Judaism and whose initial success in Arabia was due largely to the great religious influence of the Jews on the peninsula and to the spiritual preparation that this had made possible, hoped that the Jews would embrace his religious system with open arms. Their resolute opposition, however, led also in Islam to laws of segregation, which resulted especially in laying on the Jews, as well as on the Christians, heavy financial burdens and in relegating them to a merely tolerated position at the edge of the Dâr el-Islâm (the Muslim world). However, it protected them, as well as the Christians, from forced conversion, because Islam regarded each group as a People of the Book, that is, a community that participated in a stage on the road of divine revelation.

In spite of this legislation, which, moreover, came into full force only after the decline of Muslim supremacy, the position of the Jews in the Islamic countries was more favorable, to a greater or lesser degree, than it had been under Christian rule. To earn a living they now turned more and more to trade—a development greatly fostered by their international connections, whereas until then agriculture and small industry had been their main occupations. In cultural matters a certain symbiosis developed between the Jews and the Arabs, which was furthered by the relationship between their languages (both Hebrew and Arabic being Semitic languages) and in the sphere of religious concepts, which led to a new efflorescence in Jewish intellectual life.

The Jews soon adopted Arabic as their everyday language, and this aroused in them a new interest in Hebrew, the language of their own sacred literature. Thus, this became the age of the first great Hebrew grammarians. The position of the exilarch was confirmed by the caliphs who resided in Baghdad, near ancient Babylon, and the Babylonian academies received a fresh impetus, so that their heads, called *geonim* (plural of *gaon*), were able, through their circular letters, to direct Jewish life throughout the world. Through the Arabs, Jewish scholars became acquainted also with the ideas of ancient philosophy, from which until then they had kept aloof—with the exception of Philo, who had but little influence on official Jewish thought. For the first time, Jewish theology left the way of purely inner meditation on the treasures of tradition and adopted the system of Islamic theologians, the KALĀM, which is the interpretation of revealed truths with the help of philosophical principles.

In the second half of the eighth century, opposition to the Talmudic practices as they were handed down and carried out by the Babylonian academies became noticeable in Judaism. Taking up ancient concepts and the tendencies of several sects, adherents of this movement, who gathered around Anan ben David (c. 715–c. 795) of the exilarch family, denied the binding force of oral traditions codified in the Talmud. They called themselves Benê Mikrā (Sons of the Scriptures), a term related to the word *Karaism*, because they accepted only the Sacred Scriptures as their sole law. The Karaites met a resolute opponent in Gaon SA'ADIA BEN JOSEPH (c. 882–942), the first Jewish religious philosopher. With the death of the rabbi and philosopher Sa'adia, centers of Jewish learning in Mesopotamia declined, which coincided with the fall of the caliphate of Baghdad. In the eleventh century the office of the exilarch, after it was combined for a short time with that of the *gaon*, disappeared. The centers of Jewish learning in Palestine were restored to new vigor for a short period under the Egyptian Fatimid Dynasty (969–1171), but the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1099 put an end to all Jewish life in the Holy Land.

Spanish Period. The Jewish-Arabic symbiosis reached its climax in Spain, where, after the Muslim army in 711 conquered Toledo, a development began that culminated in the tenth century with the establishment of the caliphate of CÓRDOBA. Jewish scholars and wealthy Jews occupied prominent positions, such as those held by Hasdai Ibn Shaprut (c. 915–975) at the court of Córdoba and by Samuel ha-Nagid (993–1055) in Granada. Religious philosophers, mystics, scholars,

and poets could freely develop their genius, and so in Spain there was a new flowering of Hebrew literature. The great work of religious philosophy by Solomon ben Judah ibn Gabirol (1020–1050), called AVICEBRON by the scholastics, became universally known. IBN PAQUDA wrote *The Duties of the Heart* (c. 1080), a widely circulated work that many generations of Jews used as a source of spiritual direction. Moses ben Jacob IBN EZRA (c. 1060–1139) left to posterity a large number of elegiac poems. Judah ben Samuel ha-Levi (c. 1085–c. 1140), who lived about the same time, was the greatest poet of the era. In his *Songs of Sion*, the intense longing of the Jewish people for the days of their past glory finds eloquent expression, and in his *Kuzari* he left them a highly prized apologia of Judaism. Abraham ben Meïr IBN EZRA, also a gifted poet, is better known for his valuable commentary on the Scriptures.

The greatest personality of this period is without doubt Moses ben Maimon (1135–1204), or MAIMONIDES, as he is also called. He was concerned primarily with proving that faith and reason do not contradict each other. For this purpose he made use of the categories of Aristotelian philosophy, which at that time was enjoying the increasing and special interest also of the Muslim philosophers. In his *Guide to the Perplexed*, Maimonides endeavored to solve the seeming contradictions between religion and philosophy. His most important work is the *Mishneh Torah* (Repetition of the Law), or *Yad Hazaka* (Strong Hand), a clear, systematic summary of the whole of Talmudic erudition. In the *Book of Knowledge*, a commentary on the Talmud, Maimonides sets forth his well-known thirteen basic dogmas of Judaism.

SEE ALSO CALIPH; RESPONSA, JEWISH.

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III. PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES AND SPANISH INQUISITION (1096–1492)

In Spain the situation of the Jews grew worse with the *Reconquista* (718–1238), the reconquest of the country by the Christian princes.

After a few centuries of relative freedom following the Carolingian revival, the Jews suffered from restrictive laws and active persecution in western Europe during the era of the Crusades and the later MIDDLE AGES; these reached their climax in the Spanish Inquisition.

West-European Jewish Communities. After the disturbances of the so-called migration of the nations, CHARLEMAGNE, at the beginning of the ninth century, was the first to reunite under a single rule the countries that were later called France, Germany, and Italy. The condition of the Jews in these lands now noticeably improved. New Jewish communities formed in various places, and previously existing ones took on new life and played an important role in the development of commercial relations. On the whole, the situation remained unchanged, in spite of repeated attacks by ecclesiastics, in the states that evolved from the Carolingian monarchy.

The Jewish communities enjoyed far-reaching rights of self-government, and in the tenth century important Jewish schools arose for the first time in western Europe. One of the foremost authorities was Rabbi Gershom ben Judah, "the Light of the Exile" (c. 960–c. 1040), who taught at Mainz and adapted the norms of Old Testament and Talmudic law to the changed conditions of the European Jews, as, for instance, by his prohibition against polygamy. Rabbi Shelomoh ben Yiṣḥaq of Troyes, more commonly known as RASHI, who lived at this time (1040–1105), was the greatest commentator on the Bible and Talmud that Judaism ever produced. In Italy, too, growing Jewish communities everywhere displayed a vigorous intellectual life.

The Crusades. The Crusades, however, ushered in a sudden change in the conditions of the Jews. The ill-will against the Jews that other religions had fostered through the centuries now burst forth in violence and deepened the chasm that separated Christians and Jews.

During the First Crusade (1096), the Jewish communities of the Rhineland especially suffered, and the Second Crusade (1146–1147) repeated the same outrages, in spite of the courageous intervention of Saint BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX on behalf of persecuted Jews. This age, too, witnessed the first appearance of the calumny of Jewish ritual murder, that is, the allegation that Jews murdered Christians to obtain blood for the Passover and other rituals. This libel raged on for centuries despite all papal counter-declarations and prohibitions. During the Third Crusade (1189), the

measures the German princes took to protect the Jews proved more successful, but now it was mainly the Jewish communities in England that had much to suffer.

The Crusades brought with them a complete revolution in the Jewish way of life. Everywhere, ancient anti-Jewish laws were again enforced and augmented by new regulations, even in the field of Canon Law. Where it had not yet been the custom, Jews were ordered to live in separate districts or GHETTOS and to wear a distinctive costume (the Jewish hat and yellow patch). As Christians now engaged in commerce on a constantly increasing scale, Jews were increasingly forced out of this livelihood. Because the Third Council of the LATERAN (1179) renewed in full rigor the prohibition against taking interest on loans, this forced the Jews, for whom this law did not apply, into the pawn and loan business, which, besides the old-clothes trade, was one of the few ways left for them to earn a living, provoking numerous chain reactions of anti-Jewish outrages. Almost all social contact between Jews and Christians ceased, and Jewry, which, in keeping with the admonitions of such FATHERS OF THE CHURCH as St. AUGUSTINE and St. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, was allowed a bare subsistence at the edge of the Christian community, began to live a life entirely of its own. The situation lasted practically until the era of the emancipation. These various regulations and phenomena did not manifest themselves uniformly everywhere; great differences existed in the various countries. From this time on, expulsions of the Jews took place periodically. They began in France, where, after the payment of much money, the Jews were allowed to return several times. England followed suit in 1290, but here the expulsion remained in effect for several centuries. Jews were forced to listen to Christian sermons and religious discussions, their own literature was strictly censured, and the Talmud was forbidden and frequently burned in public squares.

The Spanish Tragedy. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, with the victories of the Christian princes in all parts of Spain except the enclave of Granada, the *Reconquista* of this country was practically complete. But the importance of the Jews in every field was too great to allow a rigorous enforcement of anti-Jewish laws. Nevertheless, the Inquisition began in Spain, and in 1265 the great Jewish scholar Moses ben Maimon, called also MAIMONIDES, was among those who were forced to leave the country.

In the inner-Jewish sector, a battle now began over recognizing or condemning Maimonides' writings. As early as the middle of the twelfth century, Abraham ben David of Posquières (c. 1125–1198) had violently opposed the great teacher's use of philosophical principles in the exposition of divine revelation, and in the thirteenth century Rabbi Solomon ben Abraham (1235–1310) condemned Maimonides' writings at Montpellier and handed them over to the Inquisition. In Spain itself the strict Talmudic system had been recently strengthened through the efforts of Rabbi Solomon ben Adret (c. 1235–1310), but Maimonides' viewpoint found adherents in Hasdai ben Abraham CRESCAS (1340–1410) and his disciple Joseph ALBO (c. 1388–1444), the author of the *Book of the Principles of Faith*.

In the field of religious legislation, Maimonides' ideas gained the upper hand. In the spirit of his *Mishneh Torah*, Rabbi Jacob ben Asher (c. 1269–c. 1340) wrote his *Arba Turim* (c. 1300), a commentary on the Talmud that later formed the basis for the *Shulḥan Aruch* of Rabbi Joseph ben Ephraim CARO (1488–1575). The latter work, with the glosses of Rabbi Moses Isserles of Kraców (1520–1575), was adapted to conditions in central and eastern Europe and has remained the basis of all rabbinical interpretations of the Talmud.

Increasing external difficulties and internal religious struggle caused an ever larger group of Jews to turn to the mysticism of the CABALA, which likewise went back to ancient traditions and which began its irrepressible march of triumph through the Jewish world after the still mysterious discovery of the ZOHAR by the Spanish-Jewish mystic, Moses de Leon (1260–1305).

The general situation of the Jews in Spain now noticeably deteriorated; in 1391 and in 1412 excesses of cruelty ensued, and a large number of Jews, known as MARRANOS, submitted, through fear, to the pretense of being baptized. When, toward the end of the fifteenth century, the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were united, the Inquisition, primarily against the Marranos, was reactivated under the leadership of Tomás de TORQUEMADA, and in 1492 a decree was issued that all Jews who refused to be baptized must leave Spain within three months. This spelled the end, after more than 1,000 years, of Spanish Judaism. Many refugees first migrated to neighboring Portugal, but six years later they were expelled from this country too; others went to Turkey, where they were given asylum, or to other lands in the Mediterranean area, where numerous communities were founded of Sephardic Jews, who spoke their Spanish dialect of Ladino.

SEE ALSO CRUSADES; INQUISITION.

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IV. PERIOD OF THE RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION (1492–1650)

Although the humanism of the Renaissance did not result in any noticeably humane treatment of the Jews in Europe and the disturbances that accompanied the Reformation added to their sufferings, both the Ashkenazi Jews of Poland and the Sephardic Jews of the Mediterranean lands and western Europe were able to preserve and develop their typically Jewish way of life.

General Situation. In Germany, after the massacres during the Crusades, when numerous Jews fled to Eastern Europe (bringing with them their German dialect, Yiddish), conditions became somewhat stabilized, although ominous warnings of danger were ever-present. As imperial *kammerknechte* (chamberlains), the Jews were placed under the direct protection of the emperor, but they paid a heavy tax for this privilege. Later, in 1355, the Golden Bull of Charles IV (1316–1378) gave the local princes the right to collect this tax. Yet this did not protect the Jews from the constantly recurring bloody outrages and pillages, such as occurred in 1298 (under Rindfleisch), from 1336 to 1339 (the "Armleder" massacres), in 1337 (the Desecration of the Hosts incident in Deggendorf, Bavaria), in 1348 to 1349 (the outbreak of the Black Death and the accusation of poisoning of wells), and in 1421 (the Vienna Geserah, ritual murder accusation). In 1434 the Council of BASEL renewed the old anti-Jewish regulations as part of the Church's Canon Law, and the Franciscan friar JOHN CAPISTRAN took it upons himself to aid the execution of these laws everywhere, which caused a new outbreak of serious persecution.

At the beginning of the Reformation, the situation of the Jews looked as if it would improve. But when Martin LUTHER admitted that his expectations for their conversion had come to naught, the benevolence that he had first shown the Jews out of reverence for them as PEOPLE OF GOD turned into hostility that found expression in a series of anti-Jewish pamphlets. One positive aspect of the Reformation, in the eyes of the Jews, was the revival of interest in the study of Hebrew, which brought renowned Christian scholars in contact with learned Jews.

The Catholic COUNTER REFORMATION, too, led to a renewal of the strict application of anti-Jewish laws. These laws now affected the Italian Jews also, who, despite their relatively small number, had played a significant role in the cultural sphere because of their contact with the Renaissance. In Italy, for instance, the first Jewish printing press was set up, and the first Hebrew books were printed. But because of the inauspicious omens of renewed persecution, the centers of Jewish life moved to other countries where better conditions prevailed.

Polish Judaism. During the Crusades the dukes of Great Poland fostered Jewish settlements, because those nobles saw in this a chance to bring their country into the network of international commerce. In spite of the resolute resistance of the clergy, Boleslas of Kalisz (1221–1279) issued a statute in 1264 that was very favorable to the Jews. Later, King Casimir the Great (1310–1370) admitted into his realm a large number of Jews who had fled from the persecution that had broken out after the Black Death. With a few interruptions, this favorable situation lasted under the Lithuanian Jagiellos. During the reign of Sigismund III (1588–1632), the condition of the Jews in Poland deteriorated as a result of the anti-Jewish propaganda of the JESUITS, though the Jewish communities there had grown so strong and were so well organized that they withstood these attacks with ease.

In Poland the autonomous Jewish system of community government reached the peak of its development. Every community of importance was directed by a *kahal*, a body of notables elected yearly that conducted all the administrative affairs. Juridical matters were entrusted to the rabbis, and a court of appeals met every year in Lublin at the time of the annual fair in that city and in conjunction with the assembly of the various kahals. The highest court of appeals in Poland was the Council of the Four Countries (Great Poland, Little Poland, Podolia-Galicia, and Volhynia); Lithuania had the Council of the Great Communities.

The *kahal* was especially interested in education. Every community had a *heder* (elementary school), and many of them also had a *yeshivah* (Talmudic academy). In both of these, exclusively Jewish disciplines were taught and studied, which soon assured Polish Jews a great intellectual superiority and their leading rabbis an undeniable authority.

The Sephardic Sphere. The Jewish immigration from Spain into Turkey continued long after 1492 with a flow of Marranos who had found unbearable the activities of the informers and secret police that the Inquisition encouraged. Many *Spañolos*, such as Don Joseph Nassi (1566–1590), reached positions of great influence at the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman imperial court).

In 1517 the Turks occupied Egypt and thereby became the rulers of Palestine as well. Groups of refugees migrated to the Holy Land; new communities arose in the cities of Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and especially

Safed (in Galilee). Safed became the seat of a new school of cabalists. Its founder, Jacob Berab (1474–1541), who had settled there in 1534, was followed in 1538 by Rabbi Joseph ben Ephraim CARO, the author of the *Shulḥan Aruch*, and by his close friend, Solomon Alkabeṣ (c. 1501–1580). Among the great sages in the cabalistic school of Safed were Rabbi Isaac LURIA (1534–1572) and his disciple and brother-in-law, Moses Cordovero (d. 1570). Luria's teachings, with their pronounced messianic spirit, found an able propagandist in his disciple, Ḥayyim Vidal Calabrese (1543–1620).

Under the pressure of the Jewish expulsion from Spain and of the consequent sufferings, Messianic movements started in various places; their beginnings were connected with the names of David Reubeni (c. 1490–c. 1536) and Solomon Molcho (d. 1532). Later, their climax was reached in the person of Shabbatai Ṣevi of Smyrna (1626–1676). Many respectable Jewish personalities, among whom were learned rabbis, hailed Shabbatai as the promised Messiah. Even after his conversion to Islam, the Messianic movement did not fully die out but provoked heated discussions in the Jewish communities. Similar to that of Shabbatai Ṣevi, a movement in Poland was inspired by Jacob FRANK (d. 1791), who eventually converted to Christianity.

An important new wave of immigration started in the seventeenth century when Marranos from Portugal found refuge in Holland. The Dutch, who had shaken off Spanish domination toward the end of the sixteenth century, showed the refugees, whom they let settle wherever they wished, a toleration that was most unusual in those days. A large Jewish community arose in Amsterdam and soon flourished under the leadership of such renowned *Ḥakamim* (sages) as Manasseh ben Israel (c. 1604–1657). Amsterdam also was the home of the great Jewish thinkers Gabriel (Uriel) ACOSTA (d. 1640) and Baruch SPINOZA (d. 1677), both of whom, however, came in conflict with rabbinic authorities and fell under the ban of the synagogue. After the Dutch revolution of 1649, some Portuguese Jews from Holland settled in England for the first time since the expulsion in 1290. Colonies of Marranos were established also at Bordeaux and other places in southern France, where they were known as *new Christians*. Genuine Jewish communities did not exist in France until 1648, when Alsace-Lorraine was incorporated into the French kingdom.

SEE ALSO SHABBATAÏSM.

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V. BEGINNING OF THE MODERN ERA (1650–1750)

From the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth centuries, the situation of the Jews in Poland grew more desperate, but they found spiritual consolation in the pietist movement of ḤASIDISM. In the rest of Europe, the Jews suffered the usual series of persecutions.

Economic Situation in Eastern Europe. In the seventeenth century the position of the Jews in Poland became more and more untenable, although up to that time they had lived there in relatively tolerable circumstances. The revolt of the Cossacks under Bogdan Chmielnicki (c. 1595–1657) in 1648 destroyed hundreds of Jewish communities in the Ukraine and in Volhynia, and caused numerous deaths. The subsequent wars and disturbances brought much misery on all the other Jewish settlements in Poland. Meanwhile the tax burden weighed ever heavier on the Jews there. Polish merchants and artisans gradually drove the Jews out of business, and many were obliged to live as tenant farmers on the estates of the nobility, which in turn aroused the hatred of the exploited peasantry against them, so that bloody outrages occurred constantly.

Religious Reaction: Ḥasidism. The Jewish reaction to these oppressive conditions arose from within, on the religious level. Since the late medieval period, and especially since Isaac Luria, the cabala influence on all Jewish life had constantly grown. Conversely, in Poland, the center of Jewish learning, opposition arose against the Talmudists' stress on man's intellectual faculties.

On this background appeared, about 1730, the figure of Rabbi Israel ben Eliezer (1698–1760), called Ba'al Shem Tov, who founded the Ḥasidim (the devout). The teaching of Ba'al Shem (Master of the Name, i.e., of God), set forth in popular stories, emphasized—without calling into question the traditional doctrines—the absolute superiority of the pious life expressed by devout prayers of the heart and an ardent love of God, all based on the Lurian cabala. Under Ba'al Shem's suc-

cessor, Rabbi Dov Ber of Mezhirich (d. 1773), the Ḥasidic movement received a firm structure and continued to spread, especially in Podolia, Galicia, and Volhynia, despite the strong opposition of the Mitnagdim (opponents), whose spokesman was the greatest Talmudist of his time, Gaon Rabbi Ella of Vilna (1720–1797). In the following generation Ḥasidism split into numerous local groups, each of which were at times under the leadership of a *Tzaddik* (saintly miracle-working rabbi). Ḥasidism was the last great religious movement in Judaism.

Situation in Germany and Austria. In the Germanic countries, too, the Jews had hard times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Pogroms and outrages were their constant lot. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the old communities of Frankfurt am Main and Worms suffered hardships because of the so-called Fettmilch revolt. In 1670 the Jews of Vienna, some of whom as financiers had rendered valuable services to the Hapsburg emperors during the THIRTY YEARS' WAR, became victims of a decree of expulsion. Bohemia, which, especially in Prague, had the largest Jewish community in the Hapsburg countries, attempted to limit the Jews population by a family-control law that permitted only the oldest son of a family to marry.

SEE ALSO HAPSBURG (HABSBURG), HOUSE OF; NAPOLEON I.

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VI. EMANCIPATION (1750–1948)

After the Jewish emancipation, largely the result of the eighteenth-century ENLIGHTENMENT and the FRENCH REVOLUTION, the Jews adapted to the new conditions with various degrees of success. But the waves of modern anti-Semitism finally broke over them with such fury that they were almost annihilated by the Nazis. An indirect outcome of this was the Zionists' establishment in Palestine of the Jewish State of Israel.

The Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Although the old regulations concerning Jews remained unchanged, liberal ideas broadcast in France, especially by the ENCYCLOPEDISTS, increasingly made themselves felt. The first Jew of this time who made contact with modern thought was the Berliner Moses Dessau, better known as Moses Mendelssohn (1728–1786). Being an important philosopher himself, he endeavored to have his fellow believers, who had remained almost completely unaffected by the intellectual movements of the modern age, reach the stage of cultural development their contemporaries had achieved. He was one of the first Jews to write in High German, and he translated the Bible into this language—a very bold enterprise at that time, because he appeared a heretic to tradition-minded rabbis.

The first real civic emancipation of the Jews, which liberated them after centuries from the ghettos and made them equal to their fellow men, with full human rights, was a result of the French Revolution. The effective legal measures, however, met with stubborn opposition from the Christian population, especially in Alsace. At the invitation of Napoleon, the Great Synagogue met at Paris in 1807 to settle relations between the Jews and the State. The emperor applied the consistorial system to the Jews also, and thus put an end to the previous autonomy of their communities. In countries occupied by Napoleon, such as Italy, Holland, and Westphalia, the Jews were likewise given civil rights. In other countries the development was much slower and not without setbacks.

Reactions within the Jewish Communities. The emancipation and its forerunners caused a complete revolution within Judaism. The traditional framework of Jewish life, which had remained practically unchanged for centuries, now collapsed in western Europe, and along with it the Jewish system of instruction and education shattered. At this time a new type of Jew came into being, who, while retaining his Jewish faith, was also a full-fledged citizen of a country and consequently more assimilated into the life and culture of his non-Jewish environment. Since many progressive Jews thought that emancipation was proceeding too slowly, the Baptism Movement widely affected various social strata among Jews who looked upon Baptism as an entrance into Christian society.

This development, which, within a few years, transplanted the Jews from the Middle Ages into the modern world, advanced so fast that it took some time until counterforces stemmed the constant loss in the ranks of the Jews. The religious institutions of Judaism, particularly those connected with synagogue service, endeavored to adapt, by means of suitable reforms, to the changed conditions of the time. The leaders of the

movement in Germany were Samuel Holdheim (1806–1860), Abraham Geiger (1810–1874), and Ludwig Philippson (1811–1889). Such attempts at reform provoked violent opposition from those attached to the traditional forms. The latter found a militant spokesman in Rabbi Moses Sofer-Schreiber of Pressburg (1773–1839), who opposed on principle any innovation. Zacharias Frankel (1801–1875), the founder of the Jewish theological seminary of Breslau, the first modern institution for the education of rabbis, represented a conservative, conciliatory movement, which later gained the upper hand in most of the Jewish communities in Germany. Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808–1888) became the spiritual father of the new German-Jewish orthodoxy that recognized the necessity of modern education while holding fast to the old. In this period of intellectual innovation, the Science of Judaism was born under the *Altmeister* Leopold Zunz (1794–1886) and the historian Heinrich Graetz (1817–1891) as well as under several others.

Progressive civil emancipation of the Jews made some advances in certain countries, but only the year 1848 brought decisive change. The real, or at least theoretically and legally granted, equality was effected in Germany with the founding of the German Empire in 1870 to 1871, and in the Austrian countries with the Austro-Hungarian settlement in 1867.

In Russia. Russia received its Jewish population through the various partitions of Poland (in 1792, 1793, and 1795), and the Russian government anxiously watched the Jews to keep them within the boundaries of the newly annexed lands (settlement area). Alexander I (1801–1825) attempted some liberal measures in their favor, such as the Jewish Statute of 1804, but these largely remained dead letters. Nicolaus I (1825–1855) introduced a twenty-five-year term of military service for the Jews to further their assimilation (i.e., Baptism). Among cultured Jews, the Enlightenment, which in Russia and Poland they adopted in a typically Jewish form called the HASKALAH, made great progress and stimulated the growth of neo-Hebrew literature. During the reign of Alexander II (1855–1881), Jews were granted certain civil rights and cultural possibilities, but when the reactionary party was victorious under Alexander III (1891–1894), a real reign of terror began; in 1881 to 1882 a series of bloody pogroms broke out, which were followed by oppressive anti-Jewish measures.

Anti-Semitism. After the emancipation, opposition against the Jews adopted a new shape: modern anti-Semitism that aimed at forcing the Jews out of the positions they already had achieved and preventing them from making further progress in social life. This anti-Semitism was strongly promoted by the fact that many Jews, in making good use of the opportunities offered by liberalism and the nascent Industrial Revolution, had won for themselves leading positions in economic life.

In Germany the soul of the movement was the Protestant minister Adolf Stöcker (1835–1909), who was appointed court preacher in Berlin (1878). In Austria Canon Rohling (1839–1931), a theology professor of Prague, zealously propagated anti-Semitism by his writings. Karl Lueger (1844–1910), who later became mayor of Vienna, founded the Christian Socialist party, which made anti-Semitism a part of its program, while, in the Greater-Germany Camp, Georg von Schönerer (1842–1921) was the exponent of his party's anti-Semitic principles. In France the journalist Édouard Drumont (1844–1917) was the mouthpiece of the anti-Semites whose agitation led to the DREYFUS AFFAIR. This led the Jews, in turn, to reflect on the hazardous nature of their equality and to stand a sponsor of Zionism in the person of the Viennese journalist Theodor Herzl (1860–1904).

In America. The pogroms in Russia, the anti-Semitic movements in the other countries, and the lack of possibility for economic progress produced, from 1880 on, the great wave of Jewish immigration, especially from Eastern Europe, to America. Here, since the eighteenth century, a Portuguese-Jewish community had already existed, and this had later been increased by other Jewish settlers, particularly from Germany. The Jewish population in America soon made its importance felt in the economic sphere and showed a remarkable growth in cultural life. In the field of Jewish science and religious reform, all the movements from Europe underwent further independent development in America, and in their variety have given American Judaism its characteristic features.

In Palestine. Under the influence of the Zionist movement and its forerunners, emigrants, at first from Russia, began to settle in Palestine. In its beginnings this emigration was strongly promoted by Baron Edmond de Rothschild (1845–1934). The great pogroms of 1903 in Kishinev and Homel again drove numerous refugees into all the countries that would receive them.

In the Muslim World. In Islamic countries the Jews remained for a long time within the framework of their traditional structure. The Damascus Affair of 1840, when the libel of ritual murder caused Jewish persecution, cast a glaring light on their real situation and called to their defense leading European Jews, such as Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885), the English philanthropist, and Adolphe Crémieux (1796–1880), cofounder of the Paris *Alliance Israélite Universele*. The French occupation of Algiers in 1830 changed the lot of the Jews in this country also. The *Alliance* instituted lively cultural activ-

ity, and in 1870 the *Lex Crémieux* granted Algerian Jews French citizenship. Likewise in Tunisia, when it was formed into a French protectorate in 1881, the Jews were given civil equality with the Muslims, though in Morocco they were not freed from their medieval ghettos until 1912, and then only partially. In Egypt the English Protectorate in 1882 prepared the way to the same development, but in other Arab countries, such as Yemen, the Jews still remained without civic rights.

World War I and Its Consequences. Again mainly the Russian Jews suffered the consequences of the war; they were herded from the border areas into the interior of the country on the pretext that they were conspiring with the enemy. Although the revolution of 1917 brought them freedom, the Jewish communities, especially in the Ukraine, were again sorely afflicted in the ensuing struggles between the *Reds* and the *Whites*.

In the countries newly established by the peace treaty of 1918 to 1919, the Jewish problem had to receive new solutions. An agreement for the protection of minorities was drawn up, and a committee of the League of Nations was entrusted with the execution of its stipulations. The largest number of Jews (almost three million) lived in the newly organized state of Poland, where they preserved, in spite of some tendencies toward assimilation, their individual character as a people with its own language (Yiddish) and its own cultural institutions. Thanks to this situation, the Ashkenazi Jews retained the traditional way of life longer in Poland than elsewhere. Polish Judaism thus formed a large reservoir of native Jewish forces. The equality granted to the Jews by the constitution in Poland, as well as in Romania and Hungary (*Numerus clausus*), was quite limited in practice, whereas Czechoslovakia, under President Tomáš Masaryk (1850–1937), presented a praiseworthy exception in this regard.

In Soviet Russia the Jews in particular suffered in the economic upheaval that the new regime brought with it, which necessitated a change to entirely new means of gaining a livelihood. The attempt to establish the Jewish autonomous region of Biro-Bidyan in the far-eastern part of the Soviet Union met with but little response. Yiddish culture was still flourishing to some extent in Russia during the first years after the revolution, until under Josef STALIN all genuinely Jewish life became impossible.

In Germany: The Beginning of the End. In the German Reich, where the Jews played a role during the political revolution of 1918, and where, in the Weimar Republic, the way was prepared for an organic symbiosis between the Jews and the non-Jewish population, anti-Semites again appeared on the scene. In 1922 the Jewish minister of foreign affairs, Walter Rathenau (1867–1922), fell a victim to their machinations, and in 1923 Adolf Hitler managed the first *Putsch* in Munich, assisted by the anti-Semites of General Erich Ludendorff's Old Guard. Hitler's book *Mein Kampf,* which incorporated and systematized all the old anti-Semitic theories and slogans, became the modern bible of anti-Semitism, and when Hitler came to power in 1933 as the leader of his NSDAP (German National Socialist Labor party), the stage was set for the greatest catastrophe in the history of the Jewish people; six million people were its victims solely because they were Jews. It will take Judaism a long time to recover from this enormous massacre, but its inner power is unbroken, and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 has given a new proof of its vitality.

SEE ALSO ISRAEL (STATE), THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; WORLD WAR I, PAPAL REACTION TO.

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VII. CONTEMPORARY HISTORY (1948–2009)

The Jewish state of Israel emerged despite the response of Arab nations and the Palestinian Arabs who settled there after the British mandate. The latter invaded the Jewish territories of Palestine, especially the road leading to Jerusalem half a year prior to the end of the British mandate. Until then the holy city of Jerusalem had been continuously inhabited by the Jews over the centuries. Since the Biblical era when two temples were built, from the days of Solomon to the time of Jesus,

they lived there as the center of the world of Jewry. Archaeological discoveries attest to their presence in the land of Israel. Following the Bar Kokhba defeat by Hadrian in AD 135, the Roman emperor renamed the land Palestine. Jerusalem was now called *Aelia Capitolina*, a pagan name; Hadrian forbade the Jews to enter the area under penalty of death. This is why the early Jewish-Christians, who were circumcised, were totally removed from Jerusalem, and the center of Christianity shifted to Rome. This is also why MUḤAMMAD in the QUR'ĀN never mentions the name of Jerusalem, for in the early Islamic period, the city was called *Aelia*, which is how Arabs referred to it. Over the centuries the Jews continued to live there as pilgrims, called the *mourners of Zion*.

Toward Israeli Independence. Prior to WORLD WAR I, during the last century of the Turkish rule of Palestine, the Jews were the majority in Jerusalem. They lived in poverty with charitable support from world Jewry. They even extended their settlement in Jerusalem outside the walls, after the visit of Sir Moses Montefiori. The British had already promised the land of Palestine as the Jewish homeland after World War I. On November 2, 1917, the foreign secretary, Lord Arthur Balfour (1848–1930), issued a declaration in the form of a letter to Lord Rothschild. "His majesty's government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people" (Laqueur and Rubin 1984, p. 182). This statement gratefully acknowledged the support of chemist and first President of the State of Israel, Chaim Weizmann's (1874–1952) scientific contribution, namely the discovery of how to produce acetone through bacterial fermentation, to the British victory in World War I as well as to the NILI group headed by the Aharonson family in Atlit of Palestine that led to General Edmund ALLENBY's triumphant march to Jerusalem. The Jewry's active role during the war also liberated their promised land from severe Turkish rule.

The British reneged on the mandate, however, especially in their action prior to WORLD WAR II with closing the gate to Jewish immigration from Europe to Palestine, the promised homeland. At that time European Jewry was facing annihilation by the Nazi anti-Semitic agenda. The British instead were responding to the Palestinian Arabs' riots and not to the Jews who were seeking safety in their ancient land. Moreover, the Mufti of Jerusalem, as the Palestinian Arab leader, joined Adolf Hitler in promoting the "final solution" of Jewry in Europe. In contrast, thousands of Jewish adults of Palestine joined the British forces in Egypt to stop German general Erwin Rommel's (1891–1944) advance to Alexandria. It is ironic that during the British mandate the Jewish governor of Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel (1870–1963), invited the Mufti to become the religious representative of the recently increasing Arab population as a gesture of fairness, for the Jewish inhabitants had already had their two rabbinic representatives over the years since the Turkish period. It is also ironic that this covenant by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was formulated prior to the Six Days War (June 5–10, 1967), when all the territories of Judea and Samaria, including the Old City of Jerusalem, were in Jordanian hands. The PLO's basic approach to the Jewish State in these propositions clearly deny any Jewish historical claim to the land and, moreover, to the Temple Mount (see Y. Harkabi, *The Palestinian Covenant and Its Meaning*).

The brazen act of war against the Jewish inhabitants was the Arab world's response to the United Nations (UN), half a year after the attack on the road to Jerusalem that isolated this city to the point of starvation. The Israeli response was to breach their siege by sending armed caravans of men and supplies to the holy city from Tel Aviv. In the latter city, Israel declared its independence on Friday, May 14, 1948. This state was immediately recognized by the Biblically oriented countries of the United States and Great Britain as well as the U.S.S.R.. In response, the armies of seven Arab countries invaded the newborn State of Israel and called to Arabs in Palestine to evacuate to safe territories of Lebanon and Jordan. The Jewish State, highly organized and disciplined, was able to hold their territories with given adjustments. The only unfortunate loss was their Old City Jerusalem with its Temple site and the neighboring old Jewish quarter that was forced to evacuate. This Old City during the Jordanian occupation was hermetically closed to Jews in violation of the UN agreement; in addition, their quarter with their ancient synagogues was totally destroyed.

Early Period of the State. After this war of independence, the Jewish state absorbed more than a million Jews who fled from Arab countries as they faced death threats, along with thousands of Jews who survived the HOLOCAUST (SHOAH) in European countries under Nazi control. The British held back the latter in Cyprus after World War II, but they allowed Arabs to enter Palestine. At that time the British were officially training Jordanian forces. As for the Palestinian refugees, the Arab countries kept them in separate camps, so the UN would assume responsibility for their lives. Israel was isolated in the UN as a pariah state and, moreover, in November 1975 the UN adopted a resolution labeling Israel a racist state. To the amazement of fair-minded representatives, this act clearly showed the bias that the Arab world has against the Jews, who were targeted as Semites by Nazi racism. Thereby, the Arabs sought to deny the Holocaust.

In light of this attitude, the plight of Arab refugees can be seen as a political ploy to cast an immoral shadow on the Jewish State, the only democratic entity in the Middle East. The Jewish State grants their Arab citizens full freedom and rights, in contrast to the Arab states in the area. At this point the UN assumed responsibility for the life of the Arab refugees, who lived in separate camps, where they were exposed to anti-Semitic propaganda, whereas Israel at the same time absorbed all Jewish refugees who came from Europe and fled from North Africa and Arab countries. The tiny state even absorbed Falashi Jews from Ethiopia and Yemenite Jewry from Arabia. Israel also settled Bedouin Arabs in the Negev and gave refuge even to non-Jews persecuted in dictatorial regimes. This positive attitude toward humanity and freedom enabled the melting pot to build the land and to enter the new age of technology, science, and medicine. The State of Israel adopted a democratic orientation: guaranteeing human freedom for all citizens, respecting varied religious expressions, and accepting women as equals.

During the early period of the State, from 1950, Palestine terrorist groups (the Fedayeen) began systematic raids into Israel. The Egyptian government supervised the formal establishment of these groups in Gaza Strip and northeastern Sinai. Local Jordanian-Palestinian Fedayeen were also active, operating from the West Bank. Thus, the Israeli response was a series of raids against terrorist targets. When Egypt blockaded the gulfs of Suez and Aqaba, sealing the only port, Eilat, at the southern end of Israel, the Jewish State regarded it as a definite act of war. Israel launched a full-scale military attack into Sinai on October 29, 1956. At the same time Britain and France, in response to the nationalization of the Suez Canal, attacked in Port Said. Israel reached the Suez Canal from the East, demonstrating their superiority in the air and on the land. This action, however, came to a halt after the United States and the USSR intervened at the UN. Israel retreated to its border, and Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918–1970), the head of the Egyptian government, aligned himself with the Soviet Union, seeking political alliance and modern weaponry. His anger and hatred was directed mainly toward Israel with a promise of total war.

Formation of the PLO. Nasser placed Israel in a pincer-move by linking his country with Syria under his presidency in 1958; Yemen also joined this federation. Furthermore, he deviated the waters of Jordan from its sources in Syria and Lebanon. At the same time the Palestinian Arabs organized themselves as the PLO, whose main purpose was to liquidate the Jewish State, as detailed in their covenant. The PLO and Arab countries dismissed the Biblical witness to the historical Israel and its continued Jewish life there.

The Islamic perspective is that the world is partitioned by two areas, Dar el Salam and Dar el Harb. The former is defined by the global belt from Morocco to Indonesia that is Islamic under the rule of peace (Salam). The latter determines the global areas under the sword (Harb). This jihadistic view of Islam allowed deception, terrorism, and war against their enemies. Thus Nasser called the Arab nations under his rule to launch war on the State of Israel as a holy act. According to him and Arab leaders, the Holy Mount and the walled city of Jerusalem are Islamic entities. Yet, Jerusalem is never mentioned in the Qur'ān; instead the Suras refer to the two sacred cities in Arabia, MECCA and MEDINA. Thus, Jordan, which then controlled the Old City of Jerusalem, also joined Nasser in declaring a total war on Israel, and Nasser marched his troops to the border of Israel in the Negev.

Six Days War. The Jewish State realized it was facing a war of annihilation, and its leaders sought a diplomatic solution from their allies and the UN, to no avail. At the same time they prepared themselves for a final conflict. On June 1, 1967, the Jewish State was led by a united government of all parties under the premier Levi Eshkol (1895–1969) and Moshe Dayan (1915–1981) as the Minister of Defense. On June 5, 1967, the Israeli air force attacked all bases in Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, which opened the Six Days War. Nasser issued false reports to Arab countries, while Israeli tanks swiftly entered the entire Sinai. Then the Jewish soldiers moved into the eastern part of Palestine as well as into the Old City of Jerusalem. On the last days they also captured the Golan Heights, which overlooked the Jewish settlements around the Sea of Galilee. From there, the Galilean Jews had been under constant fire from above.

This, indeed, was an overwhelming victory in less than a week that allowed Jews, for the first time since the state had been declared, to enter the Old City of Jerusalem. Jews continuously visited their Temple Mount, but mainly they gathered below at the Western Wall, because the rabbinic view of the Biblical teaching concerning the Temple does not allow anyone to visit the Temple Mount in a state of impurity. Thus, Dayan offered the keys of the Temple Mount to the Islamic council (the Waqf) for entry to the mosques. This kind gesture was eventually translated into the right of possession. The Waqf eventually destroyed all preserved structures of the Jewish Temple. At the same time they protested against archeological inspection, even though nearby the Israel archaeologists found a great number of materials with inscriptions dating from both temples. Jews continue to visit the Temple site, but they are not permitted to pray there. They gather in thousands for prayer at the Western Wall (the Kotel) below, even placing prayer notes in the crevices of the stones. Their vic-



Six Days War. *Israeli tanks enter the Old Town of Jerusalem during the Six Days War.* © **APIS/SYGMA/CORBIS**

tory in returning to the Old City of Jerusalem, despite the ruins of the Jewish quarter, was celebrated throughout the world of Jewry. Jews saw this unique event as providential concern for their safety after the Holocaust.

Orthodox and Liberal Judaism. A religious revival of Orthodox Judaism emerged in the United States as well as in Israel with the establishment of great Talmudic centers and the Orthodox mission of the Chabad movement throughout the civilized world of Jewish people. In the United States two religious expressions of liberal Judaism emerged. In the past the Conservative and the Reform had followings in the millions prior to World War II. In Europe, however, the Jewish people in the east, such as in Poland and Lithuania, remained orthodox with Hasidic and Talmudic centers, despite the increase of Jews who embraced the Communist orientation in Russia.

In Western Europe, however, a liberal expression of reformed Judaism that emerged in the nineteenth century spread to America. This development gave rise later to a marked deviation from classical Judaism. For example, the Reform movement allowed for either parent to determine the religious orientation of a child. Thereby, a number of congregants—those from the Jewish father only—cannot be considered Jewish from the Orthodox *halakhic* view. Similarly, the Conservative movement gave rise to Mordecai Kaplan's (1881–1983) determination of Judaism from a Reconstructionist view that Judaism represents a civilization and not theology. In addition to these deviations, the door to assimilation was opened to great numbers of nonpracticing Jews in the United States and Europe. Thus, following the miracle of the Six Days War, a significant number of Jews returned to practicing their faith.

There was a marked growth of Jews who sought different Hasidic communities, Orthodox Yeshivot, and academic centers of Torah and knowledge, such as Yeshiva University in New York City. Israel, too, enjoyed the increase of Orthodox institutions, along with highly successful academic centers that excel in the field of science, medicine, and mathematics, for the Jewish world was elated by the miraculous outcome of the war, from despair to total victory. The Arab countries, however, gathered at Khartoum to declare a triadic protest: "no recognition of Israel, no negotiations and no peace" (Summer 1967) (Laqueur and Rubin 1984, p. 359). Yet, Israel constantly was seeking to negotiate a peace settle-

ment with all its neighbors, including those who did not recognize its existence as a state.

Changes in Arab-Israeli Relations. Significantly, the Six Days War opened a new chapter in Arab-Israel relations that eventually led to the peace process with two of her neighbors. It was surprising that the one who pursued this path was Menachem Begin (1913–1992), the ultra nationalist who followed Vladimir Jabotinsky's (1880–1940) view of the Greater Israel at the two banks of Jordan river (archaeologically, both sides were occupied by Jews in the past during both Temple periods). It took also a nationalist president Anwar el-Sadat (1918–1981) of Egypt to change his approach from war, which he sought in 1972–1973, against Israel. At a rally in Alexandria on May 1, 1972, he declared, "I am ready to pay one million men as the prize for their battle, as long as they be ready to pay a million men or more on their side" (Gilbert 2008). Such action he sought with Syrian President Hafiz al-Assad (1930–2000) on Saturday, October 6, 1973, when both Arab countries launched a concerted military attack on Israel from the north and the south. The day that they chose for the attack was the holiest day for Judaism, the Day of ATONEMENT. Thus, in Hebrew this Arabic confrontation is called the *Yom Kippur War*; it challenged also the spirit of Israel. Many who rushed from their synagogues on this holiest day of the year were enlisted soldiers, fasting with their prayer shawls (*taliot*) on.

It is ironic that, in the Qur'ān, Muḥammad changed the Day of Atonement (Asur), which he originally adopted at Mecca, for the pillar of Fasting (Saum) during the month of Ramadan (Sura 2:185). The former influence of Jewish praxis on the Islamic prophet was revoked, and thus the Islamic world wanted to provoke the Israeli prime minister, who at that time was Golda Meir (1898–1978). She declared: "We have no joy in killing others but our people are small in number who are surrounded by enemies, decided to live. Even when we have to pay the price of living. We shall win because we must live despite that we hate war" (Gilbert 2008). Jewish religion does not promote war as a pillar of faith but can seek to prevent homicide, for saving one life is saving the whole world (Mishnah Sanhedrin 4:5). Muḥammad knew this view, as it is recorded in the Qur'ān (Sura 5:35–38). Jews during the war must regard the life of others; thus, Israel distributed welfare food for thousands of Arabs in the Gaza Strip and to the Bedouins in Rafah. In addition they distributed two thousand packages in honor of the Muslim holy fast month of Ramadan.

At the outset, the fronts saw many casualties among the Jewish soldiers, yet after a week (October 14), the Israel army was able to push back the Syrians in the north and the Egyptians toward the Suez Canal in the south. The latter Israeli offensive was a brilliant move by General Ariel Sharon (1928–) that crossed the Suez Canal to the Western Bank. Egypt now faced military collapse, so the great power demanded a ceasefire. This operation led eventually to Sadat seeking peace with Israel at its Jerusalem parliament on November 19, 1979. Israel eventually retreated totally from Egypt, the Sinai, and the border of Gaza. Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak (1928–), following the killing of Sadat by Egyptian terrorists, continued to support said agreement.

Among the Arab countries, only Egypt and Jordan enjoy a peaceful coexistence with the State of Israel. Syria and Lebanon in the north, with the Gaza Strip on the west facing Israel, however, harbor Islamic terrorist organizations—Hezbollah and Hamas, respectively. These organizations declared openly their goal of destroying Israel with missiles, local infiltration, and kidnapping Jewish soldiers. Thus, in the northern border, two wars with Lebanon emerged, the first from June 6 to August 21, 1982, and the second from July 12 to August 13, 2006.

The first confrontation was in response to constant shelling of northern Israel; thus, its operation was named *Peace for Galilee*. When Israeli forces reached Beirut, the Christian Lebanese Phalangist forces, in response to the Islamic killing of Christians during the Lebanese civil war that began in 1976, utilized the opportunity to enter the western section of Beirut. There they massacred Islamic men, women, and children at Sabra and Shattila refugee camps as Israeli forces remained at the border of the city. The entire world blamed the Jews for this massacre; however, the Kahan report (February 8, 1983) concluded that no Israeli element intended to harm the non-combatant population in the camps. Yet, the Islamic media viewed the event as instigated by Israel, thereby triggering anti-Israel propaganda in the world. The Islamic confrontation with the Jewish State utilized the media to fan anti-Semitic sentiment with false reports and fabricated stories of injustice. Following the Israeli full retreat from Lebanon, a civil war flared between Christians and Muslims that resulted in Syria occupying Lebanon.

The Christian Lebanese, mainly in the south, sought to relocate to other countries, especially in Canada and the United States. The southern area where Palestinian refugees lived gave rise to terrorist control by Hezbollah, the Party of God. Eventually, their leader Sheik Hasan Nasrallah (1960–) openly attacked northern Israel with Katyusha rockets from southern Lebanon on July 12, 2006. More than a thousand rockets were fired into Israel, resulting in civilian casualties. Israel responded with air strikes, and their troops marched across the border until August 13. The United Nations sought a ceasefire as the Secretary-General Kofi Annan (1938–) sought to blame the Israelis' use of cluster bombs against

Lebanese. The UN isolated Israel as a member state and, moreover, kept Arab refugees in camps throughout the period of Israel's existence, which generated anti-Israel sentiment. The Israeli operation resulted, however, in a border that remained silent, without missile attacks on Israeli towns.

Israelis also inhabited the Gaza Strip, where they established towns as well as centers for growing non-infected vegetables, which became an industry generating millions of dollars. However, the conservative war hero Ariel Sharon, as prime minister, decided as a gesture of good will to the Palestinians to move them from their camps into the built-up area after a total disengagement of Israeli families and soldiers. Reluctant Jewish settlers were all evacuated in August 2005. This act was praised by the world but not by the terrorist Hamas party, who sought to take over the entire Gaza Strip, declaring death to the Jewish State. They used the evacuated areas to bring in their warriors and missiles (Kassamim) to be launched daily against the neighboring Israeli towns, in particular, Sderot. Now, Israel's border was under siege with daily bombardment from the Gaza Strip; such a development gave rise to two military responses, one following the evacuation of September 26, 2005, and the other beginning on December 27, 2008, and ending on January 21, 2009, following three years of continuous missile attack. The latter operation, called *Cast Lead*, coordinated forces of air and land in this engagement to attack the Hamas warriors who used the UN buildings, Palestinian homes, and mosques as their shelter. Following the Israeli military response, the UN and European countries blamed Israel and gave millions of dollars for the restoration of Gaza. At the same time Hamas leaders worked in concert with Iran, the Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (1956–) sought nuclear weaponry. The latter declared publicly his hatred for Israel, saying it should be wiped off the earth, an anti-Semitic approach reminiscent of Hitler.

History of the Term *Anti-Semitism*. The term *anti-Semitism* was coined in Germany by Wilhelm Marr in his 1897 book, *Victory over Judaism*. It came to describe only the racial hatred of Jews as Semites, but was not used for Arabs, who come from Shem in the Biblical story of NOAH's descendants. Such was the depiction as well in Hitler's work *Mein Kampf*, while he befriended the Arab Mufti of Jerusalem. The Arab world still utilizes the fabricated conspiracy published as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. This very agenda was offered by the Nazis to justify their action against the Jews. This item as well as other anti-Semitic writings are offered to the Arab public daily. Israel is a pariah state in Islamic writings that support Palestinian parties' refusal to recognize the Jewish state. Moreover they raised children as God's warriors and offered money to compensate for their jihadistic death.

Christian-Jewish Relations. In contrast, Biblically oriented people of Christianity view Israel in the context of messianic times. The birth of the Jewish state after World War II emerged out of the ashes of the European Holocaust. The Church acknowledges that this genocide was an evil act inflicted on the Jewish people. The Catholic response as an act of repentance seeks to remove all negative statements toward the Jews in Church preaching and writings. The formal declaration of the Second Vatican Council, promulgated by Pope PAUL VI on October 28, 1965, known by the title, *Nostra aetate* (In Our Age), contains the Church's extended reflection on the Jewish people. It emerged from the decision by the righteous Pope JOHN XXIII, who in remorse sought to depart from the way the Church had related to the Jews since the days of Constantine. The Biblical paradigm Jewry used over the centuries was the conflict between the twin brothers Esau as Edom (i.e., Rome) vs. Jacob as Israel. This rivalry reflected the historical conflict between the Church and the Jews.

A shift of the paradigm occurred when the rabbinic delegation met Pope John XXIII, whose baptismal name was Joseph. He addressed them in Hebrew with the Biblical greeting of Joseph in Egypt to his brothers: "I am your brother Joseph" (Gen 45:4). Joseph acknowledged the elder brother Yehudah as the head of the delegation. Yehudah in Hebrew describes the Jews (Yehudi). This new paradigm governs the relationship of the Church to Judaism, for it seeks to remove all negative views of Judaism in Catholic educational material as well as through Church preaching. Furthermore, the mission statement rejected forcible conversion of Jews, as it respected the elder brother's faith. During the pontificate of Pope JOHN PAUL II, who personally knew the fate of Jewry in the Nazi period, the VATICAN established formal relations with Israel. Thus, the Biblically oriented religions of Judaism and Christianity jointly promoted the act of repentance and forgiveness along with respectful concern of human life. Violence and terrorism, lying, or killing in God's name are antithetical to Biblical religion. Thus, the Catholic Church opposes active proselytization among the Jews and encourages the removal of all negative statements against the Jews in Church preaching and teaching.

In light of this development, Pope BENEDICT XVI welcomed a delegation of representatives from various religions at the POPE JOHN PAUL II CULTURAL CENTER in Washington, D.C., on Thursday, April 17, 2008. For the Jewish delegation this occurred three days before Passover. The pope addressed them in the public hall as the elder brothers. He asked them to meet with him privately in another room, as witnessed by this writer.

The following day before Passover he joined Rabbi Schneier at his Park East synagogue in Manhattan. After all, Judaism and Christianity are bonded with the Passover celebration as the day of their freedom under God, the heavenly Father.

SEE ALSO ISRAEL (STATE), THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (PUBLIC); JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (THEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF); VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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JOSÉ APARICIO SANZ AND 232 COMPANIONS, MARTYRS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, BB.

Also called Martyrs of Valencia; priests, religious, and laity; d. Valencia, Spain, 1936–1938; beatified March 11, 2001, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

José Aparicio Sanz and 232 companions, martyrs of the Spanish Civil War, were raised to the glory of the altars for their heroic deaths for the Faith during their homeland's civil war. Soon after the approval of the Spanish constitution in December 1931, Republicans, who saw the Church as a privileged part of the old regime, ordered schools to remove all religious symbols, forbade religious instruction, and disbanded the Society of Jesus. Over the next few years, mobs led by anarchists defaced religious images and looted churches. Hundreds of churches were torched or demolished. The execution of Catholics began around 1932, but did not reach its peak until the military insurrection of July 18, 1936, which began the Spanish Civil War.

From the beginning of the war until 1937, the death toll for Catholics clergy reached 6,832. The *red terror*, as it was called, executed 13 bishops, 4,172 diocesan priests, 2,364 male religious, and 283 nuns. The number of laity murdered has never been accurately counted; combined clergy and laity deaths may have totaled more than 10,000. In just a few years, Valencia lost 327 diocesan priests, or 27 percent of its clergy. Among them were the 41 priests, who were honored on March 11, 2001, along with 150 religious, and 42 laity, 38 of whom were members of CATHOLIC ACTION. These martyrs ranged in age from twenty-one to eighty-three. The oldest, María Teresa Ferragud Roig, insisted on dying with her daughters and asked to be shot last so she could encourage them to remain faithful as they died. When her executioners asked if she was afraid to die, she replied that all her life she wanted to do something for Jesus. She left behind a powerful testimony; even her executioners called her a saint.

The first of the 233 martyrs was also the youngest. Twenty-one-year-old Javier Bordas Piferrer (Xavier Piferer Bordas, [1914–1936]) was shot July 23, 1936, after authorities reviewing his documents determined he was a Catholic. A philosophy student at the GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY, he had taken his vows in 1932 and was in Spain visiting his family. The last of the 233 blesseds to be executed was Julio Junyer Padern (1892–1938), a Salesian priest, shot in the pits of Montjuïe on April 26, 1938. Before his death, Fr. Junyer had ministered to many religious displaced by the war. He was captured and convicted of espionage. In the fortress where he was imprisoned prior to his death, he continued to perform his priestly duties as he blessed the marriage of a couple condemned alongside him.

Fr. José Aparicio Sanz, under whose name the group is listed, was an ARCHPRIEST in Enguera, Spain. He was arrested and imprisoned on October 5, 1936, along with fourteen other diocesan priests. On December 29, 1936, Fr. Aparicio and about thirty others were executed in Picadero de Paterna. Of the 233 martyrs listed, many were from his archdiocese.

Pope John Paul II beatified these martyrs on March 11, 2001, as the first fruits of the third millennium. The celebration of their martyrdom was the first BEATIFICATION to follow the JUBILEE YEAR of 2000, a fitting tribute for the celebration of the spiritual fervor of their faith. In his homily, the pope stressed the transfiguration of the body that occurs in heaven, but he reminded the audience that, though this change happens later, the martyrs also demonstrated another transfiguration—that of the heart through grace.

The following list comprises sixteen different causes, and all martyrs are from Spain, unless otherwise noted.

DIOCESAN PRIESTS

José Aparicio Sanz, archpriest; b. March 12, 1893, Enguera; d. December 29, 1936, Paterna; martyred with his coadjutor.

Fernando González Añón, parish priest; b. February 17, 1886, Turís; d. August 27, 1936, Turís.

Juan Ventura Solsona, archpriest; b. 1875, Castellón, d. September 17, 1936, Castellón.

José Ruiz Bruixola, parish priest; b. March 30, 1857, Foios; d. October 29, 1936, Gilet.

Ramón Martí Soriano, cura regent; b. October 7, 1902, Burjassot; d. August 27, 1936, Bétera.

Joaquín Vilanova Vamallonga, coadjutor; b. October 6, 1888, Ontinyent; d. July 29, 1936, Alicante.

Enrique Morant Pellicer, cura; b. October 13, 1908, Bellreguard; d. October 3, 1936, Xeraco.

Carmelo Sastre Sastre, parish priest; b. December 21, 1890, Alicante; d. August 15, 1936, Gandía.

Vicente Ballester Far, Augustian priest; b. February 4, 1888, Alicante; d. September 23, 1936, Alicante.

Ramón Esteban Bou Pascual, cura regent; b. October 12, 1906, Alicante; d. October 15, 1936, Alicante.

Pascual Ferrer Botella, chaplain; b. November 9, 1894, Algemesí; d. September 24, 1936, Sueca.

Enrique Juan Requena, coadjutor; b. March 2, 1903, Malferit; d. December 29, 1936, Paterna; martyred with his parish priest.

Elías Carbonell Mollá, coadjutor; b. November 20, 1869, Alicante; d. October 2, 1936, Alicante; martyred with his brother Juan.

Juan Carbonell Mollá, coadjutor; b. June 6, 1874, Alicante; d. October 2, 1936, Alicante; martyred with his brother Elías.

Pascual Penadés Jornet, regent; b. March 1, 1894, Montaverner; d. September 15, 1936, Cárcer.

Salvador Ferrandis Seguí, parish priest; b. May 25, 1880, Alicante; d. August 3, 1936, Alicante.

José Toledo Pellicer, coadjutor; b. July 15, 1909, Llaurí; d. August 10, 1936, Valencia.

Fernando García Sendra, cura; b. March 31, 1905, Alicante; d. September 18, 1936, Gandía.

José García Mas, chaplain, Ecce-Homo de Pego; b. June 11, 1896, Alicante; d. September 18, 1936, Gandía.

José María Segura Penadés, coadjutor, Ontinyent; b. October 13, 1896, Ontinyent; d. September 11, 1936, Genovés.

Salvador Estrugo Solves, chaplain, Alberic Hospital; b. October 12, 1862, Alzíra; d. August 10, 1936, Alberie.

Vicente Sicluna Hernández, parish priest; b. September 30, 1859, Valencia; d. September 22, 1936, Bolbaite.

Vicente María Izquierdo Alcón, parish priest; b. May 25, 1891, Teruel; d. August 18, 1936, Rafelbunyol.

José María Ferrándiz Hernández, archpriest; b. August 11, 1879, Alicante; d. September 24, 1936, Rotglá.

Francisco Ibáñez Ibáñez, ABBOT; b. September 22, 1876, Alicante; d. August 19, 1936, Ranes.

José González Huguet, parish priest; b. January 23, 1874, Alaquás; d. October 12, 1936, Ribarroja.

José Fenollosa Alcayna, canon, La Colegiata de San Bartolomé; b. March 16, 1903, Rafelbunyol; d. September 27, 1936, Sagunto.

Félix Yuste Cava, parish priest; b. February 21, 1887, Chulilla; d. August 14, 1936, Valencia.

Vicente Pelufo Corts (Orts), chaplain, Little Sisters of the Abandoned Elderly, b. November 26, 1868, Alzira; d. September 21, 1936, Alzira.

José Canet Giner, vicar; b. August 24, 1903, Bellreguard; d. October 4, 1936, Gandía.

Francisco Sendra Ivars, cura regent, Calpe; b. April 23, 1899, Alicante; d. April 4, 1936, Alicante.

Diego Llorca Llopis, coadjutor; b. July 2, 1896, Oliva; d. April 6, 1936, Alicante.

Alfonso Sebastiá Vinals, director, School of Social Education, Valencia; b. May 27, 1910, Valencia; d. September 1, 1936, Paterna.

Germán Gozalbo (Golzalvo) Andreu, priest; b. August 30, 1913, Torrent; d. September 22, 1936, Monserrat.

Gonzalo Viñes Masip, canon; b. January 19, 1883, Xàtiva; d. December 10, 1936, Valles.

Vicente Rubiols Castelló, cura parish priest; b. March 13, 1874, Gandía; d. August 4, 1936, La Pobla Llarga.

Antonio Silvestre Moya, cura treasurer, Santa Tecla, Xàtiva; b. October 26, 1892, L'Ollería; d. August 7, 1936, Valencia.

WOMEN OF CATHOLIC ACTION

Amalia Abad Casasempere, widow, mother of two daughters; b. December 11, 1897, Alicante; d. September 21, 1936, Alicante.

Ana María Aranda Riera, single; b. January 24, 1888, Alicante; d. October 14, 1936, Paterna.

Florencia Caerols Marúnez, single; textile laborer; b. February 20, 1890, Albacete; d. October 2, 1936, Corbera.

María Climent Mateu, martyred along with her mother; b. May 13, 1887; d. August 20, 1936, Xàtiva.

Társila Córdoba Belda, mother of three children who died, widow; b. May 8, 1861, Sollana; d. October 17, 1936, Algemesí.

Francisca Cualladó Baixauli, single, dressmaker; b. December 3, 1890, Valencia; d. September 19, 1936, Benifaió.

María Teresa Ferraguid Roig, age eighty-three, martyred with her four daughters; b. January 14, 1853, Algemesí; d. October 25, 1936, Alzira.

Luisa María Frias Cañizares, professor, University of Valencia; b. June 20, 1896, Valencia; d. December 6, 1936, Paterna.

Encarnación Gil Valls, single; teacher; b. January 27, 1888, Ontinyent; d. September 24, 1936, Ollería.

María Jordá Botella, single; b. January 26, 1905, Alicante; d. September 27, 1936, Alicante.

Hermínia Martínez Amigó, martyred with her husband; b. July 31, 1887, Puzol; d. September 26, 1936, Gilet.

María Luisa Montesinos Orduna, martyred with her father, three brothers, and uncle; b. March 3, 1901, Valencia; d. March 31, 1937, Picassent.

Josefina Moscardó Montalvá, single; b. April 10, 1880; d. April 22, 1936, Alzira.

María del Olvido Noguera Albelda; b. December 30, 1903, Carcaixent; d. November 30, 1936, Benífairó de Valldigna.

Dios Crescencia Valis Espí, martyred with her three sisters; b. June 9, 1863, Ontinyent; d. April 20, 1936, Alzira.

María of La Purificación Vidal Pastor, single; b. September 14, 1892, Alzira; d. September 21, 1936, Corbera.

María del Carmen Viel Ferrando, single; b. November 27, 1893, Sueca; d. November 4, 1936, Valencia.

Pilar Villalonga Villalba, single; b. January 22, 1891, Valencia; d. December 11, 1936, Burjassot.

Sofia Ximénez Viuda, mother of two children, widow; b. October 15, 1876, Valencia; d. September 23, 1936, Paterna.

MEN AND YOUTH OF CATHOLIC ACTION

Rafael Alonso Gutiérrez, father of six children, post office administrator; b. June 14, 1890, Ontinyent; d. August 11, 1936, Agullent.

Marino Blanes Giner, father of six children; b. September 17, 1888, Alicante; d. September 8, 1936, Alicante.

José María Corbín Ferrer; b. December 26, 1914, Valencia; d. December 27, 1936, died on the prison ship *Alfonso Peréz*, Santander.

Carlos Díaz Gandía, father of an eight-month-old daughter; b. December 25, 1907, Ontinyent; d. August 11, 1936, Agullent.

Salvador Damián Enguix Garés, widower, father of six children, veterinarian; b. September 27, 1862, Alzira; d. October 29, 1936, Alzira.

Ismael Escrihuela Esteve, father of three children; b. May 20, 1902, Tavernes de Valldigna; d. September 9, 1936, Paterna.

Juan Bautista Faubel Cano, father of three children, pyrotechnic; b. January 3, 1889, Llíria; d. August 28, 1936, Paterna.

José Ramón Ferragud Girbés, father of eight children; b. October 10, 1887, Algemesí; d. September 24, 1936, Alzira.

Vicente Galbis Gironés, father of one child, lawyer; b. September 9, 1910, Ontinyent; d. September 21, 1936, Benisoda.

Juan Gonga Marúnez, clerical worker; b. 1911, Carcaixent; d. November 13, 1936, Simat de Valldigna.

Carlos López Vidal, second SACRISTAN of the Collegiate Church of Gandía; b. November 15, 1894, Gandía; d. August 6, 1936, Gandía.

José Medes Ferrís, martyred with three religious brothers; b. January 13, 1885, Algernesí; d. November 12, 1936, Alcudia de Carlet.

Pablo Meléndez Gonzalo, lawyer and journalist, father of ten children, martyred with his son Albert; b. November 7, 1876, Valencia; d. December 23, 1936, Castellar.

José Perpiñá Nácher, telegraphist and lawyer; b. February 22, 1911, Sueca; d. December 29, 1936, Paterna.

Arturo Ros Montalt, father of six children, laborer; b. October 26, 1901, Vinalesa; d. August 28, 1936, Moncada.

Pascual Torres Lloret, father of four children, builder; b. January 23, 1885, Carcaixent; d. September 6, 1936, Carcaixent.

Manuel Torró Garúa, foreman; b. July 2, 1902, Ontinyent; d. September 21, 1936, Benisoda.

José María Zabal Blasco, father of three children, employee North Valencia station; b. March 20, 1898, Valencia; d. December 8, 1936, Paterna.

CAUSE OF THE ORDER OF PREACHERS (DOMINICANS, O.P.)

Jacinto Serrano López, provincial vicar; b. July 30, 1901, Teruel; d. November 25, 1936, Teruel.

Luis Urbano Lanaspa, provincial vicar; b. June 3, 1882, Zaragoza; d. August 25, 1936, Valencia.

Constantino Fernández Álvarez; b. November 7, 1907, León; d. August 29, 1936, Valencia.

Rafael Pardo Molina, cooperator; b. October 28, 1899, Valencia; d. September 26, 1936, Valencia.

Lucio Marúnez Mancebo, novice master; b. July 28, 1902, León; d. July 29, 1936, Teruel.

Antonio López Couceiro; b. November 15, 1869, Mondoñedo-El Ferrol; d. July 29, 1936, Teruel.

Felicísimo Díez González; b. November 26, 1907, León; d. July 29, 1936, Teruel.

Saturio Rey Robles; b. December 21, 1907, León; d. July 29, 1936, Teruel.

Tirso Manrique Melero; b. January 26, 1877, La Rioja; d. July 29, 1936, Teruel.

Gumersindo Soto Barros, cooperator; b. October 21, 1869, La Coruña; d. July 29, 1936, Teruel.

Lamberto de Navascués y de Juan, novice, cooperator; b. May 18, 1911, Zaragoza; d. July 29, 1936, Teruel.

José María Muro Sanmiguel; b. October 26, 1905, Zaragoza; d. July 30, 1936, Teruel.

Joaquín Prats Baltueña, novice, cleric; March 5, 1915, Zaragoza; d. July 30, 1936, Teruel.

Francisco Calvo Burillo; b. November 21, 1881, Híjar, Teruel; d. August 2, 1936, Teruel.

Francisco Monzón Romeo; b. March 29, 1912, Teruel; d. August 29, 1936, Teruel.

Ramón Peiró Victorí; b. March 7, 1891, Barcelona; d. August 21, 1936, Barcelona.

José María Vidal Segú; b. February 3, 1912, Tarragona; d. September 22, 1936, Barcelona.

Santiago Meseguer Burillo; b. May 1, 1885, Teruel; d. November 1936, Barcelona.

Manuel Albert Ginés, coadjutor; b. October 3, 1867, Teruel; d. July 29, 1936, outside Calanda.

Zósimo Izquierdo Gil, parish priest; b. December 17, 1895, Víllahermosa del Campo; d. July 30, 1936, Castelserás.

CAUSE OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER MINORS FRIARS (O.F.M.)

Pascual Fortuño Almela, vicar of the Convent of Holy Spirit of the Mount; b. March 5, 1886, Castellón; d. September 7, 1936; martyred with a blow of machete to the chest.

Plácido García Gilabert; b. January 1, 1895, Valencia; d. August 16, 1936, Valencia; mutilated and murdered.

Alfredo Pellicer Muñoz, cleric, theology student; b. April 10, 1914, Bellrreguard; d. October 8, 1936, Castellón.

Salvador Mollar Ventura, sacristan, Benissa School; b. March 27, 1896, Manises; d. October 26, 1936, Paterna.

CAUSE OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER MINORS FRIARS CONVENTUAL (O.F.M.CONV.)

Modesto Vegas, priest; b. February 24, 1912, Palencia; d. July 27, 1936, Barcelona.

Dionisio Vicente Ramos, priest; b. October 9, 1871, Teruel; d. July 31, 1936, Barcelona.

Francisco Remón Játiva, brother; b. September 22, 1890, Teruel; d. July 27, 1936, Barcelona.

Alfonso López, priest; b. November 16, 1878, Huesca; d. August 3, 1936, Barcelona.

Miguel Remón Salvador, brother; b. September 17, 1907, Teruel; d. August 3, 1936, Barcelona.

Pedro Rivera, priest; b. September 3, 1912, Valladolid; d. September 1, 1936, Barcelona.

CAUSE OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER OF FRIARS MINOR CAPUCHIN (O.F.M.CAP.)

Aurelio de Vinalesa (José Ample Alcaide), priest; b. February 3, 1896, Vinalesa; d. August 28, 1936, Barranco de Carraixet.

Ambrosio de Benaguasil (Luis Valls Matamales, priest; b. May 3, 1870, Benaguasil; d. August 24, 1936, Barcelona.

Pedro de Benisa (Alejandro Mas Ginester), priest; b. December 11, 1876, Alicante; d. August 26, 1936, Alicante.

Joaquín de Albocácer (José Ferrer Adell), priest; b. April 23, 1879, Castellón; d. August 30, 1936, Castellón.

Modesto de Albocácer (Modesto García Martí), priest; b. January 18, 1880, Castellón; d. August 13, 1936, Castellón.

Germán de Carcagente (Jorge María Garrigues Hernández), priest; b. February 12, 1895, Carcaixent; d. August 9, 1936, Carcaixent.

Buenaventura de Puzol (Julio Esteve Flores), priest; b. October 9, 1897, Puzol; d. September 26, 1936, Gilet.

Santiago de Rafelbuñol (Santiago Mestre Iborra), priest; b. April 10, 1909, Valencia; d. September 29, 1936, Valencia.

Enrique de Almazora (Enrique García Beltrán), deacon; b. March 16, 1913, Castellón; d. August 16, 1936, Castellón.

Fidel de Puzol (Mariano Climent Sanchis), brother; b. January 8, 1856; d. September 27, 1936, Valencia.

Berard de Lugar Nuevo of Fenollet (José Bleda Grau), brother; b. July 23, 1867, Lloch Nou de Fenollet; d. September 4, 1936, Genovés.

Pacífico de Valencia, Lego (Pedro Salcedo Puchades), brother; b. February 24, 1874, Castellar; d. October 12, 1936, Monteolivete.

María Jesús (María Vicenta Masiá Ferragud), Capuchin Poor Clare nun; b. January 12, 1882, Algemesí; d. October 25, 1936, Cruz Cubierta de Alzira.

María Verónica (María Joaquina Masiá Ferragud), Capuchin Poor Clare nun; b. June 15, 1884, Algemesí; d. October 25, 1936, Cruz Cubierta de Alzira.

María Felicidad (María Felicidad Masiá Ferragud), Capuchin Poor Clare nun; b. August 28, 1890, Algemesí; d. October 25, 1936, Cruz Cubierta de Alzira.

Isabel Calduch Rovira, Capuchin Poor Clare nun; b. May 9, 1882, Castellón; d. April 14, 1937, Castellón.

Milagros Ortells Gimeno, Capuchin Poor Clare nun; b. November 29, 1882, Valencia; d. November 20, 1936, Paterna.

Josefa Ramona Masiá Ferragud (María Josefa Ramona), Discalced Augustinian nun; b. June 10, 1887, Algemesí; d. October 25, 1936, Cruz Cubierta de Alzira.

CAUSE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS (JESUITS, S.J.)

Tomás Sidar Fortiá, priest; b. March 21, 1866, Girona; d. August 19, 1936, Valencia.

Constantino Carbonell Sempere, priest; b. April 12, 1866, Alcoi; d. August 23, 1936, Valencia.

Pedro Gelabert Amer, b. March 29, 1887, Mallorca; d. August 23, 1936, Valencia.

Ramón Grimaltós Monllor, b. March 3, 1861, La Pobla Llarga, Valencia; d. August 23, 1936, Valencia.

Pablo Bori Puig, priest; b. November 12, 1864, Vilet of Maldá, Lérida; d. September 29, 1936, Benimaclet.

Vicente Sales Genovés; b. October 15, 1881, Valencia; d. September 29, 1936, Valencia.

José Tarrats Comaposada; b. August 29, 1878, Barcelona; d. September 28, 1936, Barcelona.

Darío Hernández Morató, priest; b. October 25, 1880, Buñol; d. September 29, 1936, Paterna.

Narciso Basté Basté, priest; b. December 16, 1866, Barcelona; d. October 15, 1936, Paterna.

Alfredo Simón Colomina, priest; b. March 8, 1877, Valencia; d. November 29, 1936, Paterna.

Juan Bautista Ferreres Boluda, priest; b. November 28, 1861, L'Ollería; d. December 29, 1936, Valencia.

Luis Campos Górriz, Marian congregant and former Jesuit student; b. June 30, 1905, Valencia; d. November 28, 1936, Paterna.

CAUSE OF THE SALESIAN SOCIETY OF ST. JOHN BOSCO (SALESIANS, S.D.B.)

José Calasanz Marqués, priest, inspector of Tarraconense province; b. November 23, 1872, Huesca; d. July 29, 1936, Valencia.

Jaime Buch Canals, coadjutor; b. April 9, 1889, Girona; d. July 31, 1936, Valencia.

Juan Martorell Soria, priest; b. September 1, 1889, Picassent, Valencia; d. August 10, 1936, Valencia.

Pedro Mesonero Rodríguez, cleric; b. May 29, 1912, Salamanca; d. August 21, 1936, Barcelona.

José Otín Aquilé, priest; b. December 22, 1901, Huesca; d. November 1, 1936, Valencia.

Alvaro Sanjuan Canet, priest; b. April 26, 1908, Alicante; d. October 2, 1936, Villena.

Francisco Bandrés Sánchez, priest; b. April 24, 1896, Huesca; d. August 3, 1936, Barcelona.

Sergio Cid Pazo, priest; b. April 24, 1884, Orense; d. July 30, 1936, Barcelona.

José Batalla Parramón, priest; b. January 15, 1873, Lleida; d. August 4, 1936, Barcelona.

José Rabasa Bentanachs, priest; b. July 26, 1862, Lleida; d. August 8, 1936, Barcelona.

Gil Rodicio Rodicio, coadjutor; b. March 20, 1888, Orense; d. August 4, 1936, Barcelona.

Angel Ramos Velázquez, coadjutor; b. March 9, 1876, Sevilla; d. October 11, 1936, Barcelona.

Felipe Hernández Martínez, theology student; b. March 14, 1913, Alicante; d. July 27, 1936, Barcelona.

Zacarías Abadía Buesa, cleric; b. November 5, 1913, Huesca; d. July 27, 1936, Barcelona.

Jaime Ortiz Alzueta, coadjutor; b. May 24, 1913, Pamplona; d. July 27, 1936, Barcelona.

Javier Bordás Pifere (Piferrer), cleric; b. September 24, 1914, Barcelona; d. July 23, 1936, Barcelona.

Félix Junevet Trabal, cleric; b. January 23, 1911, Barcelona; d. August 25, 1936, Barcelona.

Miguel Domingo Cendra, cleric; b. March 1, 1909, Tarragona; d. August 12, 1936, Tarragona.

José Caselles Moncho, priest; b. August 8, 1907, Alicante; d. July 27, 1936, Barcelona.

José Castell Camps, priest; b. October 12, 1902, Menorca; d. July 28, 1936, Barcelona.

José Bonet Nadal, priest; b. December 26, 1875, Lleida; d. August 13, 1936, Barcelona.

Jaime Bonet Nadal, priest; b. August 4, 1884, Lleida; d. August 18, 1936, Tárrega.

Alejandro Planas Saurí, faithful secular; b. October 31, 1878, Barcelona; d. November 19, 1936, Garraf.

Elíseo García García, coadjutor; b. August 25, 1907, Salamanca; d. November 19, 1936, Garraf.

Julio Junyer Padern, priest; b. October 30, 1892, Girona; d. April 26, 1938, Monjuic.

The following spent several months in San Miguel de los Reyes and in the Valencia prison, and then were shot in Paterna Picadero, December 9, 1936:

Antonio Marún Hernández, priest; b. July 18, 1885, Salamanca.

Recaredo of Los Ríos Fabregat, priest; b. January 11, 1893, Valencia.

Julián Rodríguez Sánchez, priest; b. October 16, 1896, Salamanca.

José Giménez López, priest; b. October 31, 1904, Murcia.

Agustín García Calvo, coadjutor; b. February 3, 1905, Santander.

Daughters of Mary Help of Christians, died September 6, 1936:

María del Carmen Moreno Benítez, F.M.A.; b. August 24, 1885, Cádiz.

María Amparo Carbonell Muñoz, F.M.A.; b. November 9, 1893, Valencia./list

CAUSE OF THE CAPUCHINS TERTIARY OF THE VIRGIN OF LOS DELORES (T.C./C.T.)

Vicente Cabanes Badenas, priest; b. February 25, 1908, Torrente; d. August 30, 1936, Bilbao.

José Arahal of Miguel (Bienvenido María of Dos Hermanas), priest; b. June 17, 1887, Seville; d. August 1, 1936, Madrid.

Salvador Chullá Ferrandis (Ambrosio María of Torrente), priest; b. April 16, 1866, Valencia; d. September 18, 1936, Torrente.

Manuel Ferrer Jordá (Benito María of Burriana), brother; b. November 26, 1872, Castellón; d. September 16, 1936, Valencia.

Crescencio García Pobo, priest; b. April 15, 1903, Teruel; d. October 3, 1936, Madrid.

Vicente Gay Zarzo (Modesto Modesto María of Torrente), brother; b. January 19, 1885, Valencia; d. September 18, 1936, Torrente.

Urbano Gil Sáez, b. March 9, 1901, Teruel; d. August 23, 1936, Valencia.

Agustín Hurtado Soler (Domingo Miaría of Alboraya), priest; b. August 28, 1872, Alboraya; d. August 15, 1936, Madrid.

Vicente Jaunzarás Gómez (Valentín María of Torrente), priest; b. March 6, 1896, Valencia; d. September 18, 1936, Torrente.

Salvador Ferrer Cardet (Laureano María of Burriana), priest; b. August 13, 1884, Castellón; d. September 16, 1936, Valencia.

Manuel Legua Martí (León María of Alacuás), priest; b. April 23, 1875, Valencia; d. September 26, 1936, Madrid.

Justo Lerma Marúnez (Francisco María of Torrente), brother; b. November 12, 1886, Valencia; d. September 18, 1936, Torrente.

José María Llópez Mora (Recaredo María of Torrente), brother; b. August 22, 1874, Valencia; d. September 18, 1936, Torrente.

José Llosá Balaguer, brother; b. August 23, 1901, Valencia; d. October 7, 1936, Valencia.

Pablo Martínez Robles (Bernardino María of Andujar), brother; b. January 28, 1879, Jaén; d. September 16, 1936, Valencia.

Florentin Pérez Romero, priest; b. March 14, 1904, Teruel; d. August 23, 1936, Valencia.

José María Sanchís Monpó (Gabriel María of Benifayó), brother; b. October 8, 1858, Valencia; d. August 16, 1936, Valencia.

Francisco Tomás Serer, priest; b. October 11, 1911, Alicante; d. August 2, 1936, Madrid.

Timoteo Valero Pérez, priest; b. January 24, 1901, Teruel; d. September 17, 1936, Madrid.

Carmen García Moyón, cooperator secular; b. September 13, 1888, Nantes, France; d. January 30, 1937, Torrent; after trying to rape her, the militia doused her with gasoline and burned her alive.

CAUSE OF THE PRIEST OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS (DEHONIAN, S.C.I.)

Mariano García Méndez (Juan María of the Cross), parish priest; b. September 25, 1891, Ávila; d. August 23, 1936, Silla.

CAUSE OF THE BROTHERS OF CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS (F.S.C.) AND RELIGIOUS CHARITY CARMELITES

Leonardo Olivera Buera, priest of Zaragoza; b. March 6, 1889, Huesca; d. October 23, 1936, Valencia.

Ascensión Lloret Marcos (Ascensión of Saint Joseph Calasanz); b. May 21, 1879; d. September 7, 1936, Gandía.

María de la Purificación Ximénez y Ximénez (Purificación of Saint Joseph); b. February 3, 1871, Valencia; d. September 23, 1936, Valencia.

María Josefa del Río Messade (María of Saint Sophía); b. April 29, 1895, Tarragona; d. September 23, 1936, Valencia.

Three brothers of the College Bonanova community, martyred together on October 23, 1936:

Ambrosio León (Pedro Lorente Vicente); b. January 7, 1914, Teruel.

Florencio Martín (Alvaro Ibáñez Lázaro); b. June 12, 1913, Teruel.

Honorato Andrés (Andrés Zorraquim Herrero); b. April 18, 1908, Teruel.

Two religious of the community of Cambrils (Barcelona), martyred together in Paterna (Valencia) on November 22, 1936:

Elías Julián (Julián Tormo Sánchez); b. November 17, 1900, Torrijo del Campo.

Bertrán Francisco (Francisco Lahoz Moli); b. December 14, 1912, Teruel.

Nine religious of the Colegio-Asilo of the Immaculate of Tavernes (Valencia) killed together on Saler beach near Valencia, August 19, 1936:

Elvira Torrentallé Parairede (Paraire) (Elvira of the Nativity of Our Lady), superior of the community; b. June 29, 1883, Barcelona.

Rosa Pedret Rull (Rosa of Our Lady of Good Counsel); b. December 5, 1864, Tarragona; died on the road.

María Calaf Miracle (María of Our Lady of Providence); b. December 18, 1871, Tarragona.

Francisca de Amezúa Ibaibarriagade (Francisca of Saint Teresa); b. March 9, 1881, Vizcaya.

María Desamparados Giner Lísterdel (Sixta) (María Desamparados of the Blessed Sacrament); b. December 13, 1877, Valencia.

Teresa Chambó Palés (Palet) (Teresa of the Good Shepherdess); b. February 5, 1889, Valencia.

Agueda Hernández Amorós (Agueda of Our Lady of Virtues); b. January 5, 1893, Alicante.

María Dolores Vidal Cervera (María Dolores of Saint Francis Xavier); b. January 31, 1895, Valencia.

María de las Nieves Crespo López (María de las Nieves of the Holy Trinity); b. September 17, 1897, Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca.

Twelve religious of the House of Mercy, detained in a prison for women, then martyred together in Valencia, November 24, 1936:

Niceta Plaja Xifra (Niceta of Saint Prudentius), superior of Mercy House; b. October 31, 1863, Girona.

Paula Isla Alonso (Paula of Saint Anastasia); b. June 28, 1863, Burgos.

Antonia Gosens Sáez de Ibarrade (Antonia of Saint

Timothy); b. January 17, 1870, Vitoria.

Daría Campillo Paniaguade (Daría of Saint Sophia); b. September 8, 1873, Vitoria.

Erundina Colino Vega (Erundina of Our Lady of Mount Carmel); b. July 23, 1883, Zamora.

María Consuelo Cuñado González (María Consuelo of the Blessed Sacrament); b. January 1, 1884, Bilbao.

Concepción Odriozola Zabalia (María Concepción of Saint Ignatius); b. February 8, 1882, Guipúzcoa.

Feliciana de Uribe Orbe (Feliciana of Our Lady of Mount Carmel); b. March 8, 1893, Vizcaya.

Concepción Rodríguez Fernández (Concepción of Saint Magdalene); b. December 13, 1895, León.

Justa Maiza Goicoechea (Justa of the Immaculata); b. July 13, 1897, Guipúzcoa.

Clara Ezcurra Urrutiade (Clara of Our Lady of Hope); b. August 17, 1896, Guipúzcoa.

Cándida Cayuso González (Cándida of Our Lady of Angels); b. January 5, 1901, Santander.

CAUSE OF A SERVITE RELIGIOUS

María Guadalupe Ricart Olmos, nun; b. February 23, 1881, Valencia; d. October 2, 1936, Valencia; her body was found monstrously destroyed and disfigured.

CAUSE OF RELIGIOUS OF PIOUS SCHOOLS (ESCOLAPIAS)

These nuns died August 8, 1936:

María Baldillou Bullit (María of the Child Jesus); b. June 11, 1905, Lleida.

Pascuala Presentación Gallén Martí (Presentación of the Holy Family); b. November 20, 1872, Castellón.

María Luisa Girón Romera (María Luisa of Jesus); b. August 25, 1887, Córdoba.

Nazaria Gómez Lezaun (Carmen of Saint Philip Neri); b. July 27, 1869, Navarre.

Antonia Riba Mestres (Clemencia of Saint John the Baptist); b. October 8, 1893, Barcelona.

These died September 19, 1936:

María de la Encarnación de La Yglesia of Varo (María of Jesús); b. March 25, 1891, Córdoba.

Dolores Aguiar-Mella Díaz, b. March 29, 1897, Montevideo, Uruguay; first martyr from Uruguay, with Consuelo Aguiar-Mella Díaz.

Consuelo Aguiar-Mella Díaz; b. March 29, 1898, Montevideo, Uruguay; first martyr from Uruguay, with Dolores Aguiar-Mella Díaz.

CAUSE OF A RELIGIOUS CONGREGATION OF MARY IMMACULATE CLARETIAN MISSIONARY

María Cinta Asunción Gomis (María Patrocinio de San Juan); b. January 4, 1874, Tortosa; d. November 13, 1936, Valldigna.

CAUSE OF LITTLE SISTERS OF THE ABANDONED ELDERLY

María Josefa Ruano García (Josefa of Saint John); b. July 11, 1854, Almería; d. September 8, 1936, Valencia.

Dolores Puig Bonany (María Dolores of Santa Eulalia); b. July 12, 1857, Barcelona; d. September 8, 1936, Valencia.

CAUSE OF THIRD ORDER CAPUCHINS OF THE HOLY FAMILY

M. Victoria Quintana Argos (Rosario of Soano); b. May 13, 1866, Santander; d. August 22, 1936, Valencia.

María Fenollosa Alcaina (Francisca Javier of Rafelbuñol); b. May 24, 1901; d. September 27, 1936, Valencia.

Manuela Fernández Ibero (Serafína of Occhovi); b. August 6, 1872; d. August 22, 1936, Valencia.

CAUSE OF THE DIOCESE OF LLEIDA

Francisco of Paula Castelló Aleu, youth member of Catholic Action; b. April 19, 1914, Alicante; d. September 29, 1936, Lérida.

Feast: December 29/September 22.

SEE ALSO Augustinians; Carmelites; Claretians; Franciscans, Conventual; Jesuits; Martyr; Salesians; Servites; Spain (The Church during the Spanish Republic and the Civil War: 1931–1939).

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JOSEPH TÀPIES AND SIX COMPANIONS, BB.

Also known as Josep Tàpies Sirvant or Josep Tàpies i Sirvant and six companions from the diocesan clergy of Urgell; priests, martyrs d. Salàs de Pallars, Pallars Jussà, Lleida, Spain, August 13, 1936; beatified October 29, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Joseph Tàpies and his six companions served as priests of the diocese of Urgell during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). The civil war, a clash between Nationalists, who wanted to restore traditional ways, and the Spanish Second Republic (Republicans), a coalition of various leftist factions that opposed the old regime, began with a military insurrection in July 18, 1936. After Rome indicated its support of the Nationalists, the attacks against Catholics intensified.

Over the course of the next year or so, almost seven thousand clergy died. Some clergy fled or went into hiding, but others determined to live their faith and continue their work publically. Such was the case with Fr. Joseph Tàpies, who continued to wear his clerical garb, though many religious disguised themselves in civilian clothes.

Born March 15, 1869, in Lleida, Spain, Fr. Joseph Tàpies had been ordained a priest in 1892. He served as parochial vicar and church organist in La Pobla de Segur and had a reputation as a pious priest who demonstrated charity. People sought his wise counsel and looked to him as an example. On the day he was arrested, he called out that he was going to heaven, and he encouraged the other priests as they faced the firing squad.

With him that day was Pasqual (Pascal) Araguàs Guàrdia (Pasqual Araguàs i Guàrdia), rector of Noals from 1929 to 1936, who insisted on walking barefoot to his execution, as did Jesus heading to his crucifixion. This action was a reflection of Fr. Pasqual's humble spirit and dedication to God. Born on May 17, 1899, in Lleida, Spain, he had been a priest only six years when he entrusted his soul to God for eternity.

Born on July 5, 1901, in Lleida, Spain, Pere (Peter) Martret Moles entered the Urgell seminary at age eleven and was appointed parish priest of Puigcerdà in 1925. He moved to various churches and became *econome* (financial manager) of La Pobla de Segur in 1930. He was known for his dynamic homilies and for his involvement in the Federation of Christian Youth of Catalonia, a division of CATHOLIC ACTION.

The youngest of the martyred priests, Silvestre Arnau Pasqüet, born May 30, 1911, in Barcelona, Spain, had recently turned twenty-five. He had begun his training at the Urgell seminary at age twelve, continued his studies at the Gregorian University, and was ordained in 1935. He spent eight months as curate in La Pobla de Segur before undergoing house arrest beginning July 23, 1936, where he remained until the day of his martyrdom.

Josep (Joseph) Boher Foix was born in Lleida, Spain, on November 2, 1887, and was ordained in 1914. Pious and intelligent, he served as coadjutor and econome in various parishes before being appointed parish priest of La Pobleta de Bellveí. He was arrested on August 13, 1936, and soldiers took him that morning, without a trial, to the cemetery where the seven were shot.

Born in Lleida, Spain, on July 31, 1876, Frances Castells Brunei (Francesco Castells Brenuy or Areny), graduated from the Gregorian University in Rome and became vicar of Areny. He served as prefect and professor of philosophy in the diocesan seminary, as well as priest of various parishes and as econome of the parish of El Poal. At age sixty, he endured physical and moral torture, but refused to denounce the faith. He was released, then rearrested and taken to the cemetery.

Josep Joan Perot Juanmartí (Joseph John Perot Juanmarti), born July 1, 1877, in Boulogne, France, moved to Spain when he was young and, like many of his fellow martyrs, studied at the Urgell seminary. After serv-

ing several parishes, he arrived at Sant Joan di Vinyafrescal, where he was known for his love toward his parishioners. Unafraid to die for Christ, he was waiting when the soldiers came for him.

All seven priests were shot on August 13, 1936, at the cemetery gates of Salàs de Pallars, Pallars Jussà, Lleida, Spain. Declared VENERABLE on April 19, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II, they were beatified by Pope Benedict XVI on October 29, 2005. In his HOMILY, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins praised their humility, charity, and tireless defense of the GOSPEL. The seven martyrs provided a shining example of their faith and fidelity in the face of bloody persecution as they filed past the firing squad and called out together, "Long live Christ the King!"

Feast: August 13.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939).

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JUGAN, JEANNE, ST.

Known in religion as Marie of the Cross, foundress of the Little Sisters of the Poor; b. October 25, 1792, Petites-Croix (near Cancale), Brittany, France; d. August 29, 1879, Pern, France; beatified October 3, 1982, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized October 11, 2009, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

After her father, Joseph, died at sea when she was four, Jeanne Jugan's mother, Marie Horel, supported six children as a farm laborer and taught them the faith. At sixteen, Jeanne, the youngest child, began work as a kitchen maid for a charitable family, whose mistress took her on visits to the sick and poor. After attending a revival led by former JESUITS, Jugan joined the third order of the Heart of the Admirable Mother (founded by St. John EUDES). She also gave away her meager possessions and began working at the Hospital of Le Rosais in Saint-Servan. After six years of exhausting work, she returned to domestic service, working for a Madame Lecoq, who upon death in 1835 left to Jeanne her entire net worth of 600 francs.

Renting a flat with two devout women, Françoise Aubert and Virginie Tredaniel, Jeanne took in her first poor elderly woman, Anne Chauvin, in 1839. Many other patients, whom she called "good women," soon followed. Jeanne and her friends were joined by the nineteen-year-old Marie Jamet, and the four began following their own rule based closely on that of the Eudist third order. Their ministry to the aged eventually moved to a former convent of the DAUGHTERS OF THE CROSS, thanks to the generosity of a benefactor. By 1842 Jeanne was elected the first superior of the new order, and the women built a strong relationship with the Hospitaller Brothers of St. John of God. They made begging for the poor a trademark of their ministry, adopting the motto, "We will ring in God's name," and they took additional vows of poverty and hospitality.

Jeanne's travels to raise funds for the elderly poor began to garner the attention of the press across Europe. In one article, Charles Dickens wrote: "There is in this woman something so calm, and so holy, that in seeing her I know myself to be in the presence of a superior being. Her words went straight to my heart, so that my eyes, I know not how, filled with tears." Her subsequent fame (and a petition from the people of Saint-Servan) resulted in her receiving the prestigious Montyon Award from the French Academy. Although Jugan was reelected superior (on December 8, 1843), she was suddenly replaced (on December 23, 1843) by twenty-three-year-old Marie Jamet through the action of their confessor, the Abbé Le Pailleur.

During the late 1840s and early 1850s the order grew exponentially, opening houses in Rennes, Dinan, Tours, Angers, and Paris. While the congregation was officially recognized by the Diocese of Rennes in 1852, Fr. Le Pailleur had authored its constitution, making himself its father superior general. As one of his first acts, he sent Jeanne permanently to the motherhouse near Rennes, where she remained for the remaining twenty-seven years of her life without an active role in the growth of the community. The only exception was when she was summoned to the Little Sisters' general council in 1865, where she urged the order not to accept donations of stocks and other annuities but instead to maintain its begging vocation. While the Little Sisters received Pope LEO XIII's approval of their constitutions on March 1, 1879, it was not until 1893 that Jugan was recognized as the founder of the congregation. This recognition was the result of an investigation which revealed that Le Pailleur had purposely hidden the true origins of the Little Sisters so that he would be credited as its primary founder. On her deathbed, Marie Jamet admitted that she had been ordered by Fr. Le Pailleur to lie about Jeanne Jugan's originating role.

St. Jeanne Jugan is attributed with the cure of Dr. Edward Gatz, a retired anesthetist from Omaha, Nebraska. After being diagnosed with cancer of the esophagus in January 1989, Gatz was advised to undergo chemotherapy and radiation, but he refused these treatments. His wife spoke with a priest, Fr. Richard D. McGloin, S.J., who encouraged her to pray the novena prayer of Blessed Jeanne Jugan, which he had learned while serving as chaplain of the Little Sisters of the Poor's home in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. A biopsy which took place on March 8, 1989, discovered no sign of the tumor.

At her canonization, Benedict XVI stated:

> Jeanne Jugan was concerned with the dignity of her brothers and sister in humanity whom age had made vulnerable, recognizing in them the person of Christ Himself. "Look at the poor with compassion," she would say, "and Jesus will look at you with goodness on your last day." … The evangelical impulse is followed today throughout the world in the Congregation of the Little Sisters of the Poor, which she founded and which bears witness to her following the mercy of God and the compassionate love of the Heart of Jesus for the littlest ones. May Saint Jeanne Jugan be for the elderly a living source of hope and for the persons so generously placing themselves at their service a powerful stimulus to pursue and develop her work!

Feast: August 30.

SEE ALSO CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); HOSPITALLERS AND HOSPITAL SISTERS; POVERTY, RELIGIOUS.

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JUSTIFICATION, JOINT DECLARATION ON

The Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification (JDDJ) is an ecumenical agreement between the Catholic Church and the churches of the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). It was ratified in 1999 and affirms that a consensus exists between the churches on



Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification. *Bishop Dr. Christian Krause and Edward Idris Cardinal Cassidy signing the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification (JDDJ).* **THE LUTHERAN WORLD.**

"basic truths of the doctrine of justification," and that the doctrinal condemnations contained in the documents of each church do not apply to the understanding of JUSTIFICATION presented in the JDDJ.

Origin and Development. Lutheran-Catholic dialogues in the decades prior to the JDDJ repeatedly affirmed a consensus on the doctrine of justification. *The Gospel and the Church*, a report released by the international Joint Lutheran–Roman Catholic Study Commission in 1972, affirmed that "a far-reaching consensus is developing in the interpretation of justification" (§26), but it did not elaborate the content of that consensus. More detail was provided in the U.S. Lutheran-Catholic Dialogue report *Justification by Faith* (1983), which concluded that "a fundamental consensus on the gospel" had been achieved (§164). A German dialogue between representatives of the EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN GERMANY (including Lutheran, Reformed, and United churches) and the German Bishops' Conference of the Catholic Church, published as *Condemnations of the Reformation Era: Do They Still Divide?* (1986), argued that each church's condemnations relating to justification need no longer apply to the other churches in a way that would divide them.

Dialogue reports, however, carry no formal authority. In 1993 the Catholic Church and the LWF began a process to test the results of the dialogues and, if possible, officially affirm their conclusions. Four successive drafts of an agreed declaration were prepared between 1994 and 1997. (All drafts were composed in German, and German was the original language of the JDDJ.) These were reviewed by Catholic and Lutheran authorities and revised on the basis of their comments. Among the drafters were Theo Dieter, Harding Meyer (both of the Institute for Ecumenical Research, Strasbourg, France), and Eero Huovinen (Lutheran Bishop of Helsinki, Finland) for the Lutherans; and Paul-Werner Scheele (Bishop of Würzburg, Germany), Lothar Ullrich (University of Erfurt, Germany), and Jared Wicks (GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY, Rome) for the Catholics. The final draft was submitted for approval to the Vatican and the member churches of the LWF in January 1997.

In June 1998 the Council of the LWF affirmed the JDDJ on the basis of positive responses by eighty-one

Lutheran churches, representing 84 percent of the Lutherans in the LWF. The response from the Catholic Church, however, raised concerns about the JDDJ. Over the following year, an Annex to the JDDJ was produced that met these concerns. An Official Common Statement affirming the JDDJ "in its entirety" was signed by representatives of the Catholic and Lutheran churches in Augsburg, Germany, on October 31, 1999.

Content of the Declaration After a brief introduction, the JDDJ is divided into five major sections, which are further divided into forty-four numbered paragraphs. The first section develops the biblical background of the agreement, while the second briefly describes justification as an ecumenical problem. The third and fourth sections are the JDDJ's heart. The third section elaborates the shared understanding of justification, summarized in the common confession: "By grace alone, in faith in Christ's saving work and not because of any merit on our part, we are accepted by God and receive the Holy Spirit, who renews our hearts while equipping and calling us to good works" (§3.15).

The fourth section relates this shared understanding to seven traditionally controversial issues: (1) sin and human cooperation with God's justifying act, (2) justification as forgiveness and renewal, (3) the place of FAITH in justification, (4) the justified as sinner (5) law and GOSPEL, (6) the assurance of SALVATION, and (7) the good works of the justified. For each topic, an agreed statement is followed by specific Lutheran and Catholic paragraphs which, while divergent, "do not destroy the consensus regarding the basic truths" (§5.40). The remaining differences "are no longer the occasion for doctrinal condemnations" (Preamble.5).

A final section highlights the significance and scope of the JDDJ. Most significantly, it states that "a consensus in basic truths of the doctrine of justification" exists (§5.40) and that therefore the relevant doctrinal condemnations from the sixteenth century do not apply to the understanding of justification contained in the JDDJ (§5.41). Further paragraphs add, however, that "questions of varying importance still need further clarification" (§5.43). ECCLESIOLOGY, MINISTRY, and sacraments are explicitly mentioned as topics requiring further discussion.

Reception and Significance of the JDDJ. Prior to its ratification, debate over the JDDJ was most vigorous among Lutherans, particularly in Germany. A significant minority of Lutheran theology professors in Germany called for the text's rejection. The debate focused on whether the JDDJ adequately reflected the Lutheran understanding of justification as the interpretive key for understanding and judging all aspects of Christian thought and life. In the end, all but one of the regional German Lutheran churches affirmed the JDDJ. Worldwide, only two large Lutheran churches within the LWF (in Denmark and Madagascar) declined to affirm the JDDJ. The largest Lutheran church outside the LWF, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (U.S.), was also sharply critical of the JDDJ.

Drafts of the JDDJ were not widely circulated in Catholic circles, and little public debate occurred among Catholics prior to the text's ratification. While Catholic criticisms of the agreement have been few, they have come from such prominent theologians as Cardinals Leo Scheffczyk (1920–2005) and Avery DULLES (1918–2008), who have questioned whether the text adequately reflects Catholic DOCTRINE (e.g., on the cooperation of the justified within justification itself, or on the meritorious status of good works). In 2006, the World Methodist Council, following discussions with the Vatican and the LWF, also affirmed the JDDJ.

JOHN PAUL II hailed the JDDJ as a major ecumenical breakthrough, and BENEDICT XVI has done so as well. While the JDDJ did not alter the state of division between Catholics and Lutherans, it did affirm an agreement on what, for many, was the most important issue of the Protestant REFORMATION. Subsequent dialogues between Catholics and Lutherans have used the JDDJ as a framework to seek further agreement.

SEE ALSO ECUMENICAL DIALOGUES; GERMANY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; LUTHER, MARTIN; LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN NORTH AMERICA; LUTHERANISM.

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JUSTO DE OLIVEIRA, LINDALVA, BL.

Virgin, MARTYR; b. October 20, 1953, Sitio Malhada da Areia, Brazil; d. April 9, 1993, São Salvador da Bahia, Brazil; beatified December 2, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Blessed Lindalva Justo de Oliveira was born in Sitio Malhada da Areia, in the State of Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil. She was the sixth of thirteen children born to João Justo da Fé, a farmer and a widower, and Maria Lúcia de Oliveria, his second wife. Soon after Blessed Lindalva's birth, the family moved from their home to Açu, where she was baptized on January 7, 1954.

After receiving a diploma as an administrative assistant from Helvécio Dahe High School in Natal, she worked a variety of jobs in the city, sending a portion of her salary home to help her family. After each full day's work she took the time to visit the elderly, and she returned home in the late hours to read Sacred Scripture or to play the guitar.

Following a period of inner reflection upon the death of her father, Blessed Lindalva began helping with the vocational initiatives of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in 1986, which were geared toward attracting young vocations. Scarcely a year later, on September 13, 1987, she herself requested admission to their postulancy. She entered religious formation on February 11, 1988.

After her formation, Blessed Lindalva was assigned to Abrigo Dom Pedro II, a home for poor, abandoned, elderly men in São Salvador da Bahia. In January 1993, one of the men at the home, Augusto da Silva Peixoto, made repeated sexual advances toward her, which she resisted firmly. After referring the matter to her superiors, she chose nevertheless to remain at the home out of love for those whom she served. On April 9, 1993, GOOD FRIDAY, after taking part in a parish Way of the Cross, Blessed Lindalva returned to the home to serve breakfast. Peixoto, citing her rejection of him, approached and stabbed her forty-four times with a fishmonger's knife. He then turned himself in to the authorities.

At Blessed Lindalva's funeral the next day, Lucas Cardinal Moreira Neves, O.P., Primate of Brazil, referred to her death as a martyrdom. This judgment was confirmed by a decree on her martyrdom, promulgated December 16, 2006. She was beatified by Pope Benedict XVI on December 2, 2007. José Cardinal Saraiva Martins celebrated the rite of BEATIFICATION at Do Barradão Stadium in São Salvador. At his homily, Cardinal Saraiva Martins emphasized the particular value of Blessed Lindalva's joyful faithfulness to Christ, her commitment to the poor, and her witness to the young people of Brazil.

Feast: January 7.

SEE ALSO BRAZIL, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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K

KASSAB, NIMATULLAH AL-HARDINI YOUSSEF, ST.

Baptized Youssef Girgis (Joseph George) Kassab, scholar, priest of the Maronite Rite; b. 1808, Hardine, Caza de Batroun, northern Lebanon; d. December 14, 1858, Kfifan Monastery, Lebanon; beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II, May 10, 1998; and canonized by the same on May 16, 2004.

The third of seven children born to Girgis Kassab and Maryam Ra'ad, Youssef displayed a strong devotion to prayer and solitude from an nearly age. As a youth, he attended the monastery school of St. Anthony at Houb, where he studied Arabic, Syriac, and mathematics, and resided (and served Mass) with his maternal grandfather, Youssef Ra'ad, a Maronite priest. On November 1, 1828, he joined the Lebanese Maronite Order of Monks at St. Anthony at Kozhaya, where his brother Elisha, also a priest, served. It was there that Youssef took the name Nimatullah, which means "Grace from God." After a two-year novitiate, he made his profession at Kozhaya on November 14, 1830. Nimatullah soon began preparing for the priesthood at the Monastery of Sts. Cyprian and Justine in Kfifan. During his seminary studies, he suffered from exhaustion due to his strict adherence to ascetical practices and a fear of priestly responsibility, and he was ordered by his superiors to rest at the Monastery of St. Moussa Al-Habashi at Dawar. He later returned to Kfifan to complete his studies, and he graduated first in his class. After being ordained by Bishop Semaan Zouein on Christmas 1835, Nimatullah began teaching MORAL THEOLOGY at Kfifan and was appointed master of students in 1838. One of his students there was SHARBEL MAKLOUF, who was canonized by Pope PAUL VI on October 9, 1977. Nimatullah also served as assistant general of the Maronites for three terms (1845–1848, 1850–1853, and 1856–1858). Out of humility, he refused appointment to the office of superior general, although he was the recognized master of spirituality in the order.

Known as the "Saint of Kfifan," Nimatullah was renowned for his strict adherence to the Maronite monastic rule, his devotion to the Eucharist and the Blessed Mother, his constant examination of conscience, as well as his self-deprivation, fasting, and daily confession. Although his brother Elisha eventually retired to a hermitage, Nimatullah embraced the community of the monastery as a means of refining his own character by learning patience, understanding, and forgiveness through interaction with his brother monks. In addition to his teaching and administrative duties, Nimatullah also devoted his time to humbler tasks such as bookbinding, sewing monastic habits, and performing parish duties locally in Kfifan. His life of sacrifice resulted in his early death from pleurisy. St. Sharbel was among the brothers who attended his deathbed.

His cause for sainthood was accepted by the Vatican on June 13, 1966, and he was declared Venerable by John Paul II on September 7, 1989. Many miraculous cures have been attributed to pilgrimages to his tomb in Kfifan. The case of André Najem, who was completely cured of leukemia after visiting his grave, was accepted by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints on September 27, 1996, and was considered a documented miracle for Nimatullah's BEATIFICATION two years later. At his canonization, John Paul II remarked:

> A man of prayer, in love with the Eucharist which he adored for long periods, St. Nimatullah Kassab Al-Hardini is an example for the

> monks of the Order of Lebanese Maronites as he is for his Lebanese brothers and sisters and all Christians of the world.... May his example enlighten our journey and bring forth, especially in young people, a true desire for God and for holiness to proclaim to our world the light of the Gospel!

Feast: December 14 (Maronites).

SEE ALSO ASCETICISM; CONSCIENCE, EXAMINATION OF; LEBANON, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MARONITE CHURCH.

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KAZIMIERCZYK, STANISŁAW YOUSEF, ST.

Augustinian canon regular of the Lateran of Corpus Christi; b. 1433 at Casimiria, near Kraków, Poland; d. there, May 3, 1489.

Stanislaw, son of Soltyn Matthias and Jadwiga, attended the local schools before studying at the Jagiellonian University of Kraków. After joining the canons regular of the Lateran of Corpus Christi (1456), professing his vows, and completing his studies for the priesthood, he was ordained. Thereafter, he served the community in many roles, including novice master and subprior. However, he is remembered for his defense of the faith against John HUS and John WYCLIF, his devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, concern for the poor and sick, and preaching. Some of his written sermons and lectures have survived the destruction of WORLD WAR II. His body now rests in the church of the Corpus Christi. JOHN PAUL II recognized his ancient cultus, April 18, 1993, following the issuance of the *decretum* December 21, 1992. On December 19, 2009, following the approval of a miracle, the Holy See announced that Kazimierczyk would be canonized by Pope BENEDICT XIV. As of the printing of this entry, a canonization date had not been set.

Feast: May 3.

SEE ALSO EUCHARISTIC DEVOTION; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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KENNEDY, JOHN F.

Thirty-fifth president of the United States; b. Brookline, Massachusetts, May 29, 1917; assassinated in Dallas, Texas, November 22, 1963.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was the second-oldest son of nine children in the Irish Catholic family of Joseph P. and Rose Kennedy. By all accounts, Rose Kennedy was a devout Catholic who worked to instill this Faith in her children, despite Mr. Kennedy's poor example of open philandering and decision to send the male children mostly to secular schools. John F. Kennedy expressed that he experienced a lack of emotional love from his mother in his youth and that he had thought her "terribly religious" (Dallek 2003, p. 70). Although at times he demonstrated irreverence toward the Faith, he fully participated in the family prayer gatherings and attended Sunday Mass. After one year at a Catholic high school, Kennedy was educated at an elite preparatory academy and then graduated from Harvard University in 1940. He served extensively in combat in World War II as a PT boat commander and was recognized as a war hero for saving his fellow crew members when their boat split in half.

John Kennedy came home a war hero, but his older brother, Joseph Jr., was not so fortunate—he died during a risky air mission. Consequently, the political expectations for Joe Jr. shifted to John Kennedy, who served in the U.S. House of Representatives for three terms and then in the Senate from 1953 to 1960. Dur-



Inauguration Day. *President-elect John F. Kennedy shakes hands with Father Richard J. Casey after attending mass at Holy Trinity Catholic Church, prior to inauguration ceremonies, January 20, 1961.* © CORBIS

ing his first year in the Senate, he married Jacqueline Bouvier, who bore him two children (who survived infancy), Caroline and John Jr.

In 1960 he was elected the thirty-fifth president of the United States in an extremely close election against Richard Nixon. Among his many activities as president, he confronted the Soviet Union in the Cuban Missile Crisis, created the Peace Corps, funded the space program with the goal of landing a man on the moon, and proposed a new Civil Rights bill to the Congress. Kennedy's presidency ended tragically on November 22, 1963, when he was assassinated in Dallas, Texas.

Not only was Kennedy the youngest elected president in U.S. history (Theodore Roosevelt was younger when he was sworn in after President William McKinley's assassination in 1901), but he was also the first Catholic elected as U.S. president. In his run for the presidency, Kennedy's Catholic Faith posed a

problem for his candidacy. Regardless of any weaknesses in his personal life with respect to living out the Faith, to the country he appeared as a symbol of the Catholic Faith due to his Irish-Catholic family history, his Mass attendance, and his strong relations with some members of the clergy. Indeed, Archbishop Richard Cushing of Boston was one of Kennedy's closest friends, eventually giving a memorable eulogy at Kennedy's funeral Mass. American wariness of a Catholic president had its roots in a strong anti-Catholic prejudice. Many Americans feared that Catholics and the Catholic Church were opposed to the American right to religious freedom and to the establishment clause of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. They accused Catholics of having divided loyalties, including gaining political power so that the POPE could control American politics. As a reaction to this constant prejudice, Catholics (especially Irish Catholics) wanted to be fully accepted and integrated into prominent and influential leadership positions in American society. An Irish Catholic president would manifest this full acceptance.

As suspicion toward his Catholicism increased during the campaign, Kennedy realized that he needed to counteract the fear of many non-Catholics. He attempted to put the matter to rest once and for all by giving a speech in September 1960 to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association. This famous speech set out Kennedy's public position both on the First Amendment and on his Catholic Faith as it related to his duties as a politician who would be bound by presidential oath to defend the Constitution.

In the speech, Kennedy made it clear that he would not allow his Catholic Faith to affect the performance of his duties as president. He said he believed "in a president whose views on religion are his own private affair" and "whose fulfillment of his presidential office is not limited or conditioned by any religious oath, ritual, or obligation." Yet in contradiction to this, Kennedy offered to resign should a conflict arise between his Faith and his duties under the Constitution and laws. Ultimately, however, he said he would make decisions on policy matters "in accordance with what my conscience tells me to be in the national interest, and without regard to outside religious pressure or dictates. And," he said, "no power or threat of punishment could cause me to decide otherwise" (Kennedy 1960).

Catholic teaching, including its moral teachings—especially those that diverged from the prevailing politically popular morality—would not affect his decisions as a politician. It must be noted that this rejection by a Catholic politician of religious influence on one's private CONSCIENCE when making political decisions was not entirely novel. Al Smith, the 1928 Democratic presidential candidate, asserted the same position. Still, it was only after Kennedy's success that this approach became a model for later Catholic politicians such as Governor Mario Cuomo of New York and Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts. They have similarly argued that they should not allow their private religious beliefs (e.g., on ABORTION) to influence their public policy decisions. As a result, many Catholic politicians have promoted laws and policies that were in direct contradiction to the Church's moral teachings.

The Magisterium of the Catholic Church has strongly criticized and rejected this approach following the Second Vatican Council's constitution *Gaudium et spes* (no. 43) as well as the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith's (CDF) *2002 Doctrinal Notes on Some Questions Regarding the Participation of Catholics in Political Life* (no. 6). In support of the Magisterium, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops reminded Catholic politicians of their moral obligations in *Living the Gospel of Life* (1998, pp. 23–24, 31–32).

These and other Church documents provide a formation for Catholics so that their Faith can find fulfillment in daily life without compromise. A Catholic politician (and any Catholic) must inform his conscience according to the teaching of the Church in matters of faith and morals. The Church does not teach that a politician must legislate his religious beliefs (i.e., obligating citizens to participate in a particular form of worship); rather, it teaches that political issues can always be reduced to moral issues and a Catholic politician must discern how best to serve the public in light of the moral LAW. While there is tremendous latitude for a variety of prudential political matters, a Catholic politician must always uphold fundamental moral principles (e.g., the right to life) when forming public policy and law. This teaching regarding moral principles "is not a question of 'confessional values' *per se*, because such ethical precepts are rooted in human nature itself and belong to the natural moral law" (CDF, no. 5). During his time, Kennedy might not have had to worry about many practical conflicts between upholding the Constitution and laws of the United States and his Catholic Faith, yet today this is not the case. Fundamental principles of the natural moral law are being rejected, and natural rights are being violated, such as allowing the killing of unborn human life through abortion and embryonic stem cell research, and the recognition by the law of a relationship between members of the same-sex as equivalent to a marriage between a man and a woman.

Notwithstanding the Houston speech, Kennedy did think it important to speak of God during his presidency, as he did in his inaugural address, intimating that "on earth God's work must truly be our own." He also

praised Pope John XXIII for his encyclicals and his promotion of world peace. For some, the presidency of John F. Kennedy signaled an important moment in overcoming American anti-Catholic prejudices and stereotypes. For many Catholics, though, this overcoming of prejudice is doubted, and the Kennedy's legacy, instead, has been that one should privatize, downplay, or even reject one's Catholic Faith in order to gain acceptance and participate fully in American political, social, and cultural life, which since the 1960s has shown to be the case among many Catholic politicians.

SEE ALSO ANTI-CATHOLICISM (UNITED STATES); ANTICLERICALISM; DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE; KENNEDY FAMILY; POLITICS, CHURCH AND; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE PAPACY.

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KENNEDY FAMILY

Few, if any, prominent Catholic families have played as large a role in the political history of the United States as the Kennedys: Joseph Patrick and Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy and their nine children. Through personal tragedy and legendary service to their country, they maintained a strong faith and brought Catholicism into the mainstream of American life.

Patriarch and Matriarch. Joseph Patrick Kennedy (1888–1969), the founding father of the Kennedy political dynasty, was a complex and contradictory figure. Driven by personal ambition that often appeared ruthless, he was fiercely loyal to his Irish Catholic origins and identity and extremely devoted to his children. The Boston-born grandson of Irish immigrants from the potato famine period, he grew up in a family already prominent in the local Irish community, its success established in Democratic ward politics and saloon-keeping. Joseph Patrick was relatively privileged in that he attended the Boston Latin School and Harvard University and married the mayor's daughter, also an Irish Catholic. Using connections and family wealth, he embarked on a career in finance after finishing college in 1912 as an undistinguished student. Within ten years, he had risen to the top of Boston's financial world and had personal wealth into the millions. Nonetheless, he developed a sense that because he was Irish and Catholic he remained an outsider in the highest circles of American wealth and power. Kennedy was determined to surpass these boundaries and determined that his children surpass them as well.

In 1926, Kennedy moved to New York City and began investing heavily in the motion picture industry. At this point, his public image became associated with glamour and sexual impropriety; rumors swirled about an alleged extramarital affair with the actress Gloria Swanson. Kennedy's savvy as an investor proved precocious; sensing that the economic trends of 1929 would lead to inevitable national catastrophe, he transferred his investments out of the stock market before the crash, leaving an estimated fortune of $100 million intact. He then turned his attention to politics, in step with the



Family Photo. *Joseph Kennedy, the U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain, his wife, and eight children were received by Pope Pius XII at the Vatican City. Kennedy represented the U.S. at the Pope's Coronation.* © **BETTMANN/CORBIS**

national resurgence of the Democratic Party. As one of the nation's most powerful and wealthy Democrats, Kennedy became a formidable force. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) appointed him as the first chairman of the newly formed Securities and Exchange Commission, and in 1938, ambassador to Great Britain. Erroneously believing that Nazi German leader Adolf HITLER could not be defeated in Europe, Kennedy advocated appeasement and supported American isolationism, bringing his political fortunes to an end when war eventually broke out. He now turned his attention to the success of his children. In 1961, shortly after his son John's inauguration as president, he suffered a severe stroke, which left him unable to speak and physically devastated until his death in 1969.

Rose Fitzgerald (1890–1995) married Joseph Patrick Kennedy in 1914 and gave birth to nine children. Daughter of John Francis "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, the popular Irish Catholic mayor of Boston, Rose was accomplished in her studies, proficient in music, and fluent in languages. Educated and nurtured in privilege, she, like her husband, was profoundly conscious of her Catholic identity and aware of the limits imposed on it by the highest echelons of American society. Rose was an exceptionally devout Catholic deeply committed to public service and charitable philanthropy, and she attempted to instill these values in her children. This family matriarch assumed a hands-on approach to raising her sons and daughters, and, throughout her long life, repeatedly assumed many public roles with grace, dignity, and poise. She endured numerous personal tragedies and relied on her deep Catholic FAITH to persevere despite the violent deaths of four of her children in the prime of their lives, the permanent disability of another, and numerous challenges with the remaining four. In 1952, Pope PIUS XII honored her as a Papal Countess distinguished in charitable works and personal devotion to the faith.

Rose always had a special concern for the mentally disabled and retarded, shaped by the illness of her oldest daughter, Rosemary (1918–2005), who was born with mental disabilities largely misunderstood at the time. Disturbed by Rosemary's inability to function socially, Joseph Kennedy secretly arranged for his daughter to have an experimental treatment then hailed as a miracle cure: a frontal lobotomy. The procedure left the young woman severely mentally disabled for the remainder of her long life.

Rose was responsible for the Kennedy family's large donations of money and energy to this cause. Her children remained publicly loyal and devoted to her until the end of her long life.

War and the Kennedys. The four oldest Kennedy children came of age at the dawn of WORLD WAR II, spending significant time in Great Britain, where their father was the American ambassador. The war years either transformed or ended the lives of each. Joseph Patrick Kennedy Jr. (1915–1944) and John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917–1963) were staunch American interventionists and Anglophiles and enlisted in the U.S. Navy. Both served in numerous combat roles that entailed considerable danger. Joseph was a decorated pilot who died heroically after volunteering for a dangerous mission over the Bay of Biscay, off the coast of occupied France, in 1944. John served as a torpedo boat captain in the South Pacific and became a legendary war hero when a Japanese destroyer sank his ship, *PT 109*. He swam for miles with an injured crew member attached to his back and was lost at sea for days before he and ten others were rescued. Kennedy was awarded numerous honors for these heroics, which later became the subject of a popular book and movie. He also suffered serious injuries to his back, which, along with Addison's disease, plagued him for the remainder of his life, much of which was spent in excruciating pain. On three separate occasions, when close to death, Kennedy received the Last Rites, then known as the Sacrament of Extreme Unction.

Kathleen Agnes Kennedy (1920–1948), stunning in beauty and exuberant in personality, has often been described as her father's favorite child. She returned to London during the war to work as a Red Cross volunteer with a U.S. Army Officer's Commission. While there, she fell in love with and married the Marquis of Hartington, William Cavendish, thus becoming a British peer. Because Cavendish was Anglican, the wedding proceeded as a civil ceremony, with Kathleen unable to obtain a dispensation from the Church. Several months later, Kathleen was widowed when "Billy" Cavendish, serving in the British Army, was killed in France. Rose Kennedy had a strained relationship with Kathleen as a result of the marriage outside the Church, and Kathleen parted ways with her parents. Tragically, in 1948, while traveling to meet her father, apparently to restore family ties, Kathleen was also killed in a plane crash.

First Catholic U.S. President. The Kennedy political fortunes rose to new heights during the postwar years, only to end in repeated tragedy. John Fitzgerald Kennedy returned to Massachusetts after the war and entered politics. In 1946, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and in 1952 to the Senate. In campaigning for both, he displayed his Irish Catholic identity prominently because it enhanced his profile with his heavily Irish Catholic constituency. How this would play out on the national stage remained to be seen, however, as he developed plans to run for the presidency in 1960. Kennedy hoped to campaign on his strengths as a war hero who would be tough on communism and as a young man who brought a fresh new energy to the national agenda. As soon as it became clear that the contest would be between Kennedy and Richard Nixon, the two tried to engage the public over who would be toughest on communist aggression. The public seemed to care little for this and seemed to focus increasingly on Kennedy's Catholicism. Would Kennedy's allegiance to his Church, with its hierarchical structure and sovereign PONTIFF's leadership, be free to put the interests of the United States first, or would Kennedy be bound to Church teaching over—even against—the national interest in certain circumstances?

At the start of the campaign, Kennedy attempted to dispel such fears by insisting that, first and foremost, his duties and responsibilities would be to the citizens of the United States. It is difficult to assess the final role of religion in this close and interesting election. Whereas anti-Catholicism unquestionably raged in some sectors, it is not clear that this actually led to Kennedy's losing votes. Some scholars have argued that, offended by nativist prejudices, Catholic voters mobilized behind Kennedy as one of their own. It has been pointed out that many of these Catholic voters were rather conservative in temperament, and in an election uncomplicated by the religious question, would have chosen the Republican Nixon over a more liberal Democrat.

Once he took office, however, Kennedy's public Catholicism seemed to cause little, if any, tension within his political life. Kennedy did support the Catholic Diem Regime in Vietnam, but with considerably greater restraint than the subsequent Johnson administration did. The POPE is reported to have spoken to Kennedy during the Cuban Missile Crisis, but he is also reported to have spoken to the leader of the Soviet Union. In short, for all its uniqueness at the time, the religion of the nation's only Catholic president proved to make little, if any, difference in the end.

John Kennedy's undisputed moment of greatness remains his handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis. In 1997, publication of tape recordings made in the White House during the crisis revealed how precarious the situation actually was and how close the world had indeed come to nuclear war. Kennedy's own military leaders advocated a speedy first strike against Cuba, an action that Kennedy himself correctly realized would have triggered nuclear war. Had the president deferred to his commanders, the world as we know it may very well have come to an end in 1962. The most important issues facing the country during Kennedy's presidency—civil rights, the Vietnam War, and the war on poverty—were all works in progress at the time of his assassination, so it remains difficult to judge what the final outcomes on these might have been had Kennedy lived. In each case, a tantalizing set of promising proposals and hopeful initiatives has made subsequent generations wonder "What if?" The assassination itself has been the source of repeated speculation and rumor, and, to this day, millions of Americans believe that it was a product of conspiracy and cover-up. It must be pointed out that despite mountains of circumstantial evidence and coincidence to the contrary, the basic finding of the official Warren Commission—that in assassinating the president, Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone—has not been disproved.

Little was said of Kennedy's private life during his presidency that did not project the harmonious image that he, his wife Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy (1929–1994), and their two young children constituted an ideal family. Yet, years after his death, the tabloid press began to publish reports about his alleged extramarital affairs. So how can the public image of Kennedy, the practicing Catholic, be reconciled with the tabloid view of Kennedy the womanizer? As difficult as this may seem, it is not impossible to conclude that both contained an element of truth. But Kennedy maintained a close friendship with Richard Cardinal CUSHING, and MASS was celebrated regularly in the Kennedy compound.

Tragedy struck this branch of the Kennedy family again in 1999. John Kennedy, Jr. (b. 1960) graduated from New York University Law School and seemed destined for political life. He embarked upon a seminal career in political journalism but died in a plane crash off Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, before entering public life.

Robert and Edward Kennedy. On John's untimely death, the fate of the Kennedy family as a political dynasty was transmitted to Robert Francis Kennedy (1925–1968) and Edward Moore Kennedy (1932–2009). Robert embarked on a political career after graduating from the University of Virginia Law School in 1951. As an attorney, he worked in several government agencies before managing his older brother John's 1952 Senatorial campaign and 1960 presidential campaign. Holding the cabinet position of attorney general in the Kennedy administration, Robert was John's closest political adviser in office. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, Robert, by then usually called "Bobby," was entrusted with personally negotiating with the Soviet ambassador. After his brother's assassination, Robert never really adjusted to political life in the new Johnson administration and withdrew to run for the Senate, representing New York. He was elected in 1964 and quickly became a driving force in Democratic national politics. He bore increasing animosity toward Lyndon Johnson, and after the Tet Offensive of early 1968, Robert publicly broke with the president over the Vietnam War and announced his own candidacy for the presidency in the 1968 race. Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, George Wallace, and Eugene McCarthy all vied for the Democratic presidential nomination. At the beginning of June, a dramatic victory in the California primary gave Kennedy a clear lead, but, as he approached the television cameras to give his victory speech, a gunman shot him in the head. He died a few hours later.

Bobby had become the leading spokesman for the more liberal wing of the Democratic Party, leaving his mark on numerous civil rights and Great Society domestic programs. This legacy was then conveyed to his younger brother, Edward. Edward Moore "Teddy" Kennedy was elected to the Senate from Massachusetts in 1962, replacing his brother John, who had become president. Edward's career, one of the longest of any senator in the history of the United States, is unambiguously associated with liberal politics and causes that were popular early in his career, but much less so since 1980. In 1980, Kennedy entered the primaries to run for president, but his insurgency against Jimmy Carter (1924–) failed. Many believe that issues in his personal life—notably the "Chappaquiddick incident" of 1968, in which Kennedy was involved in a car accident that claimed the life of his female passenger—made him unelectable to national office, despite carving out an important place in history. Edward's long political career has witnessed a transition in attitudes toward Catholics in politics. By the 1980s, Catholics had become relatively commonplace in American politics. Edward Kennedy remained a powerhouse in liberal politics well into the twenty-first century. Early in 2008 he was diagnosed with brain cancer but remained active in Democratic Party politics, supporting Barack Obama's bid for the Presidency and delivering a rousing speech at the Democratic National Convention in August. He passed away on August 25, 2009, at his home in Hyannis Port, Massachusetts.

Kennedys and Their Spouses. In earlier decades, the family's Catholicism repeatedly became an issue that brought their public and private lives into full view, particularly insofar as marriages were concerned. Edward's troubled marriage to Joan Bennett ended in DIVORCE, and he subsequently remarried outside the Church, but this received relatively little public attention. Patricia Kennedy (1924–2006) married the famous actor Peter Lawford in 1954, against the family's wishes. Lawford, a divorcé, an Englishman, and a Protestant, was a heavy drinker with a troubled personal life. After eleven years and four children, the couple divorced. Patricia never remarried. She devoted much of her life to charitable causes, remaining a practicing Catholic. Much of her effort focused on serving the mentally disabled and people with substance abuse problems.

John's widow, Jackie, received a special dispensation from the Church to marry Aristotle Onassis, a wealthy Greek businessman who had been previously divorced. The case caused great public speculation, but Jackie maintained her ties to the faith despite the controversy.

Eunice Mary Kennedy (1921–2009), married to Sargent Shriver, maintained a public attachment to the Church, and through the years the Shrivers devoted enormous amounts of their time, energy, and money to charitable causes and works of public service. She founded the Special Olympics and was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by Ronald Reagan for her extraordinary efforts and accomplishments on behalf of mentally and physically disabled children. She died on August 11, 2009, at Cape Cod Hospital.

Jean Ann Kennedy (1928–) married Stephen E. Smith and also remained a practicing Catholic, prominently associated with philanthropic works and community works. She too received numerous honors for her exceptional devotion to mentally and physically disabled children. In 1993, President Bill Clinton appointed her ambassador to Ireland. She played a major role in promoting the peace process in Ireland and is said to have personally persuaded the Clinton administration to grant a visa to Irish Republican leader Gerry Adams (1948–), paving the way to negotiations with the Irish Republican party Sinn Féin. This milestone has substantially defused the Irish conflict.

The Kennedys were always deeply conscious of their Catholic identity, and, more often than not, reconciled their private practice of Catholicism to the public expectation of what such affiliation meant. They broke down barriers against Catholics in the United States, who have become widely accepted by mainstream America. The Kennedys were pioneers who made this possible.

SEE ALSO ANTI-CATHOLICISM (UNITED STATES); CHURCH AND STATE; CHURCH AND STATE (CANON LAW); CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES (LEGAL HISTORY); KENNEDY, JOHN F.; POLITICS, CHURCH AND; UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE PAPACY.

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KILMARTIN, EDWARD J.

Professor of LITURGICAL THEOLOGY, author; b. Portland, Maine, Aug. 31, 1923; d. Boston, Mass., June 16, 1994, of bone cancer.

Edward John Kilmartin was the son of Patrick Joseph and Elizabeth Gertrude (Sullivan) Kilmartin. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1941, attended Weston College from 1945 to 1948, receiving an A.B. in 1947 and an M.A. in PHILOSOPHY in 1948. He was ordained to the presbyterate on June 5, 1954, and received his licentiate of sacred theology (S.T.L.) in 1955.

Kilmartin's first teaching assignment was at Weston College in Weston, Massachusetts. He served there from 1958 to 1977, also teaching at BOSTON COLLEGE for the last nine years. From there, he moved to the University of Notre Dame and remained there until 1984, during which time he directed the doctoral program in LITURGY. In 1985, he accepted a position at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in ROME, Italy. He died of bone cancer in 1994.

The work of Edward Kilmartin could be said to function as a bridge between scholastic SACRAMENTAL THEOLOGY and a more modern, anthropological ap-

proach to WORSHIP. His analysis of the rites of the Church from apostolic times to the present emphasized the influence of historical circumstances on changes in the content of liturgical prayers. Furthermore, he appreciated the role of religious PRAXIS in the formulation of the questions considered by theologians.

Kilmartin believed that post-Tridentine Catholic Eucharistic theology was limited. He claimed that this theology, which identifies the narrative of institution as the moment of consecration and, thus, the essential form of the sacrament, focuses on the words of institution to the neglect of the function of these words in the liturgy, leading to a predominantly Christological Eucharistic theology influenced by the law of belief of the Church, rather than the law of PRAYER. His critique is based on his interpretation of the axiom *lex orandi, lex credendi*, and how he sees the relationship between prayer and DOCTRINE. In post-Tridentine theology, the doctrines of the Church were considered the source of Eucharistic theology, whereas the liturgical rite itself, which provides the experience of Eucharist and preserves the doctrines through generations, was ignored.

In his own Eucharistic theology, he attempted to overcome these limitations of scholastic theology by retrieving a more complete systematic understanding of the Eucharist from the first millennium Church, found in both the New Testament and early liturgical writings. In his biblical studies, he found a Eucharistic theology that concerns itself not only with CHRISTOLOGY, but also with ECCLESIOLOGY, pneumatology, SOTERIOLOGY, and eschatology, and is based on the structure and function of the Eucharistic prayer as a whole, not merely the words of institution of CHRIST. Rather than focusing primarily on the words of institution, and thus emphasizing the Christological dimension of the consecration of the elements, he examines the Eucharistic prayer as a whole, particularly its function within the context of the liturgy. The meaning of the prayers derives from their function within the liturgy, rather than from applying to the prayers some external doctrine of the Church.

From this perspective, Kilmartin explored several theological aspects. His theology contains elements of pneumatology, ecclesiology, soteriology, and Christology. But foremost was his understanding that liturgy is most completely an encounter with the Triune God, asserting that the Holy TRINITY has an integral role in a theology of liturgy. Kilmartin claimed that a theology of liturgy is, indeed, a theology of the Trinity, basing his argument on his understanding that worship is humanity's participation in the Trinity. The influence of Karl RAHNER's identification between the immanent Trinity and the economic Trinity is clear.

Kilmartin also emphasized the importance of the EPICLESIS of the Eucharistic prayer to the early Church, specifically its role in the consecration of the elements, using Australian priest and professor David M. Coffey's bestowal model of the Trinity to explain the sanctification of the Eucharistic elements and the sanctification of the communicants at the Eucharistic celebration. He judged the arguments of Odo CASEL and of Italian priest and professor Cesare Giraudo (b. 1941; both approached the problem from the experiential perspective) to be weak explanations of the presence of the historical salvific act. He preferred Irish priest Brian McNamara's metaphysical argument, which is based not on the experiential level of understanding, but on the divine perspective of the plan of SALVATION.

In his work on ministry, Kilmartin considered in what sense the apostolic office can be called sacrament of Christ, particularly the question of how the priest represents Christ and the Church. He argued that there was no genuine theological explanation for the opinion that the priest directly represents Christ. Rather, he believed that the priest directly represents the FAITH of the Church and so represents Christ, who, along with the Holy Spirit, is the source of this faith. He claimed that a proper understanding of ministry includes a respect for the distinction between CHARISM and office and the relationship that exists between the two.

Kilmartin's understanding of the axiom *lex orandi-lex credendi* led to his method of sacramental theology, which begins with an examination of the rites themselves. This method affords the rituals a greater value than the doctrinal statements of the Church on which these rites might be based. Kilmartin saw liturgy as both the source and the goal of systematic theology. All branches of systematic theology stem from the liturgy and lead to a better understanding of the liturgy. The term *theology of liturgy* has a twofold meaning. On the one hand, theology of liturgy is the theology contained in the liturgy itself. Whereas other areas of systematic theology focus on specific themes, a systematic theology of liturgy focuses of the liturgical symbolic activity in which all the themes of theology are brought together. Liturgical worship is a speaking *about* God in the form of speaking *to* God. Theology of liturgy is a source of theological knowledge. On the other hand, theology of liturgy is also the object of study, while the various areas of systematic theology are the subjects. In this way, the goal of other areas of systematic theology is a better understanding of the liturgy.

Kilmartin held memberships in the Catholic Biblical Association, the CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA, and the NORTH AMERICAN ACADEMY OF LITURGY, who granted to him its Berakah Award in

1994 for his distinguished lifetime contributions to liturgical theology. He held a variety of editorial positions with theological publications, including *Theological Studies* (for which he was also a major contributing author), *Theology Digest*, and *New Testament Abstracts*, as well as pastoral publications, such as *New Catholic World* and *Emmanuel*. He was also very active in the ecumenical work of the Church, specifically the Greek Orthodox–Roman Catholic ecumenical dialogue and the work of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

SEE ALSO ECUMENICAL DIALOGUES; ELEMENT; EUCHARIST IN CONTEMPORARY CATHOLIC TRADITION; EUCHARISTIC DEVOTION; LITURGICAL RITES; LITURGICS; MINISTRY (ECCLESIOLOGY); TRIDENTINE MASS; TRINITY, HOLY, DEVOTION TO.

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KŁOPOTOWSKI, IGNATIUS, BL.

Also known as Ignacy Kłopotowski; priest, founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Loreto; b. July 20, 1866, Korzeniówka, Poland; d. September 7, 1931, Warsaw, Poland; beatified June 19, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

The son of Johann Kłopotowski and Isabella Dobrowska, Blessed Ignatius Kłopotowski was born about one hundred miles west of Warsaw, Poland, in a region then under the control of the Russian Empire. He received his primary education from his parents, who instructed him in Eucharistic piety, concern for the poor, and a love of Poland. After completing his secondary studies in 1883, Blessed Kłopotowski entered the Major Seminary of Lublin.

On July 5, 1891, Blessed Kłopotowski was ordained a priest in the Cathedral of Lublin. Thence he was given several successive assignments, including the pastoral care of Greek Catholics in the Podlachia region, who were then under persecution by the Russian Empire. Alongside his pastoral responsibilities, Blessed Kłopotowski served for fourteen years as a professor at the Major Seminary in Lublin. He also founded a number of charitable institutions, including an office of employment, two orphanages, a home for the elderly, as well as a shelter to rescue young women from prostitution. In 1894 he added to these an apostolate of Catholic publishing, with a small prayer book titled, *A Visit to the Most Holy Sacrament*. This was followed by several works on topics such as the Eucharist, Marian dogma, the saints, and national heroes. These undertakings culminated in 1905, when he founded the magazine *Polak-Katolik* ("The Polish Catholic"), as well as *Posiew* ("Sowing Seed"). Having moved to Warsaw in 1908 to expand his written apostolate, in 1920 Blessed Kłopotowski founded the Congregation of the Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Loreto, part of whose charism is to serve the Sovereign Pontiff and the universal Church by continuing Blessed Kłopotowski's apostolate of Catholic publishing.

Blessed Kłopotowski died suddenly on September 7, 1931. In 1988 the Archbishop of Warsaw opened the cause for his canonization. On May 30, 2005, the Congregation for the Causes of Saints confirmed a miracle attributed to his INTERCESSION: Against the expectations of attending physicians and after medical treatment had been exhausted to no avail, Anthony Łatko, a priest in the Archdiocese of Katowice in Poland, fully recovered from severe head trauma inflicted upon him by thieves attempting to burglarize his home.

Blessed Kłopotowski was beatified by Pope Benedict XVI on June 19, 2005. Jozef Cardinal Glemp, Metropolitan Archbishop of Warsaw, celebrated the Mass for his BEATIFICATION in Warsaw.

Feast: September 7.

SEE ALSO APOSTOLATE AND SPIRITUAL LIFE; CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH (EASTERN CATHOLIC); POLAND.

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KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

A fraternal benefit society of Catholic men chartered by the state of Connecticut in 1882. For over 125 years the order has responded to the myriad needs of local churches in the United States, Canada, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. This article traces the origins of Columbianism as a force in the Church and society, with particular focus on its character as a Catholic antidefamation society.

History. Venerable Michael J. MCGIVNEY was the New Haven priest who founded the Knights of Columbus in 1882. He was an unassuming, pious priest who easily elicited the trust of the laity. Concerned with the strong appeal of prohibited secret societies among Catholic youth and with the plight of the widows and children suffering the loss of their breadwinners, he was eager to form a fraternal insurance society imbued with deep loyalties to both Catholicism and the American experience.

In October 1881 McGivney and a small group of laymen decided to establish an independent society rather than become a branch of one of the two already existing Catholic benefit societies. In early February 1882 they placed their order under the patronage of Christopher COLUMBUS. According to the few surviving documents, the Columbian motif represented the group's Catholic consciousness. Columbus was the symbol. By portraying the navigator's landing at San Salvador as the Catholic baptism of the nation, the Knights were asserting religious legitimacy. Just as the heirs of the pilgrims invoked the *Mayflower* as the Protestant symbol of their identity as early Americans, so the Knights invoked the *Santa Maria* as the symbol of their self-understanding as Catholic citizens. On March 29, 1882, the order was incorporated in the State of Connecticut. One of the charter members invoked the cause of Catholic civil liberty when he asserted that the order's patron signified that, as Catholic descendants of Columbus, "[we] were entitled to all rights and privileges due to such a discovery by one of our faith."

For the first ten years insurance was a mandatory feature of membership in the order. In 1892 noninsurance or associate membership was established, which meant that candidates for knighthood could be drawn to the order unfettered by economic ties. When the order expanded into Massachusetts in 1892, Columbianism became more explicit. The quadricentennial of Columbus's landfall, the rise of another wave of anti-Catholicism in the form of the American Protective Association, and the expansionist policies of the leadership fostered the development of Columbianism. The general spirit of patriotism, culminating in the Spanish-American War, also animated the order's character. From New England the order expanded throughout the nation. By 1905 the Knights were in every state in the Union, five provinces of Canada, Mexico, and the Philippines, and they were poised to enter Cuba and Puerto Rico. This enormously successful period of expansion is primarily due to the way in which the Knights conveyed through their ceremonials their strong sense of American Catholic identity. In a sense, the ceremonials provided the candidates for knighthood with a rite of passage from old world ties to loyalty to the new republic. Basic to their ethos were the prevailing notions of manliness, fraternal sentiment, and muscular Christianity.

The Knights of Columbus (K. of C.) extolled Catholic unity and struggled against the divisive character of ethnic particularism. Though the leaders were all second-generation Irish Americans, they were realists on the ethnic issue. Hence, they permitted the establishment of the Teutonic Council for German-American Knights and the Italian-American Ansonia Council, both of which were instituted in Boston during the 1890s.

Activities. In accord with the order's antidefamation mission, it instituted in 1914 the Knights of Columbus Commission on Religious Prejudices. The latter was mandated "to study the causes, investigate conditions and suggest remedies for the religious prejudice that has been manifest through the press and rostrum." Under the chairmanship of Patrick Henry Callahan, then K. of C. state deputy of Kentucky and a wealthy industrialist known for his capital-labor profit-sharing plan, the commission followed its mandate to the letter. As an antidote to prejudices Callahan especially promoted the papal encyclical of 1891, *Rerum novarum*.

Columbian lay activism manifested itself in a new field of work in 1916, when U.S. troops were stationed along the Mexican border. After learning of the needs for recreational and religious centers, the order established sixteen buildings from the Gulf of Mexico to the Gulf of California to meet the social needs of all soldiers and the religious needs of Catholics.

As a result of this experience, the Knights offered such services to the U.S. government when it entered WORLD WAR I in April 1917. American and Canadian



Columbus Day. *Members of the Knights of Columbus march past the Christopher Columbus statue outside Washington, D.C.'s Union Station, on Monday, Oct. 8, 2001, during a Columbus Day ceremony.* **AP IMAGES**

K. of C. "Huts" with signs reading, "Everyone Welcome, Everything Free," were established in the training camps and eventually in Europe and Asia, even in the remote area of Siberia. The order raised one million dollars during the first year. As a result of a joint drive with the Y.M.C.A., the Jewish Welfare Board, the Salvation Army, and other groups, the order received over thirty million dollars for its War Camp Fund.

After the war, the Knights established employment bureaus throughout the country to help find jobs for veterans. They also provided college scholarships for returning servicemen and set up evening schools for veterans and all others interested in academic and vocational advancement. In January 1924 there were sixty-nine evening schools with an enrollment of more than 30,000 students. The Knights received numerous commendations for war and reconstruction work, but the greatest tribute was demonstrated by the more than 450,000 men who joined the order between 1917 and 1923.

During the 1920s Columbianism expressed itself in a variety of new programs. In response to those historians who stressed an economic interpretation of American history, disregarded the idealism of the revolutionary period, and ignored the contributions of the various non-Anglo-Saxon immigrant groups, the order established the K. of C. Historical Commission. The commission was charged with the responsibility "to investigate the facts of history, to correct historical errors and omissions, to amplify and preserve our national history to exalt and perpetuate American ideals and to combat anti-American propaganda by means of pamphlets ... and by other proper means and methods as shall be approved by the Supreme Assembly." Under the direction of Edward McSweeney, a former trade unionist and immigration officer on Ellis Island, the commission awarded prizes for the best historical monographs. Works of such scholars who later earned national reputations, as Samuel Flagg Bemis and Allan Nevins, were published by Macmillan in the Knights of Columbus Historical Series.

In the autumn of 1922, McSweeney designed a unique set of historical studies titled, "The Knights of Columbus Racial Contribution Series." Three monographs were published in this ambitious series: *The Gift of Black Folk* by W.E.B. DuBois; *The Jews in the Making of America* by George Cohen; and *The Germans in the Making of America* by Frederick Franklin Schrader. In

his introduction to each of these books, McSweeney summarized the history of immigration to America, the waves of nativism, anti-Catholicism, ANTI-SEMITISM, and the persistence of racial prejudice in the life of the nation.

In 1921 Pope BENEDICT XV called upon Columbianism's Catholic antidefamation character to respond to religious prejudice in Rome. The pope elaborated on how anti-Catholic propaganda was a strong factor in the Protestant evangelization of Rome and the degree to which it threatened to break down Roman youth's loyalties to the Church.

Within a year after this historic audience, the order had appointed a commission for its Roman project, established a $1 million Italian Welfare Fund through a per capita tax on the membership, received permission to construct recreation centers from Benedict's successor, Pope PIUS XI, and contracted the services of Roman engineer and architect Enrico Galeazzi. Between 1924 and 1927 the order opened five recreation centers, the most significant of which was St. Peter's Oratory, adjacent to VATICAN CITY. In the 1930s this program was absorbed into the CATHOLIC ACTION movement.

During the Great Depression the Knights revived their antisocialism, a crusade that included a SOCIAL JUSTICE component. At the Supreme Council meeting in August 1937, held in San Antonio, Texas, the crusade was unanimously endorsed by the delegates. Supreme Knight Martin Carmody reported that the *Daily Worker*, the official voice of the American Communist Party, had frequently vented "its wrath against the Knights of Columbus." Shortly after the convention, the Supreme Board of Directors approved Carmody's proposal to hire an anti-Communist lecturer, George Hermann Derry, who had been a member of the K. of C.'s Historical Commission and who had recently resigned as president of Marygrove College in Detroit. Derry's lecture program, which was subject to the prior approval of the hierarchy, included a general public address sponsored by local Knights and an address to the clergy of the diocese on anti-Communist leadership.

The administrations of Luke E. Hart (1953–1964), John K. McDevitt (1964–1977), and Virgil C. Dechant (1977–2000) are identified with the modernization of the order within the context of its traditional loyalty to Church and country. Hart laid the basis for the modern insurance program that was later greatly refined by Virgil Dechant. Hart's conservatism on racial and labor issues alienated many members of the order and the hierarchy. McDevitt led a movement to reform the policy governing admissions to local councils, thereby engendering racial integration. By this policy and by cosponsoring a Human Rights Congress at Yale University and fostering other programs related to social justice, McDevitt restored the confidence of the hierarchy in the order's direction. In general, John McDevitt's administration represents a synthesis of modern fraternalism and traditional faith.

Virgil C. Dechant's administration reflected his command of the insurance programs, a policy to modernize the structures of the international headquarters in New Haven, Connecticut, a commitment to infuse a strong social service component into the order's fraternalism, a positive response to the needs of the American Church mediated by the bishop, and deep loyalty to the Vatican as evidenced by the order's support of the pope's charities as well as the Vatican's needs for architectural restoration and artistic beautification. Under Dechant's leadership the order also experienced considerable growth.

Dechant retired at the age of seventy, in October 2000. Upon his retirement, the Supreme Board of Directors elected the Supreme Secretary, Carl Anderson, to be Supreme Knight. Formerly the Dean of the JOHN PAUL II INSTITUTE ON MARRIAGE AND FAMILY, Anderson brought a theological dimension to his leadership. His columns in *Columbia*, the widely circulated magazine of the Knights, include a religious message in a popular idiom. Within a year of his election, the amount of insurance in force reached the then record level of $42 billion, demonstrating Anderson's command of that vital aspect of the Knights' mission. In his almost decade-long tenure as Supreme Knight, Anderson has been active in vigorously promoting Knights programs, in writing books and articles on behalf of the Knights, and in serving in various Church bodies. The order has a long association with the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA. On September 8, 2009, McGivney Hall was dedicated on the campus of the Catholic University, funded by the Knights of Columbus to serve as the new home of the Pontifical John Paul II Institute for Studies on Marriage and Family, also heavily supported by the Knights. In keeping with its tradition as a Catholic antidefamation society, the Knights also publish occasional reports on how the news media depicts the Catholic Church.

The Knights remain a robust, financially sound, and financially generous organization. In 2007, the Knights of Columbus celebrated its 125th anniversary. As of 2009, there were more than 1.7 million Knights belonging to more than 14,000 councils in thirteen countries. Annually Knights fundraise and donate about $150 million to charity and dedicate about 70 million volunteer hours. With $60 billion of insurance in force and with the widespread programs of the order, the Knights of Columbus still manifest the vitality of their original mission to respond to the needs of the Church and to witness to the unique character of the Catholic experience in America.

In terms of Catholic doctrine and affiliation, the Knights of Columbus has recently distinguished itself in two particular areas: support for pro-life causes and for the papacy. Parishes throughout the United States feature pro-life publications of the Knights on their bulletin racks. Knights of Columbus publications for the laity include a "Study Guide to *Evangelium Vitae"* (1996), authored by Russell Shaw, former Director of Public Information of the Knights of Columbus, and a publication on the importance of protecting family life, "Serving the Human Family" (1998). The Knights fund the annual workshop on medical-moral issues for the American episcopate. The order also works closely with the Pro-life Secretariat of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops. The order has filed amicus briefs and lobbied for legislation to protect the dignity of marriage and the lives of the unborn. For example, the Knights contributed over $1 million in support of Proposition 8, the California Marriage Protection Act ballot initiative of 2008 that amended the California Constitution to define marriage as a union of a man and a woman. The Knights have not been without controversy in the political arena, however, as several prominent Catholic politicians are on record as being both Knights and strong supporters of legalized abortion. On an international level, the order is a nongovernmental organization of the United Nations (U.N.), where it participates in conferences and U.N. activities in furtherance of the order's Catholic and moral principles.

The Knights of Columbus has also demonstrated a special loyalty to the papacy. The Knights Vicarius Christi fund, established in 1981, has donated over $35 million to the papacy. The Knights funded the telecast of numerous trips of Pope JOHN PAUL II, including the pope's WORLD YOUTH DAY visit to Manila in 1994, the opening of the Holy Door in 1999, the pope's visit to the Holy Land in 2000, the papal peace summit in Assisi in 2002, and the annual funding of the satellite uplink of the pope's worldwide Christmas and Easter Masses. The order has paid for repairing the façade of ST. PETER'S BASILICA and other restoration work in the Vatican. In return the popes have shown great appreciation for the Knights. On October 17, 1988, Pope John Paul II praised the Knights for their "staunch support of the Catholic faith and for your financial aid and volunteer work on behalf of charitable and benevolent causes." The popes address an annual message to the Knights. When John Paul canonized twenty-five martyrs of the Mexican persecution of the 1920s, six of the saints were Knights. The popes have also given numerous gifts to the Knights which are on display in the papal gallery at the Knights of Columbus Museum in New Haven, Connecticut.

Interest in the Knights' founder, Fr. McGivney, has increased since the 2007 publication of his first full-scale biography, by noted authors Douglas Brinkley and Julie Fenster. In 1997, a cause for his canonization was opened in the Hartford Diocese. On March 15, 2008, Pope BENEDICT XVI declared Fr. McGivney a "Venerable Servant of God." In his homily at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York about a month later, the pope referred to the "remarkable accomplishment of that exemplary American priest, the venerable Michael McGivney, whose vision and zeal led to the establishment of the Knights of Columbus." Proposed miracles are being investigated as Venerable McGivney's possible BEATIFICATION and canonization is advanced. If Fr. McGivney were to be canonized, he would be the first American-born priest to be recognized as a saint. Canonization would be a fitting tribute to a man who created such a distinctively American institution that has played a vital role in the modern history of the Catholic Church.

SEE ALSO ANTI-CATHOLICISM (UNITED STATES); MEXICO (GUADALAHARA), MARTYRS OF, SS.; NATIVISM, AMERICAN; RERUM NOVARUM; UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS (USCCB).

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KÜNG, HANS

Priest of diocese of Basel, Switzerland, and professor emeritus of theology, University of Tübingen, Germany; b. Sursee, near Lucerne, Switzerland, March 19, 1928.



Küng, Hans (1928–). *Prominent Catholic Theologian Hans Kung, told an audience here that he was renewing his vow to press for reform of an increasingly "repressive" Church.* © **CORBIS**

Shortly after entering the Swiss diocesan seminary, Hans Küng was sent to the Pontifical German College in Rome. As a resident of the "Collegium Germanicum," he pursued his studies in philosophy and theology at the GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY from 1948 to 1955, achieving a licentiate degree in both subjects. He was ordained to the priesthood in Rome in 1954.

Küng left Rome in 1955, and after a brief stay in North Africa, where he acquired an interest in non-Christian religions, he was sent to continue his theological studies at the Institut Catholique at the Sorbonne in Paris, where he wrote his doctoral dissertation on Karl BARTH and JUSTIFICATION. The dissertation was published in 1957 as *Justification: the Doctrine of Karl Barth and a Catholic Reflection*. The book sought to bridge the gap that separated the Catholic and the Protestant traditions on this crucial theological issue. While recognized as a seminal work in ecumenical theology, it also brought Küng to the attention of Vatican authorities, particularly the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office (formerly the Sacred Congregation of the Universal Inquisition), which established a special dossier on the young priest.

In 1960, Küng was appointed to the chair of fundamental theology in the Catholic faculty at TÜBINGEN UNIVERSITY in Germany. That same year he published *The Council, Reform and Reunion*, in which he laid out an agenda for the coming ecumenical council (Vatican Council II, 1962–1965) that conflicted with that proposed by the Roman CURIA. With the publication of this book and the attention given to it by the worldwide press, Küng became an overnight theological celebrity.

In 1962 Küng was appointed by Bishop Leiprecht of Rottenburg as his *peritus* (theological expert) at Vatican II. Both his book on the council and the subsequent *Structures of the Church* (1962)—in which he raised questions about Church ministry and the primacy and infallibility of the pope—raised further questions about the Swiss theologian's orthodoxy, putting him on a direct collision course with Church authorities. The confrontation was further exacerbated in 1967 with the publication of Küng's comprehensive ecclesiology, *The Church*. This book argued for a more scripturally based vision of the Church than had been achieved even in the conciliar document *Lumen gentium*. More specifically, he challenged the traditional notion of apostolic succession as belonging exclusively to the hierarchy, and he questioned whether the present structures of the Church are of biblical origin. The Congregation of the Holy Office (which had become the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, or CDF, in 1965) advised Küng that his writings were under doctrinal scrutiny.

The most sensitive aspect of Küng's reform-minded writings was his insistence on the reform of the PAPACY itself. His critique of the papacy reached a climax in his challenge to papal INFALLIBILITY, a teaching that he claimed had been wrongly proclaimed at VATICAN COUNCIL I and reaffirmed at VATICAN COUNCIL II. Küng's controversial book *Infallible? An Inquiry* (1970) examined this question in great detail. Relying on a rigorous systematic and historical methodology, he argued against the possibility of infallible propositions in both theory and practice. Declarations of the Magisterium, he claimed, were analogous to statements in Holy Scripture, so that just as the Scriptures as a whole are preserved in truth by the Holy Spirit—despite some propositions that are patently false—the certitude and reliability of Church authority is not diminished or vitiated by the proclamation of particular doctrines that are either false or defective. Fallible propositions taught by the Church, Küng argued, do not undermine its God-given indefectibility and perpetuity in the truth. He claimed that in this way he was preserving the core meaning of infallibility, while at the same time admitting both the possibility and reality of errors in Church teaching.

The CDF did not accept this thesis and immediately summoned Küng to ROME to answer questions on his position. Küng refused the invitation on the grounds that he had not been assured a number of procedural safeguards, such as a right to see his dossier and choose his own defense lawyer. The CDF's condemnation of Küng's position on infallibility was officially and publicly affirmed (without mentioning him by name) in 1973 in

a vigorous Vatican declaration called *Mysterium ecclesiae*. While the document showed a sophisticated understanding of the historicity of doctrinal statements, it nevertheless insisted that the substance of dogmatic propositions is unchanging and must be held irrevocably by the faithful. The Vatican thereby rejected any attempt (such as Küng's) to substitute infallibility with the notion of " a fundamental permanence in truth." With this stance, the declaration also undercut any type of dogmatic relativism by maintaining that doctrinal formulae or propositions do, in fact, express determinate truths.

In the exchanges that followed, the CDF admonished Küng about the limits of theological inquiry and reminded him that no Catholic theologian is free to call into question "a dogma of faith in the name of theology." The CDF, supported by the German bishops, strongly exhorted Küng to abandon his controversial (i.e., erroneous) views and abide by the teaching of *Mysterium Ecclesiae*. With this stern admonition, Küng was expected to refrain from future challenges of official Church teaching, and in 1975 his dispute with the Vatican was temporarily put on hold. His dossier in Rome, however, was not closed.

Apart from questions of Church structure and of papal infallibility, the CDF also lodged a series of additional doctrinal objections to Küng's work, especially to some of the theological positions expressed in his massive volume titled *On Being a Christian* (1974). In particular, the CDF took issue with Küng's interpretations of the doctrine of the RESURRECTION and Mary's virginal conception, and especially his views on Christ's divinity.

Küng's silence on infallibility was to be short-lived. In 1979 he published a slim volume, *The Church—Maintained in Truth?*, in which he argued anew that by abandoning the claim of infallibility, the Church would not be giving up its certainty of faith. He sent a copy of the book to the new pope, JOHN PAUL II, followed by a letter in which he also urged the pontiff to dispense with the requirement of priestly celibacy. During that same year he wrote a caustic preface to August Bernhard Hasler's popular work, *How the Pope Became Infallible* (1981). Tensions with the Vatican were further aggravated by Küng's unsolicited "interim appraisal" of John Paul II's first year as pope, which was published widely in the international press.

On December 15, 1979, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, in conjunction with the Conference of German Bishops, issued a declaration, approved by Pope John Paul II, which asserted that Professor Küng's writings failed to represent the "integral truth of the Catholic faith" and showed a "contempt for the teaching authority of the Church." In a statement issued on December 18, 1979, Cardinal Höffner, then president of the German Bishops' Conference, pointed out that "the Doctrinal Congregation sees the main reason for this decision in professor Küng's teaching about infallibility in the Church" (Swidler 1981, p. 390).With this decree, Küng was deprived of his canonical mission as a Catholic theologian, and he was subsequently removed from the Catholic faculty at the University of Tübingen. Through a special agreement, however, he was allowed to maintain his position as director of the University's Institute for Ecumenical Research. For his part, Küng continues to assert that he can be both a loyal Catholic theologian and a staunch opponent of Church failings.

Since losing his official status as a Catholic theologian, Küng has focused his writings on foundational questions, such as the existence of God, the religious challenge of Sigmund FREUD, and the reality of eternal life. He has won worldwide recognition for his contributions to interreligious understanding, and he enjoys international respect for his leadership in the movement for world peace through a global ethic. He claims that the Church's condemnation of his theological work was ultimately providential, for it gave him both the time and the opportunity to respond more fully to the universal and urgent challenges that face the world.

SEE ALSO PARIS, INSTITUT CATHOLIQUE DE; TÜBINGEN SCHOOL.

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LAGHI, PIO

Cardinal, papal representative in JERUSALEM, Argentina, and the United States, prefect of the Congregation for Catholic Education; b. May 21, 1922, Castiglione (Forlì), Italy, d. January 11, 2009, ROME.

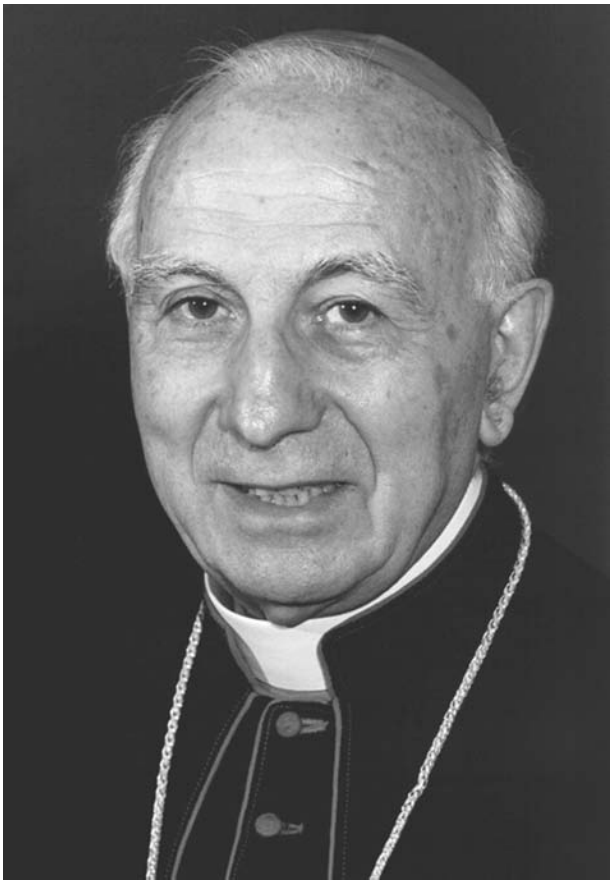
Laghi completed his primary and secondary education at the Salesian institute in Faenza, and then entered the diocesan seminary for philosophy. He was assigned to study theology at the Pontifical Lateran University in Rome, while continuing his priestly formation at the Roman Seminary. On April 20, 1946, he was ordained to the priesthood for the Diocese of Faenza. After a brief parochial assignment in Porto Garibaldi (Ferrara), he was sent back to Rome, again to the Lateran University, where he completed doctorates in theology (1947) and canon law (1950). At the request of the secretariat of state, he was assigned to the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy in the fall of 1950, to prepare for service to the diplomatic mission of the HOLY SEE.

In 1952 Laghi was appointed secretary to the apostolic nunciature in Managua, Nicaragua, where he mastered Spanish. Three years later he was posted to the apostolic delegation in Washington, D.C. In addition to carrying out the duties of the nunciature, he learned English, engaged in pastoral work, and began a lifelong interest in American culture and the Catholic Church in the United States. After six years in Washington, he was transferred to the nunciature in India, where he worked until 1964, when he was recalled to Rome. He then served five years in the Council for Public Affairs of the secretariat of state, during which time he convinced somewhat apprehensive superiors that it would be appropriate to make the Holy See's WORLD WAR II era archives available for scholarly research.

In 1969 he was ordained a bishop, with the titular see of Mauriana, and nominated by Pope PAUL VI to be apostolic delegate in Jerusalem and PALESTINE. During his five years there, he was a particularly vocal defender of the rights of the Church and the Palestinian people. His diplomatic duties also extended to Cyprus, where he was pro-nuncio, and to Greece, where he served as apostolic visitator.

His skills were such that in 1974 Paul VI appointed him apostolic nuncio to Argentina, where for six years he attempted to protect the prerogatives of the Church and the rights of citizens living under a hostile military government. His service there has been criticized as too accommodating to the junta, but the accounts of those who observed him there and other research show that he was effectively engaged in the more discreet advocacy proper to diplomats, and that he regularly prodded the sometimes apprehensive Argentinian hierarchy to be more aggressive in defending human rights.

Pope JOHN PAUL II appointed Archbishop Laghi apostolic delegate to the United States in 1980. For nine and a half years, his own personal manner, knowledge of America, and style of collaboration with the bishops made him a very visible and popular papal representative. His tenure coincided with notable controversies, such as those involving Raymond Hunthausen, the archbishop of Seattle, and Charles CURRAN, professor of MORAL THEOLOGY at the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA. In 1984 diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the United States were established, and Laghi became the first apostolic pro-nuncio in America. As such, his responsibilities extended to include representing the interests of the Holy See to the White House, the State Department, and Congress. The U.S. bishops especially noted his annual addresses to the



Laghi, Pio Cardinal (1922–2009). *Cardinal Laghi was a skilled diplomat and was often sent on special diplomatic assignments on behalf of Pope John Paul II.* **CATHOLIC NEWS SERVICE**

conference each November, in which he spoke on such topics as seminaries, vocations, and Catholic schools. They also expressed appreciation for his extensive travel throughout the country.

During his tenure as apostolic delegate and pronuncio, Archbishop Laghi was particularly well known for the role he played as papal representative in the process by which bishops were appointed and transferred in the United States. Church observers agreed that, in contrast with the years immediately after VATICAN COUNCIL II, when emphasis apparently was placed on the selection of men who came to be called "pastoral" bishops, a different episcopal style came to the fore via the episcopal appointments of the Laghi years, which produced a crop of so-called John Paul II bishops. These were bishops who, on the whole, appeared to attach more importance to orthodoxy in doctrine and conformity to Church law than their predecessors sometimes had done; in this group, it frequently was said, Cardinal John O'CONNOR of New York was a representative figure.

Archbishop Laghi's near decade in America came to an end in 1990, when he was appointed (pro-)prefect of the Congregation for Catholic Education; he was created a cardinal in the consistory of June 28, 1991, with the title of S. Maria Ausiliatrice in Via Tuscolana. As prefect he showed special interest in seminaries, particularly after the post-synodal exhortation *Pastores dabo vobis* (1992), and in Catholic universities, especially in the implementation of the Apostolic Letter *Ex corde Ecclesiae.* Beginning in 1992 he also served as president of the Pontifical Oratory of St. Peter, and since 1993 as Protector of the Sovereign Order of Malta. In November 1999, his resignation as prefect was accepted.

Besides his work with the Congregation for Catholic Education and his other posts in Rome, Cardinal Laghi carried out several special diplomatic assignments on behalf of the Holy See. In May 2002 he was special papal envoy to Israel and the Palestinian authority, charged with delivering a personal message from Pope John Paul urging a ceasefire and the resumption of peace talks between the two parties. In March 2003, with war impending in Iraq, he flew to Washington as a special envoy to U.S. President George W. Bush and delivered a message from the pope urging the United States not to launch a military attack. The cardinal had become friendly with President George H.W. Bush and other members of the Bush family during his years as apostolic delegate and pro-nuncio.

Following a private meeting with the president at the White House, the cardinal issued a statement declaring it to be the view of the Holy See that "peaceful avenues" still existed for settling differences with the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq. "A decision regarding the use of military force can only be taken within the framework of the United Nations," he added, "but always taking into account the grave consequences of such an armed conflict: the suffering of the people of Iraq and those involved in the military operation, a further instability in the region and a new gulf between Islam and Christianity."

On January 11, 2009, after a long illness, Cardinal Laghi died of a blood disease in a Rome hospital. He was eighty-six. In Washington President Bush issued a statement calling him "a friend who ... worked tirelessly for peace and justice in our world." Mass for the cardinal was celebrated January 13 in ST. PETER'S BASILICA in Rome by Cardinal Angelo Sodano, dean of the College of Cardinals and former Vatican secretary of state. At the conclusion of the Mass, Pope BENEDICT XVI praised Cardinal Laghi as a man whose "entire priestly mission ... was passed in the direct service of the Holy See."

SEE ALSO IRAQ, WAR IN (CATHOLIC CHURCH AND); KNIGHTS OF MALTA; NUNCIO, APOSTOLIC; PALESTINE, PAPAL POSITION TOWARD; SALESIANS.

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LAMBETH ARTICLES

Upon first consideration, the importance of the Lambeth Articles, the abortive 1595 attempt by Puritan divines to turn the Church of England in a decidedly Calvinist direction, seems solely an academic concern. They issued from a faculty squabble, and they never achieved canonical status. Further, Queen Elizabeth I disapproved of them, as did her successor, James I. Yet the articles and the circumstances of their production demonstrate in miniature how the Reformed tradition was developing in the late sixteenth century, which was a period of Roman Catholic resurgence. They also point to how the Anglican Church balanced its theological inclinations, then Reformed to the point of Puritanism, with its institutional imperative to be a national, and therefore somewhat politic, religious establishment.

The basic facts are as follows. In April of 1595, William Barrett, a junior don at Cambridge, delivered a sermon attacking the principles of predestination and the perseverance of the saints. While these principles are now commonly associated with CALVINISM, such associations were less common in 1595—indeed, they were only then coalescing. The Calvinist Synod of Dort, which confirmed these two principles, would not sit for over twenty years. In addition, the synod's foil, Jacobus ARMINIUS (c. 1560–1609)—who held that salvation required free human consent and who gave his name to the anti-Puritan (or "Arminian") party within Anglicanism—was still a member in good standing of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1595. Barrett, who was moving toward ARMINIANISM in his thinking and opposed to the Reformed tradition's Augustinian tendencies, used the word "Calvinist" in derogation, for he was determined to fix his enemies' position at its most extreme. The more rigid a point could be made, the more ridiculous it would seem and the more brittle it would be when pressed by reason and sound scriptural analysis. The perseverance of the saints, for example, was a dogma that savored of antinomianism—if the elect were sure of their fate, why would they honor civil and moral law?

Barrett was a Daniel preaching to the lions, however. Cambridge was dominated by PURITANS, and they rallied to squash what they saw as rank Pelagianism (which advocated the existence of free will), a covenant of works rather than of faith, and a diminution of God's sovereignty. What the older dons had in common with the upstart Barrett was the need to delineate a more rigorous Calvinist orthodoxy. Their motive was not, of course, to defeat Calvinism, but rather to see their version of it established within the Church of England and within Reformed Protestantism generally. By taking their predestinarian logic nearly as far as it could go (for the sake of cohesive strength), they went beyond what John Calvin and his cohort had preached in the first half of the century.

Chief among Barrett's critics was William Whitaker, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Whitaker drafted nine articles that clarified his party's stand (he would have said "God's will") on the nature of atonement and the atoned. Briefly put, ATONEMENT was defined as limited and arbitrary. That is, not everyone would be saved, God already knew who the saved were, and his grace did all the work. SALVATION, therefore, had nothing whatever to do with human effort. All human beings deserved reprobation, but Christ's sacrifice encouraged God to exercise his mercy and pluck some of these reprobates from the fire. Moreover, the elect—those who received the "justifying faith"—were assured of pardon and eternal life.

These articles were presented to the primate of the Anglican Church, John WHITGIFT (c. 1530–1604), the archbishop of Canterbury. Whitgift was annoyed by the imbroglio; his church was, after all, episcopal, and clerics further down the hierarchy, learned though they were, could not be allowed to drive policy. Whitgift was not, however, an unprincipled trimmer enamored of power and power alone. His intellectual sympathies were with Whitaker and the Puritans. Thus, while he doctored the articles slightly, once form (and his authority) was respected, he was content to accept the truth of the articles at a meeting held at his London seat, Lambeth Palace, on November 20, 1595.

Whitgift hoped the new articles would be taken as a supplement to the standard THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES of the Church of England (established in 1571), and thus confirm the Calvinist drift of Anglican belief. Other Puritans hoped the strong statement of principles would guide and bolster the ecclesiastical policies of James, Elizabeth's presumptive heir, who had been raised by Presbyterians (i.e., Calvinists). They would be disappointed. The Anglican Church was royal as well as

episcopal, and if Whitgift was offended by Whitaker's initiative, it should not have been a surprise that Elizabeth was as well. From an official point of view, therefore, the Lambeth Articles were a dead letter.

James proved to be no friend to the Puritans either, and he resisted attempts to establish the articles in the early years of his reign. They were countenanced by the Church of Ireland between 1615 and 1634, but that is a trivial matter. What is of more moment is that the attempted but abortive establishment of the Lambeth Articles heralded the political and religious strife of the seventeenth century. The fiercest Puritans, frustrated by the hierarchy they once tried to colonize, went into opposition, and their commonwealth of saints was eventually built at the expense of King Charles and his bishops. The latter were simply dismissed; the former resisted the Puritans' late, violent ascendancy and paid for that mistake with his head.

SEE ALSO ANTINOMY; AUGUSTINIANISM; COUNCILS, GENERAL (ECUMENICAL), HISTORY OF; COUNCILS, GENERAL (ECUMENICAL), THEOLOGY OF; GRACE (THEOLOGY OF); LITURGICAL MOVEMENT, II: ANGLICAN AND PROTESTANT; PELAGIUS AND PELAGIANISM; PREDESTINATION (IN CATHOLIC THEOLOGY); PREDESTINATION (IN NON-CATHOLIC THEOLOGY); REFORMED CHURCHES.

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE PAPACY

At the end of the nineteenth century, the PAPACY was perceived as being opposed to contemporary ideological and diplomatic developments, despite the efforts of Pope LEO XIII (1878–1903) to mend the papacy's diplomatic posture. In May 1899, when an international conference was held at the Hague to discuss the limitation of armaments and the pacific settlements of international disputes, the papacy was originally invited. It was then disinvited, however, at the behest of the Italians, who were suspicious of the Vatican's motives.



Pope Benedict XV (1914–1922). *Born Giacomo Paolo Giovanni Battista della Chiesa, his pontificate was dominated by the events of World War I.* **THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS**

Leo was no more able to resolve the ROMAN QUESTION and the loss of the temporal power resulting from Italy's occupation of Rome in 1870 than his predecessor, Pope PIUS IX (1846–1878). His successor Pope PIUS X (1903–1914), in turn, was unable to prevent the eruption of World War I, while the mediation efforts of BENEDICT XV (1914–1922) during the conflict were coldly received by both belligerent camps. In fact, Article 15 of the Treaty of London (1915), which brought Italy into the conflict on the Allied side, specifically assured the Italians that the HOLY SEE would be excluded from the diplomacy of peacemaking. Thus, little heed was paid to Benedict's peace proposal of August 1917, which included his call for a league of nations to resolve international differences and disputes.

Benedict XV Favors League. Benedict's note to the belligerents reiterated the major aims of his pontificate regarding the war, which included a determination to preserve the Vatican's impartiality; to provide assistance without distinction of persons, nationality, or religion; and to hasten the end of the calamity. To achieve these ends, Benedict proposed the general terms on which a peace might be concluded: arbitration, the reduction of armaments, freedom of the seas, no punitive indemni-

ties, evacuation of occupied territories, and the consultation of the inhabitants of disputed areas. Specifically, it called for:

1. A simultaneous and reciprocal decrease in armaments;
2. The institution of international arbitration as a substitute for armies;
3. Free intercourse of peoples and liberty of the seas;
4. The reciprocal renunciation of war indemnities;
5. The evacuation and restoration of all occupied territories;
6. The resolution of political and territorial claims in a spirit of equity and justice.

These could be realized in sequence: first the suspension of the fighting, second the reduction of armaments, and finally the institution of arbitration to resolve differences. The papal initiative was rejected by all the belligerent governments, however, and few were surprised when the 1917 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the Red Cross rather than the pope, whose efforts and endeavors remained unrecognized.

The Americans proved no more supportive of Benedict's efforts than the other belligerents. However, President Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points," presented in January 1918, borrowed from the papal proposal. Wilson called for:

1. Open agreements and the renunciation of secret diplomacy;
2. Freedom of the seas;
3. The removal of economic barriers between nations;
4. The reduction of armaments;
5. Impartial adjustment of colonial claims;
6. German evacuation and restoration of Russian territory;
7. Restoration of Belgian sovereignty;
8. The evacuation of France by German troops and the return of Alsace-Lorraine;
9. Redrawing the Italian frontier along national lines;
10. Autonomy for the peoples of Austria-Hungary;
11. The Austro-Hungarian evacuation of Montenegro, Rumania, and Serbia;
12. Self-determination for the peoples of the Ottoman Empire and freedom of navigation through the Dardanelles;
13. The establishment of an independent Poland with access to the sea;
14. The creation of an association of nations to govern international relations.

Pope Benedict embraced Wilson's effort, which reflected his own proposal, as did his secretary of state, Cardinal Pietro GASPARRI. Both hoped it would end the costly and destructive war, provide a just peace, and assure future international tranquility. In his Easter Message to the United States, Pope Benedict called for the emergence of a new organization of peoples and nations aspiring to a "nobler, purer, and kinder civilization." In early December, Benedict responded positively to the armistice of November 11, proclaiming it a respite for a suffering humanity and invoking divine assistance for those taking part in the peace conference. He repeated this invocation in his Christmas Eve message, praying for God's blessing upon the Versailles Peace Conference and observing that the peacemakers had to repair the material havoc of the war while introducing a new international configuration.

Early in January 1919, Benedict XV met with Wilson, the first president of the United States to be received by a Pontiff, and the two discussed prospects for peace and the need to construct a new basis for international relations. The Roman Question was not raised, nor was there any effort on the pope's part to be included in the impending negotiations. Pope Benedict made it clear that he favored a reorganization of international relations, noting the inability of the prevailing international anarchy to peacefully resolve conflicts. He had adhered to this stance since the beginning of his pontificate, and as early as 1914 he appealed to the nations of the world to find some other means of resolving their differences.

Deploring the violation of international law, Benedict believed this contributed to the carnage of the war, and he sought a new code of conduct to assure a more tranquil future. Cardinal Gasparri repeated this message when he elaborated upon the pope's peace proposal of August 1917, focusing on Benedict's call for a new world order that would include the suppression, by common accord of compulsory military service; the constitution of a Court of Arbitration for the solution of international questions, and lastly, for the prevention of infractions, the establishment of a universal boycott (Koenig 1943, pp. 238–39). Consequently, the pope and his secretary of state welcomed the fourteenth point in Wilson's peace proposal, which called for the establishment of a general association of nations for the purpose of providing mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity for great and small states alike.

Rumors of Papal Opposition to League. Despite the numerous and fervent pledges of papal support for the

League of Nations, some suspected that both pope and Curia secretly opposed it. Allegedly, they resented the fact that the Covenant of the League, which formed the first part (Articles 1–24) of the treaties of Versailles (with Germany), Saint-Germain (with Austria), Trianon (with Hungary) and Neuilly (with Bulgaria), was formulated without direct papal input. Furthermore, it was believed by some that the Vatican resented that the League's membership was restricted to states, dominions, and colonies, so that the Holy See, generally described in international law as a "Power," was excluded. President Wilson was convinced that the Vatican resented this exclusion and believed that much of the sentiment against the League in the United States was inspired by the papacy. The American president claimed to have both documents and correspondence that exposed the Vatican's opposition and obstructionism, but he never produced them.

In fact, Benedict's Vatican supported Wilson's League. In his encyclical *Pacem, Dei munus pulcherrimum* (On Peace and Christian Reconciliation) of May 1920, the pope pleaded for nations to put aside mutual suspicion and unite in a league to prevent the outbreak of future disasters. Benedict explained that among the reasons for such an association of nations was the generally recognized need to make every effort to abolish or reduce the enormous burden of military expenditures, which states could no longer bear, and prevent future disastrous wars. Consequently, the Vatican neither engineered nor gloated over the American failure to enter the League of Nations, as some charged. In fact, Benedict was distressed and puzzled by the American rejection of the League they had sponsored, which he deemed "a great conception." Acknowledging the limitations and imperfections of the League of Nations, Benedict praised it as the sole organized effort to realize the Vatican's pacific goals.

Although disillusioned by postwar developments, in his last years Benedict continued to champion international efforts to preserve the precarious peace. In November 1921, he telegraphed the new U.S. president, Warren G. Harding, at the opening of the International Conference on Naval Limitation (the Washington Conference), and in December the pontiff blessed the work of the *Congrès Démocratique Internationale*, the First International Democratic Congress in Paris. Nonetheless, he regretted so little had been accomplished to assure tranquility, and some suspected this led the pope to neglect the cold he caught at the end of December 1921, which contributed to a bronchial infection and his death on January 22, 1922.

Pius XI and the League. In 1922 Benedict was followed by Ambrogio Achille Ratti, who assumed the name Pope PIUS XI. Like his predecessor, Pius called for international cooperation and conciliation, and he begged the world powers to abandon their recourse to military measures to resolve problems. He hoped that the League of Nations, imbued with a Christian spirit of reconciliation, would work to preserve the peace, and he offered support for such a mission. In the summer of 1923, when John Eppstein of the League's Committee on Foreign Relations proposed that diplomatic relations be established between the Council of the League and the Holy See, Cardinal Gasparri responded that the Holy Father very much appreciated the good work and peaceful efforts of the organization. He proceeded to outline the papal position toward the League. Speaking on behalf of Pius XI, he stipulated that the projected relations could be established with the understanding that the Holy See would be at the disposal of the League for matters within its competence. He cited, among other things, the Holy See's participation in the elaboration of principle regarding morality and international law and in providing assistance to the League's relief efforts.

The Vatican was not an uncritical supporter of every action undertaken by the League of Nations, however. In 1926, for example, the Holy See made a rare, direct approach to the organization by instructing its nuncio at Bern to present the Vatican's assessment of the projected antislavery convention. While approving the overall intent of the League's action, it did not believe that the proposed convention was sufficiently clear or strong in support of Christian missions in pagan countries. Determined to preserve its freedom of action, the Vatican did not petition for admission to the League, despite the spate of rumors that it planned to do so. The papal secretary of state discounted the rumors, letting it be known that the Vatican neither plotted nor planned for full participation. However, if it was called upon, it would put itself at the League's service in assisting those in need.

Nonetheless, the rumors of papal plotting against the League of Nations continued, and the accusation spread that the Holy See sought to orchestrate a uniform Catholic response to international questions. When Brazil withdrew from the organization in 1926, a good part of the English press clamored that the Vatican was responsible, claiming it had pressured that Catholic country to leave the League because it resented its continued exclusion. To rebut these unfounded allegations, in August 1926 *L'Osservatore Romano*, the authoritative voice of the Vatican, published a long article commending the work of the League and reiterating the Vatican's support and appreciation of its efforts. The article added that it would be against the spirit of the Church to deny support to institutions such as the League, which upheld the banner of peace and coopera-

tion amid the mania of increasing national egoism. Furthermore, it noted that the Church's mission was primarily religious and social, and that, unless asked, the Church refrained from intervening in political and diplomatic affairs.

This was later confirmed by Article 24 of the LATERAN Treaty with Italy (1929), which specified that "in the field of international relations, the Holy See declares that it wishes to remain, and will remain, extraneous to all temporal disputes between nations, and to international congresses convoked for the settlement of such disputes, unless the contending parties make a joint appeal to its mission of peace." This was precisely the position the Vatican maintained toward the League's peacekeeping efforts. It was not indicative of disinterest on the part of the Holy See, which paid close attention to its attempts to promote disarmament and efforts to restore peace in China and South America. After 1930, the new secretary of state, Eugenio Pacelli (future Pope PIUS XII), likewise appreciated the League's efforts to promote the international common good. Early in 1931, *L'Osservatore Romano* hailed the English pronouncement that their government sought no alliance other than the "world alliance" provided by the League, claiming this reflected the papal stance.

Successes and Failures of League. Although the attitude of the Vatican toward the League of Nations remained one of support and sympathy, this view was tempered by a good dose of realism, particularly when the organization was challenged by the aggressive attitudes and actions of a number of states, including Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, Imperial Japan, and Soviet Russia. Furthermore, the Vatican recognized the "excessive" influence of England and France in the organization, and while it appreciated the role the League played in the administration of the Saar region of Germany and the free city of Danzig, it questioned the Francophile sentiments of its administrators. Nonetheless, the Vatican recognized that the League provided the military force to preserve order in the Saar before and during the 1935 plebiscite that was to determine its final allegiance and political affiliation.

Furthermore, while acknowledging that the mandate system the League administered was better than having those territories formerly controlled by Germany overseas and the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East absorbed by the victorious powers, the Holy See recognized that their governance was less than objective and did little to prepare those "backward" territories for independence. Finally, while the League undertook to protect the minorities in the newly formed states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia from abuse and mistreatment, it confronted the prevailing wall of state sovereignty and opposition to outside intrusion, rendering its task difficult if not impossible.

The League also sought to aid the victims of persecution in Nazi Germany and a number of other states. The American James G. McDonald (1886–1964), who became the League's High Commissioner for Refugees, traveled to a number of states and the Vatican, seeking refuge for Jews and other persecuted minorities. He resigned in protest in 1935 due to the lack of support for his efforts and an unwillingness of many countries to open their borders to the persecuted.

The Vatican was also disappointed by the League's performance in confronting aggression in the international realm. This was clearly expressed by Monsignor Giuseppe Pizzardo, the papal undersecretary of state, who indicated that the Vatican made a diverse evaluation of the organization's political role and its social and cultural action. Acknowledging the contribution and accomplishments in this second area, the course of events he stipulated revealed the League's failure to cope with or curb aggression. This was clearly shown by the early 1930s, when the League proved unable to deal with Japanese aggression toward China, which was followed by the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931. The League Council did appoint an international commission, presided over by Lord Lytton of Great Britain, to investigate the conflict. Before it could issue its report, however, Japan unilaterally recognized the "independent" state of Manchukuo, which was clearly a puppet regime. In March 1933, in response to the League's rebuke, Japan announced its intention of leaving the organization.

The League proved no more capable of providing a solution to the border dispute between Ethiopia and the Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland (now Somalia). When Ethiopia appealed to the League for arbitration in 1935, Benito Mussolini dispatched his forces across the border and commenced the conquest of Ethiopia. The Council, having learned from its experience with Japan, moved quickly to condemn the Italian government's aggression, and subsequently fifty-one nations in the League Assembly voted to impose sanctions upon Italy. However, oil, Italy's greatest need, was not included in the ban, and Italian ships were still allowed to use the Suez Canal. This allowed Italy to complete its conquest and to annex Ethiopia in 1936. This had a further and more devastating effect, for during the international confusion that ensued, Adolf HITLER was able to remilitarize the Rhineland in violation of treaty obligations.

Pius was distressed by both the Fascist and Nazi actions. Although part of the clergy accepted Mussolini's propaganda that the conquest was, in essence, a crusade to spread Christianity, Pius XI opposed Italy's invasion, occupation, and annexation of Ethiopia, fearing this would have a negative impact on the natives' attitude toward the Church. Pius also believed that the Nazi occupation of the Rhineland only encouraged Hitler's

further aggression. However, papal criticism no more curbed the Fascist regime than the limited actions of the League of Nations, and neither the Pope nor the world powers were surprised when Italy resigned from the League in 1937.

The League also failed to curb the intervention of the major powers in the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), which cost the lives of some three-quarters of a million souls. In the absence of League action, some twenty-seven European states established an international nonintervention committee. However, this committee was to spend most of its time investigating charges of intervention, and it proved both unwilling and unable to prevent foreign intrusion into the conflict. Some have suggested that this failure of collective security encouraged the Fascist, Nazi, and Japanese aggression that led to the outbreak of World War II in September 1939.

Pius XII and League. Eugenio Pacelli, who became Pius XII on March 2, 1939, as the clouds of war thickened, understood that he could not rely on the League of Nations to preserve the peace, and this awareness encouraged him to undertake papal mediation. This proved unsuccessful, however, as did his attempt to keep Italy out of the conflict. Pius regretted the failure of the League, particularly its inability to implement the new international order he considered necessary to achieve a limitation on state authority, the theme of his first encyclical, issued in October 1939. He welcomed Franklin Delano Roosevelt's decision to dispatch a personal representative to the Holy See, and he shared the president's effort to limit the war and bring about a speedy and just solution to this second world conflagration. He also shared the American conviction that a new international order was needed, and he supported the creation of the United Nations at war's end.

The League of Nations clearly failed to preserve the peace in the interwar period. It was unable to curb aggression throughout the 1930s or prevent the outbreak of the World War II in 1939. In light of this record, some have judged it a total failure. Both Pius XII and President Roosevelt presented a more positive evaluation, however, with both of them appreciating its contribution in spreading the ideals of international cooperation, armament reduction, and providing aid and assistance to the whole of humanity. In addition, Pius XII and his successors have been supportive of the United Nations, whose institutions, framework, and vision mirror those of the League of Nations.

SEE ALSO COLD WAR AND PAPACY; EUROPEAN UNION AND THE PAPACY; NATURAL LAW IN POLITICAL THOUGHT; UNITED NATIONS; UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE PAPACY.

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LEDÓCHOWSKA, MARIA TERESA, BL.

Foundress of the Sodality of St. Peter Claver for African Missions (now the MISSIONARY SISTERS OF ST. PETER CLAVER); b. Loosdorf, Austria, April 29, 1863; d. Rome, July 6, 1922; beatified Oct. 19, 1975 by Pope Paul VI.

She was the daughter of Count Antonius Kalka-Ledóchowski; the sister of Wladimir LEDÓCHOWSKI, superior general of the JESUITS, and St. Urszula LEDÓCHOWSKA (canonized by Pope John Paul II, May 18, 2003); and the niece of Cardinal Mieczysław LEDÓCHOWSKI. After living at Salzburg in the court of the grand duchess of Tuscany (1885–90), Countess Ledóchowska came under the influence of Cardinal Charles LAVIGERIE and dedicated herself entirely to the abolition of slavery and to the evangelization of Africa. In 1894 she founded a religious congregation to aid the missions of Africa directly or indirectly. For the

remainder of her life she acted as the sodality's superior general. She recognized the importance of the press for the mission apostolate and started the periodical *Echo of Africa.* The polyglot printing plants that she established have published millions of copies of catechisms and other religious works in native languages.

SEE ALSO AFRICA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MISSION AND MISSIONS; SLAVERY, III (HISTORY OF).

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LEDÓCHOWSKA, URSZULA (URSULA), ST.

Baptized Julia Maria, foundress of the Ursuline Sisters of the Heart of Jesus in Agony; b. Loosdorf, Austria, April 17, 1865; d. Rome, Italy, May 29, 1939; beatified June 20, 1983; canonized May 18, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

The second of nine children born to Count Antonius Kalka-Ledóchowski and Countess Josephine Salis-Zizers, Ursula Ledóchowska grew up in a pious household. Her siblings included Bl. Maria Teresa LEDÓCHOWSKA and Wladimir LEDÓCHOWSKI, and one of her uncles was Cardinal Mieczysław LEDÓCHOWSKI.

With her father's blessing, given just before his death in 1885, Ursula joined the Ursuline convent in Kraków on August 18, 1886. She spent more than twenty years there, the last few as prioress of the convent (1904–1907). During this time, Ursula was active in the education of the young and founded Poland's first boarding-house for female students after the universities were opened to women.

In 1907 Ursula left Kraków to work in St. Petersburg, Russia, where she established a convent and a boarding school for Polish girls, all while under surveillance from the Russian secret police. She was forced to leave Russia in 1914 at the outbreak of WORLD WAR I, and she spent the war years in the countries of Scandinavia, contributing to the ecumenical movement through her contacts with Protestant leaders. During this period, Ursula also worked vigorously to promote the welfare of Polish exiles and war victims through lectures on Polish culture, the foundation of small charitable organizations, and other activities.

Ursula returned to the Kraków convent in 1920. Her work during the war had focused on the education of the poor and infirm, and she recognized that this work had led her apostolate to diverge from that of the Kraków convent, which ministered mainly to women from better-off families. Ursula therefore founded a new autonomous congregation that would be better able to continue her apostolate, the Ursuline Sisters of the Heart of Jesus in Agony (or the "Gray Ursulines"), at Pniewy, near Poznań. The order's spirituality centers on contemplating Christ's saving love and participating in his mission of service to others. After receiving papal approbation (conditionally in 1923, permanently in 1930), the Gray Ursulines spread throughout Poland and beyond. The HOLY SEE eventually called Ursula to Rome, where she inspired many Catholic institutions and where she died. In his HOMILY at her canonization Mass in 2003, John Paul II praised St. Ursula as "an apostle of the new evangelization" in her own era, "demonstrating a constant timeliness, creativity, and the effectiveness of Gospel love by her life and action."

Feast: May 29.

SEE ALSO POLAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); URSULINES.

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LEDÓCHOWSKI, WLADIMIR

Superior general of the JESUITS; b. Loosdorf, Austria, Oct. 7, 1866; d. Rome, Dec. 13, 1942.

He was the son of Count Antonius Kalka-Ledóchowski, the brother of Bl. Maria Teresa LEDÓCHOWSKA and St. Urszula LEDÓCHOWSKA (canonized by Pope John Paul II, May 18, 2003), and the nephew of Cardinal Mieczysław LEDÓCHOWSKI. During his secondary school studies at the Theresianum in Vienna, he was a page for the Austrian empress, Elisabeth of Bavaria. After studying law for a year at the University of Kraców, he began to study for the secular priesthood in 1885 at Tarnów and continued then at the GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY in Rome. In 1889 he joined the Jesuits and was ordained in 1894. He was appointed successively writer, superior of the residence in Kraców, and then rector of the college there, vice-provincial (1901) and provincial (1902) of the Galicia province. He acted as assistant for the German assistancy from 1906 until Feb. 11, 1915, when he was elected the 26th superior general of the order. During his term in this post (1915–42) assistancies increased in number from five to eight; provinces, from 26 to 50; missions, from 29 to 46; missionaries, from 971 to 3,785; members from 16,946 to 26,588.

Ledóchowski was responsible also for the new codification of the order's constitutions after the promulgation of the Code of Canon Law; the reorganization of the superior general's curia; changes in the *Ratio Studiorum*; the notable impetus given to the Jesuit institutions of higher studies in Rome, including the Pontifical Oriental Institute and the Russian College (which was confided to the Jesuits during Ledóchowski's generalate); the promotion of publications, especially scientific ones; the vigorous impulse to the work of the SPIRITUAL EXERCISES, to sodalities of the Blessed Virgin, and to the APOSTLESHIP OF PRAYER. His numerous letters and instructions to Jesuits promoted IGNATIAN SPIRITUALITY. Ledóchowski was noted for keen perception, knowledge of men and of conditions throughout the world, spiritual firmness, and indefatigable labor.

SEE ALSO RATIO STUDIORUM.

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LEGION OF DECENCY

From 1934 through the late 1960s, the Legion of Decency, a voluntary organization established by American Catholic bishops, exercised considerable control over the content of Hollywood films and the choices of the Catholic movie-going public. The legion defended its activities as supporting public morality, but many charged it with censorship.

Efforts to control the content of motion pictures, of course, have not been limited to Catholics. During the early twentieth century, for example, Protestant progressive reformers worried that the violence, lust, and lawlessness portrayed on screen contributed to juvenile delinquency. In response to such concerns, states and cities throughout the country passed laws prohibiting the screening of motion pictures considered threatening to public morality. In *Mutual v. Ohio* (1915), the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the legality of these regulations, thus denying the right of the film industry to unlimited free speech and asserting the right of states and municipalities to enforce community standards of decency.

The "Hays Code." Soon after this decision, the reputation of the film industry suffered from several well-



Legion of Decency *The Legion of Decency council of the Archdiocese of New York met at the Empire State Club, New York City, December 20, 1934, to discuss clean films.* © **BETTMANN/CORBIS**

publicized scandals. Seeking to improve their image and to head off further regulation, the leaders of the industry decided to band together to regulate the content of films themselves. In 1922 they formed the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MMPDA), and Will Hays, a prominent Republican, was hired to direct the new organization. In 1930, Hays introduced the Motion Picture Production Code, or the "Hays Code," which prohibited sympathetic or explicit depictions of crime or sex outside of marriage. Nudity was prohibited, as was lewd dancing and the mockery of religion.

Hays had solicited advice on the code from several prominent Catholics concerned with the morality of Hollywood films including Father Daniel LORD (1888–1955), a drama professor at St. Louis University, and Martin Quigley, a Catholic publisher from Chicago. They were displeased by the tenor of films produced in Hollywood in the early 1930s, especially the sexual innuendo of Mae West movies such as *She Done Him Wrong* (1933) and the violence of gangster films like *Scarface* (1932).

Early History of the Legion. Public concern increased in 1933, when Henry James Forman's book, *Our Movie Made Children*, warned that Hollywood films were creating a new generation of criminals. In response, American bishops took action. They appointed Archbishop John T. McNicholas (1877–1950) of Cincinnati to lead the Catholic Legion of Decency (the official name soon changed to the National Legion of Decency), which was established to cleanse the country of "obscene and lascivious moving pictures" (quoted in Black 1998, p. 22). In January 1934, the Legion of Decency made headlines by threatening to boycott films they considered immoral. Both the Catholic press and the pulpit would be used to enforce their standards.

Anyone could join the Legion of Decency, so long as he or she signed the pledge to "remain away from all

motion pictures except those which did not offend decency and Christian morality" (*Time* 1934). No dues were charged. Protestants and Jews were invited to join, but the vast majority of members were Catholics, whose concentration in urban areas made Hollywood executives particularly concerned about losing audience members for first-run films.

The legion spread quickly across America as local priests encouraged the faithful to stand and take the pledge. Pope PIUS XI endorsed the campaign, urging Catholics to make their decisions about which films to see "a duty of conscience." Within months, the legion claimed 2 million members, organized into diocesan chapters (*Time* 1934). By the summer of 1934, Fox, Paramount, and Warner Brothers all promised to cooperate with the new organization rather than risk a boycott from the nation's 20 million Catholics.

An agreement on a single standard of morality proved difficult to achieve, however. Within a few years, the legion delegated the task of judging films to the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae (IFCA), which had been producing a "white list" of films suitable for Catholic viewers since the 1920s. Under the direction of Mary Looram, a group of female volunteers rated films as either acceptable for all audiences (A1), acceptable for all adults (A2), objectionable (B), or condemned (C). Catholics were forbidden to view those films that received a "C" rating. However, final judgment rested with the Catholic hierarchy and with the male directors of the legion, who occasionally overrode the recommendations of the IFCA.

Father John McClafferty became the director of the legion's national office in 1937, but Martin Quigley remained its most powerful figure. Based in New York, the legion worked closely with the movie industry's own Production Code Administration (PCA) to prevent the production and distribution of offensive films. Hollywood producers whose films received a "C" rating could negotiate with the legion to remove the offending material. Scenes might be inserted or deleted, dialogue altered, or a prologue or epilogue added to frame the film in morally acceptable terms. Famous films changed to conform to the demands of the legion included *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951), *Baby Doll* (1956), *Suddenly Last Summer* (1959), and *Lolita* (1962).

Burstyn v. Wilson. Few Hollywood films needed changes, however, because most writers, directors, and producers worked within the constraints set by the PCA and the Legion of Decency. But these self-imposed standards did not apply to foreign films. In December 1950, the Legion of Decency condemned *The Miracle*, a short film by the Italian director Roberto Rossellini about a peasant woman who believes she is an incarnation of the Virgin Mary and has become pregnant through an immaculate conception. The legion waged an aggressive campaign against the Manhattan theater showing the film. In response, Edward T. McCaffrey, the city commissioner of licenses, banned the film as "blasphemous," and the New York State Board of Regents revoked the permit to display the film (Parke 1950, p. 21).

Joseph Burstyn, the distributor of Rossellini's film, appealed the actions of the state, and the case eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1952, the Court ruled in *Burstyn v. Wilson* that films could not be banned because censors deemed them sacrilegious. This and subsequent court decisions undermined the legal basis for censorship and made the Legion of Decency appear manipulative and overreaching. In the early 1950s, cultural critics such as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. began questioning the need for censorship. Leaders of the legion responded by hardening their stance, warning that Catholics who attended condemned movies were committing a sin.

The cultural climate in the nation continued to change, however, and moderate Catholic priests, writers, and laypeople began to doubt the judgment of the legion. In 1956, Hollywood moguls agreed to a less-restrictive production code. In 1957, Pope PIUS XII issued *Miranda prorsus*, an encyclical urging Catholics to take a more positive approach to film and other media as a means of education. As a result, the legion's negative approach began to seem more and more outdated.

In order to make itself appear more moderate, the Legion of Decency made several attempts at reform. In 1965, for example, its name was changed to the National Catholic Office for Motion Pictures (NCOMP). The power of the organization continued to decline, however, and many priests no longer found it appropriate have their parishioners swear to follow the revised pledge suggested by the NCOMP. In 1966, Hollywood adopted its own rating system.

At the height of its power, the League of Decency exerted a remarkable degree of influence over the production, distribution, and viewing of films in America. In the 1930s and 1940s, it succeeded in identifying Catholic morality with American values. By the late 1950s, however, this association began to fray and the Legion of Decency seemed increasingly out of touch with a nation less tolerant of censorship. Yet some Catholics continue to be concerned by the moral content of Hollywood films. In the beginning of the twenty-first century, the UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS continues to rate films as to their acceptability for Catholic audiences.

SEE ALSO MODERN MEDIA AND THE CHURCH; MODESTY; MORAL EDUCATION; MORALITY.

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LIBERALISM

Derived from the Latin word for *freedom*, liberalism has been in many ways the dominant political and social philosophy of the modern Western world since the time of the French Revolution. Although the roots of the idea of freedom lie with the ancient Greeks, it was primarily during the ENLIGHTENMENT (eighteenth century) that the concept became central to Western thought. In many ways the founder of liberalism was John LOCKE, who argued that government exists to protect the liberties of the citizens and is therefore answerable to the citizens.

Locke defined *liberties* in a concrete, English way—life, liberty, and property—whereas the French Enlightenment (e.g., VOLTAIRE, CONDORCET, and ROUSSEAU) formulated *liberty* as an abstract concept that led to the revolutionary slogan "liberty, equality, fraternity!" To some extent liberalism has always been divided between these two concepts—"negative" liberty conceived as freedom from undue restraint, "positive" liberty as the ability to fulfill one's aspirations.

Development. The FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789–1799) exposed the danger of this abstract idea of freedom, in that the achievement of liberty required the suppression of everyone deemed to be its enemies, thereby justifying one of the most tyrannical regimes in Western history. Almost simultaneously, however, the American Revolution (1775–1783) produced the first successful example of a liberal polity.

Despite the fact that the Congress of Vienna in 1815 tried to restore the Old Regime as it was before the French Revolution, the movement now called liberalism remained in many ways the dominant influence in Western life for over a century. At a minimum it meant representative government that was respectful of the natural rights of its citizens. Some liberals, distrustful of the masses, thought that liberty was incompatible with DEMOCRACY, but the movement came to encompass everything from democracy to constitutional MONARCHY. Although separation of CHURCH AND STATE was not a universal liberal goal, FREEDOM OF RELIGION was. Liberalism was to a great extent a movement of the burgeoning middle class, who rejected the idea of hereditary privilege and celebrated self-determination.

The Anglo-Saxon tradition, epitomized by John Stuart MILL, pursued liberty incrementally, primarily through parliamentary institutions, but in other places it was not easily attained, as in the largely unsuccessful attempts at revolution in half a dozen countries in 1848. In France it was only with the overthrow of NAPOLEON III in 1871 that a truly liberal regime could be said to exist, while the movement made only limited gains in Germany, Spain, and other countries.

Taking the Enlightenment idea of progress virtually for granted, liberalism largely dismissed traditional beliefs and institutions as outmoded by holding that political liberty, intellectual freedom, and economic development would permit human existence to improve inexorably, a belief that seemed confirmed by dramatic technological progress.

Divisions. Liberalism had a complex relationship to nationalism, in that, as in Germany, the latter movement demanded freedom from traditional political dynasties but often patriotically supported authoritarian regimes once nationhood had been achieved. Liberalism also had an ambivalent relationship with imperialism, especially because England was both the leading liberal nation of the nineteenth century and the head of the greatest empire in the world. In Germany liberals in 1848 espoused nationalism under the authoritarian king of Prussia in order to achieve political unity. Some liberals opposed imperialism on the grounds that it deprived the colonial peoples of those liberties that the mother country claimed for itself, whereas others justified the system on the grounds that colonial peoples had to be kept in tutelage until they learned liberal principles of self-government.

At its core liberalism developed as an economic philosophy, variously known as "classical liberalism,"

"*laissez-faire*," and the "free market," based on the belief that, just as government ought not to dictate to people about religion or politics, so also it ought not to interfere with their economic activity. The Scottish philosopher Adam SMITH particularly articulated this idea, on the assumption that individuals best knew their own interests and should be left free to pursue those interests through unrestricted trading—the "law of supply and demand." Classical liberalism coincided with the Industrial Revolution and justified allowing the new system to develop unhampered by government regulation. Liberals also advocated *free trade*, by which they meant international markets unimpeded by tariffs.

The liberal understanding of freedom expanded throughout the nineteenth century, the most notable instance being the abolition of slavery throughout the West. In most liberal states universal male suffrage was achieved around the middle of the century, although female suffrage was delayed until the early twentieth.

The technological developments of the nineteenth century for the first time made it possible to alleviate many of the root causes of suffering. Although some classical liberals sternly insisted that poverty was inevitable according to the iron laws of the marketplace, the liberal spirit also gave birth to a new humanitarianism that was increasingly sensitive to social evils—slavery, child abuse, mistreatment of the insane, educational inequality, cruelty to animals, disease, destitution—and mounted organized efforts to mitigate them—all of which were to be alleviated through laws and by private philanthropy. To some extent demands for social reform that, of necessity, interfered with the free market placed orthodox classical liberals on the defensive.

Some liberals argued that war was caused mainly by outmoded dynastic rivalries and could be avoided through enlightened diplomacy and international trade. Ironically, sometimes it seemed necessary to go to war to defend liberal values. Thus Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924) justified American involvement in the First World War (1914–1918) to "make the world safe for democracy," and the post-war settlement was based on liberal principles, such as the dismemberment of defeated empires, self-determination for their former subjects, compulsory democracy in the former monarchies of Germany and Austria, and a League of Nations that promoted international cooperation.

Crises. But the Great War—the greatest carnage the world had yet seen, when the vaunted gains of technology became instruments of unimaginable destruction—also shook liberal confidence in progress, and overall the era between the two world wars was not a good time for liberalism. The Soviet Union, a country that had scarcely any liberal tradition at all, and Germany and Italy, where that tradition had been weak, created the distinctively modern phenomenon of totalitarianism—political control over every aspect of people's lives. Communism condemned liberal freedom as a mere cloak for bourgeois interests, whereas FASCISM was contemptuous of the liberal spirit as sentimental weakness that undermined the individual's loyalty to the nation. The League of Nations proved powerless to stop the aggressions of Fascism and Nazism, against Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Abyssinia, even as liberal Britain and France appeared to lack the will to do so.

The Great Depression (1929–1939) also damaged the credibility of liberalism, in that the free market appeared to have failed. Some Westerners saw the Soviet Union as a model of economic growth and social justice, whereas others regarded Germany and Italy as models of efficiency. Both wondered whether history had advanced to the point where liberal values had to be sacrificed for greater goods such as order and prosperity.

Redefinition. The tension between humanitarianism and the free market was exacerbated by the Depression, resulting in a revolution in the very meaning of liberalism, a shift from "negative" freedom as the absence of government control to a "positive" concept of governmental action on behalf of those in need. Economic institutions thus came to be viewed as more oppressive than government. The welfare state that provided for people's needs through pensions, medical services, and unemployment insurance had originally been a paternalistic conservative idea in the nineteenth century, but it now became the centerpiece of liberalism, almost the exact opposite of what liberalism had originally meant.

Both liberalism and conservatism then emerged as variations of liberalism. Classical conservatism, based on hereditary monarchy and ARISTOCRACY, had largely disappeared in the West, thus most so-called conservatives were actually the heirs of classical liberalism. The welfare state came to be generally accepted, with disagreements mainly over its scope.

In World War II (1939–1945) the Allies defined the issues in liberal terms—personal freedom versus dictatorship—so that the defeat of fascism gave liberalism a new life. During the Cold War that followed, the essential issue remained the same and, while some liberals remained enamored of communism, anti-communism was mainly a liberal phenomenon.

Liberalism and the Church. Historically, the Catholic reaction to liberalism was often negative, because it was seen as an assertion of human freedom against divine LAW, a perception strongly reinforced by the brutalities of the French Revolution. Union of Church and state and the divine authority of social hierarchy were often taken for granted by Catholics. A few, such as Félicité

de LAMENNAIS, attempted to formulate a Catholic liberalism, but Joseph de MAISTRE, who blamed the disasters of the revolutionary era on the rejection of the divine order embodied in the Church, was more representative. The popes of the time mainly saw liberalism in its continental manifestations, where exaltations of freedom were often accompanied by such things as the curtailment of religious schools; thus PIUS IX condemned many of the doctrines of liberalism in *The Syllabus of Errors* (1864).

But although LEO XIII warned American Catholics against an uncritical view of democracy, he also encouraged Catholic participation in democratic politics. Paradoxically, although liberals viewed the Church as politically reactionary, the Church's criticism of liberal economic doctrines made it seem radical, as in Leo's *Rerum novarum* (1891), which condemned the unrestrained free market and upheld the rights of labor. To some extent Catholics viewed capitalism as a disordered acquisitiveness akin to the pride that had rejected traditional institutions.

From the beginning liberalism aroused the suspicion that it required philosophical skepticism or RELATIVISM, that its concept of freedom was empty, and that it could not identify basic human good. Some liberals considered any concept of absolute truth as dangerous—something that gave continental liberalism its anti-religious character—but liberalism was also justified on pragmatic grounds, as a public order that respected everyone's rights and was compatible with a variety of beliefs. Liberals in Anglo-Saxon countries have often been religious believers. The Church and liberal society achieved a theological rapprochement in the Second Vatican Council's *Decree on Religious Liberty*, which for the first time set forth a distinctively Catholic theory of political freedom, based not on skepticism but on a metaphysical understanding of freedom as essential to human dignity.

Contemporary Liberalism. The worldwide rebellion of the 1960s marked another major crisis for liberalism, as a renewed Marxism denounced liberalism for practicing "repressive tolerance" on behalf of entrenched interests, and liberals often responded by acknowledging the truth of the charges. Historically, liberalism was often criticized as excessively individualistic, of being unable to understand the importance of community in people's lives. Now liberals elevated the idea of equality above that of liberty, deemphasizing individual liberty, treating members of racial, ethnic, or gender groups equally, and advocating programs to achieve specific results for such groups, programs that in turn produced a conservative backlash.

The New Left also included a strong anti-religious element, so that contemporary liberalism, even in the Anglo-Saxon countries, became increasingly antipathetic to the influence of religion in public life. Until the later twentieth century, mainstream liberalism had little to do with ABORTION, CONTRACEPTION, DIVORCE, and HOMOSEXUALITY, but all such social issues were now defined by liberals as fundamental human rights, even as some liberal theorists, such as Amy Gutmann (1949–), justified the curtailment of religious liberty on behalf of Enlightenment values. The twenty-first-century crisis in liberalism thus became whether it could continue to uphold universal freedom or whether it would become merely one ideology among others.

SEE ALSO ANIMALS, RIGHTS OF; CHURCH, HISTORY OF, IV (LATE MODERN: 1789–2002); CONSERVATISM AND LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL; ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL THOUGHT, PAPAL (SINCE LEO XIII); ENLIGHTENMENT, PHILOSOPHY OF; FREEDOM, INTELLECTUAL; FREEDOM, SPIRITUAL; HUMAN RESPECT; LIBERALISM, RELIGIOUS; LIBERALISM, THEOLOGICAL; POLITICS, CHURCH AND; RERUM NOVARUM; SLAVERY, III (HISTORY OF); SOCIAL THOUGHT, CATHOLIC; SYLLABUS OF ERRORS; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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LIMBO

Limbo is a word derived from the Latin *limbus*, literally meaning the *hem* or *border* as of a garment. The word is not employed by the Fathers, nor does it appear in Scripture. Since the thirteenth century, theologians have used the term to designate the state and place either of those righteous souls destined for salvation who could not enter heaven before the REDEMPTION (the limbo of the fathers) or of those souls who likewise do not deserve eternal torment but are eternally excluded from the beatific vision because of original sin alone (the children's limbo).

The Limbo of the Fathers. Inhabiting the "limbo of the fathers" (our ancestors in the faith) were those who led a righteous life before JESUS' earthly existence and death. They could not enter heaven even though righteous, however, because of ADAM and EVE's sin. This is the limbo (the Hebrew *Sheol*, the Greek *Hades*) referred to in the APOSTLES' CREED—the HELL into which CHRIST descended after his crucifixion. Jesus' experience of a true human death included his entering this realm of the dead, but his descent there redeemed the just and brought them to salvation. The "limbo of the fathers" explains how the righteous who died before Christ's death could eventually attain salvation, while maintaining that their salvation depended upon and was effected by Christ's death.

The Limbo of Children. The consensus of the Church Fathers was that baptism alone, with its remission of ORIGINAL SIN, could save small children in the event of their untimely death. In 385 Pope St. SIRICIUS warned against delaying the baptism of newborn infants, lest through death they should "lose the kingdom [of God]" (cf. Denzinger-Hünermann [D-H] 2005, 184). More emphatically, Pope St. INNOCENT I in 417 denounced as "utterly foolish" the opinion "that infants can be granted the rewards of eternal life even without the grace of baptism" (D-H 2005, 219). In the East, St. Gregory Nazianzen (d. 389) was equally definite that these souls will not be glorified, but added that neither will they suffer the pains of hell. "Not everyone," he argued, "who is not good enough to be honored is bad enough to be punished" (*Oration 40* 381, XXIII). Gregory's teaching, which spread gradually and without controversy throughout the East, eventually gained general acceptance in the West as well. Here, the term *limbo of children* was used from medieval times onward to designate the condition wherein unbaptized infants are deprived of the beatific vision but suffer no "pain of sense" in hell. Pope INNOCENT III affirmed in a letter of 1201 that this deprivation is the punishment for original sin, whereas "the torment of eternal Gehenna" is that which repays actual (mortal) sin (cf. D-H 2005, 780). The Council of FLORENCE (1439) defined that "those who die in actual mortal sin or in original sin only go down to hell without delay, but undergo different punishments" (D-H 2005, 1306). (The term *hell* is understood here to include limbo as its *edge* or *border* [*limbus*].) St. THOMAS AQUINAS held that because those in limbo are unaware that the supernatural bliss of the beatific vision is even possible, their own lack of it causes them no sorrow. Indeed, they will forever enjoy natural happiness (cf. *II Sent., 33, 2,* 2). Francisco SUÁREZ, in his *Commentaria ac Disputationes* on Aquinas' *Summa theologiae*, Part III, eventually developed the most positive view of limbo. He maintained that these persons would rise bodily on the Last Day to live happily as eternally young adults in the new earthly paradise (*Disp.* 50, 5).

The Augustinian Interlude. The arrival at a universal Christian consensus in favor of limbo (with or without that name) was delayed in the West by the fifth-century Pelagian controversy, in which Augustine of Hippo was a leading protagonist. Stressing the reality of original sin in reaction to Pelagius' denial of it, Augustine maintained that the souls of unbaptized infants, despite their lack of personal responsibility, do indeed suffer the pains of hell, although only "very mildly." Owing to St. Augustine's great prestige and his influence on the decrees of the provincial Council of Carthage (418), this view was endorsed by other theologians in the West, where it remained common teaching until the twelfth century. It was then Abelard who challenged this depressing Augustinian scenario and opened the way for the more optimistic thesis described above—a thesis which, in a simpler, less developed form, had gained peaceful currency throughout Eastern Christendom since the Patristic era.

From Trent to Pistoia. The Council of TRENT affirmed that justification "cannot take place without the washing of regeneration or the desire for it" (D-H 2005, 1524); but the Fathers also debated intensely Thomas Cajetan's opinion that this saving "desire" might include that of the parents of a dying unborn child, if one of them blessed it while invoking the Trinity. While no agreement was reached either for or against the orthodoxy of this opinion, the Council's *Catechism* soon afterward repeated the straightforward traditional teaching: "Infants have no means of attaining salvation other than baptism" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church* 2, 2, 33). In 1588 Pope SIXTUS V confirmed this in a Constitution that decreed the death penalty for abortion. A particularly heinous feature of this crime, he declared, was that,

as its "certain outcome," "not only bodies, but—still worse!—even souls, are wantonly sacrificed"; for abortion "excludes [these souls] from the blessed vision of God" (Sixtus V 1923, p. 308). During the following two centuries, theologians attempted to determine exactly what punishment and what happiness (if any) are allotted to unbaptized infants in the next life. The great majority upheld limbo as the infants' destiny; but the influence of JANSENISM led to a revival of Augustinian severity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Once again, certain highly respected Catholic theologians insisted that the fires of hell awaited these infants. The defenders of limbo found their strongest arguments in the teaching of Aquinas and his concept of original sin as a sin of nature and not of the person. As a result they viewed the punishment of original sin and that of personal sin as entirely different. Only personal sin involves a conversion to some forbidden created good that deserves the pain of sense.

Pistoia and the Bull *Auctorem Fidei.* The Jansenists in Italy, however, rejected limbo as a heretical Pelagian fable and insisted that Augustine's stern teaching was revealed truth. This they boldly proclaimed at the Synod of PISTOIA in 1786. ROME's censure of this claim came in Pope PIUS VI's 1794 bull *Auctorem Fidei*, the only magisterial intervention thus far containing the word *limbo*. The history of this document makes it clear that the pope's main purpose was to defend the upholders of limbo from slander, not to insist that it exists. The Jansenists' open denial of limbo was not, as such, censured by Pius VI, only the manner of their denial (cf. D-H 2005, 2626). Nevertheless, *Auctorem Fidei* dealt a *de facto* deathblow to St. Augustine's view, which has rarely been defended since. None of the parties to this dispute, however, questioned the established doctrine that unbaptized infants are definitely excluded from heaven. The only question any Catholic considered legitimate was whether they go to limbo or suffer in hell.

Recent Church Teaching. In the nineteenth century a few theologians, following Cajetan's lead, speculated that God might enable a "baptism of desire" for infants dying without the sacrament. But according to the 1860 Provincial Council of Cologne, whose acts were confirmed by Rome, "faith teaches us (*fides docet*) that infants, since they are not capable of this desire, are excluded from the heavenly kingdom if they die [unbaptized]" (*Collectio Lacensis*, V, col. 320). Nevertheless, uneasiness with this traditional doctrine spread among an increasing number of twentieth-century theologians and ordinary Catholics. Pope PIUS XII reaffirmed in a 1951 allocution that apart from baptism "there is no other way" of communicating the divine life to infants (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 43 [1951], p. 841). But the VATICAN's 1980 *Instruction on Infant Baptism* mitigated this position: "The Church does not know of any way other than baptism" of assuring the salvation of those dying in infancy (article 13). This more agnostic stance is also reflected in the post-Vatican II liturgy. For the first time in Church history rites for the burial of unbaptized infants were approved, as part of Pope PAUL VI's reform. These new texts, accessible in *The Rites of the Catholic Church* (1976), warn against any weakening of "the doctrine of the necessity of baptism" (p. 688) and remain entirely compatible with belief in the natural happiness of limbo; for they do not pray that these infants may enter eternal glory, only that the grieving family may be consoled by their faith that the child is in God's loving care (cf. pp. 719–720). But although these new ROMAN-RITE texts (and similar brief prayers permitted in the Byzantine rite) do not encourage the hope of heaven for unbaptized infants, neither do they rule it out. As the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (*CCC*) puts it, the liturgy expresses the Church's consciousness that she "can only entrust [these infants] to the mercy of God." However, the catechism itself then goes a step further: "Indeed," it affirms:

> the great mercy of God who desires that all men should be saved, and Jesus' tenderness toward children which caused him to say: "Let the children come to me, do not hinder them" (Mk 10:14), allow us to hope that there is a way of salvation for children who have died without Baptism. (*CCC* no. 1261)

Contemporary Theological Discussion. The most important recent theological publication on the destiny of unbaptized infants is a 2007 statement of the INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL COMMISSION (ITC). (Such statements are not magisterial interventions requiring the assent of the faithful; however, the pope, in approving their publication, indicates that they embody theological scholarship held in esteem by the contemporary See of Peter.) The ITC here traces the history of this doctrinal issue and then builds on the *CCC* statement. It argues that it is difficult to reconcile limbo with God's universal salvific will as attested in Scripture and Tradition, and notes in this context Vatican II's affirmation that "the Holy Spirit offers to all the possibility of being made partners, in a way known to God, in the paschal mystery" (*Gaudium et spes*, 22). Although the ITC concludes that there are "serious" reasons for hoping these infants can reach eternal glory, it disclaims any "sure knowledge" that they will do so, and acknowledges that limbo "remains a possible theological opinion." Most Catholic scholars today would undoubtedly support the theological and pastoral approach sug-

gested by the *CCC* and the ITC, but a minority remains unconvinced that the grounds favoring this approach outweigh the strong consensus of earlier patristic, theological, and magisterial teaching that these infants do not attain the beatific vision. Indeed, several studies upholding limbo have appeared in the new millennium. (The possibility of an eternal state of natural bliss is not treated directly in official Church teaching, and among theologians it is addressed more generally in the discussions of the relationship between nature and grace.) Finally, it can be noted that the proliferation of legalized abortion in recent decades has prompted a new theological debate as to whether all, or at least some, victims of abortion are in fact martyrs (along with the Holy Innocents), who reach salvation by their own "baptism of blood."

Thus, whereas hope for the salvation of infants dying without baptism now prevails among theologians and other Catholics, with cautious support from Church authority, no real consensus exists on their destiny. As the ITC document states, this is something that "simply has not been revealed to us." What all orthodox Catholics do agree on is that only baptism can assure that those who die before attaining the use of reason can enter into eternal beatitude, so the sacrament should not be delayed for newborn infants (cf. *CCC*, 1250, 1257).

SEE ALSO Abelard, Peter; Auctorem Fidei; Augustine, St.; Beatific Vision; Carthage, Councils of; Catechism of the Catholic Church; Descent of Christ into Hell; Fathers of the Church; Gehenna; Hades; Pelagius and Pelagianism; Sheol; Trinity, Holy; Vatican Council II.

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LINCOLN, ABRAHAM

American president; b. Hodgenville, Kentucky, February 12, 1809; d. Washington, D.C., April 15, 1865.

Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth president of the United States (1861–1865), is generally considered the greatest chief executive that the country has ever had. Without a formal education, he rose to be an outstanding lawyer and a leading politician in his home state of Illinois and later in the nation, first as a Whig and then as a Republican. Once elected to the presidency, he succeeded not only in saving the Union with a military victory over the Southern secessionists in the Civil War, but also, with his excellent sense of timing, in freeing the nation's slaves. Those slaves living in the conquered areas of the Confederacy were freed by his Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, 1862, and the rest of the nation's slaves were permanently freed by the Thirteenth Amendment, which he actively supported in December and January of 1864–1865. His assassination

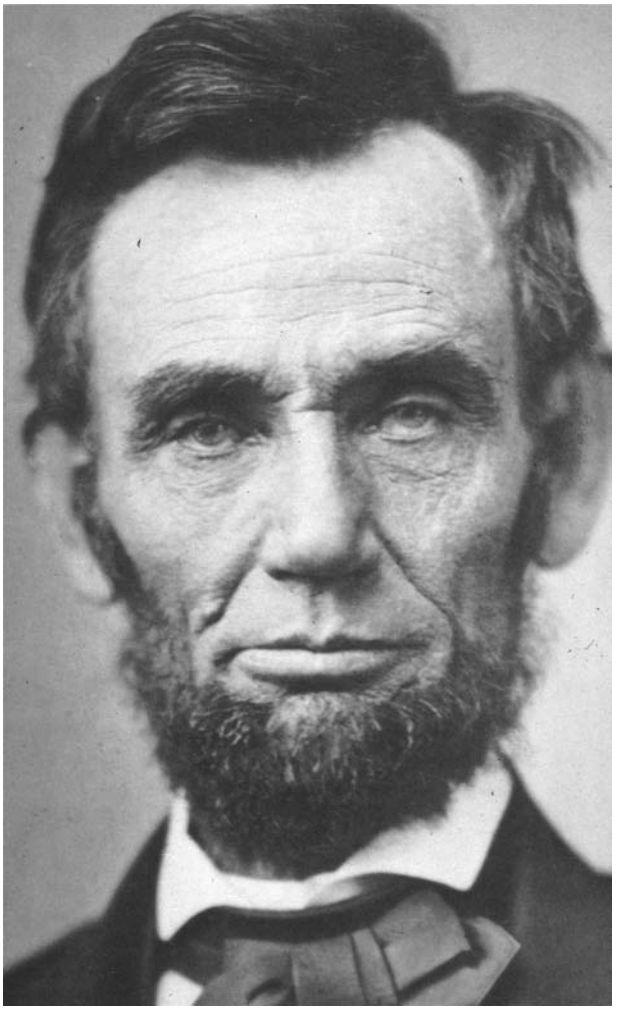
shortly after the final Union victory at Appomattox not only made him a revered martyr but also assured his everlasting fame.

Lincoln's relations with Roman Catholics, though minimal, were always friendly. At a time when anti-Catholic bigotry was widespread, and even led to riots, he never hesitated to condemn it and stood out as an opponent of bigotry. On June 12, 1844, for example, while he was an active Whig, he appeared in his hometown of Springfield, Illinois, at a public meeting called to condemn the recent anti-Catholic riots in Philadelphia. He clearly outlined the subject of the meeting, which was to discuss the party's lack of response to the riots. It was on his motion that a powerful anti-bigotry resolution was adopted, which stated,

> That the guarantee of the rights of conscience, as found in our Constitution, is most sacred and inviolable, and one that belongs no less to the CATHOLIC, than to the Protestant; and that all attempts to abridge or interfere with those rights, either of Catholic or Protestant, directly or indirectly, have our decided disapprobation, and shall ever have our most effective opposition. (Basler 1953–1954, vol. 2, p. 234)

In the meantime, the anti-Catholics, after forming a number of political groups, started a secret society in 1949. Whenever they were asked about this group, they would reply, "I know nothing." Soon labeled the "Know Nothings," this virulent antiforeign and anti-Catholic organization formed the American Party, though it became known as the Know-Nothing Party. Again and again, Lincoln expressed his dislike of the organization. In a speech given on September 26, 1854, in Bloomington, Illinois, he not only said he knew nothing about the group, but that, if such an organization existed, and had for its object the interference with the rights of foreigners, his opponent, Democratic Judge Stephen A. Douglas, who favored the Kansas-Nebraska Act, could not deprecate it more severely than he himself. Then, on August 11, 1855, he wrote to the antislavery advocate Owen Lovejoy concerning the Know Nothings. In his letter he wrote, "I do not perceive how any one professing to be sensitive to the wrong of the negroes, can join in a league to degrade a class of white men" (Basler 1953–1954, vol. 2, p. 316). He put it more strongly on August 24 of that year, when he sent a letter to his friend Joshua Speed in which he said:

> I am not a Know-Nothing. That is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes, be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that "*all men are created equal*." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, *except negroes*." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read, "all men are created equal, except negroes, *and foreigners, and Catholics*." When it comes to this, I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretence of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocracy [*sic*]. (Basler 1953–1954, vol. 2, p. 323)



Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865). *Served as the 16th President of the United States.* **AP IMAGES**

He repeated his hatred for bigotry again and again. In 1859, for example, in a response to the editor of the German-language *Illinois Staats Anzeiger,* Theodore Canisius, who wanted to know his attitude toward the

Massachusetts constitutional amendment requiring a two-year wait after naturalization before obtaining the right to vote, Lincoln stated that he was against its adoption, in Illinois or elsewhere. "Understanding the spirit of our institutions to aim at the elevation of men," he continued, "I am opposed to whatever tends to degrade them. I have some little notoriety for commiserating the oppressed condition of the negroes, and I should be strangely inconsistent if I could favor any project for curtailing the existing rights of white men, even though born in different lands, and speaking different languages from myself" (Basler 1953–1954, vol 3, pp. 380–381). That this included Catholics would seem to be obvious.

The 1856 elections, in which Lincoln was considered for the Republican nomination for vice president, did not interfere with his condemnations of the Know Nothings. On February 22 of that year, at a dinner concluding the Decatur, Illinois, Anti-Nebraska Editors' Convention, while he was trying to unify all elements opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, he expressed his hearty concurrence with the group's resolutions against Know Nothingism and in favor of liberty of conscience and political freedom. He repeated his dislike of the Know Nothings in a speech at Jacksonville on December 26. Two years later, in a letter to Edward Lusk, a farmer and ex-steamboat operator at Meredosia, Illinois, he strongly denied the rumor that he had ever been a member of the organization or its political party. He repeated this denial several times while running for president, including to the Elizabethtown, Kentucky, circuit clerk, Samuel Haycraft, on June 4, and to a Jewish acquaintance, Abraham Jonas, on July 21, 1860.

More positive examples of Lincoln's friendship to Catholics occurred during his presidency. In an October 21, 1861, letter to Archbishop John HUGHES of New York, he asked him for the names of possible candidates for chaplains in hospitals. He also sent the archbishop to Europe as his personal representative to popularize the Union cause in England, France, and at the VATICAN. Pope PIUS IX (1846–1878) was thought to be friendly to the Confederacy, and he corresponded with the Confederate president, Jefferson Davis, making this mission an important one for the Union cause. All in all, then, Lincoln, though not averse to accepting support from former Know Nothings, was free from bigotry, condemned anti-Catholicism, and practiced the tolerance that he preached.

SEE ALSO ANTI-CATHOLICISM (UNITED STATES); KNOW-NOTHINGISM; UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE PAPACY.

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LITTLE BROTHERS OF JESUS

(LBJ) This religious congregation with simple, perpetual vows, was founded in 1933 by Father René Voillaume in South Oran, Algeria. It was made a diocesan congregation in 1936 by Bishop Nouet, Prefect Apostolic of Ghardaïa, Algeria. Its ideals are those of Bl. Charles de FOUCAULD (beatified on November 13, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI). In their apostolate the Little Brothers seek to conform to the economic and social milieu where they live. Their stress is on manual labor among the laboring classes. They dwell in communities of three to five members and work mostly in factories and fisheries, among the poor and marginalized. The Little Brothers had established communities in Europe, Africa, Asia, and South and North America.

SEE ALSO APOSTOLATE AND SPIRITUAL LIFE.

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LITTLE MISSIONARY SISTERS OF CHARITY

(In Italian, *Piccole Suore Missionarie della Carità,* LMSC, Official Catholic Directory #2290) This congregation, with papal approval (1957), was founded at Tortona, Italy, in 1915 by St. Luigi ORIONE (canonized by Pope John Paul II on May 16, 2004) as a part of his program called the Little Work of Divine Providence. The

purpose of the congregation was to perform works of charity among the poor, orphaned, aged, and the mentally and physically handicapped. The sisters are engaged in teaching, nursing, and social and catechetical work in Italy, Poland, Spain, England, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Brazil. The sisters first arrived in the U.S. in 1949. The general motherhouse is in Rome. Don Orione founded a cloistered branch within the community when, in 1927, he organized the Perpetual Adorers of the Most Blessed Sacrament. This group is made up of blind persons who live a contemplative life, devoted mainly to prayer before the Blessed Sacrament.

SEE ALSO CHARITY, WORKS OF; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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LITTLE SISTERS OF THE POOR

(LSP, Official Catholic Directory #2340) The Congregation of the Little Sisters of the Poor was founded in 1839 at St. Servan, Brittany, France, by St. Jeanne JUGAN (canonized Oct. 11, 2009 by Pope Benedict XVI). The spirit of the Congregation is that of humility, evangelical simplicity, and confidence in Divine Providence. Its apostolate is the care of the elderly poor.

St. Jugan, a 47-year-old Cancalaise woman, founded the Congregation some time during the winter of 1839 when she opened her small St. Servan apartment to an elderly, blind, paralyzed woman who had no one to care for her. Jeanne and Françoise Aubert, a pious woman with whom she shared her apartment, soon welcomed a second woman; by 1843 there were forty old women under their care, and the group had moved to larger accommodations. Three young women came to help with the work, and they were aided materially by sympathetic persons in the community. In 1841 Jeanne herself began the practice of going from town-to-town and door-to-door to beg alms for her poor. In 1842 Jugan was elected superior of the young community, which adopted the name "Servants of the Poor." This name changed to "Sisters of the Poor" in 1844, and then "Little Sisters of the Poor" in 1849.

As the community grew, the work quickly spread to other towns and cities in France and beyond. Formal diocesan approbation was given by the bishop of Rennes in 1852, and papal approbation was accorded by Pope PIUS IX on July 9, 1854. At that time the Congregation numbered 500 Little Sisters and 36 houses, including foundations in England and Belgium. The motherhouse was established at La Tour St. Joseph, in the village of St. Pern, in 1856. The Constitutions of the Congregation were approved by Pope LEO XIII on March 1, 1879. Jugan died at La Tour St. Joseph on August 29 of the same year. She was beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II in Rome on Oct. 3, 1982.

The first American foundation of the Congregation was made in Brooklyn, New York, in 1868. Within four years, thirteen homes were established in the United States. At the end of the 20th century, there were more than 30 homes in North America. Worldwide, there were about 3,600 Little Sisters caring for the elderly in 30 countries in addition to the United States: Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Benin, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Congo, England, France, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Italy, Kenya, Malaysia, Malta, New Caledonia, New Zealand, Nigeria, Portugal, Scotland, Singapore, South Korea, Spain, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Turkey, and Western Samoa. As of 2009 there were 2,773 sisters in 205 homes located in 32 countries (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 487).

The Little Sisters practice the three traditional vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, and a special fourth vow of HOSPITALITY, by which they devote their lives solely to the care of the aged poor. An association of consecrated lay women, known as the Fraternity Jeanne Jugan, was begun in 1958 for those who wished to collaborate closely with the Little Sisters in their apostolate while retaining their lay status. This collaboration with the laity was expanded in 1998, with the approbation of statutes for a new initiative, the Association Jeanne Jugan, which offers to lay men and women the opportunity of sharing in the spirit and apostolate of the Little Sisters of the Poor and of deepening their Christian faith.

The Congregation is governed by a Superior General and a Council of six Assistants General. Each of the 20 provinces is governed by a Provincial Superior, in close collaboration with the Superior General and her Council. Provincial houses for the United States are located in Queens Village, NY, Baltimore, MD, and Palatine, IL.

SEE ALSO APOSTOLATE AND SPIRITUAL LIFE; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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LIVIERO, CARLO (CHARLES), BL.

Founder of the Little Servants of the Sacred Heart; Bishop of Città di Castello, Italy, from 1910 until his death; known by parishioners as "hammer of socialism"; b. May 29, 1866, Vicenza, Italy; d. July 7, 1932, Fano, Pesaro, Italy. Beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI, May 27, 2007, Città di Castello, Italy.

When Charles was a young child, his father, a railroad worker, was transferred to Monselice, Padua Province. There Charles attended elementary and junior high school, and at age fifteen he entered Padua Seminary. Ordained at the young age of twenty-two, he was sent to Gallio, Vicenza, where he worked for ten years as a parish priest and taught youth who were discerning vocations to the priesthood. He instituted a number of social programs including the Catholic Agricultural Workers Society, a nursery school, and the Mutual Aid Society.

In 1900 he was transferred to Agna nella Bassa Padovanna, Padua, an area experiencing harsh economic conditions. Charles continued to promote his social assistance initiatives but he also established an oratory, a Christian workers association, and a young women's work-training school. On March 6, 1910, at age forty-three, he was consecrated Bishop of Città di Castello, and he founded a Catholic elementary school, a Catholic press, and numerous spiritual and charitable works in the fields of education, health care, and housing. His episcopal coat of arms bore the motto: "*In Caritate Christi*," indicating it was from Christ's love that he drew his love for others and for his ministry. In 1915 he founded the Sacred Heart Home for the education of the poor and orphaned youth, and in 1919 a Catholic bookstore opened which offered a circular library. By 1920 a student hostel was opened, and five years later a diocesan home for the care of orphans suffering from tuberculosis and rickets was established in Pesaro. An information bulletin was also established for his diocesan priests.

Deeply concerned for the poor throughout his life, the bishop was known to hear the voices of the poor while in prayer, and he kept them as his focus in building the Kingdom of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. He was open to all people throughout his life, until it was cut short by a serious automobile accident. Injuries from the accident, which occurred on June 24, 1932, resulted in his death two weeks later in Fano.

Liviero's BEATIFICATION was recognized Pope Benedict XVI and celebrated by Cardinal José Saraiva Martins in the cathedral of Città di Castello, Italy.

Feast: July 7.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; SOCIAL JUSTICE.

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LLUCH, JUANA MARÍA CONDESA, BL.

Foundress, Handmaids of the Immaculate Conception, Protectress of Workers, Valencia, Spain; b. March 30, 1862, Valencia; d. January 16, 1916, Valencia; beatified March 23, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

A daughter of privilege, Juana María demonstrated great piety toward the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Mother at an early age. Through her own devotion and the sound principles instilled in her by her parents, Juana María developed an understanding of the terrible toll that poverty was taking on workers in the newly industrialized Spain.

She had long felt the call to consecrate herself to God, but at eighteen she became convinced that she should form a congregation to serve the increasing

numbers of poor who were coming to the cities to look for work. These humble people could not make a living in rural areas. In a time before the rise of trade unions and government protections, they were subjected to inhumane conditions by factory bosses. Women, who were forced by circumstance to leave their families to work, were also exposed to sexual aggression and assault; Juana María felt a special empathy for them.

The archbishop of Valencia, Cardinal Antolín Monescillo, would not allow Juana María to start a congregation, but she was allowed to open a shelter in 1884. Here she provided temporal and spiritual assistance to the oppressed workers, and shortly thereafter she started a school for the children who lived at the shelter. Juana María was joined by women who shared her desire to help workers find the self-esteem denied them in the workplace, and she continued to petition the Church hierarchy for permission to officially establish the community. In 1892 the Congregation of the Handmaids of the Immaculate Conception, Protectress of Workers, largely composed of Juana María's compatriots at the shelter, was approved by the Diocese of Valencia. The members of the order took first vows in 1895 and perpetual vows in 1911.

The Handmaids of the Immaculate Conception, Protectress of Workers established themselves in cities throughout Spain. Long after Mother Juana María's death in 1916, the congregation received provisional approval by Pope PIUS XI in 1937. In 1947 the order was given official recognition by the Holy See. In beatifying her, Pope John Paul II said Mother Juana María "united herself to an assiduous prayer," and he noted that the congregation continues her mission to support working women.

Feast: January 16.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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LONGHIN, ANDREW (ANDREA) HYACINTH, BL.

Baptized Hyacinth Bonaventure, bishop, Treviso, Italy; b. November 23, 1863, Fiumicello di Campodarsego, Italy; d. June 26, 1936, Treviso; beatified October 20, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Andrew was the child of poor Paduan farmers, Matthew and Judith Marin. On August 27, 1879, he entered religious training at the Capuchin seminary in Bassano del Grappa, taking the name Andrew of Campodarsego. He studied the humanities and THEOLOGY at schools in Padua and Venice. On June 19, 1886, Andrew was ordained a Capuchin friar.

A natural teacher, Fr. Andrew was assigned to the seminary at Udine. He became director of Capuchin teachers at Padua in 1889 and director of theology students at Venice in 1891. He was the spiritual director for the order's seminarians for eighteen years. In 1902 Fr. Andrew was elected provincial minister of the 200 Capuchins at Venice.

Pope PIUS X selected Fr. Andrew to be Bishop of Treviso during a private audience in early April 1904; he was elevated on April 14 of that year. Eager to understand his new constituency, Bishop Longhin undertook an almost five-year pastoral visit to the diocesan parishes. He implemented a series of reforms and policies, including ones that raised the level of education in seminaries and encouraged religious orders to take up their work in the Treviso diocese. He embraced the many lay movements that championed social reform, particularly the rights of farm workers and others to form unions. Two additional pastoral visits followed in 1912 and 1926, the former being interrupted by WORLD WAR I.

Treviso was the site of fierce fighting and aerial attacks during the war. Bishop Longhin provided spiritual and temporal support for the afflicted population. He avoided partisanship and attempted to ease suffering in every quarter. His unwillingness to align himself, and the Church, with any faction resulted in later criticism and even the imprisonment of priests who worked at his side. Undaunted, he dedicated himself to rebuilding and ultimately was awarded honors, including the Military Cross, for his brave acts during the conflict. He was named Apostolic Visitor to Padua (1923) and Udine (1927) in the hope of reconciling clergy in the bitter postwar years.

The end of the war signaled the rise of FASCISM in Italy, and Catholic organizations came under attack. Bishop Longhin continued his outspoken support for Franciscan values, Catholic social reform, and the rights of workers. He was increasingly at odds with the new

government, but he remained committed to his faith and Church teachings. Pope John Paul II remembered him as "the bishop of essential things" and noted his dedication to his people and priests, "particularly in moments of difficulty and danger."

Feast: June 26.

SEE ALSO DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; FRIARS; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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LÓPEZ DE MATURANA, MARGARITA MARÍA, BL.

Baptized Pilar, foundress, MERCEDARIAN MISSIONARIES OF BERRIZ, Berriz, Spain; b. July 25, 1884, at Bilbao, Spain; d. July 23, 1934, at Berriz; beatified October 22, 2006, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Born to Vicente López de Maturana and Juana Ortiz de Zarate, Pilar, as she was named at baptism, was one of a pair of twin girls, the youngest of five siblings. To break up a romance that her mother disapproved of, Pilar was sent to a boarding school run by the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy in Berriz. In that environment, Pilar, who had always been a devout young woman, recognized that she had a true vocation. At nineteen, in 1903, she entered the Cloistered Mercedarian Monastery of Vera Cruz in Berriz and assumed the name Margarita Maria. She was assigned to work in the order's boarding school, her own alma mater, in 1906.

After many years of CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE, Sr. Margarita María felt the call to serve by ministering to those who had not received the teachings of Christ. In 1920 she created the Mercedarian Missionary Youth group to raise awareness of the work of missionaries. Many in the Berriz house believed, with Sr. Margarita María, that they were called by God to work in the world. In 1924 the Berriz sisters asked the order's mother general to bring a petition to Rome to allow them to work as missionaries. On January 23, 1926, this request was provisionally granted and the first group of six left the Berriz house on a mission to Wuhu, China, later that year, arriving in November. The second group arrived in Saipan, the Mariana Islands, in March 1928. In 1927 Sr. Margarita María was named superior, and the following year she led a mission to Ponape Island, Japan.

The Holy See approved the transformation of the Berriz house into a missionary institute in 1930. On July 30 of that year, at the first General Chapter, Mother Margarita María was designated the mother superior of the newly recognized Mercedarian Missionaries of Berriz. She traveled widely in the years before her death.

In the twenty-first century, the Mercedarian Missionaries of Berriz consider themselves to be "citizens of the world" and are established on five continents. In his homily during the Mass of BEATIFICATION, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins said that Mother Margarita María helped to show, by her example, how to "open new horizons to evangelization and to take the path of holiness and faithfulness."

Feast: July 25.

SEE ALSO CHINA, CHRISTIANITY IN; JAPAN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MERCEDARIANS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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LOZANO GARRIDO, MANUEL, BL.

Also known as Lolo; layman; b. August 9, 1920, Linares, Jaén, Spain; d. November 3, 1971, Linares, Jaén, Spain; declared VENERABLE by Pope BENEDICT XVI, December 17, 2007.

As a youth, Manuel Lozano Garrido loved sports and nature, but greater still was his heart for God. He joined CATHOLIC ACTION when he was eleven and became devoted to the Eucharist. During the Spanish Civil War, he secretly brought Holy Communion to the Catholic prisoners he visited. Once he even hid a host in a bouquet of flowers and spent the night of Holy Thursday in prison alone with it.

Later he began a career as a journalist based in the Jaén Diocese in Spain. He not only wrote news articles, but also expressed his devotion to the Virgin Mary in his personal writing. In his early twenties he developed spondylitis, a disease that resulted in paralysis. Within a year, he was confined to a wheelchair for life. Although it curtailed his missionary endeavors physically, he continued to write as the paralysis spread—first using his left hand when his right became unusable, then later dictating his stories to his sister or to a tape. By age forty-two he was blind, but he still wrote for the Associated Press and for Catholic magazines; he also wrote nine inspirational books and started the magazine *Sinai*.

He was declared venerable by Pope Benedict XVI on December 17, 2007. Then on December 19, 2009, the pope issued a proclamation of a miracle in the cure of Rogelio de Haro Sagra in 1972, and plans were made for Lolo's beatification in 2010. At the time of the publication of this entry, a date had not been set for his beatification.

SEE ALSO EUCHARISTIC DEVOTION; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO; SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939).

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LUDOVICA DE ANGELIS, MARIA, BL.

Baptized Antonina; superior of the Institute of the DAUGHTERS OF OUR LADY OF MERCY and manager of the children's hospital of Buenos Aires, Argentina; b. October 24, 1880, San Gregorio, Abruzzo, Italy; d. February 25, 1962, Buenos Aires, Argentina; beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II, October 3, 2004.

The eldest of eight children, Antonina was a thoughtful and admirable young woman who gave unstintingly in her many family tasks. She delighted in her work in the fields and its reminder of God's seasonal rhythms of planting, growing, and harvesting.

She welcomed and accepted all whom she met. Children held a special place in her heart. This acceptance was to be reflected in her later vocational choice, when in November 1904 she joined the community of the Daughters of Our Lady of Mercy in Savona, Italy. Received as Sr. Maria Ludovica, Antonina was in heartfelt sympathy with the words of the religious community's founder, St. Maria Giuseppa ROSSELLO: "Be merciful as your heavenly Father is merciful"; and, "All that you do [*sic*] the least of my brethren, you do to me."

Three years later, on November 14, 1907, Sr. Ludovica was called to the community's house in Buenos Aires. Here she would give fifty-four years of dedicated service to the Church-directed children's hospital.

Over the years, Sr. Ludovica's tasks would encompass everything from meal preparation to seeking financial assistance to build operating rooms, extra children's rooms, and medical equipment. She established a chapel, a children's convalescent home at Mar del Plata, and a farm that provided nutritious food for her beloved children.

She became manager of the hospital and superior of her community. Always her focus was on those in her charge. Her lifelong guiding maxim—"Do good to all, no matter who it may be"—was a reminder to those with whom she came in contact of God's care and mercy. Sustained by prayer, her ROSARY constantly with her, and radiating a gentle, warm smile, Sr. Ludovica was loved by all.

After her death, the hospital was renamed the "Superior Ludovica Hospital."

At her BEATIFICATION Pope John Paul II said, "*'God did not give us a spirit of timidity but a spirit of power and love and self-control'* (II Tm 1: 7). St Paul's words ... can be aptly applied to the life of Bl. Ludovica De Angelis, whose existence was totally dedicated to the glory of God and the service of her peers."

Feast: February 25.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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LUMINOUS MYSTERIES OF THE ROSARY

On October 16, 2002, the beginning of the twenty-fifth year of his pontificate, JOHN PAUL II issued the Apostolic Letter *Rosarium Virginis Mariae* in which he proclaimed a "Year of the ROSARY," not only to celebrate his favorite prayer but also to revitalize this DEVOTION as an appropriate way to commemorate "the fortieth anniversary of the opening of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council on October 11, 1962." To bring out more fully the Christological depth of the Rosary and to make it a more effective compendium of the GOSPEL, John Paul proposed a fourth series of mysteries that would bridge the gap between the Joyful and the Sorrowful Mysteries. This new series of *Mysteria Lucis*—Mysteries of Light or Luminous Mysteries—would concentrate on five significant moments in the public ministry of Christ, the "light of the world" (Jn 8:12), "when he proclaims the Gospel of the Kingdom":

1. his baptism in the Jordan,
2. his self-manifestation at the wedding of Cana,
3. his proclamation of the KINGDOM OF GOD, with his call to conversion,
4. his TRANSFIGURATION, and finally,
5. his institution of the Eucharist, as the sacramental expression of the Paschal Mystery.

According to John Paul, Mary's counsel at Cana, "Do whatever he tells you" (Jn 2:5), is a "fitting introduction to the words and signs of Christ's public ministry and it forms the Marian foundation of all the 'mysteries of light.'"

When *Rosarium Virginis Mariae* appeared, various press publications indicated that John Paul had based his Luminous Mysteries on the "Mysteries of Light" that were first mentioned in a leaflet published in 1957 by a Maltese priest, George PRECA, for private use by members of his Society of Christian Doctrine. The pope possibly discovered these "Mysteries of Light" when he was preparing for Preca's BEATIFICATION in Malta on May 9, 2001. In his HOMILY for the beatification, John Paul never mentioned the "Mysteries of Light" but praised Preca as a forerunner of Vatican II for his activity in promoting the role of the laity in the apostolate through founding the Society of Christian Doctrine and for his ability to communicate the freshness of the Christian message.

By not mentioning Preca in *Rosarium Virginis Mariae*, John Paul removed the Luminous Mysteries from the category of private devotion. Instead, he presented them within the framework of the new evangelization that originated with Vatican II, "the 'great grace' disposed by the Spirit of God for the Church in our time." There are significant differences between John Paul's mysteries and those of Preca, as can be seen in the wording of Preca's pamphlet:

1. When Our Lord Jesus Christ, after his baptism in the Jordan, was led into the desert.
2. When Our Lord Jesus Christ showed, by word and miracles, that He is true God.
3. When Our Lord Jesus Christ taught the Beatitudes on the mountain.
4. When Our Lord Jesus Christ was transfigured on the mountain.
5. When Our Lord Jesus Christ had his last meal with the apostles.



The Transfiguration. *The Fouth Luminous Mystery. Jesus, transformed in Glory, speaks to Moses and Elijah while Peter, James and John look on.* **THE TRANSFIGURATION, 1594–95 (OIL ON CANVAS), CARRACCI, LODOVICO (1555–1619)/PINACOTECA NAZIONALE, BOLOGNA, ITALY/ALINARI/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY**

In comparing these mysteries to those of John Paul, one sees the pope slightly but significantly modifying them to bring out more effectively a central teaching emphasized in the new evangelization: the "revelation of the Kingdom now present in the very person of Jesus," and how this presence is experienced in the sacramental life of the Church.

There was indeed a great and immediate response to the Luminous Mysteries, not only in the Catholic world but even in the secular media. Numerous books, pamphlets, and articles appeared explaining the new mysteries and how they fit into a new twenty-decade Rosary. The attitude of many commentators was so positive that they frequently downplayed—or even neglected to mention—the important fact, noted by the pope, that the Luminous Mysteries were presented as a "proposed addition to the traditional pattern" that was not being mandated but rather "left to the freedom of individuals and communities." In proposing Thursday as a suitable day for their recitation, once again John Paul stressed that "this indication is not intended to limit a rightful freedom in personal and community prayer, where account needs to be taken of spiritual and pastoral needs.... What is really important is that the Rosary should always be seen and experienced as a path of CONTEMPLATION."

Despite John Paul's clear desire to present the Luminous Mysteries as an option, most subsequent literature on the Rosary has treated the new addition almost as a papal command. This unfortunate situation has led in some cases to a bitter rejection of these mysteries as an unnecessary addition to the Rosary that destroys its historical role as Mary's Psalter, with its 150 Hail Marys comparable to the 150 Psalms of the Divine Office. Some groups, unhappy about all changes since Vatican II, have suggested that the Luminous Mysteries may even be an attempt to sabotage the Rosary devotion, and that they are a rejection of Mary's own request to the children at Fatima that they recite "a third" of the Rosary every day, since she clearly intended five decades and not the six and two-thirds (i.e., 6.66!) decades of a twenty-decade Rosary.

In reality, many Catholics have adopted the Luminous Mysteries, while others have preferred to stay with the traditional fifteen-decade Rosary. A third option has also appeared: saying the traditional Psalter of Mary twice during the week and then saying the Luminous Mysteries on Sunday. In this option, there is no third repetition of one of the mysteries on Sunday as in the traditional Rosary: Joyful from ADVENT to LENT, Sorrowful in Lent, Glorious from Easter until Advent. This option of saying the Luminous Mysteries on Sunday, the day of the creation of light both in the Bible and in the Roman Breviary, also fits in very well with the suggestion of some commentators that these new mysteries, far from destroying Mary's Psalter, actually enrich it just as the biblical canticles (such as the *Benedictus* and the *Magnificat*) supplement the psalms in the Divine Office.

SEE ALSO APOSTLES OF JESUS; BAPTISM OF THE LORD; BEATITUDES (IN THE BIBLE); BREVIARY, ROMAN; CANTICLES, BIBLICAL; CHRISTOLOGY; EVANGELIZATION, NEW; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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LUTHERANISM

The term *Lutheranism* refers both to a doctrinal perspective rooted in the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation in Germany and to a group of churches that subscribe to this doctrinal perspective. In 2009 Lutheran churches included approximately seventy-two million members worldwide.

This article will (1) describe the historical development of Lutheranism and (2) outline the central affirmations of this doctrinal perspective according to the official documents of Lutheranism.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Martin Luther. Lutheranism developed out of a reform movement led by Martin LUTHER (1483–1546), a professor at the University of WITTENBERG in Germany and, prior to the Reformation, a priest in the order of Augustinian HERMITS. The movement began as a protest in late 1517 against the sale of INDULGENCES, but rapidly expanded into a critique of authority structures in the church and a debate on the theology of grace and JUSTIFICATION—that is, how the sinner comes to be



Commemorative Plaque. *This plaque, located in the Schlosskirche, the Castle Church, where Luther posted his 95 Theses, honors the founder of the Lutheran Church.* © **DAVE BARTRUFF/ CORBIS**

accepted by the righteous God. Luther was an unusually prolific writer, and his many pamphlets, books, and biblical commentaries were quickly distributed throughout Germany by the recently established printing industry.

Luther's case was referred to Rome already in late 1518. After Cardinal CAJETAN (1469–1534) failed in his efforts to have Luther recant, Pope LEO X (1475–1521) issued the decree *Cum postquam* (November 9, 1518), reaffirming traditional teaching on indulgences (Denz-



Martin Luther's Grave. *Located inside Schlosskirche, the Castle Church, Wittenberg, Germany.* © **DAVE BARTRUFF/CORBIS**

inger and Hünermann 2005, pp. 1447–1449). The papal bull *Exsurge Domine* (June 15, 1520) condemned forty-one errors attributed to Luther (Denzinger and Hünermann 2005, pp. 1451–1492), and Pope Leo X excommunicated him in January 1521. In April 1521, Luther appeared before the Diet (assembly) of the Holy Roman Empire in Worms and refused to recant. Although condemned by the Diet, Luther was protected by the ruling princes of his territory, Electoral Saxony, and was able to continue teaching and writing in Wittenberg until his death in 1546. During his lifetime, Luther remained the undisputed leader of what came to be called Lutheranism (Luther himself preferred the term *evangelical* as a description of the movement).

The Emergence of Lutheran Churches. Initially a popular movement fed by Luther's writings, Lutheranism took on a more ecclesiastical form when the reforms he advocated began to be implemented. In his *Appeal to the German Nobility* (1520), Luther called on the princes to reform the churches in their territories if the bishops were unwilling. Complications of German and European politics and the preoccupation of Emperor CHARLES V (1500–1558) with the threat of the Ottoman Empire permitted princes sympathetic to Luther to introduce various reform measures in their churches: a revised liturgy of the Mass, with lay reception of the cup; married clergy; and the preaching of a Lutheran understanding of justification.

In 1530 Charles V was able to turn his attention to the religious turmoil in the Holy Roman Empire and called a Diet to meet in Augsburg and settle the controversy. Territories that had adopted Luther's reforms submitted a statement explaining and justifying their reforms. This statement, the AUGSBURG CONFESSION, was rejected by the emperor. Negotiations continued but the Diet was unable to bridge the divide. After the Diet, the Lutheran movement was taken up by an increasing number of German states (Electoral Saxony, Hesse, Brandenburg) and free cities (Nuremberg, Hamburg). Charles V threatened to suppress Lutheranism by armed force, but he was unable to act until 1546. Despite initial success by the Catholic forces of the emperor, the wars proved inconclusive and the resulting Peace of Augsburg (1555) permitted territorial governments to choose Lutheranism or Catholicism. The Council of TRENT (1546–1563) provided a comprehensive Catholic response to

many Lutheran reforms and cemented the difference between Lutheranism and Catholicism.

While Lutheran leaders voiced a preference for the traditional episcopal church order, the role of the bishops as princes of the Holy Roman Empire was unacceptable to the Lutherans, and no Lutheran territory in Germany successfully developed a new model of episcopacy. Instead, the tasks that had been carried out by the bishops were divided among the secular governing authorities and various church structures. Church and state were deeply interwoven, with the prince often referred to as *summus episcopus*, with responsibility for the health and external welfare of the church. A consistory or *Kirchenrat* was responsible for the internal life of the church. The Peace of Augsburg, which made the religion of the prince determinative for the religion of the territory (*cuius regio, ejus religio*), reinforced these state-church tendencies. This integration of church and state (the *Landesherrliches Kirchenregiment*) survived in Germany until the fall of the monarchy in 1918.

The *Augsburg Confession* and the *Book of Concord.* The *Augsburg Confession* or *Confessio Augustana*, drafted by Philip MELANCHTHON (1497–1560), Luther's closest associate at the University of Wittenberg, quickly became the defining document for Lutheranism. It has two parts. Part I outlines in twenty-one articles the understanding of doctrine behind the Lutheran Reformation. It emphasizes the commitment of the Lutherans to the patristic heritage of theology and distances the Lutherans both from the radical ANABAPTISTS and from the emerging Reformed theology of Huldrych ZWINGLI (1484–1531) and the Swiss Reformation. Part II explains the changes in church practice and governance that had taken place in the Lutheran territories and proposes a compromise by which the Lutheran territories would again accept the leadership of the Catholic bishops. Although a failure as a compromise proposal at the Diet, the *Augsburg Confession* was a success in giving form to the emerging group of Lutheran territorial churches. Subscription to the *Augsburg Confession* became the condition for membership in the alliance that was formed in response to the threat of military action by the emperor, and the *Augsburg Confession* was recognized as defining Lutheranism by the 1555 Peace of Augsburg. The *Augsburg Confession* remains the most widely recognized Lutheran doctrinal text.

Other texts came to be recognized as definitive of Lutheran teaching as the movement developed. Luther's *Small Catechism* and *Large Catechism* (both 1529) were widely adopted both as doctrinal texts and as educational tools. The *Small Catechism* has been memorized by generations of Lutherans. Following the Catholic rejection of the *Augsburg Confession*, Melanchthon wrote a lengthy *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* (1531), which was accepted as an authentic explanation of its sense. When Pope PAUL III (1552–1621) in 1536 called for a council to address Reformation controversies, the Lutheran leaders produced two texts in preparation for the council: the *Smalcald Articles*, which detailed what was and was not negotiable for the Lutherans, and the *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope*.

Following Luther's death in 1546, a series of intense debates broke out within Lutheranism on the nature of original sin, the place of the law and good works in the Christian life, the correct description of the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine of the LORD'S SUPPER, and other topics. The debate was embittered by differences over how far to compromise with the Catholic forces after their military victories in the late 1540s. In addition, the reform movement in Switzerland, now led by John CALVIN (1509–1564) of Geneva (the Reformed churches), offered an alternative theological and practical agenda about which Lutherans disagreed.

While lines were not always clear, Lutherans fell into two parties: Philippists (followers of Melanchthon, more open to some agreement with both Catholics and Calvinists) and Gnesio (or purist) Lutherans (advocates of drawing sharp lines of difference, led most often by Matthias FLACIUS ILLYRICUS [1520–1575]). Agreement on disputed matters was reached in 1577 with the adoption of the *Formula of Concord*, but only after extensive and difficult discussion. Martin CHEMNITZ (1522–1586) of Braunschweig and Jacob Andreae (1528–1590) of Württemberg were most active in the drafting of the *Formula*.

In 1580 all of the Lutheran confessions were gathered, together with the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian creeds, as the *Book of Concord*, the standard collection of Lutheran doctrinal texts. While individual Lutheran churches have on occasion produced additional doctrinal standards, no texts beyond the *Book of Concord* have won acceptance as binding doctrinal standards for Lutheranism.

Not all Lutheran churches accept all of the *Book of Concord*. Membership in the Lutheran World Federation requires acceptance only of the *Augsburg Confession* and Luther's *Small Catechism*. The Church of Sweden, the largest Lutheran church in the world, officially affirms only the *Augsburg Confession*, in addition to the three ancient creeds. The Danish church accepts the *Augsburg Confession* and Luther's *Small Catechism*. In the United States, the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod (a nationwide church, despite its name) affirms the entire *Book of Concord*. The larger EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA gives a higher standing to the *Augsburg*

Confession, called "a true witness of the gospel," than to the other Lutheran confessions, referred to as "further valid interpretations of the faith of the Church" (*Constitution of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America*, chap. 2).

The Spread of Lutheranism. While Lutheranism began in Germany and all of its confessional documents originated in Germany, it spread during the sixteenth century to other areas of central Europe. East of the Holy Roman Empire, German-language communities in Transylvania (now in Romania) and in the Baltic area became Lutheran. Small Lutheran communities survived in Austria.

Most importantly, Scandinavia became Lutheran. Rebellion and civil war aided the introduction of Lutheranism. Denmark (also ruling Norway and Iceland) had been open to Lutheran influence from the early 1520s and became officially Lutheran in 1537 when Christian III (1503–1559) defeated his Catholic opponents in a civil war. While all the Catholic bishops were removed, the Danish church preserved an episcopal structure, under close supervision of the state. In Sweden (also ruling Finland), newly free from the Danish crown, a decision was made in favor of Lutheran practices in 1527. In the course of the sixteenth century, however, the tide turned at various moments both back toward Rome and toward Calvinist Geneva. Only in 1593 was the *Augsburg Confession* adopted by the Swedish church, which then remained firmly Lutheran.

Because no Lutheran country had extensive colonies prior to the nineteenth century, Lutheranism did not initially spread beyond Europe. A small Swedish colony in what is now Delaware and Pennsylvania existed for a brief time in the seventeenth century, leaving behind a small number of Lutheran churches. Significant numbers of European Lutherans did emigrate to North America. German Lutherans in Pennsylvania, working through the English court (the Hanoverian kings of England were also the rulers of Lutheran Hanover in Germany), sought assistance in Germany in organizing their church life. In 1742 Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711–1787) arrived in what is now the United States. His indefatigable labors produced the first Lutheran church structure in North America (the Ministerium of Pennsylvania).

Orthodoxy and Pietism. The early modern period in Lutheran theology is usually referred to as the *age of orthodoxy*. The faculty of the University of Wittenberg remained the leading theological authority. Following a renaissance of Aristotelian philosophy at the end of the sixteenth century, Lutheran theology took on a more scholastic form. The detailed development of precise theological explanations was the goal. Lutheran doctrine was to be defended both against Catholic opponents (such as Robert BELLARMINE [1542–1621]) and against Calvinist competitors. The greatest of these scholastic theologians was Johann GERHARD (1582–1637), professor at the University of Jena. He wrote both large and detailed dogmatic works (*Loci theologici*) and moving devotional works (*Sacred Meditations*). Leading proponents of orthodoxy in the following generations were Abraham CALOV (1612–1686) and Johannes Andreas QUENSTEDT (1617–1688), both of Wittenberg. Georg CALIXTUS (1586–1656) of the University of Helmstedt represented a contrary, more ecumenically open trend. He sought Christian unity on the basis of the common teaching of the ancient Church Fathers, the *consensus quinquesaecularis*. A vehement debate (the syncretistic controversy) broke out between Calixtus and the theologians of Wittenberg.

Johann Gerhard's *Sacred Meditations* and the hymns of Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676) ("O Sacred Head, Now Wounded"; "O Lord, How Shall I Meet You?") witness to the lively piety that coexisted with scholastic theology. Mystical tendencies in Lutheran devotion were most prominent in the writings of Johann Arndt (1555–1621), especially his *True Christianity*. Drawing extensively on late medieval mystical writings, Arndt stressed the union of the believer with Christ as the goal and experiential center of the Christian life. *True Christianity* became one of the most widely read and translated books of Lutheran spirituality.

In later generations, piety and a concern for doctrinal precision came to be seen as enemies. Philipp Jacob SPENER (1635–1705), an Alsatian pastor who had become head of the Lutheran ministerium in Frankfurt am Main, criticized Lutheran clergy as orthodox but lacking in a "true, living faith." In his book *Pia desideria* (1675), he laid out a reform program for the church, centered on a revived laity meeting in small groups or "bands" for Bible study, prayer, and shared accounts of Christian experience. Emphasis fell more on changed hearts and lives than on correct theological expression. Spener's critique proved controversial, and his movement of reform, generally called PIETISM, was seen by some as divisive, pitting the truly pious against others, and as "enthusiasm," placing experience above biblical truth.

Pietism found its greatest embodiment in a network of schools, orphanages, and welfare institutions created by a follower of Spener, August Hermann FRANCKE (1663–1727), centered in Halle, Germany. An emphasis on experiential religion was combined with concrete efforts toward care of the poor, Christian education at all levels, and, later, missions. The more churchly pietism of Halle was widely influential throughout the entire Lutheran world and beyond, most importantly through its impact on John WESLEY (1703–1791) and the Methodist movement.

Enlightenment, Confessionalism, and the Luther Renaissance. The ENLIGHTENMENT was less anticlerical and antireligious in Lutheran countries than in Catholic ones and was often absorbed into theological teaching. Gottfried Wilhelm LEIBNIZ (1646–1716), who combined mathematical and philosophical interests with a lively concern for theology, paved the way for a rationalist theology that would come to replace scholastic orthodoxy at the universities. Such theology was often disinterested in the particularities of Lutheranism, while remaining within the general structures of the Lutheran church. The greatest achievements of this period were less in theology than in a religiously tinged philosophy, taken in a more ethical direction by Immanuel KANT (1724–1804) and in a more speculative direction by G.W.F. HEGEL (1770–1831). Kant and Hegel would remain defining figures for much academic theology in the next two centuries.

More important for theology within the church was the rise of varying forms of confessionalism, a reaction against rationalism that sought a return to earlier affirmations of the faith. This reaction was furthered by attempts in the nineteenth century by German governments, especially in Prussia, to merge the Lutheran and Reformed churches, both under state control. These attempts made the rejection of CALVINISM a defining mark of Lutheran loyalty. Some confessionalists sought a simple return to the scholasticism of the seventeenth century (repristination theology). Others, especially those connected with the University of Erlangen (e.g., Adolf von Harless [1806–1879]), represented a complex mix of traditional elements with the new romanticism of the nineteenth century. Of particular importance for the success of confessionalism was Wilhelm LÖHE (1808–1872) of Neuendettelsau, both through his writings (*Three Books about the Church*) and his work for missions and social welfare, which connected him with Lutherans in other countries. American Lutheranism, after intense debates in the 1850s, became dominated by varying forms of confessionalism, either in a repristination theology (C.F.W. WALTHER [1811–1887]) or in a theology less tied to earlier scholasticism (C.P. KRAUTH [1823–1883]).

While the confessional revival turned to the *Book of Concord* as the dogmatic norm of Lutheran theology, the early twentieth-century "Luther Renaissance" saw an expansion of studies of Martin Luther, made possible by the rediscovery of many of Luther's writings, especially early writings, and their publication in the new Weimar edition of Luther's works. A picture of Luther emerged that was distant both from liberal accommodation to modern thought and life and from scholastic concern with dogmatic details. The focus instead was on the sinner's confrontation with the Word of God, which cannot be reduced to a system. Emphasis fell on paradox and the rediscovered categories of *simul iustus et peccator* (simultaneously justified and sinful) and *theologia crucis* (theology of the cross). This interpretation of Luther fit well with larger intellectual trends of the period (e.g., EXISTENTIALISM).

After some initial hesitation, Lutherans entered the ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT with vigor. Swedish archbishop Nathan SÖDERBLOM (1866–1931) was instrumental in calling the large ecumenical conferences on life and work and on faith and order in the 1920s. Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–1945) was a voice in the international Christian community for the oppressed German churches. Following the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), the dialogue between the Catholic Church and the Lutheran churches was unusually fruitful. The Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification, signed by the Roman Catholic Church and the Lutheran World Federation in 1999, affirmed a "consensus in basic truths of the doctrine of justification" and declared that the mutual condemnations from the Reformation age related to justification do not apply to this consensus understanding. The Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification represents the first doctrinal agreement among the Lutheran churches since the *Book of Concord*.

The Formation of a World Lutheran Communion. While Lutheranism remains among the most European of Christian traditions in its membership (approximately half the world's Lutherans live in Europe), both immigration and missions have produced significant Lutheran churches beyond Europe. Large immigrant churches exist in North America, the southern countries of Latin America (Argentina, Chile, and southern sections of Brazil), and Australia. Mission churches have thrived in Africa (especially Tanzania, Ethiopia, Namibia, South Africa, and Madagascar) and Asia (especially India and Indonesia). Germany remains the country with the largest number of Lutherans (12.6 million in 2009), but the Lutheran church in Germany exists as a fellowship of independent regional churches. The largest Lutheran church in the world is the Church of Sweden (approximately 6.9 million in 2009).

Historically, Lutheranism had no structures uniting the Lutheran churches. Lutheranism was united by its confessional documents. The state control of the Lutheran churches made any authoritative international structure impossible. First initiatives toward a world Lutheran organization occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Konferenz (General Evangelical-Lutheran Conference) was organized in 1868. Individuals, rather than churches, belonged to this organization, whose membership was primarily German. In 1923 the first

Lutheran World Convention met in Eisenach, Germany. While the convention was organized as a one-time meeting, not as an ongoing organization, and its precise relation to the Lutheran churches was left ambiguous, a continuation committee was appointed at the end of the conference and further conferences were held in 1929 and 1935. The 1935 conference moved toward a more permanent organization, but plans for a further conference in 1940 in North America were disrupted by World War II (1939–1945).

In 1948 the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) was formed as an ongoing organization of Lutheran churches. An assembly is held approximately every six years. The LWF is headed by a president, elected by the assembly, and a general secretary who manages the secretariat headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland. In its initial constitution, the LWF was defined as "a free association of churches," emphasizing the autonomy of the member churches. In 1990 this description was amended to describe the LWF as "a communion of churches." All LWF member churches are in ecclesial communion with one another. While the individual member churches remain the center of administrative and doctrinal authority, the LWF was able to coordinate the actions of member churches in affirming the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification and to engage in a form of discipline when it suspended the membership of two German-language churches in southern Africa in 1984 for compromising with apartheid. The LWF includes almost all the Lutheran churches in the world, the largest exception being the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod.

DOCTRINAL PERSPECTIVE

Trinitarian and Christological Affirmations. The Lutheran confessions stress their acceptance of the classical affirmations of the doctrines of the Trinity and of the full humanity and divinity of Jesus Christ (*Augsburg Confession*, Arts. 1 and 3). These teachings were not matters of controversy in the Reformation period and were presupposed by all Lutheran theologians of the time. The one Lutheran innovation in the area was the development of a distinctive understanding of the communication of idioms, that is, the understanding of the interrelation of the divine and human natures of Christ with each other and with Christ's unitary personhood. Pressed by Reformed theologians to explain how the body and blood of Christ could be present on many altars simultaneously, Lutheran theologians taught that Christ's humanity could participate in some aspects of his divinity (e.g., ubiquity or the capacity to be present in many places at once) without losing its essential humanity (*Formula of Concord*, Arts. 7 and 8). This understanding was rejected by both Reformed and Catholic theologians.

Justification: The Heart and Touchstone of Lutheran Theology. The touchstone of Lutheran theology that gives Lutheran teaching its distinctive focus is the insistence that the sinner is justified before God by grace, through faith, because of Jesus Christ (*Augsburg Confession*, Art. 4). On this point, Luther insisted, "stands all that we teach and practice against the pope, the devil, and the world" (*Smalcald Articles*, Pt. II, Art. 1). Later Lutheran theology came to refer to the doctrine of justification as "the article by which the church stands and falls" (*articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae*). The Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification describes the doctrine of justification as "an indispensable criterion that constantly serves to orient all the teaching and practice of our churches to Christ" (para. 18).

The doctrine of justification concerns how the sinner comes to be accepted as righteous in God's judgment. While the topic of justification was addressed within medieval theology, it was generally handled as one theme among others within the discussion of divine grace (e.g., THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa theologica* I–II, q. 113). Within Lutheran theology, justification tends to become the organizing category for all discussion of SALVATION. This transformation presupposes a particular reading of the New Testament, in which Romans and Galatians become central, and a religious situation in which the question of acceptance by divine judgment is of decisive importance for many Christians. Much of what Lutheran theologians said about justification presupposed the "terrified conscience," which feared that its own sinfulness excluded it from God's salvation.

By Grace. Lutheranism is one form of the Augustinian theology of grace that has shaped Western theology. Salvation and justification before God's righteousness are pure gift, which the sinner can in no way merit. This necessity of grace was founded both on a firm affirmation of the thorough sinfulness of the person apart from grace (*Augsburg Confession*, Art. 2) and on an insistence that all honor must be given to Christ in all things. If we could merit or contribute to our justification, not only would that mean some aspects of our action are untainted by sin, but it would also mean that we would have something to boast of in ourselves. A pastoral intent accompanied this insistence. For Melanchthon, the question is "whether we should place our confidence in Christ or in our own works" (*Apology*, Art. 4, para. 156). If our own actions are seen as making a necessary contribution, then "faced with God's judgment, we will discover that such confidence was futile, and consciences will then plunge into despair" (*Apology*, Art. 4, para. 157).

Because of Christ. An insistence that justification is by grace alone does not differentiate Lutheranism from Catholicism. More distinctive was a particular Christocentric understanding of justification. Christ is not only the source of the Christian's righteousness before God; Christ *is* the Christian's righteousness. That is, the righteousness, which will avail before the judgment of God, is the righteousness of Christ, which becomes the righteousness of those who have faith in Christ.

This understanding was most pointedly stated in Luther's early sermon on *Two Kinds of Righteousness* (*Luther's Works* 1955–1986, Vol. 31, pp. 297–306). Grace does work in the Christian a "proper righteousness," a righteousness that belongs to the Christian and is realized in the Christian's actions. This righteousness, however, is an effect of the "alien righteousness," the righteousness of Christ that belongs to the Christian through faith. "Through faith in Christ, therefore, Christ's righteousness becomes our righteousness and all that he has becomes ours; rather, he himself becomes ours" (*Luther's Work* 1955–1986, Vol. 31, p. 298). A "happy exchange" occurs in which Christ takes on the sinner's unrighteousness and the sinner receives Christ's righteousness. Luther often uses marital imagery to portray this union and exchange in ways similar to late medieval mystical depictions of the soul's marriage to Christ.

Only the "alien" righteousness of Christ, and not the "proper righteousness" of the Christian, can stand before divine judgment. First, in this life the Christian must continue to struggle with disordered desires and thus cannot love God with an undivided heart and mind. Until all such desires are removed, one cannot fulfill the command to love God with all one's heart and mind. Even when the Christian does the good work of resisting such disordered desires, the command of undivided love is not being obeyed. Thus, the person is *simul iustus et peccator*, both justified and yet a sinner. Second and more fundamentally, Luther understands the correct attitude of the human being as one of trustful dependence on God for all things. Even our standing before God must always be received from God. Trust in God and not in ourselves is what is commanded in the First of the Ten Commandments (*Large Catechism,* Ten Commandments, First Commandment). Even when all the effects of sin are removed, Christ will still be our righteousness. When we are finally cleansed from all sin, our dependence on Christ and his righteousness will be complete, perfect, and unimpeded.

In Luther's writings, the Christian's participation in Christ is the basis for God imputing Christ's righteousness to those who have faith in Christ. Already in the writings of Melanchthon and increasingly in later Lutheranism, participatory language is replaced by more legal language. Justification is forensic, in the sense that it is a legal declaration of pardon, an application of Christ's merits to those who have faith in him. The bond of participation falls into the background.

Through Faith. For Lutheranism, faith is the bond that links the Christian to the righteousness of Christ. Unlike the medieval definition of faith in relation to the triad of faith, hope, and love (I Cor. 13), with faith being located primarily in the intellect, in line with the description of faith as "the evidence of things not seen" (Heb 11:1), Lutheranism depicts faith as the total attitude of trusting dependence on God, which shapes the entirety of the Christian life: "The just shall live by faith" (Rom 1:17). Trust (*fiducia*) becomes the most important element of faith. As trust, faith is primarily receptive; it depends on and receives that in which it trusts. Faith as a human action of the justified self is not justifying; faith justifies only by what it receives: Christ. The importance of love and hope are not denied, but faith is the key to justification because by faith the self is open to receiving Christ.

Scripture and Tradition. Lutherans thought that this understanding of justification was the clear teaching of the New Testament and in accord with the teaching of the fathers of the church's first centuries. They rejected what they understood to be later traditions, which they viewed as incompatible with this gospel of justification. They did not believe that a magisterium to interpret Scripture with authority was needed.

The Lutheran confessions themselves say little about the authority of Scripture. Only the last of the confessions, the *Formula of Concord*, has a section on scripture and tradition, stating that "the only rule and guiding principle according to which all teachings and teachers are to be evaluated and judged are the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments alone" (*Formula of Concord*, Epitome, Summary). Later traditions are to be judged by the standard of Scripture and respected "as witnesses of how and where the teaching of the prophets and apostles was preserved after the time of the apostles." The ancient creeds and doctrinal teachings of the early Church were accepted as normative because they were seen as accurately summarizing the biblical message. Over time, Lutherans added the phrase *sola scriptura* to the three other "soli" associated with the doctrine of justification: *sola gratia*, *sola fide*, *solo Christo*.

Law and Good Works. The Lutheran Reformers insisted that they were not rejecting the importance or even, carefully stated, the necessity of good works. They did insist that good works are a consequence of justification and not a contributing cause of justification: "It is also

taught that such faith should yield good fruit and good works and that a person must do such good works as God has commanded for God's sake but not place trust in them as if thereby to earn grace before God" (*Augsburg Confession*, Art. 6; see also *Formula of Concord*, Art. 4). It is an "Epicurean delusion" to believe that one can be justified and continue to sin willfully (*Formula of Concord*, Solid Declaration, Art. 4, para. 31). Good works do not, however, increase our justification. While the Lutheran confessions affirm that good works can be meritorious (*Apology*, Art. 4, para. 366), they insist that neither justification, salvation, nor eternal life can be merited. Later Lutheranism dropped the language of merit.

The law, understood both as the law written on the human heart (Rom 2:15) and the biblical law summarized in the Ten Commandments, indicates what works please God. (This argument was a basis for the Reformation criticism of acts of devotion beyond the biblical law, such as pilgrimages and various monastic practices.) The law serves at least two functions: as embodied in a public institution, the law serves to restrain sin in the public order; as proclaimed, the law convicts of sin and drives to repentance. While the precise nature of the role of the law in instructing the justified person in the Christian life has been controversial within modern Lutheranism (the "third use of the law"), Lutheran ethics, especially as embodied in the Catechisms, followed a synthesis of biblical revelation as illuminated by natural law.

The Sacraments. The Lutheran confessions took no firm position on the number of sacraments (*Apology*, Art. 13, para. 2). Sacraments were defined as "rites, which have the command of God and to which the promise of grace has been added" (*Apology*, Art. 13, para. 3). Baptism and the Lord's Supper clearly met this definition. Whether the private confession of sins did so was debated among Lutherans. While the confessions took no firm position, Lutherans came generally to view only Baptism and the Lord's Supper as sacraments. Orders for private confession have remained in Lutheran service books, and private confession has been widely practiced during some periods of Lutheran history.

Sacraments have been important in Lutheran piety. The emphasis on justification in the righteousness of Christ fits with a piety that does not look inward at the state of the soul but outward at the external word that comes to the Christian and communicates Christ. Assurance of salvation is most confident when it looks to the means of grace. Baptism and the Lord's Supper, along with preaching, came to be the focal points for this emphasis on the external word.

Baptism. Lutheran teaching has consistently emphasized baptism as the divinely instituted means of inclusion into Christ and his Church. As such, baptism is said to be "necessary to salvation" (*Apology*, Art. 9). Baptism works with justification and regeneration when it is received in faith; without faith, baptism is valid but not efficacious. Lutheranism has consistently affirmed infant baptism, and infant baptism has been the most common practice within Lutheranism. The question of how infants can have the faith needed to receive baptism effectively has been answered with various understandings of the faith of infants or of the role of the faith of parents and sponsors. Lutherans have baptized both by immersion and by sprinkling.

The Lord's Supper. In the sixteenth century, Lutheran churches revised the Mass but kept its basic liturgical structure. The primary target of Lutheran critiques of medieval and Catholic Eucharistic teaching and practice was the understanding of the Mass as sacrificial. This teaching of the Mass as sacrifice was seen as compromising the Supper as primarily God's gift of Christ to the congregation. The "sacrifice of the Mass," it was argued, turned the Supper into a work we present to God. This shift was seen as contradicting a right understanding of justification. In line with such an understanding, Lutherans saw the Supper as the sacramental means of communicating forgiveness of sins.

Lutherans placed less emphasis on the critique of the doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION. Over against the Reformed teachings of Zwingli and Calvin, they taught that the body and blood of Christ enter into a "sacramental union" with the bread and wine. The body and blood of Christ are "in, with, and under" the bread and wine in such a way that the bread and wine are literally, and not merely metaphorically, the body and blood of Christ (*Large Catechism*, Sacrament of the Altar, para. 8). All who receive the elements also receive Christ: those with faith receive unto salvation; those without faith, unto judgment.

The Catholic teaching of transubstantiation was criticized as inappropriately introducing philosophical categories into the understanding of Christ's presence under the bread and wine and unbiblically denying that the bread and wine remain bread and wine, even while becoming Christ's body and blood (*Smalcald Articles*, Pt. III, Art. 6). Non-Lutherans have labeled the Lutheran understanding *consubstantiation*, but Lutherans have resisted any such use of philosophical categories of substance.

The Church. The Lutheran confessions describe the church as "the assembly of all believers [*communio sanctorum*] among whom the gospel is purely preached and

the holy sacraments are administered according to the gospel" (*Augsburg Confession*, Art. 7). The church is thus a creature of the word, a community gathered around proclamation and sacrament. While the church as a divine institution is visible only to faith and often hidden by the sins of its members, it is not invisible. The confessions (*Apology*, Art. 7, para. 20) and the writings of Luther (*On the Councils and the Church*) present various lists of marks by which the church is visible in the world, the most important of which are preaching and the sacraments.

The "ministry" or "preaching office" is said to be instituted by God (*Augsburg Confession*, Art. 5) and thus essential to the church. Lutherans have seen the divinely instituted ministry as embodied in the ordained clergy, referred to as pastors in English and German but as priests in the Scandinavian languages. Although the Lutheran confessions express a preference for an episcopal church order, such an order was not seen as necessary. No essential difference was seen between bishops and priests or pastors (*Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope*, paras. 60ff). Episcopal and nonepiscopal Lutheran churches thus fully recognize each other's ordained ministries. Lutheran churches that do not use the title bishop have usually had some similar office, often called a president or superintendent. In recent years, ecumenical relations with Anglican churches have led Lutheran churches in North America and portions of Scandinavia to reclaim episcopal succession (which has always been claimed by the Swedish and Finnish churches).

SEE ALSO Augsburg, Peace of; Concord, Formula and Book of; Denmark, The Catholic Church in; Finland, The Catholic Church in; Germany, The Catholic Church in; Gnesiolutheranism; Grace (Theology of); Lutheran Churches in North America; Philippism; Reformation, Protestant (on the Continent); Sweden, The Catholic Church in.

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M

MACKILLOP, MARY HELEN, ST.

Known in religion as Mary of the Cross, born Maria Ellen MacKillop, educator, foundress of the Josephite Sisters; b. January 15, 1842, Fitzroy (near Melbourne), Australia; d. August 8, 1909, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

The daughter of Highland Scottish immigrants, she was working as a governess when in 1861 she met Father Julian Tenison Woods, a missionary from England and one of the chief architects of Australia's Catholic education system. He inspired her to dedicate her life to teaching the children of the bush. In 1865, Mary and two younger sisters began teaching in an abandoned stable at Penola, South Australia.

Moving to Adelaide, Mary MacKillop and Father Woods founded the Institute of the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart. Together with her companions Mary pronounced the vows of religion August 15, 1866, and took the name of Mother Mary of the Cross. Her efforts to adapt the new community to a colonial environment encountered a decade of lay and clerical misunderstanding and opposition. In 1871, the bishop of Adelaide excommunicated her and disbanded the sisterhood. A Jewish person gave the homeless nuns a house rent free, until their restoration in 1872.

In 1874, Mother Mary traveled to Rome and submitted her rule to Pope PIUS IX. Rome's eventual decision was a compromise but the foundress won her principal point of central government for the sisters throughout the Australian colonies. She established 160 Josephite houses and 117 schools attended by more than 12,000 children. When she died after a long illness, her congregation numbered about 1,000.

Her tomb is in a vault donated by a Presbyterian woman in front of Our Lady's Altar in the Mount Street Josephite Chapel, North Sydney. At her beatification by JOHN PAUL II on January 19, 1995, at Randwick Racecourse in Sydney, she became the first Australian beata. She is the Patron of Australia. On December 19, 2009, following the approval of a miracle, the Holy See announced that MacKillop would be canonized by Pope BENEDICT XIV. As of the printing of this entry, a canonization date had not been set.

Feast: August 7.

SEE ALSO AUSTRALIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; JOSEPHITES; PATRON SAINTS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MANDATUM, ACADEMIC

The Latin word *mandatum* refers to a "command, order, mandate, credentials," as well as the ritual of washing feet at the HOLY THURSDAY liturgy (cf. Stelton 1995, p. 157). As used within the Catholic Church today, a *mandatum* is most often associated with the "acknowledgment by Church authority that a Catholic professor of a theological discipline is a teacher within the full communion of the Catholic Church" (NCCB 2000, Pt. 2, Art. 4, 4e, i, p. 16). The *mandatum* is not the same "as an appointment, authorization, delegation or approbation of one's teaching by Church authorities" (Art. 4, 4e, ii, p. 16). Rather, it "recognizes the professor's commitment and responsibility to teach authentic Catholic doctrine and to refrain from putting forth as Catholic teaching anything contrary to the Church's magisterium" (Art. 4, 4e, iii, p. 16).

Canonical Background. The term *mandatum* as applied to those who teach "theological disciples" is found in canon 812 of the 1983 Code of Canon Law and in canon 644 of the 1990 CODE OF CANONS OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES (CCEO), where it applies to "those who teach subjects regarding faith and morals in Catholic universities." Canon 229 of the 1983 Code also speaks of the right of qualified lay persons "to receive from legitimate ecclesiastical authority a mandate to teach the sacred sciences" (*mandatum docendi scientias sacras*). The "theological disciplines" mentioned in canon 812 are usually thought to be those mentioned in article 51 of the *Norms of Application* issued by the Congregation for Catholic Education for the 1979 apostolic constitution, *Sapientia Christiana*: namely, Sacred Scripture; fundamental, dogmatic, moral, spiritual, and pastoral theology; along with liturgy, church history, patrology, archeology, and canon law.

The term *mandatum* as used in reference to professors at Catholic colleges and universities is found in the 1983 Code but not in the 1917 one. Prior to the 1983 Code, those who were authorized to preach or teach by the Church were granted a canonical mission (*missio canonica*), a term rooted in the requirement for preaching with ecclesiastical authorization found in various councils, both local and ecumenical, going back to the Council of Verona in 1184 (cf. Euart 2000, p. 967). Canon 1328 of the 1917 Code uses the term *missio* with regard to authorized preaching, but its placement in the Code "supported the opinion that the *missio* required in the canons applied to the broader ministry of teaching, including catechetical teaching as well as preaching" (Euart 2000, p. 967).

With regard to norms governing ecclesiastical faculties and universities, both the 1931 apostolic constitution, *Deus scientiarum Dominus*, of Pope PIUS XI and the 1979 constitution, *Sapientia christiana*, of Pope JOHN PAUL II, required a "canonical mission" for teaching disciplines concerning faith and morals "from the Chancellor or his delegate" because "they do not teach on their own authority but by virtue of the mission they have received from the Church" (*Sapientia christiana*, Art. 21, n. 1). Furthermore, professors must receive a *nihil obstat* from the HOLY SEE before being given "a permanent post" or promotion "to the highest category of teacher" (*Sapientia christiana*, Art. 21, n. 1).

The choice of the term *mandatum* rather than *canonical mission* in the 1983 Code might have been due to Vatican II's *Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity, Apostolicam Actuositatem*, where *mandatum* is used to refer to the procedure by which the Church's hierarchy associates some particular form of lay apostolate "more closely with its own apostolic function" (no. 24; cf. Euart 2000, p. 968). The word *missio*, when applied to the laity, "connotes entrusting to the laity certain tasks which are considered proper to the hierarchy but which require neither the power of orders nor the power of jurisdiction for their lawful exercise" (Euart 2000, p. 968). This is why those who receive a *mandatum* "teach in their own name in virtue of their baptism and their academic and professional competence not in the name of the Bishop or of the Church's magisterium" (NCCB 2000, Pt. 2, Art. 4, 4e, ii, p. 16). Those who receive a *missio canonica*, however, receive a more direct commission by the Church to undertake a task proper to the hierarchy (e.g., teaching) even if they are not ordained. In a similar manner, those who teach in seminaries receive their own type of "canonical mission" when approved and appointed to teach by competent ecclesiastical authority (cf. 1983 Code, canon 253, and CCEO, canons 340.1 and 351).

The difference between a *mandatum* and a canonical mission can also be explained by the distinction between a Catholic college, university, or institute of higher education and an ecclesiastical (sometimes called "pontifical") university or faculty. According to the 1983 Code, "ecclesiastical universities or faculties can be established only through erection by the Apostolic See

or with its approval; their higher direction also pertains to it" (canon 816.1). Only ecclesiastical universities and faculties are "able to confer academic degrees which have canonical effects in the Church" (canon 817). The distinction between Catholic universities and faculties and ecclesiastic universities and faculties is also found in canon law. In the 1983 Code, canons 807 through 814 pertain to "Catholic Universities and Other Institutes of Higher Studies," canons 815 through 821 apply to "Ecclesiastical Universities and Faculties," and canons 232 through 264 deal with seminaries or "the formation of clerics." Many ecclesiastical faculties are found in Rome and directed by major religious congregations (e. g., the Gregorian by the JESUITS and the "Angelicum" by the DOMINICANS). In the United States, the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA comes the closest to being an "ecclesiastical" university because of its three faculties of ecclesiastical standing: the School of Philosophy, the School of Theology, and the School of Canon Law. There are also other ecclesiastical faculties in the United States directed by religious congregations or attached to seminaries.

The Application of the *Mandatum* within the United States and Reactions. Between Vatican II and John Paul II's 1990 constitution, *Ex corde Ecclesiae*, there was considerable discussion and controversy about what were the essential characteristics of a Catholic university and the responsibilities of professors of Catholic theology. The Land O'Lakes Statement on "The Nature of the Contemporary Catholic University" was endorsed by twenty-six Catholic educators, administrators, and leaders (including several bishops) who met at a seminar held July 20–23, 1967, at Land O'Lakes, Wisconsin. This statement asserted the need for a Catholic university "to have a true autonomy and academic freedom in the face of authority of whatever kind, lay or clerical, external to the academic community itself" (Gallin 1992, p. 7). During the 1970s there were numerous discussions between the Holy See and the U.S. Catholic hierarchy on the nature and responsibilities of Catholic colleges and universities (Gallin 1992, pp. 63–86), and similar exchanges took place between Rome and other episcopal conferences. In his October 7, 1979, address to the presidents of Catholic colleges and universities at the Catholic University of America, Pope John Paul II, in contrast to the Land O'Lakes Statement, emphasized the "essential relationship to the hierarchy of the Church" that must exist at Catholic colleges and universities. He also spoke of the need for theological teaching to be faithful to the Word of God "as contained in Sacred Scripture and in the Tradition of the Church, as interpreted by the authentic Magisterium of the Church" (Gallin 1992, p. 132).

Questions concerning the responsibilities of theology professions to teach in communion with the Church were raised during the drafting of the 1983 Code of Canon Law. The Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities in the United States offered both criticisms and recommendations regarding the proposed canons (Gallin 1992, pp. 159–172). While the final work on the new Code of Canon Law was being undertaken, the Congregation for Catholic Education, in 1980, began work on a document that would address the nature and responsibilities of Catholic colleges and universities. The new Code of Canon Law was issued in 1983, and canon 812 stated that: "Those who teach theological disciplines in any institutes of higher studies whatsoever must have a mandate (*mandatum*) from the competent ecclesiastical authority." In his 1990 apostolic constitution on Catholic universities, *Ex corde Ecclesiae*, John Paul II referred to canon 812 in article 4.3 of the General Norms, by noting: "In particular, Catholic theologians, aware that they fulfill a mandate received from the Church, are to be faithful to the Magisterium of the Church as the authentic interpreter of Sacred Scripture and Sacred Tradition."

After the 1990 promulgation of *Ex corde Ecclesiae*, the U.S. bishops undertook a decade-long process of developing particular norms for the application of the papal constitution to Catholic colleges and universities in the United States. There was a sincere effort to listen to representatives of Catholic colleges and universities in the process. A particular point of concern was the *mandatum*, which some Catholic theologians feared would have a "chilling effect on the academic freedom of Catholics ... working in the field of theology" and be "injurious to Catholic intellectual life, to the Catholic character and future prospectus of Catholic universities" (Gondreau 2007, p. 94).

On November 17, 1999, the U.S. Catholic bishops, in plenary assembly, approved *The Application of "Ex corde Ecclesiae" for the United States*. The Congregation for Bishops granted *recognitio* to the document on May 3, 2000, and it took on the force of particular law in the United States on May 3, 2001. The applications of the U.S. bishops specify the "bishop of the diocese in which the Catholic university is located" as "the competent ecclesiastical authority" to grant the *mandatum* (NCCB 2000, Pt. 2, Art. 4, 4e, iv [1], p. 17). The *mandatum* remains in effect once granted "unless and until withdrawn by competent ecclesiastical authority"; it should be given in writing, and "the reasons for denying or removing a *mandatum* should also be in writing" (NCCB 2000, Pt. 2, Art. 4, 4e, iv [2–3], p. 17).

At their June 2001 General Meeting, the U.S. bishops approved a set of guidelines for issuing the *mandatum* to theologians in Catholic colleges and

universities. The guidelines address the nature of the *mandatum*; who is required to have it; how it is to be granted; and the process for withholding or withdrawing it. Professors of theology hired after the effective date (May 3, 2001) were expected to obtain the *mandatum* by June 1, 2002. Those hired subsequently were expected to obtain it either within the academic year of being hired or within six months. If the professor does not obtain the *mandatum* within the designated time, the competent ecclesiastical authority is to notify the appropriate authority in the college or university, but no further course of action is specified.

While some have seen the *mandatum* as testimony "to theologian's reliance upon magisterial teaching as a genuine well-spring and guidepost for theological reflection" (Gondreau 2007, p. 94), others, like Fr. Richard McBrien of the University of Notre Dame, have refused to request a *mandatum* as a matter of principle, because it "compromises the academic integrity of the faculty and the university" (McBrien 2000, p. 14).

Although some Catholic colleges and universities have publicly proclaimed the complete adherence of their theology faculty with the *mandatum*, most have not provided lists of names of those professors who have or have not received a *mandatum*. Most bishops also have been reluctant to make public the names of those who have either received or been denied a *mandatum*, but many have been active in other ways in working toward strengthening Catholic theological instruction in the Catholic colleges and universities within their jurisdiction.

SEE ALSO CANON LAW, 1983 CODE; DEUS SCIENTIARUM DOMINUS; EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (HIGHER) IN THE UNITED STATES; EX CORDE ECCLESIAE; RELIGIOUS EDUCATION; SAPIENTIA CHRISTIANA.

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MANGANIELLO, TERESA, BL.

Also known as Maria Luisa Manganiello; laywoman; b. January 1, 1849, Montefusco, Avellino, Italy; d. November 3, 1876, Montefusco, Avellino, Italy; declared VENERABLE by Pope BENEDICT XVI, July 3, 2009.

Teresa Manganiello was born in 1849 into a farming family of some honor and wealth. Her spirituality developed early and manifested itself in her generosity and compassion as well as her willingness to help others lead virtuous lives.

When, in April 1869, Father Lodovico Acernese of the Third Order of St. Francis at Pietradefusi (Avellino), Italy, made plans to begin a congregation in Montefusco, Teresa expressed her great longing to consecrate herself wholly to God. Her ardent desire and that of other young girls led him to establish the order.

In her twenties, after she had become a Secular Franciscan Tertiary, Teresa had the opportunity to visit Rome. While there, she asked Pope PIUS IX to bless their recently established religious family, and the pope did so. Although Father Lodovico intended to make Teresa the head of a new congregation, she died suddenly at the age of twenty-seven. Nevertheless, Teresa's faith and exemplary life bore fruit. Many young women devoted themselves to the work of God under Father Lodovico's direction, and he established the Franciscan Immaculatine Sisters. By 1950 the order had received the decree from the HOLY SEE, and they began their first mission in Brazil. In 1982, they expanded to the Philippines and later into the Cochin Diocese.

Pope Benedict XVI declared Teresa Manganiello venerable on July 3, 2009, and issued a proclamation of a miracle attributed to her on December 19, 2009, leading to plans for her beatification in 2010. At the time of the publication of this entry, a date had not been set for her beatification.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MANTOVANI, MARIA DOMENICA, BL.

Known in religion as Mother Maria of the Immaculate; virgin, cofoundress and superior general of the LITTLE SISTERS OF THE HOLY FAMILY; b. November 12, 1862, Castelletto di Brenzone, Italy; d. February 2, 1934, Castelletto di Brenzone; beatified April 27, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Maria Domenica Mantovani was drawn to a life of PRAYER from an early age. When she was fifteen, Fr. Giuseppe NASCIMBENI (beatified April 17, 1988) joined the parish at Castelletto. His spiritual direction would profoundly influence the course of Maria's life. He encouraged Maria, with other young women of the parish, to visit the sick and teach catechism.

Maria had a deep and abiding love for the Virgin Mary, who would be her life's guiding example. At twenty-four, Maria felt called to consecrate herself to God. She privately entered into a vow of perpetual VIRGINITY before a statue of Mary Immaculate.

In 1892 Maria Domenica cofounded the congregation of the Little Sisters of the Holy Family with Fr. Nascimbeni. The Little Sisters would devote themselves to the promotion of parish life and to assisting spiritually and materially those in need, including children and youth, families, priests, the elderly, and the disabled. Maria Domenica became superior general of the congregation as "Mother Maria of the Immaculate." The townspeople lovingly referred to her as "Mother." Today, the order has a worldwide presence.

Maria Domenica was a humble woman of prayer and determination who would continue to draw strength and wisdom from her beloved Mary Immaculate, trusting in the Holy Mother's guidance. As the work of the Little Sisters developed, she would say:

> The Holy Family, for the great and mysterious project [that God is calling it to], has chosen me as its Cofoundress ... knowing that the Lord uses the least qualified, little, unknown instruments to do great works.... I am tranquil and convinced that the Institute, the work of God, will be provided for and guided by Him. (Office of Papal Liturgical Celebrations)

In his HOMILY during the 2003 BEATIFICATION Mass, Pope John Paul said of her:

> This praiseworthy daughter of the region of Verona, a disciple of Bl. Giuseppe Nascimbeni, was inspired by the Holy Family of Nazareth to make herself "all things to all people", ever attentive to the needs of the "poor people". She

was extraordinarily *faithful, in all circumstances and to her last breath, to the will of God*, by whom she felt loved and called. What a fine example of holiness for every believer!

Feast: February 2.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MANYANET Y VIVES, JOSÉ (JOSEPH), ST.

Priest, founder of the Congregation of the Sons of the Holy Family and the Institute of the Missionary Daughters of the Holy Family of Nazareth; b. Tremp, Pallars Jussá, Catalonia, Spain, January 7, 1833; d. San Andres de Palomar, Barcelona, Spain, December 17, 1901; beatified November 25, 1984; canonized May 16, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

José Manyanet y Vives, the youngest of nine children born to farmers Antonio Manyanet and Bonaventura Vives, was baptized on the day of his birth. Following the death of his father in 1834, José informally became the ward of Fr. Valentín Lledós, who influenced his future vocation, as did his mother Bonaventura's piety. At age twelve, José left home to begin his education in the Piarist school at Barbastro (1845–1850). He continued his study of philosophy at the seminary of Lleida (1850–1853) and of theology at Seu d'Urgell (1853–1859), where he was mentored by Bishop José Caixal y Estrade (1803–1879) and ordained as a priest on April 9, 1859.

From the time of his ordination until 1865, Manyanet successfully served Bishop Caixal in a number of offices while engaging in pastoral ministry as CONFESSOR, spiritual director, preacher, CATECHIST, and promoter of several associations. Spurred by a heroic concern for the family, which he recognized was threatened by DIVORCE and individualism, he founded two religious congregations: one for men, the Sons of the Holy Family (Hijos de la Sagrada Familia, founded 1864 in Tremp), and one for women, the Daughters of the Holy Family (Hijas de la Sagrada Familia, founded 1874 in Talarn).

The Sons of the Holy Family grew out of Manyanet's work as the founder of a boarding school in his hometown of Tremp during the first few years after his ordination. He and his first companions in the congregation made their religious profession in Barcelona on February 2, 1870; the congregation received pontifical approval on June 22, 1901, near the end of Manyanet's life. The order operates schools for the Christian education of children and promotes devotion to the Holy Family in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Italy, Mexico, Spain, the United States (from 1920), and Venezuela. The congregation also publishes the periodical *Revista "La Sagrada Familia"* ("Holy Family" Magazine), which was started by Manyanet in 1899.

The founding of the female branch was more difficult. In 1859 Bishop Caixal placed a new community of women founded by Ana María Janer y Anglarill (1800–1885) under Manyanet's direction. The order was consumed by crisis until it was again recognized by Bishop José Morgades of Vich in 1892 under the direction of the cofounder, Mother Encarnación Colomina (1848–1916). She gave the order its new name, the Missionary Daughters of the Holy Family of Nazareth (Misioneras Hijas de la Sagrada Familia de Nazaret). The order was eventually approved by the VATICAN on May 10, 1958.

In the years after he founded the two religious congregations, Manyanet continued to seek ways to foster devotion to the Holy Family. He advocated for the liturgical celebration of the Feast of the Holy Family, which was instituted by Pope LEO XIII in 1892. Manyanet also proposed, in an 1869 letter to Bishop Caixal, the idea of constructing a temple dedicated to the Holy Family. This proposal would eventually bear fruit, in no small part due to Manyanet's advocacy, in architect Antoni Gaudí's still-incomplete Temple of the Sagrada Familia in Barcelona.

In 1872 Manyanet moved to Barcelona, where he pursued various pastoral activities, especially opening parochial schools and writing catechetical works. The most popular of the latter include the books *Meditaciones: El espíritu de la Sagrada Familia* (Meditations: The Spirit of the Holy Family, 1888–1895), *La Escuela*

de Nazaret y Casa de la Sagrada Familia (The School of Nazareth and Home of the Holy Family, 1895), and *Preciosa joya de familia* (Precious Jewel of the Family, 1899). Manyanet's work as a writer also includes the constitutions of the two congregations he founded.

For many years before his death, Fr. Manyanet secretly bore the STIGMATIZATION of Jesus. He died in Barcelona in a school he founded, Jesús, María y José, and his mortal remains were kept there in a burial chapel. In 2007 his remains were transferred to a site beneath the altar of the Barcelona church that was placed under his patronage after his canonization in 2004.

The ordinary informative process for Manyanet's BEATIFICATION began in 1931, and his cause was formally introduced by Pope PIUS XIII in 1951. Pope John Paul II, in his HOMILY at the Mass of canonization for Manyanet, praised him as a "true apostle of the family" who "carried out his plan of personal sanctity and heroically devoted himself to the mission that the Spirit entrusted to him."

Feast: December 17.

SEE ALSO HOLY FAMILY, SONS OF THE; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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MARCONI, GUGLIELMO

Italian physicist, developer of wireless telegraphy; b. April 25, 1874, Bologna, Italy; d. July 20, 1937, Rome.

Credit for the technological revolution of the nineteenth century that simplified the propagation of the Catholic faith belongs to Guglielmo Marconi who, in 1909, received the Nobel Prize in Physics. He had invented the first practical radio signaling system in 1895. His technology created instantaneous communication throughout the world.

Beginning with Pope BENEDICT XV during World War I, the Church has been actively involved in ecclesiastical diplomacy, thanks to Marconi. Vatican Radio became a major channel of propagation for the survival of the universal Catholic Church. In fact, the Church became closely associated with the implementation of international policies and politics as well as the development of an effective communication system to support them. As political borders changed, the Vatican was prepared to meet the new challenges of international relations within a media framework.

History of Wireless Telegraphy. Marconi, the Italian physicist who developed wireless telegraphy, was born in Bologna, Italy, in 1874, to a wealthy Italian father and Irish mother. He died of heart failure on July 20, 1937. Experimenting with homemade apparatus in 1895, he succeeded in sending signals to a point more that a mile distant; by 1897 he had increased the distance from a vessel to the shore to 18 miles. Marconi formed a company in London and, continuing his experiments, in 1901 sent and received the first trans-Atlantic communications between Cornwall, England, and St. John's, Newfoundland. From this point on, papal diplomacy would never be the same.

Vatican Radio. Vatican Radio has enjoyed a long history of world recognition and credibility, supporting both the sacred and secular objectives of seven popes throughout a century of religious and political turmoil. It has been the daily voice of the pontiffs—a bridge uniting the Shepherd with his flock. It not only broadcasts the teachings of the Roman Pontiff, but it also gives information on the activities of the HOLY SEE, reports on Catholic life throughout the world, and indicates the Church's point of view on current issues and her readiness to respond to the signs of the times. It announces the Christian message freely and efficiently and links the center of Catholicism with the different countries of the world.

Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli (later Pope PIUS XII), then VATICAN secretary of state, sought ways to strengthen the Vatican's power against the growing pressures applied by the secular state. He suggested that the

Holy See investigate the possibilities of incorporating a new medium, radio, into church evangelization. With airwaves of broadcast technology, no pope could ever be driven into isolation again; geographic and political borders became virtually meaningless. PIUS XI listened intently to Pacelli's arguments and later supported his proposal to build a transnational system for the Church. Pacelli began negotiations with his friend Marconi to create a powerful shortwave radio system for Vatican use.

Four days after the Lateran Concordat with Italy was signed in June 1929, Pius XI entrusted Marconi with setting up Vatican Radio. Several months later on November 8, 1929, a Vatican-Italy accord stipulated the regulations for Holy See communications. Its inauguration took place in the Vatican gardens on February 12, 1931.

In 1930 Cardinal Pacelli approached Marconi to help him modernize the Vatican secretariat by introducing an efficient telephone system as well as a powerful shortwave radio station. Marconi readily agreed. Within months Pope Pius XI blessed the first world transnational radio system. For the first time the Roman pontiff's voice was heard live simultaneously across the planet.

Marconi introduced the Pope at the inaugural ceremonies:

> For nearly twenty centuries the Roman Pontiffs have given their inspired messages to all people, but this is the first time in history that the living voice of the Pope will have been heard simultaneously in all parts of the globe. With the help of Almighty God, who places such mysterious forces of nature at mankind's disposal, I have been able to prepare this instrument that will give to the faithful throughout the world the consolation of hearing the voice of the Holy Father. (*The Founding of Vatican Radio* 1931)

Following Marconi's inaugural comments, Pius XI prayed for God's blessings on this new and powerful medium:

> To God let our first words be "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of good will." Glory to God who in our days hath given such power to men that their words should reach in very truth to the ends of the earth, and peace on earth where we are the ambassador of that Divine Redeemer, Jesus. (*The Founding of Vatican Radio* 1931)

Listeners were amazed at the technical clarity of his message on shortwave. Pius XI was delighted. Vatican Radio became a significant force in Church propagation, programming much of its content to diverse audiences in many languages. The Holy Father instituted a Catholic Information Service via Vatican Radio airwaves. This program attempted to clarify the pope's position as church leader and was created solely to attack the atheistic propaganda coming from Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia. Radio became a primary medium for the pontiff's anti-Communist message.

For the second anniversary of the Lateran Treaty between Italy and the Vatican State, Radio Vaticana was received enthusiastically throughout the world within moments of its first broadcast. It focused mainly on international missionary activity, Church teachings, commentary on various Catholic lay groups, and religious-oriented newscasts. Despite a few reception problems, the pope's first address was heralded as a great success.

The first papal message was broadcast for Christmas in 1936. Confronted with increasing appeals from Germany and Latin America to respond to Nazi and Soviet propaganda, Jesuit director Father Filippo Soccorso augmented the radio transmissions with broadcasts in German and other languages as well as Italian. At the same time, the Vatican updated the radio equipment with a new transmission tower, which German technicians nicknamed the "Papstfinger" (Pope's Finger).

The Church's institutional strength brought hope and inner peace to its faithful followers through periods of political conflict and economic turmoil. Toward the end of his pontificate, Pius XI prayed that Cardinal Pacelli, who possessed the diplomatic experience and media knowledge necessary for the challenges of World War II, would be his successor. When Pope Pius XI passed away on February 10, 1939, Vatican Radio was the first to announce the news. Indeed, it was Vatican Radio (station HVJ) that announced Pius XII's election to the papal throne on March 2, 1939.

SEE ALSO COMMUNISM; MODERN MEDIA AND THE CHURCH.

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MARELLO, GIUSEPPE (JOSEPH), ST.

Bishop of Asti, Piedmont, Italy, founder of the OBLATES OF SAINT JOSEPH; b. December 26, 1844, Turin, Italy; d. May 30, 1895, of a cerebral hemorrhage in the bishop's residence at Savona, Italy; beatified on Sept. 26, 1993, by Pope John Paul II; canonized on Nov. 25, 2001 by Pope John Paul II.

While still a child, Giuseppe (Joseph) moved from Turin to Santi Martino Alfieri with his father, Vincenzo, after the death of his mother, Anna Maria. He entered the minor seminary at age 12 and was ordained priest in 1868. While in the seminary he was miraculously cured of typhus by the Blessed Virgin, and ever after he had a very deep devotion to her. In his capacity as secretary to Bishop Carlo Savio of Asti for 13 years, Father Marello attended Vatican Council I from 1869 to 1870. During this time he also assumed responsibility for a retirement home, served as spiritual director, and taught catechism. At this time, he also contemplated joining a Carthusian monastery in order to devote the whole of his time to prayer. However, Bishop Savio convinced him that his gifts were better suited to a life of pastoral service. To this end, Marello founded the Oblates of St. Joseph in 1878 with the instruction that the Oblates be "hermits at home" devoted to deep contemplation and prayer so that they might be "effective apostles away from home." He also wanted to instill a devotion to St. Joseph in the men that were called to this new religious order.

Marello wanted his followers to be humble servants of the Church, ready to serve the bishops in whatever tasks were assigned them. The congregation was approved in 1909 by the Vatican after Marello's death. They opened their first mission in the United States in 1929. Following his episcopal consecration Feb. 17, 1889, Bishop Marello dedicated his work especially to youth and the abandoned, striving to emulate St. Joseph and the love and instruction he gave to the child, Jesus. His remains were enshrined at Asti.

In 1944, a young Oblate seminarian, Aldo Falconetti, was stricken with tubercular meningitis. Falconetti's Oblate brothers prayed for the healing intercession of their founder, even as the young man was being given the Last Rights. He was not expected to live through the night. When Falconetti awoke the next morning, free of his illness, it was declared miraculous. He was examined by doctors who could not explain how he had recovered so suddenly from his illness. On April 2, 1993, this miraculous healing was attributed to the then Venerable Giuseppe Marello, whom the Oblates had prayed to so fervently for a cure. This miracle opened a clear path to Marello's beatification and canonization.

He decisively opposed "materialism, Masonry, and anti-clericalism, which prevailed at the time" (Decree of Canonization, Dec. 18, 2000).

Feast: May 30.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MARIA CANDIDA OF THE EUCHARIST, BL.

Baptized Maria Barba, prioress of Teresian Carmel, Ragusa, Italy; b. January 16, 1884, Catanzaro, Italy; d. June 12, 1949, Ragusa, Italy; beatified by John Paul II, March 21, 2004.

Born at Catanzaro, Southern Italy, into a devout Sicilian family from Palermo, Maria and her family returned to Palermo when she was two. As a young child, she yearned to partake in the mystery of the EUCHARIST. Maria would greet her mother after Mass and ask to be kissed so that she too might be in communion with God. Even at that young age, she searched with a childlike faith to understand the tangibility of the Eucharist.

At age fifteen Maria wanted to enter religious life, but family disapproval dictated that not until 1919, twenty years later, was she able to pursue her vocation. She entered the Teresian Carmel at Ragusa, taking the name Maria Candida of the Eucharist. Here, her love for the Eucharist, the symbol of God's presence in, and sacrifice for, the world, blossomed and found support in the writings of St. TERESA OF AVILA, the foundress of the CARMELITES. For Maria Candida, contemplative faith, divine hope, and loving charity were explicit demonstrations of the mystery of the Eucharist at work. Out of these flowed obedience, poverty, and love. To her, the quintessential mirror of the Eucharistic life was the Virgin Mary. Maria Candida's devotion to the concreteness and closeness of God through the Eucharist remained her lifelong inspiration, study, and focus. The written fruits were her uplifting, reflective meditations titled, "*The Eucharist, 'True Jewel of Eucharistic Spirituality*.'"

Maria Candida was elected prioress at Teresian Carmel in 1924, and she served until 1947. Under her guidance, the Rule of St Teresa of Jesus was lovingly upheld by the community, the Discalced Carmelite Order grew in Sicily, and she assisted with the revival of the Order of Carmelite Friars in Ragusa.

John Paul II said of Maria Candida that:

> She was an authentic mystic of the Eucharist; she made it the unifying centre of her entire life … [and] fell so deeply in love with the Eucharistic Jesus that she felt a constant, burning desire to be a tireless apostle of the Eucharist. I am sure that Bl. Maria Candida is continuing to help the Church from Heaven, to assure the growth of her sense of wonder at and love for this supreme Mystery of our faith.

Feast: June 14.

SEE ALSO CARMELITES, DISCALCED; EUCHARISTIC DEVOTION; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MARIA GIUSEPPINA OF JESUS CRUCIFIED, BL.

Baptized Giuseppina (Josephine) Catanea, Prioress of the Carmel of Saints Teresa and Joseph at Ponti Rossi, Naples, Italy; b. February 18, 1894, Naples; d. March 14, 1948, Naples; beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI on June 1, 2008, in Naples, Italy.

Daughter of the Marquises Grimaldi, Giuseppina Catanea was called Pinella by her family. The strong religious examples of her mother and grandmother fostered her Christian development. From an early age she felt the call to become a Carmelite. In 1918 Giuseppina entered the Community of St. Maria at Ponti Rossi as a novice.

During this time Giuseppina Catanea was paralyzed by spinal tuberculosis. After touching a relic of St. Francis XAVIER and being visited by him in a dream, she was miraculously cured. Following her healing, many sought her wisdom and guidance.

In 1932, at the decree of Pope PIUS XI, the house at Ponti Rossi became the Carmel of Saints Teresa and Joseph at Ponti Rossi, a Carmel of the Second Order, within the care of the Archbishop of Naples. That same year Giuseppina fully entered the order as Sr. Maria Giuseppina of Jesus Crucified. God continued to grant Maria Giuseppina mystical experiences.

In 1945 Maria Giuseppina was elected prioress of the convent. She served in this office until her death. She continued to suffer from physical illnesses. In time, her sight would fail, and she would be paralyzed by multiple sclerosis. Throughout she remained cheerful and saw her illnesses as gifts from the crucified Christ. She died from gangrene on March 14, 1948. Even in death, God's grace abounded. Maria Giuseppina's body lay exposed for veneration for fourteen days before burial. Her body remained uncorrupted. Medical experts declared the lack of decomposition inexplicable.

Maria Giuseppina was an inspiration for her sisters, publishing exhortations and letters for them. She also

published her autobiography (1894–1932) and her diary (1925–1945) under the guidance of her spiritual director.

Maria Giuseppina's beatification took place in the cathedral of Naples. The Archbishop Cardinal Crescenzio Sepe presided, delivering Cardinal Martins's homily. Cardinal Martins wrote, "*Guardando in particolare la storia ed il messaggio della Beata Giuseppina, comprendiamo meglio l'esigenza ineludibile della dimensione contemplativa, nella vita di ogni cristiano. Il suo esempio ci indica, anche, la strada concreta per coltivarla*." ("Examining in particular Blessed Giuseppina's life and message, we better understand the inescapable need for the contemplative dimension in the life of every Christian. Her example offers us also the concrete way to cultivate it.")

Feast: June 26 (Carmelite).

SEE ALSO CARMELITE SISTERS; DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; MYSTICISM; RELICS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN)

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MARIA MADDALENA DELLA PASSION, BL.

Baptized Costanza Starace; foundress of the Compassionist Sisters Servants of Mary; b. September 5, 1845, Castellammare di Stabia, Naples, Italy; d. December 13, 1921, Naples, Italy; beatified by Pope Benedict XIV, April 15, 2007.

Costanza Starace's future vocation would be influenced by her mother's devotion to Our Lady of Sorrows and her early childhood schooling. Educated at a boarding school run by the Daughters of Charity, Costanza developed health issues that forced her to return home, where she laid the foundations of her prayer life.

In 1867 Costanza Starace entered the Third Order of the SERVANTS OF MARY. She took the name Sr. Maria Maddalena of the Passion. At the behest of Bishop Francesco Petagna, she directed the Pious Union of the Daughters of Mercy, teaching catechism to young girls. Following a cholera outbreak in the area in 1869, the young Sr. Maria founded the Compassionist Sisters Servants of Mary. The governing rule of the order was "to share the compassionate Jesus and the Sorrowful Mother, to assist one's neighbor in all his needs, spiritual or corporal."

Supported by her deep understanding of personal sanctification and love for the Crucified Christ and Our Lady of Sorrows, Mother Maddalena's trust in God's will for her life never failed. Despite many spiritual trials that shadowed her life, Mother Maddalena's constant confession was "The will of God is the only goal of my life," and "The will of God is my paradise." She accomplished much, including, as Cardinal Martins explained, "her daring decision to build a church dedicated to the Heart of Jesus on the Hill of Scanzano."

To Mother Maddalena, prayer was the keystone to all of life's activities and her rosary, her constant companion. Cardinal Martins described her as "ascending even to the heights of mysticism, training herself with rigorous asceticism and successfully giving her busy apostolic activity a deep motivation, ... [her] fundamental criterion focused on the conviction ... that success in nursing the elderly, educating youth and giving of oneself to those in need of help and comfort was bound to personal sanctification and deep union with God."

To Mother Maddalena, prayer and the righteous execution of one's responsibilities were synonymous: "The world is not renewed when people conceive holiness as something different from fulfilling the duties of one's own state. The worker will be sanctified in his place of work; the soldier will become holy in the army.... Each step forward on the road to holiness is a step in the sacrifice of fulfilling one's own duty."

Feast: December 13.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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MARIA TERESA OF JESUS, BL.

Baptized Maria Scrilli, known in religion as Mother Maria Teresa Scrilli; foundress of the Congregation of the Sisters of Our Lady of Carmel; b. May 15, 1825, Montevarchi, Arezzo, Italy; d. November 14, 1889, Florence, Italy; beatified at Fiesole, Italy, by Benedict XVI, October 8, 2006.

Mother Maria Teresa's journey is not just that of a remarkable woman who lived trusting God's will and guiding hand, but also that of an order that time and again teetered on the edge of extinction.

Bedridden for two years during her teens, Maria Scrilli was healed due to the intercession of the martyr St. Fiorenzo. Recognizing God's call, she entered the Carmelite convent of St. Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi in Florence and stayed two months before returning home.

Awaiting direction, Maria Scrilli started a small school for girls in Montevarchi. She provided a well-rounded education that included spiritual guidance focused on virtue and the love of God. Other like-minded young women joined her in this work. Their efforts were so respected that authorities asked them to direct a local school. God's call on Marie Scrilli's life now had focus.

In 1854, with three companions and the support of her bishop and Duke Leopold II (1797–1870), she entered the CARMELITES. Taking the name Maria Teresa of Jesus, she founded the Sisters of Our Lady of Carmel, whose mission was to develop religious schools for girls from early childhood to adolescence.

The year 1848 saw the beginning of political and social upheavals in Italy. Anti-Church sentiments were widespread. In 1859 the Montevarchi authorities closed the school. Despite several attempts to relocate, the congregation finally shut down in 1862.

In 1878 in Florence, Mother Maria restored her community, opening a boarding school for girls from deprived backgrounds. Regrettably, health issues and an austere lifestyle took its toll on the sisters. Amongst those who suffered and died was Mother Maria, in 1889, at age sixty-four.

The congregation again faced dissolution due to lack of initiates. Amazingly, membership revived, and by 2009 the congregation spanned several continents, continuing Mother Maria's charism.

The miracle required for Mother Maria's beatification was promulgated on December 19, 2005. Cardinal Martins said that Mother Maria responded to the concerns of her time:

> Giving particularly to the poorest girls a full human training from the cultural, academic and religious point of view, which would correspond with the needs of their specific life as women by preparing them for dignified employment.... Mother Scrilli, witness[ed] "heroically" to Christian hope and to the capacity for rising from suffering.

Feast: November 14.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MARIA TERESA OF ST. JOSEPH, BL.

Baptized Anna Maria Tauscher van den Bosch; foundress of the Congregation of Carmelite Sisters of the Divine Heart of Jesus; b. June 19, 1855, Sandow, Germany; d. September 20, 1938, Sittard, The Netherlands; beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI, May 13, 2006.

Daughter of a Lutheran pastor, Anna Maria's journey to Catholicism traversed the landscape of change

of faith and was accompanied by family opposition and rejection. On October 30, 1888, she joined the Catholic Church. Suffering abandonment and homelessness, she was supported only by her deep faith in God. These circumstances laid the foundations for her future commission: to care for the poor, neglected, homeless, itinerant, and aged.

Inspired by St. TERESA OF AVILA and drawn to the CARMELITES, she eventually chose community involvement over seclusion. In 1891, taking the name Mother Maria Teresa, she founded the Congregation of the Carmel of the Divine Heart of Jesus in Berlin, where she opened a House of St. Joseph for the homeless. Prayer and charity would become the order's focus.

She was driven from Germany when Cardinal Kopp refused to grant her permission to be a religious. In 1897 she was admitted to the general house of the Discalced Carmelites. In 1898 she opened the first House of St. Joseph in the Netherlands. In 1906, at Rocca di Papa near Rome, the Congregation took their religious vows under canon law. The Congregation's motherhouse had been established there in 1904, with the assistance of Cardinal Satolli.

Allowed back into Germany, Mother Maria Teresa opened new Houses of St. Joseph. She traveled to America to continue her work, and while she was there the First World War broke out. Designated "German property," the motherhouse near Rome was seized by authorities.

In 1922 Mother Maria Teresa returned from America to the Netherlands and established a new motherhouse at Sittard. She stayed there, guiding the congregation and working on the institution's constitution and her memoirs, until her death on September 20, 1938.

The charism of the foundress was to integrate the contemplative spirit of Carmel with active ministry, as the Congregation's Constitution declares: "This union of prayer and service is our life and mission, and our gift to the Church and the world."

In 2005 Pope Benedict XVI promulgated the decree attesting to "the miraculous healing of Mrs. Mary Josephine Pieters-Maas ... through the intercession of the Servant of God Maria Teresa of St. Joseph," which paved the way for Mother Maria Teresa's BEATIFICATION at Roermond, The Netherlands.

Feast: October 30 (Carmelite).

SEE ALSO CARMELITES, DISCALCED; WORLD WAR I, PAPAL REACTION TO.

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MARÍA DEL CARMEN OF THE CHILD JESUS, BL.

Baptized María Carmela González Ramos García Prieto, also known in religion as María del Monte Carmelo of the Infant Jesus; foundress of the Franciscan Sisters of the Sacred Hearts; b. June 30, 1834, Antequera, Málaga, Spain; d. November 9, 1899, Antequera; beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI, May 6, 2007.

Intensely religious and passionately devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary, María Carmela was sustained by the power of the Eucharist and committed to serving the poor.

At twenty-two, María married Joaquím Muñoz del Caño. Their marriage was troubled. María found strength in her faith, attendance at daily Mass, and charitable works. Years later, María's prayers and loving patience for her husband were rewarded. Joaquím converted and sought her pardon for his behavior throughout their marriage. He died four years later.

Childless and widowed at forty-seven, María was drawn to the children of her neighborhood. Despite their cloaks of poverty, and their lack of faith and education, she recognized the Christ Child within them. Encouraged by her spiritual mentor, Fr. Bernabé de Astorga, she opened a small school for the children in her home. Other young women joined in these endeavors, paving the way for Mother Carmen's future religious congregation.

From this modest beginning sprang the Congregation of the Third Order Franciscan Sisters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, now the Franciscan Sisters of the Sacred Hearts. Under Mother Carmen's leadership, the Congregation spread across Spain, continuing the call of education for all, child and adult, and expanding to include convalescent homes.

As Cardinal Martins indicated at her BEATIFICATION:

> The Lord chose Mother Carmen as an instrument to reflect God's dwelling with men, to comfort, sustain, console in sorrow. She did this through the Franciscan spirit that predisposed her to be a bearer of peace and goodness through devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, meek and humble, which impelled her to "manifest to all men the love that God has for us" (cf. Constitutions, n. 5); in the Immaculate Heart of Mary she taught "the attitude before God and life."

Embodying Christian living, Mother Carmen drew strength from prayer and was nourished by the mysteries of the Eucharist. She was proclaimed venerable by JOHN PAUL II in 1984. In 2006 Benedict XVI promulgated the decree that in 1991 Sr. Maria José Rodríguez, who previously had a large tumor, had been miraculously healed without medical aid through the INTERCESSION of Mother Carmen.

Feast: November 9.

SEE ALSO FRANCISCANS, THIRD ORDER REGULAR; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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MARÍA DEL TRÁNSITO DE JESÚS SACRAMENTADO, BL.

Baptized María del Tránsito Eugenia de los Dolores Cabanillas; virgin, foundress of the Congregation of the Franciscan Tertiary Missionaries of Argentina; b. August 15, 1821, Carlos Paz, Cordoba, Argentina; d. August 25, 1885, San Vicente, Buenos Aires, Argentina; beatified by John Paul II, April 14, 2002.

María del Tránsito was born into a large, wealthy, devout Christian family. From 1840 she studied in Cordoba and cared for her younger brother, a seminarian. When her father died in 1850, her family joined her there. María believed in the centrality of the Eucharist. She was a catechist and followed a life of prayer and penance, caring for the poor and sick. After her mother's death in 1959, she joined the Franciscan Third Order.

Committed to ascetical piety, María del Tránsito joined a CARMELITE monastery in Buenos Aires in 1873, but left in 1874. Later that year, she entered the convent of the Sisters of the Visitation, Montevideo. On both occasions, illness forced her to retire.

María del Tránsito was encouraged to turn into reality an earlier idea of founding an educational aid institute for poor and abandoned children. On December 8, 1878, with two companions, Teresa Fronteras and Brigida Moyano, she started the Congregation of the Franciscan Tertiary Missionaries of Argentina. In February 1879, the women made their religious profession. The congregation became officially affiliated with the Franciscans on January 28, 1880. Under María del Tránsito's wise governance, the congregation grew. New colleges were inaugurated: St. Margarite of Cortona, San Vicente; El Carmen, Rio Cuarto; and Immaculate Conception, Villa Nueva.

Fully immersed in the work of the institute, embracing the rigors of penance and mortification, María del Tránsito gave unstintingly to the vocation to which GOD had called her. Her inspiration and spiritual guidance supported the congregation's work and service for children, the poor, and the indisposed. Never fully recovering her health, this humble Servant of God succumbed to illness and died on August 25, 1885.

María del Tránsito was venerated by JOHN PAUL II in 1999. John Paul II said as he considered María del Tránsito, the first Argentinean woman to be beatified, "'Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked to us on the road, while he opened to us the Scriptures? (Lk 24:32)." The pope then compared this declaration of the disciples to Mother María del Tránsito's vocation: "The flame that burned in her heart brought María del Tránsito to seek intimacy with Christ in the contemplative life.... she undertook a life of poverty, humility, patience and charity, giving rise to a new religious family" in the Franciscan tradition.

Feast: February 25.

SEE ALSO FRANCISCANS, THIRD ORDER REGULAR.

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MARIA OF THE PASSION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, BL.

Baptized Maria Grazia Tarallo; virgin, religious sister of the Institute of the Crucified Sisters, Adorers of the Eucharist; b. September 23, 1866, Giorgio a Cremano, Naples, Italy; d. July 27, 1912, Naples; beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI, May 14, 2006.

Maria Grazia felt called to consecrate her life to God from childhood. Her vision of the perfect Christian life would encompass a true and sacramental devotion to God. At the age of five, Maria Grazia took a private vow of VIRGINITY. Her father wanted her to marry, but her fiancé died prior to their wedding.

Subsequently, in 1891 Maria Grazia entered the Order of the Crucified Sisters, Adorers of the Eucharist in Naples, founded in the previous year by the Servant of God, Maria Pia Notari. Witnessing Maria Grazia's dedication to the Eucharist, her love for Our Lady of Sorrows, and pursuit of a virtuous and holy life, the Servant of God gave Maria Grazia the name Sr. Maria of the Passion. As Cardinal Martins would intimate at her Mass of BEATIFICATION, Sr. Maria's love of the Eucharist is a call to all for a renewed fervor for the sacrament and understanding of the concrete reality it is.

Sr. Maria undertook a diversity of duties within the order. She served as a kitchen and laundry worker, a porter, a spiritual mentor for her sisters, and novice mistress. To the community she was a source of edification and admiration, an example of the charitable life, of supplication and prayer, and of dedication to her vocation.

As reported in her Vatican biography, Sr. Maria evinced a mystic's passion for her life's calling "to be holy, loving Jesus in the Eucharist, suffering with Christ Crucified and seeing Christ in my brothers and sisters." Her dying words of encouragement to her sisters were: "I exhort you to holy perseverance according to the Rule, readiness in obedience and especially daily Adoration of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament. Love Jesus in the Eucharist, never leave him alone, do not anger him, do not disappoint him."

In 2005 Benedict XVI promulgated the decree for her beatification. In concluding his tribute to Sr. Maria, Cardinal Martins declared that by her example we are reminded that love is not barren but fruitful, and that working and living for the coming of the Kingdom of Christ in the world, a kingdom of love, justice, reconciliation, and peace among all, is the only good worthy of being pursued.

Feast: July 27.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; KINGDOM OF GOD; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MARIAN FATHERS

(MIC, Official Catholic Directory #0740) The Congregation of Marians of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, popularly called Marian Fathers, was founded in Poland in 1673 by Bl. Stanislaus of Jesus and Mary PAPCZYNSKI (beatified on September 16, 2007, by Pope Benedict XVI). The mission of this congregation is to honor the IMMACULATE CONCEPTION of the Virgin Mary, to teach the poor, and to pray for the souls in PURGATORY. The Marians first began as

a diocesan community with simple vows. Within six years of their founding, King John III Sobieski granted permission to establish houses throughout his dominions. In 1699 INNOCENT XII gave the Marian Fathers the Rule of Ten Evangelical Virtues of Our Lady (approved by ALEXANDER VI in 1501) and designated the community as an order with solemn vows. This rule was complemented by statutes composed by the founder. The distinctive religious garb of the Marians was a white habit with cincture and cape.

The Marians made foundations in Lithuania, Portugal, and Italy, but religious persecutions gradually forced them out of Rome in 1798, Portugal in 1834, and Poland and Lithuania in 1864. Most Marians were either exiled to Siberia or absorbed into the diocesan clergy by 1864. Those who remained were permitted to live in the monastery of Mariampole, Lithuania, but were forbidden to accept novices. In 1908 there remained in Mariampole the last surviving Marian, Vincent Senkowski-Senkus, superior general. However, the order was saved from extinction by two Lithuanian priests, professors of the Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical Academy in St. Petersburg, Russia, who appealed to the HOLY SEE to be admitted secretly into the order. In order to facilitate restoration, Pope PIUS X approved the change from solemn to simple vows, and from the conspicuous white habit to the black cassock of a diocesan priest. On Aug. 29, 1909, by papal dispensation, George Matulaitis-Matulewicz made his religious profession without the required novitiate, and Rev. Francis Bucys was admitted into the novitiate. To rescue the reborn congregation from Russian persecution, the novitiate was transferred in 1911 from St. Petersburg to Fribourg, Switzerland. In 1910 a new constitution (revised in 1930) was approved by Pius X and supplanted the original rule. In 1930 Pope PIUS XI confirmed the former status of the Marians as exempt religious.

In 1913 the Marian Fathers first settled in Chicago, Ill., and from there spread to Wisconsin, Michigan, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Washington, D.C. Some of them minister in the Byzantine-Slavonic rite. In the spirit of their founder, they preach missions, teach, administer parishes, and publish newspapers, books, and periodicals.

The generalate is in Rome. There are two American provinces: St. Casimir (with its headquarters in Chicago, IL) and Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Mercy (with its headquarters in Stockbridge, MA). As of 2009, the congregation of 483 priests and brothers could be found in 17 countries around the world (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 467).

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MARIANITES OF HOLY CROSS

(MSC, Official Catholic Directory #2410) This congregation of religious women was founded in Le Mans, France, in 1841 by Bl. Basil Anthony MOREAU (beatified on September 15, 2007, by Pope Benedict XVI). Bl. Moreau also founded the Fathers of Holy Cross and reorganized the Brothers of Holy Cross. Mother Mary of the Seven Dolors Gascoin (d. 1900), the first superior, and her early companions received their training in religious life from the Good Shepherd nuns in Le Mans. At first Moreau intended his little community to be housekeepers in the seminaries and boarding schools staffed by the Holy Cross fathers and brothers, but the sisters' field of activity expanded to include teaching, nursing, caring for orphans and elderly people, and laboring in foreign missions. In 1869 Pope PIUS IX approved their constitutions.

Four Marianites began work in Indiana in 1843; others came to Canada in 1847, to Louisiana in 1848, and to New York in 1855. The sisters are engaged in education, healthcare, parish ministries, youth ministries, social work, and pastoral work. The U.S. headquarters is located in New Orleans, LA.

SEE ALSO HOLY CROSS, CONGREGATION OF; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MARIANO DE LA MATA APARICIO, BL.

Augustinian priest and missionary; b. December 31, 1905, Puebla de Valdavia, Spain; d. April 5, 1983, São Paulo, Brazil; beatified at the Cathedral of São Paulo by Pope BENEDICT XVI, November 5, 2006.

Fr. Mariano is remembered by his Augustinian community with great respect as a supportive and caring presence. He "lived a life of holiness in the routine of everyday life." Born into a devout Christian family, Mariano followed his three older brothers into the Order of St. Augustine in 1921. He was ordained as a priest in 1930.

Sent to Brazil as a missionary in 1931, he spent the next fifty years in obedient humility serving his order's call. He was an assistant to the bishop at Taquaritinga, São Paulo. He taught natural sciences at St. Augustine College, of which he became the director. From 1945 to 1948, he was the vice provincial superior of São Paulo. He officiated as superior and as a professor at the Engenheiro Schmidt Seminary.

Returning to teach at St. Augustine College in 1961, Fr. Mariano took on the roles of spiritual director of the St. Rita of Cascia Workshop and parochial vicar of the Church of St. Augustine. Working among the destitute of Brazil, Fr. Mariano was both compassionate and empathetic. He was a friend to all—the old, the young, and the sick—shining the light of God in places darkened by poverty and despair. He went out of his way to succor those in need by visiting them regularly. He was a living message of charity among the impoverished, a real and present demonstration of God's love. He guided his charges faithfully, both spiritually and educationally. He is recognized for his heroic virtues. He died from cancer in 1983.

According to his official Vatican biography, Fr. Mariano's Augustinian life "remains an important model for all simply because he did nothing extraordinary; rather, it was through the faithful fulfillment of his daily duties that he reached the heights of sanctity."

Cardinal Martins upheld Fr. Mariano as "an example and a way of holiness for both the Augustinians and the Augustinian Family and the Dioceses in which he was born, lived, worked and died for the Kingdom of Heaven.... to be imitated as a model disciple of Jesus Christ."

Feast: April 5.

SEE ALSO AUGUSTINIANS; BEATIFICATION; DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; VIRTUE, HEROIC.

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MARIE-CÉLINE DE LA PRÉSENTATION, BL.

Baptized Jeanne-Germaine Castang, also known as Marie-Céline Castang; religious sister of the order of Poor Clares of Talence, Second Order of St. Francis; b. May 23, 1878, Nojals, France; d. May 30, 1897, Talence, France; beatified by Pope Benedict XVI, September 16, 2007.

From a devout family, the fifth of eleven children, Jeanne-Germaine Castang faced a background of poverty and disease. She contracted poliomyelitis at four, resulting in a wasted leg. Her mother died unexpectedly in 1892, and her father's business failed. The family found refuge in a rundown barn, surviving mainly on food Jeanne-Germaine sought from neighboring farms. When her father went to Bordeaux seeking work, Jeanne-Germaine looked after the home and her older brother, who later died from tuberculosis. Despite these hardships, her faith deepened. Educated at the local church school, she was inspired by the Sacrament of the Eucharist and contemplated joining an order from an early age.

Three years later, the family reunited in Bordeaux. When her father moved again, Jeanne-Germaine stayed for five years in Bordeaux with the Sisters of Nazareth. Eager to enter the religious life, she applied to the POOR

CLARES and later to the order of St. Joseph at Aubenas. She was rejected because of her perceived incapacity. Finally, the mother superior of the Ave Maria Community of the Poor Clares at Talence, recognizing Jeanne-Germaine's devout sincerity of faith, received her favorably. Jeanne-Germaine entered the community on June 12, 1896. On November 21, 1896, donning the garb of the Second Order of St. Francis, she took the name Marie-Céline of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Suffering from tuberculosis, Marie-Céline threw herself into the contemplative life and grew in her love for God, her community, and the Church. Her health steadily deteriorated, and she took her final vows on her deathbed. She died on May 30, 1897, at age nineteen. In the early 1900s her burial place became a pilgrimage site. In June 2006 her remains were taken to her childhood parish, the Church of Nojals-et-Clottes. That same year, Pope BENEDICT XVI promulgated a decree attributing a miracle to her intercession.

As a young novice Marie-Céline had written, "I am determined to be a violet of humility, a rose of charity, and a lily of purity for Jesus." After death she became known as the *Saint of Perfumes*, her appearance is accompanied by fragrant scents. Cardinal Martins said that Marie-Céline, "*Ci viene presentata come modello di vita e di fedeltà incrollabile al Vangelo delle Beatitudini.*" (Presents to us a model of living and unshakable fidelity to the Gospel of the Beatitudes.)

Feast: May 30.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MARK OF AVIANO, BL.

Baptized Carlo Domenico Cristofori, also known as Marco D'Aviano; friar of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin; b. November 17, 1631, Aviano, Italy; d. August 13, 1699, Vienna, Austria; beatified April 27, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

At sixteen, filled with a zealous vision of heroes and holy martyrs, Carlo Domenico Cristofori left his Jesuit school in Gorizia, Italy, and started walking toward Crete to join the war between the Venetians and OTTOMAN TURKS. Exhausted, he reached Capodistria and sought refuge at a Capuchin CONVENT, where the superior encouraged him to return home.

Inspired by this encounter, Carlo was convinced that God was calling him to enter the Capuchin order. In 1648, at Conegliano, Veneto, he began his novitiate year. Twelve months later, he took his vows and became Fr. Mark of Aviano. He was ordained as a priest in 1655 at Chioggia.

He spent the following years in prayerful consideration, immersing himself in his vocation. In 1664 he was called from the cloister to be a preacher, spreading God's word throughout Italy. He was elected superior of two convents, Belluno (1672) and Oderzo (1674).

In 1676, while preaching at Padua, Fr. Mark blessed Sr. Vincenza Francesconi, who had been confined to bed for thirteen years. She was miraculously healed. People flocked to receive God's grace and healing extended through this pious friar.

At the direction of the HOLY SEE, Fr. Mark began a new ministry. He preached throughout Italy and beyond, evangelizing and healing. He gave spiritual guidance to Leopold I (1640–1705) of Austria, and served as the apostolic nuncio and papal legate for Pope INNOCENT XI in Vienna. From 1683 to 1689, he was assigned to military campaigns, bringing spiritual guidance to soldiers, sponsoring Christian ethics of conduct, and promoting good relations within the imperial army.

In this capacity, he helped bring peace to Europe, promoting unity between the Catholic powers in their stand against the Ottoman Empire, freeing Vienna (1683), and assisting with the liberation of Buda (1686) and Belgrade (1688). God granted him wisdom and discernment in this role. Fr. Mark died from a tumor in 1699.

John Paul II described Fr. Mark of Aviano as a "contemplative who journeyed along the highways of Europe [and] was the centre of a wide-reaching spiritual renewal.... An unarmed prophet of divine mercy, he was impelled by circumstances to be actively committed to defending the freedom and unity of Christian Europe."

Feast: August 13.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MARKIEWICZ, BRONISŁAW, BL.

Known in religion as Fr. Bronisław, also known as Fr. Markiewicz; Salesian father, founder of the Congregation of St. Michael the Archangel; b. July 13, 1842, Pruchnik, Poland; d. January 29, 1912, Miejsce Piastowe, Poland; beatified June 19, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Reared in a devout Polish family, Bronisław's antireligious school environment caused him to question his faith. Resolving this conflict, he answered God's call to the priesthood. After attending the seminary in Przemyśl, he was ordained a priest in 1867. His work with youth in the parish of Harta and the Cathedral of Przemyśl led him to further university studies at Leopoli and Kraków. He became a pastor at Gać (1875) and Błażowa (1877). In 1882 he went to teach pastoral THEOLOGY at the seminary.

Feeling called to join a religious community, Bronisław left Poland and entered the Salesian Monastery in Turin, Italy, in 1885. He took his vows in 1887 before St. John BOSCO, who would be his lifelong inspiration. Salesian community living was austere, and in 1889 the combination of lifestyle and climate had a detrimental effect on Fr. Bronisław's health, causing him to contract consumption.

In 1892 he was granted leave to return to Poland to serve as a pastor at Miejsce Piastowe. Always concerned for the young, and following the precepts of St. John Bosco, he opened an orphanage for poor and orphaned youth. Here they received food and shelter and were prepared spiritually and professionally for the future. In 1897 he founded the Congregation of St. Michael the Archangel, incorporating two congregations, a male and female branch called Temperance and Work. As pastor and director, he developed their CHARISM, adapting the rules of St. John Bosco with insights that reflected the cultural context. He started a related magazine in 1898. Recognition of the religious congregation was granted after his death—the male branch in 1921 and the female branch in 1928. The congregation was affirmed by papal law in 1966.

Supported by his bishop, Fr. Bronisław developed the congregations' work of housing and educating neglected orphans. Orphanages were established at Miejsce Piastowe and at Pawlikowice. His intense labors, fueled by a driving desire to develop programs and accommodate more orphans, placed a great strain on his already compromised health, culminating in his death in 1912.

The decree of the miracle performed by God through the INTERCESSION of Fr. Bronisław was promulgated in 2004. His BEATIFICATION Mass was conducted by the Polish primate, Józef GLEMP, in Pilsudski Square in Warsaw, Poland.

Feast: January 29.

SEE ALSO POLAND; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SALESIANS.

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MARTILLO MORÁN, NARCISA DE JESÚS, ST.

Lay mystic; b. Daule (Nobol) near Guayaquil, Ecuador, October 29, 1832; d. Lima, Peru, December 8, 1869; beatified October 25, 1992, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized October 12, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Narcisa Martillo Morán was born to the landowners Pedro Martillo Mosquera and Josefina Morán; her

mother died in 1838 and her father in 1851. The middle child of nine, Narcisa moved to Guayaquil after her father's death to find work as a seamstress to help support her siblings. Inspired by the example of the then recently beatified St. Mariana de Jesús PAREDES Y FLORES, Narcisa devoted herself to Jesus and especially to his PASSION. During this period of her life, she spent many solitary hours in silent meditation each day and in severe penance each night. She was often found in ecstasy from her awareness of the closeness of Jesus' presence.

For the next fifteen years, all spent in Guayaquil with a short break in Cuenca around 1865, Narcisa lived a life of manual labor, prayer, and penance, while also teaching catechism and caring for the neediest residents of Ecuador's capital. After the death of her spiritual director while she was in Cuenca, Narcisa was invited by the bishop there to join the CARMELITES, but discerned that her vocation was in the world. She then returned to Guayaquil, where, assisting Bl. Mercedes de Jesús MOLINA in running her orphanage, she gave catechesis to the children and made them clothes. Under the guidance of her Franciscan spiritual director, Narcisa travelled in 1868 to Lima, Peru, where she lived as a member of the community in the Dominican convent, keeping the rule there but remaining a lay woman. She died while at the convent, her physical health having likely been weakened by her years of penance and MORTIFICATION.

Soon after Narcisa's death, pilgrims began praying at her tomb in Lima. Her cause for BEATIFICATION was opened in 1889. In 1955 her incorrupt body was translated to Guayaquil. It now rests in her native town of Nobol under the altar of the Santuario de Santa Narcisa de Jesús, a shrine dedicated on August 22, 1998. During her canonization ceremony on October 12, 2008, Pope Benedict XVI praised her as "a perfect example of a life totally dedicated to God and to her brothers and sisters."

Feast: August 30.

SEE ALSO ECUADOR, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MARTIN, LOUIS, BL.

Layman, father of St. THÉRÈSE OF LISIEUX; b. Bordeaux, France, August 22, 1823; d. La Musse (near Evreux), France, July 29, 1894; beatified October 19, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Louis Martin's father was a military captain; the home atmosphere was disciplined and devout. As a young man, Louis learned the art of watchmaking but also desired to be a religious. In 1843 he sought to join a monastery but was not accepted because he did not know Latin. He then opened his own watch shop and lived a reclusive, prayerful, happy life as a bachelor until he was thirty-five. One day, at a lace-making class, Louis's mother noticed Zélie Guérin, whom she thought would make good wife for her son. Around the same time, Zélie passed Louis on a bridge and heard an interior voice say, "This is he whom I have prepared for you." They wed in 1858. At first, the couple lived together in continence, but under the influence of their spiritual director they decided to have children.

Louis and Zélie had five daughters, on whom they doted without spoiling them. The eldest, Marie, whom Louis called his Diamond, was most like him in temperament. Pauline, his Pearl, was most like her mother. He called their middle daughter his "good-hearted" Léonie, and Céline was the Intrepid. Thérèse, his Little Queen, came last. Two sons and a daughter died in infancy. The death of his five-year-old daughter Hélène after a sudden illness struck him very hard, a grief from which he never fully recovered.

Louis eventually sold his watch shop in order to help Zélie, whose lace-making business was booming. Louis's love for his wife is evident in a letter written while he was away on business, which he signed, "Your husband and true friend who loves you forever." In 1876 a dormant tumor in Zélie's breast spread into cancer. Louis was devastated when Zélie's pilgrimage to LOURDES did not bring about her cure. Zélie died in August 1877. Shortly thereafter, Louis sold the lace business and moved the girls from Alençon to Lisieux in order to be near Zélie's brother Isidore and his family.

In Lisieux, Louis lived a quiet, ordered life with his daughters. Just as when Zélie was alive, their lives were structured around daily Mass and prayer. Marie ran the home and together with Pauline raised the younger girls. Louis loved to fish and made a habit of bringing his catch to the Carmelite monastery, as he had done for the POOR CLARES in Alençon. Little did he realize that three of his daughters would enter that Carmelite monastery in his lifetime: Pauline in 1882, Marie in 1886, and Thérèse in 1888. He keenly felt the loss of his daughters, yet he was honored that God had called them to be the spouses of Christ. He ardently supported Thérèse's desire to join at the young age of fifteen, even journeying to Rome with her to petition the pope.

Just prior to their Rome pilgrimage, he suffered one of what would be a series of strokes. Several months after Thérèse's entrance, he began to suffer dementia. Several times he set out on business trips, only to become confused and lost. Eventually, unable to keep him safely at home, Isidore insisted Louis enter the Bon Sauveur Hospital in Caen. He remained there for three years, suffering acutely from the separation from his family, until he was paralyzed by a stroke and brought to Isidore's home to be cared for by Céline. He had times of lucidity and cheerfulness that alternated with confusion, deep sadness, and weeping. Throughout seven years of profound physical and mental suffering, he tried to embrace each moment in love as the will of God. He passed away on July 29, 1894, after a heart attack. Céline, who was with him, described his last moments, in which she was praying aloud for him: "At that moment my beloved father opened his eyes, fixed them on me with affection and inexpressible gratitude. His eyes were filled with life and understanding. And then he closed them forever" (Martin 1957, p. 114).

After his death, Céline joined the CARMELITES and Léonie the Visitation Order. Louis's youngest daughter, Thérèse, was declared a saint and doctor of the Church. The cause for the canonization of Pauline, Marie, Léonie, and Céline is underway. Their father was beatified with his wife on October 19, 2008.

Feast: July 12.

SEE ALSO MARTIN, MARIE-ZÉLIE GUÉRIN, BL.

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MARTIN, MARIE-ZÉLIE GUÉRIN, BL.

Laywoman, mother of St. THÉRÈSE OF LISIEUX; b. St-Denis-sur-Sarthon (near Alençon), Normandy, France, December 23, 1831; d. Alençon, Normandy, France, August 28, 1877; beatified October 19, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Zélie Guérin was the second daughter born to parents who were devout Catholics but austere in raising their children. Zélie described her childhood as extremely sad. She was not permitted to have dolls, suffered frequent headaches, and deeply felt the absence of an affectionate mother. She grew close to her sister Marie Louise and later to her younger brother Isidore.

Zélie sought to join the Sisters of Charity of St. VINCENT DE PAUL but was refused entrance due to her poor health. In 1851 she was led through prayer to pursue lace making. She learned the craft and opened her own business. One day, in 1858, Zélie passed Louis Martin on a bridge and heard an interior voice say, "This is he whom I have prepared for you." They were married that same year.

Zélie and Louis lived in continence for ten months before their spiritual director helped them fully understand their vocation to marriage. Once a mother, Zélie realized that she was born to have children, and Louis became her best friend. They rose early each day to attend Mass together. Zélie was a lively, loving mother who delighted in raising their five daughters: Marie, Pauline, Léonie, Céline, and Thérèse. She suffered tremendously, however, enduring a succession of six deaths in five years that struck like hammer blows: her father-in-law, two infant sons, her own father who lived with them, five-year-old Hélène who was suddenly taken ill, and an infant daughter. In *The Mother of the Little Flower*, Céline sheds light on the source of her mother's strength: "What characterized her above all was her certainty that God governs all things, that He has a particular love for us, and that whatever he does, is well-done" (Martin 1957, p. 74). (Considering the degree to which she suffered at the deaths of her children, it is noteworthy that the approved miracle for the beatification of Zélie and Louis Martin was the healing of an infant boy, Pietro Schillero, who was cured of a life-threatening lung malady.)

Zélie was a working mother, operating her lace business from home. She was generous, quick-witted, industrious, and prone to anxiety over small matters. Céline again provides insight, quoting her mother: "It is over little things that I worry most. Whenever a real misfortune happens, I am quite resigned, and I await with confidence the help of God" (Martin 1957, p. 34). Another source of anxiety was Léonie. Léonie was less gifted than her sisters and emotionally stunted, her underdevelopment likely exacerbated by the loss of her playmate Hélène. Zélie often felt at her wits end in dealing with Léonie's erratic behavior, but she persevered in patience, trying her best to nurture Léonie. With each of her daughters, Zélie sought to inspire them to obey through love, encouraging them to make sacrifices for Jesus and to overcome their faults.

In 1876 Zélie's health declined rapidly from breast cancer. In excruciating pain, and worried about leaving her girls motherless (her oldest was seventeen and the youngest was four), she also had to bear her sister's death from tuberculosis. She and Louis were optimistic that a pilgrimage to LOURDES would cure her. She returned from the trip in even worse health, but accepted it as God's will for her. In the last months of her life, Zélie's efforts to attend daily Mass in her debilitated state were nothing short of heroic. On August 28, 1877, at age forty-five, Zélie died with her husband and three eldest girls present. Her greatest desire, to consecrate her children to God, was to be fulfilled. Four of her daughters became Carmelite nuns; the youngest, Thérèse, was elevated as a saint and DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH. Léonie entered the Visitation Order. The cause for the canonizations of Marie, Pauline, Céline, and Léonie is underway. Their mother was beatified with her husband on October 19, 2008.

Feast: July 12.

SEE ALSO MARTIN, LOUIS, BL.

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MARVELLI, ALBERTO, BL.

Layman, member of CATHOLIC ACTION, engineer; b. Ferrara, Italy, March 21, 1918; d. Rimini, Italy, October 5, 1946; beatified September 5, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

The second of six children of Luigi Alfredo Marvelli and Maria Mayr, Alberto Marvelli's mother provided a model of Christian generosity to the poor, which left a profound impression on him. In June 1930, his family moved to Rimini, where he attended the Salesian Oratory and joined Catholic Action. His father died shortly before his fifteenth birthday, leaving Alberto in a position of responsibility early in life. In October 1933, he began a spiritual diary that outlines his daily routine:

> I rise as early as possible each morning, as soon as the alarm rings; a half-hour of meditation

> every day, not to be neglected except for circumstances out of my control; half an hour at least dedicated to spiritual reading; Mass every morning and Holy Communion as regularly as possible; confession once a week normally and frequent spiritual direction; daily recitation of the Rosary and Angelus at noon. (*L'Osservatore Romano*, 2004, p. 5)

At eighteen, Alberto was elected president of the Rimini Catholic Action group, which he continued to direct while he studied engineering in Bologna. Graduating in 1941, he was exempted from military service because his two brothers were already serving, and upon his return to Rimini he was elected vice president of the diocesan Catholic Action. Forced to move to Vergiano because of the intense bombing during WORLD WAR II (1939–1945), Alberto returned to Rimini frequently to care for the homeless, wounded, and dying. He collected and distributed food and supplies in and around war-torn Rimini on his bicycle, at great risk to his own life. During the German occupation, he freed many people bound for concentration camps by opening sealed train cars at Santarcangelo Station.

After the war, Alberto returned to his city and became an effective administrator in the rebuilding effort. He opened a soup kitchen and encouraged the spiritual life of the poor he served. He eventually joined the Christian Democratic Party and became an outspoken critic of COMMUNISM. When he was twenty-eight, he was struck by an army truck while he was bicycling to a political meeting and died several hours later.

Alberto's life was shaped by his devotion to the Eucharist, his care for the poor, and his work for the common good through political action. He was beatified by Pope John Paul II on September 5, 2004, in Loreto.

Feast: October 5.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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MARXISM

The product of four decades of collaboration between Karl MARX (1818–1883) and Friedrich ENGELS (1820–1895), Marxism is at once a materialist philosophy and a theory of economics, a political ideology and an interpretation of history, a sociological theory of class structure and class warfare, and a quasi-religious ATHEISM. Although writing in terminology that owes much to the philosophies of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich HEGEL and Ludwig FEUERBACH and to the economics of Adam SMITH and David Ricardo, Marx and Engels did not merely repeat the views of any of their sources but transformed them into something distinctively new and something intentionally revolutionary. Smith, for instance, is a great proponent of *laissez-faire* capitalism and Hegel the champion of absolute idealism, but Marxism stands entirely opposed to both. Like the famous *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, many of Marx's pamphlets and newspaper articles were composed as polemics against views then current and as radical propaganda for specific campaigns. Such classic Marxist texts as *Capital* (1867) and *Theories of Surplus Value* (1863) are the result of long years of study during which Engels's financial and intellectual support allowed Marx to comb the library of the British Museum to gather support for his theories about how economic events shape history, how class struggles undergird these economic events, and how communist social organization will resolve these struggles.

Fundamental Concepts. Although the term "dialectical materialism" is not itself used by Marx or Engels, it has become common coin in Marxism for conveying its integration of the dialectical approach typical of Hegel's thought and a thoroughgoing materialism in regard to history and human nature. While rejecting the elaborate constructions of Hegelian metaphysics, Marx and Engels accepted Hegel's methodological principle of seeing the world not as a set of things but as a set of evolving processes. These processes are dialectical in that back-and-forth struggle produces change. The conflicts of opposing forces internal to the natures of things generate transformations that appear outwardly as social classes and historical change. As a methodology, dialectic materialism criticizes as simplistic any unquestioning acceptance of empirical appearances and seeks instead to grasp the underlying patterns and forces that produce

surface-level appearances. The ethical implications of this approach are summarized in the Marxist notion that there is a need to change economic substructures if one wants to alter cultural and social superstructures.

The critical concepts within the Marxist dialectic of social evolution according to the laws of material nature and economic necessity are development and alienation. What Hegel had called the "contradictions" between thesis and antithesis that generate a synthesis, Marx and Engels analyzed as the inner stresses and pressures that generate change through natural activities of individual human beings and their various forms of association. In their vision, COMMUNISM will involve a society whose main principle is the full and free development of the potential of each individual. They saw capitalism as repressing such development, for instance, by its often life-long confinement of an individual to the repetitive and trivial operations of the factory assembly line. Further, they tended to see religion as involving the projection in some imaginary higher sphere of thwarted human desires for just, loving, and humane social relationships. Thus, for Marxism, in a society where even one's labor is a commodity that can and must be sold to those who own the means of production, it is only to be expected that one will seek compensatory consolation in religion and the expectations of an AFTERLIFE. Both the economic situation and the presence of religion are manifestations of self-alienation. Marxism is intended to put an end to such conditions.

Crucial for espousing such philosophical views is confidence that one can discern various "laws" of economics, such as the general necessity that Marx took to be operative within capitalism that commodities are exchanged in proportion to the costs of their production. Whether any particular transaction occurs at any specific time is contingent on the decisions of particular agents, but whenever such transactions take place, they will necessarily be part of a deep-seated pattern, much like the correlation of prices and resource availability. In support of these views, Marx and Engels worked out an elaborate economic explanation of value, labor, and surplus value in *Capital*. Unlike philosophical DETERMINISM, which tends to take the structures of cause and effect to be rigorously connected but generally one-way mechanisms at every level of reality, the approach favored by Marxist dialectical materialism favors an approach to these questions in terms of the interaction of the choices of individuals and the large-scale laws that govern any set of objects in a given domain (physical, physiological, economic, and so on).

Unlike many earlier materialists from EPICURUS and LUCRETIUS through Baron d'HOLBACH, Marx and Engels rejected the mechanistic determinism that a thoroughgoing materialism might seem to imply. Rather, they regularly stressed that human beings can change the circumstances and conditions of their upbringing. Inspired in particular by Feuerbach's critique of religion as a projection of unfulfilled longings onto supernatural beings, Marx hoped that exposure of the psychosocial origins of religion might help to bring "religious alienation" to an end and so championed the idea of religion as "the opium of the people," as he called it in *On Religion* (1984, p. 42). Although a thoroughgoing atheist himself, he does not seem to have intended this phrase as a justification for the persecution of religion in the way that Marxist regimes later employed it, so much as an incentive for the construction of social conditions that might better satisfy human desires without the projection of religious fantasies. The Marxist critique of religion is thus one component of a more general critique of the existing structures of society, including a critique of most previous philosophy. As Marx once put it in a famous phrase in his *Theses on Feuerbach*, "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it" (2000, p. 173).

The potential of Marxism for totalitarianism is undeniable, but the writings of Engels and Marx themselves carry repeated warnings against manipulation of people being educated into this way of thought as well as against any mechanistic conception of causality in theoretical explanations of behavior. Despite a tendency to regard individuals as products of their environments (especially their economic situation), there is also a strong emphasis on cultivating political and economic freedom, especially during the transitional stages of history in preparation for the resolution to class struggles that they hoped communism would bring, as may be clear from his comments in *Capital* on the irony of talking about "free laborers" (1976, I: 297) who are actually compelled by social conditions to sell their very capacity for such to obtain the necessities of life. One also sees this point in such long-ranging observations as this, from *The Holy Family*: "Political emancipation is indeed a great step forward. It is not, to be sure, the final form of human emancipation, but it is the final form within the prevailing order of things" (2000, p. 155).

Like their economic tomes, the historical writings of Marx and Engels emphasize the influence of shifts in material substructure as the principal cause of changes in political and social superstructure, but without ever making these factors alone responsible. Whether in such technical works as *Critique of Political Economy* (1859) or in more popular venues such as *The Eighteenth Brumaire* (1852), *The Civil War in France* (1871), or *The Origin of the Family* (1884), the argumentation always includes both a consideration of the underlying economic conditions and of such ideological factors as the clash between those who prefer to maintain existing

social relationships and those who think that progress can come through alteration of the status quo.

In their view, the logic within the pattern of history is not necessarily something that the agents of historical change themselves can always see. A prime example of this perspective comes in the Marxist doctrine of class struggle as presented, for example, in *The German Ideology* (2000, p. 195). The differences between the haves and the have-nots make conflict inevitable and peace impossible. The individuals and groups involved may not have any larger sense of purpose than their own interests, and yet by their free actions in pursuit of those interests they play out the inescapable laws of historical development. Further, every transitional social system contains within itself the roots of its own destruction. Within capitalism, for instance, the very strength of the better entrepreneurs within a free market will force the weaker elements into the ranks of the proletariat or working class; but then the excessive supply of labor will force wages down until their living conditions become so unbearable that they will have "nothing to lose but their chains," as put in the *Communist Manifesto*, and a revolution will overthrow the regime that has favored free-market capitalism (2000, p. 271). For Marx, the interaction of economic laws and individual choices explain the world-historical transitions from FEUDALISM to capitalism, and eventually to communism.

The Present Status of Marxism. Ironically, the history of Marxism has been in tremendous contrast with the predictions of its founders, in both the places where Marxism has become the predominant political idea and those where it has not been accepted. In the countries where capitalism has been dominant, Marxist analysis expected a steady deterioration of conditions and the onset of revolution, but generally speaking, the conditions of workers in those places have substantially improved with time and with the advance of technology. Instead, it has generally been in noncapitalist countries that Marxism has been dominant, and these countries have generally grown poorer in ways that seem related to the enforcement of Marxist doctrines. Socialist and communist dictatorships have been forcibly created in the name of the proletariat working classes without any sign that increased liberty, equality, or prosperity are likely to emerge so long as these policies remain in place. The forms that Marxism has taken have been various: BOLSHEVISM, Leninism, Stalinism, Troskyism, Maoism, Castroism, and many others of local vintage.

There have been regimes claiming the name of Marxism around the globe in the course of the twentieth century, including Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Benin, Bulgaria, China, the Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Ethiopia, Guineau-Bissau, Hungary, Kampuchea, Laos, Mongolia, Mozambique, North Korea, Poland, Romania, Somalia, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, Yemen, and Yugoslavia (see Glaser and Walker 2007). In countries where Marxism has not gained power, there have nevertheless been such Marxist-inspired political parties as the Communist Party of the U.S.A., the South African Political Party, Sendero Luminoso of Peru, and the Zapatistas of Mexico. Within religious circles, there has been considerable Marxist influence in many of the movements associated with LIBERATION THEOLOGY.

Although committed Marxists, especially in the intelligentsia of Western institutions of higher learning, often still deny that the end of the twentieth century saw the death of Marxism, there is considerable evidence for this case. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 marked the end of the Marxist regime in East Germany, and by 1991 the communist government of the Soviet Union had collapsed along with its hegemony over eastern Europe. By the mid-1990s many of the Marxist regimes of Africa had pragmatically abandoned their ideological stances, and incipient Marxist movements in the Mideast have almost entirely yielded to the aggressive resurgence of fundamentalist ISLAM. Without explicitly forsaking its communist commitments, mainland China has in many respects embraced capitalism (if not a totally free market).

The reasons for such changes are numerous, but at very least one cannot fail to list the internal contradictions of Marxism, the empirically undeniable successes of capitalist systems to improve the living conditions of their members better than Marxist regimes have been able to do, the exhaustion of communist regimes in their efforts to keep pace with some of the initiatives championed by the likes of President Ronald Reagan of the United States and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom, and most especially such spiritual and moral factors as the support provided by Pope JOHN PAUL II to Solidarność in Poland and the resiliency of Christian faith in central and eastern Europe despite several generations of religious persecution and enforced atheism.

While there have been notable displays of Christian sympathy for Marxism in the course of the twentieth century, especially within some of the elites of religious orders and among some missionary congregations, Catholicism's resistance to Marxism has been firm and long-standing. Within the tradition of Catholic social teaching, for instance, opposition to Marxism, socialism, and communism has been recurrent and has become ever more sophisticated in its analysis. One already finds opposition sounded in LEO XIII's *Rerum novarum* (1891), and in PIUS XI's *Quadragesimo anno* (1931) there are careful distinctions between communism and socialism that were not so clear in earlier documents. In JOHN XXIII's *Mater et magistra* (1961) and *Pacem in terris* (1963) there are warnings against the atheism

intrinsic to Marxism and its faulty promises of human liberation through forms of human development that neglect the spiritual domain.

For some, the openness of Vatican II's *Gaudium et spes* (1965) and of PAUL VI's *Populorum progressio* (1967) to theories of development that accentuated material, economic, and sociological solutions suggested some kind of *rapprochement* between Catholicism and Marxism. Among other developments, such proponents of liberation theology as Gustavo GUTIERREZ, Ernesto Cardinal, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Leonardo BOFF, and Jan Sobrino explicitly claimed Marxist inspiration for their political ideas. In response, the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH repeatedly criticized liberation theologians on a number of fronts, including its connections with Marxism, in such documents as *Libertatis nuntius* (1984) and *Libertatis conscientia* (1986). The prefect of that congregation at the time, Joseph Cardinal RATZINGER (elected Pope BENEDICT XVI in 2005), also personally addressed the question of Marxism and liberation theology in a volume titled *The Ratzinger Report* (1985).

The papacy of John Paul II featured a multi-pronged response to Marxism, evident not only in its sharp reaction to Marxism in liberation theology but also in the support provided to the SOLIDARITY Movement by papal visits to Poland. Intellectually, John Paul II addressed questions related to Marxism in his three main social encyclicals. *Laborem exercens* (1981), for instance, offered reflections on labor by distinguishing between the objective and subjective dimensions of work and proposed a holistic context for understanding the significance of work on a basis entirely differently than that proposed in standard Marxist analysis. *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (1987) not only provided guidance about the proper interpretation of *Gaudium et spes* and *Populorum progressio*, so as to resist any efforts to claim ecclesiological approval for Marxist-inspired versions of liberation theology. It also made a fresh argument against the Marxist view that religion is a source of alienation by demonstrating that human vulnerability increases with an eclipse of God and that human dignity is better defended by the doctrine that human beings are made in God's image and likeness. John Paul II's third social encyclical, *Centesimus annus* (1991), not only reflects with joy on the recent deliverance of many peoples from domination by atheistic forms of Marxism but cautions against godless forms of capitalism and against morally deficient forms of democratic government. By these carefully balanced statements, Pope John Paul II provided not only specific guidance with regard to Marxism but also a sophisticated catechesis about the issues of human development and social organization that have been most prone to Marxist challenges.

The three encyclicals thus far to emerge from the papacy of BENEDICT XVI have also explicitly treated Marxism. *Deus caritas est* (2005) and *Spe salvi* (2007) both addressed the problem of distorted views of human nature and argued that the uniqueness of human dignity comes from being the single creature made in God's image and likeness. In the former, Pope Benedict directed his attention to the anthropological errors of Marx, FREUD, and NIETZSCHE even while acknowledging the genuine social problems that made their views attractive to so many for so long. In the latter, the pope distinguishes between the purely immanent eschatology of the Marxist vision and the more inclusive eschatology of genuine Christianity. He finds there to be a deep connection between preserving a strong sense that our true hope is hope of heaven and insisting on the temporal obligations of citizens and states to pursue realizable systems of justice on this earth, and he reminds Christians of their duties to be generous in personal and social charity. As a supplementary answer to the charges sometimes raised by Marxists and other critics, he adduces the witness of the martyrs and the historical evidence of many forms of practical charity by individuals and by ecclesial institutions. In continuing the tradition of papal social encyclicals, *Caritas in veritate* (2008) reinforces the initiative undertaken in *Sollictudo rei socialis* to insist on the proper context for interpreting *Gaudium et spes* and *Populorum progressio* as in continuity with the longstanding lines of Catholic social teaching and reiterates the main lines of that teaching in opposition to the dangers for humanity that remain in some of the alternative social theories, including Marxism.

SEE ALSO CASTRO, FIDEL RUZ; CENTESIMUS ANNUS; THE CHURCH, THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM, AND THE CHALLENGE OF NEW DEMOCRACIES; DEUS CARITAS EST; ESCHATOLOGY (IN THEOLOGY); LABOREM EXERCENS; LENIN, N.; MATER ET MAGISTRA; MATERIALISM; PACEM IN TERRIS; POPULORUM PROGRESSIO; QUADRAGESIMO ANNO; RERUM NOVARUM; SOLLICITUDO REI SOCIALIS; SPE SALVI; STALIN, JOSEF; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THE BIBLE)

In its dogmatic constitution on divine revelation, *Dei verbum*, paragraph 21, the VATICAN COUNCIL II asked for the preaching of the Church to be "nourished and ruled by sacred Scripture." The document of the same council on the Blessed Virgin MARY (*Lumen gentium*, chapter 8) and the subsequent major papal writings on Mary (*Marialis cultus* by Paul VI in 1974 and *Redemptoris mater* by John Paul II in 1987) affirmed that same principle: What the Church teaches about the Mother of the Lord has to be based on the Word of God.

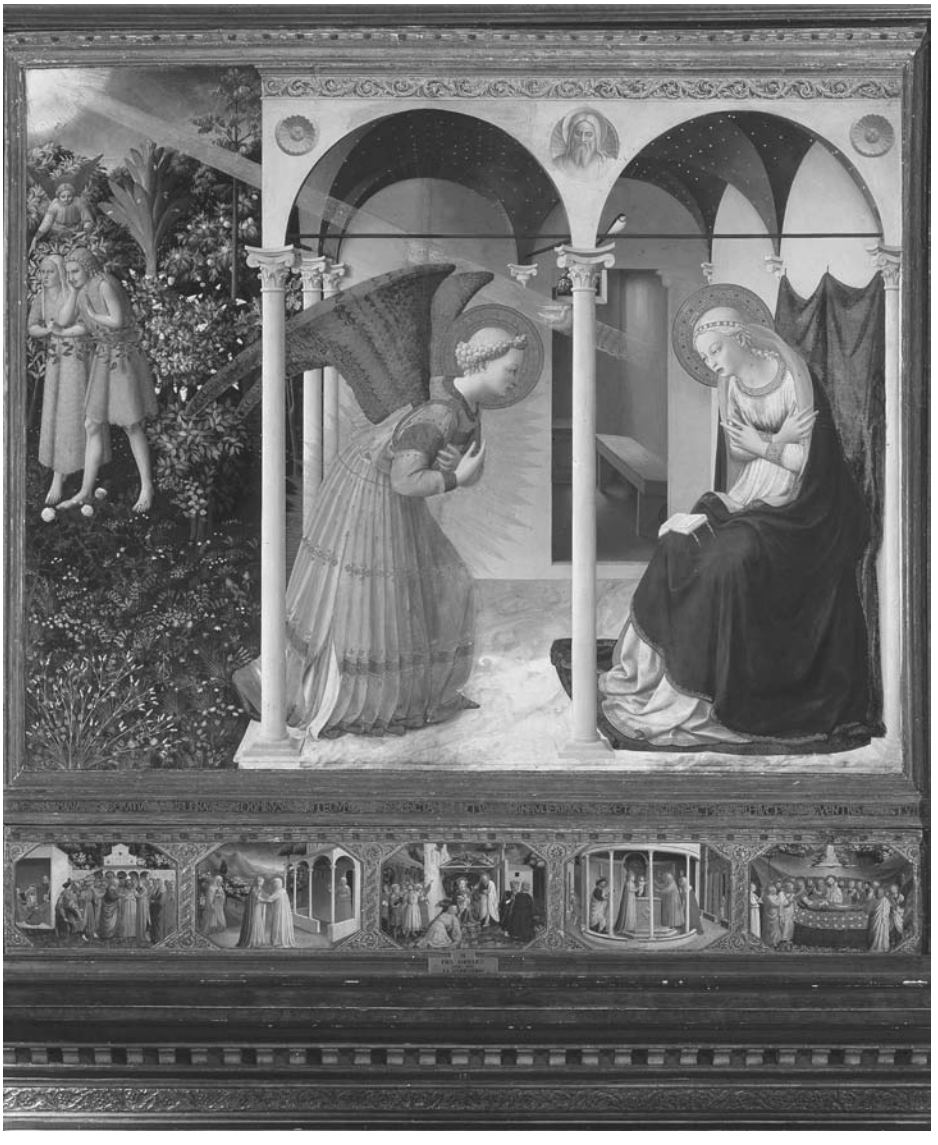
Biblical data on the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of Jesus, is naturally found primarily in the New Testament (NT). But also certain passages of the Old Testament (OT), as interpreted by inspired writers in the NT, concern her. Thus, the historical data on Mary and the inferences that can be drawn from it come from both the Old and New Testaments.

IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

The references to Mary in the NT are considered according to the chronological order of the writings in which they appear. Most scholars agree today that the letter to the Galatians was written before the Gospel of Mark, which was then followed by the Gospel of Matthew, the Gospel of Luke (and the Acts of the Apostles), the Gospel of John, and, eventually, the book of Revelation.

Galatians 4:4. In Galatians 4:4-5, St. PAUL alludes to Mary when he says that "When the fullness of time came, God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as sons." When St. Paul established the churches in Galatia, he did not impose circumcision and the resulting observances of the OT Law upon his converts. Judeo-Christian missioners, perhaps from JERUSALEM itself, who later visited these communities, urged them to adopt the OT LAW. According to them, St. Paul's proclamation of the Gospel was incomplete as long as it failed to incorporate the religious culture of the OT into the lives of Christians (cf. Acts 15:5). But Paul did not instruct the Galatians in OT observances because Christ not only introduced the justifying power of God into history in a new way, that is, through faith in His redemptive death and RESURRECTION, but at the same time liberated people from a source of anguish—their violation of the Law they had agreed to observe as the presumptive condition of their salvation (Gal 2:15–16).

The liberative effect of Christ's death and Resurrection, though, goes beyond the fact that the Law is no longer relevant for salvation: It leads to humankind's very adoption as children of God. Therefore Paul focuses attention on the reality of the human existence of Christ, SON OF GOD. In Galatians 4:4 Paul traces Christ's redemptive mission to an eternal decree of God concerning the Son that became effective in history ("but when the fullness of time came") in the birth of His Son ("God sent his Son, born of a woman"). Liberation from sin and death is effected as people become adopted children of God, which was made possible when the Son identified Himself fully with humanity through His birth of a human mother (cf. Heb 4:15). Paul establishes a connection between the birth of the Son of God from a human woman and humankind's adoption as sons and daughters of God. The uniqueness of JESUS is also stated here, which lies in the fact that He is at the same time



Scenes from the Life of Mary. *This altarpiece, painted by Fra Angelico, depicts the expulsion of Adam and Eve and the Annuciation. Along the bottom of the work is also depicted the Visitation, the Presentation of the Child Jesus, the wedding feast of Cana, and the death of Mary.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID/ALFREDO DAGLI ORTI/THE PICTURE DESK, INC.**

divine and human: divine because He is the Son of God and human because He is born of a woman (Mary).

Because in Galatians 4:4 Paul wishes to emphasize the reality of Christ's humanity, he does not refer to the mother of Jesus by her proper name, Mary, nor does he use *woman* as a religious title. He designates her as *woman* to make clear that Christ, despite His divinity, possessed full humanity because He is born like all people from a human mother from whom His humanity derived. Paul's allusion to the reality of Mary's maternity of Christ presupposes some knowledge about her on the part of both Paul and the Galatians. But the allusion is so restricted that it is not possible to determine the extent of this knowledge or its nature. Nothing more need be assumed to account for Paul's reference to Mary in this passage than the knowledge that Christ accepted her as His mother in the ordinary sense. The words of Galatians 4:4 are valuable as a reflection of the mind of the first Christian generation that Mary is the mother of Christ, the Son of God, in the commonly accepted sense of motherhood; that is, she conceived Christ and gave Him birth. Paul presents Mary's maternity as a fact of Christian faith without raising the further issue of the virginal conception of Christ, recorded by Luke and

Matthew. Even if Paul is aware of the virginal conception, it would not serve his purpose to mention it in this passage. He is concerned only with the fact of Mary's maternity as the deliberate WILL OF GOD that provided the Son of God with the same humanity He died to save and with the very subjection to the Law from which He freed the world.

Mark 3:20–21 and 3:31–35. According to Mark 3:20–21, a group of people determined to exercise a certain control over Christ's conduct of His mission, for they concluded from information they had received that He was "beside Himself," that is, acting imprudently, or perhaps strangely. Mark designates this group as οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ, literally, "those with him." The phrase is commonly taken to mean the relatives of Jesus, but it can also mean friends or neighbors. (On this phrase and the relationship between it and "His mother and brethren" in Mk 3:31, see the commentaries on the Gospel of Mark.) Although it seems more probable that the group is composed chiefly of the relatives of Jesus (See Jn 7:5 for the incredulous attitude of His relatives toward Him), it is doubtful that the mother of Jesus is included in it. The second evangelist is particularly concerned with the attitude of various groups toward Jesus (e.g., Mk 1:22; 2:16; 3:6, 22). Mark 3:20–21 indicates the relatives are hostile toward Him, perhaps out of fear that His actions will lead to family embarrassment. But this reference to the attitude of the relatives of Jesus does not warrant ascribing the same sentiments to His mother, whom Mark does not here specifically mention and who may be presumed to have rendered her own judgment on the question of her Son's conduct.

Modern scholarship of the Gospels has questioned whether the visit of Jesus' "mother and brethren" in Mark 3:31–35 (parallel passages in Mt 12:46–50; Lk 8:19–21) was the historical outcome of the efforts of the relatives to control His ministry. From the literary standpoint, Mark connects the two events ("they went forth" in Mk 3:21; the mother and brethren "come" in Mk 3:31). The specific mention of the presence of the mother of Jesus made in Mark 3:31 lends support to the older view assuming the events to be historically connected. Although according to Jewish family custom, Jesus was no longer under the rule of His mother, He would still show great respect to her (cf. 1 Kgs 2:19–20), neither was He subject to His other relatives. If, as the Catholic tradition holds (see text on "the brethren" of Jesus' below), He was Mary's only child, the relatives might have enlisted her presence, the more readily to secure access to Him in view of His constant preoccupation with crowds (Mk 3:20). The announcement conveyed to Jesus in Mark 3:32 concerning the arrival of His mother as well as His brethren has an authentic historical ring when viewed in the entire context.

These observations allow the inference that Mary permitted herself to be pressed into service by the relatives so that they might have their confrontation with Jesus, but do not infer that she shared their sentiments concerning His conduct of the ministry. The evangelist provides no data concerning her own state of mind on the issue raised by the relatives. He affords only that, in a matter of family concern, Mary did what the family asked.

Mark concludes his account of the visit, not by recording the meeting between Jesus and the relatives, but by citing His comment about the hostility of the relatives. Jesus observes that His mother and brethren are those who "do the will of God" (Mk 3:35) like the audience before Him listening to His teaching (Mk 3:34). In Mark's context this saying of Jesus constitutes a telling response to His relatives who are disturbed at His acceptance of the crowds (Mk 3:20–21): His own relatives are unwilling to accept His teaching as prophetic (Mk 6:4). As far as Mary is concerned, the idea that even Jesus' mother does not always understand Him and has to learn from Him would be consonant with Mary's reaction at finding the Child Jesus in the Temple, as reported by Luke (Lk 2:48). Nevertheless, Jesus does not dismiss family ties because the community He forms with those who believe in Him is His family.

Mark 6:1–4. In Mark 6:1–4 (parallel in Mt 13:54–57), the people of NAZARETH refuse to accept Jesus and His message (cf. Lk 4:16–30). They think they know Him too well. According to the parallel passage in Matthew 13:55, they know Him as "the carpenter's son." These were probably the original words in the early oral catechesis from which the Synoptic Gospels are derived. The best manuscripts of Mark 6:3 have: "the carpenter, the son of Mary." But this does not accord with the Jewish custom of describing a man as the son of his father rather than of his mother, a practice well illustrated in the title given Jesus in John 6:42. A third reading, in a few manuscripts, "the son of the carpenter and of Mary," is probably the result of a conflation of the other two variant readings. The title, *the carpenter's son*, implies no knowledge among the Nazarenes of Jesus' virginal conception, as is to be expected. Otherwise, it is unlikely that they would have questioned the origin of His wisdom (Mk 6:2).

The family circle of Jesus is further described in Mark 6:3 as composed of His "brothers" and "sisters," four of the brothers being explicitly named. The Greek words ἀδελφοί and ἀδελφαί that are used to designate the relationship between Jesus and these relatives have the meaning of full blood brother and sister in the Greek-speaking world of the evangelist's time and would naturally be taken by his Greek readers in this sense. About 380, Helvidius, in a work now lost, pressed this

to attribute to Mary other children besides Jesus so as to make her a model for mothers of larger families. St. JEROME, motivated by the Church's traditional faith in Mary's perpetual virginity, wrote a tract against Helvidius (AD 383), explaining the GOSPEL usage of ἀδελφοί and ἀδελφαί for the relatives of Jesus that is still in vogue among Catholic scholars. In the SEPTUAGINT (LXX) ἀδελφόί is used in the sense of *kinsman*. In Genesis 13:8 and14:14, 16, ABRAHAM's nephew Lot is called his *brother*; the same term is applied to JACOB's nephew Laban in Genesis 29:15. In 1 Chronicles 23:22 the sons of Cis (Kish) are called the *brothers* of Eleazar's daughters, though they were their cousins. Hebrew is deficient in terminology for blood relationships (as is also Aramaic, the language behind the Greek of the Gospels). Both Hebrew and Aramaic use *āḥîm*, *brothers*, to mean *kinsmen*. The translators who produced LXX transferred this broader meaning of Semitic *āḥîm* to ἀδελφοί and thus established a usage that the evangelists followed.

The psychological and anthropological reality of speaking and writing in a language of another culture is, moreover, quite complex. The example of Abidjan, the major city of the Ivory Coast in West Africa, gives witness to it. It is today a big city of about four million inhabitants that grew up in a zone originally scarcely populated. The sparse original population was not able to absorb the waves of immigrants coming from all over the former French colonies in West Africa. The only language all these people had in common was French, and French became thus the native language of Abidjan. In most native languages of West Africa, no distinction is made between a "brother" and a "cousin," whereas such a distinction exists in French. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Abidjan, whose mother tongue is French, who have been raised and educated in French, continue to use the French word for "brother" when they speak of a "cousin." Using the French word for "cousin" would betray the way they envision social and family relationships. When the people of Abidjan want to specify that "brother" means a true blood sibling, they need to add "same father, same mother" (*même père*, *même mère*). Full siblings are a particular kind of brother; they do not constitute the benchmark of brotherhood. The socio-cultural milieu of the authors of the New Testament is JUDAISM. So, we can accept the idea that, even if their text does not suppose a Hebrew or Aramaic substrate, their use of Greek words they would naturally convey the way their own Judaic society and culture envisioned social and family relationships.

Words such as ὁμοπάτωρ, *homopatôr* (stepbrother or half-brother by the father) or ὁμομέτωρ, *homomêtôr* (stepbrother or half-brother by the mother) existed in Greek. If the authors of the New Testament had wanted to render the relationships within Jesus' family as precisely as possible in Greek, they should have used such expressions because—and Matthew and Luke make it very clear—Jesus was not the true son of Joseph. If Jesus' "brothers" were sons of Mary, they would have been Jesus' stepbrothers or half-brothers by the mother, because a specific Greek word existed for that.

St. Jerome did not contend that the only possible linguistic meaning for *brothers* and *sisters*, used of Jesus' relatives in the Gospels, is *cousins*. To establish this, he worked from other, complicated evidence in the Gospels that indicated that the James and Joseph of Mark 6:3 were children of a Mary other than the mother of Jesus (cf. Mt 13:55; 27:56; Mk 15:40). This argument assumes (probably correctly) that the James and Joseph of Mark 6:3 are the same persons mentioned in Mark 15:40. On this supposition, the mother of James and Joseph who is called Mary in Mark 15:40 was a relative of Jesus' mother. Jerome considered her a sister of Jesus' mother and concluded that James and Joseph were His cousins. This conclusion, although reasonably probable, is less certain than the central point of Jerome's argument against Helvidius. Helvidius assumed that ἀδελφοί and ἀδελφαί in the Gospels, when used of blood relationships, had no other possible sense than full blood brother and full blood sister. Jerome's argument does not deny that such would be the normal usage of these terms in the Greek-speaking world, but he shows that the evangelists wrote within a linguistic tradition that used the terms in a broader sense. There is, then, no incompatibility between the Church's doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity, in vogue long before Helvidius's time, and the Gospel usage of *brothers* and *sisters* for the relatives of Jesus. The FATHERS OF THE CHURCH whose mother tongue was Greek supported Mary's perpetual virginity without seeing the word ἀδελφοί applied in the NT to Jesus' relatives as problematic.

The texts here under consideration, as well as Mark 3:31 and its parallels, reflect the view of Mary as the natural mother of Jesus that prevailed during His public ministry. Even those on familiar terms with the family circle of Jesus were unaware of the virginal conception. Because they regarded Jesus as the son of Mary and Joseph in the fully natural sense, they could not possibly have attached any particular religious significance to the fact that Jesus was the only child of Mary and Joseph. All the texts so far considered, including perhaps Galatians 4:4, mirror a historical milieu that possibly made no religious reflection on the person of the mother of Jesus.

Matthew 1:18–25; 2:11, 13–14, 20–21. The theological conceptions that govern Matthew's INFANCY GOSPEL are expressed in his genealogy of Jesus (Mt 1:2–16). The genealogy invokes the messianic hope of ISRAEL by

recalling the divine promises to the patriarchs (Mt 1:2) and to DAVID (Mt 1:6). It acknowledges Israel's sinfulness by pointing to David's murder of Uriah (Mt 1:6) and the disaster of the Babylonian captivity (Mt 1:11). It emphasizes the presence of God in Israel as continuously sustaining the faith and hope of the people (the sense of ἐγέννησεν, *begot*, is repeated constantly throughout the genealogy). Through the unexpected mentioning of four women who were connected with non-Israelite peoples and were originally not supposed to be part of the genealogy of the MESSIAH, it also alludes to the integration of foreign nations into the history of the PEOPLE OF GOD.

In this context of God's continuous and beneficent presence in Israel, the events in Matthew 1:18–2:23 are set. The evangelist's main purpose in these chapters is to declare that the saving action of God, begun in Abraham and carried forward throughout Israel's history, continues in Christ for the benefit of Israel and the world. Jesus is declared the SAVIOR of His people (Mt 1:21); the King of the Jews (Mt 2:1); the SON OF DAVID (Mt 1:1), that is, descended from the Davidic line in accordance with Nathan's prophecy (2 Sm 7:12–13); and the Son of Abraham (Mt 1:1), that is, the one through whom the divine promise that all the nations are to be blessed in Abraham is fulfilled (Gn 12:3; Gal 3:8–9). The affirmation of Jesus' kingship in Matthew reflects on Mary: in ancient Israel the kingdom's *first lady*—with all the honor due to her—was not one of the king's many wives, but the king's mother (cf. 1 Kgs 2:19).

Matthew clarifies Jesus as the Messianic bearer in history of God's saving action when he explains the origin of Christ (Mt 1:18): He shows how God's presence in Israel produced the person of Christ. The salvific action of God: (1) caused a virginal conception of Jesus in Mary, the fiancée of Joseph (Mt 1:18); (2) resolved Joseph's perplexity over this event by directing him to marry her to give the Child legal status as a descendant of David (Mt 1:20); and (3) provided the Child and His mother with necessary protection (Mt 2:11, 13–14, 20–21). As conceived by Matthew, the action of God involved a divine choice of the person of Joseph, since his role as legal father of the Child had specific purposes.

The evangelist cites Isaiah 7:14 as here receiving its fulfillment, that is, as revealing the continuity of God's saving action in history. In the virginal conception of Jesus, God acted in accordance with what He had planned all along, as faith perceives when it reads Isaiah 7:14 in the light of Mary's virginal maternity and the meaning of her Child as the bearer of salvation to the world ("'Emmanuel,' which is interpreted 'God with us'"). Matthew's position that Isaiah 7:14 already stated (so far as God is concerned) the virginal conception of Jesus that occurred in Mary implies a divine choice of her person to be the Virgin Mother of the Savior. The evangelist reinforces this point by stating that Joseph "did not know her" until the birth of the Child; that is to say, Joseph recognized that Mary was divinely chosen to be the Virgin Mother of the Child and fully respected the divine will that she remain a virgin.

It is universally recognized that Matthew's famous "until" ("he did not know her until she brought forth a son"; Mt 1:25) is not a term of chronological intent: it neither affirms nor denies marital intercourse after the Child's birth. The evangelist is not looking forward in time through the history of the marriage between Joseph and Mary, but rather backward to his own citation of Isaiah 7:14. He stresses this prophecy as being operative especially for the religious understanding of Joseph and Mary. This fact is important for the interpretation of the story of the Magi (Mt 2:1–12). The MAGI learn that the messianic king of the Jews has been born, and they worship Him. But Matthew's readers are better informed than the Magi. The readers know that the king is EMMANUEL; in Him is found the salvific presence of God (2 Cor 5:19). They know also, as the Magi do not, that the mother of the Child is the virgin MOTHER OF GOD in the salvific plan. Matthew's Christian readers can perceive not merely a continuity between the virginal conception of Christ and Isaiah 7:14 but also a continuity in history. In God's design, the virgin mother who appeared in Israel gave birth to the Savior in whom the GENTILES are to believe. God's plan is to bridge the gap between Jew and Gentile; this Israelite mother of divine choice becomes associated through her Child with the Gentile world.

Joseph's further role in Matthew 2:13–14 and 20–21 is to care for the Child in whom the Gentiles—represented by the Magi and the land of Egypt where the Holy Family fled—are to believe and for the virgin mother whose maternity is ultimately to make their faith possible. In Matthew 1and 2, Mary's maternity is related to the Gentile world through faith in Christ rather than through the personal family of hers and Joseph. Matthew fully accounts for her maternal role in the virginal maternity of Christ and its significance for the Gentile world. For the first evangelist, Mary is the Virgin Mother of the Emmanuel whose salvific presence, once He is conceived, remains in the world forever (Mt 28:20).

Luke 1:26–38; 1:39–56; 2:1–7; 2:16, 19; 2:33–35; 2:41–51. The Lucan Infancy Gospel (Lk 1–2) is a conscious product of literary artistry that offers a series of religious reflections on JOHN THE BAPTIST and Jesus, and on Zechariah, ELIZABETH, and Mary. Considered as a whole, Luke's Infancy narrative is made up of two diptychs. The first diptych parallels the annunciation of John to Zechariah (Lk 1:5–25) with the ANNUNCIA-

TION of Jesus to Mary (Lk 1:26–38). The second diptych parallels the birth of John (Lk 1:57–58) with the birth of Jesus (Lk 2:1–20). In addition to this broad scheme of parallelism, Luke compares and contrasts scene and detail throughout chapters 1 and 2. The more detailed use of parallelism is evident in the Annunciations; it is less evident, but clearly detectable, elsewhere (e.g., in the contrast between Mary in Lk 1:3–46 and Zechariah in Lk 1:20–23). The parallelisms in chapters 1 and 2 show adroitly the superior dignity of the divine gifts of Jesus over John, and of Mary over Zechariah and Elizabeth.

In certain portions of chapters 1 and 2, the literary style draws heavily upon words, expressions, and figures of the OT, not by direct citation as in Matthew 1 and 2, but by interweaving OT elements into the narrative. In this way the author alludes to past prophecies, personages, and momentous events of the sacred history of Israel to bestow life, warmth, and relevance upon the events and people he describes. Beneath the surface of his Annunciation narratives, and the MAGNIFICAT especially, lie unusually rich undercurrents of theological thought.

All the personages and events of Luke 1 and 2 derive their importance and meaning from Jesus. He is the Son of the Most High, the Davidic messianic King (Lk 1:32–33; cf. 2 Sm 7:13–14), miraculously conceived by the power of God (Lk 1:35). He is Savior, Christ, and Lord (Lk 2.11), the very bearer of salvation (Lk 2:30), the light of the Gentiles and the glory of Israel (Lk 2:32).

In the Lucan narrative, the mother of Jesus likewise derives her dignity from Jesus. The evangelist introduces her as a παρθένος (virgin) and the fiancée of Joseph (Lk 1:27). His judgment concerning her virginity is based not on historical data but on the more certain terrain of God's choice of her, much in the line of thought of Matthew 1:23. According to Luke, she is κεχαριτωμένη (highly favored, traditionally rendered as *full of grace*), the object of divine choice, because she is about to conceive and bear Jesus (Lk 1:28). The word κεχαριτωμένη appears at a place where the name of the greeted person is normally expected. It serves then as a substitute for Mary's name. Κεχαριτωμένη is a feminine perfect participle of the verb χαριτόω, which means *to favor*, *to cause grace*. As a perfect participle it refers to a grace or favor received in the past, the effect of which still lasts in the present. Because in ancient Israel, the name indicated the origin and identity of a person, κεχαριτωμένη also refers to Mary's identity and origin. The entire *greeting*, as Luke terms it (Lk 1:29), is not to be interpreted conventionally, for the evangelist describes Mary as pondering it, attempting to penetrate its meaning (Lk 1:29).

The participle κεχαριτωμένη is bracketed by χαῖρε (hail, greetings; literally *rejoice*) and ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ (the Lord [is] with you). A growing number of NT scholars concede that the greeting is a subtle allusion to a set of OT prophecies that invite Israel, under the figure of a woman, the "daughter Sion," to rejoice at the prospect of the action of God bringing about the promised salvation of the people (Jl 2:21–27; Za 9:9–10; Zep 3:14–17). Luke's χαῖρε parallels the χαῖρε (rejoice) of Zephaniah 3:14 (LXX). The daughter Sion or daughter of Sion is an abstract personification of God's favored people, Israel, directed in these prophecies to rejoice at the fulfillment of their messianic hope. The expression, "The Lord [is] with you," as used in the OT (Gn 26:24; 28:15; 46:4; Ex 3:12; Jgs 6:12, 16), expresses the idea of God's salvific presence, here to inaugurate the messianic era, as in Zephaniah 3:15b: "The King of Israel, the Lord, is in your midst." After noting that Mary reflected on the greeting, Luke expands the parallel: "Fear not, Mary" (Lk 1:30) parallels "fear not, Sion" (Zep 3:16); "you have found grace with God" (Lk 1:30) compares with, "you have no further misfortune to fear" (Zep 3:15b). As the prophet Zephaniah invites Israel to rejoice over the presence of God to save it from all its misfortunes (Zep 3:14–17), so the angel invites Mary to rejoice because she is favored with the presence of God who saves her from all misfortunes. Whereas the prophecy of Zephaniah refers globally to Israel or more exactly to the faithful remnant of Israel, under the figure of a woman, the angelic greeting concretizes the prophecy in Mary: She receives in her person the fulfillment of the messianic hope of her people. She is also seen as a pre-figure of the new messianic people.

The angel explains that Mary is to receive the fulfillment by conceiving and bearing a son whom she is to name Jesus ("Yahweh is salvation"; Lk 1:31). The evangelist employs conventional language to allude to women favored by God with sons (Sarah: Gn 21:2; Samson's mother: Jgs 13:3; Anna: 1 Sm 1:19; the young woman of Is 7:14; see also the terms used in regard to Elizabeth: Lk 1:24, 57). After the Child is described as the Davidic Messiah, Mary presents her famous question, "How shall this happen, since I do not know man?" (Lk 1:34). Because Mary is fiancée to Joseph, because no historical background indicates that she and Joseph would have entered a virginal marriage of their own accord, and because no evidence exists in the Biblical texts that they were divinely enlightened to make such a decision at the time of their betrothal, it appears that Luke 1:34 does not refer to a vow of virginity Mary would have already made. Mary's reaction may parallel one she herself establishes with her own destiny and the one of Abraham (Lk 1:55). Abraham was called by God to leave his home and to move to the land of Canaan (Gn 12:1) as he had already left his home and was already

heading to Canaan (Gn 11:31). This may indicate that when God calls someone, the call meets an aspiration that is already present in the one who is called or that God has prepared the person to receive His call. It is possible that Mary's words express something similar.

The interpretation of Mary's question has not achieved a consensus among NT scholars. It is clear that Luke intends it to contrast with Zechariah's question (Lk 1:18). He requests evidence to verify the truth of Gabriel's prophecy concerning Elizabeth's child. Mary, however, does not challenge Gabriel's prophecy that she will be the mother of the messianic King. Her question echoes the angel's announcement that it is out of the divine favor toward herself (Lk 1:30) that she will be mother of this King (Lk 1:31–33). She seeks to understand the divine favor toward herself in this messianic maternity ("how shall this be"), for she is not married, and, unlike women of the past favored with children, she has no evidence that she is barren ("since I do not know man").

Mary's question remains somewhat odd, for the answer seems obvious: betrothed to Joseph, she is to marry soon and have children with her future husband. However, since Mary connects later, in her Magnificat, what is happening to her with what happened to Abraham (Lk 1:55), the parallel with Abraham may shed some light on her question to the angel. When God called Abraham to leave his country to go to Canaan (Gn 12:1), Abraham had already left his country and was already moving to Canaan (Gn 11:31). God's call to Abraham confirmed a move that Abraham was already making but gave to it a totally new dimension. Likewise, the message of the angel invites Mary to enter into something toward which she was already moving without being aware of what it really was.

The angel replies that the divine favor is to be manifested through a virginal conception of the Child by the divine presence residing within her (Lk 1:35a). This divine action compares to the cloud, the symbol of the divine presence, that settled on the meeting tent housing the ark [Ex 40:35; to describe a special divine presence the Lucan text uses the verb ἐπισκιάζω (overshadow), the same word employed by LXX to translate the Hebrew verb *šākan* (to settle down, to abide) in Ex 40:35, where Yahweh's residence in the sanctuary is explained].

By God's action within her, the Child will have the holiness of YAHWEH, and the special divine presence within Him will come to be recognized (Lk 1:35b). Since what is announced is concealed by the virginal conception, the angel gives Mary a sign, that is, a pledge, that God's favor will be manifested in His own time. The sign is Elizabeth's pregnancy (Lk 1:36). Whether it is the case of the barren woman, Elizabeth, or the case of Mary, the virgin, God shows His favor when and as He chooses: "because nothing shall be impossible with God" (Lk 1:37).

Mary accepts the angelic message in its entirety, expressing her confidence in the virginal conception as an action of God, in the mystery of the divine presence in the Child, and in God's pledge that the divine favor toward her and her Child will be manifested: "Be it done to me according to your word" (Lk 1:38). The Lucan scene ends on the note that in the chosen woman, Mary, the divine presence resides as it resided in a similar manner in the midst of Israel in the sanctuary.

Luke's scene of Mary's VISITATION (Lk 1:39–45, 56) utilizes 2 Samuel 6:1–11, 15 to draw out the theological implications of the divine presence in Child and mother that the Annunciation narrative prophesied. Mary, carrying the Child in her womb, is compared to the ARK OF THE COVENANT, the site of the permanent presence of Yahweh among His people. As the ark was brought to Jerusalem in David's time, so the mother of Jesus departs in the direction of the Holy City to visit Elizabeth (Lk 1:39; cf. 2 Sm 6:2). As Israel honored the presence of Yahweh in the ark during its trip toward Jerusalem, so Elizabeth recognizes at Mary's greeting that the mother of Jesus carries in herself the divine presence. But unlike David's (2 Sm 6:9), Elizabeth's reaction to the presence of the Lord is one of joyful awe, not reverential fear (Lk 1:43), for Mary carries the presence of God that sanctifies (Lk 1:41) in contrast to the terrible presence that dealt Uzzah a mortal blow (2 Sm 6:7). As the ark stayed in the house of Obededom for three months (2 Sm 6:11), so Mary remains with Elizabeth for about three months (Lk 1:56).

Mary is not only exalted by Elizabeth as bearer of the divine presence, but she is also praised because of her faith. Luke presents Mary as the first one who has believed in Jesus Christ. This dimension of Mary has been overlooked in the past. The Vatican Council II (*Lumen gentium*, paragraph 58) rehabilitated it in speaking of Mary's "pilgrimage of faith." John Paul II's *Redemptoris mater* (paragraph 21) spoke later of Mary as "the first disciple" of her son.

Mary is also characterized by Luke in the Magnificat (Lk 1:46–58) as the perfect representative of the *'ănāwîm* (lowly, humble, poor), the spiritual community of the poor, the remnant, whom God prepared to receive His expected salvation (cf. Zep 3:12). God took into consideration Mary's ταπείνωσις (humiliation, humble station, lowliness; Lk 1:48), both material and spiritual, and looked favorably upon her longing for deliverance from this condition. Following the OT tradition of authors ascribing canticles to the person honored by them, Luke attributes the Magnificat to Mary. The fact that Mary did sing the Magnificat cannot be totally excluded: Jewish mothers are familiar with their religious

traditions because they are responsible for transmitting them to their children. It is therefore likely that Mary knew passages of the Scriptures by heart and selected some that reflected her state of mind. Essentially, the Magnificat is a series of religious reflections invoking various OT ideas about the mystery of God's salvific plan now come to term in Mary, through whose maternity of Jesus the generations to follow (the new Israel; Lk 1:50) will receive the blessings of the messianic era. All generations, recognizing the divine favor bestowed upon them through her, that is, through her maternal role in the creation of the new Israel, will call her blessed (Lk 1:48).

The second chapter of Luke shifts its orientation somewhat away from consideration of the mother of Jesus to focus upon the mystery of salvation to occur through her Child, Jesus. However, the reader is invited to reflect upon this mystery through the eyes of the mother. The Child's birth occurs in simple and lowly surroundings that reflect the condition of the parents as classic examples of the *'ănāwîm* (Lk 2:6–7). The Lucan text makes discrete reference to Micah 5:1–5, with which it associates the birth of the Child at BETHLEHEM. It makes a second allusion by using φάτνη (crib, manger), which correlates with Isaiah 1:3–4 (cf. the LXX, where the same Greek word is used) to give meaning to the circumstances surrounding the birth as forecasting the later rejection of Jesus.

True to His pledge, God overcomes the poverty and isolation of the birth by the angelic revelation to the shepherds (Lk 2:8–15). Mary ponders the divine message to these *'ănāwîm* to fathom its meaning as well as the circumstances of the birth (Lk 2:19; cf. Dn 7:28; Gn 37:11). In accordance with the Magnificat, she remains among the *'ănāwîm*. In this capacity she presents the Child to the Lord in the Temple and makes the offering of the poor, two turtledoves (Lk 2:22–24). Again God manifests the significance of the Child as Savior both of the Gentiles and of Israel, fulfilling a pledge to Simeon (Lk 2:32). When the parents marvel at the ingenuity of the divine plan, Simeon foretells the rejection of the Child (Lk 2:33–34) and addresses himself to the mother: "and thy own soul a sword shall pierce, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed" (Lk 2:35). This prophecy has not been convincingly interpreted. It appears to allude to Ezekiel 14:17, where the sword is the sign of division that God produces in Israel to separate the faithful remnant from the rest of the people. The probable meaning of the prophecy is that she, together with her Child (Lk 2:34), will be separated from her people. She is here envisioned by Luke in her representative capacity, already indicated in the Magnificat, as mother of the new Israel. Because Luke does not place Mary at the cross (cf. Lk 23:49 with Jn 19:25), he most likely does not see the prophecy as a direct reference to her compassion. The episode of Jesus found in the Temple is bracketed by two statements about Jesus growing in wisdom (Lk 2:40, 52). As a matter of fact, the teachers in the Temple are amazed at the boy's understanding (Lk 2:47); Jesus is only twelve at the time (Lk 2:42). In ancient Israelite society, mothers raised the children, boys and girls; they introduced them into their culture, their tradition, their religion, their society. Once the boys reached puberty, their fathers taught them their profession. The episode of the Child Jesus in the Temple happens shortly before that as Mary, and not Joseph, is the one who "scolds" Jesus, for she is the one who is still in charge of His education. This reality is recognized by the woman who speaks in Luke 11:27. In this regard, ancient Israel shared a view common to the entire Mediterranean world that the full human being is the adult (after puberty). The Latin word for *education* is *humanitas*. In other words, education is what leads a newborn into humanity. Left to itself, a newborn would become a wild animal. So, the INCARNATION was not completed until Jesus had reached puberty. The Incarnation implied inculturation. And Mary's contribution to the Incarnation is much larger than often thought: It did not end at Christmas. If Mary is, of all human beings, the one who was most affected, even physically, by the Incarnation, she is also the one who was the most influential on Jesus. Luke hints at this.

Luke concludes his Infancy narrative with a cryptic allusion to the death and Resurrection of Jesus ("after three days"; Lk 2:46) in his account of the parents' discovery of Him in the Temple. The mother is left in a state of reflection on all the events of the childhood of Jesus.

Luke 8:19–21; 11:27–28; Acts 1:14. The first of these passages has parallels in Mark 3:31–35 and Matthew 12:46–50. Luke designates Mary as the perfect representative of the *'ănāwîm*, and, in both of these passages, the evangelist alludes to the mother of Jesus as the perfect hearer of the word of God. In Lucan theology she is the model of all Christians, who must respond to the word of God and, in this sense, is already the figure or type of the Church.

The theological portrait of Mary in the Gospel of Luke takes the Christian reader from the lofty pinnacle of the symbolic ark of the new covenant, in whose person the Son of God was conceived and resided, down to the humble station of the *'ănāwîm* and finally leaves her as an invitation to all Christians to allow the Word of God to fructify in themselves through an obedient faith as it fructified in the woman chosen to be the mother of Jesus. Because for Luke the divine favor manifested to Mary and in her Child is at first concealed and only gradually revealed, it appears quite incompatible with his theology that Mary would have other

children by Joseph. To be the Virgin Mother of Jesus, the messianic King in whom the divine presence resides, is her personal, religious mission. Luke does not propose her virginity as a moral ideal, but as a determination of the divine will, a mystery of faith requiring that she hear the Word of God and keep it.

As a result of this, in Acts 1:14, the gap between Jesus' relatives and Jesus' disciples in Mark 3:34 is overcome: The disciples and the brothers of Jesus are praying together. Between the mention of these two groups, the name of Mary is highlighted.

John 2:1–12; 19:25–27. The mother of Jesus appears in the Fourth Gospel in roles unequaled for their prominence in the synoptic accounts of the public ministry of Jesus. The Gospel of John tells of seven signs performed by Jesus: the water changed into wine at Cana (Jn 2:1–2), the healing of the official's son at Cana (Jn 4:46–54), the curing of the man at the pool (Jn 5:1–18), the multiplication of the loaves (Jn 6), the man born blind who receives sight (Jn 9), the resurrection of LAZARUS (Jn 11), and the great sign of the PASSION and Resurrection of Jesus (Jn 13–21). Mary is present in the first sign (Jn 2:1–12), alluded to in the central one (Jn 6:42), and is present again in the last one (Jn 19:25–27). As in Luke's Gospel, Mary is also shown as leading others to believe in Jesus. At Cana she takes an active role in Jesus' changing of water into wine at a marriage feast. On CALVARY she is present beneath the CROSS, where she is instructed by her own dying Son to receive the beloved disciple as her son.

Attempts to interpret the Cana narrative (Jn 2:1–12) simply on the historical level have failed to account for all the data of the passage. Jesus' reply to Mary, "What wouldst thou have me do, woman? My hour has not yet come" (Jn 2:4), lacks coherence with Mary's confident instruction to the waiters, "do whatever he tells you" (Jn 2:5). The expression τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί (literally, "what to me and to thee") is invariably used in both the OT and the NT to imply a certain rejection (Jgs 11:12; Jos. 22:24; 2 Sm 16:10; 19:22; 1 Kgs 17:18; 2 Kgs 3:13; 2 Chr 35:21; Mt 8:29; Mk 1:24; 5:7; Lk 4:34; 8:28). The hour of Jesus in John is a technical term for His glorification through His Passion (Jn 7:30; 8:20; 12:23, 27; 13:1; 17:1). Even if *hour* is read as part of a question ("has my hour not yet come?") as some of the Fathers have understood it, an allusion to the Passion cannot be excluded from the text.

Because the Cana narrative cannot be interpreted solely as the historical record of an objective event, exegetes were forced to study the OT background to the account. An OT background saturates the evangelist's thought in his prologue (Jn 1:1–18), which alludes to Genesis 1:1 and to the concept of the LOGOS in certain Psalms and in the Book of WISDOM. But the OT background is even more evident in John 1:19–51: the messianic expectancy (vv. 19, 41), the citation of Isaiah 40:3 in verse 23, and the allusions to Isaiah 53:7 in verses 29 and 36, to the Law and the prophets in verse 45, to the Davidic Messiah (2 Sm 7) in verse 49, and to Daniel 7:13 ("Son of Man") and Genesis 28:12 in verse 51. The episode at Cana takes place "on the third day" (Jn 2:1). This alludes to the Passion and Resurrection to come. But the beginning of John 2 "on the third day" also happens after John 1, where four days are listed (vv. 19, 29, 35, and 43). Like Genesis 1, John starts his Gospel with an inaugural week in which the seventh day, the day for the Lord, is the day of Cana. Some exegetes have therefore seen in Mary's insistence at Cana, in spite of Jesus' remark that His "hour has not yet come," Mary's intuition that this hour has come indeed. Mary's pondering about Jesus (Lk 2:51) might have led her to that understanding, to that faith. Jesus' reluctance to accept His hour is similar to the request He makes to His Father to spare Him the Passion (Lk 22:42). The Gospel of John does not have an Infancy narrative, but it tells of Mary "giving birth" to the "public" Jesus at Cana. As a result of Mary's intervention and of the sign performed by Jesus, "His disciples believed in Him" (Jn 2:11). Mary's faith can thus be seen as being at the origin of the disciples' faith.

The Cana narrative alludes to the OT water of ritual purification in John 2:6, and Mary's statement to the waiters closely parallels Genesis 41:55. Moreover, in John 1:19–51, titles are important to clarify the religious significance of personages: the Baptist is not Messiah, ELIJAH, or the PROPHET, but "a herald's voice in the desert"; Jesus is the LAMB OF GOD, the Chosen One, teacher, Christ, Son of God, King of Israel, Son of Man; Simon is Rock; Nathanael is "a genuine Israelite." Titles are also used for Mary in the Cana narrative. The evangelist avoids the use of her proper name, designating her instead as "the mother of Jesus" (four times, including Jn 2:12) and "woman" (once). The title "the mother of Jesus" reflects the thought of John 1:14: The logos became flesh and "tabernacled" in her to manifest His glory.

Because the reply of Jesus to Mary in John 2:4 must be interpreted on a theological rather than a historical level, the title γυνή (woman) cannot be taken simply for the respectful term of address it represented in the Greek world of the evangelist's time. Except for the possible correlation with "Son of Man" in John 1:51 no direct indication of the religious sense of *woman* is provided in the first two chapters of John. It is necessary to judge the sense of the title based on the Cana narrative as a whole.

The narrative concerns the manifestation of the glory of Christ (Jn 2:11). The transformation of the ritual water of purification into wine is symbolic of the

messianic benefits coming through Christ (for wine as one of the symbols of the messianic benefits, cf. Am 9:4; Is 25:6; Jer 31:12; Jl 4:18). The miracle fulfills Jesus' prophecy that Nathanael would see evidence that the messianic benefits promised to the Patriarchs are fulfilled in Him (Jn 1:51; Gn 28:12). The setting of the miracle is a γάμος (wedding banquet), a Christian term portraying the joys of the messianic kingdom (Mt 22:2; 25:10; Lk 12:36). Mary's declaration, "they have no wine" (Jn 2:3), petitions, or at least hints, that Jesus should bestow the benefits of the kingdom on Israel. Although He replies that the time for such action has not yet arrived, He performs the miracle. The ambiguity between Jesus' reply and His action suggests that the term *woman* shares in this equivocation.

One explanation for this peculiar usage of *woman* in John 2:4 is the varied uses of the same term in the Johannine theology of Revelation 12 (see below). Jesus' reply views Mary's petition eschatologically, that is, in the light of His future action inaugurating the kingdom with finality through His death on the cross. In this final sense He cannot now act; Mary is *woman* in accordance with Isaiah 26:17, the figure of the metaphorically pregnant woman, yearning for the kingdom but unable to bring it about. In Christ's ministry, however, the kingdom has really arrived (Mk 1:15). Thus He can respond to her request with a prophetic miracle indicating the future advent in Himself; from this standpoint Mary is the future mother-Israel of Isaiah 60:4, that is, the figure of the future people of God. Through her participation in the miracle at Cana, she is beginning to experience the joy of gathering the new people of God (Is 60:5) in the kingdom that Christ will finally establish. The title *woman* in the Cana narrative makes Mary the figure of the people of God: first of the old Israel yearning for salvation through Christ, yet completely dependent on the action of God through Him; and secondly of the new Israel to come into existence through His Passion and Resurrection.

The Johannine scene of Mary at the cross (Jn 19:25–27) makes Mary the only person who witnessed both the birth and the death of the Messiah. The scene completes John's Gospel theology of the mother of Jesus as *woman*. That the Cana and Calvary narratives involving the mother of Jesus are intended to be mutually explanatory is clear from several considerations: the theological sense of the word *hour* in John 2:4, meaning the glorification of Jesus through His Passion; the absence of the proper name in favor of the titles *the mother of Jesus* and *woman* in both passages; and the phrase "the third day" in John 2:1, an allusion orienting the Cana narrative to the Calvary scene (cf. Mt 16:21; Lk 9:22).

On Calvary Jesus addresses His mother from the cross, before He declares the Scriptures fulfilled (Jn 19:28), to inform her that she has a son in the beloved disciple. The promise of Cana here comes to term: The transition from the old to the new Israel, prefigured in Mary at Cana, is completed. The messianic fulfillment she yearned for in her declaration, "they have no wine," is the gift to her of her Son: The gift is the new people of God, typified in the beloved disciple. The yearning of Israel for messianic salvation, so often spoken of by the prophets as the woman in labor, is concretized on Calvary in the historical mother of Jesus. Just as she is the woman chosen by God to be the tabernacle of the Logos become flesh so that He might manifest His saving power among men, so she depicts in her person the faith, the expectancy, the suffering, and the final mysterious destiny of the Christian Church.

In another perspective, as Jesus on Calvary is lifted up on the cross and begins thus His return to the Father, the Son is, on the one hand, replaced before the mother by the disciple but, on the other hand, the master is equally replaced before the disciple by *the* mother (the Greek text of Jn 19:26 says: "Jesus seeing then *the*—τὴν—mother," not "*his* mother"). In receiving the mother, the disciple receives an educator, a teacher—a role of Mary alluded to in Luke 2:40–52.

In the Gospel of John, Mary is never referred to by name. The narrator speaks of her as the mother (of Jesus), and Jesus himself addresses her as "woman." Another possible explanation of why Jesus calls Mary "woman" is that Mary's intervention at Cana is an intercession. An intercession happens when someone—the intercessor—requests something on behalf of other people before a person who has the power to grant it. The intercessor must have a privileged access to this person, otherwise there would be no need for an intermediary: Those in need could ask the request directly. This privileged access is therefore the condition of the intercession. The Bible contains many cases of intercessions presented either before God or before human beings, usually persons of power (Ex 32:1–14; Am 7:1–7; Gn 44:18–34; 1 Sm 19:1–7). These examples reveal that the success of intercession does not derive from the ties between the intercessor and the person of power (Batsheba's intercession fails, though she is the mother of Solomon in 1 Kgs 2:22–25, whereas the unknown Canaanite woman of Mt 15:21–28 is successful, though her privileged access to Jesus is her mere physical presence), but from the strong ties that exist between the intercessor and those on whose behalf the intercession is made. In calling his mother *woman* at Cana and then from the cross, Jesus introduces a distance between himself and his mother. In making Mary the mother of the beloved disciple, Jesus strengthens the ties that exist between Mary and the community of the faithful. The ties between a mother and her children are the strongest that could exist. Mary's

intercession is powerful because she is now the mother of the faithful. Evidently, as she also remains the mother of Jesus, Mary's situation as mother of both those on whose behalf she intervenes and the one who has the power to grant them what they need, makes of her an outstanding intercessor. In ancient Israel, a son always listened to his mother. This explains why the Church has traditionally turned to her: The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (article 969) reaffirms about Mary that "taken up into heaven she ... by her manifold intercession continues to bring us the gifts of eternal salvation." Thus, because Mary's intercession takes place out of her motherly concern for the faithful and because Jesus Christ himself made Mary their mother, her intercession was hoped for, even willed, by God Himself.

Revelation 12. The image of the woman in chapter 12 of Revelation is a symbol of the people of God, Israel of the OT, and the new Israel of the NT (cf. Gal 6:10). In a highly subtle and complex manner, the author of Revelation 12 transforms the OT comparisons of Israel to a woman from metaphor to symbol. The OT prophets compare Israel to a faithless bride (Jer 2; Ez 16), to a mother (Hos 2:4; Is 66:7), and to a woman in labor (Jer 6:24; 13:27; Is 37:36). Selecting the woman image itself, Revelation 12 draws further upon the imagery of the OT Prophets to produce an original symbol that is remarkable for its ambivalence. New Testament scholars agree that the woman symbol of Revelation 12:1 stands for the people of God of both Testaments, but on the development of the symbol in the remainder of the chapter opinions diverge considerably (cf. Le Frois 1954).

The allusion to OT Israel in the symbol of the woman is evident from the unmistakable relationship between Revelation 12:2 and Isaiah 26:17. The thought and language of the two passages coincide. In Isaiah 26:17 the prophet likens Israel's suffering under divine chastisement to a woman in labor who is writhing and crying out. Like the metaphorical woman of this passage in Isaiah, the symbolic woman of Revelation 12:2 is with child, cries out, and writhes. But in Isaiah, the pregnancy, like the woman, is metaphorical: The whole figure of the Isaian woman is meant to depict the incapacity of Israel to save itself from its sufferings (Is 27:18). God Himself must intervene if Israel is to be saved (Is 27:20–22). The symbol of the woman in Revelation 12:2 pertains to the Israel of the OT yearning for salvation but unable of itself to fulfill this yearning.

The inclusion of the Christian Church under the symbol of the woman appears clearly from Revelation 12:5, 13–18, when these passages are understood in the context of the entire Book of Revelation. In Revelation 12:5, the woman bears a son who is described in terms that unmistakably designate Him as the Christ of Christian faith. Once born, the Child is taken up to God's throne, a plain reference to the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ. But the woman is separated from Him by the threat of a dragon. She escapes the dragon through the protection of God, who prepares a place for her on Earth (Rv 12:6, 14). Frustrated in his attempt to destroy the woman, the dragon awaits reinforcements before launching himself against the rest of the woman's offspring (Rv 12:17). In the context of the Book of Revelation, the woman who flees the dragon and is protected from harm by God can only be the Christian Church, for it is the Church at once divinely protected and persecuted that is the main theme of Revelation.

The ambivalent meaning of the woman symbol in the broad sweep of Revelation 12, symbolizing both Israel and the Christian Church, is clear also from the imagery of Revelation 12:1. There, at the opening of the chapter, the woman is described as clothed with the sun, having the moon at her feet, and crowned with twelve stars. The imagery of sun and moon is taken from Isaiah 60:1–2, 19–20, where the Israel of the future is envisioned, under the figure of a mother, as illuminating the entire world. Placed in heaven, that is, immediately below God's throne, she reflects the light of God Himself. She is, as it were, a new luminary for the earth, comparable to the sun and moon (cf. Gn 1:14–15). This imagery of the woman illuminating the world unifies the OT people of God and the NT people of God: The promise made to OT Israel in Isaiah 60 finds its fulfillment in the Church of the NT. The crown of twelve stars probably refers to the twelve tribes of Israel, who are sealed in Revelation 12:4–8, and to the twelve apostles, whose names are inscribed on the foundation stones of the New Jerusalem in Revelation 21:14. This interpretation corresponds perfectly to the ambivalence of the woman symbol.

The interpretation of the woman symbol meets with its greatest difficulty in Revelation 12:2, the portrait of the woman in labor, to Revelation 12:4–5, the portrait of the woman bearing the child. Because Isaiah 26:17 describes the labor of the woman in Revelation 12:2, the labor here is fruitless: The portrait reflects the Isaian contention that Israel cannot save itself from its sufferings, but must await the act of God (Is 26:20–22). In Revelation 12:4–5, however, the woman, who is no longer specified as being in labor but instead is confronted by the dragon, is fruitful and bears the child. Because Revelation 12:5 designates the child as Christ and as immediately seized to be brought to God's throne, it is legitimate to conclude that behind this allusion to the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ lies the Johannine concept of the ὕψωσις *lifting up* (Jn 3:14; 12:32), that is, the Passion-Death and Resurrection-Ascension of Jesus. This allusion to the historical Jesus is on the high plane of the theology of the Johannine Gospel: The

reference is to the historical Christ who is glorified by the Father (Jn 12:28; 13:31–32). In the Johannine theology, Christ always possesses this glory. It is gradually revealed at the determination of the Father (Jn 2:11; 8:54). The woman of Revelation 12:5 gives birth to the Christ who is glorified by the Father because He possessed this glory, His self-revealing divine power, before creation (Jn 17:5) and lived among humankind to manifest it (Jn 1:14), especially through His Resurrection and Ascension (Rv 12:5b). In Revelation 12:5, John propounds an extremely complex set of ideas: (1) by an act of God, the OT Israel (the woman of Rv 12:5) received in herself the fulfillment of her longing for deliverance (Is 26:20); (2) the OT Israel (the woman of Rv 12:5) gave birth to the messianic King (Ps 2:7), whose proper dwelling is at the throne of God, where He now resides (Rv 12:5b); (3) but because Christ always possessed the divine glory He now enjoys, it was through the Virgin Mary (the woman of Rv 12:5) that He first "became flesh and tabernacled among us" (Jn 1:14) to manifest this glory ("and we saw his glory"; Jn 1:14). (The Johannine ἐσκήνωσεν, *tabernacled*, has the same overtone of the divine presence as the *overshadow* of Lk 1:35.) Thus, through its complex symbolism Revelation 12 combines into a single picture the mystery of God's salvific plan now operating through the Christian Church whose historical dependency on Israel lies in Christ, born of the Virgin Mary.

IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

When the OT is interpreted from the standpoint of its literal historical meaning, that is, the sense intended by the inspired human author for his OT audience, no Marian meaning is discovered. Such is true also of the Christological sense. Neither Christ nor Mary can be discovered in the books of the OT by critical, historical exegesis of their literal sense.

Relation of OT Prophecy to NT Messianism. Messianic prophecy both in origin and in fulfillment depends upon the will of God; God prophesies, and God fulfills the prophecy according to His own free determination and wisdom. The MESSIANISM of the NT derives from the prophetic proclamation of the TWELVE concerning Jesus of Nazareth: God raised Him from the dead so that the world might be saved from its sins through faith in Him (Acts 2:14–36). The entire NT is an elaboration of this fundamental prophecy. The messianism of the NT is a divinely instituted fulfillment of that of the OT, just as OT messianism is in itself of divine institution. The NT possesses an essential bond with the OT as the divinely caused fulfillment of the messianic expectancy of the old Israel. Under the prophetic light of Christ, the Apostles, and the Church, the NT provides its own prophetic messianism with intelligibility, depth, and color, not as the logical outcome of the expectancy of the old Israel, that is, a result deducible by reason from OT texts, but rather as the divinely determined outcome of this expectancy.

To interpret the OT, the authors of the NT begin with their own prophetic messianism. Understanding the OT in this light, they show the unity and wisdom of the divine plan of salvation that courses through both Testaments. The NT quest into the OT seeks to illuminate Christ as head of the Church. Its quest is principally, if not exclusively, Christological and ecclesiological. In principle the NT quest into the OT is not a Marian search, for the apostolic KERYGMA proclaims Christ alone to be the cause and source of salvation.

Mary in NT Messianism. The NT conceives of Jesus' mother as theologically significant within its own prophetic messianism: This discovery is reflected in the Infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke, in chapter 12 of Revelation, and in the Fourth Gospel. The theological significance the NT Church attached to the mother of Jesus is relevant to its new messianism: Her messianic maternity fleshes out the Church's Christology (both divine and human) and its ECCLESIOLOGY.

The discovery of Mary's messianic maternity, that is, the fact that she became the mother of Jesus by the open manifestation of the divine mind and will in her virginal conception, led NT thought to search into the OT to forge a stronger bond between its Christological messianism and the messianic expectancy of the OT. The bond is forged with theological care, subtlety, and delicacy. It does not consist in a series of affirmations that, in the mother of Jesus, God chose a salvific companion for Christ. It affirms that the divine plan of salvation included God's choice of a virgin in Israel

The NT quest into the meaningfulness of the mother of Jesus for Christ and the Church relies, as for CHRISTOLOGY itself, upon the prophetic grasp of the OT. This prophetic grasp is little, if at all, concerned with drawing a direct correlation between the mother of Jesus and the material content of OT messianic prophecy. The NT authors favor an allusive use of OT messianic texts and symbols to suggest the religious significance of the mother of Jesus against the broad background of OT messianism. The only passage directly applied to the mother of Jesus in the NT (Mt 1:22–23) is Isaiah 7:14. But the Isaian text is not employed here to affirm the truth of the virginal conception by appeal to OT prophecy. It is used to point up the religious significance of the virginal conception in the plan of God: In this way, He chose to inaugurate His presence in Christ, which remains permanent in the world (Mt 28:20).

Especially remarkable in the NT is that, when using the OT to illuminate its Christological messianism, it does not cite directly Genesis 3:15, of Christ and His mother. In Revelation 12:9 the NT uses Genesis 3:15 to express the earthly existence of the Church in its struggle against satanic power. However, there is a delicate association of the serpent with the woman who gives birth to the messianic King in Revelation 12:5 and, therefore, a complex Marian allusion to Genesis 3:15 (cf. Is 27:1).

The NT use of OT woman images to present its conception of the mother of Jesus is the most striking aspect of its theological reflection upon her person and role. Only through a deeper understanding of the NT prophetic use of the OT imagery is a more exact appreciation of the Biblical view of Mary's place and function in the divine plan of salvation attainable. In this regard, Mary's backstory is first of all to be found in the history of Israel, as told in the OT, rather than in speculative narratives about her childhood, as reported in some apocryphas. Related to Mary, the OT history of Israel may then be considered as a whole and not just as a collection of passages that apply to her.

The story of Israel understood as a covenantal history offers an example of this. The OT mentions four covenants established by God and human beings. Chronologically, they are the covenant with Noah, the covenant with Abraham (and Isaac, and Jacob/Israel), the covenant with Levi, and the covenant with David. In her Magnificat, Mary sees what is happening to her as the fulfillment of God's promise to Abraham (Lk 1:54–55). Her words are developed by Zechariah, who speaks about Abraham of a covenant, an oath that God swore with him (Lk 1:72–73). In the OT, before making a covenant with Abraham, God made a first one with NOAH (Gn 9:9–11). ADAM and EVE were created to live in harmony with God. Very quickly however, they broke that harmony. As a result of it, they were expelled from the garden of EDEN. Sin spread until God decided to wipe His creation away, with the exception of Noah, his family, and samples of the animal world. After the flood, God gives humanity, in Noah, a new chance through a covenant. Again, humanity did not respect the harmony willed by God (Gn 11:1–9, the Tower of Babel). As a result, humanity was split into many different peoples and nations. Given all this, God expressed His will of salvation by choosing, in Abraham, one people called to be dedicated to God. In Genesis 18:17ff, God explained to Abraham that, if the people born from Abraham stayed in harmony with God, "all the families of the earth would be blessed" (Gn 12:3; 18:18). So, God made this covenant first with Abraham himself (Gn 15:18; 17:1–8) and eventually with the entire people born from him (Ex 19:5; 24:8). Again, that people did not stay in harmony with God (Ex 32:1–6, the Golden Calf). So, God chose, among the people of Israel, one tribe that would be dedicated to him. He made a covenant with Levi and his descendants, the LEVITES (Jer 33:21; Mal 2:4–9). Again the harmony was broken (Lv 10:1–2). God then chose one family, one house—the house of David—to ensure the desired harmony. God made a covenant with David and his dynasty (Ps 89:4, 29, 35). Again David's successor, SOLOMON, broke the harmony (1 Kgs 11:1–10; Ps 89:31, 40). Then God chose a single human being, Jesus Christ, through whom all people would be saved. In Him a new and final covenant was made (Lk 22:20) that completed and perfected previous attempts (Heb 8:9). In Jesus, humanity remained in full and perfect harmony with divinity. The sequence of the four OT covenants, followed by the one NT covenant in Jesus Christ, shows a decrease in the number of human beings with whom God established a covenant. In Noah, the covenant was with all of humanity, in Abraham with one people, in Levi with one tribe, in David with one family, and, finally, in Jesus Christ with one person. Confronted by repeated human failures, God seems to have reduced His requirements. This may reveal His deep desire to save humanity. Eventually, all the people of the earth would be blessed if full harmony between humanity, and divinity could be achieved in only one person, namely Jesus Christ. Yet, at a certain point in time, the human assent to God in Jesus could not have been given by Jesus himself. Namely at the moment of the Annunciation, Jesus, as a human person, could not have assented to the complete harmony of humanity and divinity in Jesus Christ. Someone else, another human person, had to anticipate that on behalf of humanity: That person, of course, was His mother.

LIFE OF MARY ACCORDING TO THE GOSPELS

The sparseness of historical detail concerning the mother of Jesus is due to the theologically disciplined writing peculiar to Sacred Scripture: The interest of the inspired writers lies in the salvific action of God in history. Endeavoring to keep the divine activity in history foremost, they content themselves with only that data necessary to provide the minimal historical setting that renders the work of God comprehensible to their readers.

Historical Data. The main historical data offered in the Gospels concerning Mary is that she and Joseph were betrothed at the time of the Annunciation (Mt 1:18; Lk 1:27). Otherwise she is simply located at various places, always in connection with her Son: at Nazareth for the Child's conception (Lk 1:26); in the hill country of Judea (near Jerusalem) for Elizabeth's recognition of her unique maternity (Lk 1:39); at Bethlehem for the Child's birth (Lk 2:4, 7; Mt 2:1); at Jerusalem for her own purification in the Temple and the offering

of the Child to Yahweh (Lk 2:22); at Nazareth for the Child's rearing (Lk 2:51; Mt 2:23); at Jerusalem for the discovery of Jesus speaking with the teachers in the Temple (Lk 2:42,46); at Cana for a wedding (Jn 2:1); and finally at Jerusalem when Jesus is crucified (Jn 19:25), where Luke places her at the origin of the Church (Acts 1:8). The datum of Matthew 2:13 that Mary spent some time in Egypt is difficult to interpret and need not be pressed historically.

The Biblical texts offer no information on the proximity of Mary's virginal conception of Jesus to her impending marriage to Joseph. It is legitimate to presume that the Annunciation occurred shortly before the wedding date and that the wedding took place at its predetermined time to prevent the shadow of scandal (quite likely in Galilee) over the conception of the Child. The OT did not foretell a conception through the action of the Holy Spirit. On the contrary, such an event was totally unprecedented and thus unconceivable. The text of Matthew reflects the fact that Joseph accepted the Child's paternity as the divine will; he could not exercise his legal right of divorce without casting the suspicion of adultery upon Mary, and thus also injuring the Child. Luke's Annunciation narrative appears rather to exclude Mary from the Davidic line. If she were of Levitical descent, a possibility raised by her relationship to Elizabeth, the evangelists have attached no importance to it; nor have they attempted to derive religious significance from her name. Her life seems to have been spent in the quiet and obscurity of Nazareth (Mk 1:9), where she acquired no other reputation than that of being the mother of Jesus.

Historical Inferences. The most important historical inferences to be drawn from the Gospel data about Mary's life are the religious implications of the Lucan Annunciation scene. According to Lucan theology, Mary's understanding of herself and of her future altered profoundly due to the virginal conception of the messianic King. She was required thereafter to live in the obscurity of faith, awaiting the realization of the angelic prophecies concerning her Son. In Matthew 1:18–25, Joseph agreed to share this religious life of faith with her. That they would have other children besides Jesus seems excluded by the Lucan theology. This theology demands of Mary that she await the manifestation of herself as God's choice as the Virgin Mother of His Son, the divine Messiah.

Overview of Gospel References. In spite of the relative scarcity of mentions about Mary in the NT, a final overview of the passages about Mary according to the chronology of the texts of the NT is revealing. As stated above, most biblical scholars agree that Paul wrote first, followed by Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John. By looking then at where passages about Mary occur in these authors and by organizing these passages according to their place in the lives of Mary and Jesus, this tableau emerges:

PAUL	MARK	MATTHEW	LUKE	JOHN
Gal 4:4–5				
		Mt 1–2	Lk 1:26–58; 2	
				Jn 2:12
	Mk 3:31.35	Mt 12:46–50	Lk 8:19–21	
	Mk 6:2–3	Mt 13:54–56		Jn 6:41–42
			Lk 11:27–28	
				Jn 19:25–27
			Acts 1:13–14	
				Rv 12*

*Whether or not the women discussed in this biblical chapter is the Blessed Virgin Mary is open to debate.

The Blessed Virgin in the Bible. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF GALE, A PART OF CENGAGE LEARNING

What appears is a tendency to write more and more about Mary. Very little is simply repeated about her, even among the Synoptics. Rather, new information is added. More is revealed about her, which probably shows a growing interest in her. The increasing interest in Mary that TRADITION displays is already identifiable in the NT itself. Tradition leans on this momentum. Sometimes and on some occasions, it even loses contact with the Biblical foundation. However, the recent texts of the Magisterium call MARIOLOGY back to its scriptural roots.

SEE ALSO ACTS OF THE APOSTLES; ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, BIBLICAL; CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; GREEK LANGUAGE, BIBLICAL; HEBREW LANGUAGE; JOSEPH, ST.; GABRIEL, ARCHANGEL; GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE; JOHN, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; LUKE, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; MAGI (IN THE BIBLE); MARK, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, (IN THEOLOGY); MATTHEW, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; PATRIARCHS, BIBLICAL; PSALMS, BOOK OF; REVELATION, BOOK OF; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); TOWER OF BABEL; VIRGIN BIRTH.

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MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN (IN THEOLOGY)

This entry contains the following:

I. HOLINESS OF MARY
Rev. John F. Murphy/Robert L. Fastiggi
II. KNOWLEDGE AND FAITH OF MARY
Rev. Paul J. Mahoney/Rev. Thomas A. Thompson
III. MARY AND THE CHURCH
Rev. Frederick M. Jelly/Rev. Cyril Vollert/Robert L. Fastiggi
IV. MEDIATRIX OF ALL GRACES
Rev. Juniper B. Carol/Rev. Paul Haffner
V. SPIRITUAL MATERNITY OF MARY
Rev. William J. Cole/Judith M. Gentle

I. HOLINESS OF MARY

In this encyclopedia, the theology of Mary and its methodology are generally treated under the heading MARIOLOGY. Throughout, specific entries deal with Mary under her various titles or gifts: see ASSUMPTION OF MARY; DORMITION OF THE VIRGIN; IMMACULATE CONCEPTION; IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY; MOTHER OF GOD; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, QUEENSHIP OF; and THEOTÓKOS. For ecumenical developments in Marian theology, see MARY (AND ECUMENICAL DIALOGUE). The historical developments of Marian theology are dealt with under Mariology. This entry discusses the specific theological questions about Mary as traditionally presented in the Roman Catholic theological tradition over the centuries under the following subheadings: (1) Holiness of Mary; (2) Knowledge and Faith of Mary; (3) Mary and the Church; (4) Mediatrix of All Graces; and (5) Spiritual Maternity of Mary.

The Catholic Church looks upon Mary as "most holy" (*sanctissima*) and believes she is blessed with such an abundance of grace that she has always been "free of all stain of sin, all beautiful and perfect" (*ab omni prorsus peccati labe semper libera ac tota pulchra et perfecta*) (Pius IX, *Ineffabilis Deus*, 1854; Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 2800). The Eastern Orthodox likewise honor Mary as "all-holy" (*panagia*), and, in the BYZANTINE LITURGY of St. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, she is praised as the "Theotókos, ever blessed, most pure, and mother of our God; more honorable than the Cherubim, and beyond compare more glorious than the Seraphim" (*Patriarchal Divine Liturgy*, Vaporis 1985, p. 14). The Eastern Orthodox, however, generally do not accept the Catholic dogma of the Immaculate Conception because of a different approach to original sin (Fastiggi 2009, pp. 8–12). Catholics, though, believe Mary "was preserved from all stain of original sin" from "the first moment of her conception" (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 2803). This special privilege is intimately linked with Mary's HOLINESS because she was never without sanctifying grace, and she never needed to be purified from any sin, personal or original.

Mary's status as "ever-virgin" is also linked to her holiness. Pope PIUS XII spoke of Mary as "the holy Mother of God who is the Virgin of virgins and 'the teacher of virginity'" (*Sacra virginitas* 1954, no. 64). Vatican II held Mary up as the model for consecrated religious "because of the type of poor and virginal life that Christ, the Lord, chose for Himself and His virgin mother embraced" (*Lumen gentium* no. 46). Vatican II also saw Mary's virginity as an expression of her role as the "type" or ideal figure of the Church, which "is herself a virgin, who keeps whole and entire the faith given to her by her spouse" (*Lumen gentium* no. 64). Pope JOHN PAUL II viewed Mary's perpetual virginity as a sign of her total consecration and "spousal love" for God (cf. John Paul II, *Mulieris dignitatem* 1988, no. 20).

THE SOURCE OF MARY'S HOLINESS

Beyond a special union with God through sanctifying grace, supernatural holiness involves identifying one's will with the will of God, evidenced through the practice of VIRTUE and the exclusion of sin. In the case of the Mother of the SAVIOR, the degree of supernatural holiness bestowed upon her and achieved through her meritorious life was most extraordinary and can be properly demonstrated through a consideration of her

peculiar offices and privileges. Mary's freedom from sin, her fullness of grace, her virtues and gifts, and her final confirmation in grace at the end of her life were special factors of her sanctity, and each of these realities, considered in order below, contributed and gave testimony in its own way to the holiness of the Mother of God.

Freedom from Sin. Both the Scriptures and Church teaching clearly indicate that the Blessed Virgin Mary, immaculately conceived, received the gift of sanctifying grace and other special gifts in an unparalleled manner. The Archangel Gabriel's words, "Hail, full of grace" (Lk 1:28), represent a unique salutation. The Greek word used in the angelic greeting, *kecharitoméne*, is a perfect passive participle, which means, "to be enriched by grace in a stable, lasting way ... an action completed in the past whose effects endure" (Manelli 2007, p. 75). The angelic words of greeting imply that Mary was adorned with an abundance of heavenly gifts from the treasury of the divinity, to a degree beyond that of all the angelic spirits and all the saints. In fact, official Catholic teaching holds that God's grace was bestowed on Our Lady "in such a wonderful manner that she would always be free from absolutely every stain of sin, and that, all beautiful and perfect, she might display such fullness of innocence and holiness that under God none greater would be known" (Pius IX, *Ineffabilis Deus* 1854; Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 2800).

Mary's Immaculate Conception, therefore, was a unique and particular privilege. To be immaculately conceived, or to be ever without sin, is to possess grace, just as to be conceived without grace is to begin life in the state of sin. Catholic doctrine teaches, consequently, that Mary's predestination as the worthy mother of God postulates a fitting preparation in her soul and that from the very first moment of her existence she was filled with grace. This positive aspect of holiness, measured in terms of her possession of grace, stands in contradistinction to what is termed Mary's perfect sinlessness, the negative aspect of her sanctity. In the case of Our Lady, this perfect sinlessness implies more than merely the absence of sin; it implies also a complete indefectibility in the moral order, or the actual inability to sin.

Mary's Impeccability and Freedom from Concupiscence. The Catholic Church affirms Mary's preservation from all sin, both original and actual. Her preservation from original sin is her Immaculate Conception, which, as we have seen, implies that Mary was also "impeccable," that is, incapable of sinning. Some Church Fathers, such as Origen, St. John Chrysostom, and St. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, spoke of doubts and other flaws in Mary. It is debated whether these refer to actual sins or "normal human sentiments" (Haffner 2004, p. 90; cf. O'Carroll 2000, p. 173). Most Church Fathers, however, "like St. Augustine, St. Ambrose and St. Ephraem the Syrian, taught that Mary was sinless" (Haffner 2004, p. 90). The Council of TRENT, in its *Decree on Justification* (1547), held that Mary avoided all sins, even venial, throughout her whole life "by a special privilege of God" (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 1573). The Eastern Orthodox likewise maintain that Mary never committed any actual sins in her life (Ware 1993, p. 259), even though they generally reject the Immaculate Conception.

Was Mary free from CONCUPISCENCE (the inclination to sin) or did she simply avoid sin because of a special privilege of grace? This issue was debated during the Middle Ages. St. THOMAS AQUINAS (c. 1225–1274) believed that Mary had the tinder for sin (*fomes peccati*) in its essence, but this was fettered or held bound "by the abundance of grace she received in her sanctification" (*Summa theologica* 3a, q. 27, a. 3). St. Thomas's position, however, was influenced by his belief that Mary "did indeed contract original sin but was cleansed from it prior to her birth" (*Summa theologica* 3a, q. 27, a. 2 ad 2). Today, in light of the Immaculate Conception, "it seems more reasonable to suppose that Mary enjoyed complete freedom from concupiscence from the first moment of her conception" (Haffner 2004, p. 94).

Mary's sinlessness, therefore, can be properly described as absolute and is the consequence of several factors. Her freedom from the assaults of concupiscence alone would not have been sufficient to ensure it, for the ANGELS, free from the weaknesses of a fallen ADAM, were still able to revolt against God. Two other special factors constituted Mary perfectly impeccable. The first was her constant awareness of God, living always in His presence, and the second was her reception of special and extraordinary graces. These particular graces represented the most important factor, for they enabled Mary to maintain a perfect harmony in her mind, will, affections, and appetitive powers and to recognize always, where error plagues lesser mortals, that true good and happiness are found only in union with God's will.

Such sinlessness in Our Lady, however, does not mean that Mary was intrinsically impeccable, but rather that the grace of her Immaculate Conception and her divine motherhood made sin utterly impossible in her life. She was free, as a consequence of her predestination, not only from all personal sin and from every voluntary imperfection but also from every involuntary moral fault and from even the first movements of concupiscence.

The fact and propriety of Mary's complete sinlessness, recognized in the Church long before other Marian mysteries were explored, can be established also through the theological axiom that the nearer one approaches to a principle of truth or life, the more deeply one partakes

of its effects. Hence, Mary's unique proximity to God and the possession of grace made her immune to any kind of personal sin. Her maternal relationship with her divine Son was more than a mere physiological relationship and even more than an office endowed with special graces. It was, in fact, a supernatural, sanctifying union, implying a highly intimate affinity and relationship with the Most Holy Trinity. Therefore, Mary's relationship to the hypostatic order demanded that God, out of what was due himself, bestow the grace of IMPECCABILITY upon His Mother.

Fullness of Grace. Mary's complete sinlessness implies conversely what is termed the *fullness of grace*. The teaching Church, therefore, in referring traditionally to Our Lady as full of grace, has never attributed to Mary anything less than a supremacy of holiness. Whatever in providence has been given in any degree to individual saints must have been given to Mary in plenitude. If the first parents received an exceptional amount of grace from the moment of their creation, Mary must have possessed a far greater degree of sanctity from the time of her conception.

Even before papal authority confirmed their teaching, ecclesiastical writers and doctors of the Church were unanimous in holding that from her very creation Mary possessed a greater degree of sanctity than any angel or other merely human being. Many theologians have not hesitated to claim for Mary a sanctity surpassing, even from the beginning, the combined holiness of all angels and other men, excluding, of course, that of her divine Son (see Suárez, *De mysteriis vitae Christi*, in Vivès 1856, Disputation 21, III, 7, p. 321). Traditionally, therefore, the Church has always attributed to Mary any grace that has been granted to a lesser saint, either in its own form or in some more eminent and fitting manner. Certain graces, of course, could not be directly bestowed on Mary. The priesthood, for instance, was not appropriate for Our Lady as a woman, but the divine maternity brought her the local, not simply the sacramental, presence of Christ's body; physical martyrdom, not providentially in God's plan for His Mother, was superseded by her participation in a singular manner in the PASSION of her divine Son.

Our Lady's fullness of grace, however, preeminent as it was, was not comparable to the plenitude of grace in Christ. Our Savior is the source of grace; moreover, by reason of the HYPOSTATIC UNION, the plenitude of grace was complete in Our Lord from His conception. In Mary's case, grace was susceptible to growth. As Our Lady dealt with Christ, witnessed the events in the work of Redemption, and experienced one by one the episodes in her life linking her with the work of the Savior, her capacity for grace increased. In reference to the Blessed Mother, therefore, one speaks of the fullness of grace in a relative, not absolute, sense. No matter how extraordinary the graces granted her, an infinite distance always remained between her greatest perfection and the ineffable HOLINESS OF GOD. No creature can possibly possess absolute perfection, and even though Our Lady fulfilled perfectly the will of God in every instance, her grace was perfect only in proportion to that degree to which God destined her. Therefore, even though properly described by the Archangel Gabriel before the INCARNATION as full of grace, Our Lady was destined to advance in grace according to God's providential designs. This she did more abundantly and perfectly than any other pure creature, and, inasmuch as grace begets grace, in her this sanctifying quality was multiplied throughout her life in geometric proportions.

Mary's Growth in Holiness. Neither from Sacred Scripture nor from the teaching of the Church can it be proved, however, that Our Lady's meriting an increase in grace began from the very instant of her conception, though many theologians advance reasons indicating that such was the case. The Jesuit Francisco SUÁREZ (1548–1617), who is considered "the founder of systematic Mariology" (O'Carroll 2000, p. 334), organized his twenty-three disputations on Mary mostly on her dignity and sanctification (nos. 1–17) and her merits and intercession (nos. 18–23). He was quite clear in affirming that Mary did increase in grace through her own merits during her life (Suárez, *De mysteriis vitae Christi*, in Vivès 1856, Disputation 18, pp. 280–297).

How, though, did Mary increase in grace? Certainly she advanced in grace with the attainment of the use of reason, whenever, prematurely or normally in God's arrangements, that occurred, and she especially advanced in grace at the time of the incarnation. From that moment on, an ineffable relationship existed between the incarnate Word and His Mother, and whereas Mary gave Christ His humanity, Our Lord gave His Mother a constantly increasing participation in His divinity (i.e., divinization or *theosis*). In addition to Mary's unique degree of habitual grace as a permanent mode of being, she surpassed all other creatures, too, in the reception of actual graces. God granted her all the graces of intellect and will necessary to perform each action in her life with the greatest possible perfection.

Virtues and Gifts. Beyond sanctifying grace and its increase, beyond her actual graces, Our Lady received also the infused theological and moral virtues and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The infused virtues enabled her to perform supernaturally meritorious acts, and the gifts aided her in perfecting her acts in complete accord with the inspirations of the Holy Spirit. The cooperation of the human will with divine grace in seeking that which is good results in progress and growth in the virtues.

Properly developed, they constitute holiness, not so much because of the quality of the exterior act as because of the perfection of the inner dispositions. In the case of our Blessed Mother, her inner dispositions were of such special excellence that her power to live a supernatural life surpassed that of all the saints even at the ends of their lives. The least of Mary's interior acts were animated by the purest motives and dispositions of love and were realized with a perfection of charity beyond that of the most heroic efforts of even the greatest of God's other servants. No one denies, therefore, that the Blessed Virgin Mary practiced virtue in a most exemplary manner. The Scriptures give testimony to as much. Note her stalwart faith (Lk 1:45), her profound humility (Lk 1:38–55), and her prompt obedience (Lk 2:5, 22). Because of her freedom from sin, she did not exercise such virtues as continence and penance, but this is not to deny that she possessed the habit of these virtues.

The Catholic tradition is full of references to Mary as the perfect exemplar of human virtues. According to DANTE ALIGHIERI (1265–1321), in Mary "is assembled everything in the creature there is of goodness" (*Paradiso*, canto 33, 20–21). St. Louis-Marie GRIGNION DE MONTFORT (1673–1716) said that "in all our actions we must look upon Mary, although a simple human being, as the perfect model of every virtue and perfection, fashioned by the Holy Spirit for us to imitate, as far as our limited capacity allows" (*True Devotion to Mary*, no. 260). At Vatican II, Mary was extolled as the one "who shines forth to the whole community of the elect as the model of virtues" (*exemplar virtutum*) (*Lumen gentium* no. 65).

Both from the limited, but pointed, details of Sacred Scripture and from theological reasoning, Mary is seen first of all as the perfect exemplar of the theological virtues. Her faith, strong, certain, and prompt in its assent, was enlightened by the gifts of wisdom, understanding, and knowledge. Extraordinary at the time of the ANNUNCIATION, her faith increased at Cana and throughout the public life of Our Lord until it reached its perfection on Mount CALVARY. Moreover, Mary possessed the virtue of faith in the highest degree experienced by any soul on earth, for Our Lord, possessing the beatific vision from the very moment of His conception, never needed faith or hope. He already possessed what these virtues lead to—vision and possession.

Along these lines, Pope PAUL VI spoke of Mary as "the attentive Virgin" who is "full of faith" in his 1974 apostolic exhortative *Marialis cultus* (no. 17). Pope John Paul II presented Mary as "she who believed" in his 1987 encyclical *Redemptoris mater* (nos. 12–19), and he held her up as the exemplar of Eucharistic faith in his 2003 encyclical *Ecclesia de eucharistia* (no. 55).

Beyond this deep faith, because Mary firmly believed in the promises of the infallible Almighty, she awaited the fulfillment of these promises concerning herself and the human race with a perfect trust and confidence, displaying the greatest hope of the eternal possession of God. Despite the trials and forebodings in the life of Christ and the seeming contradictions in what had been promised, her hope never faltered. Later, after the Ascension of Our Lord, the preeminent perfection of Mary's hope sustained that of the Apostles during the early and difficult days of announcing the Gospel message. In harmony with these truths, Pope BENEDICT XVI, in his 2007 encyclical *Spe salvi*, referred to Mary as "the star of hope" (no. 49) and "the Mother of hope" (no. 50).

If Mary's faith was singularly ardent and her hope so firm and sure, these virtues were perfected only in keeping with her love of God, her extraordinary charity. Mary, being intimately united with the Blessed Trinity, corresponded most perfectly with God's love for her. No human disorder or imperfection ever impeded her growth in the love of the Almighty. Especially at the moment of her cooperation in the mystery of the Redemption and all that it implied, a perfect example of heroic charity was evidenced. At the time of the Incarnation, Mary not only offered an extraordinary sacrifice for men, she offered that which was dearer than her own life, the life of her Son. Her charity was of such abundance that her sacrifice lasted not only for a few moments at the Incarnation and on Calvary but throughout the whole of Christ's life.

In a particular way, Pope John Paul II looked upon Mary as the supreme example of self-giving love or charity. In his 1988 apostolic letter *Mulieris dignitatem*, he also pointed to Mary as the model of "feminine humanity" because she discovers herself "by means of a sincere gift of self" (no. 11).

Because the infused moral virtues in a soul in the state of grace are perfected in proportion to its charity, Mary possessed also the virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance in an extraordinary degree. The full hierarchy of virtues along with her special intellectual endowments constitutes Mary, then, as the model of both the contemplative and the active life. Her devotion to the Word Incarnate, her charity, and her observance of the law make her the exemplar of the Christian life.

In Catholic theological writings, Mary's reception of the Sacraments is also sometimes discussed. Because the Sacraments were instituted as a chief means for a Christian to grow in grace, the graces gained by Our Lady would be immense, for she was prepared to receive the Sacraments with ideal dispositions. Not all Sacraments were necessary in the case of Our Lady, and some she could not validly receive. The Holy Eucharist,

however, for the time after its institution must have been for Mary the source of great consolation and increase in grace. The enormous graces that can be procured by an ordinarily devout soul from a single reception of the Eucharist reveal the increase in grace the Sacrament must have brought to the absolutely perfect communicant, the Blessed Mother.

Special graces are also granted to certain individuals in particular situations, not for the sanctification of the individual himself, but for the sanctification of others. Theologians call these *gratiae gratis datae*. Mary would not need to possess all such graces herself, because her duties in providence did not require them. However, it is likely that most of them were granted her, for it was fitting that she, as queen of the Apostles, possess in an eminent degree these various charisms.

Consummated Fullness. Mary's special gifts and the marvels that grace and Divine Providence produced in her soul led Our Lady to an ultimate perfection in the supernatural life that is called her final perfection, or consummated fullness of grace. At the end of Our Lady's life, consequent upon the fulfilling of her sacred offices and fruition of her special privileges, her cooperation and growth in grace led to a culmination anticipating her heavenly glory. Although the final plenitude of grace in Mary was of an ineffable degree, it must never be, as indicated earlier, conceived as infinite. The possibilities of the state of grace itself were not exhausted in Mary, nor were all the possible effects of grace realized in her life. Of necessity, grace in Mary remained a created, accidental entity and, consequently, a finite reality. Hence, the plenitude of grace in Our Lady was limited in comparison with that of Christ, although it was still, in comparison with that of any other creature, inexpressibly superior.

For ordinary Christians, two general factors are part of supernatural growth. Fidelity to duties of state involving the Commandments and the practice of the virtues and reception of the Sacraments are the common ways of sanctification. In the case of our Blessed Lady, however, there existed a third factor: her divine maternity and the offices and privileges consequent upon it. Because she was called to this special relationship with God, there followed for her the bestowal of extraordinary graces for extraordinary sanctification. These graces, like any others, became more and more numerous as Mary corresponded with them in greater charity and fidelity. Her perfect correspondence with grace, especially at the moment of the Incarnation and again on Calvary, produced in Mary's soul an increase and plenitude of grace that exceeds human description.

Hence, in an attempt to describe the holiness of Mary, the words of St. John Chrysostom in the Roman Breviary have become classic: "A great miracle ... indeed was the blessed ever-virgin Mary. What greater or brighter has ever been found or will ever be found? ... What is holier than she? Neither Prophets nor Apostles ... neither seraphim nor cherubim ... nor any created being, visible or invisible" (Lesson 5, *Common of Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary*).

MARY'S HOLINESS SINCE VATICAN II

Vatican II spoke of Mary as "the model of virtues" (*Lumen gentium* no. 65), and since the council, the popes have consistently pointed to Mary as the perfect model of faith, hope, and charity. Pope John Paul II, in his 1988 apostolic letter *Mulieris dignitatem*, held Mary up as the model of holiness for both virgins and mothers because "these two dimensions of the female vocation" coexist in her (no. 17). The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1992/1997) says the Church looks to the "all-holy Virgin Mary" as the "model and source" for all other human examples of holiness (no. 2030).

Vatican II also placed special emphasis on Mary as the eschatological sign of the Church in glory. She is extolled as "the image and beginning of the Church as it is to be perfected in the world to come" (*Lumen gentium* no. 68). The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* picked up on this link between Mary's holiness and the holiness of the Church by stating that, "in Mary she [the Church] is already all-holy" (no. 867). Mary's relationship to the Church has also been an important topic in ecumenical dialogues, especially with the Orthodox and Anglicans.

Another development since Vatican II has been an increased emphasis on Mary as not only a model of holiness but also as a *teacher* of holiness. Thus, Pope Paul VI spoke of Mary as "a teacher of the spiritual life for individual Christians" (*Marialis cultus* 1974, no. 21). Pope John Paul II consistently extolled Mary as the preeminent instructor of holiness. In his 2002 apostolic letter *Rosarium Virginis Mariae*, John Paul II recognized Mary as the best teacher for learning about Christ because "no one can introduce us to a profound knowledge of his mystery better than his Mother" (no. 14). In his final encyclical, *Ecclesia de eucharistia* (2003), John Paul II had chapter six titled: "At the School of Mary: Woman of the Eucharist." He pointed to Mary as the one who can best instruct the faithful on the true depth and mystery of the Eucharist (nos. 53–56).

The importance of Mary as a teacher of holiness was also stressed by Pope Benedict XVI when, as Cardinal Ratzinger, he presided at John Paul II's funeral Mass on April 8, 2005. Meditating on John 19:27, he noted that John Paul II did as the beloved disciple did: "he took her [Mary] into his own home (*eis ta idia*: Jn 19:27)—*Totus tuus*. And from the mother he learned to conform himself to Christ." As Pope Benedict XVI, he has continued to refer, like his predecessor, to "the school

of Mary." In his first papal homily on January 1, 2006, for the Solemnity of Mary, Mother of God, Pope Benedict stated: "Let us too, at her school, learn to become attentive disciples of the Lord. With her motherly help, let us commit ourselves to working enthusiastically in the 'workshop' of peace, following Christ, the Prince of Peace."

SEE ALSO Divinization (Theosis), Doctrine of; Ecclesia de Eucharistia; Mulieris Dignitatem; Redemptoris Mater; Sacra Virginitas; Spe Salvi; Vatican Council II.

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II. KNOWLEDGE AND FAITH OF MARY

During the MIDDLE AGES, Scholastic theologians used distinctions when speaking about the knowledge that Christ's human intellect possessed. The first type of knowledge, they said, was intuitive, derived from the vision of God that explained Christ's relation to the Father (Jn 1:18; 3:11, 32); the second was infused knowledge, which they said explained Christ's knowledge of the future (Lk 2:46; Mk 13:24–26; Mt 7:28–29); and the third was acquired knowledge, which explained his growth in knowledge (Lk 2, 40, 52).

At times, these distinctions were applied to the Virgin Mary—for example, in the passages dealing with finding Jesus in the temple (Lk 2:48) and her request at CANA OF GALILEE (Jn 2:5). Questions arose about the Virgin Mary's knowledge at the time she made the consent to the Archangel GABRIEL at the ANNUNCIATION (Lk 1:38). St. THOMAS AQUINAS wrote that the redemption of mankind depended upon the consent of the Virgin Mary (*Summa theologiae*, 3a, q. 30, a. 1), and that "the one who gave birth to the only-begotten Son, full of grace and truth, received the greater privileges of grace than all others" (3a, q. 27, a. 1). This teaching is also found in the writings of Pope PIUS X and Pope PIUS XII: "Who could better than His Mother have an open knowledge of the admirable mysteries of the birth and childhood of Christ, and above all of the mystery of the Incarnation, which is the beginning and the foundation of faith?" (*Ad Diem illum laetissimum* 1904, 7; *Mystici Corporis Christi* 1943, 110). Some writers held that, at the moment of the Annunciation, Mary received special graces, a type of infused knowledge concerning the divinity of her son (Roschini, Martinelli, and Connell, in Connell 1957). Scripture makes no reference to the type of knowledge the Virgin Mary possessed, and little was said in the Patristic era. St. AUGUSTINE expressed the traditional belief: "She had already conceived Him in her mind before conceiving Him in her womb" (*Patrologia Latina*, 38, 937).

FAITH, especially after the Protestant Reformation, was considered a type of conceptual knowledge, that is, belief in the revealed truths. Faith, however, is "first of all a personal adherence of man to God," while, at the same time, it is the "free assent to the whole truth that God has revealed" (*Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 150). Contemporary authors speak of the "knowledge of faith." Mary believed that the things promised to her by the LORD would be accomplished (Luke 1:45): "It was the knowledge of faith, of perfect faith, but not vision, not continuous ecstasy. It was a kind of knowledge which became her Jewish character, her upbringing, and culture, her singular personality, her sex, her unique experience, intuitive, experiential, filling her whole existence, integral to her entire conduct" (O'Carroll 1982, p. 214).

At VATICAN COUNCIL II, one of the concerns addressed in the first Marian schema dealt with Mary's knowledge at the Annunciation. The texts of Vatican II do not rule out the possibility that, at that moment, the Virgin Mary received a personal communication from God, but they underscore her wholehearted acceptance of God's word. At the Annunciation, it was "the Virgin Mary, who at the message of the angel received the Word of God in her heart and in her body and gave Life to the world." (*Lumen gentium* 1964, 53). "The Father of mercies willed that the Incarnation should be preceded by assent on the part of the predestined mother, so that just as a woman had a share in bringing about death, so also a woman should contribute to life" (*Lumen gentium*, 56).

Vatican II also presented the Virgin Mary as "type" of the Church and its "outstanding model in faith and charity" (*Lumen gentium*, 53). Pope PAUL VI's APOSTOLIC EXHORTATION *Marialis cultus* (On Marian Devotion, 1974) spoke of the exemplary value of Mary for the Church. In her person, she manifests for the whole Church, the "absolute union with Christ" that is the heart of worship, and, for that reason, she is the exemplar or "model of the spiritual attitude with which the Church celebrates and lives the divine mysteries" (*Marialis cultus*, 16). The pope continues: "She is held up as example to the faithful rather for the way in which, in her own particular life, she fully and responsibly accepted the will of God (cf. Luke 1:38), because she heard the word of God and acted on it, and because charity and a spirit of service were the driving force of her actions" (*Marialis cultus*, 35).

In his ENCYCLICAL *Redemptoris mater* (Mother of the Redeemer, 1987), Pope JOHN PAUL II spoke of Mary's faith at the Annunciation: "From the moment of the Annunciation … Mary, she, his mother, is in contact

with the truth about her Son only in faith and through faith" (18). Mary advanced in her "pilgrimage of faith," especially in the "many years, lived in intimacy with the mystery of her Son." But this faith also experienced the dark night: "Through this faith Mary is perfectly united with Christ in his self-emptying.... At the foot of the Cross Mary shares through faith in the shocking mystery of this self-emptying. This is perhaps the deepest *'kenosis' of faith* in human history" (*Redemptoris mater*, 18). The key to Mary's religious experience, and her blessedness, is her faith. "All those who from generation to generation accept the apostolic witness of the Church share in that mysterious inheritance and *in a sense share in Mary's faith*," according to John Paul II (*Redemptoris mater*, 27).

The *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (*CCC*) speaks of faith as the only way in which the mysterious ways of God's almighty power can be understood: "The Virgin Mary is the supreme model of this faith, for she believed that 'nothing will be impossible with God' and was able to magnify the Lord: 'For he who is mighty has done great things for me, and holy is his name'" (*CCC*, 273). The "obedience of faith" is to hear God's word. Faith is "to submit freely to the word of God that has been heard, because its truth is guaranteed by God, who is Truth itself. Abraham is a model of such obedience in the Sacred Scripture. The Virgin Mary is its most perfect embodiment" (*CCC*, 144).

SEE ALSO GOD, INTUITION OF; GRACE (IN THE BIBLE); KENOSIS; MOTHER OF GOD; MULIERIS DIGNITATEM; MYSTERY (IN THEOLOGY); MYSTICI CORPORIS CHRISTI; PATRISTIC THEOLOGY; REDEMPTORIS MATER; SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY; VIRGIN BIRTH.

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III. MARY AND THE CHURCH

In the modern development of MARIOLOGY, considerable interest is focused on the relationship between Mary and the Church. The intimate connection between the Blessed Virgin and the Church, however, is not new. Support for Mary's relation to the Church can be found in both Scripture (e.g., Jn 19:26–27, Acts 1:14 and Rev 12:17) and Patristic literature (see Gambero 1999, pp. 71, 124–125, 163–164, 198–199, 222–225; Haffner 2004, pp. 244–245; and Llamas 2007, p. 554). Many Church fathers taught that, as the Virgin Mary is the mother of CHRIST, so also the Church is the virginal mother of men. Their reflections were deeply influenced by their perception of the likeness that both Our Lady and the Church have with EVE, mother of all the living. In a similar manner, numerous medieval authors made use of the Mary-Church parallelism (see Gambero 2005, pp. 39–40, 48–49, 70–71, 125–129, 171–173, 180–181, 188–189, 212–213, and 311–312). They presented the Blessed Virgin as the image and type of the Church, her most eminent member and her loving mother. Theologians in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries revived this theme, convinced that the analogy between Mary and the Church, far from being a secondary theme on the surface of Catholic teaching, is necessary for understanding the dogma of the REDEMPTION. The popes, from the time of PIUS IX (r. 1846–1878), have also invoked the assistance of Mary in the face of modern challenges, and they "have entrusted the life and activi-



Madonna with the Serpent. *Mary and the Child Jesus, together, crush the head of the serpent.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/GALLERIA BORGHESE ROME/DAGLI ORTI/THE PICTURE DESK, INC.**

ties of the Church to the Virgin Mary" (Llamas 2007, p. 561).

At Vatican II, the original plan was to have a separate document on Mary. Among the original draft titles were *Mary, Mother of Jesus and Mother of the Church* and *The Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of the Church* (O'Carroll 2000, pp. 352–353). In the fall of 1963, however, a group of the Council Fathers proposed that the draft text or *schema* on Mary be incorporated into the constitution on the Church rather than stand as a separate document. After considerable discussion, a vote was taken, and, by a simple majority (1,114 to 1,074, with some spoiled votes), it was decided to include the *schema* on Mary in the constitution on the Church (O'Carroll 2000, p. 353), forming the basis of what would become *Lumen gentium*, chapter eight (nos. 52–69).

In what follows, Mary's intimate relation to the Church will first be considered in light of her maternity, virginity, holiness, and coredemptive mission. Then, attention will be given to Mary and the Church in Vatican II and the postconciliar Church.

Maternity of Mary and the Church. In the supernatural order, the Mother of Christ is also the mother of the Church and therefore of all the members of the Mystical Body. Mary's basic relationship to the Church is maternal. This truth is taught by St. PIUS X in his ENCYCLICAL, *Ad Diem illum laetissimum* (1904). By the very fact that the Blessed Virgin is the mother of Christ, the head, she is the mother of the whole Body.

The Church, too, is the mother of men, for from her they receive supernatural life and education. The Church is the mother of men mainly by the administration of the Sacraments. Mary is the mother of men because grace, which is conferred by the Sacraments, is deposited in the treasury of the Church through her cooperation in Christ's redemptive sacrifice. In comparing Mary's spiritual motherhood with that of the Church, one perceives that the former is the nobler and is the source of the latter. But these two mothers do not have separate families or give birth to different children. They have the same sons and daughters whom they cherish with a common love. Mary brings forth the whole Body of Christ, the Church, which is also the mother of Christ's members.

The New Eve. The Fathers developed the theme of the new Eve in their reflections on recapitulation, which is prominent in St. IRENAEUS. GOD's plan had been clear from the outset: a man and a woman, ADAM and Eve, were to transmit the supernatural life of grace to all mankind. Restoration of the plan that had been compromised by sin was to be made by another man and another woman. That man is JESUS CHRIST, the new Adam. A woman also had to have a place in the restoration; from an early period, the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH recognized this woman. The new Eve is Mary and the Church.

Evil and death were introduced into the world by the disobedience of the first Eve. The second Eve is the Church, formed from the side of the second Adam sleeping in death on the cross, as the first Eve had been formed from the side of the sleeping Adam (cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 766, citing St. AMBROSE). But the new Eve as a definite person who repaired by her obedience what the first Eve had devastated by her disobedience is Mary. Thus both Mary and the Church are celebrated in TRADITION as the new Eve, mother of all who live the new life brought by Christ. As Eve contributed to the ruin of men, Mary and the Church contribute to their Redemption.

Later ages made a further application. Because Mary is mother of all the living, she is associated with her Son in His redemptive work. The consent that she freely gave at the ANNUNCIATION to be the mother of Christ was enlivened anew at the CRUCIFIXION. By cooperating in the redeeming sacrifice, she became the new Eve in the most perfect sense, source of men's life, mother of the Body as she is mother of the head.

Virginity of Mary and the Church. From ancient times, Mary, mother and virgin, has been likened to the Church, which is also mother and virgin. Yet this comparison involves differences as well as similarities. Mary is the mother of Christ; the Church is the mother of Christians who are "other Christs." Mary is literally a virgin; the Church is virginal because it has never adulterated the faith but has always been true to Christ. Maternity and virginity are literal for Mary, but analogous and metaphorical for the Church.

In Judeo-Christian writings, a virgin is a person or a community that is dedicated to God and remains faithful to Him. In the Old Testament, union with God consecrates virginity and at the same time makes it maternally fruitful as long as ISRAEL does not abandon its divine bridegroom for false gods. Virginity is fidelity; heresy and apostasy are adultery. Union with God hallows virginity by enriching it with fecundity; its fruit is imperishable life. As applied to the Church, virginity is linked with the purity of faith. The very maternity of the Church is virginal because, loyal in faith and undefiled by heresy, it brings forth God's children by the activity of the Holy Spirit.

When the Biblical notion of virginity refers to persons, it implies bodily integrity, especially as a sign of spiritual fidelity and complete consecration to God. Mary, virgin of virgins, is the ideal of all virginity. According to Catholic tradition, she conceived and bore

her Son with unimpaired virginity by the action of the Holy Spirit (see *Lumen gentium*, no. 57). Her spiritual maternity, too, is wholly virginal; like Christ, the members of His Body, the Church, are born of Mary as children of God solely by the Holy Spirit's power.

The virginity of the Church illuminates the virginity of Our Lady. The Church is not only one flesh, but one spirit, with Christ (1 Cor 6:17). Though real, the union is spiritual and mystical. Similarly, Mary's virginity is not only the absence of carnal association with any man but also is her spiritual and mystical union with God. By the perfection of its virginity, therefore, the Church draws very close to the virginal Mother of God.

Holiness of Mary and the Church. As the virginity of the Church helps one to understand Mary's virginity, so Mary's holiness assists one to grasp the HOLINESS OF THE CHURCH. The sanctity of both is caused by the same grace of God. The main difference lies in the receptivity of Mary and the Church. No refusal or reluctance ever marred Mary's acceptance of God's advances, but the Church is a collectivity of men and women who never hold their souls completely open to God's generosity.

All men are called to holiness in the Church. The Church is holy because it has received from God the means of holiness, faith, and the Sacraments, which produce holiness in the members. However, although the Church is entirely holy, its members are subject to defects and sins that hamper the diffusion of its holiness. A comparison between Mary's holiness and the holiness of the Church reveals Mary's superiority. She was redeemed by way of preservation, and her IMMACULATE CONCEPTION implied her freedom from concupiscence. But the Church is formed of members who all, with the exception of Mary, contract original sin. Consequently, although they are purified from all guilt by BAPTISM, they are burdened with the weight of concupiscence, which slows down the growth of grace.

The Blessed Virgin's progress in sanctity was constant and rapid. Her whole life and all her actions were unfailingly directed toward God. She mounted from holiness to holiness, always full of grace, because each grace increased her capacity for further grace, which promptly filled her soul to repletion. The Church also grows in grace, aspiring to the full stature of Christ (Eph 4:13). But the Church is an assembly of sinners, who must unceasingly repent and be converted anew; its progress is impeded by the members' sluggish response to grace.

Sanctity flowers into glory and resurrection, the final triumph. On Earth the Church plods along in the order of terrestrial holiness, with all its setbacks; in heaven, it has not yet attained resurrection, the ultimate radiation of holiness. But Mary is now in glory; prior to the Church, she was taken up to heaven, body and soul. Yet her Assumption, coming at the climax of her last fullness of grace, prefigures and anticipates the assumption of the Church. Thus the Blessed Virgin, who excels the Church by her Immaculate Conception and by her progress in sanctity, also precedes it by her resurrection.

Coredemptive Mission of Mary and the Church. Mary's maternal relation to Christ's person has occupied the attention of theologians for centuries; in the twentieth century, they concentrated on her relation to her Son's work. They sought a clearer insight into the part God assigned to the Blessed Virgin and to the Church in the economy of salvation.

As representative and personification of the Church, Mary collaborated with Christ in the three great steps of the mystery of Redemption: the INCARNATION, the CROSS, and the Resurrection. Both Mary and the Church have a redemptive mission, but Mary's was exercised on an essentially higher level than that of the Church. God's Son became man that the Redemption might be a human as well as a divine achievement. But from the beginning, He required the consent of the human race and the donation of its flesh and blood. Mary, acting in the name of all mankind, gave that consent and donation.

During the first phase of her salvific activity, Mary preceded the Church. In response to God's proposal, she replied: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord" (Lk 1:38). St. THOMAS AQUINAS says that her consent was given in the name of the whole human race (*Summa theologiae*, 3a, q.30, a. 1), and this insight has been consecrated by the TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH: "In the name of the entire human race, she gave her consent for a spiritual marriage between the Son of God and human nature" (Leo XIII, *Octobri mense*, 1891; Denzinger-Hünermann, 3274*;* Pius XII, *Mystici corporis*, 1943, no. 110).

The activity exercised by the Blessed Virgin at the time of the conception and birth of Christ was carried on all during her life and reached its culmination on CALVARY. In His supreme hour of sacrifice, the REDEEMER drew His mother into His suffering to associate her with His redeeming act. He received her dedication, love, and merits and integrated her agony into His own PASSION to offer them to the Father for the salvation of mankind.

Mary's suffering endowed her maternity over men with a new dimension. Her first childbearing, by which she became the mother of God, was, according to tradition, without pain; her second childbearing, by which she became fully the mother of sinners, was painful in the extreme (see Pius X, *Ad Diem illum laetissimum*, 1904, no. 24). While Jesus offered Himself in sacrifice for men's Redemption, His mother offered her Son for

the same purpose and, thus by cooperating in men's birth to supernatural life, became in a heightened sense the mother of the Church.

The Mother's contribution to the work of Redemption far surpasses that of the Church. Not only did she precede the Church during Christ's mortal life, but she also was integrated into the very Passion that procured men's reconciliation with God. She who was one with her Son at the Incarnation was one with Him at the moment of Redemption. The activity of the Church is exercised on the lower plane of application of the merits and atonement of Calvary.

A second phase of Mary's salvific mission extended from PENTECOST to the Assumption. During this period she lived in the Church as its first and most important member and, by her intercession and merits, collaborated in applying the Redemption. She had preceded the Church but was now in the Church, without official voice in its councils. Her hand did not hold the keys of the kingdom, but her prayers sustained the APOSTLE's hands that held them. She conferred no Sacraments, but their power derives from the sacrifice of the Cross, in which she had her part.

During the final phase of her mediatory activity, from her Assumption to the end of the world, Mary again goes before the Church, assists it with supernatural aid, and awaits its triumph. The mystery of Christ's Resurrection and ASCENSION is the culmination of the mystery of Redemption. The Church is included in the mystery and has, in its head, inaugurated its own resurrection. Mary has already risen; the resurrection of the collective Church at the end of time is personified in her, whose Assumption is the prelude of the future bodily victory of the rest of men.

Mary's coredemptive activity, obviously, has no gap to bridge in her Son's redemptive work. All she has, she received from Christ. What she received was power to act with the Redeemer for mankind's salvation. She stands next to the Redeemer as coredemptress subordinate to Him, and she can act only in dependence on Him. But dependence does not exclude productivity. Mary's redemptive office is wholly derived from Christ, for it is the cooperation of a subordinate associate that supposes His activity; yet she truly acts with Him.

Vatican II and Beyond. VATICAN COUNCIL II's Marian doctrine in the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (*Lumen gentium*, *chapter* 8) was most significant for the renewal of Mariology. As noted above, the Council Fathers voted on October 29, 1963, in favor of making the Marian *schema* a part of the document on the Church. The very title of the chapter, "The Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, in the Mystery of Christ and the Church," placed her in close relationship with her Son (Christocentric Mariology) and with his Mystical Body (ecclesiotypical Mariology). This is the proper setting in which to assess Mary's role in the work of Redemption. The true ecumenical importance of the Council's decision is derived not from minimizing her place in Catholic faith and piety, but from emphasizing a sharing-oriented Mariology instead of a privilege-centered one. Under the impetus of Vatican II, the theology of Mary stresses that her special graces and prerogatives are primarily for the sake of her Son and his redeemed-redeeming Body, the Church. Divine Revelation about Mary makes the central mysteries of faith more intelligible and meaningful for Christian living.

The Christocentric and ecclesiotypical emphases of contemporary Mariology are mutually complementary rather than in conflict. Mary cannot be related to Christ without being intimately associated with the ecclesial Body that he received through his redemptive activity. At the same time, she is the archetype of the Church only because her unique relationship with Christ is the basis for the Church's share in his redeeming work (see Semmelroth 1963, esp. pp. 80–88). Consequently, concentration upon the ecclesiotypical significance of Marian doctrine and devotion should not obscure their basic Christocentric character.

Theologians in the twenty-first century are more inclined to include the Mary-Church analogy within the basic Marian idea or fundamental principle of Mariology. "Her concrete motherhood with regard to Christ, the redeeming God-man, freely accepted in faith—her fully committed divine motherhood—this is both the key to the full understanding of the Marian mystery and the basic Mariological principle, which is concretely identical with Mary's objectively and subjectively unique state of being redeemed" (Schillebeeckx 1964, p. 106). Within one organic principle, the two emphases are contained, that is, both the Christocentric (Mary's "fully committed divine motherhood") and the ecclesiotypical (her "objectively and subjectively unique state of being redeemed"). Her vocation to be the mother of the WORD INCARNATE must be considered in close connection with the graces that reveal her calling to be the prototype of the Church.

Divine Maternity. That Mary's motherhood of Christ is both bridal and virginal has rich ecclesiotypical significance (see Semmelroth 1963, esp. pp. 117–142). Her vocal fiat of free consent at the Annunciation and her silent *fiat* at the foot of the Cross make Mary the spiritual bride of the Redeemer. In her compassion she received the fruits of her Son's sacrifice both for her own redemption and for that of the whole Church. Concomitantly, and as a result of this creative receptivity to grace, her bridal motherhood is also virginal. Her maternal fruitfulness did not come from human power but from

the breath of the Holy Spirit. Had she conceived Christ other than as a virgin, her bridal relationship with the LOGOS Incarnate would have been obscured. Without her perpetual virginity, the revelation of her complete and continuous fidelity to Christ and His messianic mission would have been blurred. Mary, then, is the archetype of the Church, as the Church is also the virginal bride of Christ. As the community of persons redeemed by Him, the Church is called to be constantly faithful to his word. The Immaculate Conception is the perfect exemplar of a grace-filled Church. As the sacramental community called to mediate Redemption to the world, the Church also portrays the bridal motherhood of Mary. The Assumption makes her "the sign of sure hope, and comfort for the pilgrim people of God" (*Lumen gentium*, nos. 68–69). All the Marian dogmas, therefore, converge toward a theological and prayerful contemplation of Mary as the archetype of the Church.

As bridal and virginal mothers, both Mary and the Church are to be dynamically united with the Holy Spirit. The sole source of their spiritual fecundity is the abiding presence and activity of the risen LORD's Spirit. A closer connection between Mariology and Pneumatology (the theology of the Holy Spirit) is contributing greatly to a balanced CHRISTOLOGY, ECCLESIOLOGY, and Christian anthropology. Along these lines, mention should be made of the contribution of Hans Urs von BALTHASAR (1905–1988), who synthesized anthropology, Mariology, ecclesiology, and Pneumatology in his articulation of the "Marian profile" of the Church. In his 1988 APOSTOLIC letter, *Mulieris dignitatem*, Pope JOHN PAUL II spoke of Mary as "the figure" of the Church, and he noted that the Church is both "Marian" and "Apostolic-Petrine," making specific reference to Balthasar's contribution (no. 27, footnote 55). Other theologians, like Angelo Cardinal Scola (1941–), the Patriarch of Venice, have drawn upon the writings of both Balthasar and John Paul II to give prominence to role of Mary in an "ecclesiology of communion."

New Eve. A portion of the patristic patrimony common to East and West is the image of Mary as the New Eve. Its rediscovery, under the special inspiration of Cardinal Newman's Marian writings, led to a renewed research into the witness of the Fathers who made use of this image in their teaching about Mary. After the Scriptures, it reflects the most ancient meditation upon Mary and is a very fertile source of the Mary-Church analogy and typology. The National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) in the pastoral on the Blessed Virgin Mary points out: "Even more anciently, the Church was regarded as the 'New Eve.' The Church is the bride of Christ, formed from his side in the sleep of death on the cross, as the first Eve was formed by God from the side of the sleeping Adam" (NCCB 41; cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 766). From her earliest days, the Church has seen herself symbolized in Mary and has come to understand her mysterious self more profoundly in light of Mary as archetype. Mary personifies all that the Church is and hopes to become. Citing St. Ambrose, *Lumen gentium* refers to the Mother of God as "a type of the Church in the order of faith, charity and perfect union with Christ" (no. 63) and notes that "in the most holy Virgin the Church has already reached that perfection whereby she is without spot or wrinkle" (no. 65; cf. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 867).

The impact of an ecclesiotypical Mariology upon Marian devotion has been most salutary. Pope PAUL VI in his APOSTOLIC EXHORTATION for the right ordinary and development of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary stated: "She is worthy of imitation because she was the first and most perfect of Christ's disciples. All of this has a permanent and universal exemplary value" (*Marialis cultus*, no. 35). John Paul II, in numerous writings and addresses, held up Mary as the "model" and "figure" of the Church and the Mother of all the faithful (*Redemptoris mater*, nos. 25–28). In a special way, he stressed Mary as the figure of the Church as both mother and virgin and the embodiment of "spousal love" (*Mulieris dignitatem*, no. 22). In his final Encyclical, *Ecclesia de eucharistia* (2003), John Paul II highlighted Mary as the "Woman of the Eucharist" (nos. 53–57), thereby accentuating her importance in the life of the Church, "which draws her life from the Eucharist" (no. 1). In this respect, John Paul II's Mariology and ecclesiology harmonizes (in some ways) with "the Eucharistic ecclesiology" of Eastern Orthodox theologians such as Metropolitan John Zizioulas (1931–).

Both John Paul II and his successor, BENEDICT XVI, have entrusted the life of the Church, in a special way, to Mary. John Paul II saw Mary as "the woman" spoken of in Genesis 3:15 and Revelation 12:1 who "is present in the Church as Mother of the Redeemer," assisting the PEOPLE OF GOD in "that monumental struggle against the powers of darkness" (*Redemptoris mater*, no. 47; cf. *Gaudium et spes*, no. 37). Pope Benedict XVI invoked Mary's assistance at the very beginning of his pontificate, and he has spoken of Mary as "the Bride of the Spirit" who possesses "a universal motherhood of all those who are generated by God through faith in Jesus Christ." This is why Mary, for all generations, "is an image and model of the Church which together with the Spirit journeys through time, invoking Jesus' glorious return: 'Come, Lord Jesus' (cf. Rev 22:17, 20)" (*Marian Vigil for the Conclusion of the Month of May*, May 30, 2009). Benedict XVI, in anticipation of the 150th anniversary of the apparitions at LOURDES, recognized Mary, in a particular way, as the *Mater Dolo-*

rosa, who, in association with the passion of Christ, "suffers with those who are in affliction; with them she hopes, and she is their comfort, supporting them with her maternal help" (*Message for the Sixteenth World Day of the Sick*, January 11, 2008, no. 2).

SEE ALSO MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, (IN THE BIBLE); MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO; MULIERIS DIGNITATEM; MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST; NEWMAN, JOHN HENRY; PATRISTIC THEOLOGY.

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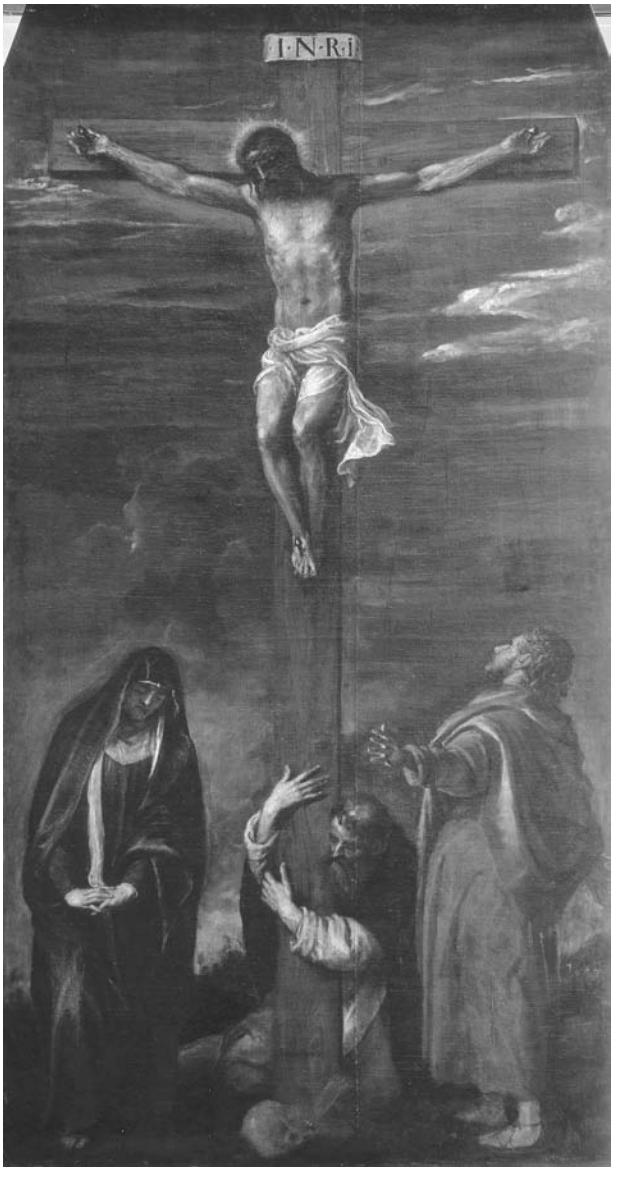
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IV. MEDIATRIX OF ALL GRACES

By Mary's mediation Catholics designate, in general, Our Lady's unique share in the soteriological, or saving, mission of her Son. The belief of the faithful in this Marian role has found expression in Christian literature in a variety of ways from time immemorial. The genesis of the title *Mediatrix* itself, as applied to the Mother of God, is rather obscure. Perhaps the earliest sure witnesses are St. ANDREW OF CRETE (d. 740), St. Germanus of Constantinople (d. 733), and St. Tarasius (d. c. 807). From the East, the title was introduced into the literature of the West around the ninth century through a translation by PAUL THE DEACON of the *Life of Theophilus*, in which the term is used. From the twelfth century on, it was applied to Our Lady with ever-increasing frequency until it became generally accepted in the seventeenth century.

Generally speaking, a mediator interposes his good services between two physical or moral persons to facilitate an exchange of favors (e.g., an alliance). In most cases, the mission of a mediator is to reconcile parties at variance. Catholic theology applies the title *Mediatrix* to Our Lady for three reasons. First, because, owing to her divine motherhood and plenitude of grace, she occupies a middle position in the hierarchy between the Creator and His creatures. This is known as her ontological mediation. Second, during her earthly career she contributed considerably, through specific holy acts, to the reconciliation between GOD and man brought



Mary at the Foot of the Cross. *Christ stands alone as the Redeemer. The role of Mary as a participant in the Redemption is a topic of debate among theologians.* **CHRIST ON THE CROSS WITH THE VIRGIN, SAINT JOHN, AND SAINT DOMINIC (OIL ON CANVAS), TITIAN (TIZIANO VECELLIO) (C.1488-1576)/SAN DOMENICO, ANCONA, ITALY/ALINARI/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY**

about by the SAVIOR. Third, through her powerful intercession in heaven, she obtains for her spiritual children all the graces that God deigns to bestow on them. The last two phases constitute Mary's moral mediation. It should be borne in mind, however, that the mere use of the term *Mediatrix* need not always convey the above threefold meaning. In the more ancient writers, that expression is restricted sometimes to the first, sometimes to the third phase of Mary's mediatorial office. The exact meaning in each case must be determined by the context and parallel passages.

Theologians are always careful to emphasize that Mary's mediation differs substantially from that of her Son. The latter is primary, self-sufficient, and absolutely necessary for men's salvation; the former is secondary, wholly dependent on Christ's, and only hypothetically necessary. However, Mary's mediation differs also, and indeed essentially, from that of other creatures (e.g., the angels, the saints, the priests of the New Testament). The latter avails only in particular cases and for particular graces; it is exercised dependent on Mary's will and exclusively in the sphere of the actual application of graces. The former is universal, dependent on Christ only, and has a definite bearing on the acquisition (meriting) of graces, as well as on their application.

The actual exercise of Our Lady's mediatorial function may now be considered. The two phases of her moral mediation are treated in two separate sections.

Our Lady's Coredemption. As indicated, the first aspect of Mary's moral mediation refers to her active and formal share in the redemptive work brought about by Our Lord while still on earth. To express this complex activity in one single word, Catholic theology has coined the Latin term *Coredemptrix*. This title first appears in Catholic literature toward the end of the fourteenth century (e.g., in an *orationale* of St. Peter's in Salzburg). It was used quite frequently during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Because the HOLY SEE itself has made use of it in its documents [*Acta Sanctae Sedis (ASS)* 41 (1908) 409; *Acta Apostolicae Sedis (AAS)* 5 (1913) 364; 6 (1914) 108], Catholics no longer question its legitimacy.

Meanings Attached to the Term. Apart from the question of the term's appropriateness, theologians are divided as to the nature and extent of the doctrine conveyed by that title. Their views may be summarized as follows.

A first group claims that Our Lady, by knowingly and willingly making possible the coming of the Savior into the world, cooperated only remotely in the objective REDEMPTION. (Objective Redemption means the initial reconciliation of God and man as accomplished through the sacrifice of CALVARY.) Mary has, besides, a direct share in the subjective Redemption, that is, the dispensation of graces through which the objective Redemption is actually applied to individuals. The theologians of this group concede that Our Lady suffered and merited much for men's salvation during her life, but they contend that these sufferings and merits contributed not to bring about the Redemption itself but only to make it applicable to men. Such is the opinion of Henricus Lennerz, Werner Goossens, George D. Smith, and several others.

A second view, called the receptivity theory, has been advanced by a group of German theologians among whom Heinrich Maria Köster and Otto Semmelroth are the most prominent. According to them, Christ alone redeemed the human race. Mary, however, cooperated in the objective Redemption in the sense that at the foot of the cross she accepted the effects or the fruits of her Son's redemptive act and made them available to the members of the Mystical Body, whom she officially represented on Calvary. This theory has appealed to some outside of Germany (e.g., Clement Dillenschneider) as a plausible explanation of the relationship between Mary and the Church.

A third group, representing the vast majority of theologians, considers the above explanations insufficient and unsatisfactory. According to them, Our Lady is Coredemptrix because she cooperated directly and immediately in the redemptive process itself (i.e., the objective Redemption) and not merely in the application of its effects to individual souls. In this third view Christ and Mary constitute one single principle of salvation for the whole human race in such a way that the restoration of mankind to the friendship of God as consummated on Calvary was the result of their joint causality. This joint causality does not place Our Lady on the same level with the Savior. In the orbit of primary, independent, and self-sufficient causality, Christ remains utterly alone: men's only Redeemer. Mary's merits and satisfactions contributed to bring about objective Redemption only after the manner of a secondary cause and as deriving their redemptive value wholly from the infinite merits and satisfactions of her Son.

To justify this opinion, a few further clarifications are in order. The first truth to bear in mind is that, since Our Lady herself was redeemed by Christ, she could cooperate in the objective Redemption only after its effects had been applied to her. How could she cooperate to bring about something that had already produced its effects and that, therefore, God regarded as already accomplished? This becomes possible by distinguishing two logical stages (*signa rationis,* as the schoolmen say) in Christ's Redemption. First, He redeemed Mary alone with a preservative Redemption; then, together with her, in a subsequent logical stage (*in signo posteriori rationis*), He redeemed the rest of

mankind with a liberative Redemption. Obviously, there is no chronological before and after in this process; merely a twofold acceptance of the Redemption on the part of the eternal Father, with a logical priority in favor of Mary.

Again, Our Lady's merits and satisfactions did not enhance the value of the infinite merits and satisfactions of her Son. Nevertheless, God accepted them as constituting a new title for granting pardon to the human race. Nothing prevents God from canceling men's debt in view of a twofold title, each of them operative in its own sphere. On the contrary, this divine disposition seems most fitting in the light of the Church's teaching, which considers Our Lady as the Savior's intimate partner and as man's official representative in God's redemptive alliance with mankind.

Does it follow from the above that Our Lady's cooperation was an essential element of the Redemption? Here a distinction is in order. Mary's share may have been essential in the sense that, without it, the Redemption would not have been what God decreed it to be. But it was not essential if it means that Christ's merits and satisfactions were, by themselves, insufficient to redeem men. Something analogous happens when the Christian cooperates with divine grace to perform some meritorious action. That cooperation is essential only insofar as it meets a divine requisite.

Of course, to establish that Mary's coredemption, as championed by the majority of theologians, is a true Catholic doctrine resulting from divine revelation, it is not sufficient to show that it is theologically possible and even fitting. Two further questions remain to be answered. Is it also attested to in the sources of revelation—Sacred Scripture and divine TRADITION? Is it accepted by the Magisterium, or TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH, as pertaining to the deposit of revelation?

Papal Teaching. Recent popes, beginning with LEO XIII in his Rosary encyclical *Jucunda semper* (1894), have expressed their views on this question with ever-increasing forcefulness. The classic passage is from BENEDICT XV's apostolic letter *Inter sodalicia* (1918), wherein he states: "To such an extent did [Mary] suffer and almost die with her suffering and dying Son, and to such an extent did she surrender her maternal rights over her Son for man's salvation, and immolated Him—insofar as she could—in order to appease the justice of God, that we may rightly say that she redeemed the human race together with Christ" [*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 10 (1918) 182]. In a radio broadcast by PIUS XI (April 28, 1935) one finds the following words addressed to Our Lady: "O Mother of love and mercy, who, when thy dearest Son was consummating the Redemption of the human race on the altar of the Cross, didst stand by Him, suffering with Him as a *Coredemptrix* ... preserve in us, we beseech thee, and increase day by day the precious fruit of His Redemption and of thy compassion" (*L'Osservatore Romano*, April 29–30, 1935). In his encyclical *Haurietis aquas* (May 15, 1956) PIUS XII affirms unequivocally that "in bringing about the work of human Redemption, the Most Blessed Virgin Mary was, by the will of God, so indissolubly associated with Christ, that our salvation proceeded from the love and sufferings of Jesus Christ intimately joined with the love and sorrows of His Mother" [*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 48 (1956) 352].

The Second Vatican Council, while not explicitly adopting the expression Coredemptrix, taught the doctrine: "So also the Blessed Virgin advanced in her pilgrimage of faith, and faithfully bore with her union with her Son even to the cross, where, in accord with the divine plan, she stood, vehemently grieved with her Only-Begotten, and joined herself to His Sacrifice with a motherly heart, lovingly consenting to the immolation of the Victim born of her" (*Lumen gentium* 58; cf. 61). Pope JOHN PAUL II explicitly used the expression *Coredemptrix* on at least half a dozen occasions. The most important and often cited was on January 31, 1985, in an address at the Marian shrine in Guayaquil, Ecuador:

> The silent journey that begins with her Immaculate Conception and passes through the "yes" of Nazareth, which makes her the Mother of God, finds on Calvary a particularly important moment. There also, accepting and assisting at the sacrifice of her Son, Mary is the dawn of Redemption... Crucified spiritually with her crucified Son (cf. Gal 2:20), she contemplated with heroic love the death of her God, she lovingly consented to the immolation of this Victim which she herself had brought forth.... In fact, at Calvary she united herself with the sacrifice of her Son that led to the foundation of the Church; her maternal heart shared to the very depths the will of Christ "to gather into one all the dispersed children of God" (Jn 11:52).... In fact, Mary's role as Coredemptrix did not cease with the glorification of her Son. (*Insegnamenti di Giovanni Paolo II* 8/1 1985, 318–319)

The CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH (CCC) stated that Mary was "associated more intimately than any other person in the mystery of His redemptive suffering" (*CCC* 618; cf. Lk 2:35).

Sacred Scripture. Interpreted in the light of papal pronouncement, Sacred Scripture itself lends weight to the doctrine under discussion. The words addressed by

almighty God to the devil in the Garden of EDEN, "I will put enmity between you and the woman, between your seed and her seed," (Gn 3:15), are generally cited by Catholic theologians as a pertinent Biblical argument. They see in the singular struggle between Christ and SATAN, as related in the text, a prophetic announcement of the Savior's redemptive work. Because "the woman" spoken of is the mother of Christ in a true Biblical sense, as PIUS IX and Pius XII interpret it, and because her struggle with Satan is identical with her Son's, as Pius IX states, it follows that the prophecy foreshadows also Our Lady's coredemptive mission.

Another relevant passage is the ANNUNCIATION pericope. By her generous *fiat* to the angel's proposal (Lk 1:38), Our Lady willingly and knowingly made possible the redemptive INCARNATION of the divine WORD, and thus may be said to have formally participated in the soteriological mystery that was then being inaugurated. SIMEON's prophecy furnishes an insight into the concrete manner in which she was to share in that mystery: "And thy own soul a sword shall pierce" (Lk 2:35). This allusion to Mary's compassion found its dramatic fulfillment as she stood by the cross of her dying Son, sharing His bitter agony for the salvation of mankind. It was then that the Savior, pointing to St. JOHN, addressed Our Lady saying: "Woman, behold thy son" (Jn 19:27). Recent popes, particularly Leo XIII in his encyclical *Adiutricem populi* (1895), have seen in the beloved disciple a representative of all the redeemed, and they have for this reason interpreted Christ's words to Our Lady as a proclamation of her spiritual motherhood of men. Since the regeneration of mankind to the life of grace was brought about by Christ precisely by means of His redemptive act, theologians reason that Mary's direct share in the former is inconceivable without her direct cooperation in the latter.

Tradition. If Biblical passages in support of the coredemption are relatively meager, the data yielded by Catholic Tradition, as a whole, are copious indeed. As in the case of so many other doctrinal theses, this one also had rather modest beginnings, but gradually attained its full development through an ever-increasing awareness of its implications. Chronologically, the first germ of the doctrine may be traced to the striking antithetical parallelism between Mary and EVE, so frequently described by ancient writers, specifically St. IRENAEUS of Lyons (d. c. 202). Contrasting the episode of the Fall with the scene of the Annunciation, they pointed out that, just as the first woman, through her disobedience, had shared ADAM's responsibility in the original prevarication, so likewise Mary, through her voluntary surrender to God's designs, was instrumental in bringing about men's supernatural rehabilitation in Christ. It is scarcely likely, however, that these early writers intended to attribute to Mary an immediate cooperation in the objective Redemption. They seem to signify exclusively her conscious role in bringing the Savior into the world. At the end of the tenth century in the East and the first half of the twelfth in the West, the strictly soteriological character of Mary's cooperation began to receive explicit notice, due particularly to the intervention of John the Geometer (c. 989) and Arnold of Chartres (d. 1156), respectively. The latter's remarkable teaching on this point actually became a *locus classicus* in the Marian literature of subsequent centuries. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, virtually every aspect of Mary's coredemption (merit, satisfaction, ransom, sacrifice) had been studied at some length, and the doctrine accepted quite generally in its present formulation. The JESUITS Ferdinand Q. de Salazar (d. 1646) and Maximilian Reichenberger (c. 1677), the Franciscans Roderick de Portillo (c. 1630) and Charles del Moral (d. 1731), the Augustinian Bartholomew de los Rios (d. 1652), and the Dominican Lazarus Dassier (d. 1692) are only a few of those deserving of mention for their notable contribution in this connection.

From that time on, particularly in the decades of the mid-twentieth century, the theory of Mary's coredemption in the strict sense had won so many adherents that it was rightly regarded as the opinion of the vast majority of theologians. After centuries of careful analysis and theological reflection, the complex doctrine, which had such modest beginnings in Christian antiquity, entered its final phase of scientific systematization. Indeed, in the judgment of some, the doctrine had attained sufficient maturity to be solemnly sanctioned by the ecclesiastical Magisterium. The first to voice these sentiments in an official petition to Pope Pius XII (November 26, 1951) was the Cuban hierarchy, headed by Cardinal Manuel Arteaga y Betancourt (1879–1963), archbishop of Havana.

Controverted Points. While awaiting the official pronouncement of the Church, the theologians who championed the theory of a strict coredemption divided among themselves concerning some secondary aspects of this doctrine. Thus, for example, a growing number of Mariologists hold (correctly, it seems) that Our Lady's soteriological merit was not merely based on fittingness (i.e., *de congruo*), as the majority still believe, but rather based on simple justice (*de condigno ex mera condignitate*). This latter is not to be confused with Christ's merit, which alone was condign in strict justice (*de condigno ex rigore justitiae*). The former involves a certain equality between the meritorious work performed and its reward, while the latter supposes, besides, an equality between the person giving the reward and the person meriting it.

Another phase of the coredemption that has given rise to prolonged discussion is the nature of Mary's share in the sacrifice of the cross *qua sacrifice.* Was her offering of the Victim on Calvary a sacrificial action in the proper sense? Some authors, such as Hermann Seiler, Giuseppe Petazzi, Emilio Sauras, and Marceliano Llamera, claim that it was. Others, following Narciso García Garcés, Gabriel M. Roschini, and Cornelis Friethoff, believe that it was a sacrificial action only in a broad sense. The Holy See, by repeatedly cautioning against the use of the controversial title Virgin-Priest given by some to Our Lady, seem to favor the latter view.

A third point of discrepancy concerns the exact relationship between Our Lady's soteriological actions and those performed by the Savior Himself. Precisely in what sense did Mary cooperate immediately with her Son to bring about the Redemption? Some theologians, such as Benoît Henri MERKELBACH, Seiler, and Paul Sträter, explain that Our Lady's will directly determined (i.e., had some influence on) her Son's will to perform His redemptive actions. Others, such as Domenico Bertetto, Rosaire Gagnebet, and Marie-Joseph Nicolas, contend that Our Lady's cooperation was redemptive, not because it directly influenced or determined the soteriological actions of Christ, but rather because Christ's actions conferred a redemptive value on her merits and satisfactions, thus enabling them to concur (in a subordinate though direct manner) in bringing about men's reconciliation with God in its initial phase (*in actu primo*). This second position seems better to safeguard the unencroachable rights of the unique Redeemer, without compromising Mary's immediate cooperation in His redemptive work.

Twenty-first Century Theology. In the early 2000s theology continued to take an interest in Mary's coredemptive role. Paul Haffner developed a theology of Marian coredemption starting from Our Lady's discipleship (*The Mystery of Mary* 2004, pp. 175–207). For Hans Urs von BALTHASAR, Mary had a coredemptive part to play, and the fact that the Son is accompanied by a witness to God's atoning action means that the revelation of the Trinity on the CROSS cannot be expounded on the basis of the Crucified Christ alone. This witness, the Mother of the Lord, is an icon of the fruitful receptivity by which the Son greets the love of the Father in the Holy Spirit. Because she witnesses in her poverty the humiliation of which the Magnificat speaks, standing behind sinners and with them, she is able to receive the measureless outpouring of the Son on the Cross in His sacrifice of praise and petition to the Father and receive it in such a way that she becomes the Bride of the Lamb and the Womb of the Church, in a nuptial relationship (Balthasar 1994, p. 358). René Laurentin explains that the expression Coredemptrix has been used by the popes and therefore requires respect. It would be gravely temerarious to attack its legitimacy (Laurentin 1951, p. 27ff). For Brunero Gherardini, the truth of Marian Coredemption meets totally and verifiably the conditions to be considered Church doctrine. Its foundation is indirect and implicit, yet solid, in the Scriptures; extensive in the Fathers and theologians; unequivocal in the Magisterium. It follows, therefore, that the Coredemption belongs to the Church's doctrinal patrimony (Gherardini 2002, pp. 37–48). Gherardini points out that, until now, no solemn dogmatic or *ex cathedra* definition of the Coredemption exists. Hence it is not, in the narrow sense, a truth of Faith. The Coredemption is a part of the Church doctrine because it is indirectly and derivatively ascribable to the sacred deposit. Consequently, the theological note *proxima fidei* (close to faith) is appropriate for this doctrine. This means it belongs to Revelation, and even if not explicit, it is beyond doubt. The term *proxima fidei* best synthesizes all the intrinsic and extrinsic considerations involved in study of the Coredemption: in particular its connection with Revelation and its presence, even if not in a formal manner, within the ecclesiastical Magisterium.

Dispensation of Graces through Mary. The second phase of Our Lady's moral mediation concerns her share in the actual distribution of graces, that is to say, in the enduring process of applying to individual persons the supernatural merits acquired by Christ (and secondarily by herself) through the redemptive work. This is what theologians designate as Mary's cooperation in the subjective Redemption.

Meaning. Briefly stated, the meaning of this Marian prerogative is that all favors God grants to all men are granted in view of and because of Our Lady's actual intervention. This causality of hers, which is totally subordinate to that of Christ in the same process, is universal in its beneficiaries and likewise from its object's point of view. Thus, Mary's mediatorial intervention affects every member of the human race with the sole exception of Christ and herself. To those living before the objective Redemption was accomplished, including Adam and Eve, God made graces available in view of Mary's future merits, which were eternally present to Him. To those living after the objective Redemption, graces are granted through Mary's secondary efficient causality. Her mediation is likewise universal in that it grants every single grace without exception: sanctifying grace, the infused virtues, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, all actual graces, and even favors of the natural order insofar as they are related to the supernatural order. Our Lady does not, of course, produce the sanctifying grace given to men through the Sacraments. She does, however, intervene in its infusion in a twofold manner: (1)

remotely, inasmuch as that grace was merited by her (together with Christ) as coredemptrix; (2) proximately, inasmuch as the very desire to receive the Sacraments and the proper dispositions to do so worthily are made possible only through actual graces obtained through Mary's intercession.

Theologians differ concerning the precise nature of this causality. Some, such as Cardinal Alexis LÉPICIER, Édouard HUGON, Gabriel M. Roschini, and Réginald GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, designate it as physical instrumental. The majority, however, believe that it is a moral causality by way of intercession. The arguments in favor of a physical-instrumental causality are based mostly on the traditional references to Mary as the channel, aqueduct, almoner, and treasurer of grace. But the proponents of moral causality point out that because these are metaphors, they hardly support the theory in question. The manner, then, in which Our Lady discharges her office as dispensatrix of all graces is specifically her intercession. She intercedes for men either expressly, by actually asking God to bestow a certain grace on a certain person, or interpretatively, by presenting to God her previous merits on men's behalf. While it is highly commendable to implore Our Lady's intercession in prayers, it is not necessary to do so. The graces men obtain from God are granted through her intercession whether she is invoked or not. As spiritual mother of men, Our Lady in Heaven is well aware of their spiritual needs and ardently desires to help them. Being the mother of God, the queen of all creation, and the coredemptrix of mankind, her appeal on men's behalf is most efficacious and always produces the intended results.

Position of the Magisterium. That Our Lady intervenes in the distribution of all heavenly favors to all men emerges quite clearly from the teaching authority of the Church as represented especially by the popes of the past two centuries. Thus BENEDICT XIV, in the bull *Gloriosae Dominae* (1748), likens Mary to "a heavenly stream through which the flow of all graces and favors reach the soul of every wretched mortal" (*Opera omnia* 1846, 428). Among the frequent allusions made by Leo XIII to this doctrine, the passage in the encyclical *Octobri mense* (1891) is particularly trenchant. After recalling that God had not wished to become incarnate in Mary's womb without first obtaining her consent, the pope adds: "It may be affirmed with no less truth and precision that, by the will of God, absolutely no part of that immense treasure of every grace which the Lord amassed … is bestowed on us except through Mary" (*ASS* 1891, 195–196). St. Pius X in his encyclical *Ad diem illum* (1904), Benedict XV in his *Inter sodalicia* (1918), and Pius XII in his *Superiore anno* (1940) and *Doctor mellifluus* (1953) explicitly corroborate the traditional theme: it is the will of God that one obtain every grace through Mary.

Pope JOHN XXIII also expressed the Church's faith in Mary's universal mediation:

> For the faithful can do nothing more fruitful and salutary than to win for themselves the most powerful patronage of the Immaculate Virgin, so that by this most sweet Mother, there may be opened to them, all the treasures of the divine Redemption, and so they may have life, and have it more abundantly. Did not the Lord will that we have everything through Mary? (*Epistle to Cardinal Agaganian* 1959, 88)

The Second Vatican Council illustrated how Mary is mankind's Mother in the order of grace, and this motherhood in the economy of grace lasts without interruption from the consent that she gave in faith at the Annunciation, and which she unhesitatingly bore with under the cross, even to the perpetual consummation of all the elect. "For this reason, the Blessed Virgin Mary is invoked in the Church under the titles of Advocate, Auxiliatrix, Adiutrix, and Mediatrix. This however is to be so understood that it takes nothing away, or adds nothing to the dignity and efficacy of Christ the one Mediator" (*Lumen gentium [LG]* 1964, 62). Vatican II added that Mary's function as mother of men in no way obscures or diminishes this unique mediation of Christ, but rather shows its power. Therefore, far from being an obstacle to the exercise of Christ's unique mediation, Mary instead highlights its fruitfulness and efficacy. "The Blessed Virgin's salutary influence on men originates not in any inner necessity but in the disposition of God. It flows forth from the superabundance of the merits of Christ, rests on his mediation, depends entirely on it and draws all its power from it" (*LG* 60). Pope John Paul II has several times affirmed Mary's universal mediation and explained it in precise theological terms:

> Thus there is a mediation: Mary places herself between her Son and mankind in the reality of its wants, needs and sufferings. She puts herself "in the middle," that is to say, she acts as a Mediatrix not as an outsider, but in her position as mother. She knows that, as such, she can point out to her Son the needs of mankind and in fact, she "has the right" to do so. Her mediation is thus in the nature of intercession: Mary "intercedes" for mankind. (*Redemptoris mater* 1987, 21)

Liturgy. The liturgical books of the Church, always a reliable index of Catholic belief, faithfully echo the

familiar strain found in papal documents. Thus the official prayer books of the Byzantines, Copts, Syrians, Armenians, and CHALDEANS abound in references to Mary's role as dispensatrix of all graces. As to the Latin liturgy, its most notable witness is embodied in the Office and Mass of Mary Mediatrix of All Graces. The text was composed by Joseph LEBON of the Catholic University of LOUVAIN at the suggestion of Cardinal Désiré Joseph MERCIER, archbishop of Malines, and approved by BENEDICT XV in 1921. The privilege to celebrate this feast on May 31 of each year was originally granted to the dioceses of Belgium, but it was soon extended to numerous other dioceses and religious orders throughout the world. When in 1954 Pius XII ordered the universal observance of Mary's queenship on May 31, the feast of Mary's mediation was discontinued by some and transferred by others. Since the revision of the calendar after the Second Vatican Council, the Feast of the Visitation is kept on May 31. In some calendars, Our Lady Mediatrix of All Graces is kept on May 24.

Scripture. What the popes and the liturgy proclaim in express terms, Sacred Scripture teaches by implication. It has been indicated above how the prophecy known as the Protoevangelium (Gn 3:15) already foreshadows the intimate association of Our Lady with her Son in the entire process of man's supernatural rehabilitation. Because the actual application of graces to the members of the Mystical Body is but the specific way in which they, as individuals, benefit from the redemptive work of the Savior, it seems logical to infer that Our Lady should have a share in it. In other words, if Our Lady, as coredemptrix, earned or acquired these graces with and under Christ, it is highly fitting that she should have a part in their actual dispensation to men. The unity of the divine plan would seem to demand it.

Another biblical passage bearing on the subject is Our Lord's testament from the cross (Jn 19:26–27), in which, according to the documents of recent popes, the Savior proclaimed His mother as mother of the entire human race. This motherhood of Mary implies a communication of grace (spiritual life) to her spiritual children, not only at the initial phase of regeneration on Calvary, but also in the subsequent process of conservation and development of that supernatural organism in the soul of her children.

Tradition. From the point of view of Tradition, the doctrine under discussion has undergone a gradual development reminiscent of other Marian theses. In the early period, or germinal stage, the doctrine was taught only implicitly by the numerous Fathers and ecclesiastical writers who portrayed Our Lady as the second Eve, the mother of all the living in the supernatural plane, the associate of Christ as Savior of mankind. Appropriate references may be found, for example, in St. Irenaeus (d. c. 202), St. Epiphanius (d. 403), St. JEROME (d. 420), St. AUGUSTINE (d. 430), and St. Modestus of Jerusalem (d. 634). The eighth century yields the explicit testimony of St. Germanus of Constantinople (d. 733), who assures that "there is no one to whom the gift of grace is given except through Mary." It was, however, through the influence of St. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX (d. 1153) that this doctrine became widely accepted during the MIDDLE AGES. His statement that "God has willed that we should have nothing that did not pass through the hands of Mary" became a familiar apothegm in the Marian literature of subsequent centuries. The Franciscan St. BERNARDINE OF SIENA (d. 1444), who shares with St. Bernard the title *Doctor of Mary's Mediation*, summarizes the teaching of his age in these words: "I do not hesitate to say that she [Mary] has received a certain jurisdiction over all graces.... They are administered through her hands to whom she pleases, when she pleases, as she pleases, and as much as she pleases." During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the doctrine was not only generally accepted but also the object of extensive treatment within both dogmatic theology and devotional literature. The leading champion of the Catholic thesis during that period was St. ALPHONSUS DE LIGUORI (d. 1787), whose classic treatise *Glories of Mary* contains a vigorous refutation of the objections raised by Lodovico Antonio MURATORI (d. 1750).

In the twentieth century those who contributed most to the clarification of Mary's role as mediatrix are the Spanish Jesuit José M. Bover (d. 1954) and Joseph Bittremieux of the University of Louvain (d. 1950). Despite a few scattered adversaries, the Church generally regarded the traditional doctrine as definable. Shortly after WORLD WAR I and on the initiative of Cardinal Mercier, numerous petitions addressed to the Holy See urged defining the doctrine as an article of faith. These requests multiplied toward the turn of the century. For example, the petition of the Cuban hierarchy (1951) urged Pius XII to define both Our Lady's coredemption and her actual intervention in the distribution of absolutely every grace.

Difficulties and Responses. Some proposed difficulties concerning a dogmatic definition of the Blessed Virgin Mary as Universal Mediatrix or Coredemptrix include, first, if this is a truth of faith, a definition seems unnecessary. A response is that the Immaculate Conception and Assumption were recognized truths, but were defined nonetheless. Others object that Marian Mediation and Coredemption are truths *beyond any definition*. An answer is that the Divine Maternity itself is directed to the spiritual maternity and to its exercise, just as the divine Word was made flesh to save us. The third dif-

ficulty touches the extent of Mary's mediation. Is she the Mother of angels too, or only of men; of sinners also, or only of the baptized who remain faithful? St. Paul's teaching concerning Christ's mediation provides an answer: "The Living God is the Savior of all men, especially of the believers" (1 Tim 4:10). The Marian transposition of the Pauline text by Vatican II in *Lumen gentium* 54 is clear. The Church also considers that Mary, exalted to divine motherhood in the order of hypostatic union, has merited, in dependence on Christ, for the angels, grace and glory. Following some Greek Fathers and St. Anselm, the Church considers a certain cosmic dimension of the Virgin's role in relation to all human and supernatural use in the universe. A fourth issue regards the *ecumenical dimension* of a definition: This definition would not constitute *in itself* an obstacle. Indeed, true Christian unity would not be possible without an agreement on Mary's spiritual motherhood, already held as a truth of faith by the Catholic Church. Also, a certain number of Anglicans and Protestants believe with the Orthodox the substance of the doctrine of spiritual motherhood, understood as unique and privileged cooperation of the Virgin with the economy of Redemption. Among those is Professor John Macquarrie in his *Principles of Christian Theology* (1966, p. 254), as well as in *Mary for All Christians*, where he explicitly approved the term *Coredemptrix* (Macquarrie 1990, p. 113). Finally, the question exists whether reflection on these truths has reached the degree of maturity necessary for its definition. A dogmatic definition would not necessarily entail technical discussions among theologians; it is not the custom with the supreme Magisterium of the Church to do so or to suppress the freedom of discussion among theologians in matters that are not of faith.

SEE ALSO Dominicans; Epiphanius of Salamis, St.; Germanus I, Patriarch of Constantinople, St.; Mariology; Mary, Blessed Virgin (in Theology); Mystical Body of Christ; Protoevangelium of James; Syrian Liturgy; Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, St.; Trinity, Holy; Vatican Council II.

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V. SPIRITUAL MATERNITY OF MARY

Of all the titles given to Mary by the faithful, there is none more common than the one used to indicate her spiritual Maternity—Mother. Paradoxically, however, there is perhaps no other prerogative of the Blessed Virgin that is less understood.

Two reasons may be advanced in explanation. There is, first of all, the nature of the terminology. When one calls Mary his Mother in the supernatural order, he is making use of analogy, a comparison between the divine and human levels. A failure to develop the full force of the comparison results in the deficient idea that Mary is spiritual Mother of men simply because of the love she has for them or because of her adoption of mankind at the foot of the Cross. Second, there is the neglect of an essential element of every maternity—a relationship with a person of the opposite sex. In the spiritual Maternity, this simply means the failure to associate Mary with Christ in the divine plan to give men spiritual life. Both of the above dangers have been avoided by the papal Magisterium.

Reality of the Spiritual Maternity. Since February 27, 1477, when Pope SIXTUS IV, in his apostolic constitution *Cum praecelsa*, became the first pope to allude to the spiritual Motherhood of Mary (Mansi 1945, 32.373; Sericoli 1945, p. 153), the doctrine has been taught with ever-increasing emphasis. It can safely be asserted that this doctrine, having been taught clearly and repeatedly by the ordinary and universal Magisterium since Sixtus IV's time, is certainly definable as a doctrine of faith. (See the extensive articles by Sebastian, and Shea). It is important, therefore, to ascertain the meaning given to the spiritual Maternity in the explanations of the papal Magisterium. There are three possible significations: (1) metaphorical—Mary acts in men's regard as a mother acts toward her children; she prays for them, she obtains grace for them, and so on; (2) adoptive—Christ willed that Mary adopt men as her children and that she possess the rights and fulfill all the duties of a mother toward men; and (3) real—Mary in some way transmits spiritual life to men by a kind of generation in the spiritual order and is, therefore, truly, the Mother of men.

In the present state of research it cannot be affirmed with certitude that the sovereign pontiffs from Sixtus IV to PIUS IX went beyond the metaphorical signification. While it is true that Pope LEO XIII and his successors speak most often about Mary's action in men's regard and their filial attitude toward her, yet for them these complementary attitudes are based on a most stable reality. At least twice, in his encyclicals *Quamquam pluries* (August 1889) and *Adiutricem populi* (September 1895), Leo XIII affirms that Mary "has brought us forth to life."

Although it cannot be denied that Leo XIII went beyond the simple metaphorical sense, some are inclined to think that he stopped at the juridical notion of an adoptive Motherhood. It is true that this pope placed great stress on Christ's donation of His Mother as the spiritual Mother of all mankind (see *Quamquam pluries* 9:175; *Octobri mense* 11:341; *Magnae Dei matris* 12:221; *Jucunda semper* 14:305; and *Amantissimae voluntatis* 15:138). Nevertheless, it must not be imagined that adoptive sonship necessarily excludes the idea of real filiation, for supernatural adoption surpasses a merely human adoption in one essential way: It really makes the person upon whom it is conferred a true son, for along with it comes a true participation in the nature and life of the person adopting. In other words, if Mary cooperates with her Son in meriting the divine life of grace for mankind, she is really the spiritual Mother of men.

Leo XIII's successor, Pope St. PIUS X, is explicit on the reality of Mary's spiritual Motherhood. For him the foundation is men's incorporation in Christ and the role of Mary in the INCARNATION:

> Is not Mary the mother of Christ? She is therefore also our mother. It must be stated as a principle that Jesus, the Word made flesh, is at the same time the savior of the human race. Now, inasmuch as He is God-Man, He has a body like other men; inasmuch as He is redeemer of our race, He has a spiritual body, or, as it is called, a Mystical Body, which is

> none other than the society of Christians bound to Him by faith.... But the Virgin did not conceive the Son of God only in order that, receiving from her His human nature, He might become man, but also in order that, by means of this nature received from her, He might become the savior of mankind.... And thus, in the Virgin's chaste womb itself, where Jesus took to Himself mortal flesh, He joined to Himself a spiritual Body formed of all those who were to believe in Him; and it can be said that, bearing Jesus in her womb, Mary bore there also all those whose life was included in that of the Savior. And so all of us, united to Christ, are, as the Apostle says "members of his body, made from his flesh and from his bones" (Eph 5.30); we ought to consider ourselves as having come forth from the womb of the Virgin, from which we once issued as a Body attached to its head.
>
> That is why we are called, in a truly spiritual and entirely mystical sense, the children of Mary, and why she, on her part, is the mother of the members of Jesus Christ that we ourselves are. (Tondini 1950, pp. 310–312)

The emphasis here is on Mary's free consent to the Incarnation, the first source of divine life in the present economy of salvation. This idea is taken up with one accord by St. Pius X's successors (see Pope BENEDICT XV, *Cum sanctissima virgo* and *Cum annus*; PIUS XI, *Lux veritatis*; PIUS XII, *Mystici corporis* and *Mediator Dei*). However, neither St. Pius X nor any of his successors rests his case for the spiritual Maternity on her part in the Incarnation. All stress Mary's role at the foot of the Cross, by which she participated directly with Christ in the act of redemption through which the divine life of grace was won for all men. They see it as the logical consequence of her union with Christ from the moment of the Incarnation. Popes Pius XI and Pius XII, it would seem, solve definitively the problem of an adoptive Motherhood depending upon Christ's words from the Cross—"Woman, behold thy Son.... Behold thy mother" (Jn 19:27)—for they see in these words of the dying Redeemer not a creation but a "proclamation" and "ratification" of a spiritual Motherhood begun at the ANNUNCIATION (Pius XI, allocution of November 30, 1933, to the pilgrims of Vicenza; Pius XII, allocution of July 17, 1954).

Association of Mary with Christ. The Magisterium in the use of its sources, Scripture and Tradition, associates Christ and Mary in the doctrine of the spiritual Maternity.

Scripture. Four major texts are commonly adduced. The first of these is the PROTO-EVANGELIUM (Gn 3:15): "I will put enmity between you and the woman, between your seed and her seed; he shall crush your head, and you shall lie in wait for his heel." If, as an increasing number of modern writers affirm (and their opinion seems to be supported by both Pius IX's *Ineffabilis Deus* and Pius XII's *Munificentissimus Deus*), the prophecy is to be understood of Mary alone, then one may certainly use it as an argument to prove Mary's spiritual Maternity, for the text then prophesies that Mary with her divine Son is to crush Satan's head. It is known that this takes place on CALVARY at the objective Redemption, which marks the rebirth of mankind to the spiritual life. Therefore Mary by her share in this work can truly be called men's spiritual Mother.

Second, there is the Annunciation pericope (Lk 1:26–38). The references cited above from St. Pius X, Benedict XV, Pius XI, and Pius XII are ample evidence of the importance attached to this passage by the magisterium. Pius XII speaks well for all, in his 1947 address to the Marian Congress at Ottawa, Canada:

> But when the little maid of Nazareth uttered her *fiat* to the message of the Angel ... she became not only the Mother of God in the physical order of nature, but also in the supernatural order of grace she became the Mother of all, who through the Holy Spirit would be made one under the Headship of her divine Son. The Mother of the Head would be the Mother of the members.

Third, there is Christ's testament (Jn 19:26–27): "When Jesus, therefore, saw his mother and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he said to his mother, 'Woman, behold thy Son.' Then he said to the disciple, 'Behold thy mother.' And from that hour the disciple took her into his home." This passage has been so frequently used by the sovereign pontiffs as a strictly biblical support of the spiritual Maternity that it seems impossible to maintain that Christ's words refer to Mary's spiritual Motherhood only by accommodation (see Sebastian 1957, p. 357; Carol 1956, p. 51).

The final text of those commonly adduced concerns the vision of the woman clothed with the sun (Rv 12). Although St. Pius X in his encyclical *Ad diem illum* (February 2, 1904) explicitly stated that "no one is ignorant of the fact that this woman signified the Blessed Virgin" and then made a direct application to Mary's spiritual Maternity, still one cannot claim for this interpretation the support of the universal Magisterium, for none of his successors has repeated this meaning.

Tradition. From the time of St. JUSTIN MARTYR and

St. IRENAEUS in the second century it has been traditional to use the Eve-Mary comparison to illustrate Mary's part in the redemption of mankind. The popes of the last hundred years have frequently used the term "new Eve" or its equivalent (associate of Christ, coredemptrix, cooperatrix) to elucidate Mary's role in the lifegiving redemption. The epilogue of Pius XII's encyclical *Mystici corporis* (n. 108) is a summary of the teaching on the spiritual Maternity as well as a compendium of the Church's Mariological doctrine:

> [I]n the name of the whole human race she gave her consent for a "spiritual marriage between the Son of God and human nature" (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 3a, 30.1). Within her virginal womb, Christ our Lord already bore the exalted title of head of the Church; in a marvelous birth she brought Him forth as source of all supernatural life.... Free from all sin, original and personal, always most intimately united with her Son, as another Eve she offered Him on Golgotha to the eternal Father for all the children of Adam, sin-stained by his fall, and her mother's rights and mother's love were included in the holocaust. Thus she, who corporally was the mother of our head, through the added title of pain and glory became spiritually the mother of all His members.... and she continued to show for the Mystical Body of Christ ... the same mother's care and ardent love with which she clasped the infant Jesus to her warm and nourishing breast.

Vatican II Era's Confirmation of the Reality of the Blessed Virgin's Spiritual Maternity. Vatican II confirmed all that Scripture, Sacred Tradition, and Magisterial teaching had previously upheld regarding the fact that Mary's spiritual Maternity is ontologically real and neither an analogy nor a mere mental construct.

In *Lumen gentium* VIII, "The Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God in the Mystery of Christ and the Church," the council reiterated St. Irenaeus's famous second-century teaching in *Against Heresies* regarding the Blessed Virgin's coredemptive role in salvation: "She 'being obedient, became the cause of salvation for herself and for the whole human race'" (*Adv. Haer*. III, 22, 4; *Lumen gentium,*VIII, n. 56). After summarizing the continual witness of Sacred Tradition that Mary is not only the true Mother of God the Son but also truly the "Mother of the living" (St. Epiphanius, *Haer*. 78, 18; *Lumen gentium* VIII, n. 56), *Lumen gentium* VIII emphatically declares that Mary's Motherhood actually shows forth the power of the unique mediation of Jesus Christ, rather than diminishing it in any way (n. 60). This declaration by the council confirms the similar assertion by St. Louis de Montfort: "Mary must be known and openly revealed by the Holy Spirit so that Jesus may be known, loved and served through her" (de Montfort 2006, p. 49). Vatican II's confirmation of the reality of Mary's Motherhood reached a crescendo by declaring that in a "wholly singular way," the Blessed Virgin cooperated in the work of her Divine Son "in restoring supernatural life to souls. For this reason, she is a Mother to us in the order of grace" (*Lumen gentium* VIII, n. 61).

At the time he promulgated *Lumen gentium* on November 21, 1964, to close the third phase of the council, Pope PAUL VI formally declared that the Blessed Virgin should be given the title, "Mother of the Church." The Holy Father said:

> Very many Council Fathers made their own, pressing for an explicit declaration at this Council of the motherly role of the Virgin among the Christian people. To achieve this aim, We have felt it opportune to Consecrate in this very public Session a title which was suggested in honor of the Virgin from various parts of the Catholic world.... Therefore, for the glory of the Virgin Mary and for Our own consolation, We proclaim the Most Blessed Mary Mother of the Church, that is to say of all the people of God.

Three years later, Pope Paul VI issued *Signum magnum*, an Apostolic Exhortation on the Feast of Our Lady of Fátima, May 13, 1967. In this document, he both summarizes the Church's tradition that supports his proclamation of Mary to be the Mother of the Church, and calls upon all the clergy and faithful to renew, personally, their consecration to the Immaculate Heart of Mary, specifically as the Mother of the Church. The pope promulgated another Apostolic Exhortation on the Blessed Virgin Mary, titled *Marialis cultus*, on February 2, 1974, "to offer considerations and directives suitable for favoring the development of devotion" to the Blessed Virgin and "to put forward a number of reflections intended to encourage the restoration, in a dynamic and more informed manner, of the recitation of the Rosary, the practice of which was so strongly recommended by our predecessors and is so widely diffused among the Christian people," as stated in the exhortation's introduction. The Holy Father underscores the teaching of Vatican II by reminding the Church of the various relationships that bind the baptized to the Blessed Virgin. Chief among these are "the spiritual Motherhood of Mary towards all members of the Mystical Body" (n. 22). Furthermore, the pope declares that the Church recognizes Mary to be its "advocate and

helper" as well as "the associate of the Redeemer" (n. 22).

Known as the *Totus Tuus* pope (from the phrase "entirely yours" of St. Louis de Montfort, see paragraphs 216 and 233 of *True Devotion to Mary*), Pope JOHN PAUL II explored the question of who Mary is for us in a series of audiences from 1995 to 1997. On September 17, 1997, he specifically taught: "Mary united herself to the sacrifice of her Son and made her own maternal contribution to the work of salvation"(John Paul II 2000, p. 234). Furthermore, the pope commented that by mentioning the presence of Mary in the first community of Jerusalem (Acts 1:14), St. Luke was stressing Mary's maternal role in the newborn Church, "comparing it to her role in the Redeemer's birth" (John Paul II 2000, p. 234).

Through his general audiences, papal addresses, and encyclicals, John Paul II repeatedly upheld Mary's maternal role as the fundamental element of her relationship to both redemption itself and redeemed humanity. In this regard, *Redemptoris mater* was an especially important document. It was originally presented in ST. PETER'S BASILICA on March 25, 1987, for the express purpose of laying out the Blessed Virgin Mary's "precise place in the plan of salvation," as stated in the encyclical's introduction. By promulgating *Redemptoris mater*, the pope underscored that Mary's maternal mediation of the life of sanctifying grace "flows from her divine Motherhood" and must be understood as the fullness of truth about her Motherhood of God the Son Incarnate (n. 38).

Pope BENEDICT XVI has clearly chosen to reinforce his predecessor's insistence on Mary's spiritual Maternity. In commenting on John 19:27, Benedict XVI explained that while our translations tell us the disciple took Mary into his house, the Greek is much richer. Specifically, the pope commented to audiences on August 12, 2009, and November 11, 2009, that the disciple took Mary *eis tà idia*, "into the profundity of his being, into the dynamism of the whole of his existence." Those redeemed by Christ are likewise called to realize that the Savior has specifically given us His own Mother to be our Mother too. It is only by taking her into the very heart of our own existence that we are guaranteed to be fully and surely united to her Divine Son.

SEE ALSO GRIGNION DE MONTFORT, LOUIS MARIE, ST.; LUKE, EVANGELIST, ST.; MARIOLOGY; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO

In popular usage, *devotion to Mary* is synonymous with the *cult of Mary*. Technically, however, *cult* in reference to Mary means the external recognition of her excellence and of the superior way she is joined to God, and *devotion* adds the notion of an interior readiness for cult. The words *devotion* and *cult* are used interchangeably throughout.

Marian devotion originates in the Christian response to the role of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the mystery of Christ and His Church, the reaction of "redeemed mankind toward the Mother of God, who is mother of Christ and mother of men, particularly of the faithful" [*Lumen gentium (LG)* 54*; Acta Apostolicae Sedis (AAS)* 57 (1965): 59]. Over the centuries, Christians have responded in many ways to Mary's example, as found in Sacred Scripture, and to her living presence within the life of the Church, but three elements may be distinguished in devotion to her: (1) veneration, or the reverent recognition of the dignity of the holy Virgin Mother of God; (2) invocation, or the calling upon Our Lady for her motherly and queenly intercession; and (3) imitation, which may take such forms also as dedication and consecration. In addition to devotion in a generic sense, there are devotions to Mary; that is, particular practices of piety approved by the Church, both liturgical (feasts, litanies) and non-liturgical (the Rosary, the scapular, and private prayers). Finally, there are individual experiences of affection toward or identification with Mary that sometimes defy categorization.

Proper veneration of Mary differs essentially from the cult of adoration (*worship* in American usage) offered to God alone, such as is given to Christ and to the Father and the Holy Spirit. The cult of the Blessed Virgin is called *hyperdulia* to distinguish it both from *latria* (adoration) and *dulia* (veneration of the other saints).

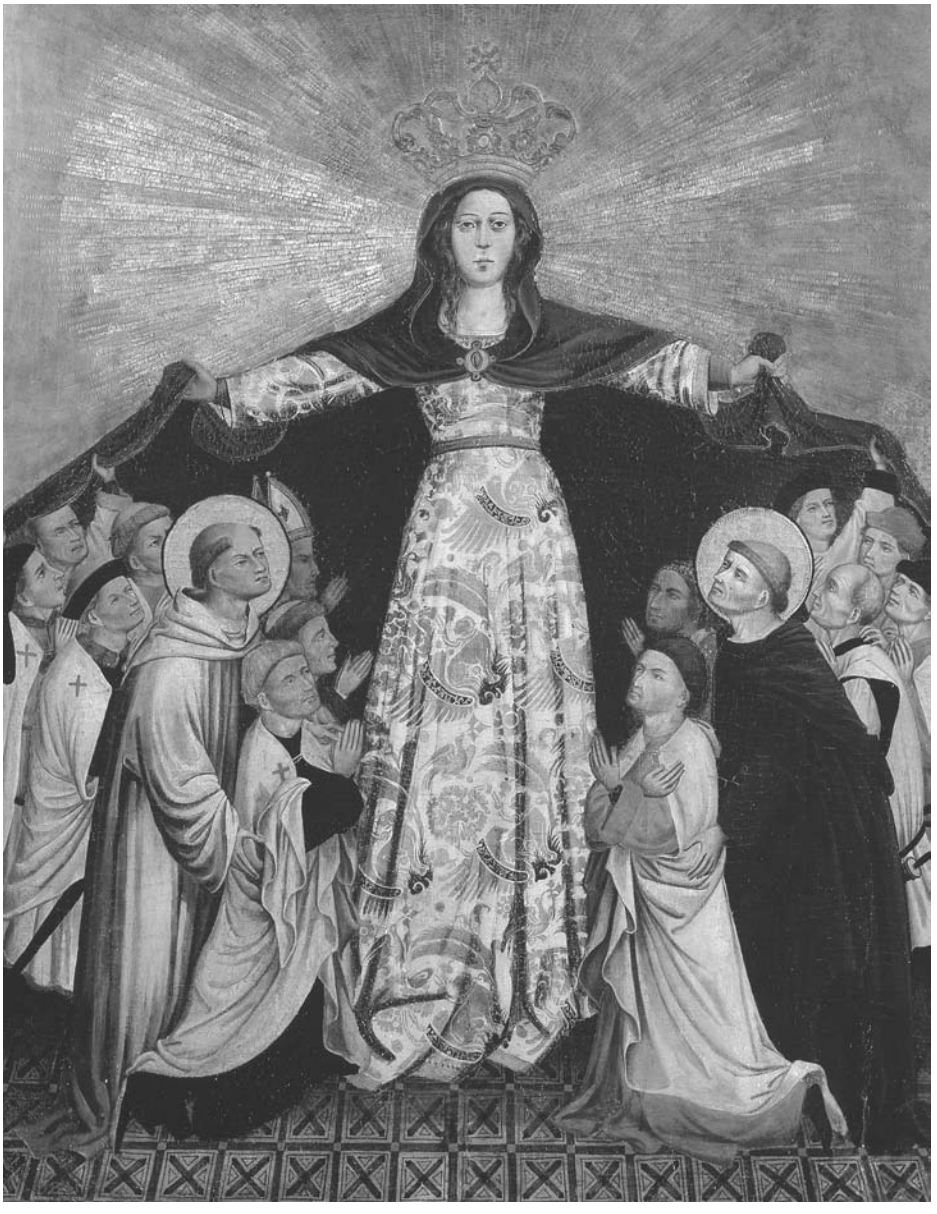
Scripture. The bases for Marian devotion are found in the New Testament. Galatians 4:4 indirectly points to Mary's free cooperation in God's plan of salvation. In this she was foreshadowed by the Old Testament (OT) figure of "daughter Zion," who rejoiced at the presence of the MESSIAH (cf. Zeph 3:14–17). She personifies the faith and messianic expectation of the PEOPLE OF GOD.

She appears in all four Gospels, associated with the mysteries of the SAVIOR's life. She meets all the criteria for a disciple as given in Luke's gospel. Her virginity highlights her acceptance of God's initiative at the ANNUNCIATION (Lk 1:34; cf. Jn 3:9). Elizabeth hails Mary as "Mother of my Lord" (Lk 1:43) and proclaims her blessed for her faith (Lk 1:45). Mary reflects on the divine words in her heart (Lk 2:19). In John's gospel, Mary is the type of the believing Church, present when the "hour" of Jesus is initiated (Cana) and fulfilled (CALVARY), as the spiritual mother of Jesus' disciples. What is said of her in LUKE-ACTS and John shows that she was viewed as an important person of great faith in the communities where these works were written. Even the "hard sayings" of Mark 3:35 and Luke 11:28 teach that her faith is the reason for her blessedness.

Early Church. Early in the second century, SS. Justin and IRENAEUS (followed by TERTULLIAN) called attention to Mary's role as the new EVE associated with Christ the new ADAM. The emphasis is on Mary's faith and her active role within God's plan of salvation. The second-century apocryphal gospel known as the *Birth of Mary* or PROTOEVANGELIUM OF JAMES witnesses to early interest in Mary's holiness, virginity, and the details of her life.

The earliest clear evidence of prayer for Mary's intercession is a Greek manuscript fragment from fourth-century Egypt, the reconstructed text of which reads: "Under your mercy we take refuge, O Mother of God. Do not reject our supplications in necessity, but deliver us from danger. [O you] alone pure and alone blessed" (Gambero 1999, p. 79). This prayer later became the Latin *Sub tuum praesidium*, which in turn was the basis for the medieval *Memorare* ("Remember, oh most gracious Virgin Mary…").

Even before the Council of EPHESUS (431), devotion to Mary was widespread among Christians, in the context of growing devotion to the saints. Churches were dedicated to Our Lady as early as the fourth century. St. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS (d. 390), in an oration delivered in 379, speaks of a Christian of CONSTANTINOPLE calling on Mary's intercession to save her from danger. In 380, St. GREGORY OF NYSSA describes a vision of Mary experienced by GREGORY THAUMATURGUS in the third century during which the Virgin helped the visionary. Early fifth-century apocrypha



Devotion to the Blessed Virgin. *This painting of Our Lady of Grace and the Grand Masters of the Military Order of Montesa shows Mary covering the leaders of this military order with Her protective mantle.* **© GIANNI DAGLI ORTI/CORBIS**

describing Mary's dormition witness to belief in the power of Mary's intercession. St. Epiphanius (d. 403) mentions an obscure sect, the Kollyridians, whom he accuses of worshiping the Virgin; this allows him to distinguish between the worship (*proskunēsis*) due to God alone and the honor (*timē*) due to Mary.

Origen (d. 253) proposes Mary as a model for every faithful Christian; whoever does the Father's will is a "Mother of Jesus." Mary is presented as a model for consecrated virgins by St. ATHANASIUS (d. 373), St. Gregory Nazianzus (d. 390), and St. AMBROSE (d. 397), who devoted a series of writings to Mary, model of Christian virginity.

The dogmatic definition of the divine motherhood at Ephesus (431) strongly encouraged devotion to Mary. Pope SIXTUS III (432–440) rebuilt St. Mary Major in ROME to commemorate the definition of Ephesus. SEVERIAN OF GABALA (d. after 408) called the praise of Mary a daily custom—she was called on before the apostles and martyrs. St. Nilus (d. c. 430) said the praise

of Mary was found in every land and every language. Leaden seals have come down from the fifth and sixth centuries with the inscription *servus Mariae*—servant (or slave) of Mary.

Early Liturgical Cult. The name of Mary entered liturgical texts quite early. As early as the second century, "born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary" was used in baptismal creeds. A Eucharistic anaphora in the Apostolic Tradition (traditionally attributed to St. HIPPOLYTUS OF ROME) mentioned Mary.

The oldest Marian feast day was a *Memory of Mary*, at first a celebration of Mary's divine motherhood and virginity, later of her dormition and assumption. It was first kept around the beginning of the fifth century, in JERUSALEM on August 15 and in Constantinople most likely on December 26. By the end of the sixth century, the observance of Mary's Dormition on August 15 had spread throughout the empire. The Annunciation was recalled in ADVENT, but by the mid-sixth century was celebrated on March 25. The NATIVITY OF MARY (September 8) dates from the late sixth century. In the seventh century Oriental monks introduced these feasts to the West; all four were kept in Rome under the Greek-born Pope SERGIUS I (d. 701). Other feast days followed: the PRESENTATION OF MARY (eighth century in the East, 1372 in the West); the Conception of St. Anne (eighth century in the East, eventually developing into the IMMACULATE CONCEPTION in the Christian West).

In the Roman liturgy Our Lady has had a place in the first prayer of remembrance (*communicantes*) before the consecration since the sixth century. This has been called the highest expression of the Church's official Marian devotion and is used to good effect in both the introduction and the conclusion to the Marian final chapter of the dogmatic constitution on the Church, *Lumen gentium* [*AAS* 57 (1965): 58–67].

Seventh to Ninth Centuries. In both written works and preaching, Mary is increasingly viewed as heavenly queen and all-powerful intercessor. In the West St. ILDEFONSUS OF TOLEDO (d. 667) is the first to propose consecrating oneself as Mary's servant to dedicate oneself to God, an idea later summarized in the phrase "to Jesus through Mary." The liturgical celebration of Mary's Assumption led preachers such as Ambrose AUTPERT (d. 781) and PAUL THE DEACON (d. c. 799) to focus on Mary as a powerful intercessor. They invited Christians to entrust their lives to her heavenly intercession and patronage. Writers and preachers also called for imitation of Mary; for example, the Venerable BEDE (d. 735) cites Mary's *fiat* (cf. Luke 1:38) as a model of response to God's word. ALCUIN (d. 804) promoted Saturday as Mary's day. In the East the homilists, SS. Sophronius (d. 638); Germanus of Constantinople (d. 733), defender of icons; and ANDREW OF CRETE (d. 740) extolled Mary's power of intercession as they praised her Assumption.

Tenth to Fourteenth Centuries. During the decadence after the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE, religious life survived around the great abbeys. In addition to preserving and renewing monastic life, the CLUNIAC REFORM greatly increased Marian piety (e.g., ODO OF CLUNY, d. 942; ODILO OF CLUNY, d. 1049). The title *Mother* (or *Queen*) *of Mercy* originated at Cluny had a profound impact lasting into the twenty-first century. Sermons presented Mary as a model for the monastic life, because of her unshakeable faith, humility, chastity, and poverty.

The Marian devotion of the High MIDDLE AGES accorded with general devotion to the saints; it was based on a sense of community between the Church on earth and the Church triumphant, with growing emphasis on the humanity of Jesus, such as the holy name of Jesus, the PASSION, and the Real Presence in the EUCHARIST. Numerous Marian shrines drew many pilgrimages. By this time the West was showing increasing independence of the East, the more so after the break-off of intercommunion between ORTHODOXY and Rome in the mid-eleventh century.

The eleventh century produced a rich Marian literature: sermons, prayers (as the SALVE REGINA), liturgical offices (LITTLE OFFICE OF THE BVM) and Masses (especially for Saturday), and public proclamations of being servants or slaves of Mary (as by Odilo of Cluny, d. 1049; and also by Bl. MARINUS, brother of St. Peter Damian). St. PETER DAMIAN (d. 1072) wrote of Our Lady helping the poor souls in purgatory; by the fifteenth century this took the form in popular piety of the sabbatine privilege of the SCAPULAR.

The twelfth century showed two doctrinal trends, strongly influencing devotion: (1) attention to Mary's compassion at Calvary and the interpretation of the Savior's words, "Woman, behold your son" (Jn 19:26), as signifying Mary's spiritual motherhood of Christ's brethren typified in the beloved disciple; and (2) under the influence of the doctrine of the Assumption, emphasis on Mary's present assistance to all Christians. St. Bernard (d. 1153) was noted for the Marian piety of his homilies. In his famous homily on the aqueduct, he spoke of Mary distributing all graces to mankind. He called on Christians to place absolute confidence in Mary's intercession and to look upon her as the guiding star of their lives. He drew attention to Mary's compassion and her suffering with her Son at the foot of the CROSS, which made her a martyr in spirit.

In the thirteenth century, doctrine and piety were intimately interwoven in the praise of Mary. Along with the great cathedrals of Marian dedication, Marian devo-

tion was manifest in the lives of SS. Francis (d. 1226) and DOMINIC (d. 1221) and in the theological masterworks of SS. BONAVENTURE (d. 1274), ALBERT THE GREAT (d. 1280), THOMAS AQUINAS (d. 1274), and DUNS SCOTUS (d. 1308). The familiar prayer, the HAIL MARY, combining the scriptural greetings (Lk 1:28, 42) of the first part to the petition of the second part, attained its current form only in the fifteenth century, but variants were in use from the twelfth century, and the *Ave*s were repeated to form the Psalter of Mary or the Rosary. At this same time, independent litanies of Our Lady developed from lists of Marian titles in the form of a litany—one of which has been preserved in the LITANY OF LORETO. In the late fourteenth century, the Presentation of Mary (November 21) and the VISITATION (July 2, since 1969 transferred to May 31) were introduced in the West.

Fifteenth Century. The invention of printing in this century allowed rapid diffusion of Marian devotion, for example, the many editions of the Marian sermons, at once tender and terrible, of St. BERNARDINE OF SIENA (d. 1444) and the compendious *Mariale* of Bernardino de Bustis (d. 1515); early xylography helped spread the confraternities of the Rosary.

The artistic representation of the "mantle Virgin" was characteristic of the devotional outlook of the fifteenth century. Under her protecting mantle, Mary, Mother of Mercy, kept in her care all peoples, nobles and humble folk alike. This picture was rejected by the Reformation and disappeared in the RENAISSANCE.

Pope SIXTUS IV gave the feast of the Conception of Mary limited approval and the favor of indulgences (1477). In Christian spirituality, meditation on the life of Mary, as on the life of Jesus, was a prominent note. The ideal was a deeper, richer interior life, well expressed by Jean GERSON (d. 1429) in his counsels for a truly Christian attitude toward Mary. Popular preaching, however, often proposed an exaggerated reliance on Mary's mercy, as opposed to Christ's justice.

The Reformation. The Reformers attacked Marian devotion, not directly, but by positions on doctrine and cult that they regarded as essential and evangelical. Neither Martin LUTHER nor John CALVIN rejected totally the veneration of Mary, but they limited it to imitation of the humble, obedient Virgin Mother of the GOSPELS (even as type of the believing Church). The Reformers and early Reformation confessions uniformly rejected calling upon the saints for assistance; such invocation (especially using the titles *queen of heaven* and *spiritual mother*) was regarded as derogatory to Christ's unique mediatorship and as blasphemous to God, the one source of grace.

The Council of TRENT defended the cult of Our Lady and the other saints—invocation as well as admiration and imitation—for the blessed who reign with Christ can intercede for men on earth. Both Catholic and Protestant positions hardened in the subsequent struggles of the Reformation and COUNTER REFORMATION, and the cult of Mary, like the doctrine of the Real Presence, became a favorite subject for controversy. St. Peter CANISIUS (d. 1597) replied to the Protestant positions in a long work, *De Maria virgine incomparabili*, which proved a veritable arsenal for Catholic apologists. Iconographically, the triumph of Mary—the Immaculate crushing the serpent's head—often represented victory over Protestantism.

The internal development of devotion continued within the Church. The Sodality of Our Lady was founded under Jesuit guidance in 1563; many Marian sodalities and associations developed from this prototype.

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. The seventeenth-century flowering of Marian studies, especially in Spain and France, saw a corresponding development in devotion. Practices of the slavery of Mary grew up, variously rooted in the queenship and in imitation of the Child Jesus in his dependence on Mary. The *sanguinary vow* was a pledge to defend to the death the Immaculate Conception, when it was still being debated within the Church. Some of these customs were carried to excess and aroused protest, even condemnation, for example, certain forms of the slavery of Mary, complete with chains. Adam Widenfeldt lashed out against exaggerated devotional practices and questionable doctrines in his storm-provoking *Monita salutaria* (1672).

In the French school of spirituality founded by Cardinal Pierre de BÉRULLE, the cult of Mary was intimately joined to the mystery of the Word-made-Flesh. Jean Jacques OLIER developed the role of Mary in the interior life, especially of seminarians. St. John EUDES preached the IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY.

This period emphasized both God's majesty (extending to Mary, as so close to God) and the need for total commitment in consecration to Mary, which is really to Jesus Christ through Mary. The most famous form of consecration was the holy slavery of Mary of St. Louis Marie GRIGNION DE MONTFORT (d. 1716), which did not become generally known until 1842 when the book, since called *True Devotion*, was found. Popular exaggerations of Mary's intercessory role led to strong reactions, such as that of Lodovico Antonio MURATORI. St. ALPHONSUS DE LIGUORI defended Marian devotion with solid arguments, especially in the widely spread *Glories of Mary* (1750).

Nineteenth Century. In the aftermath of the ENLIGHTENMENT and the FRENCH REVOLUTION, the newly founded religious congregations and the restored older orders showed a special concern for Mary's role in the apostolate. Apostolic zeal was recognized as an authentic note of Marian dedication (cf. *Lumen gentium* 65). This was especially true of the missionary orders, founded in such numbers in this period, such as the MARISTS, OBLATES OF MARY IMMACULATE, CLARETIANS, and Scheut Fathers. Lay efforts were also made, such as that of Guillaume Joseph CHAMINADE (d. 1850), who worked with lay sodalists some years before he founded the Society of Mary (MARIANISTS). The definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception by PIUS IX, an act itself enabled by the Marian maximalism that followed Trent, spoke of Mary's "singular privilege" and thus kept the emphasis on what set her apart from humanity in general.

Nineteenth-century Marian devotion also led to the establishment of shrines in places of reported apparitions, such as LOURDES (1858) and Lafayette (1846) in France, Knock (1879) in Ireland, and elsewhere, as well as Fátima in 1917, all of which continue to attract pilgrims. The Church approved these practices particularly because they resulted in the good fruits of prayer and penance and in pilgrims frequenting the Sacraments. In other cases of reported Marian apparitions or locutions, Church authorities rejected claims of private revelation and forbade public devotions at such sites.

Twentieth Century. The first half of the twentieth century has been called the *age of Mary*. It continued the trend begun with Trent to maximize devotion to Mary, especially by proclaiming her privileges or glories, emphasizing difference and exceptionality. Marian devotion was shaped by a Christotypical MARIOLOGY that understood Mary's role in relation to the Church and to individual Christians in terms of the person and role of Christ. As the one closest to her Son, the REDEEMER and Mediator, Mary could be addressed as Coredemptrix and mediator, a powerful intercessor and perfect ideal. The Christian was encouraged to consider himself dependent on Mary, his spiritual mother, and to work in union with her to build God's kingdom and conquer evil. This kind of Marian spirituality was typical of such new APOSTOLIC as the LEGION OF MARY (1921) and the Blue Army of Our Lady of Fátima (founded 1947, later World Apostolate of Fátima). Other features distinctive of this period included local, national, and international Marian congresses, the founding of Mariological societies in several countries, and great pilgrimages to many Marian shrines, even through times of political unrest and wars.

During this period the popes officially encouraged and directed Marian devotion in many ways. St. PIUS X wrote on the spiritual motherhood: "Mary is our sure way to Christ" [*Ad diem illum*, *Acta Sanctae Sedis* 36 (1903–1904): 451]. BENEDICT XV addressed incessant appeals to the Queen of Peace during WORLD WAR I. PIUS XI commemorated the Ephesus anniversary (*Lux veritatis* 1931) and related Our Lady to the jubilee of the REDEMPTION (1933–1934). PIUS XII showed his great interest in Marian doctrine and cult by the following acts: the definition of the Assumption (1950); the consecration of the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary (1942), which was further explained in the encyclical on the Sacred Heart (*Haurietis aquas* 1956); the inclusion in the Encyclical on the Mystical Body, *Mystici corporis*, of its Marian epilogue (1943); the proclamation of the Marian Year (1945) and its memorialization by the new feast of the queenship of Mary (May 31, transferred in 1969 to August 22); and the proclamation of the Lourdes centennial (1958). Particularly important for devotion were the directives of *Mediator Dei*, his Encyclical on the sacred liturgy (1947): the liturgy was declared to be the norm of Marian cult, though other approved forms of piety were also encouraged. Devotion to Mary is an indication of our firm hope of salvation; indeed "according to the opinion of the Saints it is a sign of predestination" [*Mediator Dei* 6*; AAS* 39 (1947): 584–585].

In the years leading up to the council, various pontiffs also pointed out the need for caution and moderation in Marian devotion. Pius XII called for correct balance in Mariology and Marian devotion in *Inter complures*, his message to the international Mariological and Marian Congress of Rome [*AAS* 46 (1954): 679], and also in *Ad caeli reginam*, his Encyclical on the queenship of Mary [*AAS* 46 (1954): 637]. Pope JOHN XXIII, in a discourse to the clergy of Rome, warned of "particular practices or devotions, which may be excessive in their veneration of Jesus and our mother—who will not be offended by these words of Ours" [*AAS* 52 (1960): 969]. He cautioned the French National Marian Congress (Lisieux, July 9, 1961) to "look rather to the most traditional Marian devotion, as it has been handed down to us from the beginning in the prayers of successive generations in East and West" [*AAS* 53 (1961): 506].

The renewal of Biblical and Patristic studies focused attention on the Mary-Church analogy, especially after WORLD WAR II. Theologians searching for a fundamental principle of Mariology turned to an ecclesiotypical approach that suggested a different kind of Marian devotion. While the Christotypical approach spoke of a vertical mediation of Mary, who was enthroned alongside her Son and above the Church, the ecclesiotypical approach considered her horizontal mediation, presenting

her as the prototypical and preeminent member of the community of the redeemed, the concrete type of the Church, first disciple of her Son, and a sister in the Faith.

This scholarly trend affected the Second Vatican Council's pronouncements on Marian doctrine and devotion, as seen in the Constitution on the Liturgy [*AAS* 56 (1964): 125], Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis redintegratio* [*AAS* 57 (1965): 101, 104–105], and above all in chapter 8 of *Lumen gentium*, the Constitution on the Church. *Lumen gentium* called for promotion of legitimate devotion to Mary, especially her liturgical cult, noting that true devotion is based on true Faith. Although it did not explicitly define a preferred Marian spirituality, its presentation of Mary promoted new ways of thinking about Marian devotion. Mary is the type and example of the Christian life and of faithful discipleship. Through her faithful relationship with Jesus Christ, Mary is both a sister, as a fellow member of the Church, and the spiritual mother of all the baptized. At the end of the council's third session, PAUL VI, on his own authority, proclaimed Mary "Mother of the Church."

Post-Conciliar Period to Present. The period immediately following the council (approximately 1966 to 1972) saw both a decline in interest in Mariology and a crisis of Marian devotion. Such traditional practices as the Rosary, scapular, Novenas, and pilgrimages fell into steep decline.

Pope Paul VI's 1974 Apostolic Exhortation, *Marialis cultus*, was in part a response to this crisis. Paul encouraged the development of a devotion to Mary that was Biblical, liturgical, ecumenical, and anthropological, as well as integrated into the mysteries of the Trinity, Christ, and the Church, while avoiding doctrinally misleading exaggerations.

Pope JOHN PAUL II promoted and presided over a great flowering of Marian devotion. His motto, *Totus tuus*, quoted Montfort's formula of Marian consecration: "I am all yours, Mary, and everything I have is yours. I accept you into everything that is mine." True to these words, John Paul included a mention of Mary in all his major Encyclicals and entrusted to her motherly care his major efforts, such as his call for a new EVANGELIZATION. His great Marian Encyclical, *Redemptoris mater* [*AAS* 74 (1987): 361], grounds Marian devotion in Our Lady's spiritual motherhood of all Christ's disciples in the order of grace, with special reference to Our Lord entrusting all humanity to his Mother at the foot of the Cross (*RM* 45; cf. Jn 19:25–27). Every disciple should welcome Mary into his inner life and in turn seek to be welcomed into her motherly care. A series of seventy talks given at General Audiences from September 1995 to November 1997 presented a catechesis on Marian doctrine and devotion, in which Mary is portrayed as a model of faith and discipleship. His Apostolic Letter on the Rosary, *Rosarium virginis mariae* (October 16, 2002), encouraged praying the Rosary as a way to contemplate the divine mystery of the life of Christ, and he proclaimed October 2002 to October 2003 as the Year of the Rosary. Mary is the "incomparable model" who presents to the faithful the mysteries of the Christ and teaches the Church how to contemplate Christ. In his Encyclical *Ecclesia de Eucharistia* (April 17, 2003), he presents Mary as "woman of the Eucharist." Her faith in her Son encourages Christians to believe in the mystery of the Eucharist. By offering her virginal womb for the INCARNATION of God's Word, she anticipated the sacramental reception of the Lord's Body and Blood by believers. Her *fiat* is echoed in the *Amen* of the communicant, and her contemplation of the newborn Christ anticipates the adoration of the Eucharist. Her preparation for Calvary anticipates the sacrificial dimension of the Mass. Accepting the gift of the Eucharist means accepting Mary as our spiritual Mother. "Mary is present, with the Church and as the Mother of the Church, at each of our celebrations of the Eucharist (*EE* 57)." Mary's MAGNIFICAT expresses her own spirituality, defined as the model of a true "Eucharistic attitude."

The *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy*, issued by the Roman Congregation for DIVINE WORSHIP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS in 2001, devotes an entire chapter to the veneration of Mary. Both liturgical cult and popular devotions are encouraged. In addition to the Marian feast days and Saturday remembrances of the liturgy, the document treats Marian Tridua, septenari and Novenas, the Marian months, the Angelus/Regina Coeli, the Rosary, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Acts of Consecration or Entrustment to the Blessed Virgin Mary, Marian scapulars and medals, and the AKATHISTOS Hymn.

The period from the late 1970s onward saw a recovery in Marian devotion among Catholics. Some experienced a renewed interest in Mary's personal identity, focusing on Mary as a human person perfectly and fully redeemed by grace, ideal of faith, and model of holiness for all believers. Others returned to such traditional forms of devotion as the Rosary and scapular. Western Christians made increased use of Marian icons from the Eastern tradition in their public and private prayer. Efforts by theologians to define a "Marian spirituality" (a term found in *Redemptoris mater* 48) as a fundamental openness to God's will on the part of the believer (Hans Urs von BALTHASAR, Anton Ziegenaus) offered a new theological basis for Marian devotion.

Ecumenical Aspects of Marian Devotion. The Orthodox Christians of the East have always preserved a

liturgical cult of Mary along with private devotion to her. Until recently, such was not the case within the communities born from the Protestant Reformation. However, since the Second Vatican Council, Protestants have shown increased openness to Marian cult and devotion. The Ecumenical Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary (founded 1967) promotes an ecumenical understanding of Mary's place in the life of the Church. Non-Catholic theologians have reconsidered the scriptural portrayals of Mary and her role within the communion of saints. The authors of the ANGLICAN/ROMAN CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION document "Mary: Grace and Hope in Christ" (2004) agreed that Mary, as Mother of God, should be venerated in the public worship of the Church and recognized as a model for all Christians. They affirmed that Mary continues to intercede for the whole Church and that it is legitimate for Christians to ask Mary to pray for them.

SEE ALSO BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, ST.; DORMITION OF THE VIRGIN; ECCLESIA DE EUCHARISTIA; EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS, ST.; FRANCIS OF ASSISI, ST.; GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE; GERMANUS I, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, ST.; GOD (FATHER); GOD (HOLY SPIRIT); GOD (SON); JOHN, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; LUKE, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; MARY (IN ECUMENICAL DIALOGUE); MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, QUEENSHIP OF; MEDIATOR DEI; MEMORARE; MYSTICI CORPORIS CHRISTI; NILUS OF ANCYRA, ST.; NOVENA; REDEMPTORIS MATER; REFORMATION, PROTESTANT (ON THE CONTINENT); SACRED HUMANITY, DEVOTION TO THE; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, PAPAL MAGISTERIUM SINCE VATICAN II

To deal with the papal Magisterium on Mary since the Second Vatican Council (October 11, 1962–December 8, 1965), one must begin with the council itself and PAUL VI, who was at once the POPE who presided over all but the first of the four sessions of the council and the pope who strove to implement the conciliar constitutions, decrees, and declarations for the remaining twelve and a half years of his pontificate. Undeniably, the council's principal treatment of "The Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God in the Mystery of Christ and the Church," which constitutes the eighth chapter of *Lumen gentium*, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, is the most extensive exposition on Mary ever promulgated by an ecumenical council. Its decision, however, to include the treatment on Mary in the document on the Church and not as a separate treatise was the subject of intense debates and resulted in the narrowest majority (1,114–1,074) in the history of the council.

Mariological Debate. Behind these votes were two different currents of thought which reflected to a certain extent the rediscovered insights of ecclesio-typical MARIOLOGY (which sees an ANALOGY between Mary and the Church) that were emerging again at the time of the council and christo-typical Mariology (which sees an analogy between CHRIST and Mary). Ultimately, the title as well as the content of chapter eight of *Lumen gentium* would strive to balance these two theological tendencies by considering Mary "in the Mystery of Christ and the Church." In a rare analysis of this situation by a pope, JOHN PAUL II stated in his Marian catechesis of December 13, 1995:

> During the Council sessions, many Fathers wished further to enrich Marian doctrine with other statements on Mary's role in the work of salvation. The particular context in which Vatican II's Mariological debate took place did not allow these wishes, although substantial and widespread, to be accepted, but the Council's entire discussion of Mary remains vigorous and balanced, and the topics themselves, though not fully defined, received significant attention in the overall treatment.

The proponents of further precisions on Mary's role in the work of SALVATION to whom the pope referred were obviously those who favored the Christo-typical approach. The matter remains more complex, however. The ecclesio-typical insights into Mary as model of the Church, as traveling the path of FAITH, are surely valid—even if they do not greatly nourish devotion—but this camp also included those who, for ecumenical reasons, favored minimizing statements about Our Lady and her collaboration in the work of salvation.

Interestingly, Christo-typical statements are not wanting in the final text. *LG* 57 calls attention to the "union of the Mother and the Son in the work of salvation" and *LG* 58 speaks of Mary's "consenting to the immolation of the Victim" on CALVARY and her "uniting herself with his sacrifice." *LG* 61 describes how Mary "cooperated by her obedience, faith, hope and burning charity in the work of the Savior in giving back supernatural life to souls." *LG* 62 states that "the Church does not hesitate to profess this subordinate role of Mary." The classical word to describe Mary's active role in the work of salvation is *Coredemptrix* (used by theologians for centuries and found in the Magisterium of PIUS XI three times and in that of John Paul II six times). Here the word was not used out of "ecumenical sensitivity," but the DOCTRINE was more clearly presented than in any previous conciliar statement.

A specific instance of these two mindsets was illustrated by the clash between these two camps on whether Mary should be described in the conciliar document as "Mother of the Church." In fact, the title of the third preparatory schema of the Marian text was precisely "Mary, Mother of Jesus and Mother of the Church" (July 1961). The history of the titles of the various drafts as well as their contents indicate the ongoing tension between those in the ecclesio-typical camp who wanted emphasis placed primarily on the more abstract concept of Mary's being an exemplar of the Church and those on the other side who wanted to emphasize Mary's role of spiritual maternity. The title "Mother of the Church" disappeared from the schema that arrived on the council floor in September 1964 and, despite pleas to replace it, the theological commission refused to do so. Thus *LG* 54 speaks of Mary as "Mother of God and of men, especially of the faithful"; *LG* 69 refers to her as "Mother of God and of men"; and *LG* 61 speaks of her as "mother in the order of grace." In closing the third session of the council on November 21, 1964, after

promulgating the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, which included the Marian chapter eight and the decrees on the EASTERN CHURCHES and on ecumenism, Paul VI solemnly declared Mary Mother of the Church and commemorated the act by which PIUS XII had consecrated the world to the IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY on October 31, 1942. It was a decisive moment in the council and was greeted with resounding applause. Paul VI had acted courageously and found a way of overcoming clever maneuvering that spoke to the hearts of bishops and FAITHFUL.

Both the Christo-typical and ecclesio-typical currents of Mariology have solid bases in the ecclesial tradition and can be harmonized, as the final title of chapter eight of *Lumen gentium* and the subsequent papal Magisterium have illustrated. However, when the ecclesio-typical orientation is promoted to the exclusion of the other, as was frequently done by major interpreters after the promulgation of *Lumen gentium*, Marian devotion is bound to suffer, as in fact it did. Even some of the staunchest champions of ecclesio-typical Mariology found themselves shocked at the rapid and radical decline in Marian piety in the decade after the council. The question of the active collaboration of Mary in the work of salvation was looming on the horizon before the council began, and "though not fully defined, received significant attention in the overall treatment" of Mary in the council, as John Paul II said. It remains the central question in Catholic Mariology and THEOLOGY in the early twenty-first century, and the subsequent papal Marian Magisterium can only be fully grasped in this perspective. As *LG* 65 prophetically summarizes the matter: "For Mary, having entered intimately into the history of salvation somehow brings together in herself and reverberates the most fundamental teachings of the faith and, as she is proclaimed and venerated, calls the faithful to her Son and his sacrifice and to love of the Father."

Pope Paul VI (1963–1978). Almost immediately after the council, Paul VI found that all the fundamental truths of Catholicism were being contested, often because of inaccurate interpretations of the conciliar documents as well as because of epochal societal upheavals such as the protest movements of 1968. In this context he strove to be a faithful interpreter of the council, presenting the Church's Marian doctrine in a careful and balanced way in numerous discourses, messages, homilies, and prayers.

LG 66 had made a generic recommendation of "various forms of piety toward the Mother of God approved by the Church," but Paul VI subsequently felt it necessary to recommend the ROSARY in two encyclicals (*Mense maio* and *Christi matri*), an APOSTOLIC EXHORTATION, and on numerous other occasions. In his Rosary encyclical *Mense maio* of April 29, 1965, he went beyond the minimal recognition in *LG* 62 that Mary may be invoked as Mediatrix (numerous conciliar battles had been fought over this title regularly used in the pre-conciliar papal Magisterium), speaking of the "abundant gifts of divine mercy that flow to us from [Mary's] throne" and of the "treasures of mercy of which Mary has been constituted the minister and generous dispenser"(*Mense maio*, 9)

His Apostolic Exhortation *Signum magnum* of May 13, 1967, accompanied by his pilgrimage to Fátima to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the apparitions of Our Lady which took place there, testified to the entire Church that solid Marian doctrine leads to solid Marian devotion. In that exhortation he stated:

> As each one of us can repeat with St. Paul: "The Son of God loved me and gave Himself up for me," so in all trust he can believe that the divine Savior has left to him also, in spiritual heritage, His Mother, with all the treasures of grace and virtues with which He had endowed her, that she may pour them over us through the influence of her powerful intercession and our willing imitation. (*Signum magnum*, 5)

At its conclusion, he exhorted all "to renew personally their consecration to the Immaculate Heart of the Mother of the Church and to bring alive this most noble act of veneration through a life ever more consonant with the divine will" (*Signum magnum*, 9). Although theological interpretations of the conciliar Marian doctrine were already downplaying Mary's mediation of grace and the legitimacy of Marian consecration, Paul VI did not hesitate to exercise his teaching authority on these matters.

The pope's principal Marian document was *Marialis cultus* of February 2, 1974, on the right ordering and development of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Faithfully following the teaching of *LG* 67, Paul VI wanted to encourage the faithful about the unique place of Mary in the Church's worship, particularly in the LITURGY as it had been renewed in the post-conciliar books and then in the personal piety of the faithful. The document underscores the Trinitarian, Christological, and ecclesial aspects of Marian devotion and then proposes four guidelines for its development: that it be biblical, liturgical, ecumenical, and anthropological. In the third of these guidelines, he stated that "without in any way detracting from the unique character of this devotion, every care should be taken to avoid any exaggeration which could mislead other Christian brethren about the true doctrine of the Catholic Church," whereas in the fourth he emphasized presenting Mary as

an imitable model, especially for modern women, a theme that John Paul would further develop in his Apostolic Exhortation *Mulieris dignitatem* of August 15, 1988. In the final part of the document, he reflected on and recommended the PRAYER of the ANGELUS and the Rosary.

On April 24, 1970, the Pope found a profound way to translate the teaching of *LG* 53 on the "indissoluble bond" between JESUS and Mary in his HOMILY at the Marian shrine of Our Lady of Bonaria in Cagliari, Sardinia: "If we want to be Christian, we must also be Marian, that is we must recognize the essential, vital, providential bond which unites Our Lady with Jesus and which opens to us the way that leads us to him"(*Acta apostolicae sedis* 62 [1970]: 300–301).

John Paul II (1978–2005). Speaking in this way, not only did Paul VI insist that Jesus is inseparable from Mary in the Christian life, but he also effectively sketched the profile of his successor, John Paul II, whose episcopal and papal motto was *Totus tuus*, an abbreviated form of an even older formula of Marian consecration found in St. Louis de Montfort's *True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin*: "I am all yours, O Mary, and all that I have is yours" (n. 216, 233). As John Paul II would later indicate in personal testimonies, during his youth he discovered the classic book by St. Louis de Montfort and, as he admitted to André Frossard, became convinced, "The more my inner life has been centered on the mystery of the Redemption, the more surrender to Mary, in the spirit of St. Louis Grignion de Montfort, has seemed to me the best means of participating fruitfully and effectively in this reality" (Frossard 1984, p. 126).

Undoubtedly Pope John Paul II has left the largest patrimony of Marian doctrine and devotion of all the successors of St. Peter, and it will be possible only to present a few highlights and to indicate major themes. Already in his very first ENCYCLICAL Letter, *Redemptor hominis* of March 4, 1979, he evoked the reality of Marian mediation without using the word: "We believe that nobody else can bring us as Mary can into the divine and human dimension of this mystery [of the Redemption]. Nobody has been brought into it by God Himself as Mary has" (*Redemptor hominis*, 22). He developed the idea in his next Encyclical Letter, *Dives in misericordia* of November 30,1980, meditating on the fact that:

> No one has experienced, to the same degree as the Mother of the crucified One, the mystery of the cross.... No one has received into his heart, as much as Mary did, that mystery, that truly divine dimension of the redemption effected on Calvary by means of the death of the Son, together with the sacrifice of her maternal heart, together with her definitive "fiat." Mary, then, is the one who has the deepest knowledge of the mystery of God's mercy.... [she] through her hidden and at the same time incomparable sharing in the messianic mission of her Son, was called in a special way to bring close to people that love which He had come to reveal. (*Dives in misericordia*, 9)

In this text he deftly introduced the concept of Mary's active collaboration in the work of Redemption as well as her mediatory role in bringing others to experience its effects.

On May 13, 1981, the Pope suffered an assassination attempt in St. Peter's Square. It was the anniversary of the apparition of Our Lady to the three shepherd children of Fátima in 1917. His life hung in the balance for several days, but as soon as he was able, he called for all of the relevant documentation on Fátima. To his dying day, he was convinced that Our Lady had spared his life, and he determined to make the consecration to the Immaculate Heart of Mary which Our Lady had asked for the conversion of Russia. The first such act was made on the first anniversary of the attempt on his life in Fátima. It was renewed in more specific collegial union with the Bishops of the Word on March 25, 1984, in ROME before the image of Our Lady flown in from Fátima. The text of these two acts is virtually identical and employs both the words *consecrate* and *entrust*. Russia was not publicly named in either of these acts, but was evidently clearly understood. The Pope would return to Fátima again on May 13, 1991, stating that "the Church ... does not cease consecrating herself to Mary." He returned again on May 13, 2000, to beatify Francisco and Jacinta, the little seers who had died respectively in 1919 and 1920, and had the imminent publication of the third secret of Fátima announced. The thematic of Marian consecration/entrustment and that of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, already abundantly represented in his writings, would be further reinforced through his association with Fátima.

In his APOSTOLIC Letter *Salvifici doloris* of February 11, 1984, he offered a remarkable exposition on Mary's role in the mystery of Redemption. First he insisted on the all-sufficiency of Jesus' sufferings: "The sufferings of Christ created the good of the world's Redemption. This good in itself is inexhaustible and infinite. No man can add anything to it" (*Salvifici doloris*, n. 24). But then he went on to indicate how Mary's sufferings are inseparable from those of Jesus:

> In her, the many and intense sufferings were amassed in such an interconnected way that they were not only a proof of her unshakable

> faith but also a contribution to the Redemption of all.... It was on Calvary that Mary's suffering, beside the suffering of Jesus, reached an intensity which can hardly be imagined from a human point of view but which was mysteriously and supernaturally fruitful for the Redemption of the world....As a witness to her Son's passion by her *presence*, and as a sharer in it by her *compassion*, Mary offered a unique contribution to the Gospel of suffering, by embodying in anticipation the expression of St. Paul which was quoted at the beginning (Col 1:24). She truly has a special title to be able to claim that she "completes in her flesh"—as already in her heart—"what is lacking in Christ's afflictions." (*Salvifici doloris*, n. 25)

Are these statements of the pope in contradiction to each other? No. He was rather brilliantly expounding on a mystery. The sacrifice of Jesus is all-sufficient, but GOD wished the suffering of the "New Eve," the only perfect human creature, to be united to the suffering of the "New Adam." Is the pope saying that Mary could redeem us by herself? Certainly not. But he is saying that she could make her own unique contribution to the sacrifice of Jesus as the "New Eve," the "Mother of the Living."

These heretofore somewhat unnoticed declarations of enormous doctrinal value need to be seen as the context for that which John Paul II would present in the third part of his Marian encyclical, *Redemptoris mater* of March 25, 1987, on "Maternal Mediation." Commenting on *LG* 61, he stated:

> Mary *entered, in a way all her own, into the one mediation* "between God and men" *which is the mediation of the man Christ Jesus*. If she was the first to experience within herself the supernatural consequences of this one mediation—in the Annunciation she had been greeted as "full of grace"—then we must say that through this fullness of grace and supernatural life she was especially predisposed to cooperation with Christ, the one Mediator of human salvation. *And such cooperation* is *precisely this mediation subordinated* to the mediation of Christ. (*Redemptoris mater*, n. 39)

With this encyclical the pope effectively resurrected the explicit language of Marian mediation that had been used frequently by his predecessors, but that had been virtually buried by all of the major commentators after the Second Vatican Council. What is particularly striking is that his encyclical was a veritable *tour de force* precisely because he theologized on the concept of Mary's "mediation in Christ" utilizing the language of the council in its maximal sense integrated into many of his own unique insights.

At the conclusion of the Marian year which he had declared from March 25, 1987, to 15 August 1988, he published his Apostolic Letter *Mulieris dignitatem*, a document primarily "On the Dignity and Vocation of Women," but with many profound references to Our Lady. Perhaps one of the most unique features of that document is the pope's reference in n. 27 to the "Marian profile" of the Church, which takes precedence over the "Petrine." He had already elaborated this theme at greater length and depth in n. 2–3 of his address to the Roman Curia on December 22, 1987, utilizing the elements of ecclesio-typical theology in a truly maximal formulation.

The Marian Year was also the occasion of the publication of a collection of forty-six Masses of the Blessed Virgin Mary, each with its own propers, preface, and an accompanying lectionary. The publication of these Masses—some taken from propers conceded to certain religious communities or places, some composed for the occasion—are intended for use at Marian shrines and as votive Masses to be used on ferial days throughout the year and constitute "an event of far from negligible importance in the development by the Magisterium and in the experience of the Christian people of the great riches that are represented by Mary, the Mother of God" according to Cardinal Virgilio Noè. It should be noted that Paul VI had already provided for the publication of the Votive Masses of "Mary, Mother of the Church" and the "Holy Name of Mary" in the second typical edition of the *Missale Romanum* of 1975 and that John Paul II further expanded the Marian Masses available in the third typical edition of the *Missale Romanum* of 2002 and provided for an optional memorial of Our Lady of Fátima on May 13.

Surely a high point of John Paul II's Marian Magisterium was the course of seventy Marian catecheses which he presented during of his Wednesday general audiences from September 6, 1995, to November 12, 1997. These cover major themes in Marian doctrine and devotion, while utilizing texts of the pre-conciliar papal Magisterium, the Second Vatican Council, and the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* and making judicious use of certain contemporary authors. Many of these catecheses further confirm the Pope's clear affirmation of Mary's unique collaboration in the work of the Redemption, such as this passage from April 9, 1997:

> Applied to Mary, the term "cooperator" acquires a specific meaning. The collaboration of Christians in salvation takes place after the Calvary event, whose fruits they endeavor to spread by prayer and sacrifice. Mary, instead,

> cooperated during the event itself and in the role of mother; thus her cooperation embraces the whole of Christ's saving work. She alone was associated in this way with the redemptive sacrifice that merited the salvation of all mankind. In union with Christ and in submission to him, she collaborated in obtaining the grace of salvation for all humanity. (XX/1 [1997]: 621–622)

It should be further noted that in the course of various addresses, homilies, and greetings John Paul II referred to Mary as Coredemptrix on at least six occasions. These clearly were not an exercise of his most solemn Magisterium, but pertain rather to what *LG* 25 refers to as the "ordinary" papal Magisterium. They are indications that this classical theological term, which indicates that Mary's role in the work of redemption is always secondary and subordinate to that of Christ and dependent on him, but at the same time altogether unique, remains a legitimate term. Hence it is astonishing that an anonymous article published in *L'Osservatore Romano* of June 4, 1997, during the pope's absence from Rome could label these references as "marginal and devoid of doctrinal weight."

As a committed disciple of St. Louis Marie de Montfort during his entire adult life, it is not surprising that Marian consecration/entrustment was a special feature of John Paul II's long pontificate. He placed himself, the entire Church and the world into the hands and heart of the Virgin Mary on hundreds of occasions, great and small. His homily at Fátima on May 13, 1982, presents an extraordinarily synthetic catechesis on the Hearts of Jesus and Mary, Mary's spiritual maternity, and the meaning of consecration, reaching its culmination in these words:

> Consecrating the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary means drawing near, through the Mother's intercession, to the very Fountain of life that sprang from Golgotha. This Fountain pours forth unceasingly redemption and grace. In it reparation is made continually for the sins of the world. It is a ceaseless source of new life and holiness.... It means consecrating this world to the pierced heart of the Savior, bringing it back to the very source of its redemption.

Taking his lead from *LG* 66 and 67, John Paul II was conscious of the importance of the figure of Mary in the ecumenical dialogue. He stressed her significance as our "common Mother" particularly in his encyclical *Redemptoris mater* (n. 29–34), in his Apostolic Letter *Orientale lumen* of May 2, 1995 (n. 6 and 28), and in his Marian catechesis of November 12, 1997. In his Encyclical Letter *Ut unum sint* of May 25, 1995, he specifically identified five "areas in need of fuller study before a true consensus of faith can be achieved" (79), the fifth being "the Virgin Mary, as Mother of God and Icon of the Church, the spiritual Mother who intercedes for Christ's disciples and for all humanity" (12). In that same encyclical he insisted that "all forms of reductionism or facile 'agreement' must be absolutely avoided" (36).

With his Apostolic Letter *Rosarium virginis mariæ* of October 16, 2002, John Paul II launched a Year of the Rosary from October 2002 to October 7, 2003, yet another effort on his part to promote Marian devotion. The most novel aspect of the Apostolic Letter was his proposal of the luminous mysteries (n. 21) that come chronologically between the joyful and sorrowful mysteries and consist of (1) the BAPTISM of Jesus; (2) his manifestation at the Wedding at Cana; (3) his proclamation of the Kingdom and call to conversion; (4) his TRANSFIGURATION; and (5) his institution of the EUCHARIST. The entire document is a profound "exhortation to contemplate the face of Christ in union with, and at the school of, his Most Holy Mother" (n. *UUS*, 3).

No pope had ever commented with more frequency or more depth on the text of John 19:25–29 than John Paul II. He found in it the basis of Marian devotion, Mary's spiritual maternity, her own *kenosis* or emptying herself, and her collaboration in the work of redemption and consecration/entrustment. These are rarely simply repetitions of earlier statements, but almost always indicate new and deepening insights. Perhaps the crowning of these occurred in his last Encyclical Letter *Ecclesia de eucharistia* of April 17, 2003, in 57 of which he wrote:

> "Do this in remembrance of me" (Lk. 22:19). In the "memorial" of Calvary all that Christ accomplished by his passion and his death is present. Consequently *all that Christ did with regard to his Mother* for our sake is also present. To her he gave the beloved disciple and, in him, each of us: "Behold, your Son!" To each of us he also says: "Behold your mother!" (cf. Jn. 19: 26–27). Experiencing the memorial of Christ's death in the Eucharist also means continually receiving this gift. It means accepting—like John—the one who is given to us anew as our Mother. It also means taking on a commitment to be conformed to Christ, putting ourselves at the school of his Mother and allowing her to accompany us. Mary is present, with the Church and as the Mother of the

> Church, at each of our celebrations of the Eucharist.

Benedict XVI (2005–). Although the Marian output of BENEDICT XVI will probably never equal that of the twenty-seven-year pontificate of John Paul II, there are clear indications that he continues to follow his predecessor in his own unique style and mode of presentation. He concluded his first Encyclical Letter, *Deus caritas est*, of December 25, 2005, in this way:

> The lives of the saints are not limited to their earthly biographies but also include their being and working in God after death. In the saints one thing becomes clear: those who draw near to God do not withdraw from men, but rather become truly close to them. In no one do we see this more clearly than in Mary. The words addressed by the crucified Lord to his disciple—to John and through him to all disciples of Jesus: "Behold, your mother!" (Jn. 19:27)—are fulfilled anew in every generation. Mary has truly become the Mother of all believers. Men and women of every time and place have recourse to her motherly kindness and her virginal purity and grace, in all their needs and aspirations, their joys and sorrows, their moments of loneliness and their common endeavors. They constantly experience the gift of her goodness and the unfailing love which she pours out from the depths of her heart....At the same time, the devotion of the faithful shows an infallible intuition of how such love is possible: it becomes so as a result of the most intimate union with God, through which the soul is totally pervaded by him—a condition which enables those who have drunk from the fountain of God's love to become in their turn a fountain from which "flow rivers of living water." (Jn. 7:38) (*Deus caritas est*, 42)

He then continued with a prayer entrusting the Church to Mary, saying "You abandoned yourself completely to God's call and thus became a wellspring of the goodness which flows forth from him." This text is not only a testimony to the doctrine of Mary's spiritual maternity, but also to her mediation of graces.

He would present this latter doctrine in even more strong language in his homily on May 11, 2007, at Campo de Marte, São Paulo, for the canonization of Frei Antônio de Sant'Ana GALVÃO:

> Mary, Mother of God and our Mother, stands particularly close to us at this moment. Frei Galvão prophetically affirmed the truth of the *Immaculate Conception*. She, the *Tota Pulchra*, the Virgin Most Pure, who conceived in her womb the Redeemer of mankind and was preserved from all stain of original sin, wishes to be the definitive seal of our encounter with God our Savior. There is no fruit of grace in the history of salvation that does not have as its necessary instrument the mediation of Our Lady.... This is the invitation that I address to all of you today, from the first to the last, in this Eucharist without frontiers. God said: "*Be holy, as I am holy*" (Lev 11:44). Let us give thanks to God the Father, to God the Son, to God the Holy Spirit from whom, through the intercession of the Virgin Mary, we receive all the blessings of heaven. (*Insegnamenti di Benedetto XVI*, III/1 [2007]: 820–821)

Benedict also continued to emphasize the precedence of the Marian over the Petrine profile of the Church, particularly on March 25, 2006, in his homily at the Mass for the conferral of rings on the new cardinals. On that occasion, he said:

> This providential circumstance helps us to consider today's event, which emphasizes the Petrine principle of the Church, in the light of the other principle, the *Marian* one, which is even more fundamental. The importance of the Marian principle in the Church was particularly highlighted, after the Council, by my beloved Predecessor Pope John Paul II in harmony with his motto *Totus tuus*....The icon of the Annunciation, more than any other, helps us to see clearly how everything in the Church goes back to that mystery of Mary's acceptance of the divine Word, by which, through the action of the Holy Spirit, the Covenant between God and humanity was perfectly sealed. Everything in the Church, every institution and ministry, including that of Peter and his Successors, is "included" under the Virgin's mantle, within the grace-filled horizon of her "yes" to God's will. (*Insegnamenti di Benedetto XVI* II/1 [2006]: 360)

He concluded his Encyclical Letter *Spe salvi* of November 30, 2007, with a discreet reference to Mary's mediation and intercession in n. 49:

> Life is like a voyage on the sea of history, often dark and stormy, a voyage in which we watch for the stars that indicate the route.... Certainly, Jesus Christ is the true light, the sun that has risen above all the shadows of history. But to reach him we also need lights close by—people

> who shine with his light and so guide us along our way. Who more than Mary could be a star of hope for us? With her "yes" she opened the door of our world to God himself; she became the living Ark of the Covenant, in whom God took flesh, became one of us, and pitched his tent among us. (cf. Jn 1:14)

Perhaps more important than any explicit Marian statement on the part of Pope Benedict XVI was his very clear presentation of what he called "the hermeneutic of continuity" vis-à-vis "the hermenuetic of rupture" in terms of interpreting the documents of the Catholic tradition and those of the Second Vatican Council in his memorable discourse to the Roman Curia on December 22, 2005.

All three of these postconciliar Popes have had the grace to clarify the eighth chapter of *Lumen gentium*, Second Vatican Council's major treatment of the Mother of God in the Mystery of Christ and the Church. They have continued to present the Marian doctrine of the council in a way that situates it in a larger context that at once appreciates its newness while relating it to the Church's millennial tradition. Their Magisterium has supplemented the conciliar teaching on many important points and taken its interpretation out of the hands of the minimalists. It now remains to be made known among scholars, priests, and the Church at large, of which Mary remains Mother and exemplar.

SEE ALSO Acta Apostolicae Sedis; Catechism of the Catholic Church; Curia, Roman; Deus Caritas Est; Dives in Misericordia; Ecumenical Dialogues; Grignion de Montfort, Louis Marie, St.; Kenosis; Mary, Blessed Virgin, II (In Theology); Mary, Blessed Virgin, Articles on; Mary, Blessed Virgin, Devotion to; Mary, Blessed Virgin, I (in the Bible); Masses, Votive; Mother of God; Mulieris Dignitatem; Orientale Lumen; Redemption (Theology of); Redemptor Hominis; Redemptoris Mater; Sacrifice of the Cross; Salvifici Doloris; Teaching Authority of the Church (Magisterium); Tradition (in Theology); Ut Unum Sint; Vatican Council II.

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MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, QUEENSHIP OF

From the early Church Fathers to modern ecclesial teaching, the Church's tradition and magisterial pronouncements bear strong witness to Mary's role as queen, sharing preeminently in her Son's reign in the Kingdom of God. As VATICAN COUNCIL II taught, Mary "was taken up into heavenly glory, and exalted by the Lord as Queen over all things, so that she might become more fully conformed to her Son, the Lord of lords and conqueror of sin and death" (*Lumen gentium* 1964, sec. 59).

Biblical Support for the Queenship Doctrine. The doctrine of Mary's queenship also has strong biblical support, as seen in the Old Testament role of the queen mother. In several ancient Near Eastern kingdoms the mother of the ruling monarch reigned as queen, influencing political, military, and cultic affairs in the kingdom. In the Davidic kingdom in particular, the king's mother was given the title Gebirah, "Great Lady."

In almost every instance in which a new monarch in Judah is introduced in 1 and 2 Kings, the king's mother is also mentioned, but not the wife. The king's mother is described as a member of the royal court (2 Kgs 24:12–15), who wore a crown (Jer 13:18), sat on a throne (1 Kgs 2:19; see also Jer 13:18), and participated in her son's rule over the kingdom (Jer 13:18, 20). The queen mother also served as a counselor to the king (Prov 31) and as an advocate for the people, bringing their petitions before her royal son (1 Kgs 2:17, 20).

The importance of the queen mother perhaps can best be seen by contrasting Bathsheba's role when she was the wife of King DAVID with her treatment when her son SOLOMON became king. As David's wife, she enters the royal chamber, bows before her husband, pays him homage, and leaves, saying "May David live forever!" (1 Kgs 1:16, 31). However, after David dies and her son Solomon takes the throne, she is suddenly treated like a queen: King Solomon bows before *her* and brings a throne out for her to be placed at his right hand, the position of authority and honor. In this scene, Bathsheba announces that she is bearing a petition from someone in the kingdom, and Solomon responds, "Make your request my mother, for I will not refuse you" (1 Kgs 2:20).

With this background in mind, it is not surprising that the New Testament portrays the mother of Jesus in ways that recall the queen mother of the Davidic kingdom. At the ANNUNCIATION, Mary is told that her Son will be the long-awaited Davidic MESSIAH—the one who would fulfill the promises made to David (Lk 1:32–33; 2 Sam 7:9–16). Mary, thus, is being given the vocation to be the mother of the king, which is why some have seen the queen mother tradition in the background of this scene. Similarly, Elizabeth's addressing Mary as "the mother of my Lord" at the Visitation (Lk 1:43) points to her queenship. Since "my Lord" is typically used as a royal title (see 2 Sam 24:21), Elizabeth's words highlight Jesus' status as the king. Yet, by her calling Mary "mother of my Lord," these words also point to Mary's own role as the mother of the king—a role that, in light of the Old Testament background, recalls the queen mother of the Davidic kingdom.

The woman of Revelation 12 also can be seen in this light. While commentators often interpret the woman as a symbol for ISRAEL or the Church, the woman figure also has traditionally been seen as having Marian significance, which is quite fitting, since Revelation 12 portrays the woman as the mother of the messiah. She gives birth to a son who is attacked by the DEVIL, taken up to heaven, seated on a throne, and destined to "rule all nations with a rod of iron"—an allusion to the messianic Psalm 2 (Rv 12:5–6). Depicted as the mother of the messiah, the woman certainly could be viewed as Mary.

As such, since the woman appears with her kingly son and wears a crown of twelve stars, she is clearly meant to be seen as a queenly figure. Like the queen mothers of old, she wears a crown, symbolizing her reign in the Church. She is clothed with the sun, radiating God's glory, and even the moon under her feet points to her royal authority, since "under the feet" imagery symbolizes royal power and the defeat of one's enemies (e.g., Ps 8:6; 110:1).

The Patristic Period and Beyond. The earliest Church Fathers expressed belief in Mary's royal office in two ways. JEROME and Peter CHRYSOLOGUS, for example, saw royal meaning in Mary's name, which was translated *domina* in Latin, meaning lady or sovereign. Others, such as CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, AMBROSE, and AUGUSTINE, as well as Jerome, focused on Mary being called "mother of my Lord," which led to deeper reflection on Mary's association with Christ's kingship. Origen was one of the first to do this, viewing Elizabeth's greeting Mary with the words "mother of my Lord" as honoring her with royal dignity. This approach paved the way for later Church Fathers to refer explicitly to Mary as queen. Chrysippus of Jerusalem, for example, made this move, referring to Mary as the *mother of the king*, who herself will be changed into a heavenly *queen*.

Writers in the medieval period went on to consider the foundations for Mary's queenship, focusing on her divine maternity and her unique cooperation in her Son's salvific work. The function and extent of her queenship also were elaborated upon. Mary's royal office was seen as one in which she ruled over heaven and earth, guiding and protecting souls through the power of her INTERCESSION. Liturgical practices also eventually expressed belief in Mary's queenship. The BYZANTINE LITURGY, for example, often referred to Mary as "queen," and the West honored Mary as queen in popular devotions such as the ROSARY and the LITANY of Our Lady and in hymns used in the LITURGY, such as the"Salve Regina," "Ave Regina Caelorum," and "Regina Caeli."

Magisterial Teaching. The Church's magisterium has often referred to Mary as a queenly figure. As early as the Third Council of Constantinople (680–681), Mary was called *despoina* (meaning lady), which was a queenly title. The most extensive magisterial teaching on Mary's queenship was Pope PIUS XII's 1954 ENCYCLICAL *Ad caeli reginam* (On Proclaiming the Queenship of Mary), which reaffirmed the traditional belief in Mary's queenship and instituted a liturgical feast to celebrate this Marian truth. Following the medieval tradition, the encyclical sees the theological basis for Mary's queenship in her being the mother of God and in her cooperation with her Son's salvific work. Pius XII also explains Mary's

royal authority in the context of her powerful role as intercessor—a point that fits well with the advocacy role of the queen mother in Scripture:

> With a heart that is truly a mother's does she approach the problem of our salvation, and is solicitous for the whole human race; made Queen of heaven and earth by the Lord, exalted above all choirs of angels and saints, and standing at the right hand of her only Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, she intercedes powerfully for us with a mother's prayers, obtains what she seeks, and cannot be refused. (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 46 [1954], 636–637)

The most noteworthy development in the Church's postconciliar teachings on Mary's queenship is found in Pope JOHN PAUL II's encyclical *Redemptoris mater* (On the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Life of the Pilgrim Church, 1987). John Paul II reaffirmed previous teaching, but introduced a new emphasis that considers Mary's royal office in the context of her humble service in the kingdom. Just as Jesus humbly served to the point of death and was raised and brought into heavenly glory as Lord over all (see Phil 2:8–9), so does Mary have "a share in this Kingdom of her Son" through her humble Christlike service (sec. 41). The pope notes how all true disciples of Christ are called to reign with Jesus through such service: "to serve is to reign." Mary does this in an exemplary way. John Paul II taught that Mary lived out her title as "the handmaid of the Lord" throughout her life and that she was the first disciple who served Christ in others and led them to him (sec. 41). The pope went on to explain that Mary's royal service continues even in heaven: "assumed into heaven, she does not cease her saving service, which expresses her maternal mediation 'until the eternal fulfillment of all the elect'" (sec. 41).

These insights underscore the Christological basis of Mary's queenship. Mary's royal office is rooted in Christ's. As John Paul II explained, Jesus' own royal exaltation flows from his humble self-abasement, becoming a slave, being obedient unto death, death on a cross (Phil 2:5–11). This is significant because the New Testament presents Mary as a model disciple whose life reflects this abasement-exaltation pattern. She is the first to hear God's word and obediently accept it (Lk 1:38, 45; 11:27–28), and she perseveres in faithfulness throughout her life (Acts 1:14), even in the face of suffering (Lk 2:34–5; Jn 19:25–27). Most of all, Mary is specifically described as being a lowly servant of the Lord whom God has exalted (Lk 1:45–55). Since Mary thus reflects Christ's royal pattern of service, it is fitting that the Church honors her as having a unique participation in Christ's reign.

John Paul II's teachings also shed light on the ecclesial dimension of Mary's queenship. Jesus promised that all his faithful disciples would reign with him (Mt 19:28–30; Rv 3:20–21; Lk. 22:28–30; 2 Tim 2:11–12). As the first and model disciple of Jesus, it is fitting that she would participate in the reign promised to all of Christ's faithful followers. In this light, Mary's exalted position in heaven should not be seen as something far removed from the daily Christian life. Rather, Mary's queenship inspires Christians to imitate her humble service as a disciple of Christ, so that they might reign in the same kingdom that she perfectly possesses.

SEE ALSO MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO.

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MARY (AND ECUMENICAL DIALOGUE)

The ecumenical dimension of Marian doctrine was addressed at Vatican II in *Lumen gentium*, no. 67, which urged Catholics to "assiduously keep away from whatever, either by word or deed, could lead separated

brethren or any other into error regarding the true doctrine of the Church." This was not a call to diminish the importance of Catholic teaching regarding Mary. Rather, it was an exhortation for Catholics to present Marian doctrines and devotions to other Christians in an accurate but ecumenically sensitive manner. Vatican II also expressed "great joy and comfort" in knowing that "even among the separated brethren there are some who give due honor to the Mother of our Lord and Savior, especially among the Orientals, who with devout mind and fervent impulse give honor to the Mother of God, ever virgin" (*Lumen gentium*, no. 69). In a similar manner, in its decree on ecumenism, *Unitatis redintegratio*, the Council praised the separated Eastern Christians who "pay high tribute, in beautiful hymns of praise, to Mary, ever Virgin, whom the ecumenical Synod of Ephesus solemnly proclaimed to be the holy Mother of God in order that Christ might be truly and properly honored as Son of God and Son of Man according to the scriptures" (no. 15).

Vatican II recognized the need for Mary's heavenly INTERCESSION in the cause of ecumenism. Thus, all the faithful were urged to pour forth "urgent supplications" to the "Mother of God and the human race" so that she, "who aided the beginnings of the Church by her prayers, may now, exalted as she is above all the angels and saints, intercede before her Son in the fellowship of all the saints, until all families of people, whether they are honored with the title of Christian or whether they still do not know the Savior, may be happily gathered in peace and harmony into one people of God, for the glory of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity" (*Lumen gentium*, no. 69).

Postconciliar Statements. After Vatican II, the ecumenical aspects of Marian doctrine are addressed in a number of documents. In 1970, the Secretariat for the Promotion of Unity of the Unity of Christians, in its *Reflections and Suggestions Concerning Ecumenical Dialogue*, points out how the Marian dogmas should be understood and presented in connection with other revealed dogmas. Thus, for example, the IMMACULATE CONCEPTION should not be isolated from what the Council of EPHESUS (431) teaches about Mary as the Mother of God or the dogma of grace and its foundation in the redemptive incarnation of the Word (no. 4b). Pope PAUL VI, in his 1974 Apostolic Exhortation, *Marialis cultus*, notes how "devotion to the Mother of the Lord is in accord with the deep desires and aims of the ecumenical movement" because of Mary's own concern for Christian unity (no. 32). In this regard, he cites Pope LEO XIII, who in his 1895 encyclical, *Adiuctricem populi*, states that the cause of Christian unity "properly belongs to the role of Mary's spiritual motherhood" because, as a mother, she yearns for those who belong to Christ to be "in one faith and one love" (*Marialis cultus*, no. 33; *Adiuctricem populi*, no. 27).

Pope JOHN PAUL II, in his 1987 encyclical, *Redemptoris mater*, also highlights Mary's role in ecumenism, and he sees it as a "hopeful sign" that the separated "Churches and ecclesial communities are finding agreement with the Catholic Church on fundamental points of Christian belief, including matters relating to the Virgin Mary" (no. 30). In this regard, he notes especially "how the Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church, and the ancient Churches of the East feel united by love and praise of the *Theotókos*" (no. 31). He likewise points to the great honor given to Mary in the Byzantine liturgy (no. 32) and in the iconography of the East (no. 33).

In 1988, a year after *Redemptoris mater*, the Congregation for Catholic Education issued a letter on "The Virgin Mary in Intellectual and Spiritual Formation." This letter also underscores the importance of MARIOLOGY in the field of ecumenism, and it mentions how, in his December 7, 1987, homily given at St. Mary Major in Rome, Patriarch Dimitrios I of Constantinople observed that "the subject of Mariology should occupy a central position in the theological dialogue between our Churches ... for the full establishment of our ecclesial communion" (no. 14). The Congregation's letter also points out how dialogue with "the Reformation Churches ... has brought an end to the centuries-old mistrust" and led, in some cases, to a better appreciation of the person of Mary in ecclesial life (no. 14).

In his 1995 encyclical on ecumenism, *Ut unum sint*, John Paul II notes "five areas in need of fuller study before a true consensus of faith can be achieved" with separated Christians (no. 79). Among these five areas is the study of "the Virgin Mary, as Mother of God and Icon of the Church, the spiritual Mother who intercedes for Christ's disciples and for all humanity" (*Ut unum sint*, no. 79).

Dialogue with the Assyrian Church of the East. As already noted, the separated Eastern Churches join with the Catholic Church in giving high praise and devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Traditionally, all of the Eastern Churches recognize Mary as the ever-virgin Mother of God or *Theotókos* (the birth-giver of God). The one exception was the ASSYRIAN CHURCH OF THE EAST, which had historically been referred to as "Nestorian" for its rejection of the teaching of the Council of Ephesus on Mary as *Theotókos* (preferring instead to speak of Mary as only *Christotókos* or "Mother of Christ"). In point of fact, however, the Assyrian Church of the East had actually distanced itself from the Nestorian doctrine, which separated the person of the Word of God from the person of Jesus, the Messiah, born of the Virgin Mary. In 1994 Pope John Paul II and Mar

Dinkha IV, the Patriarch of the Assyrian Church of the East, signed a "Common Christological Agreement," acknowledging that the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church of the East share the same faith "that the humanity to which the Blessed Virgin Mary gave birth was that of the Son of God himself," which is why the Assyrian Church prays to the Virgin Mary as "the Mother of Christ our God and Savior." Thus, both the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church of the East "recognize the legitimacy and the rightness" of "Mother of Christ" and "Mother of God" as expressions "of the same faith," and "both respect the preference of each Church in her liturgical life and piety" (Dupuis 1996, no. 638, p. 254).

Dialogue with the Eastern Orthodox. The mainline Eastern Orthodox Churches accept the first seven ecumenical councils from Nicea I (325) through Nicea II (787) as binding doctrinally. Thus, they affirm Mary as the *Theotókos* as taught by Ephesus in 431, and they acknowledged Mary as "ever virgin" (*Aeiparthenos*), a title given to her at CONSTANTINOPLE II in 553 (cf. Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 437) and in the Byzantine liturgy. They also affirm the importance of icons of "our unblemished Lady, the holy Mother of God" as supported by Nicea II (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 600). They likewise recognize Mary as all-holy (*Panaghia*), and they ask for her intercession in prayer. Liturgically, the Orthodox also celebrate Mary's "Dormition" or "Falling Asleep," which is equivalent to the Catholic feast of her Assumption (Ware 1993, p. 260).

The Immaculate Conception is the one Catholic Marian dogma that the Orthodox, for the most part, reject. Either they say this dogma separates Mary too much from the rest of humanity, or they fail to see how it can be reconciled with the widespread Patristic belief in Mary's death prior to her Assumption into heaven. Since death is the punishment for ORIGINAL SIN, it is difficult to understand how Mary, who is widely thought to have died, was exempt from this effect of the Fall. Some Orthodox, however, believe Mary's exemption from original sin can be sustained as a theological opinion, but not as a dogma established by papal INFALLIBILITY (which they reject). Moreover, almost all Orthodox believe that Mary was free from actual sin, even if her death prevents the affirmation of her exemption from original sin (Ware 1993, p. 259).

In recent years, some Catholics have tried to present the dogma of Mary's Immaculate Conception in terms of her "original holiness" due to the deifying grace of God. Church Fathers such as St. John of Damascus (c. 675–749) are cited as providing support for Mary's conception in her mother's womb as all-pure and free from all stain (Fastiggi 2009, p. 3). Some Orthodox have, in turn, pointed to the doctrine of *theosis* or divinization as providing a possible basis for convergence between Catholics and Orthodox on Mary's Immaculate Conception, namely, maintaining that Mary's *theosis* began at the moment of her conception (Kimball 2004, pp. 228–244). Others, however, believe different concepts of original sin are the cause for the lack of consensus between Catholics and Orthodox with respect to the Immaculate Conception (Likoudis 2004, pp. 352–368). In this regard, Catholics claim that the possible death of Mary prior to her Assumption into heaven in no way argues against the Immaculate Conception, for the latter is concerned with Mary's preservation from the *formal* aspect of original sin, namely, the deprivation of sanctifying grace or holiness and not bodily death, which is something that even Jesus, who was sinless, endured (Fastiggi 2009, p. 10).

Dialogue with the Anglicans. After King Henry VIII's break with Rome in 1534, Marian piety did not immediately go into decline in the Church of England. *The Ten Articles* of 1536 affirmed the authority of the "four Holy Councils," which included Ephesus of 431 and its doctrine of Mary as *Theotókos* or Mother of God. Until King Henry VIII's death in 1547, belief in Marian intercession remained in place. During the reign of Edward VI (1547–1553), however, Thomas CRANMER (1489–1556), the Archbishop of Canterbury, introduced Protestant attitudes toward Mary. By 1571, the *Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion* were seen as ruling out prayers to Mary because of Article XXII, which described "the invocation Saints" as "a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture" (O'Carroll 2000, p. 28). There was some revival of Marian piety during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, with the CAROLINE DIVINES and the theologians of the OXFORD MOVEMENT. In the twentieth century, some ANGLO-CATHOLICS began to revive Marian piety and encourage devotions such as the recitation of the ROSARY. In 1967 the Ecumenical Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary was formed in England, and it continues to this day.

By far the most significant breakthrough in Catholic–Anglican dialogue on Mary is the statement of the ANGLICAN/ROMAN CATHOLIC INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION (ARCIC), *Mary: Grace and Hope in Christ*, which was completed in 2004 and published in 2005. This statement builds upon prior insights and agreements of the ARCIC, and it attempts to root Marian doctrines in Scripture and the ancient common Tradition. It likewise sees the role of Mary "within the pattern of grace and hope" (nos. 52–57), and it places the papal definitions of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption within this context. Among the more significant aspects of the statement are: the common affirmation of Mary as *Theotókos*, "the mother of God

incarnate" (no. 76); the mutual acknowledgement that the Catholic doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption "can be consonant with the teaching of the Scriptures and the ancient common traditions" (no. 78); and the belief "that Mary and the saints pray for the whole Church and the practice of asking Mary and the saints to pray for us is not communion dividing" (no. 78).

Dialogue with the Protestants. The Protestants (or Christians of the ecclesial communities that emerged in the West during and after the sixteenth-century Reformation) have distanced themselves from various Catholic doctrines concerning Mary because of their insistence on what some call "the three *only's*: *sola scriptura*, *sola fides* and *solus Christus*" (Jelly 1986, p. 199). Because of "scripture alone" (*sola scriptura*), Protestants traditionally have rejected the Catholic beliefs of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption, which they claim are not supported in the Bible. The emphasis on "scripture alone" has also led many Protestants to reject Mary as "ever-virgin," even though original Protestants, including LUTHER, ZWINGLI, and CALVIN, did not believe Mary had any other children besides Jesus (cf. Thurian 1964, pp. 37–41).

The Protestant teaching of *sola fides* ("faith alone") seems to rule out the Catholic belief in Mary's free cooperation and consent with God's salvific plan as taught in *Lumen gentium*, no. 56, and elsewhere. Furthermore, the principle of *solus Christus* ("Christ alone") appears contrary to Catholic doctrines of Mary as Mediatrix and heavenly Advocate (cf. *Lumen gentium*, nos. 60–63). Thus, Protestants have traditionally rejected the invocation of Mary and the saints in prayer because this practice seems to challenge the all-sufficiency of Christ, the one Mediator (Jelly 1986, p. 200). In a similar manner, Catholic devotion to Mary and the saints strikes many Protestants as a form of IDOLATRY and a violation of the commandment to worship God alone (cf. Ex 20:3–5; Dt 20:7–9).

The original Protestants, while objecting to the intercession and mediation of Mary, still maintained some Catholic beliefs concerning the Blessed Virgin. Martin Luther (1483–1546), for example, upheld Mary as the Mother of God and ever-virgin (O'Carroll 2000, p. 227). John Calvin (1509–1564) likewise affirmed the perpetual VIRGINITY of Mary, and he recognized Mary as the Mother of God from a theological perspective. Nevertheless, he preferred to speak of Mary as "the Virgin Mary" rather than the Mother of God because the latter title "can only serve to harden the ignorant in their superstition" (O'Carroll 2000, p. 94).

In recent decades, ecumenical discussions between Catholics and Protestants about Mary have resulted in a number of important studies and publications. In 1978 there appeared *Mary in the New Testament: A Collaborative Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars*. In 1992 *The One Mediator, the Saints and Mary* was published, synthesizing the results of U.S. Lutheran-Catholic discussions about Mary from 1983 to 1990. In 1999 an ecumenical group of some forty theologians in France, known as the Groupe des Dombes, published *Marie dans le dessein de Dieu et la communion des saints*, which came out in English in 2002 as *Mary in the Plan of God and the Communion of the Saints*. In 2000 the Bilateral Working Group of the German National Bishops' Conference and the Church Leadership of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church published *Communio Sanctorum: Die Kirche als Gemeinschaft der Heiligen*, which appeared in English in 2004 as *Communio Sanctorum: The Church as the Communion of Saints*. This book tries to understand Mary within the context of the Church as the communion of saints joined to Christ.

These studies reflect a growing effort on the part of Catholics and Protestants to consider points of agreement and disagreement regarding Marian doctrines. The overall thrust has been to understand Mary in the light of biblical teachings on salvation and grace and theological doctrines on Christ and the Church. Many Protestants have clearly moved away from prior hostility toward Catholic Marian doctrines, and many are prepared to say that these teachings "do not subvert the Gospel and have symbolic force" (Wicks 2000, p. 48). Moreover, the ecumenical community of Taizé has had a very "positive influence" with respect to a Protestant openness to Mary in liturgy and theology (Wicks 2000, p. 34). Although the more prominent Catholic-Protestant dialogues have been between Catholics and Lutherans and Catholics and Reformed (i.e., Calvinist) Christians, there have also been discussions of Mary between Catholics and Methodists and Catholics and Baptists (Thompson 2004, pp. 254–255). In all of these dialogues, Catholics have found the teachings of *Lumen gentium*, nos. 52–69, and Paul VI's *Marialis cultus* to be invaluable resources for ecumenical discussions concerning the Blessed Virgin Mary.

SEE ALSO ASSUMPTION OF MARY; DORMITION OF THE VIRGIN; ECUMENICAL DIALOGUES; HENRY VIII, KING OF ENGLAND; ICONOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, ICONOGRAPHY OF; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, (IN THEOLOGY); NESTORIANISM; ORTHODOX AND ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; REDEMPTORIS MATER; THEOTOKOS; UT UNUM SINT; UT UNUM SINT: JOHN PAUL II'S ECUMENICAL COMMITMENT; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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MARY MAGDALENE OF THE INCARNATION, BL.

Baptized Caterina Sordini, also known as Mother Mary Magdalene; foundress of the Perpetual Adorers of the Blessed Sacrament; b. April 16, 1770, Grosseto, Italy; d. April 29, 1824, Rome; beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI on May 3, 2008.

Contemplating an arranged marriage at the age of seventeen, Caterina, the child of devout Catholic parents, was confronted by the reflection of Christ in her mirror. The image simply asked, "Do you want to leave me for another?" Shortly thereafter, in February 1788, she visited the Franciscan Tertiary Monastery in

Ischia di Castro, and she made the decision to enter the order. Caterina took her vows six months later, becoming Sr. Mary Magdalene of the INCARNATION. In 1789 she received a vision of Jesus seated on a throne in the Blessed Sacrament surrounded by adoring virgins. During this state of ECSTASY, she heard Christ say, "I have chosen you to establish the work of perpetual adorers who, day and night, will offer me their humble adoration." In response, Sr. Mary Magdalene founded the Perpetual Adorers of the Blessed Sacrament, an enclosed, contemplative order dedicated to the prayerful adoration of Christ within the Eucharist. She was elected abbess on April 20, 1802.

Under Mother Mary Magdalene, the abbey experienced extraordinary blessings and growth. In May 1807 she and a small contingent of sisters traveled to Rome with a draft of the new congregation's rules. By July the convent of Sts. Joachim and Anne was established. During the Napoleonic Wars the order was suppressed, the convent appropriated, and Mother Mary Magdalene banished to Tuscany, where she reestablished the order.

After the wars, in March 1814, the order relocated to Sant'Anna al Quirinale in Rome. Pope PIUS VII approved the order's institutes, "dedicated to perpetual, solemn, [and] public exposition of the Most Blessed Sacrament," on February 13, 1818.

Mother Mary Magdalene died and was buried at the convent in 1824. In 1939, when the order of Perpetual Adorers moved to a different location in Rome, the Church of Santa Maria Maddalena, her remains were relocated to the new site. In 2007 Benedict XVI confirmed a miracle attributed to her INTERCESSION. At her BEATIFICATION Cardinal Martins said, "Just as Jesus stays in the sacrament after the [Eucharistic] celebration too, it is necessary for us to stay with him, [in an] adoration that is prolonged through time.... [T]he testimony of the new blessed is an impulse to never lose the conviction about the fundamental and irreplaceable importance of prayer, and above all, the recognition of the Eucharist in its role as source and summit of our faith lives."

Feast: April 29.

SEE ALSO CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE; EUCHARISTIC DEVOTION.

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MASTENA, MARIA PIA, BL.

Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Face; b. December 7, 1881, in the town of Bovolone, Verona Province, Italy; d. June 28, 1951, in Rome; beatified November 13, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Maria Pia Mastena was born to a Christian family and embraced religious life at a young age. On the occasion of her FIRST COMMUNION on March 19, 1891, she made a private vow of CHASTITY. She was active in her family's parish as a CATECHIST. Early on, she showed devotion to the Eucharist and to the Holy Face, and at age fourteen, she requested to enter religious life.

Mastena was not accepted until 1901, when she entered the Institute of the SISTERS OF MERCY at Verona as a postulant. On September 29, 1902, she was vested with the religious habit. A few months later, on April 11, 1903, she made "a private vow to be a victim soul." Then on October 24, 1904, she professed vows of religious life and received the name Sister Passitea Maria of the Child Jesus.

This phase of Mastena's life was characterized by a spiritual intensity, which led her later in life to take a vow to seek perfection in all things. She became a dedicated teacher in the Veneto region, serving for more than nineteen years in Miane. There, she showed great concern for the spiritual well-being and religious education of students of all abilities.

In April 1927, with the approval of her superiors and the HOLY SEE, Mastena entered the Cistercian monastery of Veglie with the aim of pursuing the CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE. But before year's end, encouraged by the bishop of Vittorio Veneto, she returned instead to teaching and began to work toward founding a new religious institute, the Sisters of the Holy Face. The institute was canonically recognized on December 8, 1936, and was recognized as a Congregation of Pontifical Right on December 10, 1947.

Mastena died on June 28, 1951, and was laid to rest in the town of San Fior, Italy. In his address to pilgrims in Rome on the day of her BEATIFICATION in 2005, Pope Benedict XVI said of Mastena, "Won over by the Face of Christ, she assumed the Son of God's sentiments of sweet concern for humanity disfigured by sin, put into practice his acts of compassion and subsequently planned an Institute whose aim was to

'propagate, repair and restore Jesus' gentle image in souls.'"

Feast: June 28.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MATTIAS, MARIA DE, ST.

Foundress of the Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood; b. February 4, 1805, Vallecorsa (Frosinone), Italy; d. August 20, 1866, Rome; beatified by Pius XII, October 1, 1950; canonized by Pope John Paul II, May 18, 2003.

Maria's parents, Giovanni and Ottavia (de Angelis) de Mattias, were poor but afforded her a good education. During a mission in Vallecorsa preached by St. Gaspare del BUFALO (1822), she was inspired to dedicate her life to prayer and good works. Under the guidance of Giovanni MERLINI, her spiritual director, Mattias organized a group of religious women with special devotion to the PRECIOUS BLOOD dedicated to the education of youth. The congregation originated when Mattias opened a school at Acuto on the invitation of the bishop of Anagni (March 4, 1834). Despite habitual poor health and misunderstanding within the community concerning her intentions, Mattias established sixty-three houses. In part this success was due to the generosity of a Russian widow, Princess Zena Wolkonska.

Mattias was beatified on October 1, 1950, and canonized nearly fifty-three years later by Pope JOHN PAUL II on May 18, 2003. In his homily the pope referred to St. Mattias as a woman whose "love for Jesus crucified was expressed in her passion for souls and in humble devotion to her brothers and sisters."

In addition to the two official miracles credited to St. Mattias toward her beatification in 1950, a third miracle, which cleared the path for her canonization, was officially recognized by the VATICAN. The miracle involved the intercession of St. Mattias in healing a sick boy born in Croatia, who was the great nephew of Sister Nikolina Zorica, a member of the SISTERS ADORERS OF THE PRECIOUS BLOOD founded by St. Mattias. The boy had contracted what medical experts labeled *subacute encephalitis*. After his family offered repeated prayers to the then Blessed Mattias, the boy underwent a recovery inexplicable by modern science. The miracle was officially recognized in the months leading up to St. Mattias's canonization.

Today St. Mattias continues to be sought after in prayers of intercession. Her legacy reverberates through the influence of her life and the sisters of her order who continue her work.

Feast: February 4.

SEE ALSO PRECIOUS BLOOD SISTERS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MAZZINI, GIUSEPPE

Revolutionary Italian thinker and politician, founding member of the Triumvirate of the Roman Republic; b. June 22, 1805, Genoa, Italy; d. March 10, 1872, Pisa, Italy.

Mazzini owes his status as a leading figure in the movement for Italian national unity to tenacity of purpose and inspirational power. Born in Genoa, the only male offspring to a family of the upper middle class (his father was a successful physician and university professor), he was deeply influenced by the religious convictions of his mother, a well-educated woman of strong ideas and deep religious convictions that tended toward JANSENISM. The son displayed similarly strong character and resourcefulness. With limited resources, he influenced minds and the course of political events by effective use of the printed word, a network of personal contacts, and resilience in the face of repeated setbacks. His efforts were to promote Italian political unification, republicanism, and democracy, which he saw as inseparable aspects of the same movement.

A key component of his vision was the historical role that he assigned to ROME, destined as he saw it to become the capital of an Italian Republic brought about by popular revolution. Just as the Rome of the Caesars had spread the rule of law in the ancient world, and the Rome of the popes had spread the message of Christianity in medieval times, the Rome of the people, as capital of the Italian nation, would set the example of popular democratic government. For that vision to become reality, Italy would have to be unified as a republic, and MONARCHY would have to be abolished, in all its forms, including the papal monarchy. Mazzini was thus set on a collision course with the most common form of government in his time, and most of all with the government of the Papal State, which was in possession of Rome and stood in the way of Italian unification.

The fundamental principles of Mazzini's creed were in place early on. As a radical student leader at the University of Genoa, from which he graduated in 1827 with a law degree, he attracted attention with his qualities of leadership, resolve, and readiness to act. The law was not to be his career. He was drawn instead to literature, literary criticism, and journalism. Shortly after his graduation, he joined the secret society of the CARBONARI, from which he distanced himself as he became disillusioned by its empty rituals, infighting, and what he saw as political timidity and reluctance to act. He left the Kingdom of Sardinia for France in 1831 to avoid confinement for his involvement with the Carbonari. In July 1831 he founded Young Italy in Marseilles. Young Italy's conspiracies were notable failures, but in the course of the next three years it set a new tone in the politics of protest by openly proclaiming its goals and appealing to young people. It spawned a number of similar "Young" societies. Young Europe, founded in Bern in April 1834, called for the unity of European revolutionary movements against the conservative order and for international cooperation after the success of popular revolution.

Mazzini's ideology is rightly called a creed because it relied heavily on the motivating power of faith. Members of Young Italy were called "apostles," and they pledged selfless devotion to the cause. They were expected to behave in an exemplary manner, to resist worldly temptations, to seek converts, and to be prepared to suffer martyrdom if necessary. The use of violence was justified wherever governments denied basic civil liberties, and it was to be directed against tyrants and traitors of the cause. Mazzini's reliance on faith as a political motivator was not an endorsement of any specific religion or theology. He admired Christ as a moral teacher, but rejected the notion of his divinity. He admired the universal spirit of Catholicism, but rejected its clericalism and authoritarian premises. As regards Protestantism, he admired the call to individual CONSCIENCE and responsibility, but deplored its centrifugal tendencies and factionalism. He was interested in the Muslim faith and oriental religions, but never wrote the comprehensive study of religion that might have allowed him to define his religious views in relation to other creeds.

He lived the life of a political exile. Expelled from Italy in 1831, from France in 1833, and from Switzerland in 1837, he spent most of the rest of his life in London, where he soon stood out among thousands of other political exiles from various parts of Europe. His admirers and followers came from the ranks of the radical movement, the working and middle classes, and from Protestant evangelicals and dissenters. Religious minori-

ties, including UNITARIANS, Methodists, Quakers, and Jews, were particularly attracted to him; women responded to his call for equal rights. In the United States, the Young America movement of the 1850s was inspired by his ideas, as were abolitionists, religious reformers, diplomats, and naval officers interested in promoting the cause of republicanism abroad. Mazzini also spoke out against socialists, whom he accused of promoting divisions in the social body by appealing solely to class interests and ignoring spiritual values, thereby undermining the unity of movements of national liberation.

The revolutions of 1848 brought to Mazzini his greatest moments of triumph. He returned to Italy that year, hoping to steer the revolutions already underway toward the goals of national unity and republican government. Welcomed initially with enthusiasm, he ran into opposition in Milan and FLORENCE, partly from republicans who objected to his political tactics. The situation was different in Rome, where his followers proclaimed the Roman Republic in February 1849, after Pope PIUS IX had left the city in the hands of insurgents. For the next five months Mazzini held center stage in Rome as a representative of the people and Triumvir of the Republic. The most pressing issue was the defense of the city against French, Austrian, Neapolitan, and Spanish forces sent to restore papal power. But the republican government also enacted reforms such as adopting universal suffrage, protecting and promoting civil liberties, and providing work for the unemployed. The Roman Republic was also notable for the introduction of public rituals, ceremonies, and festivals designed to cement the unity of people and government. Its enemies accused it of acts of violence against the clergy and of plundering the riches of the Church. It fell in July 1849, after putting up a valiant resistance that gave the RISORGIMENTO a long list of heroes and martyrs.

SEE ALSO CHURCH AND STATE; EVANGELICALISM; GARIBALDI, GIUSEPPE; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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MCMANUS, FREDERICK R.

Priest, canon lawyer, liturgist, and university professor; b. Lynn, Massachusetts, February 8, 1923; d. Boston, Massachusetts, November 27, 2005.

After graduating from Boston College High School, Frederick McManus studied at Holy Cross College in Worcester, Massachusetts, from 1940 to 1942. He later attended St. John's Seminary in Brighton, Massachusetts, where he received a B.A. in 1947. He was ordained into the priesthood in May 1947, after which he performed some parish service and ministry within the archdiocesan tribunal. He then went on to study canon law at the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, receiving his doctorate in 1954. His dissertation, titled *The Congregation of Sacred Rites*, examined the preconciliar VATICAN office that monitored the celebration of the sacred LITURGY throughout the Church. This noteworthy work reflected the abiding liturgical interests and expertise that characterized his academic and professional life.

After teaching at St. John's Seminary in Boston, McManus joined the faculty of the Catholic University School of Canon Law in 1958, and he was promoted to the rank of ordinary professor in 1964. He functioned as dean of the School of Canon Law from 1967 to 1973, as vice provost and dean of graduate studies from 1974 to 1983, and as academic vice president from 1983 to 1985. He retired from his tenured position in September 1993 but continued to teach until 1997, when he was named a professor emeritus.

Monsignor McManus was known for his broad canonical knowledge, and he was an esteemed liturgist. In the 1950s and 1960s he was a significant figure in the LITURGICAL CONFERENCE, which fostered liturgical renewal in the United States, and he served as the conference's president from 1959 to 1962 and from 1964 to 1965. Immediately before VATICAN COUNCIL II, he was a consultor to the Pontifical Preparatory Commission on the Liturgy from 1960 to 1962. Subsequently, he was a peritus, or expert, at all four conciliar sessions (1962–1965), and he was especially involved in the drafting of the *Sacrosanctum concilium* (Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy). From 1964 to 1970, he functioned as an active consultor to the *Consilium* for the implementation of the aforementioned constitution. For ten years after Vatican II, he directed the Secretariat of the Com-

mittee on the Liturgy of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

McManus's liturgical expertise, however, was hardly limited to the United States. He was one of the original founders of the INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON ENGLISH IN THE LITURGY, and he helped to draft its statutes and served on its advisory board from 1963 until 2000. This influential body has been responsible for the development of common English translations of Latin liturgical texts.

McManus was not only a canonist and a liturgist, however, he was also a recognized ecumenical leader. He was a significant figure in the North American Academy of Ecumenists, for example, and he was a member of the CONSULTATION ON COMMON TEXTS and the ENGLISH LANGUAGE LITURGICAL CONSULTATION. He also served as a consultor to the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (1969–1974), as a member of the Catholic-Orthodox Bilateral Commission, and as a member of the International Commission for Catholic-Orthodox Theological Dialogue.

A prolific scholar, Monsignor McManus wrote eleven books and hundreds of scholarly and popular articles that reflected a pastoral awareness of and openness to new academic developments. His canonical interests were very broad, covering general norms on Church governance, liturgical-sacramental law (his principal scholarly focus), the law on ordained ministry, the law on diocesan and supradiocesan ecclesiastical structures, academic legislation, and ecumenical legislation.

From 1959 until 2005, McManus edited *The Jurist*, the academic journal of the Catholic University School of Canon Law. Under his leadership, the journal consistently addressed issues of ongoing theological, canonical, and pastoral relevance for its readers, who are from varied backgrounds in the United States and abroad. Furthermore, from 1965 through 1975, he edited the newsletter of the Bishops' Committee on the Liturgy. His ongoing liturgical education concerns were also evident in his service as associate editor of the *Yearbook for Liturgical Studies* (1960–1967) and the influential liturgical journal *Worship* (1968–1976). A keen interest in continuing clergy education shaped his service as associate editor of the Catholic University–sponsored *American Ecclesiastical Review* (1969–1975). Finally, for many years he was a member of the editorial board of the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*.

The breadth of McManus's academic and professional interests was evident in his varied professional and academic memberships, which included the American Association of University Professors; the ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES; the CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA (which awarded him its highest honor, the John Courtney Murray Award, in 1990); the CATHOLIC COMMISSION ON CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL AFFAIRS; the Interfaith Forum on Religion, Art, and Architecture; the NORTH AMERICAN ACADEMY OF LITURGY (which granted him its Berakah Award in 1980); and the SOCIETAS LITURGICA.

The CANON LAW SOCIETY OF AMERICA recognized McManus's preeminent canonical service by according him the first of its prestigious Role of Law awards in 1973. He was also one of the very few Americans who served as a consultor to the Pontifical Commission for the Revision of the 1917 Code of Canon Law (1967–1973), especially in light of Vatican II and contemporary pastoral developments. He worked tirelessly with members of the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities in expressing their concerns about the drafting of academic legislation in the revised 1983 Code of Canon Law and in the 1990 APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION on Catholic universities, *Ex corde ecclesiae*. He was also a member of the board of directors of the renowned Institute of Medieval Canon Law in Berkeley, California, for many years. Finally, he was a long-time member of the international canon law group, the Consociatio Internationalis Studio Iuris Canonici Promovendo.

A scholar, administrator, teacher, and author, McManus was appreciated by many for his gentle wit, keen insight, and generous cooperation with students and faculty, church leaders, liturgists, ecumenists, and ordinary FAITHFUL. His service to the Church was multifaceted, for he gave help and advice to the bishops gathered in ecumenical councils, in conferences (such as the National Conference of Catholic Bishops), and in their dioceses; to the Catholic University of America community; and to the worshiping people of God in the English-speaking world, whom he served exceptionally well through his liturgical teaching, writing, and practice.

SEE ALSO BOSTON, ARCHDIOCESE OF; CANON LAW, HISTORY OF; UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS (USCCB).

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MENEGUZZI, LIDUINA, BL.

Baptized Elisa Angela Meneguzzi, also known as "Angelina," Sister Liduina of the Sisters of St. FRANCES DE SALES; missionary in Ethiopia; b. September 12, 1901, in Giarre, Padova district, Italy; d. December 2, 1941, in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia; beatified October 20, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Born to a farming family in Giarre, near Abano Terme in Padova, Italy, Elisa Angela Meneguzzi demonstrated religious devotion and a willingness to serve others at a young age. At fourteen, she began laboring as a servant in wealthy households and hotels in Abano, a resort town, earning wages to support her family.

On March 5, 1926, she entered the congregation of Sisters of Saint Francis de Sales in Padova, taking the name Liduina. Working as a servant, SACRISTAN, and nurse in the Santa Croce boarding school, she became a friend and confidant to many of the students.

Meneguzzi was drawn to overseas mission work, and in 1937 her superiors sent her to Dire Dawa, in Ethiopia, as a missionary. The Parini Civil Hospital, where she worked as a nurse, became a military hospital during WORLD WAR II (1939–1945). She tended to injured soldiers, alleviating their suffering whenever possible. Sr. Gudda (Sr. Great), as the Ethiopians called her, became known for her compassion and bravery. During bombing raids, when others cried out for help, she risked her life to carry the injured to safety, to minister to the mortally wounded, and to baptize dying children.

Meneguzzi demonstrated a love of her fellow man that surpassed the boundaries of her own background, reaching out not only to Christians and Italians, but to people of other races, cultures, and religious persuasions in Dire Dawa. Many of those who heard her speak were drawn to Catholicism.

When her health declined because of an incurable disease, she continued to minister to the injured as long as she was able. She died of complications following surgery on December 2, 1941, at age forty. Meneguzzi was buried in the graveyard of Dire Dawa in the area reserved for soldiers. Twenty years later, her body was brought to Padova to rest in the chapel of the motherhouse of the Sisters of Saint Frances de Sales. During the BEATIFICATION HOMILY for Meneguzzi and five others on October 20, 2002, Pope John Paul II observed that "in the course of her brief but intense life, Sister Liduina poured herself out for her poorer and suffering brothers, particularly at the hospital of the mission of Dire Dawa in Ethiopia."

Feast: December 2.

SEE ALSO ETHIOPIA; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MERKERT, MARIA LUISA, BL.

Cofounder and first superior general of the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Elizabeth; b. September 21, 1817, at Nysa, Silesia, Poland (then Germany); d. November 14, 1872, at Nysa; beatified September 30, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

After their father's death in 1818, Maria Luisa Merkert and her sister, Matilde, were educated and trained in the Catholic faith by their mother, Maria Barbara Pfitzner. Merkert cared for her ill mother prior to her death in 1842. The experience led her to commit to serving the sick and the poor. To this end, she and Matilde, along with Frances Werner, joined Clara Wolff, a Third Order Franciscan, in Wolff's work. They went on to found the Association of Sisters for the Assistance of Abandoned Sick, under the Protection of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, with the guidance of Fr. Frances Xavier Fischer.

Matilde Merkert died of typhus in 1846. Later that year, Fr. Fischer arranged for Maria Merkert and Werner to enter the novitiate of the SISTERS OF MERCY of St. Charles BORROMEO in Prague. In 1850 they left the Sisters of Mercy to carry on their work in Nysa with the homebound sick and the needy. There, they became known as the Gray Sisters of St. Elizabeth.

Ecclesiastic approval for the sisters' work was granted in 1859, and before the end of the year, the first general chapter met and elected Merkert its superior general. In 1860 she and twenty-five sisters took vows of POVERTY, CHASTITY, and OBEDIENCE, along with a fourth vow to care for the poor and sick. Merkert served as superior general until her death on November 14, 1872. The congregation grew to around five hundred sisters during that time, operating ninety religious houses in nine

dioceses. In 1887 they were officially approved as a Congregation of Pontifical Right by Pope LEO XIII.

Because of her devotion to the sick and the poor, Merkert became known as the Samaritan of Silesia. In 1964 her remains were brought to the crypt of the Church of St. James at Nysa. They were moved to a side chapel of the same church in 1998.

Merkert was declared VENERABLE on December 20, 2004. On the day of her BEATIFICATION on September 30, 2007, Pope Benedict XVI, in a greeting to pilgrims from Poland, said Merkert "stood out for her concern for the sick, the poor and the abandoned."

Feast: November 14.

SEE ALSO POLAND; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MERZ, IVAN, BL.

Lay Catholic intellectual, apostle of youth, promoter of liturgical renewal, activist, educator; b. Banja Luka, Bosnia, December 16, 1896; d. Zagreb, Croatia, May 10, 1928; beatified June 22, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Ivan Merz was a Croatian born in Banja Luka, Bosnia, in 1896. He lived during a turbulent time when Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia, and he sought to use his gift of intelligence to revitalize the faith of the young people of his country. Merz received a rigorous education in Vienna and Paris, culminating in a doctorate in philosophy. He took two years away from his studies when he served in WORLD WAR I (1914–1918) on the Italian front, where the horrors he experienced profoundly affected him on a spiritual level. During the war, he wrote in his diary, "Never forget God! ... It would be terrible if this war had no meaning for me! ... I must begin a life regenerated in the spirit of this new understanding ... The Lord alone can help me, as man can do nothing on his own" (*L'Osservatore Romano* 2003, pp. 6–7).

At this time, Ivan took a private vow of CELIBACY and devoted himself to his Catholic faith, becoming a leader in CATHOLIC ACTION, liturgical renewal, and the education of young Croatian Catholics. He drew great inspiration and nourishment from the Eucharist, scriptures, and devotion to the Virgin Mary. Through his youth work, he sought to form a group of frontline apostles whose goal was holiness. Shortly before he died at age thirty-two, he offered his life for the youth of Croatia. After Merz's death, the healing of Anica Ercegovic from Gradusa near Sunja was attributed to Merz's prayerful INTERCESSION.

In his BEATIFICATION sermon in June 2003 at an open-air Mass on Merz's native soil, Pope John Paul II described Merz as a "gifted young man [who] made a good return on his rich natural talents and obtained great human success." But what made him blessed in God's eyes was that the great aspiration of his life was never to forget God. The pope shared Merz's life and words with a beleaguered and disheartened Catholic community in the Balkans, which was emerging from a terrible period of suffering and bloodshed between Croatian Catholics and Bosnian Muslims. The pope held Ivan Merz up as a beacon, so that young people everywhere, but especially in Merz's homeland, might act as lights in the world, resolutely countering evil with good and helping war-torn lands become places of reconciliation, encounter, and peace. Merz's commitment to actively living the Christian life and aspiring to holiness explains why 35,000 people from Bosnia-Herzegovina and neighboring countries were drawn to his beatification Mass, where John Paul II appealed directly to youth: "The name of Ivan Merz has meant in the past a program of life and activity for an entire generation of young Catholics. Today too it must do the same!"

Feast: May 10.

SEE ALSO BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; CROATIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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MILLERET, MARIE EUGENIE OF JESUS, ST.

Baptized Anne Eugenie; foundress of the Religious of the Assumption; b. August 26, 1817, Metz, Lorraine, France; d. March 9, 1898, Auteuil, Hauts-de-Seine, France; canonized June 3, 2007, in Rome, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Anne Eugenie enjoyed a childhood of comfort and security. She was especially close to her younger brother, Louis, and her mother. Her father was a banker and civil servant, owned a mansion in Metz and a country estate, and was a follower of VOLTAIRE. Though her mother nominally participated in the Church's liturgies and had her children receive the sacraments, the family was essentially nonbelieving, involved in politics and SOCIAL JUSTICE instead of religion. Nonetheless, at her First Communion, twelve-year-old Anne Eugenie felt lovingly drawn into the presence of God. Within the next few years, disaster struck. Her father's banks failed, and he lost his money. The family homes were sold, her parents divorced, and she was taken to Paris with her mother while Louis went to Switzerland with their father. When she was fifteen, her mother became ill with cholera and died suddenly.

Anne Eugenie spent the next few years lonely and confused. At first she went to live with wealthy, worldly relatives whose shallow social lives left her empty and seeking for something more. Her father then sent her to live with Catholic cousins, whose narrow piety she found suffocating. In 1836, however, one of the cousins invited her to attend the Lenten conferences at Notre Dame in Paris, an event that changed her life. Abbe Lacordaire's preaching convinced her that Jesus Christ and his Church were the answer to the social problems her family had tried to address as she was growing up. She decided to devote herself to the Church, which she saw as the key to advancing all that is true and good. Not long after, another priest, Fr. Combalot, heard her confession. Fr. Combalot had long desired to found a congregation dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption, and he was convinced it was God's will for Anne Eugenie to found a religious order dedicated to spreading the Kingdom of Christ through education. Anne Eugenie had already begun to desire to become a religious, and she embraced Fr. Combalot's plans as God's will for her.

Anne Eugenie founded the Religious of the Assumption at age twenty-two and took the name Marie Eugenie of Jesus. In 1839 she and a few other women began a life of prayer and study in a small home near the church of St. Sulpice in Paris. By 1841 a donor helped the sisters establish their first school. That same year, the women parted ways with Fr. Combalot and, under the guidance of a priest appointed by the archbishop, made their religious profession in August. Among the growing community was Kate O'Neill, an Irish woman who would take the name Therese Emmanuel and offer lifelong friendship and support to Marie Eugenie. Another lifelong friend was Fr. Emmaneul d'Alzon, Marie Eugenie's spiritual director and founder of the Augustinians of the Assumption in 1845.

Marie Eugenie and her sisters were devoted to an active life rooted in contemplation. They sought to embrace the modern world and transform it through education and living the GOSPEL values. In 1867 the congregation was recognized by Rome, and in 1888 the constitutions were definitively approved. Much of Marie Eugenie's long life was spent establishing new communities in France, England, Spain, Italy, Latin America, and the Philippines. The last decades of her life were marked by acute suffering, first in the deaths of Fr. d'Alzon in 1880 and Therese Emmanuel in 1888, and then in the decline of her own health and eventual paralysis in 1897. She died on March 9, 1898. Today the Religious of the Assumption carry on her work in thirty-four countries.

Feast: March 10.

SEE ALSO ASSUMPTION, RELIGIOUS OF THE; CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL.

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MISSIONARIES OF CHARITY

(MC; Official Catholic Directory #2710) An international congregation of religious women with both active and contemplative branches, the Missionaries of Charity have as their primary ministry the service of "the poorest of the poor" irrespective of caste, creed, and nationality. Their headquarters are located in Calcutta, India, where the congregation was founded by Bl. Mother Teresa Bojaxhiu (beatified October 19, 2003, by Pope John Paul II). The foundation was approved as a diocesan congregation in 1950 and made a pontifical institute in 1965. The distinctive habit of the Missionaries of Charity, made famous by Mother Teresa, consists of a white cotton sari with a blue border that covers the head, a cincture made of rope, sandals, a crucifix, and rosary. The sisters nurse sick and dying destitutes, including victims of AIDS; teach street children; visit and care for beggars, lepers, and their children; and provide shelter for the abandoned and homeless. They foster special devotion to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, and proclaim the Word of God to the spiritually destitute by their presence and the spiritual works of mercy.

In 1985 Mother Teresa, with the help of Fr. Joseph Langford, founded the MISSIONARY OF CHARITY FATHERS, who share the same charism as that of the sisters. These priests aid the sisters through the gifts specific to the priesthood, namely by celebrating Mass and providing the Sacraments to the sisters and the poorest of the poor they all serve.

In March 1997 the congregation elected Sister Nirmala and a council of four sisters to succeed Mother Teresa, who had asked to be relieved of administrative duties because of her poor health. Mother Teresa died later that same year on September 5 in Calcutta, India. At the time of Sister Nirmala's election, the order had some 4,500 nuns working in more than 100 countries. By 2009 there were 5,128 sisters and 757 established houses in 136 countries (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 487).

SEE ALSO MOTHER TERESA OF CALCUTTA, BL.; POVERTY, RELIGIOUS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MISSIONARIES OF CHARITY FATHERS

The founding of the Missionaries of Charity Fathers is the result of a coming together of *two* desires: the desire of a young American seminarian, Joseph Langford, to dedicate his future priesthood to the charism of MOTHER TERESA OF CALCUTTA, and the desire of Mother Teresa that her work for the poor be "completed" by extending her charism, already being lived by the Missionary of Charity Sisters and Brothers, into the ministerial priesthood.

Co-Founder of the Order. In 1972 Langford, then an Oblate of the Virgin Mary (O.M.V.) pursuing his priestly studies in Rome, first encountered Mother Teresa by means of a book written by the English journalist, Malcolm Muggeridge (1903–1990), *Something Beautiful for God: Mother Teresa of Calcutta* (1971). And although the book immediately aroused in him an interest to share somehow in Mother Teresa's work, as yet no priestly branch of the MISSIONARIES OF CHARITY existed. Upon communicating this desire to his confessor, the young Langford was advised to continue with his priestly formation with the Oblates until such time that God would make more clear how he might give expression to this desire to serve Mother Teresa's charism.

In keeping with this desire, at the time of his ordination in 1978, Langford requested of Mother Teresa that she entrust to his priestly intercession one of the homes of the sisters, thus establishing a "spiritual adoption" between him and her work. In response, Mother committed to his priestly patronage *Kalighat*, the home for the dying in Calcutta. This marked the informal begin-

ning of bringing together the two desires: uniting to the charism of Mother Teresa the gifts of the ministerial priesthood, thus enriching both.

Priest Co-Workers. The following year (1979), Fr. Joseph proposed to Mother Teresa that other priests be allowed to do the same. Mother asked him to put his thoughts on paper, which he readily did. It was thus that the idea of the *Priest Co-Workers of Mother Teresa* was conceived. Mother, while enthusiastic, did not immediately give her full consent to the project. Not until August of the following year (1980) did Mother, arriving in the United States after a visit to her sisters in Haiti, request that Fr. Joseph, then stationed in St. Louis, Missouri, meet her in New York City. There she confided to him that, "Jesus would not let me sleep until I agreed to do something for priests." The two set out at once to begin work on the statutes of the *Priest Co-Workers* (PCW).

On November 1 of that same year, Mother met with the Holy Father, JOHN PAUL II, to discuss the PCW with him. The pope encouraged the proposal and requested that the Secretary of State, Cardinal Agostino CASAROLI, ask the Sacred Congregation for the Clergy to assist the PCW at its inception. As a result, the movement was approved by the same Sacred Congregation on the feast of the Sacred Heart, June 26, 1981. At this time, acting upon Mother's request, the name *Priests Co-workers* was changed to *Corpus Christi Movement* (CCM).

Corpus Christi Movement. As a clerical movement, CCM grew quickly. But at the same time, because members of the movement shared in Mother's charism from afar and were not directly involved with her work, Langford's desire to dedicate his priesthood to Mother Teresa's charism was still not fully realized. Moreover, being a religious himself and coming from a religious formation, Langford desired to live Mother Teresa's charism as a religious, not as a secular priest. In September 1982, Mother expressed her desire to begin this community for priests, but then hesitated. "She then asked Fr. Langford the same obedience that she had received after her inspiration of September 10, 1946: that he not think of the idea of such a community again" (Kolodiejchuk 1992, p. 3). It remains a little known fact that at the origin of Mother Teresa's work for the poor, far from mere human pity, stands a "decisive mystical encounter with Christ" which took place on a train journey to her annual retreat in 1946; September 10, to be exact. This encounter has come to be known among MC's simply as "Inspiration day" (Kolodiejchuk 2007, 39).

In the meantime, after nearly two years of existence, in the spring of 1983 the Sacred Congregation for the Clergy sought, for the sake of CCM's stability, to connect it to an already existing clerical institute that would care for its growth as well as support its aim of extending the Missionaries of Charity (MC) charism and spirituality into the priesthood. Langford's congregation, the Oblates of the Virgin Mary, declined to accept responsibility for CCM.

Corpus Christi Fraternity. It was then that on July 16, 1983, Langford, who had been recently re-stationed in Rome, experienced in prayer what he felt was a divine confirmation of his desire to begin a priestly community dedicated to Mother Teresa's charism. Newly emboldened, he approached Mother, who at that time was recovering from a serious heart condition at *Salvator Mundi* Hospital in Rome. Langford started by telling Mother that he had disobeyed her order of September 1982, but that he was convinced that the time to start a priestly community was now. In reply, Mother put her finger to her lips as if to quiet Langford. Pausing for a moment, she then responded: "Mother already knows ... Now we must ask the Church" (e-mail from Fr. Langford, October 27, 2009).

And so on July 19, the two went together to the Sacred Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life (SCRSI), where they were strongly encouraged to pursue the inspiration. For various reasons, the new group was to begin as a secular institute, to be known as *Corpus Christi Fraternity*. It was to have two branches: one whose primary commitment would no longer be to a diocese or other religious institute, but to the charism of Mother Teresa and the spreading of its message and spirituality within the Church, especially by means of renewal of the priesthood; this branch would also be responsible for the animation and guidance of the *Corpus Christi Movement*. While the members of the latter would also live Mother's spirituality, they would remain incardinated and work in their own dioceses.

On July 25 of that same year, 1983, Mother Teresa and Fr. Joseph attended the Holy Father's Mass at CASTEL GANDOLFO, where John Paul II gave his verbal approval to the CCF project, asking the two to soon return to discuss the details. On August 17, they did just that. This time Mother Teresa presented to the pope a handwritten page drafted by Fr. Joseph describing the purpose and aim of CCF, *pro memoria*. John Paul took the sheet in hand, signed and dated it, and added the words: "with my blessing."

Mother Teresa lost no time. She immediately phoned Cardinal Terrence COOKE of New York, asking if the new community of CCF could begin there. He assented. Thus, on August 22, 1983, the cardinal presented Mother with a letter establishing the CCF as a pious union of the archdiocese of NEW YORK. On

August 28, Mother helped the first members of the community move into their new home in the South Bronx. Langford was not present, as he was still awaiting exclaustration from the Oblates, which he was granted on September 12.

The first members of CCF were Langford; Brian Kolodiejchuk, who since September of 1981 had expressed interest in being part of such a community should it become a reality; a Spanish seminarian until then studying in Rome, Pascual Cervera (as of 2009 with the archdiocese of Toledo, Spain; head of CCM for priests, relaunched by Mother Teresa shortly before her death in 1997); and Fr. Gary Duckworth, an Oblate in Argentina, who arrived some months later, in the Spring of 1984. Duckworth first came to know Mother as a lay volunteer in Calcutta in 1976 and, like Langford, had long desired to serve her charism as a priest.

During the first year of the CCF existence, the desire of Langford and other founding members to live as religious grew. As a result, in October 1984, when Mother asked Fr. Joseph to come to Rome, where she was to address an international priests' retreat (cf. Forrest 1987, pp. 72–75, 107–114), he hoped to ask her permission for CCF to take one final step from being a secular institute to becoming religious. But before he could raise the issue, Mother herself shared with him *her desire* that CCF become a religious institute. So the two again went to SCRSI to ask permission for the change, which was readily granted. As Providence would have it, on October 13, 1984, traveling together by plane back to New York from the international priests' retreat, Mother gave the new religious institute its name—Missionaries of Charity Fathers. The two desires had now borne fruit.

Missionaries of Charity Fathers. The small community of MC Fathers began attracting vocations from many parts of the world. For a number of reasons, but particularly so that "their roots might be placed among the very poorest of the poor," after four years in the archdiocese of New York, on June 28, 1988, the MC Fathers moved to Mexico and established their mother house in the border city of Tijuana (Kolodiejchuk 1992, p. 6). From there, the community branched out, making new foundations shortly thereafter in Mexico City; Rome (1992); Calcutta (1993); Tamahu, Guatemala (2001); Nairobi, Kenya (2001); Mseki, Tanzania (2005); Shillong, Northeast India (2005); and Guadalajara, Mexico (2009). As of 2009, the MC Fathers had nine foundations in all, with thirty-eight priests. Their habit consists of a gray clerical shirt, gray trousers, a cross worn over the heart, and sandals. Moreover, on March 25, 1992, the institute was recognized canonically as a clerical religious institute of diocesan rite.

Missionaries of Charity Charism. Theologically speaking, every institutional charism has three constitutive elements (Cencini 2004, pp. 111–122). First, there is *a mystical experience* from which an institute takes its origin. This experience of the Spirit in turn gives rise to both a particular *ascetical way of life* as well as specific *apostolic ministry*. Taken together, these three elements: *mystical experience*, *ascetical way of life*, and *apostolic ministry* give adequate expression to what is intended when speaking of an institutional charism.

Applying this theological description to the charism of the Missionaries of Charity, one marvels at the power and fecundity of the grace of September 10, because all five branches of the MC Society draw inspiration and orientation from the *mystical experience* or THEOPHANY that Mother Teresa received on that train journey to Darjeeling in 1946. It was this experience that lay at the source of her burning charity for the poorest of the poor. Though she was not a theologian, Mother clearly understood this: "The strong grace of Divine Light and Love Mother received on the train journey to Darjeeling on September 10, 1946, is where the MC begins—in the depths of God's infinite longing to love and to be loved" (Mother Teresa to the Missionaries of Charity Sisters, April 24, 1996). Specifically, Mother's experience was that of an intimate personal encounter with the thirst of Jesus dying on the CROSS "for love and for souls," the same Jesus who is "hidden in the poor." Mother herself described this extraordinary experience, or *founding grace*, in the following way: "For me Jesus' thirst is something so intimate—so I felt shy until now to speak to you of September 10th—I wanted to do as Our Lady 'who kept all these things in heart'" (Langford 2008, p. 56). As a result, the content of the grace of 1946 remained somewhat shrouded.

In fact, Mother's reticence to speak openly of the grace of September 10 was well known to her followers. "Among the missionaries of charity, it was understood that the one thing you could not ask Mother Teresa was about the grace of the train" (Langford 2008, p. 40). Perhaps the most conspicuous clue she left behind regarding what actually happened on that train in 1946 are the two words which she had placed beside the crucifix in every MC chapel around the world: "I thirst" (John 19:28). For his part, Fr. Langford had long intuited that Jesus' thirst and September 10 were intimately united at the heart of Mother's mystery. In fact, he was so convinced of this that he ventured to do what others dared not:

> On her next visit to New York, in early 1984, I finally had both reason and opportunity to ask her about the experience of the train.... I explained to her that, for me, the only thing that made sense of her placing "I thirst" in her

> chapels, was that it grew out of her own experience of the thirst of Jesus, and most importantly, that her encounter with the divine thirst had been the heart and essence of September 10.... I waited in silence for an answer. She lowered her head for a moment, then looked up and said, "yes, it is true." Then after a pause, she added, "and one day you must tell the others." (Langford 2008, p. 46)

This "telling the others" would later coalesce into an essential MCF ministry, that of diffusing Mother's charism into the Church and the world.

The *ascetical way of life* that flowed from Mother's mystical encounter was, in the first place, the living of the three evangelical counsels of poverty, chastity, and obedience, which she had been doing with great fidelity for eighteen years as a Loreto nun, but now with a marked *radicality* (Mother Teresa 2007, pp. 28–38), even to the point of identifying with the poor, "to live with them, like them, so as to get at the people's heart" (Mother Teresa 2007, p. 50). Moreover, the tenor of this vowed life would be modeled after and animated by the IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY in a spirit of loving trust, total surrender, and cheerfulness. The MCs refer to these qualities of soul as "the spirit of the Society," and they spring from one's personal encounter with the grace of Mother's theophany of September 10.

From these two elements—the *mystical experience* and *ascetical way of life*—then flows the *apostolic ministry* of the MCs, one which *goes in search* of Jesus hidden in the poorest of the poor. The MCs express this "zeal for souls," as Mother would call it, in a *fourth vow* by which they bind themselves to free and wholehearted service to the poorest of the poor.

In Mother's Footsteps. Following in Mother's footsteps, the aim of the Missionaries of Charity Fathers is "to quench the infinite thirst of Jesus Christ on the Cross for love and souls by the profession of the three evangelical counsels and wholehearted and free service to the Poorest of the Poor" (Langford 2004, p. 16). To cite Mother's own words:

> MC Fathers complete the Missionary of Charity family—all one heart and charism in the Heart of Our Lady. Thank God for our charism and way of life—our mission—has already been approved by the Church since 1950 with our sisters and since 1963 with our brothers. Now it is my desire to extend this same approved way of life and mission by making our Fathers a diocesan institute. The life and mission of the Fathers is not something new or different, they complete the larger religious family of Missionaries of Charity and share in the same patrimony. (Mother Teresa 1992)

So the MC Fathers *complete the work* of the MC Society, by putting their priesthood at the service of Mother's charism. They also share the *one way of life* handed on by Mother and lived by the other branches of the society. Intense prayer, community life, and one-to-one service to the poorest of the poor are like the three pillars of the MCF vocation. The fact that the MC Fathers live the charism of Mother Teresa within the ministerial priesthood adds a unique specificity to their particular call within MC. As Mother used to say: "What you can do I cannot, what I can do you cannot, but together we can make something beautiful for God." Concretely, Fr. Langford's desire, aroused in 1972, to dedicate his priesthood to the charism of Mother Teresa has borne fruit and, over time, coalesced into three specific and concrete MCF ministries.

First of all, the ministerial focus of MCF is priestly service to the poorest of the poor being served by the other branches of the society, and then to "go in search" beyond. Secondly, MCF gives spiritual assistance to the other branches of the MC Society through the gifts proper to their priesthood (e.g., retreats and seminars). Thirdly, MCF has been charged by Mother herself (Langford 2008, p. 50) to bring the message of Jesus' thirst to the world at large through preaching, retreats, spiritual direction, and catecheses in her charism, so that all may be enriched by the gift God gave to the Church through Mother on September 10, 1946. In this way the MC Fathers "complete the work," as Mother would say, and fulfill the aim for which they were created: to satiate the thirst of Jesus dying on the Cross "for love and for souls" and be "one heart full of love in the Heart of Our Lady."

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MISSIONARY SISTERS OF ST. PETER CLAVER

(SSPC, Official Catholic Directory #3990); also known as the Sodality of St. Peter Claver for the African Missions; a congregation with papal approbation (1910) founded by Countess Bl. Maria Theresia LEDÓCHOWSKA (beatified October 19, 1975, by Paul VI) in 1894 for the purpose of giving help to the African missions, especially by means of the apostolate of the press. Countess Ledóchowska, encouraged by Cardinal Charles LAVIGERIE, had begun to publish in 1889 the magazine *African Echo* (later published in eight languages) and had founded an association of lay persons called the Anti-Slavery Committee. Instructions received from LEO XIII in 1894 led her to found the sodality, which was first approved as a diocesan congregation by Cardinal Johannes Haller, archbishop of Salzburg, Austria, in 1897. As the number of religious increased, a house with a well-equipped polyglot press was opened at Salzburg; later, other houses were established in various nations and in Rome, where the generalate is located. The sisters established their first foundation in the U.S. in 1912. As of 2009, the sisters had 42 houses in 23 countries on five continents. The U.S. headquarters is in Chesterfield, MO.

SEE ALSO AFRICA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; LEDÓCHOWSKA, URSZULA (URSULA), ST.; MISSION AND MISSIONS.

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MIT BRENNENDER SORGE

During the Nazi regime, programs of censorship silenced radio broadcasts and newspapers, and local churches were often the only places where the Catholic German population heard voices of protest against Nazism. Among the senior clerics who challenged the Third Reich in its racist and anti-Christian policies were Bishop Clemens Count von GALEN of Münster, Archbishop Konrad von Preysing of Berlin, Cardinal Adolf Bertram of Breslau, Cardinal Charles Joseph Schulte of Cologne, and Cardinal Michael von FAULHABER of Munich. The latter's series of ADVENT sermons aroused national and international interest and concern.

Pope PIUS XI (1922–1939) himself was also a vocal critic of the Nazi regime. On one occasion he infuriated the Nazis by openly declaring to a group of pilgrims, "Spiritually we are all Semites." He also publicly condemned HITLER in the 1937 encyclical *Mit brennender sorge* (With Burning Sorrow).

Events Leading up to the Encyclical. Despite a 1933 Vatican concordat with Germany, Nazi persecution of German clergy increased. Catholic groups were assaulted, and Church property was confiscated. As early as December 1933, Cardinal Faulhaber publicly condemned ANTI-SEMITISM. On November 4, 1936, he reproached Adolf Hitler for not respecting the terms of the concordat. German bishops joined him in sending a letter to Pope Pius XI, asking him to write an encyclical about the problems of the Church in Germany. They sought a formal condemnation of the ATHEISM and the assault on religious liberty perpetrated by the Nazi Party.

On January 16, 1937, Vatican Secretary of State Eugenio Pacelli held a secret meeting in Rome. Present were Cardinals Schulte, Bertram, and Faulhaber, as well as Bishops von Preysing and von Galen. In the presence of the pope they discussed the fifty-five communications, written in German, that were sent by the secretary of state to the German government between 1933 and 1936. They asked the pope formally to condemn Nazism, and the pope decided to publish an encyclical that would do so in strong and no uncertain terms. When the cardinals and bishops congratulated the pope, he pointed to Cardinal Pacelli and said: "Thank him! He did it all" (Paganuzzi 1988, pp. 28–29).

Summary of and Reaction to the Encyclical. Pius XI's encyclical recognized that the Nazis were intent on a war "of extermination" against the Catholic Church. After countless attempts at diplomacy were rebuffed, the pope had decided to make a final stand. The encyclical was not written in the usual Latin but in German to

facilitate wider dissemination in Germany. Prepared under the direction of Cardinal Pacelli, who was fluent in German, the encyclical was aimed directly at the Third Reich. It strongly criticized German violations of the concordat with the Holy See and of human and religious rights in general. It publicly condemned anti-Semitic German legislation, denounced the attacks on the Catholic faith, and assailed Nazi ideology and political practices.

The encyclical was smuggled out of Italy, copied, and distributed to parish priests to be read from all Catholic pulpits in Germany on PALM SUNDAY, March 14, 1937. Its anti-Nazi message was clear:

> Whoever exalts race, or the people, or the State, or a particular form of State, or the depositories of Power, or any other fundamental value of the human community—however necessary and honorable be their function in worldly things—whoever raises these notions above their standard value and divinizes them to an idolatrous level, distorts and perverts an order of the world planned and created by God; he is far from the true faith in God and from the concept of life which that faith upholds (no. 8).... None but superficial minds could stumble into concepts of a national God, of a national religion (no. 11).

Reaction to the encyclical was immediate. The Nazis confiscated copies, arrested printers, and seized presses. In one parish, seven girls were arrested inside the church as they handed out copies after the Palm Sunday Mass. The following day, *Das Schwarze Korps* remarked that it was "the most incredible of Pius XI's pastoral letters: every sentence in it was an insult to the new Germany." A formal protest was sent from Berlin to Rome. Dozens of clerics found themselves arraigned on charges of immorality and slander against the Nazi state.

Pius XI had stated that the Church of God will defend its rights and its freedom. Catholic reaction was enthusiastic; the Jewish community and the international community were pleased by this strong condemnation of Nazi racism. Hitler, however, was furious. From the pages of *Mein Kampf* to the *Table Talk,* Hitler made his contempt for Christianity and its Jewish roots perfectly clear. Arrests multiplied in Germany, and in schools portraits of the Führer replaced crucifixes.

On July 17, 1938, *The New York Times* printed excerpts of the pope's condemnation of Nazi and Fascist notions of race, blood, soil, and nation, in which he spoke of "excessive nationalism—which we have already had painful occasion to denounce as erroneous and dangerous." The newspaper continued reporting on the matter through the autumn and winter of the same year, despite protests from the Fascists and Nazis, who claimed the pope was improperly interfering in political matters.

In a 1962 article on the encyclical which appeared in the German periodical *Stimmen der Zeit*, Fr. Robert Leiber wrote: "It is significant that the first initiative of the Holy See toward the government in Berlin concerned the Jews. As early as April 4, 1933, ten days after the Enabling Act, the Apostolic Nuncio in Berlin was ordered to intervene with the government of the Reich on behalf of the Jews and point out all the dangers involved in an anti-Semitic policy." The Catholic Church did not protest simply on behalf of Church interests during negotiations of the concordat, but on behalf of persecuted Jews as well, in response to an announcement of a major boycott of Jewish businesses. When Pope Pius XI died on February 12, 1939, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations issued a statement, printed in *The New York Times* the following day, offering sympathy to its friends in the Catholic Church: "He was a lover of peace and humanity.... His life was an inspiration and his passing is a loss to the people of all religious faiths." No doubt, this eulogy was merited in part by the pope's courageous encyclical *Mit brennender sorge*.

Rabbi Joseph L. Lichten wrote that in 1940 Pius XII sent out a secret instruction to the Catholic bishops of Europe titled *Opere et caritate* (By Work and Love). The letter began with a quotation from *Mit brennender sorge*, and ordered that all people suffering from racial discrimination at the hands of the Nazis be given adequate help. The letter was to be read in churches with the comment that racism was incompatible with the teachings of the Catholic faith. Responding to Pius XII's document, the Dutch bishops issued a pastoral letter condemning Nazi brutality, thus provoking the Nazis who retaliated by sending Dutch Jews to the extermination camps. Indifferent to the dignity of man and the rights of the human person, totalitarian governments sought to implement a "final solution" for undesirable races, groups, and individuals.

Even prior to March 2, 1939, when Eugenio Pacelli became the successor of Pope Pius XI, *Das Schwarze Korps* referred to him as the "Chief Rabbi of the Christians, boss of the firm of Judah-Rome."

SEE ALSO FASCISM; NAZISM, PAPAL RESPONSE TO.

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MODERNISM

Broadly speaking, the term *modernism* designates a conviction that reconciliation between religious tradition and modern culture is possible and moreover crucial to the progress of both. This conviction has assumed a variety of historical expressions: One may speak of a "modernist impulse" in American Protestantism, an English Modernism that arose within the Anglican communion, and, within Catholicism, Roman Catholic Modernism.

Toward the end of the "long nineteenth century" (roughly coincident with "La Belle Époque," 1890–1914), a series of initiatives took shape within Roman Catholicism aimed at bringing the Church into a closer relation with modernity and a more constructive engagement with it. Acquiring the label *Modernism* around 1903, initiatives for intellectual and structural reform of Catholicism received Vatican condemnation under that name in 1907. Stigmatized in the encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis* as the "synthesis of all heresies," Modernism was presented as a coherent doctrinal system. Its philosophical roots were exposed, and the extent of its inroads into multiple areas of Catholic intellectual and practical life were alarmingly portrayed.

The Vatican definition of Modernism did not go uncontested at the time and must be seen as part of the historical dynamic of positioning the movement, rather than as a definitive statement of Modernism's substance and the motivation of its partisans. While not neglecting perspectives offered by *Pascendi*, current scholarship views Modernism as a collection of loosely organized tendencies, reflecting great diversity among and within their regional expressions. Scholars today thus use a more inductive approach, taking account of writings by innovators and their critics, in preference to the deductive, neoscholastic procedure followed in the encyclical.

In any effort to understand Modernism, it must be kept firmly in mind that this label did not emerge from within the movement itself, but was applied first by critics, then given currency by the Vatican condemnation. Though accepted by partisans of reform, until that point they identified themselves in other terms: as liberal Catholics, Reform Catholics, advocates of a Catholic Progressivism, Sillonists, or Christian Democrats. This diversity of self-designations points to the complexity of the phenomenon and suggests why precise definition remains a difficult and contested enterprise.

MODERNISMS

France. France is pivotal to an understanding of Modernism. Many of those who came to be identified with the movement were French and these figures exercised disproportionate influence in other regions of the Church. Indeed, PIUS X called Modernism the "French disease."

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, French Catholicism experienced an intellectual renaissance, stimulated in significant measure by the establishment of the Instituts catholiques and the contacts they afforded with the French Université. In Paris, an early influence was exerted through the teaching, mentoring, and writing of the Church historian Louis DUCHESNE. The circle of students he gathered included Alfred LOISY, Pierre BATIFFOL, and Marcel HÉBERT, all of whom would contribute to a broad movement of reform. Loisy went on to achieve notoriety through his voluminous output in biblical exegesis and for his *L'Évangile et l'Église* (1902), the book that may be said to have precipitated the Modernist crisis. Pierre Batiffol, himself a prolific writer on the history of the Church, later assumed the rectorship at the Toulouse Institut catholique. Closely allied with the Dominican biblical scholar Marie-Joseph LAGRANGE, director of the École biblique at Jerusalem and founder of the *Revue biblique* in 1892, Batiffol would grow increasingly uneasy with the more extreme tendencies among innovators and, toward 1900, adopt an openly critical posture toward Loisy and his supporters. These men created outlets for their research, Duchesne first with the *Bulletin critique*, later Loisy with the *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, and Batiffol with the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*. A series of International Congresses of Catholic Scholars initiated in France (Paris 1888, 1891; Brussels 1894; Fri-



Pope Pius X (r. 1903–1914). *A zealous opponent of Modernism, Pope Pius X, seen here blessing the crowd in St. Peter's Square, used his power of censure to suppress it.* **AP IMAGES**

bourg 1897; and Munich 1900) afforded a wider forum for critical scholarship and reinforced hopes for the prospects of biblical and historical studies within Catholicism.

Seconded by others who applied historical critical methods in their research—notably Albert HOUTIN in his critique of the legends surrounding the apostolic origins of French dioceses, the Bollandist Hippolyte DELEHAYE in his critical appraisal of hagiographical literature, and Joseph TURMEL in his forays into the history of doctrine—these scholars were in the forefront of efforts to assess and revise traditional positions in light of a modern historical consciousness. In Loisy's case, especially, this led to a conviction that a new synthesis was necessary to bring the ancient teaching and practice of the Church into conformity with minds formed by modernity. The extent to which the tradition would have to undergo revision became a source of disagreement among radicals, moderates, and progressives, although this division became apparent to reformers only gradually and was not always clear to their critics.

A second research front opened in philosophy with Maurice BLONDEL's *L'Action* (1893). Although Blondel's intentions were initially not well understood by Catholics, his book was welcomed by those who were seeking an alternative to the traditional APOLOGETICS based on miracle and prophecy. Blondel's attempts to clarify his positions in the *Lettre sur les exigences de la pensée contemporaine en matière d'apologétique* (1896) unleashed a storm of controversy, eliciting from critics accusations of KANTIANISM, subjectivism, and errors concerning the relation between the natural and supernatural orders. In reality, Blondel was not attempting to replace the objective neoscholastic approach of articulating and defending the faith, but rather trying to take account of the necessity of preparing minds to receive the Catholic case for a supernatural revelation. His *method* of IMMANENCE, which took greater account of the element of subjectivity in human knowing, was mistaken for a *doctrine* of immanence, and censured accordingly. In *Histoire et dogme* (1904), he renewed his criticism of the EXTRINSICISM of neoscholastic approaches, while also rejecting the historicism (i.e., doctrine of immanence) he found characteristic of Loisy's work. The latter, Blondel believed, risked eliminating the supernatural from history, thus compromising the objectivity of faith. He proposed a broadened notion of tradition as a *via media* between the two positions he criticized. Once again, such a stance testifies to the internal diversity of the larger movement for renewal.

Other philosophers in France followed Blondel's lead in proposing alternatives to the regnant

SCHOLASTICISM. Blondel's close collaborator, the Oratorian Lucien LABERTHONNIÈRE, argued for a legitimate autonomy of philosophy vis-à-vis theology. Working independently of these two philosophers, but closely following the work of Duchesne and Loisy, Marcel HÉBERT stressed the subjectivity of knowledge to the point of rejecting THEISM. Impressed by Darwinism, he advocated an impersonal law of evolutionary development as the ontological ground of reality. He quietly left the Church in 1903.

The combined effects of historical criticism and post-Kantian philosophy had repercussions for the traditional understanding of dogma. Logical approaches to its development which understood that process as a matter of conceptual clarification, or of making explicit what had been implicit in the deposit of faith, were superseded by a more organic notion of continuity and change on the model of the child growing into the adult. This led to changes in the very notion of dogma itself, exemplified in the Bergsonian philosopher Edouard LE ROY's explosive article, "Qu'est-ce qu'un dogme?" (1905), which sparked controversy within reformist ranks as well as drawing fire from scholastic theologians.

This series of loosely connected initiatives aroused fears within the hierarchy regarding their impact not only on Catholic scholars but on the clergy more broadly. Related, but somewhat independent activities in the social and political arena raised analogous fears over the consequences of liberal ideas for the laity. The encyclical *Rerum novarum* (1891), together with LEO XIII's call for French Catholics to rally to the Republic, stimulated involvement among Catholics in the social and political questions of the day. The Sillon (the "Furrow") began as a movement among younger Catholics to educate themselves in the social teaching of the Church and the social conditions of French society, in hopes of influencing French workers through personal interaction. By 1906 the Sillon was becoming increasingly politicized and, although disavowing any connections with "doctrinal Modernism," attracted criticism. Sillonists were accused of wanting to democratize the Church and of weakening the spirit of submission to the hierarchy through their claims for autonomy of action in the political sphere. The Semaines sociales, a sort of floating summer university designed to propagate Catholic social teaching, generated fears of IMMANENTISM and confusion between the natural and supernatural orders. Although *Pascendi* did not itself use the term *social Modernism*, it legitimated integralist perceptions of "sociological" applications of the doctrinal errors condemned by the Holy See. Despite this linkage of sociological and doctrinal errors in *Pascendi*, leading social Modernists differed in their attitudes toward intellectual Modernism. For example, the *abbé démocrate* Paul Naudet expressed sympathy for Loisy's work, whereas his political ally Hippolyte Gayraud remained committed to NEOTHOMISM and published harsh criticisms of *L'Évangile et l'Église* and its successor volume *Autour d'un petit livre* (1903).

Italy. A second important area of Modernist activity was Italy, where the intellectual concerns so prominent in France found resonances in the work of various scholars. Giovanni Genocchi and Giovanni Semeria found support in Francophone biblical scholarship for their own contributions, while Ernesto BUONAIUTI adopted critical perspectives in his investigations into the history of the Church. Those more philosophically inclined also found an alternative to NEOSCHOLASTICISM in Blondel's philosophy of action or could turn to representatives of pragmatism closer to home.

In Italy, however, social Modernism played a larger role and for some became the defining set of issues in adapting Catholicism to the culture. Like Gayraud in France, Romolo MURRI was a convinced Thomist who also championed democracy through his *Lega democratica nazionale*. In this combination of THOMISM and democracy he was representative rather than exceptional among other early Christian Democrats in Italy. While unsympathetic to new departures in philosophy and historical criticism, Murri's Thomism attempted to accommodate evolution and historical change. To the extent, then, that he could be considered a representative of Modernism, his was a Modernism of a most unusual kind. Like its counterparts in France, Italian Christian Democracy clashed with the hierarchy over an insistence on autonomy of political action. In 1906 the pretensions of "so-called autonomous Christian Democrats" were censured in the encyclical *Pieni l'animo*, and priests were forbidden to join Murri's league.

A third current of reform in Catholic Italy descended from liberal Catholicism and centered on Antonio Fogazzaro, whose *Il santo* (1905) expressed reformist aspirations in novelistic form. The short-lived review *Rinnovamento*, edited by Ajace Antonio Alfieri, Alessandro Casati, and Tomasso Gallarati Scotti, laymen notable for their intelligence and piety, provided a forum for innovating ideas. Similar publications included Salvatore Minocchi's *Studi religiosi*, Buonaiuti's *Nova et vetera*, and Murri's *Cultura sociale*.

Just as Francophone critical scholarship played a catalytic role among Italian Catholic intellectuals, motivating them to work along parallel lines, Catholic activists in France, Belgium, and Germany gave stimulus to Italian social Catholicism. Common to all of these reformist currents in Italy was a conviction that reform of civil society depended on religious and cultural reform of the Church, making the latter a matter of some urgency for them.

England. Although it lacked the Catholic culture of France or Italy, England contributed two of the most prominent representatives of Modernism. Working as an independent scholar, Baron Friedrich von HÜGEL turned his extensive knowledge of biblical scholarship to support of exegetes rather than to original research. His extensive contacts among both Catholic and non-Catholic scholars increased mutual awareness of research and could be drawn upon to elicit additional sources of support. His social position gained him access to members of the hierarchy, although advice on theological matters coming from a layman was not always appreciated.

English Modernism highlights another dimension of the movement: its connection to religious experience. Von Hügel's *Mystical Element of Religion* (1908) is another indication that Modernism was not an abstract, purely intellectual affair but engaged spirituality. This finds reinforcement in George TYRRELL's contributions. While conversant with the work of French authors mentioned previously, Tyrrell's writings exhibit his contact with the experience of souls who sought his spiritual counsel. Both von Hügel's and Tyrrell's influence was greater on non-Catholics within England, and on Catholics outside of the country, than on their English coreligionaries. In Tyrrell's case, especially, this sphere of influence was extended by the translation of writings into French and Italian and their dissemination in American journals.

The United States. In the United States, groups centered in St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, and at the Catholic University of America provided conduits for the ideas of European thinkers, either by publishing their articles or by writing about their ideas, in the pages of the *New York Review*, the *Catholic University Bulletin*, the *Catholic World*, and the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. Earlier, John ZAHM had made a case for biological evolution in a series of articles, culminating in his *Evolution and Dogma* (1896). Presentation of his ideas at the International Scientific Congress at Fribourg the following year reinforced Roman fears that evolutionary ideas were spreading. Because the theory of evolution was frequently used in support of MATERIALISM and AGNOSTICISM, and because a preference for an empirical approach to the problem ran counter to a deductive scholastic method, advocacy of the theory was judged a threat to Catholic doctrine. Zahm's book was placed on the Index, although the decree was not made public.

The Fribourg congress also provided occasion for an address by Denis O'Connell that extolled the American tradition of separation of church and state, and appealed to the figure of Isaac HECKER as an exemplar of reconciling Catholicism to the modern age. Hecker's ideas as filtered through admirers were more hotly debated in France than in the United States. French controversies strongly shaped Vatican perceptions in the condemnation of the Americanist heresy in *Testem benevolentiae* in 1899, which viewed AMERICANISM as yet another consequence of a defective relation between nature and grace. Americanism as actually articulated by its proponents shared with Modernism a heightened historical consciousness, a critical attitude toward the traditional apologetics, and a determination to present the faith in modern terms. Both movements encouraged a climate of intellectual freedom. Modernists like William Sullivan and Joseph Slattery put a characteristically American stamp on the movement by judging the practical and ecclesiological concerns raised by Americanists more relevant to effecting radical reform of Catholicism than the intellectual products of European thinkers.

Germany. In Germany, attempts to overcome the cultural and political marginalization of Catholics that was a product of the KULTURKAMPF were termed REFORMKATHOLIZISMUS. Less a deliberate movement than a cluster of Catholic scholars united by similar, though distinct, efforts to bring Catholics into the mainstream, Reformkatholizismus had an agenda that encompassed a diversity of issues—ranging from a reconciliation of faith with developments in natural science to advocacy of pastoral changes that would liberalize Catholic practices. Its adherents were loyal to the Church, and intended to remain within its basic structures. Most preferred the name "progressive Catholicism" as a designation for the tendency.

To a degree, Reformkatholizismus became identified with Americanism, notably through the work of Franz X. KRAUS and Hermann SCHELL. Several of the latter's works found their way on to the Index in 1906. Americanist ideas on the relation of church and state resonated with German Catholic concerns, which on the whole remained more practical than doctrinal. Thus, practical Modernism became the focus of Vatican attention in Germany, particularly in regard to lay Catholic involvement with social issues. Here there was fertile ground for Integralist creation of bonds between intellectual Modernism and social Modernism, leading to a perception of greater solidarity between the two than was the case.

From this survey of reformist initiatives, it appears that Modernism cannot be limited to a largely internal Catholic affair, peripheral to mainstream intellectual and cultural history. It forms part of a larger engagement with human experience, with epistemological issues bearing on the problem of the nature of external reality, and with DETERMINISM, concerns that were shared with the major intellectual currents of the era.

ACTION BY CHURCH AUTHORITIES

The final decade of Leo XIII's pontificate was marked by a series of efforts to contain liberalizing tendencies. Among those may be noted the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* (1893), which sought to address issues surrounding science and the Bible, but failed to adequately address historical problems that were becoming increasingly neuralgic. In 1897 the Holy Office issued a decree on a matter of textual criticism, resolving it by authoritative fiat rather than by historical investigation. The announcement of the establishment of a Pontifical Biblical Commission raised hopes that future decisions would be influenced by exegetes instead of dogmatic theologians, but its actual staffing under the next pontificate rendered its decisions staunchly traditionalist. The encyclical *Graves de communi* (1901) was addressed primarily to Italian Christian Democrats, encouraging their involvement in social concerns within the framework of *Rerum novarum*, but declaring "Christian Democracy" to be entirely nonpolitical. This stricture had a dampening effect on the movement and contributed to Murri's eventual break with the Church.

Under Pius X, individuals increasingly came under censure. Five of Loisy's books were placed on the Index in 1903, followed by works of Laberthonnière (1906, 1913), Batiffol (1907), Turmel (1908, 1909, 1910, 1911), Murri (1909), Buonaiuti (1910), and Duchesne (1913)—among others. While the Index proscribed without specifying the errors of these works, *Lamentabili sane exitu* and *Pascendi dominici gregis* supplied the general substance of Modernist errors. These measures, in responding to fears of Modernism, served only to deepen these fears. Further sanctions followed: For their public opposition to the papal condemnations, Tyrrell and Loisy were excommunicated. Von Hügel narrowly escaped excommunication. Laberthonnière was silenced. Murri incurred excommunication in 1909 (although he was later reconciled to the Church), Buonaiuti in 1925, and Turmel in 1930.

In the period before 1907, anxieties over the growing radicalization of reformist initiatives were growing. At stake was a sense that not only were doctrines specific to Roman Catholicism under attack, but Christianity itself was being undermined in heretical Christologies and assaults on scriptural inspiration and inerrancy. Moreover, the very future of religion itself was feared to be at risk, as critics naturalized the supernatural and rendered religion a merely human product. In this climate, *Pascendi* censured Modernism as the "synthesis of all heresies." In doing so, it did some synthesizing of its own.

Pascendi identified the most intensely problematic aspects of Modernism as philosophical. Modernism's foundational error, according to the encyclical, is agnosticism, which finds its complement in the doctrine of immanence. Together, they provide a naturalistic basis for the religious sense, which is perceived as evolving over time, like the symbolic expressions that derive from that sense. Thus, the third Modernist principle is evolutionism. These structuring principles find expression in a variety of ways: From the Modernist as philosopher, *Pascendi* proceeds to the Modernist as historian, as believer, as theologian, as critic, and as apologist. If the facets of the Modernist personality are multiple, so too are the objects of his passion for reform. While the encyclical concentrates on the intellectual side of Modernist efforts, the more practical measures of Americanism and social Modernism are also addressed. One of the more controversial assertions of the condemnation is its characterization of Modernists as a conspiracy of false Catholics who covered the extent of their agenda by publishing their positions piecemeal, in order to insinuate their ideas surreptitiously. The encyclical claims to lay bare the foundational errors of a concerted effort, the perpetrators of which are castigated for allegedly being motivated by intellectual pride and curiosity.

Pascendi's final section brought together a series of measures to control theological innovators and their ideas. An oath against Modernism was instituted in 1910 and the Index remained active. In the climate that followed the encyclical, reinforced by Integralist denunciations, reviews ceased publication or changed their editorial policies; scholars lost their positions, or withdrew into teaching from the manuals; and those who had espoused reformist ideas withdrew into a prudent silence when they did not repudiate their former positions. Although World War I brought a new set of issues to the fore, the aftermath of the Modernist crisis had a decidedly chilling effect on Catholic scholarship.

CONCLUSION

Modernism is too complex a phenomenon to be encompassed neatly by *Pascendi*'s systematic definition. Although Modernism has links with various currents of liberal Catholicism, it can be distinguished from earlier forms of the latter through its conviction that a thoroughgoing reform of Catholic theology and ecclesiological structures are a necessary consequence of critical historical investigations, the epistemological implications of modern philosophies, and a developmentalist view of the Church and its identity.

On the one hand, *Pascendi* in its systematic portrayal of Modernism provides too narrow a view of Modernism. True, there were figures who fulfilled the encyclical's prophecy that beyond Modernism lay ATHEISM. Turmel, Hébert, and Houtin are representatives of this trajectory. Others passed beyond Christianity into forms of theism, as with Loisy. And there were Catholics who could fairly be characterized as lapsing into subjectivism,

immanentism, and NATURALISM—such as Buonaiuti, who owned up to his lapses. But this was not true of all partisans of Modernism. Although von Hügel was an active supporter of Loisy (while not always agreeing with his positions), and a prominent figure in the Modernist movement, he certainly cannot be fairly identified with agnosticism, immanentism, and a naturalistic evolutionism. Then too, although the encyclical's highlighting of an antipathy toward scholasticism as a hallmark of the Modernist would apply to Loisy or to Laberthonnière, it would not be true of a Murri or a Gayraud. In short, the complexity of the issues and regional differences make generalizations about Modernism difficult.

If, then, *Pascendi*'s perceptions were not pure fantasy, the climate of what sociologists call "moral panic" prevented the Vatican from distinguishing adequately among the diverse figures who could fall under the umbrella term *modernism*. Those who adopted a methodological atheism in their research differed from those who espoused a metaphysical form. Those who saw the necessity of taking account of historical development in Church doctrine and structure were not the same as those who naturalized that developmental history. And those who advocated a method of immanence tried to distinguish themselves from those who espoused a doctrinal immanentism. But such distinctions were not always clear and not always made.

It is more fruitful to see both Modernism and *Pascendi* as representative of different responses to modernity. Their clash was one of opposing worldviews. One side espoused the classicist outlook of neoscholasticism that looked to perennial truth in its dogmatic expression, stressed the objectivity of religious truth, sharply distinguished the supernatural from the natural, and minimized the effects of history and human experience on tradition. Modernists, by contrast, perceived a need to take into account the effects of history on development, leading to new models of that process, with relativizing effects on dogmatic formulas and dogmatic truth; a need to retrieve the practical effects of dogmas to counterbalance an overly conceptual appreciation; and the necessity of integrating human experience into theology. Both positions sought to come to terms with the rationality, objectivity, stress on autonomy, infatuation with science, and belief in human progress that characterized modernity. In their opposition to these elements, traditionalists appealed to an unchanging tradition, ultimately grounded in a supernaturally given revelation of timeless truths, contained in a deposit of faith, of which the Church is the divinely appointed guardian. Progressives of various types understood tradition in an historical, evolutionary, developmentalist way; rather than opposing tradition, they saw themselves in continuity with tradition so understood. "Modernists" in *Pascendi*'s sense were those who took that understanding to lengths that they themselves recognized as incompatible with fundamental tenets of Christianity. Scholars today tend to use *Modernists* in a broader sense to include all reformers who became stigmatized for taking that understanding to lengths judged incompatible with neoscholastic orthodoxy.

Modernists asked many of the questions that were raised again at Vatican II, which stimulated renewed interest in them and their work. Although the resources for engaging those questions had developed in the interval, an understanding of Modernism remains important for a deeper appreciation of the Council and its implications.

SEE ALSO DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE; DOCTRINE, DEVELOPMENT OF; LAMENTABILI; MODERNISM, OATH AGAINST; PASCENDI.

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MOLLA, GIANNA (JOAN) BERETTA, ST.

Physician, wife, mother, "MARTYR for life"; b. Magenta, Lombardy, Italy, October 4, 1922; d. Magenta, April 28, 1962; beatified April 24, 1994; canonized May 16, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Gianna Beretta was the tenth of thirteen children of Alberto Beretta and Maria de Micheli, who ensured that she received a Catholic education. Gianna began her apostolate of caring for the sick and elderly as a member of the St. VINCENT DE PAUL Society while she was still in school. Gianna was also a leader in the CATHOLIC ACTION movement, organizing retreats and spiritual exercises. Upon graduating from the University of Pavia with degrees in medicine and surgery (1949), she practiced medicine with her brother Ferdinando at Mesero (near Magenta) and studied pediatric medicine at the University of Milan (1950–1952). After completing her education, she devoted more time to providing medical attention to the indigent.

Gianna enjoyed skiing, mountain climbing, attending the opera, playing the piano, painting, and dressing fashionably. She married engineer Pietro Molla on September 24, 1955. In a letter to Pietro just a few days prior to their wedding, Gianna shared her desire that "with God's help and blessing, we will do all we can to make our new family a little cenacle where Jesus will reign over all our affections, desires, and actions." She pondered how they could "be working with God in his creation" to "give him children who will love and serve him" (Molla 2002, pp. 40–41).

Gianna and Pietro had three children: Pierluigi (b. September 1955), Mariolina (b. December 1957), and Laura (b. July 1959). In the second month of her fourth pregnancy, Gianna was diagnosed with a large uterine fibroma that required surgical removal. As a doctor, she knew that her best chance for survival would result in the death of the baby in her womb; nevertheless, she pleaded with the surgeon to save the life of her child regardless of the risk to her own life. Her daughter Gianna Emanuela was born April 21, 1962. Gianna Beretta Molla, however, died one week later on April 28. She is buried in a chapel, along with her daughter Mariolina and Pietro's sister Teresina, in the cemetery of Mesero. The chapel contains a mosaic of Gianna, Mariolina, and Teresina praying before Our Lady of Fátima.

The process for Gianna's BEATIFICATION was opened in the Archdiocese of Milan on April 28, 1980. She was declared VENERABLE on July 6, 1991.

The miracle that confirmed her state as BLESSED occurred in Grajau, Brazil, in 1977. There, at the hospital that Gianna's brother, Fr. Alberto, had helped to build, Lucia Sylvia Cirilo received a grave prognosis due to a fistula associated with a stillbirth during her fourth pregnancy. At this time, Sr. Bernardina of Manaus, a Capuchin nurse in the hospital, turned to prayer through the intercession of Gianna Beretta Molla. According to the hospital physician, the woman's fistula was completely healed. Following the investigation of this event and its confirmation as a miracle, Gianna was beatified by John Paul II on April 24, 1994, the year of the family. Her husband and three living children attended Gianna's beatification, during which Pope John Paul II said: "After an exemplary existence as a student, as a girl fully engaged in the ecclesiastical community, as a wife and a happy mother, she offered and sacrificed her life in order that the child she was carrying could live."

The miracle that led to her canonization occurred in 2000 when another Brazilian woman, Elizabeth Comparini Arcolino, lost all of her amniotic fluid in only her third month of pregnancy. After praying to Bl. Gianna, she gave birth to a healthy daughter, whom she named Gianna Maria. Gianna Beretta Molla was declared a saint on May 16, 2004. Her husband and children attended the canonization, during which Pope John Paul II prayed that "our age discover once again through the example of Gianna Beretta Molla, the pure, chaste and fruitful beauty of conjugal love, lived as a response to the divine call!" She has become the patroness of healthcare workers, mothers, professional women, the pro-life movement, spouses, and unborn children.

Feast: April 28 (Archdiocese of Milan).

SEE ALSO SAINTS AND BLESSEDS.

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MONASTICISM

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I. EARLY CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM (TO 600)

The term *monasticism* refers to any number of traditions and systems of religious life. The institutions of monasticism are of ancient and medieval origins and were established to govern and regulate the ascetic and social conditions of such a life, whether lived in common or in contemplative solitude.

The rise and development of Christian monasticism grew out of the work of St. Anthony and the origin of anchoritism, the contribution of PACHOMIUS and the rise of CENOBITISM, and the life of the DESERT FATHERS. These developments occurred in SYRIA, PALESTINE, and Cappadocia; in CONSTANTINOPLE; and in the West.

Background. The primitive Church, as a minority group and a community bearing witness to faith in Christ, felt so strong in its creative newness and eschatological hope that it was, while being in the world, aware of not being of the world, of being a community of

"saints." VIRGINITY was held in high regard, and among the poor classes the sharing of goods was relatively easy. Normally, the tendency toward encratism did not harden into doctrinal opposition to marriage or the social order of the day. Its source was the GOSPEL, and it was not linked with a Manichaean DUALISM or a scorn for created things.

Contacts with Gnostic currents, with the philosophical attitudes of STOICISM and PLATONISM, and with the Eastern religions were inevitable and fruitful, though they proved dangerous at times. Such contacts clearly did not go to the root of the movement, as WEINGARTEN claimed in his outmoded theories regarding the pagan recluses of the Serapeum. The foreshadowings of Christian institutions are to be sought in Israel. Desert spirituality, as expressed in the lives of the prophets ELIJAH, Hosea, and JOHN THE BAPTIST, was certainly in line with monasticism and had a considerable literary influence on its development.

The ESSENES of the QUMRAN COMMUNITY near the Dead Sea and of Alexandria, of whom the description by PHILO JUDAEUS is in part interpretative, bear a resemblance to the monks of the later monasteries that flourished in the same territory. There is no evidence, however, of direct historical continuity between the two groups. It is probable that the Judeo-Christian communities, which were profoundly stamped with the tradition of the "poor of Yahweh," transmitted their sentiment to the churches of Syria and perhaps to those of Egypt. Such sentiments are not, however, characteristic of the churches in the Greek stream of culture that are relatively better known.

Early in the third century, the Christian scholar and theologian ORIGEN gave expression to an ascetic and mystical ideal that contained elements of both GNOSTICISM and Greek philosophy and was destined to have extensive influence on the Church's future. In particular, his combination of a scriptural exegesis based on the belief in various levels of meaning of a given text with an anthropology consisting of levels of spiritual progress would prove fruitful for monastic spirituality in both the East and the West. During the years when Christianity was making peace with the Roman Empire and receiving the masses into its communion (but lowering its moral level), a powerful ascetic movement began to manifest itself. This movement comprised a purely evangelical society on the fringes of the populated world, but it occasionally opposed itself to the Church hierarchy and gave rise to unorthodox sects.

More often, however, ecclesiastical authority was respected by its saintly founders, and the movement became an institution within the Church. It initially took the form of anchoritic societies, and later it developed into cenobitism and the founding of the LAURA. A Marxist interpretation would describe this evolution as a seizure by the hierarchy of a popular revolutionary force, and this would not be an entirely false view. Like primitive Christianity itself, monastic asceticism is a historical movement that transformed the ancient world and helped to create the medieval society. Monasticism provided a spiritual aristocracy, and these scions of a new elite preserved a notable part of the ancient culture. Once in existence, however, the monastic institutions were not always faithful to their original inspiration.

St. Anthony and Anchoritism. St. ANTHONY OF EGYPT (c. 250–356) was the son of Coptic peasants who became the "father of the monks," though he proved to be the model, not the founder, of monasticism. According to his biographer, he retired to a retreat outside his native village at 20 years of age and died there when he was 105. However, the chronology of the period seems confused, and the beginning of the Egyptian anchorite movement should be dated closer to the year 300 than to 270. The first documentary (papyrus) evidence of the ANCHORITES is supplied by the entourage of Meletius of Alexandria, a rival of ATHANASIUS. It dates from c. 335. The *Life of Anthony*, written by Athanasius of Alexandria around 357, stresses Anthony's austerity, the evangelical inspiration of his renunciation, his fight against the demons, and his zeal for orthodoxy. The demonology seems to be an accommodation to popular concepts, and the attention given to his orthodoxy apparently stems from the concern of the biographer to strengthen the bonds between the hierarchy and monasticism. One thing is certain: Athanasius's own difficulties with the imperial authorities during the Arian controversies strengthened his alliance with the monks.

The impressions of a witness so close to the monastic movement, though not a part of it himself, must be compared with the authentic letters of Anthony. These letters have called into question the traditional view of Anthony as a simple and unlearned peasant, showing him instead to have been versed in the Originism characteristic of the Alexandrian theological tradition. In his retreat in the desert, between the Nile and the Red Sea, Anthony enjoyed an enormous prestige because of his lofty and well-balanced ideal of asceticism and solitary contemplation, as well as his gift of discernment of spirits. A number of disciples began to imitate him, living in solitude, separated by great distances, and coming to him at long intervals for counsel.

Pachomius and Cenobitism. Farther to the south, at TABENNISI and Pebou in the THEBAID, a younger contemporary of Anthony, PACHOMIUS, who had become a monk around 313, began organizing cenobitic communities that, in his lifetime, included several

thousand brothers, not counting convents of women. Endowed with an instinctive understanding of human nature but no philosophical training, this Copt founded monasteries that he divided into houses in which men lived a disciplined life in common, performed remunerative work, and practiced individual poverty and detachment in essential matters. These practices were alternated with judiciously organized prayer. Pachomius had many visions of an apocalyptic type, and despite the profound respect he displayed toward ecclesiastical authority, trust in his charismatic gifts gradually brought him into opposition with the hierarchy (at the Synod of Latopolis), though not with Athanasius, in whom distance fostered comprehension.

Pachomius's successors, Orsiesi and Theodore, did not enjoy the outstanding prestige their master had acquired for himself, but they are attractive figures. The rules and the vitas forming the Pachomian legacy are partly their work. By a strange turn of history, these unsystematized rules, which are nevertheless rich in experience, had only a limited influence in the East. However, they reached Italy (in a Latin translation by St. JEROME) and exercised a profound influence there.

Desert Fathers. Ammonas, a disciple of Anthony, was named bishop of OXYRHYNCHUS by Athanasius, probably to ensure proper control and supervision of the masses of monks then multiplying in the region. He showed unusual mildness and forbearance toward those among them who were public offenders, maintaining the brothers in stability and coping with the problems occasioned by the charisms of the Spirit and revelations of heavenly mysteries. Ammonas is to be distinguished from Ammon, the founder of the monastic colonies of Nitria and the Cells, who was also acquainted with Anthony, though he died before him. This Ammon had initially lived in virginal matrimony with his wife, a practice that recalls an archaic rule of Christian family asceticism and that, it is astonishing to note, was not condemned, judging from available sources. In the great desert of Scete, a little to the south, MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN (d. c. 390) collected fewer disciples but achieved a more perfect and tranquil solitude. Although Anthony and Pachomius remained laymen, the settlements of Nitria and the Cells and, eventually, Scete had their own church and clergy.

Like Anthony and Pachomius, these monks supported Athanasius in his difficulties with ARIANISM and the civil authority. Athanasius, for his part, made their merits known in the West. MELANIA THE ELDER, with RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA and other Romans, visited them, and on settling in Jerusalem they devoted themselves to imitating their *ascesis*, their knowledge of scripture, and their Origenism. Around the year 382, EVAGRIUS PONTICUS provided the monks with the spiritual and intellectual legacy of the Cappadocians—he learned the monks' ascetical "alphabet" and profited from the treasures of psychological insights acquired by their long silences. Shortly after his death in 399, a quarrel broke out among his friends and disciples, the Origenists, and the anthropomorphites. Archbishop THEOPHILUS OF ALEXANDRIA interfered ruthlessly and achieved control of the monastic groups, but not without damage to their gnosis and culture.

The main sources of information regarding this development bear the stamp of the crisis, although the traditions on which they are founded are considerably anterior to it. Of these documents, some were written for the edification of outsiders, such as the *Historia Monachorum*, produced around 400 in the monastery of the Mount of Olives, and the *Historia Lausiaca* of PALLADIUS, published around 420. Both documents reflect the spirit of EVAGRIUS PONTICUS (c. 345–399) in a popular coloration. For the internal use of Western monasticism, another thoroughly Evagrian author, John CASSIAN, wrote his memoirs in the form of *Institutes* and *Conferences*. The mention of these works in the BENEDICTINE RULE ensured that the Egyptian monastic tradition, as interpreted by Cassian, would influence the development of religious life in the West. For the internal use of Eastern monasticism that had become anti-Origenist, various collections of *APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM*, or *Sayings of the Fathers* were compiled. These were brief and charismatic replies to problems of the spiritual life.

The proper use of these various sources requires an acquaintance with the literary genres that evaluate each according to its individual worth. Traditional views have often succumbed to the temptation of evaluating them by the criteria of HAGIOGRAPHY, but rationalistic criticism, both Catholic and non-Catholic, has not always understood the monastic ideal or sufficiently recognized the gospel legacy and the freedom of spirit that characterized this literature. External witnesses provide some aid in discerning and interpreting the facts, although the authors of these literary sources were themselves often the willing victims of the mirages of the desert. More recently, unpretentious evidence, though badly transmitted by the copyists, has been rediscovered and edited from Eastern versions that were strictly contemporary and addressed to the monks themselves. These notices are of the greatest documentary value, and they make it possible to get behind the unsatisfactory syntheses that have hitherto supplied information on the origins of monasticism. They are furnished in the writings of Athanasius, SERAPION, Anthony, Ammonas, and Arsenius. In the effort to give an accurate picture, René Draguet and Jean-Claude Guy have called attention to the value of the collections of apothegms. However, their value is still to be clarified.

Syria and Palestine. In an attempt to achieve a further understanding of the extent of the monastic beginnings, it must be remembered that the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire had easy commerce with one another. The primitive Gnostics and the Manichaeans of Syria and Egypt, for example, were in close contact. In the third century, the ascetic movement in Mesopotamia was perhaps more advanced than that of any other part of the East. The name "abbot" is evidently of Syriac origin, and "monk" may likewise have had an ambitious and Gnostic meaning linked with the *Monogenos*, the Only Son of God, although this interpretation and etymology is contested. It was certainly not current in the fourth century, when *monachos* had the simpler meaning of "solitary" (i.e., celibate).

Syria took longer than the West to react against the encratism of TATIAN and eliminate his influence. In certain quarters, baptism was understood as an engagement involving continence, although the marriage of catechumens (those preparing for baptism) was not condemned—and the catechumens did amount to a sizable group. In the fourth century, baptism did not exclude marriage, but within the communities there was a fervent nucleus, the Sons of the Covenant (*b ᶜnai qᵉyāmā*), who preserved virginity and were more or less ministers of divine worship. They formed the humblest rank of the clergy and lived in a clerical family or among the clergy. The rules concerning these persons were specified only slowly. The "Covenant" was the acceptance of the New Testament, concluded by baptism, not a vow or an evangelical counsel. No major figure appeared among them in the fourth century—APHRAATES and St. EPHREM THE SYRIAN were exemplars rather than pioneers.

Under the Egyptian influence, it seems, a current of anchoritism manifested itself in that part of the Orient around the year 360. Numerous solitaries escaped all organized discipline, preferring to wander in wild and desert places, leading a primitive and eccentric life. Saints EPIPHANIES OF CONSTANTIA and Ephrem the Syrian testify to the existence of lawless groups called Messalians (Syriac for "those who pray"), who rebelled against any work under the pretext that they had to consecrate themselves to perpetual prayer. They had a scorn for worldly goods and were more a scandal than an edification. Some, for all their oddity, did attract veneration, however. Their achievements are described by THEODORET OF CYR in his *Religious History*. Of special note was Simeon the Stylite (d. 459), who lived in a basket between heaven and earth on a column more than sixty feet high. But great numbers, either spontaneously or under the influence of the episcopate, came to accept the way of life implicit in Basilian cenobitism. Their most notable centers were located near the Persian border, in Edessa, Amida, and Tur Abdin. From there, a missionary monasticism spread over the southern part of ARMENIA and GEORGIA and characterized the eastern missions of the Persian Church.

The Syrian monastic world had its counterpart in the deserts of Judea and the hermitages of Sinai, which had close contacts with Egypt, as well as a special character because of the sacred memories of the Holy Land. The *spoudaei* (zealots) attached themselves primarily to the holy places and provided them with protection and divine worship. Foreign pilgrims entered their ranks, often after having visited Egypt. In the fourth century, particularly, they had many Latin visitors, including Saints Jerome and Paula, the two Melanias and Rufinus, John Cassian, and Aetheria. Jerome embroidered or invented local traditions of his *Life of Malchus* and *Life of Hilarion* (he did the same for Egypt in his *Life of St. Paul First Hermit*). The characteristic form of Palestinian monasticism centered around the laura, where the individual ascetics lived a more regulated common life than was usual in the Egyptian model. The same process was later repeated among the Cappadocians, Armenians, and Georgians. The recognizable Syrian type is sometimes clothed with a Hellenistic veneer, especially when the subjects were men in the cities. Such was the case with DIODORE OF TARSUS and John CHRYSOSTOM at Antioch.

Cappadocia and Messalianism. The eastern part of Asia Minor came under the influence of Syria. At the Council of GANGRA (341) the Arianism of court bishops clashed with an ascetic movement led by EUSTATHIUS, the future bishop of Sebaste. He was reproached for breaking up homes, misleading children, emancipating slaves, and departing from the obedience of the clergy to live independently in sectarian fashion. When he became bishop, Eustathius annoyed the extremists among his own disciples, including Aetios, by preserving ecclesiastical discipline and organizing a hospice, for this was interpreted as a compromise with the goods of this world. Intellectuals of great families, such as Basil of Caesarea and GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS, rallied to his ideal. They managed to combine asceticism with obedience to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and integration into the local church, especially through charitable undertakings. The result was a stable and balanced cenobitism, more thoroughly communitarian than that achieved by Pachomius. Gregory of Nazianzus preferred a more inward and contemplative life, and he exercised considerable influence on Evagrius Ponticus, who was later to come to Scete through the influence of Melania the Elder.

After the death of Basil in 379, his brother, GREGORY OF NYSSA, and his disciple AMPHILOCHIUS OF ICONIUM maintained contact with the ascetic move-

ment in the hope of spreading their mystical ideal to the whole Church. However, they were soon faced with extravagances among the followers of Eustathius and did not succeed in controlling them. After 383, Bishops Letoios of Melitene, Amphilochius, and then Flavian of Antioch, in succession, took the initiative in condemning Dadoes, Sabas, Adelphios, Hermas, Simeon, and other leaders of the movement. This episcopal intervention was no doubt provoked by previous experience. The ascetics claimed they were in communion with the Church, and strategy of the bishops was aimed at getting them to express openly their ideas on inner sanctification by the Holy Spirit and the devices of the demon—conceptions that were dangerous for the sacramental structure of the Church.

To discredit these sects, the bishops linked them with the anarchic Messalians, despite the differences between the two groups. Their spiritual teaching has survived in the homilies improperly attributed to Macarius the Egyptian, and the *Liber graduum*, a Syriac work, is closely allied to them. These writings are certainly susceptible of an orthodox interpretation, and traditional support can be found for them, but they contain the theses condemned by the anti-Messalian councils. These condemnations and the polemic by DIADOCHUS OF PHOTICE or MARK THE HERMIT did not prevent them from having a beneficent influence on Byzantine mysticism. They reached the West at a comparatively late date, during the crisis that was caused by the Franciscan FRATICELLI and during the beginnings of PIETISM and METHODISM.

Constantinople. In the capital of the later Roman Empire, monasticism established itself around 380. Its original contacts were with Syria, but it manifested an Egyptian influence after the Origenist monks were expelled by Theophilus of Alexandria (around 400). The *Lives* of Hypatius (d. 446) and Alexander the Acoemete (d. c. 430) bear witness to this movement, although the latter is somewhat in the tradition of the Messalians and gives evidence of conflict with Church discipline. The disciples of John Chrysostom are known through a collection of the letters of NILUS OF ANCYRA (d. c. 430) and the works of Mark the Hermit. In the second half of the century, Daniel the Stylite (d. 493), an imitator of St. Simeon, was already playing a role in the capital.

Early Western Monasticism. The first centers of monasticism in the West were formed as a result of the exile of Athanasius in Rome, Trier, northern Italy, and Aquileia. The social structure of the Christian communities differed considerably from that of Egypt, but the *Life of Anthony* readily set the tone for men coming to the movement from higher society. A typical trait of Western monasticism was its penetration into the clergy in the service of the local churches. It is noticeable from the time of EUSEBIUS OF VERCELLI (d. 371), who, on his return from exile in the East, brought back the idea of a community life for his clergy. The idea was later put into practice by Ambrose of Milan and AUGUSTINE. The support of bishops, themselves often chosen from among the monks, played a significant role in the spread of monasticism in the West. Of particular significance was the monastic movement associated with the Islands of Lérins in the Bay of Cannes. A series of monastic bishops from this community helped to diffuse the monastic ideal throughout southern Gaul.

In northern Italy, MARTIN OF TOURS was trained in the monastic ideal before founding Marmoutier (372) in western France and becoming the model monk bishop of Gaul. After the death of Pope DAMASUS (384), monasticism temporarily lapsed into disfavor in Rome, although Jerome successfully discredited its adversaries Helvidius and Jovinian. Also significant in Rome was the development of an urban monasticism, centered around the liturgical service in the churches of the city. In Spain during this period, PRISCILLIANISM proved to be an analogous movement, but its orthodoxy was suspect and its principals were persecuted by the episcopacy. In Africa, outside the zone of influence of Augustine, modern historians see traces of Messalianism, perhaps derived from the East. Marxist historians such as Theodora Büttner have linked monasticism with the Donatist movement of the Circumcellions, who rebelled against the social system and went about the countryside violently imposing their religious opinions. The phenomenon is interesting for the light it sheds on one milieu of the origin of monasticism.

Jerome, Rufinus, Evagrius, and others had translated the Eastern monastic texts into Latin at an early date. At the beginning of the fifth century, Cassian, in Provence, brought a new influx of Eastern traditions, with the avowed aim of reforming Gallic monasticism. The Latin genius was to multiply these monastic rules based on the original ideals as it assimilated the barbarians. Finally, Benedict of Nursia joined the Eastern tradition coming from Cassian through the Rule of the Master with the Western genius of Augustine in a synthesis that shaped monastic life in the West. By way of Gaul, particularly, was to be born the early Irish monasticism that was later to bring the gospel and culture back to the Continent.

Conclusion. Monasticism was a development of primitive Christian asceticism along various lines; the anchoritic and cenobitic types were not the original nucleus, but rather successful forms on which others patterned themselves. The early monastic movement included both men and women, though the women are represented more by literature about them than by them. The monks had their own culture independent of the classical world



The Benedictines. *St. Benedict of Nursia (480–550) prays with his monks.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/ABBEY OF MONTEOLIVETO MAGGIORE SIENA/ALFREDO DAGLI ORTI\THE PICTURE DESK, INC.**

of antiquity, often arising from local popular traditions, whether Coptic or Syriac. The monks brought the Church an ideal of asceticism, forms of prayer such as the use of the Psalter, a rich experience of inwardness, and new literary forms. The movement became a triumphant power that, despite its resistance to cultural change, was to give a distinguishing character to the Middle Ages.

SEE ALSO ARIANISM; MANICHAEISM; MONASTICISM, EARLY IRISH.

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II. MEDIEVAL MONASTICISM (600–1500)

From the sixth through the eighth century, Western monasticism was not organized into an order, nor did it have a common rule. Eastern, Celtic, and Benedictine elements combined to form various rules (20 such mixed rules were in use in Gaul alone around the year 600). Over the course of the seventh century, these rules incorporated ever larger portions of the Rule of St. COLUMBAN and the Benedictine Rule. Some Continental monasteries—such as LUXEUIL and FLEURY in Gaul, and BOBBIO and the restored Abbey of MONTE CASSINO in Italy—came to adopt the Benedictine Rule as their norm of monastic life. As for England, the monastic allegiance of AUGUSTINE OF CANTERBURY and his fellow monks sent by GREGORY I the Great to convert England is unknown. By the second half of the sixth century, the Benedictine Rule was known in Northumbria, perhaps through the work of Wilfrid of York and Benedict Biscop.

The late seventh- and eighth-century Anglo-Saxon missionaries to the Continent were all Benedictine, and their many monastic foundations—for both men and women—were likewise Benedictine. The work of BONIFACE, followed by the encouragement and legislation of

CHARLEMAGNE and his successors, made the Benedictine Rule obligatory for all monks and nuns under Carolingian authority. However, the monks and nuns in Celtic lands and in Visigoth Spain held fast to their own patterns of monastic living for several more centuries. It was during this period as well that the monastic movement in the West became largely clerical, owing to developments in Eucharistic theology and in the role of the monk in feudal society.

The Carolingian Era. The BENEDICTINES were the missionaries and the teachers in the Carolingian era who made the CAROLINGIAN RENAISSANCE a reality. Their mission work to the Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians continued into the tenth century, as did their mission to the western Slavs and Hungarians. At home, the monks labored in the school and SCRIPTORIUM, writing theological, hagiographical, and historical works, and they managed the abbey lands. But all this extramonastic activity provoked protests by BENEDICT OF ANIANE. Under his leadership, the monastic Synod of Aachen in 817 decreed the elimination of extern work, the lengthening of the DIVINE OFFICE, common monastic customs or regulations for all monks, and regular VISITATION of all monasteries. From this time until the twelfth century, almost all monks in Europe were Benedictine, but most of this legislation remained largely a dead letter until Cluny adopted parts of it in the tenth century.

The decay of Carolingian authority in the state—and the subsequent decentralization—paved the way for feudalism and made the abbey a feudal fief. The ABBOT thus became a feudal lord, with all the attendant privileges and obligations. The contemporary invasions of NORMANS, Hungarians, and Saracens destroyed many abbeys, especially in France and Italy. However, observance in the monasteries in German lands east of the Rhine generally remained good, and they were able to play a leading role in Church and state affairs under the Saxon and Salian rulers of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Cluniac Reform. Monastic renewal in the West began with the foundation of CLUNY in 910. This French abbey was fortunate in its saintly, capable, and long-lived abbots: ODO OF CLUNY, MAJOLUS, ODILO, HUGH OF CLUNY, and PETER THE VENERABLE. Under these men, Cluny—which was exempt from all secular and spiritual authority except that of the pope—created a centralized "Order" of Cluny. All member monasteries were under the direct authority of the abbot of Cluny, all vows were made to him, and all superiors were appointed by him. Monks were not to be primarily missionaries or teachers, manual labor was curtailed, and the Divine Office was to be longer and more solemn.

The spirit of reform was, however, not exclusive to Cluny. Other centers grew up in Flanders and northern France under GERARD OF BROGNE near Liège, in Lorraine under JOHN OF GORZE at Metz, in Germany at HIRSAU, as well as in southern France, Italy, and Spain. The English revival was the work of the monk bishops DUNSTAN OF CANTERBURY, ETHELWOLD OF WINCHESTER, and OSWALD OF YORK. Their program for English Benedictinism was outlined in the *Regularis Concordia*.

New Monastic Orders. The number of monastic foundations grew steadily. The great churchmen between the tenth and the twelfth centuries—the so-called Benedictine centuries—were monks, and as bishops and popes they successfully spearheaded the struggle of the Church for freedom from secular authority. Centers of monastic renewal emphasizing the eremitic and contemplative ideals of early monasticism were created by Romuald at CAMALDOLI, PETER DAMIAN at FONTE AVELLANA, and at VALLOMBROSA by JOHN GUALBERT in the eleventh century. In 1084, BRUNO OF COLOGNE set up the first Carthusian hermitage at La Grande Chartreuse, thus founding an order that by the fifteenth century would include over 190 charterhouses throughout Europe, all faithful to the ideals of the founder. Other Benedictine-based reform groups, each with its own set of ideals, were founded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: GRANDMONT, Sauve Majeure, CHAISE-DIEU, FONTEVRAULT, and SAVIGNY.

The most important twelfth-century foundation, and the professed rival of Cluny, was the CISTERCIAN ORDER. Its founders, ROBERT OF MOLESME and STEPHEN HARDING, stressed a stricter interpretation of the Benedictine Rule, setting out their ideals and constitutional structure in the *Charta caritatis*. Their original program was purely contemplative and ascetic, with an emphasis on silence, poverty, and manual labor. But since they could not abolish the idea of the monk priest, they were soon obliged to turn the heavy manual work over to lay brothers, whose industry and skill created the great Cistercian abbey estates.

Constitutionally, the Cistercians safeguarded the autonomy of every abbey, and the necessary unity in the order was achieved by means of annual general chapter meetings and visitations. The growth of the order was unparalleled in monastic history. Candidates flocked to the new foundations, and many older Benedictine monasteries joined the new order. By 1300 there were about 700 monasteries for men and a larger number for CISTERCIAN NUNS. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX was in great part responsible for the initial growth of the order. His European reputation placed it in the midst of Church and state affairs, his energy inspired the Second Crusade, and three Cistercian archbishops were the

religious leaders of the Third Crusade. Cistercian monks soon served as diplomats and in the Roman Curia. They headed the mission to the ALBIGENSES and converted the pagans of Prussia and the Baltic area.

However, tensions arose in the order even before the death of Stephen Harding. A rivalry between the abbot of CÎTEAUX and the daughter houses threatened to become chronic, and distant abbeys tended to go their own way. The practice of COMMENDATION, the Black Death, the WESTERN SCHISM, the Hundred Years' War, and the Hussite Wars all had their repercussions. Changes in administration and papal legislation were of some help, but attendance at the general chapters kept falling off from the second half of the fourteenth century onward, so that in the years of religious crisis it was rare if even 30 abbots attended the annual gathering.

The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. The general monastic picture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was uninspiring. Some abbeys retained a high level of regular observance—the "Orders" of the CELESTINES, of Sylvestrine, and of Olivetan Benedictines founded in this era still survive. Most monastic foundations, however, were in spiritual doldrums. Leadership in Christian scholarship had passed to the universities and dedicated religious vocations gravitated to the MENDICANT ORDERS.

The reasons for this decline in monastic life were varied. Many abbeys were too much involved in secular affairs, some had become rest houses for members of the nobility, and others had purposefully limited the number of monks so that the professed monks would have more income. The Hundred Years' War often forced monks to live outside their cloisters, while the Black Death and the pernicious commendatory system were causes of decline over which the monks had no control. The abbatial office and that of other monastic officials were treated as benefices. Frequently, the sense of personal poverty all but vanished, and the reform efforts of higher ecclesiastical authority availed but little. The decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and the efforts of Popes HONORIUS III, GREGORY IX, and BENEDICT XII all failed to overcome the general inertia and the opposition of the local ordinaries.

The Fifteenth Century. Eventually, effective revival came from within the Benedictine family with the birth of the late medieval congregations, especially the highly centralized congregations of St. Justina of Padua and PANNONHALMA in Hungary. Other congregations preserved the autonomy of the member abbey but placed it under the supervision of the general chapter and its officials. Many abbeys joined the congregations of KASTL, MELK, BURSFELD, or WINDESHEIM in German lands, Valladolid in Spain, and CHEZAL-BENOÎT in France.

The ideal monk of these monasteries was pious and book-loving, and his cell was the nursery of fifteenth-century humanism. These monks loved the Benedictine Rule, but the spiritual doctrine taught by the great abbots of the new congregations, such as John Rode, Luigi Barbo, García de CISNEROS, and Johannes TRITHEMIUS, was that of the DEVOTION MODERNA.

SEE ALSO CAROLINGIAN REFORM; CLUNIAC REFORM; CRUSADES; GREGORIAN REFORM; HOSPITALLERS; AND HOSPITAL SISTERS; LATERAN COUNCILS; MILITARY ORDERS; MONASTERY, DOUBLE; PREMONSTRATENSIANS.

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III. MODERN MONASTICISM (1500–1960)

Like so much of the Catholic Church's renewal in the sixteenth century, monasticism looked to the Council of TRENT for new impetus. Prior to the council, there had

been some efforts at reform (e.g. Valladolid in Spain, St. Justina in Italy, Melk and Bursfeld in the German-speaking territories), but these were minimal in terms of their ability to mobilize a widespread movement of Benedictine reform throughout Europe. By the time of the Council of Trent's opening, the monasteries of England had already been effectively closed by virtue of the dissolution of the monestaries under HENRY VIII. The disparate character of the monastic life throughout Europe was therefore in need of unification.

This need was met by canon eight of the council's last session, which required all monasteries to ally themselves as members of a particular monastic congregation. Although an effort was made to preserve the traditional monastic autonomy of each house, the implementation and enforcement of conciliar decrees frequently fell to the local bishop. Monasteries of women were to remain under the jurisdiction of the HOLY SEE or the local bishop. The minimum age for profession of monks was sixteen, while monastic women could make perpetual profession only after they had reached twenty-one years of age. The vow of poverty forbade personal ownership and landholdings, which was a blow against the *commendam* practice of previous centuries. The most important decree for the success of the reforming spirit stated that all exempt monastic houses were to affiliate with a congregation, with general chapters and regular visitations.

The response to the Tridentine decrees varied according to the locale. The Congregation of Santa Justina in Italy, once affiliated with the ancient Abbey of Monte Cassino, became the Cassinese Congregation. It grew in number in the years following Trent, with fourteen new monasteries entering the congregation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A number of bishops and cardinals from this congregation emerged as leaders of the Church. In 1566 the Portuguese Congregation of Lusitanian was established, modeled on the already existent Valladolid Congregation. In Austria, the restored Congregation of Melk was reestablished in 1617. The old German Bursfeld Congregation expanded as the Swabian Congregation (1603), the Congregation of Strasbourg (1623), the diocesan Congregation of Salzburg (1641), the Bavarian Congregation of the Holy Angels (1684) and the Congregation of Augsburg (1685).

Under Einsiedeln Abbey, the Swiss Congregation was formed in 1602, and the Congregation of the Presentation was founded in the Netherlands in 1628. The reformed congregation of Valladolid in Spain was extended in the sixteenth century to Mexico and Peru with the missionary ventures to the New World. Another Portuguese Congregation of Brazil was formed in 1582. The English Benedictine Congregation was formally established in exile on the continent in 1619.

Perhaps the most influential of the new congregations were found in France. The Congregation of St. Vanne, formed in 1604, was modeled on the Cassinese Congregation, and under Didier de la Cour it spread throughout France, gaining a reputation for scholarly work. Even more of a commitment to intellectual life was rendered by the Congregation of St. Maur, formed in 1621. Noted for its house at St. Germain-des-Prés in Paris, the MAURISTS flourished throughout the following century, producing such eminent scholars as Gregory Tarrisse, Luc d'Archery and Jean MABILLON.

New congregations of women in France included the Catherine de Bar's Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament and the Congregation of Calvary from Fontevrault. In the seventeenth century, reformed abbesses renewed the monastic life at places such as MONTMARTRE, Val-de-Grace and Saint-Paul-les-Beauvais. By 1660 there were 18,000 Benedictine nuns in France, about twice the number as there were in 1600. Also in France the English Benedictines in exile at Douai and Cambrai found in Dame Gertrude MORE and others a rich vein of spiritual writing to help them in their own renewal. The Congregation of Kulm under Magdalene Morteska helped to lead reform efforts in German-speaking lands.

Another arm of reform came from the Cistercian branch of monasticism. The TRAPPISTS (the Order of Cistercians of Strict Observance) under Abbot Armand de RANCÉ received papal approval in 1678, and papal approval was given to the Congregation of Mechitarists, a group that represented the ancient traditions of Eastern monasticism, in 1712.

Apart from the spiritual vein of renewal, Benedictine monasteries were in the forefront of spreading the best baroque standards of art, architecture, and music. The Austrian, German, and Swiss monasteries were especially noteworthy in this enterprise.

Secularization. By the 1700s, however, the monastic order was again being threatened by elements of the ENLIGHTENMENT, monarchical government, and secularizing influences. The Enlightenment critique of the Catholic Church included the monasteries, which it identified with the *ancien régime*. The anticlerical and Masonic literature of the century reflected this, as did the policies of the secularizing governments of Austria (1750 to 1790) and the Czarist regime in Russia and Poland.

In the second half of the eighteenth century the first dissolutions of French monasteries took place, culminating in the complete suppression of all monastic houses at the time of the FRENCH REVOLUTION. The September Massacre and many other bloody reprisals against the Church by the revolutionary government included Benedictines as their victims. In the last decades

of the century, Emperor JOSEPH II of Austria suppressed numerous Benedictine abbeys in Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and areas of Poland. Monasteries in the Netherlands and Switzerland were forced to close their doors in 1796. The Napoleonic Wars increased the threat to Benedictine life. Throughout Italy, Prussia, Silesia and Germany, countless monasteries were secularized by governments unfriendly to any form of organized religious life. In Spain, the monasteries were suppressed by Joseph Bonaparte in 1809. By 1810, it was said there were fewer monasteries in existence in western Europe than at any time since the age of St. Augustine.

The Nineteenth-Century Revival. Even as the monastic order in Europe reached its nadir at the beginning of the 1800s, indicators of rebirth were evident. In 1802 the suppressed abbeys of Hungary formed a new congregation out of the royal monastery of Pannonhalma. English monks who had fled from the French oppression founded abbeys at AMPLEFORTH in 1802 and DOWNSIDE in 1814. Benedictine nuns from Cambrai in France did the same, establishing communities at Colwich in 1795 and later founded the monastery of STANBROOK. In Bavaria, King Ludwig I restored the Abbey of METTEN (1830) and the Benedictine convent of Eichstätt, which was in turn to become influential in shaping other Bavarian abbeys into the Bavarian Congregation. Both the renewed English Congregation and the Bavarian and Austrian monasteries were very much engaged in the education of youth.

The real germ of the nineteenth-century revival, however, was to be found in France. In 1833 a diocesan priest, Prosper GUÉRANGER, founded an abbey at the ancient monastic site of SOLESMES. Modeled on the medieval ideal of Cluny and a return to ancient monastic sources, Solesmes became a center of liturgical life and scholarship. The founding of this abbey marked the beginning of the French Congregation (now known as the Solesmes Congregation) and gave birth to other foundations at Ligugé and Marseille. Solesmes also helped to found the Sisters of St. Cecilia under Cecile BRUYÈRE, which was essentially a companion reform to that of the monks. Another French diocesan priest, Jean-Baptiste MUARD, founded an abbey at Pierre-qui-vire in 1850 that incorporated elements of strict observance and missionary activity. In France, the Benedictine Nuns of the Heart of Mary (Pradines), the Benedictine sisters of the Poor (Solesmes), the Adorers of the Heart of Jesus (Montmartre), and the Congregation of Missionary Benedictines (Ligugé) also emerged at this time.

In Italy, Pietro Casaretto transformed SUBIACO into a reform center in 1851, and he then went on to form the Subiaco Congregation. This congregation absorbed abbeys across the European continent and was known for its missionary impulse. It was this congregation, through the labors of the Spanish Benedictines Joseph Serra and Rosendo Salvado, that brought a Benedictine presence to the Australian continent, along with the work of English Benedictines.

Another branch of the nineteenth-century revival came from the foundation at BEURON in the Black Forest. Two German brothers, Maurus and Placidus WOLTER, founded Beuron in 1863. Modeled in many aspects on Solesmes, the Beuron Congregation was influential in a return to the sources of monastic life and a concentration on liturgical renewal. Indeed, the abbeys of MAREDSOUS and Mont César in Belgium, both centers for the liturgical movement, formed part of the Beuronese Congregation, as did the German abbey of MARIA LAACH. A Beuronese monk, Andreas Amrheim, was to found the Congregation of St. Ottilien (1884), which had a missionary orientation. Allied to the monks of St. Ottilien were the Benedictine missionary sisters of Tützing.

The missionary thrust of the nineteenth-century revival was a pronounced part of its impetus. In addition to sending monks to Africa, Australia, and South America, this was the time when monasticism came to North America. The most forceful figure in this venture was Boniface Wimmer, who became archabbot of the monastery of the ST. VINCENT ARCHABBEY in Pennsylvania (1846) and spearheaded the birth and growth of the American Cassinese Congregation. Swiss monks made similar foundations at ST. MEINRAD ARCHABBEY in 1854 and Conception in 1871, and there were large numbers of Benedictine sisters from monastic houses in Germany and Switzerland who accompanied them.

Part of the motivation of these monks was the pastoral care of German-speaking immigrant Catholics in North America. The monasteries established schools and seminaries, and the monks entered into parochial ministry. The monks were followed quickly by Benedictine women from Bavarian and Swiss monasteries. The first group arrived from Eichstätt under the leadership of Sister Benedicta Riepp in 1852. Since American bishops wanted religious women in schools and hospitals, the Benedictine nuns who established monasteries in North America lost the right to solemn vows. After a long and tenacious struggle, they were eventually able to reclaim their monastic identity through the establishment of monastic congregations of pontifical right in the twentieth century.

The fruits of this revival were seen not just in rapidly expanding numbers but also in a more centralized structure. Under Pope LEO XIII there was a revival of the monastery of Sant'Anselmo in Rome as a central house of studies, as well as an attempt to organize a confederation of Benedictine congregations of monks. A Congress of Abbots was held in 1893, at which the position of Abbot Primate was created to constitute a

more unified Benedictine character. Among new congregations added in the first part of the twentieth century were the Belgian Congregation (1920), the Austrian Congregation (1930) and the Bohemian Congregation of St. Adalbert (1945).

Pope Leo XIII had also sought to bring together the various traditions of the Cistercian reform in 1892. Differences in monastic observance and national congregations precluded such a union, however. The Holy See ultimately recognized two branches of the Cistercians, including houses of men and women: the Order of Citeaux, generally known as the the Common Observance, and the Order of Cistercians of the Strict Observance, popularly known as Trappists.

Many Church leaders, as well as liturgical and spiritual writers, reflected the revitalized monasticism of the early twentieth century. Cardinals Francis GASQUET, Giusseppi DUSMET and Jean Baptiste PITRA epitomized the scholarship of the Benedictine revival. Such writers as Lambert BEAUDUIN, Bernard Botte, Cuthbert BUTLER, John CHAPMAN, Columba MARMION and Germain MORIN served as examples of the fruits of a return to scriptural and patristic sources. The growth in numbers was paralleled with a growth in physical plants, especially in Europe and North America.

The twentieth century was not without its challenges to monasticism, however. The punitive legislation passed by governments of Germany, France, and Italy at the end of the nineteenth century slowed the progress of monasticism in those countries. Even more devastating were the two world wars that marked the first half of the century. The devastation of so much of the monastic patrimony of Europe during those wars was reflected in the destruction of the Abbey of Monte Cassino by Allied bombers and the wholesale loss of life and property experienced by many monastic houses, to say nothing of the loss of priceless manuscripts and books in monastic libraries.

The period after World War II resulted in another resurgence of monastic growth, however, especially in the United States. There was a strong contemplative movement that accompanied the popularity of the best-selling autobiography of Thomas MERTON, a Trappist monk from the Abbey of Gethsemane in Kentucky. Growing numbers flocked to Cistercian houses, while new communities of Benedictine men and women turned away from traditional apostolic works of education and pastoral work and became centers of prayer and liturgical life.

The twentieth century did see the political persecution of Benedictines in various parts of the world. Monks from Silos Abbey were expelled from Mexico in 1913, and the monks of the Abbey of Pueyo suffered a collective martyrdom in 1936 during the Spanish Civil War. Benedictines were also driven from mainland China after WORLD WAR II. With the suppression of monastic houses in Communist territories, there was an increased emigration of monks from eastern Europe and Asia to other countries.

There was also a strong missionary thrust, this time directed toward Latin America, Asia, and Africa. By the 1950s there were thriving Benedictine communities in Argentina, Mexico, Vietnam, India, Morocco, Madagascar, while a number of Benedictines served as bishops in missionary countries.

SEE ALSO AFRICA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; BENEDICTINE ABBEYS AND PRIORIES IN THE U.S.; BENEDICTINES, ENGLISH; LATIN AMERICA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MONASTIC SCHOOLS.

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IV. CONTEMPORARY MONASTICISM (1960–2009)

The decade of the 1960s was marked not only by the decisive event of VATICAN COUNCIL II (1962 to 1965), but also by another intense period of monastic renewal. This was accomplished through a full spectrum of changes, including structural changes in the constitutions of Benedictine congregations, the introduction of the vernacular in the liturgical prayer of communities, the changed patterns of ministry or apostolic work taken on by many communities, a comprehensive re-evaluation of monastic spirituality as it came to terms with the modern world, and new challenges that came through interacting with that world.

Significant changes in communities of men included the abolition of the distinction between choir monks and lay brothers and the uncoupling of the monastic profession and the priesthood. These changes have led to an increased emphasis on the value of the monastic



Contemporary Monasticism. *Abbot Melvin bows his head with others during vespers at St. Mary's Church. Newark Abbey celebrated its 150th anniversary in 2007.* © **ARISTIDE ECONOMOPOULOS/STAR LEDGER/CORBIS**

vocation. At the same time, this period initiated a time of marked demographic change, with decreased numbers from Benedictine houses in Europe and North America and increased numbers from Africa, India and South America. The significant rise in the number of monks and nuns in non-Western cultures has given rise to a fruitful reflection on the authentic inculturation of traditional monastic life in these cultures.

The conciliar call for all religious to return to the sources of their charism led to a flowering of new monastic scholarship at this time. Benedictines such as Jean LECLERCQ, Adalbert de Vogüé, and Cypriano Vagaggini led a new wave of Benedictine scholars who were intent upon distilling the best of the Benedictine tradition of scholarly work and extending it to a wider readership. The Pontifical University of Sant'Anselmo in Rome offered an international venue for this to take place, particularly with its Liturgical Institute and its Monastic Institute. Centers for study and publishing in other parts of the monastic world, such as Collegeville, Minnesota, in the United States, also attracted large numbers of Benedictine students and scholars.

Benedictines exercised considerable leadership in renewal efforts in the period after Vatican II. The American Benedictine Rembert Weakland, who was elected as abbot primate in 1967, did much to promote the renewal of liturgical life. He also broadened contacts with houses of Benedictine women and supported the growing influence of monasticism in Third World countries. In the Roman Curia, Cardinal Augustine Mayer played a significant role under Pope JOHN PAUL II in expediting the religious renewal of communities of consecrated life, and he later served as liaison with the Society of St. Peter. Cardinal Basil HUME, a monk and abbot of Ampleforth Abbey before being named archbishop of Westminster, was widely recognized as a spokesman and spiritual figure of influence in the European Church.

The Benedictine order itself was enlarging its membership during this period. By the 1970s, the Vallombrosan (1966), Camaldolese (1966), Olivetan (1960), and Sylvestrine (1973) branches of Benedictinism had entered the Benedictine Confederation. There was now a Slavic Congregation, formed in 1969, and the Benedictine houses of Latin America formed the Cono-Sur Congregation in 1976. This was also a time of marked growth in non-Catholic Benedictine houses. The Anglican and Lutheran churches witnessed a renewed growth of monastic communities in their denominations, and there was a concerted effort to

engage in dialogue with non-Christian monastics. The Bangkok Conference of 1968, at which Thomas Merton suffered his unexpected death, was one of these.

The work of the English Benedictine Father Bede GRIFFITHS and Henri le Saux in India signaled an entirely new ground for combining elements of Hindu practice with Catholic monasticism. A number of organizations, such as the North American Board for East-West Dialogue and the Monastic Interreligious Dialogue, actively sought to carry on the exchange of ideas between Catholic monks and those of other faiths. Examples of Benedictine monasteries in the forefront of ecumenical work included Chevetogne in Belgium and Bose in Italy. The popularity of the Benedictine-based ecumenical monasticism of Taizé also achieved unprecedented attention. The attention came from a clear message of the spiritual life of the monastic tradition presented in a new way that crossed confessional lines. Large numbers of people, especially youth, from diverse religious traditions, or none, were attracted to Taizé and to programs held elsewhere by the monks of Taizé.

The missionary impulse was alive and well during this period. The decade of the 1960s had seen an unprecedented commitment of monastic personnel in Latin America. Although a number of foundations did not pass the test of time because of local political instability and a dearth of indigenous vocations, many Benedictine foundations became integral parts of the local Church in Latin America. Africa and Asia also saw a renewed Benedictine growth in the last years of the twentieth century.

The decades at the end of the twentieth century witnessed the return of a more vibrant monastic life to countries that had long suffered from political oppression under Communist rule. This was the case in Vietnam following that nation's difficult period of war and internal discord. It was especially so in the countries of eastern Europe after the fall of Communism in 1989. Many of the restrictions formerly imposed on monastic houses in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia were lifted. In countries such as Lithuania, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic an entirely revitalized form of monastic life was nurtured with the help of material and human resource from monasteries of the Free World.

A variety of experiments in monastic life were part of the postconciliar period. There were new efforts at both an urban monasticism and a return to eremitical life. The CHARISMATIC RENEWAL movement of the 1970s found its way into a number of Benedictine houses, notable the monastery of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Pecos, New Mexico. The 1980s and 1990s were marked by the genesis of a number of new monastic communities of men and women whose common heritage was a return to traditional practices, characterized by a full round of the Divine Office, use of the full religious habit, and a more cloistered existence. A number of communities divested themselves of active apostolic ministries and became centers for prayer and retreats during this period, and there was a flowering of new forms of monastic art, architecture, and music.

Monasticism was distinguished much more by its international character and its pluralism in the last decades of the twentieth century. New technologies expedited an ease of communication among far-flung monasteries, and these advances were buttressed by frequent encounters and personal exchanges among monastics of different houses—both between members of the different monastic orders and between monastic men and women. Another prominent feature was the surge in growth of lay associate or oblate programs, in which many committed laypeople, both Catholic and non-Catholic, affiliated themselves with particular monasteries. Monastic practices such as *lectio divina* also became accessible to a wider public, and a renewed interest in monastic spirituality was generated in the entire Church.

There was a decline in the number of monastic men and women between 1965 and 2009. In 1965 there were over 12,000 monks and over 23,000 Benedictine women throughout the world, but in 2009 there were 7,558 monks and 4,492 Benedictine women (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 467, 487). However, the variety of women's congregations had grown to sixty-three, and there were eighty-two congregations or independent abbeys of men. In addition, the numerical decline was less than that suffered by other major religious orders during the same period. These figures pointed to a vitality and diversity in the monastic order at the beginning of the third millennium that was very much in keeping with the Benedictine charism.

SEE ALSO BENEDICTINES, OLIVETAN; BENEDICTINES, SYLVESTRINE.

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V. EASTERN MONASTICISM UNTIL 1453

Byzantine monasticism is not divided into specialized orders and congregations, as it is in the West, nor does it have an organized unity. The conciliar and imperial legislation on the matter is summary, and the Rule of St. Basil is but a monument of experience and tradition, without any legal binding force. In addition to cenobitism, there have been various forms of the eremitic life. Since the ninth century, anyone (often it was a layman) founding a monastery drafted the *typikon* (rule) of his house to his own taste.

It is almost impossible to make a list of the early monasteries, since many were only precariously maintained hermitages. Nonetheless, in 1953 Raymond Janin created a catalog of 325 monasteries that existed in the city of Constantinople, though several of these may be duplicates, since monasteries changed names over the course of time. A similar list covering the remainder of the empire is in preparation, and when completed it will furnish a precise basis for general study. This survey is limited to a brief chronological survey of the most significant events.

Egypt and Palestine. The initial period has been treated separately (see section I above), for it is of cardinal importance, and the innovations of that time spread rapidly throughout the Christian world. From the end of the fourth century on, Egypt was more isolated, except for the group at Nitria known from the *Apophthegmata Patrum*. In the south, in the White Monastery, SHENOUTE OF ATRIPE (d. 466) and Besa (d. after 474) were personages well known from their Coptic works, but they had almost no influence outside of Egypt. In the north, which was troubled very early by MONOPHYSITISM (except among the Pachomians of Canopus, the bulwark of the Chalcedonian patriarchs), the development of monasticism ran closely parallel with that of the East, although no figures of the first rank were produced there. Syria also was hard hit by Monophysitism, except for the monasteries of St. Simeon and of St. Maron. The *Plerophoriae* of John Rufus (see *Patrologia orientalis*, vol. 8), written shortly after 512, and the *Lives of the Eastern Saints* (see *Patrologia orientalis*, vols. 17–19) of JOHN OF EPHESUS (d. 586) give a picturesque description of them. Spiritual writers such as PHILOXENUS OF MABBUGH were already outside the mainstream of Byzantine tradition by this time.

The most active monastic center in the fifth century was Palestine, which attracted vocations from everywhere. The Monophysite centers there were moderate and highly cultured, and the highest traditions of the Egyptian desert from the fourth century were maintained. Representative authors inspired by the works of EVAGRIUS PONTICUS include Abbot Isaias (d. 488),



St. Basil the Great (c. 329–379). *An 18th century painting in the Dominican Monastery in Dubrovnik depicts St. Basil, Dubrovnik's protector and Patron Saint.* © **JONATHAN BLAIR/CORBIS**

Peter the Iberian (d. 488), and John and Barsanuphius, along with their disciple Dorotheus of Gaza (d. after 560). The PSEUDO-DIONYSIUS probably belongs to this group as well. There were Chalcedonian lauras along the Jordan and in the Dead Sea region, but the monks here were less well read and perhaps more austere. CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS (late sixth century) has provided excellent biographies of several of them, including EUTHYMIUS THE GREAT (d. 473), SABAS (d. 532), and Theodosius (d. 529). Monasticism, in penetrating this region, led to a violent crisis of Origenism from about 540 to 552. With the assistance of JUSTINIAN I, the mischief was brutally extirpated. Around 600, the most vital center of orthodox monasticism shifted to Sinai, where Justinian had built a fortified monastery. The *Ladder of Paradise* by JOHN CLIMACUS (c. 579–649) synthesizes the whole of this ascetic and mystical tradition.

Constantinople. In the Byzantine capital, the monks maintained the Chalcedonian tradition with vigor,

notably the Acoemeti and the monks of the monastery of Dalmatos. With the Christological crisis, the monks of the East adopted extremist positions. The crisis concerned the interpretation of the nature of the final restoration of all things in Christ and the process of divinization of believers. It was based on interpretations of the writings of the third-century Alexandrian theologian Origen in the extreme form connected with the writings of Evagrius. They did not hesitate, for example, to withdraw from the jurisdiction of their bishops, often at the invitation of a neighboring bishop. It is understandable that the Council of CHALCEDON (451), inspired by the Robber Council of EPHESUS (449), should have taken measures to put the monks under the charge of the bishops, and that Justinian should have legislated to the same effect (Corpus iuris civilis, Novellae, ed. R. Schoell and G. Kroll, 5, 133).

Nevertheless it was the power of the monks, the goad of the masses, that was responsible for the creation of an independent Jacobite Church, which often backed linguistic and ethnic groups striving for autonomy. The unwillingness of such groups to compromise was only rarely (e.g., in Palestine) mollified by a literary culture. The monks' work of evangelization on the fringes of Christendom in ARMENIA, GEORGIA, and ARABIA, to say nothing of the Persian form of monasticism, (which had already been cut off from the Byzantine world) deserves to be stressed.

The Middle Byzantine Period. The Persian invasion, and later the Arab conquest, split the Eastern provinces and Egypt from the empire, so that Monophysite monasticism became isolated and disappeared from Byzantium. Some orthodox monks fled to Byzantium and the Western provinces, bringing some manuscripts with them. The times were not favorable for great literary works but only for spiritual FLORILEGIA. In 692 the Council of Trullo tried to work out monastic legislation. Soon, however, the crisis over ICONOCLASM, which was in part a military and imperial reaction against the influence and wealth of the monks, aggravated the situation and culminated in a persecution between 754 and 764. Some colonies of hermits—itinerant, poor, and little organized—nevertheless continued to exist, notably on Mt. Olympus in Bithynia.

Studite Foundations. The monks Plato and THEODORE (a future Studite) withdrew with his male relatives to Mt. Olympus at the end of the eighth century. They took in hand a strict cenobitic reform based on the writings of St. BASIL and Palestinian monasticism, first in the monastery of the Saccudium, and later, in 709, in the STUDION monastery in the capital itself. Strong in their moral authority, they were often vigorous opponents of the emperor and his patriarch. Their poverty and work, their copying of manuscripts (with the spread of the new minuscule script), and the number of monks (more than 700) all prove the value of this reform, which opened the most splendid period of Byzantine monasticism. Sumptuous foundations began to multiply, and libraries were created in them, bringing together treasures of Christian literature that have since enriched Paris, Rome, and Moscow. The most vital monastic centers, such as northern Italy, Mount ATHOS, and Russia, were profoundly marked by the *Hypotyposis* of the Studites.

The persecutions of the second iconoclast crisis (814–843), served only to give the Studites the prestige of confessors. The Synod of Constantinople held in 861 endeavored to prevent both the abuses attendant on the increase of foundations and the authoritarian interference of the founders in the life of the communities. A three-year novitiate was therefore imposed. This was also the age in which the distinction between the "minor habit," signifying a less demanding form of life devoted to manual labor, and the "angelic habit," a higher rank reserved to those who gave themselves exclusively to prayer, came to be widespread. The distinction seems to have originated in Palestine in the seventh century, and it finally came to be accepted, despite the long opposition of the Studites. This acceptance can be interpreted as both a reaction against legislation and an effort to safeguard the spiritual character of monasticism (that of the angelic habit).

In the tenth century, Mount Latros housed a number of flourishing monasteries. In 956, St. ATHANASIUS the Athonite founded the cenobitic monastery of Lavra at Mount Athos, which until then had been a peninsula of hermits. Other large houses of Slavs, Georgians (Iviron), and even Latins would soon follow, and Christodoulos (d. 1101) founded an important monastery on Patmos.

Mystic Revival and Hesychasts. The most remarkable event of eleventh-century Eastern monasticism was undoubtedly the appearance of a mystic revival led by Symeon the New Theologian (d. 1022), who came from the Studite tradition but was dissatisfied with the overly disciplinary and exterior conceptions of holiness that had developed over time, even in the most reformed type of cenobitic life.

As opposed to the ancient anchorites, the Hesychasts of the school of Symeon lived and worked in communities. However, they championed a demanding conception of union with God, in line with the teaching of St. Anthony, the *Apophthegmata*, Dorotheus, and the Messalians—who stressed the importance of the cell, silence, and reading. Peace and silence were obviously thought of preeminently as interior dispositions involving the elimination of distraction with a view to pure

prayer. But the insistence on the psychological experience of the union with God, and on pneumatism, led Symeon—and even more so his disciple and biographer NICETAS STETHATOS (d. c. 1080)—to reserve the direction of souls and teaching to those who had had charismatic spiritual gifts, at the risk of disqualifying the hierarchical power. The Byzantine tradition had generally confided the direction of consciences to the monks, even those who were not priests, but this was now formulated as a doctrine. The spirituals provoked a reaction, doubtless excessive, against Michael Psellus and the claim of the lay philosophers to teach in the Church. Nicetas Stethatos, furthermore, was among the anti-Latin polemicists in 1054.

The Late Byzantine Period. The thirteenth century, which saw the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders, was a time of ruin and decline, but also of renewal. In the fourteenth century, the Hesychast tradition found its greatest Doctor in Gregory PALAMAS. Western authors who have studied this period and made scholarly and doctrinal contributions concerning it often adopt a hostile attitude toward Palamas because of his opposition to Thomism. His distinction between the incommunicable essence of God (to save his transcendence) and his communicable uncreated operations (to safeguard mystical "Taboric" illumination) appears strange to the scholastic mind, but it eventually became the accepted doctrine in Byzantium (after violent controversies), and it is a most felicitous characterization of the soul of Byzantium.

The HESYCHASM of Mount Athos included a psychophysical method of meditation. This approach involved the continual repetition of the JESUS PRAYER while fixing the gaze on a point of the body, in rhythm with one's breathing, in order to make the spirit descend into the heart. This technique, which used to be ridiculed, attracted the attention of twentieth-century psychologists, and the importance it ascribes to the body no longer seems unjustified. It should not in any case be considered more than a method for concentrating attention.

The Turkish invasion soon put an end to monasticism at Constantinople itself. Mount Athos, Patmos, and the monasteries of the Meteora in Thessaly, St. Sabas, and Sinai maintained flourishing Greek monastic republics, while the Slavic world took up the tradition and extended it.

Recruiting people to the monastic life has become very difficult in the East, for a modern ideal of culture and social action has not readily assimilated the traditions of monasticism or those who incarnate them. But it appears that the Western world is beginning to appreciate the human and Christian treasure of Hesychasm and ascetic contemplation.

SEE ALSO BASILIAN MONASTICISM; BASILIANS (BYZANTINE); CRUSADES; HESYCHASM; ICONOCLASM; JACOBITES (SYRIAN); MARO OF CYR, ST.; MARONITE CHURCH.

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VI. EASTERN MONASTICISM SINCE 1453

The importance of the study of Eastern monasticism was stressed by Pius XII when he spoke to the participants of a congress on Eastern monasticism in Rome in 1958. He pointed out that the Eastern monastic institutions are the basis for all other forms of Christian monasticism.

Forms and Terminology. The anchoritism begun by St. Anthony of Egypt (d. 356) was subjected to a critical reappraisal by St. Basil the Great (d. 379) in his rule. From that time, the ideal of cenobitism (common life) prevailed widely in the Orient as well. But the tendency toward a solitary life was never completely extinguished. Solitude (*eremia*) was considered indispensable for *hesychia* (internal tranquility), a word that developed into a whole ascetical program called Hesychasm, which was one of the most important currents of Byzantine spirituality.

Some forms of solitary life were austere and even extreme. Besides stylites and recluses (both of whom were numerous, especially in Syria), there were *boskoi*, or shepherds, who roamed freely over the deserts, nourishing themselves on herbs—whence came the name *herbivori*, given them by St. EPHREM THE SYRIAN. St. NILUS OF ANCYRA considered *xeniteia*, the life of pilgrims in a strange land, the most difficult. The desire for complete isolation, even in the midst of people, urged the *saloi* (in Slavic, *jurodivyje*) to feign eccentricities, even insanity, out of love for Christ; they were numerous in Syria and Russia.

Basilian cenobitism reached its perfection in the Studion monastery of Constantinople, whose *typikon*, or rule, became the model for other foundations. But in reality not all monasteries succeeded in full observance. The idiorrhythmic type of monasticism, an imitation of the ancient colonies of the fathers of the desert, was gradually introduced. Accordingly, the monks live in groups under a superior, but obedience is limited to matters of external regulation. Individual monks retain their own personal property and enjoy considerable freedom. Of the 20 principal monasteries of Mount ATHOS, nine are of this kind. The structure of this monastic republic reveals other types of monastic life still found in the East. The *sketai* (sketes) are dependent on larger monasteries and consist of a group of isolated houses. Small groups of anchorites live in the *asketikai kalybai*. A *hesychasterion* is the dwelling of a solitary hermit. *Kellia* are small, separate, rural habitations where individual monks live under the direction of an older monk. *Kathismata* are hermitages that are better equipped, and thus suitable for a retired bishop and the like. On Mount Athos there are also *gyrovagi* or *kabiotai* (wanderers) who do not belong to any monastery. Palestine was famous for its lauras, a type intermediate between anchoritism and the cenobitic life. A dependent *pustyň*, or hermitage, was often attached to the Russian monasteries.

In the monastic legislation of the East, both civil and ecclesiastical authority had a part. Such legislation is found, for example, in the canons of the Council of Chalcedon (451), the Council of Trullo (691), the Council of NICAEA II (787), and the First and Second Photian Councils of Constantinople (867, 879). The code of Theodosius (d. 450) contains prescriptions for monks that were developed further by Justinian (d. 565) in his *Codex* and *Novellae*, and by Emperor Leo VI (d. 913) in his *Basilika* and *Novellae*. In the ninth century the custom of formulating a particular rule (*typikon*) for each newly founded monastery began. In more recent times, the Holy See issued the motu proprio *Postquam Apostolicis Litteris* for Catholic religious of the Eastern rites on February 2, 1952.

Despite the multiplicity of forms, Eastern monasticism possesses a unity rooted in the common ideal of all Christians, namely the salvation of one's soul. The monk, according to the concept of Basil and others, is none other than the Christian who takes the gospel seriously, with all the consequences. Thus, in the Orient, the ideal of perfection and monastic asceticism are considered identical.

Since it is not possible to give a detailed account here of all Eastern monasteries, some of the principal centers of Eastern monastic life are discussed briefly below.

Egypt. The separation of the Egyptian Church from the Catholic Church, the invasion by the Muslims, and

cultural isolation have reduced to a handful the number of existing monasteries, which in the golden era of Egyptian monasticism had numbered in the hundreds. Four of these are situated in the valley of Wadi Natrun, near the modern highway that leads from Cairo to Alexandria. Deir Amba Maqār is the monastery of MACARIUS THE EGYPTIAN; it was founded on the site of the hermitage of this patriarch of monasticism in the Scetic Desert. Though destroyed several times, it became the seat of the Coptic patriarch in the sixth century, and in the ninth century it was surrounded by the kind of walls that later characterized all Egyptian monasteries.

Deir as-Surjān, the monastery of the Syrians, was founded in the eighth century by the Syrian Tekrit for the monks of his nation. It became celebrated for its Syriac manuscripts, many of which were carried off in the eighteenth century to the Vatican Library, while others went to the British Museum in the nineteenth century. In the fourteenth century a plague killed most of the monks. The chronicle of the monastery speaks of only 43 monks in 1516, of whom 25 were Copts. Eventually, the administration came completely under the Copts. Deir Amba Bishāj, the monastery of the Abbot Isaias (a contemporary of Macarius), was reconstructed in the fourteenth century. Deir al-'Adrā (Baramus, or monastery of the Romans), was founded, according to legend, either by the sons of Valentinian I (d. 375) or by St. Arsenius.

In the eastern desert, about 40 miles from the Red Sea, stands Deir Mār Antūnius, the monastery of St. Anthony of Egypt. This is the location of the tomb of the saint, who spent his last years in a cave on Mount Kolzim. Ten miles from the Red Sea is Deir Mār Būla, the monastery of St. Paul of Thebes, which was built in the fifth century and reconstructed in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Almost abandoned is the monastery of Deir Samūil in the valley of Kalamon, southwest of Medinet el Faijum. Founded by the Monophysite monk Samuel in the seventh century, it was reconstructed in 1899 by monks who had been forced to flee from Deir al-'Adrā.

The Coptic monastery that presents the most modern aspect is that of Deir al-'Adrā (Al-Muharraq), some 20 miles northwest of Mafalut and reconstructed in the sixteenth century as a palace. Near Sohag are the famous monasteries of Shenoute of Atripe—Deir-el Abjad (White monastery) and Deirel'Achmar (Red monastery)—but they are now in ruins. The same is true of the monastery of St. Epiphanius near Luxor and that of St. Simeon near Aswan. Since the coming of Islam, monasteries for women have been limited to the city of Cairo, where even in the twelfth century there was a foundress named Saijida Tarfa. Some of these convents still function; the largest of them is Deir Abū Sefein.

Ethiopia. The history of Ethiopian monasticism has not yet been studied sufficiently. All Ethiopian monasteries recognize the abbot of Dabra Libānos as their head. At this great monastery, to the north of Addis Ababa, the abbot has the title of *etshage* and has jurisdiction also over the secular clergy. The greatest number of monasteries is in the north of Ethiopia and in Eritrea. Among them is the notable Dabra Bizan, which had great importance in the fourteenth century. In central Ethiopia the principal monastery is Dabra Dimā (Mount Calvary), which has an attached school. In the south the only important one is Dabra Wagag in Assabot. Monastic communities for women are found at times within the confines of the greater monasteries, but in separate buildings, as at Dabra Libānos. Ethiopian monasticism has extended to other countries, including Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Cyprus, and Italy, where St. Stephen's Church in Rome is the ancient seat of the Ethiopian College.

Sinai and Palestine. On the Sinai Peninsula near Faran, there was a large colony of monks of the monastery of Raithu. In the eighth or ninth century, the episcopal see of Faran was transferred to the monastery of St. Catherine below Mount SINAI, which enjoyed the protection of the Muslims, Venetians, and the popes because it was the goal of pilgrims from both East and West.

Greek monasteries in Palestine were numerous in the days of the Byzantine Empire. There were also Latin monasteries at Bethlehem and on Mount Olivet. In the Middle Ages the Benedictine monastery at Jerusalem, Sancta Maria Latina (where the discussions concerning the FILIOQUE began) was still extant. The Georgians enjoyed special protection from the mamelukes, who allowed them to construct Georgian monasteries even in the late Middle Ages. The Armenians, in the beginning, were associated with the Greek monasteries, but they soon constructed their own. There are testimonies concerning three monasteries of the Caucasus Albanians. The Copts and Ethiopians also established themselves in the Holy City. In the nineteenth century there was a strong influence of Russians in the Holy Land, and some of their convents for women still function.

Syria. After a notable flowering in the early centuries, Syrian monasticism went into rapid decline. The ruins of Qalat Sem'an around the column of St. Simeon STYLITES (d. 459) reveal large monastic constructions. This place was the object of veneration for Monophysite pilgrims. Almost by way of opposition, the orthodox pilgrims hastened to the column of another of the stylites, St. Simeon the Younger (d. c. 592), on the Mount of Miracles near Antioch. The monasteries on this hill were the scene of bitter conflicts between the Greeks

and Georgians in the Middle Ages. Opposite the Mount of Miracles was Black Mountain, a monastery founded in the eleventh century, in which the canonist, Nikon of the Black Mountain (d. c. 1088), lived for some time.

The plains of Iran offered many "deserts" for anchorites from the fourth century on. In the fifth century, an Egyptian named Eugene (Awgin) started a cenobitic monastery modeled on the type founded by St. PACHOMIUS. The Persian monks often occupied themselves with the care of souls. The disciples of St. MARO OF CYR (d. c. 410), who was born near Apamea in Syria, imigrated to Lebanon. The Maronite monks settled chiefly in the "Holy Valley" called Qadisha (extending from the Cedars toward Tripoli) which became filled with hermits and monasteries for both men and women. Several religious orders still work among the Maronites, including the ANTONINES, the Missionaries of Kraim, and various congregations of sisters.

Armenia. Monasticism appeared in Armenia in the fourth century and reached its greatest development between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries. In all of old Armenia, the number of monasteries was approximately 2,000. In the present-day region of Vaspurakan there were nearly 189 monasteries, while Sünik had 150, Artzakh had 126, Karin had 116, Airarat had 52, Turuperan-Taron had 48, and Cilician Armenia had 62. There were a large number of monks here: The monastery of the Mother of God in Karmruk had 300, that of St. John the Baptist in Klagh had 400, and Tathéw, in the time of its glory, had 500. Many of these monasteries still existed before World War I, but they were later abandoned as a result of persecutions. Among the Catholic Armenians, there are two branches of the MECHITARISTS, monks who have motherhouse at Venice, Italy, and Vienna, Austria, and who conduct schools, printing presses, and missions in the Near East.

Georgia. Monasticism in eastern Georgia was initiated by the "Syrian Fathers." In the second half of the sixth century it developed in the western part, especially in Tao-Klargeti (Turkey) in the Čoroki River basin. The monastic center called the Georgian Sinai arose there. Its founder was the archimandrite Gregory of Khanzta (d. c. 861). When he arrived, the only monastery in this region was Opiza, but Gregory founded his monasteries of Khanzta and then Shatberdi, which was not far from Artanugi, the capital of Klargeti. In time, the foundations multiplied, and from these monasteries there emerged the 12 monasteries called (in Georgian literature) simply Atormetni These were founded no later than the ninth century. From Tao-Klargeti came the founders of Iveron on Mount Athos. Some Georgian monks also founded monasteries in Syria, Palestine, and Mount Sinai.

Balkan Countries. Modern Greece has 175 male monasteries but they are sparsely populated. In the famous Meteora complex, only three monasteries are inhabited. Female religious are more numerous here and include those occupying the convent on the island of Tenos near the Marian sanctuary. The community called Zoe (or the Brotherhood of Theologians), founded in 1907, follows the model of modern Latin congregations and engages in works of the apostolate.

In Yugoslavia the first center of monasticism was located around the lake of Ochrid in the ninth century, and the golden period here was in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Serbian lauras—also called "imperial" monasteries—enjoyed special privileges. In 1939 there were 166 Orthodox monasteries, with 540 monks, in Yugoslavia. The most famous monasteries are Krushedol (near Karlovtsy), Studenitsa (the Serbian Westminster Abbey), Mileshovo, and Gratchanitsa. In 1197, St. Sava founded the monastery of Chilandari on Mount Athos for his fellow countrymen.

In Romania, monasticism diminished rapidly in the nineteenth century. Statistics for 1857 showed 10,000 monks, but in 1867 there were only 4,851, and in 1893 there were but 2,654. Nuns are more numerous, especially in the convent of Hurezu in the Carpathians. In Bulgaria as well, in the period after World War II, nuns adapted themselves better to difficult circumstances than did the monks. The most important of the male monasteries are in Rila, Batchkovo, Trojan, Pomorie, and Preobraženski.

Russia. Traces of monastic life are found in Russia from the very beginning of Christianity until the end of the tenth century. These were small foundations established by princes, in imitation of the monasteries of Byzantium. In contrast, the famous laura of Pechersky arose, as its chronicle narrates, solely by "the fasts and tears" of the monks. St. Anthony (d. c. 1073) and St. Theodosius (d. 1074) are venerated as its founders. Anthony was a solitary of the type of the Egyptian anchorites and became a monk on Mount Athos. After returning to Kiev, he took up his abode in a cave cut out of a hill. His disciple Theodosius, when he became *hegumen* (superior), built cells for monks above the cave and sent one of the monks to Constantinople to bring back the rule of the famed Studion monastery in order to introduce the cenobitic life. The Pechersky laura was several times reduced to ruins by the Tartars, but it was reconstructed and became a religious and cultural center. As such, it was a place of pilgrimage frequented by the Russian people. After 1917 it was transformed into an

antireligious museum. The monastery was reopened in 1946, but it closed again some time later.

After the Mongol invasion, a new center of religious life arose in the middle of the fourteenth century in the "desert" of the virgin forests of the north, which in the following centuries were populated by hermits. The initiator of this movement was St. SERGIUS OF RADONEZH, who founded the monastery of the Holy Trinity in the province of Moscow. This monastery was closed after the Russian Revolution of 1917, but it was later reopened. Sergius began as an anchorite, but in founding his monastery he introduced the cenobitic rule of the Studites. His laura became the center for other foundations—toward the south in the environs of Moscow, and toward the north in the forests beyond the Volga, in the area called the Russian Thebaid (because of its numerous hermitages and monasteries). Among the more famous of these founders were St. Cyril of Beloozero (d. 1427) and Paul of Obnora (d. 1429). Along the shores of Lake Kuben arose monasteries in imitation of those of Mount Athos, especially that of "Spasso-Kamenny," constructed on rock in honor of the Transfiguration. The monks penetrated even to the Nordic islands of Solovki. Led by St. Sabatios (d. 1435) and St. Zosimus (d. 1478), they established a monastery that became a center of missionary activity and, subsequently, a military fortress.

The second half of the fifteenth century brought a decline in religious discipline to numerous monasteries that had become rich and influential. Trouble arose in the form of heresy and state opposition, but monastic reformers also appeared. The more important of these were Saints Nilus Sorsky (d. 1508) and Joseph Volokolamsky (d. 1515). Nilus promoted a semi-eremitical life in which a few monks in isolated huts (*skete*) lived lives of extreme poverty, hard work, and prayer. Nilus's monastic rule (*ustav*) is an ascetic instruction on prayer and control of the affections. He came under the influence of the Hesychastic spirituality of Mount Athos. More than external works, he stressed the internal struggle against evil thoughts.

The ideals of Nilus's contemporary, Joseph, were different. His rule, *Duchovnaja gramota*, outlined an ideal of cenobitic discipline under obedience to a superior and following a stable rule of life that regulated each moment of the day. The principal virtue of the monk was the perfect observance of assigned duties and the renunciation of one's own will and independent thoughts. The spirit of Joseph's rule prevailed in the Russian monasteries, which later became schools and centers of cultural activity, and often of politics as well. But the defects of this rigid traditionalism and attachment to external formalism brought about a new decadence. A kind of fusion between these two opposing tendencies is found in the rule of St. Cornelius (d. 1537), the founder of a cenobitic monastery in the forests of Komel. His disciples founded the monasteries of the northern Russian regions.

A breath of new spirit was felt in the Russian monasteries with the appearance of the *starchestvo* in the eighteenth century. The *staretz* (literally, "old man") was a spiritual father and a guide of souls who, even though not a priest, attracted people to himself because of his experience in the spiritual life, his special gifts, and, above all, his discernment of spirits. The founder of this spiritual renaissance was Paissy Velitchkovsky (d. 1794). While on Mount Athos, he immersed himself in ascetic Greek literature. He went to Moldavia (to Dragomirna, and later to Sekul and Niametz) and organized the translations of spiritual books from the Greek and Latin. Among these books was the *Philokalia* of NICODEMUS THE HAGIORITE.

The *startzy* of the monastery of Optina made this center near Kozelsk well known. Here lived Leo Nagolkin (d. 1841), who was especially beloved by the local people. His successor, Marcarius Ivanov (d. 1860), was in contact with the intellectual and literary leaders of Russia of his time. Ambrose Grenkov (d. 1891), a disciple of Macarius, is described by Fëdor DOSTOEVSKI in *The Brothers Karamazov*. Seraphim of Sarov (d. 1833) led the austere life of a recluse before becoming famous in all of Russia as a thaumaturge, mystic, and director of souls. In 1914, Russia had 1,027 Orthodox monasteries (550 of men and 477 of women), with a total of 94,599 religious (21,300 monks and 73,299 nuns).

In the Ukraine, monastic life was initiated with the laura of Pechersky, which was affiliated with the Russian Orthodox Church. Ukrainian monasticism received a new impetus after its union with the Catholic Church in the Union of Brest in 1596. The Basilian Order of St. Josaphat played a significant role in the subsequent development of the religious life. In Galicia, around the year 1900, a congregation made up of simple peasants appeared. Metropolitan Andriĭ SHEPTYTS'KI gave them, in 1906, a rule modeled on that of the ancient Byzantine rule, and they adopted the name Studites. The first *hegumen*, or superior was Father Clement Sheptyts'kĭ, the brother of the metropolitan. They were later dispersed, but a small group remains in the West.

SEE ALSO BASILIAN MONASTICISM; BASILIANS (BYZANTINE); CRUSADES; HESYCHASM; ICONOCLASM; JACOBITES (SYRIAN); MARO OF CYR, ST.; MARONITE CHURCH.

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MONTI, LUIGI MARIA, BL.

Known also as Aloysius Maria Monti; lay religious, founder of the Congregation of the Sons of the IMMACULATE CONCEPTION; b. July 24, 1825 at Bovisio, Diocese of Milan, Italy; d. October 1, 1900, in Saronno, Varese, Italy; beatified November 9, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Luigi Maria Monti was the eighth of eleven children whose father died when Luigi was twelve years old. To support his mother and younger siblings, Monti learned the trade of wood carving and opened a shop to sell his

crafts. After hours, he gathered craftsmen and farmers at his shop to form a prayer group known as the Company of the Sacred Heart of Jesus; the locals called them the Company of Friars. In addition to praying together, this group dedicated itself to living simply and ministering to the poor and sick. They also sought to draw those who had fallen away from the Church back to the dynamism of a living faith. Though not at the time a member of any religious order other than the informal group he assembled in his shop, Monti made a private vow to be consecrated to God when he was twenty-one years old. In 1851, suspected of subversive political activity by townsfolk and the parish priest, members of the group were jailed by the occupying Austrian forces for ten weeks.

Monti drew great inspiration from the Virgin Mary. Beginning in 1851, he spent six years as a novice with the Sons of the Immaculate Mary, studying nursing and ministering to cholera victims. He struggled for many years to discern his specific calling, experiencing long periods of emptiness and confusion. In 1877 Monti founded his own order, the Congregation of the Sons of the Immaculate Conception, whose ministry it was to serve the most desperately ill. Its members willingly walked into the worst of epidemics, working in places that others dared not go and offering their own beds to the sick and dying. Luigi founded small communities throughout this northern region. The men served in hospitals and as traveling nurses to scattered, impoverished farmers. Later, they expanded their mission and founded orphanages. As superior general of the congregation, Monti wrote a rule of life in which ordained and lay brothers shared equally in the rights and responsibilities of the order, a new model of community not characteristic of the consecrated life of that time.

Monti's work required not only courage but perseverance over the course of many years. During times of distressing spiritual darkness, he took encouragement in a vision he had of Jesus and Mary telling him: "Luigi, much indeed will you still have to suffer; other varied and greater battles will you face. Be strong; you will emerge victorious from everything; never lacking to you will be our powerful help. Continue the way you began."

Monti died at the age of seventy-five, nearly blind, completely worn out, and still working for the congregation he founded. Though he was never ordained a priest, he was known as "father" by all those who knew him. In 1961 the healing of Giovanni Luigi Lecle, a farmer from Bosa, Sardinia, was attributed to "Father" Luigi Maria. At his BEATIFICATION Mass in 2003, Pope John Paul II said of Luigi Maria: "For all believers, he is an example of faithfulness to God's call and to the proclamation of the Gospel of charity. He is a model of solidarity towards the needy and of their affectionate entrustment to the Immaculate Virgin."

Feast: October 1.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; SAINTS AND BLESSEDS.

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MONTOYA, LAURA, BL.

Founder of the Missionaries of Mary Immaculate and St. CATHERINE OF SIENA; b. May 26, 1874, in Jericó, Antioquia, Colombia; d. October 21, 1949, in Medellín, Colombia; beatified April 25, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

The second of three children born to Juan de la Crux Montoya and Dolores Upegui, Laura Montoya was only two years old when her father was killed while defending his country, leaving the family in extreme poverty. Feeling orphaned after being sent to live with her grandmother, Montoya began to seek refuge in her relationship with God. This relationship matured as she grew older, and she was especially nourished by meditation on sacred Scripture and the Eucharist.

Though she had no previous formal education, Montoya began training to become an elementary school teacher, and received high marks. When she started teaching in Antioquia, she did not limit her lessons to purely academic subjects, but sought to infuse GOSPEL teaching and Christian values into the classroom. This work became intertwined with her growing desire for

the religious life. Her hopes were to become a cloistered Carmelite nun, but she also yearned to spread the Gospel to those who had never known Jesus Christ. She left herself open to following God, ready to renounce her dream if it was His will.

Her evangelization project is best known for its ministry to the Indian populations in South America. She became "an Indian among Indians," recognizing the Indians' inherent human dignity at a time when many did not consider them in these terms. On May 14, 1914, Laura Montoya left Medellín with four other young women to live among the native Indians. She ignored the criticism of the nonindigenous population, and her group became known as the Missionaries of Mary Immaculate and St. Catherine of Siena.

Mother Laura composed several writings for her daughters, outlining their call to serve God among the Indians, as well as to live a life that achieved a proper balance between apostolic and contemplative life. She died on October 21, 1949, in Medellín after a long and painful illness. Her missionary sisters currently work in nineteen countries throughout the Americas, Africa, and Europe.

At the HOMILY of her BEATIFICATION, Pope John Paul II noted that "with deep faith, unlimited hope and great love for Christ," Montoya "sought her own sanctification beginning with love for the Heart of Christ and fidelity to the Church. In this way she lived the motto which she left to her daughters: '*Charity to the point of sacrifice and perseverance until death.*'"

Feast: October 21.

SEE ALSO COLOMBIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; LATIN AMERICA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MISSION IN POSTCOLONIAL LATIN AMERICA; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MONZA, LUIGI, BL.

Parish priest of the ARCHDIOCESE of Milan, founder of the Little Apostles of Charity and La Nostra Famiglia ("Our Family" Association) for disabled children; b. Cislago (Varese), Italy, June 22, 1898; d. Lecco, Italy, September 29, 1954; beatified April 30, 2006, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Luigi Monza was born in northern Italy to a poor farming family. His childhood was marked by hard physical labor during the day and sleepless hours studying during the night. When Monza was a teenager, his father suffered a serious accident, leaving him disabled and bedridden. Because of his father's injury, the family's struggle for daily survival was even more pronounced than for other poor families. Monza entered the seminary at age eighteen but was not ordained a priest until September 1925, when he was twenty-seven, due to the need to help his family and his service in WORLD WAR I (1914–1918).

As a parish priest, he modeled his work after the evangelizing of early Christians. At the HOMILY announcing Luigi Monza's BEATIFICATION in 2006, Cardinal Dionigi Tettamanzi noted that Don Luigi advocated "the ideal of charity of the early Christians, who transformed the world with their courageous and joyful witness of love." Just as the early Christians were persecuted, Luigi Monza was accused of plotting against the local magistrate of Benito Mussolini's fascist regime and was imprisoned for four months shortly after his ordination, which was in 1925. After his imprisonment, he continued his parish work.

In each parish, Don Luigi sought to create communities modeled on the social ideals of the early church, with each Christian committed to the work of serving and loving others: "Christians, each of you must become an artist of souls, and we must paint the beauty of Jesus not on canvas but in souls" (quoted in EWTN 2006). Because holiness is God's work and not the work of any individual, Don Luigi believed holiness was not an impossible ideal, but was "for all times and all places, all states and conditions of life."

In 1937 Don Luigi founded the Secular Institute of the Little Apostles of Charity, a community of consecrated women who would seek to bring the "zeal of the first Christian community" to society. From this group emerged La Nostra Famiglia, or the "Our Family" Association, which was created to meet the needs of disabled and disadvantaged children by promoting their rehabilitation and their dignity. The work of the Little Apostles of Charity, whom Luigi Monza called upon to share the love of Christ with the same fervor as the first Christian community, expanded throughout Italy and

into other parts of the world, including Sudan, Brazil, Ecuador, China, Morocco, and Palestine. Although Luigi Monza died of a heart attack in 1954, the continuing work of the Little Apostles of Charity and La Nostra Famiglia is consistent with his notion of the Church not as crusade or patronage or power, but as greatness in service.

Feast: September 29.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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MORE, SIR THOMAS, ST.

Lord Chancellor of England and eminent humanist; born London, February 7, 1477; executed for high treason, London, July 6, 1535. Canonized 1935; made "Patron of Statesmen and Politicians" in 2000.

The exact date of More's birth has been the subject of much discussion, but the latest summation of the evidence (Marc'hadour 1977, pp. 34–41) indicates that 1477, not 1478, is most probably correct. More came from a solidly prospering London family, "not famous, but of honest stock," as he says in his epitaph. His father, John More (d. 1530), was a rising member of the legal profession who seems later to have exerted no little pressure on his son to take up a similar career. More was educated at St. Anthony's school in Threadneedle Street, where Nicholas Holt was master, until he was about twelve, when his father procured his appointment as a page in the household of Cardinal John MORTON, Archbishop of Canterbury and Henry VII's Lord Chancellor. In addition to being an expert canon lawyer, Morton was an astute and flexible politician who had helped to overthrow Richard III and bring Henry VII to the throne. In both his *Richard III* and *Utopia* More paid fine tribute to his old patron, and it is indeed difficult to overestimate the importance of the training he received from him. It was while serving in Morton's household that More, according to William Roper, his son-in-law and first biographer, "would suddenly at Christmastide sometimes step in among the players, and never studying for the matter, make a part of his own there presently among them, which made the lookers-on more sport than all the players beside" (Roper [1557] 1935, p. 5). The anecdote reveals More's natural talent for adopting a role, and his tendency toward entering into a situation while yet remaining curiously detached from it. Even when he was only twelve, the world was for him a stage, an insight that must have been appreciated by Morton when he predicted that his young page would prove "a marvelous man" (Roper [1557] 1935, p. 5).

Student Years. The best dates for More's service with Morton are 1489 or 1490 to 1492. In 1492, through Morton's influence, he matriculated at Canterbury College, Oxford, where he remained until 1494. Little is known about More's Oxford years; although he did remark later on the poor student fare, he was always attached to university life and it was perhaps at Oxford that he first met John COLET, William Grocyn, and Thomas LINACRE, all senior members in the circle of English humanists that More later adorned so brilliantly.

In 1494, probably because of parental pressure, More left Oxford to begin the study of law at New Inn. He transferred to Lincoln's Inn on February 12, 1496, and thereafter rose steadily through the ranks of his profession. Yet as More continued his legal studies in London, other interests constantly engaged his attention. It is here that one finds emerging, for the first time in the historical record, some indication of the intense spirituality that was later so fundamental a feature of his personality. Strongly influenced by Colet's purity of life, he seriously considered the possibility of a career in the Church. For about four years (probably 1500 to 1504) he lived with or near the Carthusian monks at the London Charterhouse, where he began the practice, continued throughout his life, of daily prayer, Mass, and penance (such as wearing a hair shirt). More's nature,

however, as he gradually discovered for himself, was to seek God through and in the world, not by retiring from it.

Marriage and Early Career. About November 1504 he married Jane Colt, the oldest daughter of John Colt of Netherhall, Essex. Four children were born to them before Jane's death in the summer of 1511: Margaret (1505), Elizabeth (1506), Cecily (1507), and John (1509). By September of 1510, when he became under-sheriff of London, More's competence as a lawyer was beyond question, and his income increased accordingly. Within six weeks of his first wife's death, he married Alice Middleton, a widow some years older than himself, who proved a good stepmother to his children. The family continued to live at The Barge in Bucklersbury until 1524, when More built his "Great House" at Chelsea. Meanwhile, More's oratorical talent, his skill at the bar, and his reputation for justice and fairness brought him a host of clients. He championed the cause of the citizens on many occasions and often represented the guild companies of the city in both domestic and foreign affairs. By 1515 HENRY VIII, whose coronation in 1509 had been hailed by More in a series of Latin poems, had become fully aware of the young lawyer's talents. More's first royal mission, the famous "Utopian embassy" to the Low Countries, followed (between May 7 and October 25, 1515). More had been abroad before in 1508 for a few weeks (in Louvain and Paris), but this was his first real introduction to the international circle of humanists that revolved around the ubiquitous Erasmus. In Flanders, More met Peter Giles and Jerome Busleyden and formed lasting friendships with both. From August 26 to around December 20, 1517, he was again abroad conducting commercial negotiations, and it is about this time that he is first spoken of as in the King's service. It was not until June 21, 1518, however, that he received his first stipend as a royal counselor. On July 23 of that year, he resigned as under-sheriff of London.

Erasmus and the London Humanists. It was during these years that More firmly established himself as a leader among the group of humanists whose activities were then based in London. ERASMUS visited England first in 1499, and he and More immediately became friends. More's first literary works (see below) date from that period, and it was most probably about 1501 that he delivered his lectures on St. Augustine's *City of God* at Grocyn's church (St. Lawrence's), London. Subsequent visits by Erasmus (1505–1506, 1509–1514), who was rapidly acquiring an international reputation, cemented the friendship between him and More, a bond playfully alluded to in the title of *The Praise of Folly (Encomium Moriae)*, which Erasmus composed at More's house in 1509. More for his part was no doubt instrumental, with Colet, in directing Erasmus toward the great tasks of biblical and patristic scholarship that were to become his life work. Yet Erasmus himself often lamented that More—"England's only genius"—had of necessity to devote so much time to his legal work that little room was left for literature. For most of his life More was to feel this tension between, on the one hand, the literary studies and spiritual devotions so dear to his heart, and, on the other, the endless round of legal business or royal missions.

During these years, More translated Lucian, *The Life of Pico della Mirandola*, and well over a hundred Greek epigrams on a wide variety of subjects. He wrote his Latin and English versions of *The History of King Richard III*, which deeply influenced the young SHAKESPEARE, as well as a collection of Latin poems that were unusually original in their treatment of complex political themes, such as political sovereignty and the nature of the best sort of government.

Family Life, Role as Educator. More's devotion to his family is evidenced in many ways, but especially in the letters written to his children and Lady Alice. In a letter to his daughter Meg around 1518, More wrote, "I would make a sacrifice of wealth, and bid adieu to other cares and business, to attend to my children and family" (*Selected Letters*, p. 109). More considered the education of his children to be of major importance, and Erasmus reported in 1521 that More helped change Erasmus's views on the education of women. More hired tutors and personally supervised their instruction so that his three natural and two adopted daughters could have the same Oxford-level education as he had received. More wanted an education for his children that would furnish them "for the whole scope of human life—which is to have a sound mind in a sound body" (*Selected Letters*, p. 149). More's views on education are expressed most clearly in his letters to Gonell (1518), to Oxford (1518), and to Dorp (1515), and in his defense of philosophy and liberal education against Martin Luther's criticisms (e.g., *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* 1.23) (*Complete Works*, vol. 6, pp. 128–132).

The King's Service. There is every indication that More reached his decision to enter Henry's court only after long and perhaps agonizing meditation. The arguments for and against royal service are dramatized in the first book of *Utopia* (1516), but More's final choice seems to have been motivated by a call of duty, especially given Thomas WOLSEY's apparently earnest efforts to obtain a universal peace, and given the promise of other English humanists then serving in Henry VIII's court. These included Bishop TUNSTALL, Richard Pace, and Thomas Linacre. More would be able as a member of the council

to give advice that, if it did not lead to good, might yet avoid what would otherwise be very bad. Nevertheless, his role as a champion of the people, which had just been illustrated by his intervention on their behalf in the May Day riots of 1517, was of necessity diminished. In addition, the precious time that he had snatched from his legal work for literary study was lost.

More's activities during the next twelve years (1518–1529) centered on the life of the court. He proved an extremely able member of the council, acting on occasion as a secretary who transmitted reports to or from Wolsey and the King, participating in discussions with foreign ambassadors, attending on Henry at such grand events as the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June 1520, and undertaking still another royal mission in 1521 to pursue commercial negotiations with the Hanse diet. Honors were quickly thrust upon him. On May 2, 1521, he became undertreasurer and was knighted. In Parliament, where he had previously served in 1504 and 1510, he was chosen in 1523 Speaker of the House of Commons, in which capacity he gave the first address ever recorded in defense of free speech. The next year saw him appointed high steward of Oxford University, and in 1525 he accepted the same position for Cambridge, becoming also, in October of that year, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. During the 1520s too, More participated in the campaign against Lutheran literature, which was beginning to flood England. In 1523 he had written against Martin LUTHER on the King's behalf; and on March 7, 1528, he was authorized by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, to read Protestant books in order to refute them in English. From 1529 until early 1533 More gave much of his time to this polemical work against William TYNDALE, Simon Fish, Robert Barnes, and other early English Protestants.

Henry VIII's "Great Matter." By the time More's controversial English-language writings began to pour from the press, signs of change were beginning to appear in England. Henry VIII had consulted More as early as 1527 with regard to his proposed divorce from CATHERINE OF ARAGON, and after a long study of the problem, More had told the king that he could not support his case. Henry then promised to use other men in dealing with his "great matter," as it now came to be called. More thus remained aloof from the long series of negotiations that began in earnest after Wolsey's great embassy to France, with More in his entourage, in the summer of 1527. When Henry's case finally came to trial in the summer of 1529, with Lorenzo CAMPEGGIO and Wolsey serving as papal judges, More was in France negotiating the Peace of Cambrai (during August) with his friend Tunstal. The London trial ended in a stalemate when Campeggio prorogued the court. Wolsey, unable to gratify the King's wishes, was in disgrace (Chambers, pp. 232–34).

Lord Chancellor. More returned to England at the end of August. On October 25, 1529, he replaced Wolsey as Lord Chancellor, and shortly afterward he wrote to Erasmus: "I realize that this post involves the interests of Christendom." What those interests were he revealed on November 3 in his opening speech to the famous Long Parliament (1529–1536), in which he criticized Wolsey's wars of aggression as working against the "unity and quiet of Christendom" while neglecting "reform in church and state"—wars that Henry VIII had himself championed from his earliest days as king (Guy, p. 113). Peace and unity within Christendom and within England were More's greatest concerns, as he expressed in the epitaph for his tombstone, which he wrote and had chiseled in stone by June 1533, within a year of his resignation. In what R.W. Chambers called a "brief biography" that "summarized the whole meaning" of More's career (Guy, p. 233), More gave special emphasis to the role he played in achieving peace within Christendom: "In that place [Cambrai, France] he witnessed, in the capacity of ambassador, to his great joy, the renewal of a peace treaty between the supreme monarchs of Christendom and the restoration of a long-desired peace of the world" (*Selected Letters*, p. 181). Then immediately follows a prayer, italicized and placed as a separate paragraph in the text, and indented on his tombstone: "May heaven confirm this peace and make it a lasting one" (*Selected Letters,* p. 181).

More's two-and-a-half-year tenure in the realm's highest office has been the subject of much controversy. More staunchly opposed what he called "seditious heresy," a grave danger to peace that he saw evidenced in the slaughter of 60,000 to 100,000 peasants in Germany during the summer of 1525 (*Complete Works*, vol. 7, p. 149; vol. 8, pp. 29–33; vol. 9, p. 162; vol. 6, pp. 369–72). But More's major responsibilities as Lord Chancellor were judicial, and as legal historian John Guy has shown, More handled in Chancery an average of 912 cases per year as compared to an annual average of 535 cases that the industrious and innovative Wolsey handled. Although more than 4,000 cases, on file in the Public Record Office, were tried during his tenure, most attention has focused on More's political involvements during his thirty-one months in office. As it became increasingly obvious that Henry would break with Rome to wed Anne Boleyn, More's counsel was sought less and less. On May 15, 1532, the clergy made a formal submission to the King; the next day More resigned, pleading ill health, which was in fact true.

Retirement and a New Danger. For the year after his retirement, More was able to live at Chelsea, in relatively

modest circumstances, continuing those devotional and ascetic practices that he had loved throughout his life. A new danger arose, however, which led More to publish his *Apology* (April 1533) and *The Debellation of Salem and Bizance* (October 1533) within six months of each other. Their success in countering Henry VIII and Cromwell's political scheme may have been the ultimate reason for the decision to imprison More in early 1534. Of course, he was also absent from Anne's coronation on June 1, 1533, telling his friends that though he "might be devoured, he would never be deflowered" (Roper [1557] 1935, p. 59).

The new danger was Cromwell's plan to use parliamentary statutes to make the Church subordinate to the English government's jurisdiction. The groundwork was prepared, most likely by seventy-two-year-old Christopher St. German, in an anonymous publication by the King's printer titled *A Treatise Concerning the Division between the Spirituality and the Temporality*. This book accused the Church of causing division and unrest in England, and its anonymous author called for giving the government authority over the Church as a means to achieve peace. Taking advantage of the alleged anonymity of St. German, More wrote a devastating critique of Henry and Cromwell's most important propagandist, referring to the author as the "Pacifier," while showing that he intended the very opposite (*Complete Works*, vol. 9, p. xl). In September 1533, St. German published his response, *Salem and Bizance*. More considered this second anonymous work (also published by the King's printer) so threatening that in October he published a 230-page reply: *The Debellation of Salem and Bizance*. In January, King Henry began insisting that More be imprisoned.

More knew indeed what was in store for him; the recently discovered fact that his *Treatise on the Passion*, once thought to have been written after his imprisonment, was begun in early 1534 indicates the foresight with which he was preparing himself. Pressure was soon generated from the royal court to make him acquiesce in the King's new title as head of the Church. Given More's European reputation and his position as the most prominent layman in the realm, it was impossible for Henry to proceed without his submission. Various attempts were made by Thomas CROMWELL, the King's new minister, to implicate him in treasonable activities, but More resolutely refuted these charges. The affair of Elizabeth BARTON, the so-called "Holy-Maid of Kent" who had seen visions prophesying ruin for Henry, and who was executed in April 1534, was used against More by Cromwell—but More quickly pointed out that he had refused to discuss the King's business with her.

On April 12, 1534, More was cited to appear before the commissioners at Lambeth to swear to the Act of Succession and to take the Oath of Supremacy. More was willing to accept the succession but refused the oath. On April 17, together with Bishop John FISHER, he was committed to the Tower.

Trial and Execution. More's real trial then began in earnest, although the formal legal proceedings against him were not conducted until July 1535. For about a year his family was permitted to visit him, and he was allowed to have writing materials and books. It was at this time that he wrote his spiritual masterpiece, *A Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*. But when Cromwell and Thomas CRANMER's interrogations began on April 30, 1535, these privileges were gradually withdrawn. The separation from his wife and children was one of More's greatest agonies, and it was made all the more poignant by the fact that they did not seem to understand the reasons for his refusal to take the oath—and, before his conviction, More swore that he would reveal his conscience to no one. Thus he consistently denied, during his interrogations, that he had acted maliciously in refusing to answer. Again and again efforts were made to entrap him either into submission or into uttering words that could be construed as treasonable. But More was too expert a lawyer and too resolutely confirmed in his knowledge of himself to be caught by such ruses. Finally, on July 1, 1535, he was convicted of treason on the perjured evidence of Sir Richard Rich, who had recently been made the King's General Solicitor. When the verdict was delivered, More at last uttered his mind in a great speech, declaring that he had all the councils of Christendom and not just the council of one realm to support him in the decision of his conscience. He was returned to the Tower until July 6, when, about 9 a.m., he went to his death. Henry had commuted his sentence (hanging, drawing, and quartering) to beheading. Throughout his imprisonment, More bore with notable patience not only his isolation and cold, damp conditions, but also kidney stones and often severe leg and chest cramps. More died on the scaffold, after jesting with his jailer and his executioner, affirming that he died "the king's good servant, and God's first" (Harpsfield, p. 266). Simply put, his death resulted directly from his belief that no lay ruler could have jurisdiction over the Church of Christ.

More's Relics and Acknowledged Saintliness. After his execution More's head replaced that of Fisher (executed on June 22) on London Bridge. It was later preserved by his daughter, Margaret, and now lies in the Roper vault at St. Dunstan's, Canterbury. His body was buried in the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula in the Tower. A number of More's possessions (listed in T.E. Bridgett's *Life*) have been at Stonyhurst College, although the most valuable ones, such as More's seal as undersheriff



Sir Thomas More's Fairwell to His Daughter. *More was martyred on July 6, 1535. He was accused of high treason against the King of England.* © FINE ART PHOTOGRAPHIC LIBRARY/CORBIS

and a gold reliquary cross, are now on loan to the British Museum. The Eyston-More family (East Hendred, Wantage, Berkshire) possesses More's staff and drinking cup. His hair shirt is held in Syon Abbey by the Bridgettine Nuns in South Brent, Devon, for the Diocese of Plymouth. More's *Book of Hours*, into which he wrote an English prayer while imprisoned in the Tower, is in the Beinecke Library at Yale University; the autograph manuscript of his *Expositio Passionis*, his most substantial literary relic, is in the library of the Royal College of Corpus Christi, Valencia, Spain.

More's death was lamented throughout Europe, and so powerful was the memory of his personality that a whole school of biographers wrote his life in the late sixteenth century. His saintliness was affirmed by this group, but the movement toward canonization was long and arduous, for his cause was linked with that of other English martyrs from the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth I. In 1640 Pope Urban VIII created a commission to study evidence on these martyrs, but it was not until 1855 that the cause was brought forward by Canon John Morris as postulator. Leo XIII beatified More on December 29, 1886. In the early 1930s more than 170,000 signatures were gathered requesting canonization from Pius XI. The movement culminated with a papal decree of February 10, 1935, which dispensed with the proved miracles required in the canonical procedure; canonization took place on May

19. More is commonly adopted as the patron of Catholic lawyers and of university students, but on October 31, 2000, in response to a worldwide petition, John Paul II issued a proclamation naming More the patron of statesmen and politicians.

Afterfame. A vital part of the influence of St. Thomas More came through the school of More. A significant part of the thought and letters of the early Tudor period bears the impress of More's ideas and character and, after 1535, reflects the widening significance of his life and action and eventual martyrdom. It is in and through such diverse men as John HEYWOOD, William RASTELL, and Sir Thomas Elyot that the influence of More—a force as yet unmeasured in any fullness—is initially to be detected. Yet the influence of More and his afterfame are scarcely to be separated, and both must be studied together with his literary name.

Utopia. More's most famous work is the *Utopia* (1516), which has been a model or ultimate source of innumerable utopias and dystopias, from Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1626) to those of Aldous Huxley and George Orwell in the twentieth century. It was written during the closing sessions of the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517) and published on the eve of Luther's posting of his ninety-five theses. *Utopia* draws upon More's experience as a young devotee of classical and other studies at Oxford and in London, as a law student in Lincoln's Inn, and, after several years living among the London Carthusians, as a father and husband, as a practicing lawyer who lectured in the Inns and achieved preeminence as legal counsel for the city of London, as a skilled arbitrator, and as one experienced in trade and diplomatic missions. But above all *Utopia* is a humanistic work that manages to subsume interests that in lesser minds might have been compartmentalized; its larger meaning is best appreciated when considered in relation to humanistic grapplings with the pressing problems of political theory and government. *Utopia* is written in that form closest to the humanist's mind and heart, the dialogue, in imitation of Plato, Cicero, and Augustine. In book 1, Raphael Hythloday argues for the failure of contemporary England against the backdrop of debate with Thomae Mori about whether a humanist should serve his prince. Hythloday's dramatic monologue in book 2 arises as his last argument in that debate. Utopia is presented as a real country, and its geography and political and social organizations are tersely described; its educational and religious practices and beliefs are then presented in greater detail. After touching on such matters as household management, conduct of war, social customs, education, and religion, Hythloday vehemently argues that private property, money, and ultimately pride



Utopia. *This woodcut image, dating back to 1518, depicts St. Thomas More's idea of Utopia.*

are the root of social ills. The narrator (More) then briefly concludes by indicating that he considers many of Utopia's customs and institutions to be absurd, and that many features are to be wished for rather than expected. This humanistic dialogue has occasioned literary judgments that range from considering *Utopia* a *jeu d'esprit* (thus failing to understand its context and to appreciate its underlying seriousness) to literal readings by Kautsky and others who, failing to understand its form and tone, saw the work as a proclamation of revolt against medieval feudalism or nascent bourgeois materialism and as a program for socialistic measures, communism, or the like. As yet, no critical consensus has emerged.

Other Latin Works. In order to appraise More's reputation on the Continent as one of the foremost Latinists of his century, his other Latin writings, in particular his Latin poems, his translations of Lucian, his *Ricardi Tertii*, his Latin letters, and his *De Tristitia Christi* must be

included with his acknowledged Latin masterpiece, *Utopia*. Such an overview would establish his rank with BEDE, JOHN OF SALISBURY, and later John MILTON, as one of the greatest Latinists in the long range of English literary history.

More's English Writings. More's works in English also have served as models. More is credited as the inventor of such terms as *utopia*, *ignominy*, *pretext*, *accelerate*, *accommodate*, *anxiety*, and *luster*, and recognized for having given new forms or metaphorical meanings to hundreds of other words, such as *integrity* and *culture*. His biography of Richard III has been called the first English historical work to be written after classical modes and models—and thus the first humanistic English history. It is a great achievement, in both its Latin and English versions, and the simultaneous composition of such a literary work in two languages is itself rare. More's biography of Richard shaped Shakespeare's dramatic rendering, and has controlled the English conception of this monarch down to contemporary times. The controversial writings, largely in English, have yet to be studied fully and in depth, despite the extensive commentary in the Yale *Complete Works*; similarly, much work remains to be done if we are to understand their influence on later writers of the Reformation. Such books as John JEWEL's *Apology* (1562) inevitably look back to More's work, as does much of Richard HOOKER, and the controversy between More and St. German is recapitulated in the controversy between Cosin and Morice in the 1590s. Even now, it is difficult to appreciate how much of later Tudor controversies was fought on ground chosen or seized by More and Tyndale.

A significant part of the afterfame of More has been, appropriately, in the theater, although only two plays about More are at all well known. Much critical attention has been given to the Elizabethan play *Sir Thomas More*, because it seems that Shakespeare is one of the five London playwrights who collaborated on this wholly praiseworthy presentation of More, a presentation that was never approved by Queen Elizabeth I's government censor. Robert Bolt's *A Man for All Seasons* has eclipsed all earlier attempts to put Thomas More on the stage and has had a remarkable success in the theater and as a school text since its London production in 1960. A film version of Bolt's play, released in 1966, was honored with six Academy Awards.

Feast: June 22.

SEE ALSO ACT OF SUPREMACY (1534); ANGLICANISM; CHURCH AND STATE; CHURCH AND STATE (CANON LAW); ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND WALES, MARTYRS OF; ENGLAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; GELASIUS I, POPE, ST.; HENRY VIII, KING OF ENGLAND; MORE, SCHOOL OF; UTOPIA AND UTOPIANISM.

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MOREAU, BASIL ANTHONY, BL.

Religious founder; b. Laigné-en-Belin (Mayenne), France, February 11, 1799; d. Le Mans (Sarthe), France, January 20, 1873; beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI, September 15, 2007.

Basil Antoine Marie Moreau was born into a large and pious family, the son of a country wine merchant. After attending the local College of Château-Gonthier, he studied at St. Vincent's Major Seminary in Le Mans. After his ordination in 1821, he served in the Diocese of Le Mans before spending a year at St. Sulpice Seminary in Paris. It was there that he built the relationships that would have a great impact on his future.

His time in Paris was cut short when he was called home in 1823. At that time he was put to work in St. Vincent's Major Seminary as professor, vice-rector, and spiritual director. He also taught philosophy at the minor seminary in Tessé.

Moreau played a leading role in the movement to restore freedom for Catholic education in France by weakening governmental monopoly in the field. The Auxiliary Priests of Le Mans came to exist for this cause by the vision of Fr. James Francis Dujarié. The group's mission was strengthened by Moreau's organizational efforts in 1833. In 1835 he was asked by Bishop Jean-Baptiste Bovier to assist the Congregation of the Brothers of St. Joseph, a community of teachers also started by Dujarié. By 1837 Moreau decided to combine the two orders into one brotherhood, establishing the Congregation of Holy Cross. He often found himself in disagreement with Bouvier regarding the congregation's direction and administration, which may explain why Rome did not recognize it until 1854, after Bouvier's death.

In 1841 Moreau founded the MARIANITES OF HOLY CROSS. The order for women was established to provide domestic services for the schools run by the Holy Cross Congregation. Eventually, the scope of their work broadened to include missionary work in the United States and Canada, where they established high schools and colleges, including the University of Notre Dame. The Congregation of Sisters of the Holy Cross and of the Seven Dolors, which developed from the Marianites, also regard Moreau as their founder.

He is also the founder of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd in Le Mans. He was deputed by Bishop Philippe-Marie-Thérèse-Guy Carron to establish a convent there, and it was made official on May 3, 1833. This project involved him in controversy with St. Maria de Sainte Euphrasie PELLETIER regarding its dependence on the community in Angers.

The college that he opened in Le Mans, even before the Falloux Law, was one of the first Catholic colleges to receive full teaching rights. Moreau started other colleges throughout France and published pedagogical works. His love for missions led him to extend the work of his religious foundations to Italy, Poland, India, Canada, and the United States. Dissension within these foundations clouded his last years.

He died in 1873 and was buried in the cemetery at Sainte-Croix until 1983, when his remains were transferred to the church of the Holy Cross motherhouse. The cause for his BEATIFICATION was introduced in 1946, and it was considered by the Vatican's Congregation for the Causes of Saints in 1955. The miracle attributed to his INTERCESSION took place in 1948, when a Canadian woman, suffering from pleuritis of one lung, was healed. The *Decretum super scripta* in Moreau's beatification process was issued in 1961. On April 12, 2003, Pope JOHN PAUL II declared him Venerable. His beatification Mass took place on September 15, 2007, at St. Julian Cathedral in Le Mans. The homily, delivered by Cardinal José Saraiva Martins, stressed Moreau's missionary activity and the good works of the orders he established.

Feast: January 20.

SEE ALSO DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; HOLY CROSS, CONGREGATION OF; HOLY CROSS, CONGREGATION OF SISTERS OF THE.

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MOTHER TERESA OF CALCUTTA, BL.

Baptized Gonxha (in English, Agnes) Bojaxhiu, foundress of the MISSIONARIES OF CHARITY, teacher, social worker, Nobel Peace Prize laureate; b. Shkup, Albania, in the Ottoman Empire (now Skopje, the capital of the Republic of Macedonia), August 26, 1910; d. Calcutta (Kolkata), India, September 5, 1997; beatified October 19, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Gonxha Bojaxhiu was one of five children of a middle-class family. Her father Nikola, a grocer, died in 1919, and her mother, Dronda, in 1968. At the age of eighteen, Gonxha joined the Sisters of Loreto with the intention of serving in the missions. En route to India, she spent two months in Ireland, studying English. When she entered the novitiate in 1929 at Darjeeling in the foothills of the Himalayas, she became known as Sr. Teresa. Professed in 1931, she was sent to teach at St Mary's School for Girls in Calcutta.

On September 10, 1946, while riding the train to Darjeeling, Sr. Teresa experienced "a second calling," a vocation to serve the poor of Calcutta. In August 1948, she left the Sisters of Loreto with the blessing of her superiors and the permission of the archbishop of Calcutta to live in the slums of Matijhil. She donned the sari and applied for citizenship in her adopted country. Teresa's initial effort was to organize dispensaries and outdoor schools where she fed, clothed, and taught poor children. The women, including some of her former students whom she enlisted as volunteers to assist in the work, became the nucleus of the Missionaries of Charity. In 1950 the order received canonical approval from church authorities.

In 1952 Mother Teresa opened the first of many hospices for the dying. In 1957 she founded a leper colony called Shanti Nagar (Town of Peace) near Asansol, India. Under her guidance, the Missionaries of Charity established numerous centers, where they ministered to the aged, lepers, cripples, AIDS victims, and the dying. In 1963 the Indian government gave her the Padmashri (Lord of the Lotus) Award for her services. As the Missionaries of Charity expanded their ministry to other countries, Mother Teresa's reputation spread throughout the world. In recognition of her work, Pope PAUL VI awarded her the first Pope JOHN XXIII Peace Prize in 1971, and she received the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1979. Upon accepting the Nobel honor, she said, "I choose the poverty of our poor people. But I am grateful to receive [the Nobel] in the name of the hungry, the naked, the homeless, of the crippled, of the blind, of the lepers, of all those people who feel unwanted, unloved, uncared-for throughout society, people that have become a burden to society and are shunned by everyone."

The sisters continued every six years to reelect her as major superior until early 1997 when, because of her rapidly failing health, they acceded to her wish to step down. In March they elected Nepal-born Sr. Nirmala to head the order. Surrounded by sisters of the community, Mother Teresa died peacefully on September 5, 1997. On September 13, they buried her in a simple white marble tomb in the motherhouse of the Missionaries of Charity. In reminiscing about Mother Teresa some weeks after her death, Pope John Paul II, who had met with her on several occasions, said, "I hope she will be a saint." Eighteen months later, he dispensed with the normal five-year waiting period and allowed the archbishop of Calcutta to initiate the formal process for BEATIFICATION. The rite took place on October 19, 2003.

Critics argue that Bl. Mother Teresa's charitable work was motivated by a desire to control the poverty community and increase the Roman Catholic constituency; some controversy surrounds a miracle attributed to her intervention. However, the elevation of a woman who lived her faith and beliefs proudly and in full view of the international community was greeted with almost universal approval by Roman Catholics. Indeed, she is considered a devoted advocate for the poor and powerless by many outside the faith.

Introducing her at the United Nations in 1985, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar called her "the most powerful woman in the world." Pope John Paul II said Bl. Mother Teresa was a reminder that "the evangelizing mission of the Church passes through charity" and that she "had chosen to be not just the least but to be the servant of the least." Referring to a years' long test of her faith, the pope noted that the "harsh spiritual trial led her to identify herself more ... closely with those whom she served each day." He encouraged the faithful to "follow generously and courageously in the footsteps of this authentic disciple of Christ" and reminded them that "on the path of charity, Mother Teresa walks at your side."



The Poorest of the Poor. *Bl. Mother Teresa, a 1979 Nobel Peace Prize recipient, is shown here holding a young boy from a Catholic orphanage in Calcutta.* **© BETTMANN/CORBIS**

Feast: September 5.

SEE ALSO India, Christianity in; Religious (Men and Women).

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Axis Leaders. *Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini are shown here riding together in a car in Munich, Germany, 1940.* **NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION (NARA)**

MUSSOLINI, BENITO

Italian prime minister and Fascist leader; b. Predappio, Italy, July 29, 1883; executed in Milan on April 28, 1945.

When Benito Mussolini appeared on the Italian political scene in the early years of the twentieth century, public debate still revolved around issues left unresolved by the *risorgimento*, the process of national unification that led to the forcible seizure of ROME by the Italian army on September 20, 1870. With that seizure, the city that had been the capital of the Papal States for nearly a thousand years became the capital of the newly independent Kingdom of Italy. Protesting that he was a prisoner in the VATICAN, Pope PIUS IX (1846–1878) refused to recognize the Italian state, called the occupation of Rome an act of depredation, and urged Catholics to boycott the Italian state. Italian patriots saw the situation differently, however. For them, the occupation was an act of liberation that gave the new nation its natural capital.

For both sides, however, more was at stake than territory. The international role of the Church, the right of free speech, freedom of religion, financial compensation for seized property, payment of clerical salaries, the validity of religious marriages, clerical access to the classroom, and the role of religious instruction in public education were also a part of what came to be known as the ROMAN QUESTION. This debate roiled Italian politics for almost sixty years, before being settled under the one-man rule of Benito Mussolini.

The Young Mussolini. There was little in Mussolini's family background to suggest his eventual rise to prominence and power. He was born on July 29, 1883, in the village of Predappio, in the Romagna region of northern Italy, into a family of modest means. His father, Alessandro Mussolini (1854–1910), was a blacksmith by trade and a political radical active in the politics of the Romagna region. His mother, Rosa Maltoni (1858–1905), an elementary school teacher and observant Catholic, provided economic security and bourgeois

respectability. Benito was an intelligent and inquisitive child, but he was not a good student.

When he was nine, Mussolini's parents transferred him from the school where his mother taught to a public school in the nearby town of Predappio, where his unruly behavior landed him in frequent trouble. He was then sent to a school run by the Salesian fathers in the town of Faenza, but the move only made matters worse. The boy resented the strict discipline, found the classes boring, and was humiliated for having to take his meals at a table set aside for the lowest-paying students. A knife attack on a fellow student led to his expulsion. He fared better at a secondary school in Forlimpopoli, which he attended from 1894 to 1901, when he graduated with respectable grades and a diploma as an elementary school teacher.

After landing a precarious job as a substitute teacher, Mussolini caused a scandal by carrying on an affair with a married woman. He left the teaching profession for good in June 1902. The following month he left for Switzerland, where he led a hand-to-mouth existence until December 1904, when he returned to Italy to fulfill his military obligation. It was in Switzerland that he discovered his talent as a public speaker and organizer by proselytizing for the Socialist Party among Italian emigrant workers. He also read widely, addressed rallies, wrote for radical publications, and registered as a student at the University of Lausanne. He registered as a student in the faculty of social sciences but attended classes only sporadically. He did sit in on several lectures delivered by the renowned sociologist Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923), whose critique of liberal politics made a lasting impression on the young radical. Of more immediate use was the relationship that he struck up with the Russian socialist Angelica Balabanoff (1878–1965), who helped him find work, introduced him to other activists, and served as a political mentor.

The leftist politics of the young Mussolini were a mixture of the old and the new. The new themes were those of wealth redistribution and class warfare embraced by the Italian Socialist Party, to which the young man felt irresistibly drawn. The older themes were legacies of the *Risorgimento*, including anticlericalism. Mussolini's first public speech, delivered in February 1901, was mostly a diatribe against the clergy. In 1903, living in Switzerland in self-imposed political exile to avoid the Italian military draft, Mussolini often ridiculed religion and belief in the existence of God as popular superstitions. In 1909 he published a serial novel titled *Claudia Particella, l'amante del cardinale* (Claudia Particella, the Cardinal's Mistress), which revisited the well-worn cliché of clerical sexual misbehavior. In 1913 he published a more ambitious historical study entitled *Giovanni Huss il veridico* (John Huss the Truthful), which condemned the papacy for its persecution of the medieval Czech religious reformer.

Unlike the free thinkers and Freemasons who made anticlericalism their ideological weapon of choice, Mussolini turned quickly toward trendier intellectual concerns. Friedrich Nietzsche's writings made a strong impression on him, as did those of Georges Sorel and the revolutionary syndicalists intent on reviving the flagging revolutionary élan of socialism. The image that he cultivated as a new type of revolutionary leader paved the way for his move toward the top of the Partito Socialista Italiano, and in 1913 he was appointed editor of the party's national newspaper *Avanti!* A year later, Mussolini greeted the outbreak of World War I as a potentially liberating event. But because he was at odds with the party line, which favored Italian neutrality in the conflict, he was expelled from the party. He then launched his own newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia*, and he campaigned for Italian intervention, promising "War Today, Revolution Tomorrow."

Mussolini was also at odds with the Catholic hierarchy and Pope BENEDICT XV (1914–1922), who spoke out against Italian intervention in the war. Mussolini refrained from attacking the pope while Italy remained neutral, on the grounds that the pope was only doing his Christian duty by calling for peace, but he took a different approach once Italy went to war in May 1915. From then on, he called on all Italians, socialists and Catholics included, to support the war effort. In August 1917 the pope proposed a peace plan that was similar in many ways to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, and he condemned the war as a useless slaughter. In response, Mussolini denounced the pope as deceitful, pro-Austrian, and anti-Italian. His conversion to nationalism was thus complete.

Il Duce and the Settlement of the Roman Question. In the immediate postwar years, it was Pope Benedict's encouragement of the Catholic-based Partito Popolare Italiano that incensed Mussolini. The new party was both anticommunist and antifascist, but Mussolini dismissed it as a leftist party in disguise. He avoided attacks on Benedict's successor, however. Pope PIUS XI, elected in 1922, was more pastoral and less sympathetic to the Partito Popolare than his predecessor. Mussolini now argued that FASCISM was not inherently antireligious, anticlerical, or anti-Catholic. He understood that ending the conflict with the Church would make both him and fascism more acceptable. Both sides feared the spread of communism and the rising power of the Soviet Union. Negotiations with the HOLY SEE began soon after Mussolini was appointed prime minister in October 1922. As a token of good intentions, the new government authorized the introduction of religious instruc-

tion in elementary schools. In 1923 the regime came to the rescue of the financially troubled Banco di Roma, partly owned by the Vatican.

Mussolini's personal life also needed attention. In December 1925 he and Rachele Guidi (1892–1979) celebrated a Catholic marriage, after having cohabited for many years. They already had three children and would go on to have two more. Mussolini was always deferential toward his wife and cared for his children, but behind the image of the devoted family man he continued to indulge in numerous extramarital affairs. Political circumstances required that he be seen as a model *paterfamilias*, for the regime was embarking on its policy of promoting large families, with Catholic approval. Pius XI reciprocated politically with shows of public deference, referring to Mussolini as a man sent by divine providence, and by disavowing the Partito Popolare, which disbanded in November 1926.

The full seizure of power by Mussolini (who became known as Il Duce, or "the leader") and the Fascists in 1925 and 1926 was the premise for the final settlement of the Roman Question. The LATERAN PACTS that were signed in Rome on February 11, 1929, by Mussolini and Cardinal Pietro GASPARRI, the papal secretary of state, consisted of a treaty and a concordat. In the treaty, the Italian government recognized Roman Catholicism as the sole religion of the state, the sovereignty of the pope with full territorial rights over VATICAN CITY, freedom in international relations (with a proviso that the Holy See must not intervene in international disputes involving secular matters), and freedom for clergymen in the exercise of religious activities. The Holy See acknowledged that the Roman Question was settled and recognized the independence of the Kingdom of Italy under the rule of the House of Savoy, with Rome as its capital. The financial clauses of the treaty settled all outstanding obligations of the Italian state toward the Holy See for the sum of 750 million lire in cash and one billion lire in state bonds.

The concordat reiterated that Catholic clergy enjoyed full freedom in the sphere of religion, gave civil validity to religious marriages, acknowledged the indissolubility of matrimony, confirmed clerical access to public school classrooms, and recognized the legitimacy of CATHOLIC ACTION in pursuit of religious and nonpolitical goals. Catholic Action was an organization of laypeople committed to spreading Catholic values. It was particularly active and successful in organizing youth groups, which were also a primary target of the regime.

A Tense Partnership. The official settlement of the Roman Question did not mean that all causes of friction between the Church and the Fascist regime were eliminated. The settlement undoubtedly played a role in the overwhelming popular vote in support of the regime in the plebiscite of March 1929, but not everyone was happy with the agreements. Anticlerical liberals and fascists, always numerous, complained that the government had conceded too much. The Catholic press retained considerable freedom, to the annoyance of anticlericals and of Mussolini himself.

Most troubling was the unresolved issue of the Church's role in youth education. After unusually harsh exchanges in the press, the government ordered the dissolution of all Catholic youth organizations on May 30, 1931. In response, on June 29, 1931, the pope issued the ENCYCLICAL *Non abbiamo bisogno*, which vehemently denounced the totalitarian doctrines and policies of the Fascist regime as incompatible with Catholic teachings and policies, called the charges that Catholic Action engaged in covert political activities mendacious, and warned that the wrath of God was to be feared more than the wrath of man. It was a stunning attack that left Mussolini publicly speechless and silent, and it may have persuaded him to come to terms. The crisis was resolved within months, and the Catholic youth groups were restored on condition that they avoid political activities. The issue surfaced again in 1938, however, and Pius XI intervened once again to save Catholic Action, which survived to become the training ground for many of the Christian Democratic leaders who held the reins of power after the fall of Mussolini.

There were also foreign policy implications to the settlement that became evident in the 1930s. Colonial expansion and the pursuit of Italian dominance in the Mediterranean found broad support in the Vatican and among the Italian religious hierarchy, as did Italian intervention on General Franco's side in the Spanish Civil War. Fear that a communist regime might take root in Spain is often mentioned as a reason for that intervention, but it is more likely that Mussolini was worried by the prospect of having another hostile power to contend with in the Mediterranean, and that the pope was truly alarmed by the evidence that the elected popular front governments in power in Spain would condone anticlerical measures, including the persecution of the clergy and the faithful.

However, agreement on specific foreign policy initiatives took second place to the concern that the Fascist regime was becoming increasingly totalitarian, and that by taking on the trappings of a civil religion it was promoting a system of values incompatible with the spirit of Christianity and the teachings of the Church. The regime's growing demands on the education, leisure time, and workplace activities of ordinary Italians were a major cause of concern. A simultaneous cause for concern was the alliance between Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany that developed after 1935. Although the clash

of 1938 between the Vatican and the Fascist regime was precipitated by Pius's desire to defend Catholic Action, these deeper fears were very much part of the background. Pius XI did not mince words: In public and private statements, he hinted broadly that if the Fascists persisted in their attacks he would excommunicate Mussolini and the entire regime.

Alliance with Nazi Germany and World War II. Mussolini backed away from a break over Catholic Action, but he held his ground when the pope expressed displeasure with the racial policies that the regime adopted in 1938. Catholic anti-Judaism was based on religious considerations, not the biological ones of Germanic provenance that distinguished the legislation of 1938. Pius XI had denounced the Nazi myths of blood and soil in the 1937 encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge*, and he was preparing a similar public denunciation of Fascist racialism when death overtook him in 1939. In quashing that protest upon becoming pope, PIUS XII (1939–1958) embarked on the path of diplomatic accommodation with the regime for which he has been censured severely.

In seeking accommodation, Pius XII may have wanted to avoid a break with the regime and the consequent Fascist reprisals against religious organizations. His background in diplomacy predisposed him to seek negotiated solutions rather than to issue fulminations in the manner of his predecessor. If he was hoping for a negotiated understanding, however, the gambit failed. By 1939, Mussolini was not in an accommodating mood. He had come to believe in the myth of his own political infallibility, confided only in himself, and brooked no interference from anyone, particularly in matters of foreign policy, on which he was wholly fixated.

When Germany, France, and Great Britain went to war over Poland in September 1939, Pius XII appealed to Mussolini in a private letter, adopting a tone of paternal concern for the well-being of the Italian people and asking that Italy be kept out of the conflict. Mussolini was not moved by the pope's appeal. He was not ready to intervene, however, but would not give assurances for the future. He argued that international peace must be based on just relations among states, and that Italy must be prepared to act as events unfolded. Unlike in 1914 when debate over intervention was rampant, in 1939 and 1940 there was little public debate over the issue of intervention. The decision to intervene was entirely Mussolini's, based on his calculation that Italy must join the fight before the Germans won a complete victory and Italy was left without a seat at the peace table and a claim to a share of the spoils of war. When parish priests were instructed to speak for peace from the altar, Mussolini fumed that he would soon rid himself of both king and pope for their obstructionism. Italy's declaration of war on June 10, 1940, ended the debate.

Little came of attempts to have the Holy See play the role of mediator to end the fighting. U.S. President Franklin D.Roosevelt's special envoy, Myron C. Taylor, visited the Vatican in September 1942, and made it clear that any cessation of hostilities must be based on the unconditional surrender of the Axis powers. Mussolini, meanwhile, would not deal with the Holy See because he feared that Adolf HITLER might resent such initiatives, and because he resented the growing popularity of the Catholic Church among Italians, who looked to the Church for guidance when the fortunes of war began to turn against the Axis nations. His appointment of his son-in-law, Count Galeazzo Ciano (1903–1944), as ambassador to the Holy See in February 1943 suggests that he may have been trying to open a personal channel of communications with the Vatican, but nothing came of the move.

In the last year of his life, Mussolini sought the comforts of religion from a simple priest, but he regarded the papacy as an enemy. His last contact with the Catholic hierarchy occurred on April 25, 1945, when he approached Milan's Cardinal Ildefonso SCHUSTER (1880–1954) in an unsuccessful effort to negotiate a cease-fire with the Italian Resistance movement. Resistance fighters captured him on April 27 while he was trying to escape with a German army convoy headed for Germany. Also captured was his last mistress, Clara Petacci (b. 1912), who was executed with him by firing squad on April 28, 1945. The next day their bodies, and those of other Fascist leaders, were hung head down from a girder in a Milan gas station and left exposed to public fury.

Pius XII won popularity by speaking out for peace while the government spoke only of war, and by encouraging the clergy to aid the victims of the Fascist regimes. His failure to publicly denounce Fascist atrocities, particularly his silence when German troops rounded up the Jews of Rome in October 1943, has been the subject of much debate. However one may judge his behavior on this issue, Pius XII and the papacy gained moral stature in the eyes of the Italian people from 1943 through 1945, when their country was an international battlefield and the scene of civil war. That the Church gained credibility in those years as an institution capable of leading the country toward a new form of politics owes much to the prestige of Pius XII. In view of what happened after the war, the Church's gain in stature may well be the most significant legacy of the failed experiment in coexistence between Mussolini and the Catholic Church.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RISORGIMENTO.

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MUTTATHUPANDATHU, ALPHONSA, ST.

Baptized Anna and called Annakutty, also known as Sister Alphonsa of India, Alphonsa of the Immaculate Conception, Alphonsa of Bharananganam; mystic, virgin of the Syro-Malabar Poor Clares; b. August 19, 1910, Arpukara, India; d. July 28, 1946, Bharananganam, India; beatified at Kottayam, archdiocese of Changanacherry, Kerala, India, by JOHN PAUL II, February 8, 1986, together with Blessed Kuriokose Chavara, the first Indians raised to the altars; canonized October 12, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Annakutty was the fourth child of Joseph Muttathupadathu and his wife Mary, who died shortly after her daughter's birth; the family ensured Annakutty was well educated in preparation for a good marriage. Recognizing her vocation to religious life, Annakutty rejected her suitors and disfigured herself with fire so that she would be unmarriageable. Thereafter, she was permitted to join the tertiary Clarist sisters in their convent at Bharananganam (Pentecost 1927). With the veil of the postulant, she received the name Alphonsa of the Immaculate Conception (August 2, 1928). She became a novice on August 12, 1935, and made final vows the following year. Throughout her life she endured repeated illness and physical pain, but received the consolation of mystical union. She possessed the gift of prophecy and experienced a vision of Saint THÉRÈSE OF LISIEUX.

Alphonsa's death after a prolonged illness went almost unnoticed. However, when miracles were granted to Alphonsa's beloved schoolchildren through her intercession, her tomb at Bharananganam became a pilgrimage site. The diocesan process for her beatification began on December 2, 1953, and a miracle wrought through Alphonsa's intercession was approved on July 6, 1985.

Pope Benedict XVI approved St. Alphonsa for canonization on June 1, 2007. The fifty-five-year process of her canonization was then completed just over a year later on October 12, 2008, when she was officially named a saint. The ceremony was widely attended and included a notable fifteen-member Indian delegation led by labor minister Oscar Fernandes (1941–). In his homily the pope praised St. Alphonsa's "heroic virtues of patience, fortitude, and perseverance in the midst of deep suffering."

The official miracle credited to the saint and approved by the VATICAN involved St. Alphonsa's intercession in the miraculous healing of an infant with a clubfoot in 1999. Because of this and other similar miracles, St. Alphonsa is generally regarded as a special intercessor for prayers regarding sickness, deformity, bodily ailments of infants, and the death of parents.

St. Alphonsa was the second person of Indian origin to be canonized, and she was the first Indian woman to be elevated to the status of sainthood. Today her tomb at Bharananganam remains a pilgrimage site, and miracles continue to be attributed to her intercession. Her remains are preserved at a chapel adjacent to St. Mary's Forane church in the Diocese of Palai.

Feast: February 8.

SEE ALSO POOR CLARES; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SYRO-MALABAR CHURCH.

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NATO, PAPAL REACTION TO

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a military alliance formed April 4, 1949, in response to fears of a possible Soviet attack on Western Europe. Therefore, papal attitudes toward NATO during the period of the Cold War necessarily reflected their reactions to COMMUNISM and the Soviet Union. In the post–Cold War period, the papacy has also responded to NATO's activities in the Balkans.

Popes PIUS XI and PIUS XII, like their twentieth-century predecessors, were vehemently opposed to communism, an atheistic ideology that they considered not only a menace to Church doctrine, institutions, and community but a threat to Christian civilization in general. When Poland was threatened with Soviet invasion in 1920, Achille Ratti, the papal representative to Warsaw and the future Pope Pius XI, refused to flee but instead remained and observed the panic the Poles experienced in the face of the Bolshevik aggression. Later, as pope, he repeatedly emphasized the dangers of communism toward religion and family. He formally condemned the movement in his 1937 encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* (On Atheistic Communism).

The succeeding pope, Pius XII, continued the resistance to communism in his 1939 first encyclical letter *Summi Pontificatus* (On the Limits of the Authority of the State), in which he condemned totalitarianism and absolute state authority. The pope feared communism, which had blatantly outlawed the practice of religion, more than Nazism, which had not. After the end of World War II (1939–1945), the pope became increasingly alarmed at the threat of Soviet expansionism and so, while he was in favor of the creation of the United Nations organization, he remained uncomfortable with the idea of a Soviet veto in the Security Council, and he continued to plead for the condemnation of atheism and resistance to communism.

The VATICAN's conviction that communism was a threat serious enough to warrant a concerted and unified resistance effort on the part of the West had considerable influence on Western post-World-War-II attitudes toward the Soviet Union. Pius XII strongly supported the introduction of the Marshall Plan in 1947, as he believed that it demonstrated that the United States finally understood "the extreme gravity of the hour," as he wrote in a letter to President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) on July 19, 1948, and, in fact, the United States had begun to concur with the pope's views. Pius saw any progress toward European economic and political integration as strengthening European resistance to the Soviet push toward expansion, and Truman concurred, agreeing with the pope that communism represented a threat both to religion and to Western civilization, as demonstrated in letters exchanged between Washington, D.C., and the Vatican in 1947.

When NATO was created in 1949, Pius initially had serious concerns about continued Vatican City independence and neutrality should Italy align with the rest of Western Europe, but these paled in comparison to his conviction that communism must be opposed and that the greatest possibility of success lay in a unified European economic and political resistance. In this regard Pius encouraged, whenever possible, even temporary unity among otherwise dissimilar entities. In 1948, for example, in an effort to avoid "the Cossacks watering their horses in St. Peter's Square," the pope had pressured the Italian Christian Democratic Party to join with the monarchists and the neo-Fascists in an electoral alliance, but the party leader, Alcide de GASPERI, resisted. In 1949, however, the pontiff successfully courted the neutralist and pacifist wings of the party to encourage

Italy to join NATO. The pope considered NATO critical to the containment of Soviet expansion, and his later support of the West Germany Christian Democrats also contributed to the entry of that country into NATO in 1955. The pope remained politically neutral and, indeed, conciliatory toward Italy and Germany in an attempt to prevent the spread of communism into Western Europe.

Pius XII was recognized by both the United States and Great Britain as a necessary partner in the struggle against communism. Myron Taylor (1863–1959), who had served as President Franklin D. Roosevelt's (1882–1945) personal representative to the Vatican and who stayed on to serve President Truman as well, wrote to Truman that "the Pope has openly challenged Communism from the beginning" and went on to stress the importance of the pope's continued leadership in Western resistance to communism (Kirby 2002, p. 79). Winston Churchill (1874–1965) agreed, admiring the pope for his consistent opposition to the communist ideology.

Pius XII feared not only communism, but also the possibility of a nuclear holocaust, and he cautioned the West against the use of weapons of mass destruction and a complete inflexibility toward the idea of coexistence. In his 1956 Christmas message, the pope reiterated his repugnance toward communism, but refused to initiate a formal Christian crusade against the Soviet regime. The pope, who had initially encouraged the formation of NATO as a weapon against communism, began to have reservations about taking an overly rigid approach to conflict with the Soviet Union, and in 1958 he stressed the Church's opposition to war, except in cases of self-defense. The Vatican now began to demonstrate a movement away from its former alignment with NATO and into a more neutral and conciliatory position, encouraging efforts on all sides to end the Cold War.

Pope JOHN XXIII, successor to Pius XII, continued to seek better relations between the Soviet Union and the Vatican. He succeeded in achieving the liberation of imprisoned ecclesiastics and in opening lines of communication between the Vatican and some communist regimes, notably in Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

After the end of the Cold War, as NATO shifted its focus to other international conflicts, the papacy continued to seek peaceful rather than armed resolutions. Pope JOHN PAUL II, for example, while on a visit to Romania in 1999, condemned the NATO bombings in Kosovo. The papacy, while historically supporting the role of NATO as a defense against threats to religion and the Church during of the Cold War, has also cautioned against the unnecessary use of force by NATO in its responses to international conflicts.

SEE ALSO COLD WAR AND THE PAPACY; DIVINI REDEMPTORIS; NAZISM, PAPAL RESPONSE TO; SUMMI PONTIFICATUS; TAYLOR, MYRON CHARLES; UNITED NATIONS AND THE PAPACY; VATICAN CITY, STATE OF.

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NAMUNCURÁ, ZEPHERIN, BL.

Seminarian of the Society of St. FRANCIS DE SALES; b. Chimpay, Argentina, August 26, 1886; d. Rome, May 11, 1905; beatified November 11, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Zepherin Namuncurá, a seminarian who "smiled with his eyes" and loved the outdoors, card tricks, and his Mapuche people, loved God above all. Only eighteen years old when he died, his enthusiasm for his faith and for his people made a lasting impression. The eighth of twelve children of a Mapuche chief, Zepherin was born in the Argentine Pampas to an indigenous "people of the land," as *Mapuche* is translated. The Pampas region is a fertile, flat land where the Mapuche farmed and thrived until imperiled by European domination. Zepherin's father, Manuel Namuncurá, led the resistance to the encroaching threat but suffered a devastating defeat to the Argentine army. Thousands of Mapuche were captured, including four of Zepherin's siblings and his mother; some never returned. In a series of peace treaties, Manuel Namuncurá was made a colonel in the Argentine army, but the Mapuche nation lost its land, and its people were forced to relocate.

As a toddler, Zepherin was handed over to a Salesian missionary, Fr. Dominic Milanesio, whom Manuel Namuncurá trusted, to be raised. Zepherin attended an Argentine army school, where his father hoped he would gain the skills needed to restore the Mapuche nation. As the only indigenous student there, he endured cruel

treatment by his peers, until Fr. Dominic moved him to the Salesian mission school, where he fared better.

At age seventeen, he decided to become a priest. His hope was to return and help the Mapuche people. As a young seminarian in Argentina, he prayed constantly for his people. Developing a devotion to the Virgin Mary, he would ask for her INTERCESSION "for my people." Many of the Mapuche were dying of tuberculosis, and young Zepherin also contracted the disease. He was sent to Turin and then to Rome for his studies in the hopes that the Italian climate would improve his health. But his health continued to deteriorate, and he died before his nineteenth birthday. Zepherin's director at the Turin seminary observed that "he has a heart warm with God's love. It's a heart of gold, and sees no evil in anyone.... He loves God like we love our mothers ... warmly, intensely, as though he were always in God's presence" (Ball 1983, p. 190).

Despite the isolation, persecution, and illness he endured, Zepherin Namuncurá was full of spirit and life. His baptismal name, Zepherin, means *wind*. His life is a testimony that the wind—like the Holy Spirit—blows where it will, even amidst the most difficult circumstances. Though he was torn from his tribal environment at an early age, he never lost his identity as a Mapuche; though he was rarely in good health, he was always in good spirits; though he was not raised with his people—a people rich in history, culture, and spirituality—he embraced the Christian faith with genuine joy, hoping to return and share that joy with his people. He returned only in death to his home, where he is buried in his native Patagonia and where a great devotion to him has helped keep alive not only his spirit, but that of the Mapuche people.

As Cardinal Tarcisio Bertone said at Zepherin Namuncurá's BEATIFICATION Mass on November 11, 2007, Bl. Zepherin "reminds us that holiness is not something exceptional, reserved for the elect few: holiness is the common vocation of all the baptized, and it is the demanding goal of ordinary Christian life." The cardinal further observed that Zepherin's life gives witness to the preferential option for the poor and the special way God communicates to and through "the little, the poor, to those thirsting for justice, the workers for peace, to the persecuted, to those committed each day to overcoming evil with good."

Feast: May 11.

SEE ALSO ARGENTINA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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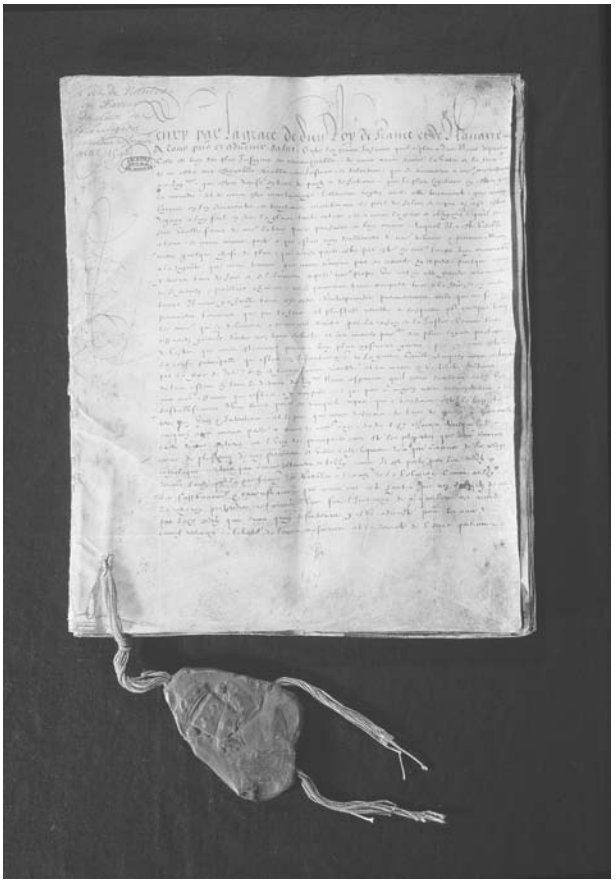
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NANTES, EDICT OF

After Henry IV's 1593 conversion to Catholicism, the French Calvinists, or HUGUENOTS, faced the unfathomable prospect of armed conflict against the erstwhile champion of their cause. Many Huguenot noblemen expressed their disaffection by refusing to support the war against Spain that Henry IV declared in 1595. They feared that Catholic pressures on the king to prove his sincerity as a Catholic might lead him to curtail, even proscribe, their hard won freedom to worship. Henry IV also loathed the idea of fighting his former coreligionaries. The situation called for decisive action by the king to avert the possible renewal of religious war. Henry IV therefore decided to settle the confessional situation inside the kingdom in April 1598 in advance of the peace reached with Spain in the Treaty of Vervins in May 1598.

After a generation of religious war punctuated by failed attempts at peace, Henry IV reached an enduring agreement with the Huguenots on April 13, 1598, in the Edict of Nantes. Historians have long considered this famous accord as an important step forward for the idea of religious toleration and the notion that politics takes precedence over religion. Upon closer examination, however, neither of these interpretations can be sustained. The Edict of Nantes stated as its principal



The Edict. **HENRI IV, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, FIRST PAGE FROM 'THE EDICT OF NANTES', 1598 (INK ON PAPER), FRENCH SCHOOL, (15TH CENTURY)/CENTRE HISTORIQUE DES ARCHIVES NATIONALES, PARIS, FRANCE/LAUROS/GIRAUDON/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY**

goal the eventual peaceful reunion of the king's subjects in one agreed upon faith, which implicitly meant Catholicism. In the meantime, the king wished to ensure religious coexistence between the two confessions so that this process of reunion could proceed. The Edict of Nantes therefore affirmed the age-old French heritage of "one king, one faith, one law" rather than looked forward to modern ideas about toleration and secularism. It testified more to the growing authority of the crown than any willingness among French men and women to accept religious differences on a permanent basis.

In the Edict of Nantes, Henry IV faced the dilemma of reassuring the Huguenots without alienating the Catholics. A closer look at the edict shows how he hoped to achieve these contrasting goals. Four separate documents actually made up the Edict of Nantes. The first one consisted of ninety-two general articles, while the second one had fifty-six "secret articles" that granted exemptions from the general articles to particular towns and persons. The last two documents were royal writs known as *brevets*. The reason for all this complexity in the edict stemmed from the political circumstances that Henry IV confronted. The first two sets of articles had to be registered in the Parlement of Paris, the chief judicial court in France, to receive the force of law. Royal brevets, by contrast, did not need to be registered because they ended once the king who originally issued them had died. They were thus ostensibly provisional in nature. Henry IV put the most controversial concessions to the Huguenots in the royal brevets because he knew that the Parlement of Paris, which was controlled by the Catholics, would never register them. In fact, it took nearly a year for the Parlement to accept the first two sets of articles that basically delineated the bounds within which CALVINISM could be practiced. How long the Edict of Nantes would last was therefore, from a legalistic point of view, an open question from the outset. Henry IV's declaration in the preamble that the edict was "perpetual and irrevocable" actually meant only until such time as another edict was issued and registered to replace it.

The provisions making up the Edict of Nantes did not break new ground but rather returned quite explicitly to earlier edicts of pacification, such as the Peace of Bergerac (1577) and Peace of Fleix (1580), sometimes word for word. First, the king consigned all events since 1585 to public oblivion, making it a crime to stir up the memories of past grievances. The edict recognized the Huguenots' right to freedom of conscience and liberty to worship in all towns that they controlled as of August 1597. It also guaranteed the right of Huguenots to hold civil office and established special new courts with both Huguenot and Catholic judges to enforce the provisions of the edict. At the same time, the Edict of Nantes also addressed Catholic concerns. It reaffirmed the Catholic character of both the crown and the kingdom. Whereas Huguenots could only worship in specially designated areas, Catholics could practice their faith anywhere in France. In fact, the Edict of Nantes called for the reintroduction of Catholicism to places where Huguenots had long forbidden it, most notably Béarn. All of these general principles in the first set of articles became decidedly weakened by the exceptions to them contained in the second set of "secret articles." The most significant concessions to the Huguenots came in the two royal brevets, the first of which provided generous royal funds to subsidize the French Calvinist church, whereas the second allowed the Huguenots to fortify and garrison towns under their control. These measures thus provided for financial and military security for the Huguenots, but only while Henry IV was king.

The Edict of Nantes thus brought a temporary end to the Wars of Religion, which broke out again after Henry IV's assassination in 1610 as the Huguenots tried

to secure the substantial gains they had made in the royal brevets. They ultimately failed to do so when Henry IV's son, Louis XIII (1601–1643), finally defeated the Huguenots in 1628, following the siege of La Rochelle. Louis XIII stripped the Huguenots of their former military independence and subsidies in the Grace of Alès (June 1629), though he recognized their right to worship in places already established. The provisions in the two sets of articles came to an end when Henry IV's grandson, Louis XIV, revoked the remaining provisions of the Edict of Nantes in the Edict of Fontainebleau (1685). He did so because he mistakenly believed that most Huguenots had returned to the Catholic Church. The resulting persecution forced the French Calvinist church underground, and many Huguenots emigrated to Germany, England, and North America. French Calvinists only enjoyed the right to worship publicly later on in 1787 just prior to the FRENCH REVOLUTION.

SEE ALSO CHURCH AND STATE; HENRY IV, KING OF FRANCE; LOUIS XIV, KING OF FRANCE.

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NARDINI, PAUL JOSEF, BL.

Diocesan priest, founder of the Congregation of the FRANCISCAN SISTERS of the Holy Family; b. Germersheim, Rhineland Palatinate, Germany, July 25, 1821; d. Pirmasens, Germany, January 27, 1862; beatified October 22, 2006, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Paul Josef Nardini was born to a single mother, Margaret Lichtenberger, but raised by relatives. His aunt and uncle, Marie Barbara and Anton Nardini (who gave Paul Josef his surname), raised him as a son and were able to secure an excellent education for him. Separated from his natural mother, he never forgot her and eventually brought her to live with him when he became a parish priest in Pirmasens. Entering the seminary soon after his completion of grammar school, he first studied philosophy in the Speyer seminary and then theology at the University of Munich, where he graduated summa cum laude. After his ordination on August 22, 1846, Fr. Nardini spent five years as a parochial vicar and boarding school prefect in Speyer. In 1851 he was entrusted with his own parish in Pirmasens.

It was in the Pirmasens parish that Fr. Nardini demonstrated his uncommon pastoral gifts. Pirmasens, as it remains in the twentieth-first century, was a poor town with little profitable industry. Many children were left unattended as their parents sought to earn a living making and selling shoes. Nardini was a true shepherd to the people of Pirmasens; he responded to them with the heart of Jesus: "When he disembarked and saw the vast crowd, his heart was moved with pity for them, for they were like sheep without a shepherd; and he began to teach them many things" (Mk 6: 34).

Known as the "Father of the Poor," Nardini was moved by the poor children of Pirmasens, who had few educational opportunities, and the elderly, who suffered physical ailments with little relief. Just as his adoptive parents had loved him as their own, Nardini saw the people of Pirmasens as children of God deserving of love and respect. He formed an order, the Franciscan Sisters of the Holy Family, to help minister to their physical and spiritual needs. Fr. Nardini became ill after taking viaticum to an ailing parishioner on a cold winter night in January 1862, and he died shortly thereafter. His remains are entombed in Pirmasens, where the sisters of his order prayed for and received a healing miracle for Sr. Stephana Beyer, who was cured of late-stage cancer in 1953.

The motto of the order Nardini founded, now known as the Mallersdorf Sisters, is *Caritas Christi urget nos*, "the love of Christ urges us on." Continuing the work of their founder, the sisters care for and teach poor, abandoned, neglected, and handicapped children and young people. At Nardini's 2006 BEATIFICATION Mass in Germany, six hundred nuns from his order were among the two thousand people present. In the Speyer Cathedral, Cardinal Friedrich Wetter of Munich read an apostolic letter from Pope Benedict XVI, in which the pope called Nardini an exemplary priest who had shown compassion and love for the poor and suffering.

Feast: January 27.

SEE ALSO GERMANY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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NAZISM, PAPAL RESPONSE TO

The HOLY SEE's attitudes and actions toward Nazi Germany developed over the course of the decades of the early twentieth century. The following is a detailed sketch of the major figures and writings which make up that history.

Benedict XV. After the First World War and the peace treaties which followed, Pope BENEDICT XV (1914–1922) and his secretary of state, Pietro GASPARRI, were sympathetic to the Germans, whom they believed had been treated unfairly. They noted that many of President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, under the terms of which the Central Powers surrendered, had been violated to the detriment of German people. Furthermore, they did not understand why the Allies forbade union or *Anschluss* (annexation) of the German Republic and the truncated Austrian state, which they feared might not survive on its own. These views were shared by Eugenio Pacelli, who was appointed nuncio to the Weimar Republic but was temporarily stationed in Munich while he negotiated a concordat with Bavaria. All three men understood the right-wing reaction against the treaties and the Allies who had imposed them. This sentiment was shared by Achille Ratti, who became Pope PIUS XI in 1922 and retained Gasparri as secretary of state and Pacelli as nuncio to Germany. However, the new pope was disturbed by the pagan, anti-Semitic, and anti-Christian aspects of the Nazi Party, which had been formed in January 1919 and joined by Adolf HITLER in September of that year. Pius XI's concerns and suspicions grew following the unsuccessful Hitler-Ludendorff Munich Putsch of November 1923.

Pius XI. Through his secretary of state, Pius XI made inquiries about the program and policies of the Nazi Party. His worst fears were confirmed by Pacelli's November 14, 1923, report on the Putsch and the party. Pacelli described the anti-Catholic nature of the National Socialist movement and its leader, Adolf Hitler. Pressed by the Vatican for additional information, the nuncio issued a second report in which he related that the Nazis were against not only the Jews but also the Church and Catholics, and pointed to the violent, vicious, and vulgar campaign of the folkish press, which he duly condemned. He also wrote home in March 1924 to describe the wave of anti-Catholicism unleashed during the course of the Ludendorff trial, in which the general was acquitted.

At this juncture the pope and his nuncio to Berlin shared the sentiments of those German bishops who found Catholicism and Nazism incompatible. At the end of March 1931, the bishops of the Prussian provinces and Bavaria issued joint pastorals condemning the National Socialist Party and forbidding Catholics to join any such movement that espoused principles contrary to the Faith. The bishops especially found fault with article 24 of the party program, which insisted all creeds were subordinate to racial considerations. Equally odious, in their view, were the exaltation of nationalism over religion, the recognition of violence as a legitimate political weapon, the agitation for nondenominational education, the furtherance of artificial birth control, and the blatant ANTICLERICALISM of its leaders. Subsequently, the Fulda Episcopal Conference of August 17–19, 1931, banned membership in the party and forbade clergy from offering Communion to those wearing the swastika. Pius, for his part, found blasphemous the suggestion that Jesus was not a Jew. The elaboration of Nazism's anticlerical and anti-Semitic policies led Pius XI to reconsider his attitude toward *Anschluss* between Germany and Austria, which he had once earlier favored.

The Role of Pietro Gasparri. Before and after Hitler attained power, at the end of January 1933, there was a consensus among Vatican officials that Hitler and his movement were dangerous, but there was also disagreement on how best to cope with that danger. Gasparri, who during the First World War had outlined the policy of so-called impartiality, called for a conciliatory course toward Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. This policy allowed the Holy See to make moral distinctions between principles and practices without becoming politically involved or taking political stances. To enter into political conflict with these dangerous dictatorships, Gasparri warned, would be to risk great harm to the Church, its leaders, and its members. He therefore urged the papacy to refrain from condemning Hitler's party so long as it did not wage war on either the Holy See or the hierarchy in Germany. This view was shared by a majority in the

secretariat of state, which Gasparri had long dominated, as well as Pacelli, who agreed on the need to temper moral outrage with diplomatic pragmatism. However, Pacelli did so more quietly and diplomatically than his mentor Gasparri, because he was aware that this conciliatory course clashed with the more confrontational one of Pius XI. Indeed, the divergence between the pope and his secretary of state led to the latter's ouster at the end of 1929 and replacement by Pacelli.

Despite Gasparri's removal, the new secretary of state concurred with him that they should accommodate the Nazis by accepting the dissolution of the Catholic Center Party in return for a concordat. Pius XI, who continued to distrust Hitler and the Nazis, had real reservations about the conclusion of a concordat with them. Nazi harassment of the Church and the persistent pressure of Pacelli led Pius to relent and sanction negotiations for an agreement, which was rapidly concluded after negotiations opened in April 1933. It was even more rapidly violated by the Nazis, who in turn aroused the anger of the pope. Despite the misgivings and doubts of Pius XI, Pacelli deemed the concordat necessary to preserve the Catholic Church in Germany. Pius XI, however, increasingly questioned the value of the concordat and refused to remain silent when confronted with the pagan, anti-Semitic, and anti-Christian policies the Reich espoused. Between 1933 and 1936, Pius launched over thirty protests against Nazi actions, denouncing them as evidence of "true paganism." Pius was particularly shocked by the abortive Nazi coup of July 25, 1934, in Austria and the murder of Chancellor Englebert Dollfuss, and he applauded Benito MUSSOLINI's movement of troops to the frontier in order to prevent a possible German intervention. At the close of 1935 the pope deplored the sad events in the Reich.

The Axis and *Mit brennender sorge.* Scandalized by the Nazi regime's racism, Pius XI rejected the contentions that clerical anti-Judaism served as a precursor to Nazi anti-Semitism, and that the Jewish question was an internal political issue and not a religious one. The pope considered racism anti-Christian and immoral, and he felt the need to say so. In 1936 the increased collaboration between Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, which had been dubbed the Axis by Mussolini, so disturbed Pius XI that he let it be known. When Hitler sent Pius a congratulatory message on the anniversary of his coronation in 1936, the pope responded by complaining of developments in the Reich, and he sought to disrupt the Rome-Berlin Axis. Pacelli's attempts to moderate the strong papal opposition to the Nazi regime had only limited effect. In 1937 the pope issued the encyclical *Mit brennender sorge*, denouncing the evils of Hitler's Germany. Secretly dispatched to the Reich, it was read in all Catholic parishes on PALM SUNDAY 1937, and it launched the Vatican's harshest criticism of any political regime to date. With deep anxiety and increasing dismay, Pius revealed his outrage at witnessing developments in the Third Reich. In the encyclical, written in German so as to have the greatest circulation and impact, the pope cataloged the errors of the Nazi regime.

Although Pacelli, under papal orders, played a part in drafting this critical encyclical, he sought to prevent a break between Berlin and the Vatican. The secretary of state continued to follow the advice of his mentor Gasparri, who warned of the unfortunate consequences, for the Church at large and for Catholics in Germany, that would inevitably follow upon provoking Hitler. The growing rift between the Reich and Rome disturbed Pacelli and his allies in the Curia, including the secretariat of state, which feared Nazi retribution and worried about the future of Catholicism in Germany. Thus, when Pius XI seriously considered renouncing the Reich Concordat, Pacelli used all his power of persuasion to prevent him from doing so. He later acknowledged the pope was so indignant about what was happening in Germany that he did not see how the Holy See could continue to maintain diplomatic relations with such demonic a regime. Pacelli in turn responded that these relations were important for preserving the Church in the Reich and for maintaining contact with the German bishops. For the moment the pope allowed Pacelli to prevail, but his subsequent actions indicate he was not convinced by the arguments his secretary of state made in favor of a more conciliatory course toward the "pagan" Nazi regime. In 1938 Pacelli proposed traveling to Berlin to negotiate a settlement with the Reich, but his offer was ignored by both Berlin and the Pontiff.

Anschluss. In April 1938 the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries, presided over by Pius XI, condemned the pernicious racism championed by Nazi Germany in a document which the Catholic press deemed a virtual encyclical against racism. Pius deplored the extension of anti-Semitism to Austria following the *Anschluss* of March 1938, which also saddened him both as Pontiff and as an Italian. Not surprisingly, Pius XI repudiated Cardinal Theodor Innitzer and the Austrian bishops, who rejoiced at the union of Germany and Austria, obviously seeking accommodation with the Nazis. In April of the same year, *L'Osservatore Romano* made it clear that the bishops' statement did not have the Vatican's support, and on Vatican Radio Fr. Gustav GUNDLACH, a German Jesuit, denounced the pro-Nazi pastoral letter as inspired by a false, politically motivated Catholicism. Meanwhile, Cardinal Innitzer was summoned to Rome, lectured by an angry pope, and constrained to retract his approval of the *Anschluss.* During the Führer's May 1938 visit to Rome, Pius left for

CASTEL GANDOLFO, closed the Vatican Museum which Hitler had hoped to visit, and did not invite any member of the German party to Vatican City. From Castel Gandolfo Pius XI lamented that it was out of place to hoist in Rome the emblem of a cross not of Christ.

Humani generis unitas. In June 1938, as the Axis threatened to bloom into a full-scale alliance between Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, and as Mussolini embraced Hitler's anti-Semitism, the pope could no longer contain his sense of outrage. He determined to take further steps to denounce Nazi Germany's racism and anti-Semitism. Skirting Pacelli and his conciliatory secretariat of state, the pope secretly commissioned the American Jesuit John LA FARGE, author of numerous works decrying the evil of racism, to draft an encyclical demonstrating the incompatibility of Catholicism and racism. He did not consult Pacelli or include him in the meeting with La Farge, even though he had been by the pope's side only moments earlier. The pope was apparently convinced his secretary of state would oppose the encyclical. Pius outlined what he wanted to say and, aware of his deteriorating health, asked the Jesuit to produce the encyclical as soon as possible. When told of the pope's desire to receive a draft quickly, Fr. Vladimir Ledochowski, General of the JESUITS, suggested that La Farge collaborate with two of his brother Jesuits, Frenchman Gustave Desbuquois and the German Gundlach. Together the three prepared a draft and in late September 1938 placed the projected encyclical, titled "The Unity of the Human Race," in the hands of Ledochowski for transmission to the pope.

Humani generis unitas condemned anti-Semitism and maintained that Catholics could not be permitted to remain silent in its presence. The encyclical written for Pius XI noted that the struggle for racial purity led to a struggle against the Jews, a struggle the papacy deplored in itself; moreover, it warned that anti-Semitism could serve as an excuse for attacking the sacred Person of the Savior Himself, and thereby lead to a war against Christianity. The Redemption opened the doors of salvation to the entire human race, the encyclical continued, providing for a universal Kingdom in which there would be no distinction of Jew or Gentile, Greek or barbarian. Perhaps most disconcerting to those like Pacelli, who counseled moderation, the encyclical called for ecclesiastical action against racism. It specified that it was the task and duty of the Church, the dignity and responsibility of the Chief Shepherd and of his brother shepherds whom the Holy Ghost has placed to rule the Church of God, that they should illuminate for mankind the true course to be followed, the eternal divine order in the changing circumstances of the times.

The antiracist sentiments expressed in the draft of the encyclical reflected the pope's own stance. Pius XI branded the Fascist Ayran Manifesto of July 14, 1938 a "true form of apostasy," and he urged Catholic groups to combat it and initiated a chorus of opposition to the racism of Nazi Germany and its imitation in Fascist Italy. In August 1938, when Pius XI visited the College of the Propaganda Fide, he warned the students there to shun "exaggerated nationalism," which he characterized as a real curse. In early September he announced that the VICAR OF CHRIST could not remain silent in the face of grave errors and violations of human rights. Italy's racist legislation represented an attack on the Church's teachings. "No, it's not possible for us Christians to participate in anti-Semitism," the pope told a group of visiting Belgians on September 6, 1938. "Spiritually, we are Semites."

The pope's confrontational approach toward the fascist regimes worried some in the Vatican, especially members of the secretariat of state, who feared that he would break with Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany and precipitate disastrous consequences for the Church. These individuals called for a more diplomatic course, and they hoped for the election of a more conciliatory successor to the then seriously ill Pius XI. They were also responsible for the conclusion of an agreement with Fascist Italy on the racial issue. According to Fr. Angelo Martini, a Jesuit who was granted access to the relevant Vatican documents, a "pact" of August 16, 1938, provided that, in return for the Fascists' favorable treatment of CATHOLIC ACTION in Italy, the papacy would leave the so-called Jewish question entirely to the regime. It seems inconceivable that the pope would adhere to such a pact, which clearly violated his convictions—and indeed he did not. The conciliatory group also apparently convinced the General of the Jesuits to moderate the tone of *Humani generis unitas*.

When the authors of the encyclical received no word of its receipt by the pope, they suspected foul play. Fr. La Farge wrote the pope, who belatedly learned that the encyclical had been delivered but kept from him. Only when the angry pope demanded its release did it reach him. Reportedly Pius received it on January 21, 1939, but is not certain if he actually saw or read it before his death on February 9–10. It is most likely he did not. The draft of the encyclical, with a note attached, from Msgr. Domenico TARDINI indicating Pius XI's desire to receive the document promptly, were found on the desk of the deceased pope.

Pius XII. Following the death of Pius XI, the division within the Vatican concerning the appropriate policy toward the Axis powers persisted, with a majority in favor of a course that was less confrontational and more conciliatory than the one the late pope had pursued. The influential secretariat of state remained steadfastly faithful to Cardinal Gasparri's dictum that it was

foolhardy and dangerous for the Church to arouse the anger of the Nazis, who could wreak havoc on the Faith. This sentiment was reflected in the CONCLAVE of March 1939, which opened as Europe was on the brink of another war. The cardinal electors sought a peacemaker and protector, and on the third ballot of a short conclave the conciliatory majority quickly elected the diplomatic Pacelli, who was widely known to favor conciliation rather than confrontation vis-à-vis the dictatorial regimes. The new pope did not disappoint them by failing to live up to this reputation.

Pacelli, who became Pope PIUS XII on March 2, 1939, immediately made a sustained effort to improve relations with the Nazi state. He received the German ambassador on March 5, before all others, and assured him that friendly relations would be restored between the Vatican and the Reich. He confided his intention also to the Italian foreign minister, confident that his desire for peace would quickly be transmitted from Rome to Berlin. Determined to fulfill his promises and achieve a détente with the Reich, he shelved his predecessor's encyclical against the racism and anti-Semitism of the Nazi regime, which might have provoked brutal retaliation. Although Pacelli was a self-acknowledged Germanophile whose housekeeper, private secretary, and confessor all hailed from the Reich, his primary motivation and concern remained the preservation of the Church and Catholicism in Germany.

Although initially skeptical of Pacelli, and assuming he would follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, the Nazis were surprised and pleased by the friendly course he pursued, prompting the German foreign minister to proclaim Pacelli a real pope. One of his first actions was to gather the German cardinals and reveal his intention to send a personal letter to Hitler to announce his accession, which he then proceeded to do. As the clouds of war thickened, and Nazi Germany showed itself increasingly bellicose, the pope proclaimed his impartiality in territorial and political disputes—a diplomatic device he borrowed from Gasparri and Benedict XV, who had utilized it during the First World War. He protested neither the virtual dismemberment of the Czech state by the Nazis, nor the demands they made on Poland and the subsequent attack of that Catholic country launched on September 1, 1939. Critics such as playwright Rolf Hochhuth, author of "The Deputy," saw this as the first step of Pius XII's so-called silence, which culminated in the pope's failure publicly and openly to denounce the Holocaust. Hochhuth's play unleashed a barrage of criticism of the pope and the Church: For example, assertions that Pius was indifferent to the plight of the Jews, that he did absolutely nothing to assist them, and that this failure was a function of pervasive ANTI-JUDAISM and anti-Semitism in the Church. In response, such criticism gave rise to a countermovement of writers who rejected the charge that Pius XII was "Hitler's pope" and dubbed him instead the "Angelic Shepherd." Thus was born the so-called Pius War. The controversy continued unabated, and at the turn of the twenty-first century sparked a heated debate upon the proposal of his BEATIFICATION.

Papal Impartiality. The record reveals that Pius XII publicly adhered to his impartiality, as he refused to proclaim support for one side or the other, much to the regret of the French ambassador to the Holy See, François Charles-Roux, who denounced the pope for employing a policy of diplomatic finesse rather than one of rigid ethical principles. In fact, however, the pope recognized the need to denounce evil and did so in a number of his public speeches, all the while preserving his political neutrality. In his first encyclical (October 20, 1939), Pius XII rejected the claims of absolute state authority propounded by the totalitarian powers, but this denunciation was general rather than specific. He also expressed disapproval of aggression against a peaceful nation, but later assured German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop that the small nation he had referred to was Finland, which had been a victim of Soviet aggression. In his Easter message of 1941, he lamented the evils afflicting not simply those engaged in combat but entire populations, without specifying either perpetrators or victims. In a number of his encyclicals he indirectly revealed the Church's opposition to Nazi policies. For example, his *Mystici corporis Christi* of June 1943 stressed that the Church embraces all peoples, "whatever their nationality or race," thereby expressing the truth that the Catholic Church transcends boundaries of race or territory.

These and other statements represented an apparent compromise between the Vatican's need to take a moral stance and its determination not to jeopardize its political neutrality. While publicly impartial, politically neutral, and religiously committed, Pius XII did not favor the Axis and remained suspicious of Nazism. The papal secretary of state, Cardinal Luigi MAGLIONE, explained that the Holy See had to adhere to a political policy of impartiality and therefore could not publicly condemn particular atrocities but could, and did, denounce atrocities in general. This pope's carefully crafted criticisms of Nazi abuses, tucked away in long encyclicals, were designed to achieve two objectives. First and foremost, they were intended to ease the CONSCIENCE of the Pontiff, who clearly recognized and often stated that as Vicar of Christ he had the responsibility of alerting the faithful to evils in state and society. Secondly, they were crafted so as not to provoke unduly Hitler and the Nazi regime, which would likely respond with punitive measures against the Church, the hierarchy,

and the faithful in the Reich. It was only at the war's end that Pius XII abandoned his impartiality and denounced Nazism as "satanic."

Privately the pope tended to favor the Allies, and he hoped they would triumph over the Nazis. Indeed, at the end of 1939 and early in 1940 he informed the British that a group of German generals were prepared to overthrow the Nazi regime, on the condition that they could be assured a just and honorable peace. However, in mid-January 1940 the war cabinet in London decided it could not proceed on this nebulous proposition. The Vatican once again revealed its pro-Allied bias when it secretly alerted London to the impending Nazi invasion of France and the Low Countries. Still later, in May 1943, Myron Taylor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's personal representative to the pope, informed the Vatican that the United States was prepared to negotiate with a successor government to Mussolini's regime, and that it sought the Vatican's assistance. Taylor asked that this message be transmitted to those in a position to depose Hitler's ally, the Duce. This prospect apparently appealed to the Vatican, which once more abandoned its neutrality by conveying the message to King Victor Emmanuel III, who proved cautious and noncommittal. (The Vatican later learned that the king was involved in the conspiracy that ultimately replaced Mussolini.)

Papal Efforts on Behalf of War Victims. The Vatican also revealed its sentiments by its relief efforts on behalf of Jews and other victims of the Nazi regime. In 1939 Pius XII established the Vatican Information Service, which covered all theaters of the war and worked in tandem with the humanitarian efforts of the Red Cross. Among other things, it put relatives in touch with prisoners-of-war, missing persons, and refugees, while monitoring and mitigating the suffering and separations brought about by the conflict. The Vatican Information Service was asked to investigate the fates of millions of displaced and incarcerated people, and to report back to concerned families—and it did so with considerable efficiency. Vatican radio transmitted hundreds of thousands of messages, and the Pontifical Relief Commission provided food, medical supplies, and other material assistance to the needy in those countries where it was allowed to function, including France, Belgium, Holland, Greece, Norway, Ethiopia, Malaya, and other countries. Pius provided assistance to the Jews of Slovakia, Romania, Hungary, Turkey, and elsewhere. During the Nazi occupation of Rome and the deportation of the city's Jewish population, the pope, though publicly silent, directed his secretary of state to complain to the German ambassador. This action in turn secured the release of a number of Jews, and others were permitted to hide in extraterritorial religious houses and within Vatican City itself. Reports of this clandestine Church activity reached Berlin, and provoked anger and calls for revenge and retribution from the more anticlerical wing of the Nazi party.

Although Hitler had on numerous occasions indicated that he would settle accounts with the Church at war's end, some believe he became increasingly disenchanted with the Holy See as the tide turned against his military forces and war effort. Following the collapse of Mussolini's Italy, and the subsequent Nazi occupation of a good part of the peninsula, including Rome, rumors circulated that Hitler planned to invade Vatican City, arrest Pius XII and the cardinals as Napoleon had done a century earlier, and transport them to Germany. The plan for this operation had supposedly been devised by the main security office of the Third Reich. Reportedly, Hitler was dissuaded from carrying it out by his military officers. Some doubt this account, based on the reasoning that Hitler had more pressing problems and did not envision an invasion of the Vatican to be feasible. Furthermore, the strict public neutrality espoused by Pius XII provided little justification for such intervention. What is certain is that these rumors abounded, and they led the pope to avoid any pretext for intervention as he publicly adhered to the strictest standards of political neutrality.

Pius XII's impartiality and public political neutrality, which led to his so-called public silence on the matters of both Nazi and Bolshevik atrocities during WORLD WAR II, has been variously assessed. Those who defend the Pontiff note that his refusal to become politically embroiled allowed Vatican diplomacy and charity to assist hundreds of thousands of victims during the conflict. His detractors complain that his refusal to name the aggressors and their victims constituted a compromise of moral standards in the name of mere diplomacy. Decades later, the debate continues.

SEE ALSO ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; FASCISM; HOLOCAUST (SHOAH); NUNCIO, APOSTOLIC; WORLD WAR I, PAPAL REACTION TO.

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NEOSCHOLASTICISM AND NEOTHOMISM

The terms *Neoscholasticism* and *Neothomism* refer to a group of intellectual movements, originating in the late nineteenth century, that were intended to renew Catholic PHILOSOPHY and THEOLOGY along the lines of approaches that were predominant in the High MIDDLE AGES. These approaches were updated to reflect recent discoveries in many disciplines and thus be better prepared to face contemporary problems.

Neoscholasticism is a broader term than Neothomism, for it encompasses contemporary forms of SCOTISM, THOMISM, AUGUSTINIANISM, and (to a lesser extent) other schools of thought that flourished in the High Middle Ages. The term Neothomism is narrower than the term Neoscholasticism in that it names the contemporary schools of thought that trace their origin and primary inspiration to St. THOMAS AQUINAS. It is nevertheless broad enough to include the Existential Thomism of such thinkers as Jacques MARITAIN, Étienne GILSON, and Josef Pieper (1904–1997); the Transcendental Thomism of such figures as Pierre ROUSSELOT, Joseph MARÉCHAL, Bernard LONERGAN, and Karl RAHNER; and the Analytical Thomism of individuals such as Norman Kretzmann (1928–1998), John Finnis (1940–), and John Haldane (1954–).

Scholasticism during the Middle Ages. Medieval SCHOLASTICISM emerged with the rise of the universities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially under the influence of Aristotelian logic and the then newly recovered natural philosophy of ARISTOTLE, as broadly applied to questions of theology, philosophy, and canon law. As R.W. Southern has shown (1995, 1997), medieval Scholastic thinkers exhibited a thoroughgoing optimism about the prospect of intellectual progress by the rigorous application of a dialectical method that was deeply respectful of tradition. Working under the presumption that recognized authorities (biblical, PAGAN, Patristic, and contemporary) must have had good reasons for their views, Scholastic authors culled their sources for insights, evidence, and arguments. Where they noticed discrepancies in their materials, they attempted to analyze the relevant texts and problems in the hope of finding the distinctions that could explain the differences among authorities and allow them to build up a new synthesis of learning and wisdom (*doctrina et sapientia*).

Despite considerable differences in the structure of the syntheses that were proposed by such thinkers as Aquinas, St. BONAVENTURE, and John DUNS SCOTUS, they shared enough of a consensus on the basic method to be used, a fundamental realism in philosophical outlook, and the respect to be accorded to authorities. This consensus justified the common attribution of the term *Scholastic thinkers* to those who worked by this dialogical method within the schools of the High Middle Ages.

The increasing ascendancy of logic in fourteenth-century Scholasticism desiccated the religious HUMANISM typical of the high Scholastic period and precipitated a kind of FIDEISM in reaction to what was perceived as excessive RATIONALISM and logic-chopping frequently associated with NOMINALISM. With the coming of the RENAISSANCE in the fifteenth century, thinkers inclined to humanism became increasingly focused on such disciplines as history, RHETORIC, and morals, generally (but not always) preferring the pagan writers of classical antiquity to the Christian authors of the Scholastic period.

Revival of the Scholastic Method. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw a revival of SCHOLASTIC METHOD in philosophy and theology. Various Scholastic schools of thought developed around some of the leading universities and centers of study of this period, especially the University of COIMBRA (the Conimbricenses), the University of SALAMANCA (the Salmanticenses), and the CONVENT of the CARMELITES at Alcalá de Henares/Complutum (the COMPLUTENSES). DOMINICANS such as Tommaso de Vio CAJETAN, and JOHN OF ST. THOMAS, joined by many Carmelites (including St. JOHN OF THE CROSS) and BENEDICTINES, spearheaded a revival that included the organization of theological studies on the plan of the *Summa theologiae* and the articulation of a social doctrine in response to the ethical problems encountered in the relations of European colonizers and the indigenous populations of the lands of the New World. Franciscans of this period generally followed the thought of Scotus or Bonaventure, whereas Augustinians and SERVITES generally took their lead from GILES OF ROME and HENRY OF GHENT and developed their own positions in the controversy on grace and freedom of the will—for

example, Michel de Bay (Baius; 1513–1589) and Cornelius Otto JANSEN (Jansenius).

The newly founded JESUITS followed the directives of St. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA in respecting Patristic and Scholastic authorities (especially Aquinas, but less strictly than the Dominicans). Jesuits such as Francisco SUÁREZ and Pedro da FONSECA developed a distinctive form of Thomism that portrayed the philosophy of Aquinas as a kind of Christianized Aristotelianism but one in which the Platonic participation METAPHYSICS of act limited by POTENCY that had been important in the original Thomistic synthesis was removed. The influence of these various forms of revived Scholasticism is evident at the Council of TRENT and well beyond. Jesuit CASUISTRY (the practice of formulating moral cases and resolving them in ways that would illustrate the right or wrong involved) often seemed to lead toward a moral laxity that the Dominicans forbade their confessors to use. The REDEMPTORISTS under the leadership of figures like St. ALPHONSUS LIGUORI urged a middle course. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the fortunes of Scholastic approaches in philosophy and theology had considerably declined with the rise of rationalism, EMPIRICISM, and IDEALISM.

Despite its commitment to a DUALISM of body and soul and its penchant for separating the theoretical and the practical, some form of CARTESIANISM was often regarded as the branch of modern philosophy most suitable for Catholic thought. In German-speaking lands, nineteenth-century theology frequently took the form of romanticism and borrowed from the philosophical approach of German idealism. But Thomism never died out in the Dominican order. The loss of the Papal States in the course of the nineteenth century prompted a reconsideration of many aspects of ecclesial life, including the state of Catholic philosophy and theology.

Role of Pope Leo XIII. In the hope of revivifying a form of thought that could address contemporary problems on many fronts and provide both a cogent for the defense of traditional Catholic positions and a solid basis for arguments with nonbelievers in the public arena on questions pertaining to the order of society, Pope LEO XIII called for a return to the *philosophia perennis* in his 1879 ENCYCLICAL *Aeterni Patris*. Pope Leo XIII later made considerable use of the Thomistic doctrine of natural law in his groundbreaking social encyclical *Rerum novarum* in 1891. While *Aeterni Patris* gave pride of place to Thomism, it also opened the way to the recovery of various forms of CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY under the heading of Neoscholasticism.

Of special note in the recovery of Aquinas's thought that came to be known as Neothomism is the work of such Dominicans as Jean-Baptiste Henri LACORDAIRE and Tommaso ZIGLIARA, whom Leo XIII appointed in 1882 as the director of the project to establish the critical edition of the works of Aquinas, now called the Leonine edition. Jesuits such as Luigi TAPARELLI D'AZEGLIO, Matteo LIBERATORE, Carlo Maria CURCI, and Joseph KLEUTGEN were instrumental in promoting Neothomism by their essays on the Thomistic doctrine of natural law and their support of the papal initiatives through *la Civiltà cattolica*. Official centers for the editing of the works of Bonaventure, ALEXANDER OF HALES, Scotus, Raymond LULL, Albertus Magnus (c. 1200–1280), and John of St. Thomas were quickly established. This work continues today in such initiatives as the Scotus Project headquartered at the CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA and the ongoing work to complete the Leonine edition of Aquinas, a project that was significantly aided by Roberto Busa's *Index Thomisticus* (1974–1980, 1993).

Maurice DE WULF is representative of the widespread enthusiasm for Leo XIII's initial project, even though de Wulf prematurely argued for the view that there was minimal disagreement in medieval Scholasticism. Subsequent historical studies in the generation of Pierre MANDONNET and Étienne Gilson disclosed the presence of irreducible differences among thirteenth-century Scholastic thinkers. The crisis over MODERNISM delayed somewhat the development of Neoscholasticism in its various forms, but in due time a return to the texts of Aquinas, Scotus, Bonaventure, and many other medieval thinkers took place as part of a general blossoming of medieval studies.

The modernist crisis seems to have been due, at least in part, to inadequate training in philosophy and theology by many who felt the influence of German HISTORICISM and higher biblical criticism. On the assumption that Scholasticism could not deal with contemporary scientific problems, the thinkers associated with modernism looked for ways to be engaged with the contemporary scholarship but may not always have been sufficiently cautious about preserving traditional doctrines. The papal recommendations in favor of Thomism were not always universally accepted, especially when accompanied by rather restrictive interpretations of what constituted an acceptable form of Thomism, such as the list of twenty-four required theses issued in 1914.

New Movements. Of equal prominence with Neoscholasticism and Neothomism within the Catholic intellectual renascence of the twentieth century was the movement generally known as *nouvelle théologie*. The fruitful interest of its proponents in renewing theology by a return to biblical and Patristic texts was sometimes accompanied by a reaction to what seemed stifling in the Scholastic method. Among philosophers who identified themselves and their work as Catholic but not

Scholastic or Thomistic was the movement known as phenomenological realism, pioneered by such thinkers in the tradition of Edmund HUSSERL as Dietrich von HILDEBRAND and Max SCHELER. Some individuals attempted to synthesize Scholastic and non-Scholastic approaches, such as Charles Sanders PEIRCE, who borrowed much from Scotus; Edith STEIN (St. Teresa Benedicta of the Cross), who tried to integrate Husserl with Scotus and Aquinas, and Karol Wojtyła (Pope JOHN PAUL II), whose thought unites Husserl and Scheler with Aquinas and St. John of the Cross. The thought of Joseph RATZINGER (Pope BENEDICT XVI) involves a revival of Augustinian and Bonaventurian themes.

Various papal encyclicals have taken up the issue of the priority of respect that is owed to Aquinas within the pluralism that is possible within Catholic philosophy and theology. Of special note here are the encyclicals *Pascendi* of Pope PIUS X, *Humani generis* of Pope PIUS XII, and *Fides et ratio* of John Paul II. In repudiating modernism, these documents have repeatedly endorsed the ongoing development of a living form of Thomism. They also encourage the efforts to recognize and develop other sound approaches to Christian philosophy and theology besides Scholasticism as crucial for the preparation of adequate Catholic responses to contemporary problems.

Neothomist Texts. The earliest texts of Neothomism give evidence of influence from philosophical rationalism that took a considerable time to fall away. The writings of Juan José URRÁBURU and Josef August GREDT, for instance, were widely circulated but do not possess the same sense of Thomism as a living philosophy primarily in the Aristotelian tradition that emerged in slightly later figures, such as Cardinal Désiré Joseph MERCIER, Fernand VAN STEENBERGHEN, and Albert Dondeyne (1901–1985). With each decade there were notable improvements made by the recovery of various aspects of the original Thomistic synthesis. These include the work on the doctrine of analogy by Santiago María Ramírez (1891–1967) and later Ralph McInerny (1929–); the doctrine of participation and the recognition of Platonic aspects by Louis-Bertrand Geiger (1906–1983) and Cornelio Fabro (1911–1995); and the primacy of existence by Jacques Maritain, Étienne Gilson, Anton Charles PEGIS, and Gerard PHELAN. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century the Neothomists—and also the proponents of numerous Neoscholastic schools of thought—entered the then wide-ranging debates on the nature of Christian philosophy, the relation between philosophy and revelation, and the proper autonomy of reason unaided by grace.

In various areas of theology there have been strong Neothomistic contributions, including the work of Ambrose GARDEIL and Réginald GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE in apologetics and mystical theology; Louis BILLOT, Francisco MARÍN-SOLA, and Karl Rahner in dogmatic theology; Charles JOURNET, Yves Marie-Joseph CONGAR, Edward SCHILLEBEECKX, and Avery DULLES in ECCLESIOLOGY; Dominikus PRÜMMER and Servais Pinckaers (1925–2008) in moral theology; and Marie-Dominique CHENU in historical theology. The second half of the twentieth century saw a vast pluralizing of theological approaches, but Neothomists continued to play an important role, for instance, in the debate over the proper understanding of *intellectus fidei*. Some Neothomists proposed that theology should be seen as a deductive discipline that arrives at its conclusions by a fixed method. Others have argued that Aquinas himself envisioned theology as ostensive in its aim to show the internal coherence of revelation by displaying revelation's connection to the *articuli fidei* (the basic articles of the faith, such as those enumerated in the creeds). Likewise, there have been vigorous discussions about the proper understandings of the workings of grace, especially in connection to the questions about whether Thomists should hold a doctrine of "pure nature."

Schools of Neothomism. Within Neothomist philosophy, a number of schools have considerable importance. In the works of such figures as Brian Davies (1951–), Norman Kretzmann, and John Haldane, there has emerged a school of thought that might be called Analytic Thomism for its use of the tools of contemporary analytic philosophy to read and reflect on the texts of Aquinas and other medieval Scholastic thinkers. Transcendental Thomists such as Pierre Rousselot, Joseph Maréchal, Emerich Coreth (1919–2006), Bernard Lonergan, and Karl Rahner have tried to use the resources of Kantian and neo-Kantian thought, including the "turn to the subject," as a new basis for Thomism. These thinkers have tended to ground Thomistic principles in a critical EPISTEMOLOGY rather than in the traditional focus on metaphysics and philosophy of nature. More traditional scholars, such as John Wippel, W. Norris Clarke (1915–2008), Benedict Ashley, William Wallace, and Jan Aertsen, have argued for the need to retain a focus on the intelligibility of being and the doctrine of the TRANSCENDENTALS as the proper basis for a contemporary Thomism.

Some of the same debates are being played out in the arena of ethics in the debates between traditional natural law theorists such as Ralph McInerny and F. Russell Hittinger and the "new natural law" school associated with John Finnis, Germain Grisez, and Robert P. George. The traditional natural law approach emphasizes the need for the metaphysical grounding of moral claims in a teleological view of human nature. The new natural law approach tends to proceed by an

analytical method from the recognition of certain self-evident basic goods and the application of the first principle of practical reasoning to human choices. In the work of such figures as Servais Pinckaers and Romanus Cessario, there is stress on the moral virtues as crucial for the exposition of a genuine Thomistic ethics.

SEE ALSO Aeterni Patris; Albert the Great, St.; Arabian Philosophy; Civiltà Cattolica, la; Fides et Ratio; Humani Generis; Pascendi; Philosophy, History of; Philosophy and Science; Rerum Novarum; Scholastic Philosophy.

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NEW AGE MOVEMENT, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND

The New Age (NA) movement is a variegated cultural phenomenon. In its broadest sense, the term refers to a configuration of Eastern and Western esoteric psychologies, philosophies, and religious traditions that have been brought into convergence with new paradigms in science and modern PSYCHOLOGY. The movement has links with the Eastern and Western occult, mystical, and metaphysical traditions. In the United States, the movement is the inheritor of the Aquarian "new religious consciousness" of the 1960s and 1970s.

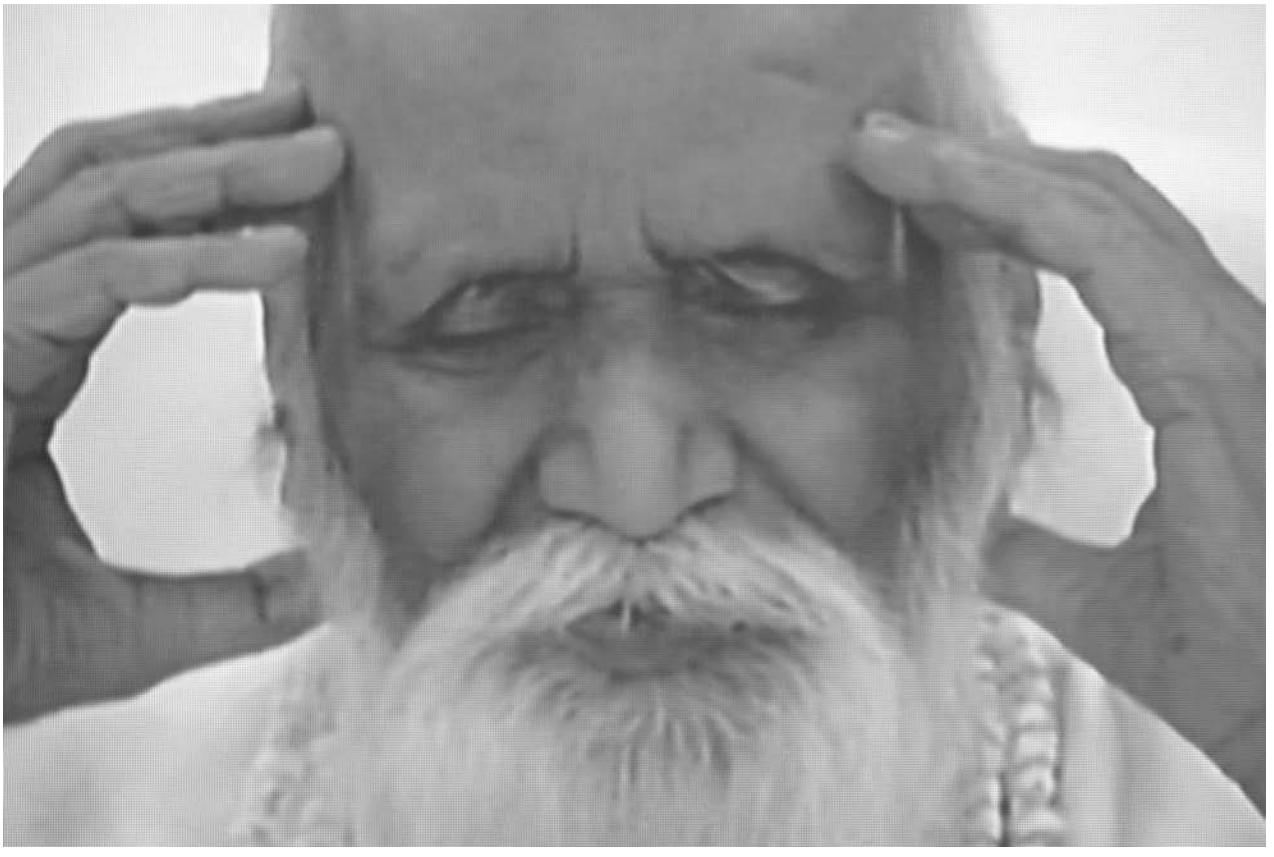
New Age cultural referents include health food stores, parapsychology research organizations, and psychic development groups; the late twentieth-century interest in REINCARNATION, ASTROLOGY, WICCA, tarot cards, the I Ching, out-of-body experience, channeling, and the "healing powers" of crystals and pyramids; "transformational" techniques ranging from MEDITATION to martial arts; alternative or "holistic" medicine and body therapies; and a melange of other "consciousness raising" techniques.

While there is no clearly defined New Age "gospel," per se, nor any unanimity of NA beliefs, the conviction that humanity is on the threshold of a radical spiritual transformation is a central motif. New Age thinking also embraces eclectic and syncretistic healing strategies and spiritual disciplines, reasserts various forms of supernaturalism and sacramentalism, and promotes the full realization of human potential. Themes of "transformation," "consciousness raising," "self-realization," "higher self," the "god within," and "global unity" are standard NA parlance. New Age thinking also animates elements of the contemporary environmental movement, notably in relation to ecofeminism and CREATION theology.

Growth of the Movement. The spread of NA thinking in modern society has been propagated through movement literature and a multitude of seminars and training programs focused on human potential and self-improvement. Various teachers, empowerment practitioners, and assorted shamans have facilitated such programs. These include cultural celebrities as diverse as Baba Ram Dass (Richard Alpert, b. 1931), a former professor of psychology at Harvard; the actress Shirley MacLaine (b. 1934); and David Spangler (b. 1945), formerly a codirector of a spiritual community in Scotland run by the Findhorn Foundation and the author of *Revelation: The Birth of a New Age* (1976). It was Spangler who coined the term "New Age." Marilyn Ferguson's book *The Aquarian Conspiracy: Personal and Social Transformation in the 1980s* (1980), an impassioned discussion of the need to create a new society based on a "turnabout in consciousness" and a vastly enlarged concept of human potential, also helped popularize New Age perspectives.

Cultural historians have emphasized the continuity between current NA ideas and earlier American interest in metaphysical, occult, and non-Western spiritual traditions, such as TRANSCENDENTALISM, SPIRITUALISM, THEOSOPHY, and New Thought. They have also pointed to NA affinities with the long-standing American utopian tradition and the quintessential American dream of transcending personal background by reinventing the SELF.

Social and behavioral science perspectives link the appeal of the NA to the cultural crisis of post-1950s



Group Meditation. *Maharishi Mahesh Yogi is seen on a video screen during an AP interview in 2006, which was also broadcast over the Internet. Since the founding of Maharishi Vedic City in Iowa in 2001, hundreds of Transcendental Meditation practitioners have meditated in unison, sending what they say is a wave of positivity across the globe.* **AP IMAGES**

America. From this perspective, the NA is a cultural response to the weakening of the structures and institutions that integrate society. The contradictions of late capitalism's commodity culture and the spiritual poverty of the technocratic state—characterized by massive bureaucracy, depersonalization, aesthetic sterility, and the dominance of instrumental rationality—compounded this crisis. Other factors facilitating the spread of NA thinking include the decline of mainline religions, the expansion of comparative religion courses, the increase in Asian immigration, and mass marketing techniques used by NA spiritual entrepreneurs. The high media visibility of Hollywood celebrities promoting NA concepts and theories have also contributed to the cultural visibility of the movement.

Since the 1960s, a large part of the recruiting ground for religious and spiritual experiment has been among the relatively privileged and social elites. In this context, the spread of the NA movement is attributable, in part, to structural characteristics of demographic and generational shifts associated with an emerging cohort of "baby boomers," whose affluence and greater discretionary time have freed them for diverse spiritual and cultural pursuits.

Criticism of the Movement. Criticism of NA therapies and philosophies tends to come from two main sources: (1) left-leaning cultural critics and academics, and (2) conservative Christians. Cultural critics and academics censure the movement for its assault on the heritage of the ENLIGHTENMENT and for sowing doubt about the trustworthiness of rational thought. Accordingly, they claim that NA devotees promote alchemist-like spirituality, superstition, pseudoscience, incipient totalitarianism, a dangerous ahistoricism, and, in some cases, outright fraud.

Cultural critics have also asserted that exotic NA interests such as crystal gazing and "harmonic convergence" are contrived, artificial phenomena that actually point to the triviality of spiritual matters in modern society. They state that, from a psychological perspective, some NA devotees manifest narcissistic and obsessive self-fixation traits that mirror the powerlessness, alienation, and atomistic individualism endemic in

society. New Age "higher consciousness" is, therefore, viewed by these critics as little more than a misguided initiative to rescue the modern American "minimal self." In addition, NA practitioners have been accused of mimicking liberalism's idioms of GLOBALISM, cooperation, and tolerance. However, because some currents in the movement reject or minimize reformist political struggle, they implicitly promote apolitical escapism and reinforce the status quo.

The most aggressive assault on NA thinking comes from fundamentalist and other conservative Christians who link NA spiritual effervescence with exotic "cults," with secular humanism, and with the emergence of a "false" and "one world" religion. "Bible-believing" Christians denounce NA apologists for distorting and rejecting the Bible's message of sin and SALVATION, for promoting the "occult" and "demonic," and for contaminating the Christian tradition with false spiritual ideas. The New Age movement is thus construed as the shadow of the ANTICHRIST and another cultural barometer of an apostate age.

More moderate Christian critics point to the latent GNOSTICISM in much NA thought, to the movement's promotion of magic-like ritualization, and to its cooption of traditional religious symbolism. These critics have also reproached the New Age movement for failing to address the reality of EVIL (or for viewing social and structural oppression as merely a state of mind), for failing to link "self-realization" with moral guidance, and for extolling forms of self-exploration that too readily degenerate into self-promotion. In addition, both secular and religious critics have attacked certain NA currents for amoralism, for the degradation and blatant commercialization of piety, and for the tendency to reduce religion to psychology.

The spread of New Age thinking has also been interpreted in more positive ways. First, the phenomenon shows that people do not respond to new social and cultural problems by abandoning religion as much as by developing new religious innovations and orientations on the ruins of the old. What is "new" about much NA thinking is not the content, per se, but the unexpected spread of such ideas in the face of assumptions regarding the alleged inexorable triumph of secularization.

Second, the NA movement points up the continuing problem of the bifurcation of religious and scientific orientations that has long afflicted Western civilization. In response to this situation, people often compartmentalize their meaning systems. The privatization of religion is one aspect of this; the idolatry of technique is another. New Age thinking, with its call for "holistic" and "integrated" living, is both symptomatic of this cultural problem and a creative and contemporary response to it.

Third, while the spread of NA theories and practices can be seen as an indictment of organized religion's failure to respond in creative and dynamic ways to new cultural trends, the movement has also stimulated a renewed interest in mysticism, meditation, and spiritual renewal within the Christian tradition. New Age ideals have also converged with a new stress on eclectic approaches to spirituality in many mainline churches.

The most positive aspects of NA ideals are those that encourage consensus decision making, integrated living, an emphasis on freedom for positive growth, creative action, and a call for human solidarity. Certain NA motifs are also highly relevant to aspects of the emerging ecological ethos and for the need for a new cosmology relevant to environmental concerns.

In its overall composition and visibility, the NA movement gives expression to the dynamic and ongoing realignment of religion and culture. In reference to the Christian tradition, the movement provides another opportunity for both spiritual revitalization within the tradition and for a new and creative discernment of the vibrant relationship between the GOSPEL and culture.

The Catholic Church and the New Age. Some beliefs and practices commonly promoted by New Age followers (though not necessarily of NA origin) have found their way into Catholic settings. Eastern forms of meditation; alternative medicines and healing techniques such as Reiki; Jungian psychology; "creation spirituality"; feng shui; the enneagram (a nine-pointed starlike symbol); neo-pagan, Wiccan, and Native American rituals; astrology; goddess worship; ecofeminist theology; shamanism, and spirit "channeling" have all been embraced, not only in private by some individual Catholics but also publicly in some Catholic parishes, universities, hospitals, retreat centers, and religious orders.

The resulting forms of religious syncretism have provoked various critiques informed by more traditional Catholic perspectives. A number of formal documents have been issued by Church officials to address either New Age spirituality as a whole or specific teachings and practices common in NA circles. In the 1990s, pastoral directives on these subjects were published by individual bishops in Belgium (Godfried Danneels of Brussels, in 1990); the United States (Edward Anthony McCarthy of Miami, 1992); Italy (Carlo Maccari of Ancona-Osimo, 1994); and Mexico (Norberto Rivera Carrera of Mexico City, 1996). The Argentine Bishops' Conference Committee for Culture and the Irish Theological Commission also published extensive critiques of New Age influences at this time.

Relevant documents from Rome include the *Letter to Bishops on Certain Aspects of Christian Meditation—*

Orationis Formas (1989) from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (1989); *Some Current Questions Concerning Eschatology* (1992), issued by the INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL COMMISSION to address the notion of reincarnation and other popular beliefs about life after death; and the Vatican's most comprehensive statement on New Age spirituality, *Jesus Christ, the Bearer of the Water of Life: A Christian Reflection on the "New Age"* (2003), prepared by the PONTIFICAL COUNCIL FOR CULTURE and the PONTIFICAL COUNCIL FOR INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE. Intended as a "provisional report" from the Working Group on New Religious Movements, this document was "offered primarily to those engaged in pastoral work so that they might be able to explain how the *New Age* movement differs from the Christian faith" (Foreword). It "does not aim at providing a set of complete answers to the many questions raised by the *New Age*," but rather "is an invitation to understand the *New Age* and to engage in a genuine dialogue with those who are influenced by *New Age* thought" (sec. 1).

The authors of *Jesus Christ, the Bearer of the Water of Life* echo many of the secular and Christian analyses of New Age religion summarized above, citing numerous sociological, psychological, cultural, and theological studies. They state, for example, that "there is, in fact, little in the New Age that is new" (sec. 1.3), and that it seems to represent a form of "spiritual narcissism or pseudo-mysticism" (sec. 3.2). Even so, they add, "[i]t would be unwise and untrue to say that everything connected with the *New Age* movement is good, or that everything about it is bad" (sec. 2).

After tracing the historical and cultural sources of the movement, as well as the universal human aspirations that drive it, the report concludes:

> Even if it can be admitted that *New Age* religiosity in some way responds to the legitimate spiritual longing of human nature, it must be acknowledged that its attempts to do so run counter to Christian revelation. ... An adequate Christian discernment of *New Age* thought and practice cannot fail to recognize that, like second- and third-century gnosticism, it represents something of a compendium of positions that the Church has identified as heterodox. (sec. 1.4)

The report goes on to provide an overview of New Age claims, fundamental themes, and principles of thought. The authors clarify the particular differences between NA and Catholic beliefs with regard to notions about God and the world; the identity and mission of Jesus Christ; the nature of truth and moral authority; the human being (especially human free will and destiny); suffering and death; sin and salvation; and the need for social commitment.

Playing off the NA mythology surrounding the "Age of Aquarius" (the Water-Bearer), the document proposes that Jesus' encounter with the woman at the well (Jn 4:1–42) offers a paradigm for the Church's encounter with New Age believers: "The experience of meeting the stranger who offers us the water of life is a key to the way Christians can and should engage in dialogue with anyone who does not know Jesus," especially those "who may have been attracted to the water-carrier (Aquarius) but who are genuinely still seeking the truth" (sec. 5). Practical suggestions for pastoral strategies and resources reflect the authors' conviction that "through many of our contemporaries who are searching, we can discover a true thirst for God" (Foreword).

SEE ALSO APOSTASY; DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE; ECOFEMINISM AND ECOFEMINIST THEOLOGY; HUMANISM, SECULAR; JUNG, CARL GUSTAV; METAPHYSICS; OCCULTISM; PHILOSOPHY; RELIGIONS, COMPARATIVE STUDY OF; SELF, THE; SPIRITUALISM; THEOSOPHY; TRANSCENDENTALISM; WITCHCRAFT.

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NICOLI, GIUSEPPINA, BL.

Religious sister of the Daughters of Charity; b. Casatisma, Pavia, Italy, November 18, 1863; d. Cagliari, Sardinia, Italy, December 31, 1924; beatified February 3, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Giuseppina Nicoli entered the Daughters of Charity of St. VINCENT DE PAUL in Turin, Italy, in 1883. She was sent to Sardinia, Italy, in 1885. Sr. Josephine, as she became known, took her vows on Christmas Eve 1888. She served mostly in Sardinia, evangelizing while caring for the poor, the sick, and the orphaned. In 1893 Nicoli contracted tuberculosis, which would cause her difficulty for the rest of her life. In Cagliari, Sardinia, she founded and directed the Society of the Pious Union of the Sons of Mary. There, Nicoli taught catechism to students and workers.

Nicoli left Cagliari for Sassari in 1899 to run an orphanage, and she opened the Daughters of Charity's first Italian section. Its works included teaching catechism to children and providing clothing to the poor. Nicoli also opened a school of religion to train older students to become teachers of the faith.

In 1910 Nicoli returned to mainland Italy, serving as bursar of the province of Turin. Two years later, she was assigned as directress to the novitiate in Turin. She served just nine months before declining health led her superiors to move her back to Sardinia's warmer climate. Nicoli returned to Sassari, but differences over her administration of the orphanage led to her transfer back to Cagliari in 1914. There, she and her sisters cared for those injured in WORLD WAR I (1914–1918). After the local bishop directed her to start the Dorotean Society for consecrated laywomen, Nicoli and the society's members set up the Young Women of Charity in 1917, and opened a facility for sick children in Marina del Poetto, a suburb. In Cagliari, she founded the St. Teresa Circle for young Catholic women (later called Women's Catholic Action) and established the Josephite Association for religious instruction.

At her BEATIFICATION, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins noted:

> What was striking in Sr. Nicoli was how she readily accepted and responded to the new social challenges of the time; Gospel hope, which did not let her hesitate in the face of misunderstandings and difficulties; the depth of her communion with Christ in the Eucharist, which supported her in all her charitable enterprises; as well as the constant effort she made to evangelize.

Feast: December 31.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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NOMINALISM

Nominalism is a term that derives from the Latin *nomen* (name) and is used to refer to a range of philosophical doctrines and methods that have occasionally surfaced in other fields, such as literature and THEOLOGY. The core notion is ontological. Nominalism holds that only individuals exist and, conversely, that non-individuals, such as UNIVERSALS or common natures, are not things but "names." It is most clearly opposed to Platonic REALISM, which argues for the existence of real universals

as transcendent patterns or exemplars for particular things, although it is also opposed to more moderate forms of realism, which claim that universals must somehow inhere or exist in the substance of particulars. The middle ground is CONCEPTUALISM, which is the view that universals exist as concepts in the mind or as ways of conceiving individuals that do exist outside the mind. All three views had an enormous impact on the history of Western PHILOSOPHY because of the theories that were developed to explore their semantic and metaphysical consequences. For this reason, philosophical use of the term nominalism has always been multilayered, or at least potentially so.

Historiographically, medieval nominalism has been associated not only with parsimony as regards universals but also with theologies that emphasize the absolute SOVEREIGNTY of God's will and hence the radical contingency of CREATION, as well as with VOLUNTARISM and Pelagianism (or SEMI-PELAGIANISM) in connection with human SALVATION, which is the reason why it occasioned comment from literary figures such as Geoffrey CHAUCER (Utz 1995). Because this seemed counter to ORTHODOXY, nominalism was often a term of disapprobation. But the application of the term was almost always backward-looking in both its earlier and later medieval manifestations; that is, nominalists were always given the name by those who wrote about them later (Courtenay 1992). Twentieth-century usage has for the most part returned to the ontological paradigm, in which a nominalist is someone who rejects the existence of real universals, frequently as part of a broader program of ontological parsimony.

Greek Origins. The position called nominalism predates the label by at least a millennium. It first emerges in resistance to Platonic METAPHYSICS, and especially to the idea that the particular things we perceive somehow owe their existence as beings of a certain type to a higher level of things: that of the types themselves. For example, Antisthenes the Cynic (c. 445–c. 365 BC) is said to have objected to PLATO, "I see a horse, but I do not see horseness" (Simplicius, *In Arist. Categ.* 208.30). ARISTOTLE leveled a number of devastating criticisms in Book I of the *Metaphysics* against what he took to be Plato's position. Aristotle's own view was that a thing's nature must actually exist in it, so that horseness inheres in each and every horse as part of its metaphysical makeup. The human INTELLECT is able to cognize horseness as a natural kind, however, because it abstracts the nature from its individualized existence as Silver, Trigger, Old Paint, and so on.

The Stoics have often been classified as nominalists because of their focus on individuals of the material world, but in addition, as an ontological foundation for their logic, they postulated a special kind of universal, the τὸ λεκτόν (what is said), referring to the meaning of a sentence or word. The idea that separate existence must be granted to the meanings of sentences reappeared in the MIDDLE AGES in controversies over the ontological status of the *enuntiabile* (sayable) of spoken or written or mental sentences, and still later, in the twentieth-century use of the term *proposition* to refer to the abstract entity expressed by the synonymous sentence-tokens of different languages. Thus, *Il pleut* and *Es regnet* (It's raining) are different linguistic conventions for expressing the same proposition.

The Early Middle Ages. The author who did the most to shape medieval discussion of the problem of universals was BOETHIUS, whose translation of and commentaries on PORPHYRY's *Isagoge* (Introduction) to the *Categories* of Aristotle forced later readers to consider the ontological significance of how we classify things. Specifically, Porphyry raises three questions: (1) whether genera (e.g., animal) and SPECIES (e.g., dog) exist in reality or only in thought; (2) if they are real, whether or not they are bodies; and (3) whether they exist in sensible things or apart from them (*Isagoge* 1.2), a question that Porphyry "begs off" answering, even though Boethius is happy to oblige (Spade 1994, pp. 20–25). In his *Isagoge* commentaries, Boethius basically splits the difference on each of Porphyry's questions by defending the moderate realist position that universals such as GENUS and species really do exist in sensible things, although they can also be abstracted in thought. But his subtle ARGUMENTATION and even-handed presentation of arguments for the nominalist and realist positions were what, primarily, attracted later thinkers to the issue.

Until the late eleventh century, most commentators were content to repeat Boethius's answers to Porphyry's three questions. But in fact Boethius gives what amounts to a different answer in his commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*, where he contends that universals are *voces* (words) and not the *res*, or things signified by them (Boethius, *Patrologia Latina* 64.159A7–161B2). Sometime during the late 1080s, a certain master at PARIS named John and his student ROSCELIN OF COMPIÈGNE began to teach the view that genus and species are words and not things, and a controversy erupted between the realists (*reales*) and this new group of so-called vocalists (*vocales*), who later became known as the nominalists (*nominales*; Iwakuma 1992a, 1992b).

The earliest representatives of medieval nominalism were these early vocalists, the term *nominalist* being unattested before the middle of the twelfth century (Reiners 1910). Foremost among them was a student of Roscelin's, Peter ABELARD, a brilliant philosopher and dialectician who took great relish in reducing to absurdity the views of realist opponents such as WILLIAM OF CHAMPEAUX. Abelard argued that nothing can

be a universal in the Boethian sense, apparently defended by William, because it is impossible (e.g., for *one and the same* humanity to exist in *numerically distinct* human beings at the same time). His metaphysical antirealism was grounded in a sophisticated SEMANTICS of terms that moved vocalism beyond the primitive—and equally absurd—view of Roscelin that universals are nothing more than vocal noises (*flatus vocis*). According to Abelard, a common noun such as *man* names (*appellat*) individual men but signifies whatever it is that makes them all men, which must be real without being any kind of thing (*res*). So what is it, if not a thing? Abelard calls it a status—which he designates via the grammatical construction "being a man" (*hominem esse*)—but denies that the status itself is a thing and even that we have any direct acquaintance with it, although we do notice the similarities it causes among particular men and that make man into the natural kind with which we are all familiar (Geyer 1919–1927, 530.38–533.9). Abelard's nominalism depends for its viability on the notion of a status, as well as on a host of other non-things—such as the *dicta*, or the meanings of propositions—which do philosophical work but whose ontological significance is never quite clear (Tweedale 1988; King 2004).

Abelard ran into difficulties, though, when he tried to apply his science of discourse (*scientia sermocinalis*) to theological doctrines such as the Holy TRINITY. Here he sought to refute those known as anti-dialecticians, such as St. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX, who held that reason should not meddle with simple propositions of the Faith, and the "pseudodialecticians," such as Roscelin, who rejected arguments from authority and wanted to subject all faith claims to rational scrutiny (King 2004). Abelard's middle ground was to use reason to try to understand what people believe on faith. Thus, he developed a semantics for claiming that the three persons of the Trinity are really the same in their divine ESSENCE but numerically different insofar as each possesses certain unique properties, such as the Father's being unbegotten, the Son's being begotten, and the Spirit's proceeding from the Father and Son (dal Pra 1969, IV, pp. 156–157). But how can such relations be real without being things (*res*)? The subtleties of Abelard's position were evidently lost on his opponents, and Bernard of Clairvaux was able to successfully accuse Abelard of HERESY, which drove him from public life.

Although he influenced later thinkers such as Peter Lombard (c. 1100–1164; Colish 1992), Abelard's once-vibrant nominalist program went into eclipse in the second half of the twelfth century for reasons that are still not clear (Iwakuma 1992b). Perhaps the stigma surrounding his condemned theological views played a role. But the middle of the twelfth century also saw the arrival of a raft of previously untranslated works by Aristotle and his Islamic commentators. These brought about gradual but significant changes in the way the dialectical arts were treated, with less attention being paid to Porphyry's text and the ontological questions it raised and more to a new range of semantic questions presented by Aristotle's metaphysics and natural philosophy.

The Later Middle Ages. When thirteenth-century philosophers such as ALBERT THE GREAT, BONAVENTURE, and THOMAS AQUINAS referred to the *nominales*, they did so in the past tense, indicating that nominalism had by then ceased to be an active philosophical school (Iwakuma 1992a). But it reappeared under different circumstances in the fourteenth century. Much had changed in the interim, however, especially regarding the techniques of the *scientia sermocinalis*. Perhaps the most important of these was the development of an alternative account of PREDICATION that was more in keeping with the nominalist assumption that only individuals exist. According to the traditional account, the sentence "Socrates is a man" is true if the common nature, humanity, actually inheres in the individual bearer of the name SOCRATES. But according to the logic of the moderns (*logica moderna*), the sentence is true if the term *Socrates* and the term *man* stand, or supposit (*supponit*), for the same thing—that is, refer to the same individual (Buridan 2001, pp. xxxiii–lxii). It is easy to see that on the latter view, there is no need to make reference to universals of any sort, or even to strange non-things like Abelard's status. Rather, the question of what common terms signify can be clearly separated from the question of what role they play in making a given sentence true (or false).

The best known later medieval nominalist, WILLIAM OF OCKHAM, was a practitioner of the new semantics. He wrote, "Therefore, if in the proposition, 'This is an angel [*Hic est angelus*],' the subject and the predicate supposit for the same thing, the proposition will be true. And so it is not denoted that this has angelity [*angelitas*], or that there is angelity in this, or something like this, but what is denoted is that this is truly an angel" (Ockham, *Summa Logicae* II.2). But what does the common term *angel* signify? Ockham contends that such terms immediately signify their corresponding concepts and ultimately signify what those concepts represent (i.e., particular angels). To use a more mundane example, the concept of man indifferently signifies all past, present, and possible men; that is, the concept signifies all of the singulars represented by it (Klima 1999, p. 131). The concept is itself a particular, needless to say, although Ockham changed his mind over the course of his career about whether it should be thought of as a representational construct (*fictum*), or, even more simply, as the mental act of signifying many. He came to prefer the latter on grounds of parsimony.

The principle of parsimony is the engine that drives Ockham's nominalism. The razor—"Entities are not to be multiplied beyond necessity" (*Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*) is one formulation—is not known as such in his writings, and the general principle was around long before Ockham (Spade 1999). It probably became associated with his name because he regarded simplicity and explanatory power as CARDINAL VIRTUES of philosophical theories. For example, he is known for arguing that the ten Aristotelian categories could be reduced to two, SUBSTANCE and QUALITY, and could even be reduced to just substance if not for PHENOMENA such as the Eucharist, which required that the accidental qualities of the bread continue to exist apart from its substance while manifesting the body of Christ. It is important to note, however, that parsimony was not so much an argument for denying real universals as it was a method of paring down one's ontological commitments. Thus, Ockham rejected the realist theory of his Franciscan predecessor John DUNS SCOTUS because he believed it to be inconsistent, not because everything can be explained just as well without it (Adams 1982).

Ockham had few students of his own, but his writings were influential both in England and on the continent, especially at Paris, where they helped transform an indigenous logical tradition into a powerful semantic theory that eventually reshaped the whole of Aristotelian science. The most famous and influential practitioner of the nominalist way was JOHN BURIDAN. What is most striking about his writings is their focus on the method of solving philosophical problems (Buridan 1966, p. 13; Zupko 2003). Buridan almost always approaches a question by saying first what its key terms mean, disambiguating them, and examining the truth conditions of their various senses. Do universals exist? Buridan says that this question is really asking about the signification of common terms and concepts, because he takes it as given that there are no real universals: "everything in the world is singular; that is why Boethius said that everything that exists is one in number and undivided. Indeed, in this way a genus is one singular term insofar as it exists just as singularly in my intellect or yours, or in my utterance [*vox*] or yours, as this whiteness does in this wall" (Tatarzyński 1986, p. 158). His answer is that the primary signification of the term *universal* is "predicable of many," which makes it a term of second intention, or a term of terms, since only terms are predicable (Tatarzyński 1986, pp. 135–136; Szyller 1987, p. 148). Likewise, when we conceive of something universally (note the adverbial form), we are taking some singular concept as indifferently designating the "suppositi" or individuals of which it is true (Szyller 1987, p. 59). Buridan is not unlike some twentieth-century philosophers such as Ludwig WITTGENSTEIN and Rudolf CARNAP in that he sees language as a source of pseudoproblems in philosophy. With the right techniques we can make the meaning of our terms and concepts clear without reifying their grammatical forms or mental categories.

Like Ockham, Buridan's nominalist methods do not always produce parsimonious results. He found it necessary, for example, to posit the existence of QUANTITY, along with substance and quality, to explain the motion involved in condensation and rarefaction. But his ontological commitments are often expressed tentatively, as if he would be happy to pare them down further if someone were to advance a convincing argument for doing so. He was unconvinced by the radical reductionism of JOHN OF MIRECOURT, whose views were condemned in 1347. John apparently wanted to reduce everything to substances "being differently disposed [*aliter et aliter se habere*]," but Buridan argued that this is a false economy, since we could not distinguish between the modes of a substance without some kind of real difference, so it is better to assume this at the outset (Zupko 2003, pp. 219–223).

The Postmedieval Period. During the decades after Buridan, the institutionalization of philosophical methods was evident in the development within the universities of various schools: Albertist, Thomist, Scotist, and Ockhamist, or nominalist. But the emphasis here was pedagogical, so that students would be given the exercise of resolving a philosophical question "in the nominalist way" or "in the Thomist manner." The other mark of the schools was endless quarreling. In intellectual history this is known as the period of the *wegestreit* (war of the ways), when practitioners of the older Aristotelian-Thomistic (*via antiqua*) and newer Ockhamist (*via moderna*) methods were not as eager to pursue the consequences of their own positions as to stake out their differences on virtually every issue they discussed (Hoenen 1997).

An important figure in the transmission of nominalism during this period was the theologian Gabriel BIEL, a self-professed follower of Ockham. Biel's theology, however, was strongly influenced by Duns Scotus, who was a realist, and so he was not exactly a doctrinaire nominalist. Because of his excellent reputation and the fact that, unlike Abelard and Ockham, he was never charged with heterodoxy, Biel went some distance toward calming the growing opposition in the Church to nominalist methods in the teaching of theology, which had been caricatured as sweeping aside traditional beliefs and leaving no room for revelation. Noting Biel's impact on Martin LUTHER, Church historians for a long time held that medieval nominalism was a forerunner to the Protestant Reformation because it challenged what they took to be the prevailing Thomism. But it turns out

that Biel's writings, especially on Scripture and MARIOLOGY, also influenced the Council of TRENT, which suggests that the association of nominalism with heterodoxy is far too simplistic (Oberman 1963, pp. 423–428).

The Modern Period. Although the term nominalism continued to be used after the Reformation, it ceased to refer to anything as palpable as a school of thought or a set of doctrines or even a method of philosophy. The modern sense of the term is rather that of an attitude or outlook that eschews real universals and seeks to economize on entities. Thus, nominalism in twentieth-century set theory views sets or classes as concrete collections of individuals rather than as abstract entities (the position known as PLATONISM). Likewise, the American philosopher W. V. O. Quine (1908–2000) expressed nominalist sentiments when he wrote, "We adopt, at least insofar as we are reasonable, the simplest conceptual scheme into which the disordered fragments of raw experience can be fitted and arranged." For Quine, it is the orderly arrangement of these fragments into a theory that matters, for only a theory can say what there is: "To be is to be the value of a bound variable" (1953, p. 15). Medieval nominalists would have had trouble accepting the modern view of the primacy and interchangeability of theories in this regard.

SEE ALSO DIALECTICAL THEOLOGY; DIALECTICS; DIALECTICS IN THE MIDDLE AGES; OCKHAMISM; ONTOLOGICAL ARGUMENT; PELAGIUS AND PELAGIANISM; SCHOLASTICISM.

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NON LICET

The *Non licet* ("it is not permitted") decree of 1886 prohibited Catholic participation in Italian political (as opposed to administrative) elections during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It brought the HOLY SEE a step beyond its earlier *Non expedit* policy, which dismissed such involvement as "not expedient" and, rather, with greater emphasis prohibited it, constituting a significant step in the Holy See's response to the Kingdom of Italy's conquest of the Papal, or Pontifical, States between 1860 and 1870.

During the wars of Italian unification, the RISORGIMENTO, the kingdom first attacked the papal dominions in 1860 to counter the advance of Giuseppe GARIBALDI's forces and scored a decisive victory over the pope's troops on September 18 at Castelfidardo. As a consequence Italy annexed the eastern territories of the Pontifical States, leaving only Latium and ROME open for a second assault, which came in 1870. Italian soldiers under General Raffaele Cadorna (1815–1897) then conquered the city on September 20, although they refrained from occupying the neighborhoods around the VATICAN until the following day, when Pope PIUS IX requested it for the sake of public safety. The pontiff nonetheless condemned the aggression and refused the Italians' offer of compensation (the Law of GUARANTEES) in his ENCYCLICAL, *Ubi nos*, of May 15, 1871. The Holy Penitentiary, furthermore, issued the *Non expedit* for a second time in March 1871. It had been first proclaimed in 1868. Pius reiterated the *Non expedit* in June 1874 during an audience with Neapolitan Catholic activists and then, on September 10, the Holy Penitentiary confirmed it regarding upcoming political elections.

The issue was re-examined after a string of Catholic successes in administrative elections and an electoral law reform on January 22, 1882, that extended the franchise to literate men of at least twenty-one years of age. Those who had not attended elementary school, furthermore, could pay a tax to secure a place on the list, and the voting rolls increased overnight from 600,000 to about 2,300,000. In response, Pope LEO XIII asked Bishops Geremia BONOMELLI of Cremona and Giovanni Battista SCALABRINI of Piacenza to investigate what impact the new situation might have on the *Non expedit* and on Catholics at the polls. In May Bonomelli responded frankly that the *Non expedit* was not working and that the reform had extended the vote mostly to peasants, who held the Church in great esteem. Scalabrini's judgment, delivered to Leo the following September, reflected in tone Bonomelli's. Shortly afterward, however, Scalabrini confessed to Bonomelli that Leo appeared prepared to maintain the *Non expedit*. The Holy Penitentiary, nonetheless, privately assured the bishop that "with great prudence and, above all, without publicity" the Church would support "good deputies" over its enemies (Marongiu Buonaiuti 1971, pp. 69–70). Still, the Bishop of Piacenza's doubts were proved well-founded when Leo confirmed the *Non expedit* in his Encyclical *Immortale Dei* of November 1, 1885. On July 30, 1886, Cardinal Monaco della Valletta (1827–1896) of the Holy Office then issued the so-called *Non licet*, declaring that those who interpreted the Holy Penitentiary's *Non expedit* as anything less than a prohibition were mistaken. Doubts over Italian Catholic participation in elections, therefore, remained unresolved until Pope PIUS X allowed for some flexibility in his 1905 Encyclical, *Il fermo proposito*, and then in BENEDICT XV's acceptance of a formal Catholic Italian Popular Party in 1919.

SEE ALSO IMMORTALE DEI; NON EXPEDIT.

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NOUWEN, HENRI JOZEF MACHIEL

Priest, teacher; spiritual writer; b. Nijkerk, Holland, January 24, 1932; d. Hilversum, Netherlands, September 21, 1996.

Henri Nouwen was the author of forty-three books and numerous articles on pastoral ministry and the spiritual life. His books are widely read among Catholics, Protestants, and Eastern Orthodox Christians alike and have been translated into twenty-four languages. The breadth of his influence on church ministry was revealed in the results of a survey commissioned by Duke University's Pulpit and Pew Project 2001 and conducted by the National Opinion Resource Center at the University of Chicago. The survey results indicated that Nouwen's work was the first choice for spiritual reading among both Catholic and mainline Protestant clergy (Carroll 2003, pp. 31–33).

Nouwen was ordained in the Archdiocese of Utrecht in 1957 and undertook advanced studies in psychology at the Catholic University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands, where he received his Doctorandus degree in 1964. After a two-year fellowship in the program for RELIGION and psychiatry at the Menninger Clinic in

Topeka, Kansas, he taught pastoral THEOLOGY and psychology at the University of Notre Dame (1966–1968), the Catholic Theological Institute in Utrecht (1968–1970), Yale Divinity School (1971–1981), and Harvard Divinity School (1983–1985).

In 1985 Nouwen left his academic career to explore a vocation at L'ARCHE, an international federation of Christian communities that create homes for people with disabilities. In 1986, he became the pastor of Daybreak, a L'Arche community near Toronto, Ontario, Canada, where he remained until his death in 1996.

The main themes of Henri Nouwen's spirituality reflect three of the core passions that inspired his life and ministry. The first was his desire to communicate a contemplative theology of ministry that integrated the insights of orthodox Christian theology, classical Christian SPIRITUALITY, and contemporary psychology.

During his years of theological education, his best-known published works included *Intimacy: Pastoral Psychological Essays* (1969), *Creative Ministry* (1971), and the now classic volume *The Wounded Healer* (1972), in which he explored the role of the minister's own SUFFERING as the source of authentic compassion in the practice of pastoral ministry. Nouwen's seminal insight was, in his words, that "the minister is called to recognize the sufferings of his time in his own heart and make that recognition the starting point of his service" (*The Wounded Healer*, p. xvi).

Nouwen's image of the minister as a wounded healer was shaped by his perception of a sociocultural context in which the church was seen as increasingly marginal in its influence and an ecclesial context in which the role of clergy was being shaped more by professional and therapeutic norms in efforts to remain relevant. In *The Wounded Healer*, Nouwen emphasized the need for contemporary ministers to claim the source of their spiritual power in the experience of personal loneliness as well as the professional loneliness that flows from exercising a role in society that is considered irrelevant. Nouwen's best-known works in pastoral theology also include *The Living Reminder* (1977), *Clowning in Rome* (1979), *The Way of the Heart* (1981, 2003), and *In the Name of Jesus* (1989).

The second main theme of Nouwen's spirituality was his commitment to make the depths of his own personal spiritual experience of vulnerability and suffering available as a resource to others in their struggle to live authentic Christian lives. In his numerous spiritual journals, such as *The Genesee Diary* (1976), *Gracias!* (1983), *The Road to Daybreak* (1988), and *Sabbatical Journey* (1998), Nouwen reveals the depth of his own intimate joys, anguish, and questions in a uniquely personal style that illumines many of the universal challenges of the spiritual life. Nouwen's struggle with issues of embodiment, sexual identity, and self-acceptance reflect profound spiritual and psychological insight and have been the subject of recent interest by biographers such as Michael Ford (*Wounded Prophet*, 1999) and Chris Glaser (*Henri's Mantle*, 2002). These struggles reflect Nouwen's deeper search for human and divine intimacy within the context of his celibacy and priestly ministry, his friendships, and his experience of community life.

The third main theme of Nouwen's spirituality was rooted in his experience of what he described as GOD's First Love and his articulation of a core sense of personal identity rooted in divine love. This experience is expressed throughout Nouwen's writings but is especially prominent in those published during his years in L'Arche caring for persons with intellectual disabilities: *Life of the Beloved* (1992), *Adam* (1997), *The Inner Voice of Love* (1996), and what is generally regarded as his masterwork, *The Return of the Prodigal Son* (1993). In all of these works, Nouwen is retrieving a deeply personal and Christocentric understanding of the human search for God and the unconditional nature of divine love as the basis of Christian theology, spirituality, and ministry.

One of Henri Nouwen's greatest achievements was his unique capacity to make the Christian mystical life intelligible for laypersons as well as clergy. His contemplative spirituality of the heart is grounded in a strong sense of the humanity of Jesus as model of the spiritual life, and his theology of the Beloved flows from his own witness as a "wounded healer." Nouwen's interpretation of the spiritual life has touched the lives of generations of Christians, and his legacy will endure as an important resource in spiritual formation and renewal for generations to come.

SEE ALSO CHRISTOCENTRISM; MYSTICISM; SUFFERING SERVANT, SONGS OF THE; WITNESS, CHRISTIAN.

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O

OBLATES OF ST. JOSEPH

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(OSJ, Official Catholic Directory #0930) The Congregation of the Oblates of St. Joseph was founded in 1878 by St. Giuseppe MARELLO (canonized on November 25, 2001, by Pope John Paul II), Bishop of Acqui, Italy. After surviving its difficult early years, the congregation was given final approval by the HOLY SEE April 11, 1909. The Oblates of St. Joseph are engaged in various apostolic works in parishes, schools, and foreign missions. The founder wished his followers to be ready to serve the bishops in whatever tasks were given to them. The generalate is in Rome. The congregation came to the U.S. in 1929 at the request of Thomas C. O'Reilly, Bishop of Scranton, Pa. In 1931 they opened houses in California at Madera, Santa Cruz, Sacramento, and Tomales. In the U.S. the congregation is divided into two provinces: the eastern province embraces Pennsylvania, New York, and Washington, D.C.; the western, California. In 2009 there were 576 members, of which 366 were priests (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 467).

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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OKELO, DAUDI, BL.

CATECHIST, MARTYR; also known as David; b. Ogom-Payira, Uganda, 1902; d. speared to death at Paimol, Uganda, October 18, 1918; beatified October 20, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Daudi Okelo was born to pagan parents, Lodi and Amona Okelo. Taught by the Comboni Missionaries, who founded the mission of Kitgum in 1915, Okelo was baptized on June 1, 1916, at age fourteen, by Fr. Cesare Gambaretto, the mission founder. Okelo was confirmed on October 15, along with ten-year-old Jildo IRWA, who would share his short life's work and his martyrdom.

With other Catholic boys, Okelo attended school to become a catechist. He was a calm, shy, responsible youth who was loved and respected in the village. In November 1917, Okelo volunteered to travel to Paimol, a troubled village in the Upper Nile Basin, to replace a catechist who had died. Young Irwa went with him as his assistant. Fr. Gambaretto warned them that their work would be dangerous, but Okelo replied, "I am not afraid to die. Jesus, too, died for us!"

Although harassed and threatened in Paimol, Okelo beat the drum every morning to call his catechumens for morning prayers. He used singsong repetitions to teach the catechism, and closed the day with PRAYER,

the ROSARY, and a song to Our Lady. In time, an anti-Christian group took advantage of an increase in socio-political unrest to try to stop the teaching of Christianity in Paimol. At daybreak on October 18, 1918, four men came to Okelo's hut and demanded that Okelo and Irwa stop teaching the catechism. When they refused, the men dragged Okelo outside, pushed him to the ground, and speared him to death. Young Irwa replied in tears that they should also kill him, and he was speared and knifed to death.

A few days later, some villagers tied a rope around Okelo's neck and dragged his body. He was never buried, but his mortal remains were collected in February 1926 and placed at the foot of the altar of the Sacred Heart in the mission church at Kitgum. The place where Okelo and Irwa were killed, originally called Palamuku, was renamed Wi Polo (In Heaven) in tribute to the Our Father prayer and as a testimony to the two martyrs' heavenly reward.

In his HOMILY of BEATIFICATION at Vatican City on World Missionary Day, Pope John Paul II called them "models and intercessors for catechists throughout the world, especially in those places where catechists still suffer for their faith."

Feast: October 18.

SEE ALSO AFRICA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; UGANDA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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OPUS DEI

The Prelature of the Holy Cross and Opus Dei is a personal prelature of the Roman Catholic Church, with its central offices located in Rome. The Second Vatican Council made provisions for the juridical format of personal prelatures to facilitate the carrying out of "specific apostolic tasks." Prelatures form part of the pastoral and hierarchical structure of the Church. They are dependent on the Congregation for Bishops.

The aim of the prelature of Opus Dei is to promote among Christians an awareness that all are called to seek holiness and to contribute to the evangelization of every sphere of society. The prelature provides for the pastoral and spiritual care of its members, extending this help to many other people, in accord with each one's situation and profession (cf. *Statutes of Opus Dei,* 2:1). The faithful of the prelature strive to put into practice the teachings of the Gospel by exercising the Christian virtues and sanctifying their ordinary work (cf. *Statutes of Opus Dei, 2*).

St. Josemaría ESCRIVÁ founded Opus Dei on Oct. 2, 1928. On Feb. 14, 1930, St. Josemaría understood by God's grace that Opus Dei was meant to develop its apostolate among women as well. From 1946 on, he resided in Rome. He died on June 26, 1975 and was beatified on June 26, 1992. He was canonized on October 6, 2002 by Pope John Paul II. From Rome he oversaw Opus Dei's apostolic expansion throughout the world, beginning with Portugal, England, Italy, France, Ireland, the United States, and Mexico. From the outset, he relied on the encouragement and stimulus of the episcopal hierarchy. From 1943, Opus Dei received all of the necessary approvals from the HOLY SEE, culminating in its establishment as a personal prelature by Pope JOHN PAUL II on Nov. 28, 1982.

The prelature of Opus Dei spread throughout every continent and comprises: the prelate (currently Bishop Javier Echevarría), around 1,700 priests, and 85,000 laity who, with a divine vocation, are freely incorporated into the prelature. The clergy incardinated in the prelature come from among the laymen. "The laity incorporated in the Prelature do not alter their personal situation, either canonically or theologically. They continue to be ordinary lay faithful, and act accordingly in everything they do, specifically in their apostolate" (Congregation for Bishops, Declaration concerning Opus Dei, Aug. 23, 1982, 2b).

The lay faithful of the prelature enjoy the same freedom as other Catholic citizens, their equals, in all professional, family, social, political, and financial activities. These activities do not fall under the prelature's jurisdiction, which extends only to the ascetical and apostolic commitments that each one freely assumes by means of a contractual bond. The prelature's lay faithful remain under the diocesan bishop's jurisdiction in everything established by common Church law for the Catholic faithful.

The Priestly Society of the Holy Cross, inseparably united to the Prelature of Opus Dei, is governed by the prelate of Opus Dei as its president general. The prelature's priests belong to the Priestly Society of the Holy Cross. In addition, diocesan priests who wish to seek holiness in the exercise of their ministry may be associated as well. Their tie to the priestly society in no way compromises their loyalty to their own bishop, who continues to be their only superior. The prelature of Opus Dei also relies on cooperators, some of whom are non-Catholics or even non-Christians. Although not incorporated into the prelature, cooperators collaborate in its apostolate by their prayer, work, and alms.

The prelature of Opus Dei directs the Pontifical University of the Holy Cross in Rome, as well as the University of Navarre in Spain. Other apostolic undertakings, including universities in Latin America, Italy, and the Philippines, student residences, cultural centers, technical and agricultural institutes, medical clinics, and a variety of centers for the development of disadvantaged areas, have the pastoral assistance of the prelature which takes on responsibility for their Christian orientation.

Opus Dei's most important contribution to the Church's mission, however, is not its corporate apostolates but rather the effort of each member to sanctify his or her ordinary, daily work and to bring those around them closer to God. The process for beatification is underway for several members of Opus Dei, among them the Argentine engineer Isidoro Zorzano (1902–1943) and the young Spanish woman Montserrat Grases (1941–1959).

SEE ALSO APOSTOLATE AND SPIRITUAL LIFE; SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939); VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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ORIONE, LUIGI (LOUIS), ST.

Founder of the Congregation of the *Piccola Opera della Divina Provvidenza* (Little Work of Divine Providence); b. June 23, 1872, Pontecurone (Alessandria), Italy; d. March 12, 1940, San Remo (Imperia), Italy; beatified by Pope John Paul II, October 26, 1980; canonized by Pope John Paul II, May 16, 2004.

Orione joined the Franciscans at Voghera at an early age but left because of poor health. St. John BOSCO accepted him into the Salesian Oratory in Turin in 1886. In 1890 Orione entered the seminary in Tortona in his native diocese and began what was to be his main work in life by caring for poor boys.

After ordination on April 13, 1895, he opened a lodging house for needy seminarians. As the work expanded, he accepted orphans and elderly and needy persons. His Little Work of Divine Providence, a network of laity and religious dedicated to charitable works and prayer, was modeled on the foundation of St. Giuseppe COTTOLENGO. To attain the goals of the Piccola Opera, Don Orione founded a number of religious congregations: the SONS OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE; the LITTLE MISSIONARY SISTERS OF CHARITY; the Hermits of Divine Providence; the Brothers of Divine Providence, who wear lay dress, but follow a common rule of life; and the blind Sacramentine Sisters, who dedicate themselves to prayer. By 2000 Orione's disciples in these related institutes had spread to thirty countries and five continents. One hundred sixteen volumes of his writings, as well as voice recordings, are preserved in the archives of the Piccola Opera della Divina Provvidenza in Rome.

Worn out from his labors, he died. His remains repose in Tortona. The *Decretum super scripta* in his beatification cause was issued in 1956. Pope JOHN PAUL II declared Orione blessed on October 26, 1980, presenting him to the Church as a "marvelous and genial expression of Christian charity." The pope described him as "having the character and heart of the Apostle Paul, tender and sensitive, indefatigable and courageous, tenacious, and dynamic."

Preceding St. Orione's canonization his miraculous intercession in the curing of Pierino Penacca was officially recognized. In November 1990 Penacca, who had known St. Orione as a child, was diagnosed with a fatal lung tumor that was deemed medically untreatable. Along with several companions, Penacca beseeched St. Orione in prayer for intercession. Shortly thereafter Penacca's symptoms vanished and repeated testing could detect neither the presence of a tumor nor concomitant ill effects associated with his prior diagnosis. Medical science was without explanation. The miracle was officially credited to the intercession of then Blessed Orione on July 7, 2003, in the presence of Pope John Paul II.

On May 16, 2004, almost twenty-four years after his beatification, Orione was canonized by Pope John Paul II. At the Mass of Canonization, the Pope reiterated St. Orione's bold and determined character describing him as "a man who gave himself entirely for the cause of Christ and his Kingdom."

Of St. Orione's myriad disciples, several were on hand for his canonization. Religious and laity further St. Orione's work through charitable deeds and prayer. Largely through them, St. Orione's person and writings continue to gain increasing international attention and honors.

Feast: March 12.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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OROZCO, ALFONSO DE, ST.

Augustinian ascetical writer; name also given as Alonso or Alphonsus; b. Oropesa (Toledo), Spain, October 17, 1500; d. Madrid, September 19, 1591; beatified by Pope LEO XIII on October 1, 1881; canonized by Pope JOHN PAUL II on May 19, 2002.

During his time as a law student at the University of Salamanca, Alfonso heard St. THOMAS OF VILLANOVA preaching. Inspired by this, he followed the lead of his elder brother Francis and entered the AUGUSTINIANS in 1521. Even though Francis died a few years later, Alfonso continued his formation and was ordained in 1527.

His superiors noted his piety early on, and they increased his preaching duties. From 1530 to 1554 he was superior at Soria, Medina, Seville, Granada, and Valladolid. Orozco attempted a missionary expedition to Mexico in 1549, but excruciating pain from arthritis forced him to return to Spain. In 1554 he was appointed court preacher and counselor to Charles V. Later he advised PHILIP II, son of Charles. As he lived in the convent of St. Philip the Royal, he was affectionately

known as "the saint of St. Philip's" due to his spiritual zeal, austerity of life, and apostolate to all in need, which merited him the goodwill of kings and common people alike.

Orozco was a prolific writer and editor of over fifty spiritual and apologetic texts. He attributed his inspiration to a dream he had of the Virgin Mary, who said to him only, "Write." His most important work is *Vergel de oración y monte de contemplación* (1544). In addition, he wrote *Desposorio espiritual* (1551), *Regimiento del alma* (1551), *Las siete palabras de la Virgen* (1556), *Victoria de mundo* (1565), *Arte de amar a Dios y al projimo* (1568), *De la suavidad de Dios* (1588), *Bonum certamen* (1562), and *Regalis institutio* (1565).

Orozco died at the age of ninety, and he is currently buried in the chapel of a convent of contemplative nuns in Talavera de la Reina. Leo XIII beatified Orozco on October 1, 1881. After a miracle was attributed to his INTERCESSION in April 2001, he was canonized by John Paul II on May 19, 2002. During the canonization homily, Orozco's exemplary life was recognized: "His pastoral dedication to serving the poorest in the hospitals and prisons makes him a model for all who ... base their entire life on the love of God and of their neighbor."

Feast: September 19.

SEE ALSO APOLOGETICS; BEATIFICATION; CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE).

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ORTIZ REAL, PIEDAD DE LA CRUZ, BL.

Baptized Tomasa, NUN, founder of the Congregation of SALESIAN SISTERS of the Sacred Heart of Jesus; b. Bocairente, Valencia, Spain, November 12, 1842; d. Alcantarilla, Murcia, Spain, February 26, 1916; beatified March 21, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Tomasa Ortiz Real was the fifth of eight children born to José and Tomasa Ortiz. Upon her first Holy Communion, at age ten, she knew she was called to be a nun. She asked her parents for permission to join the Order of the Religious of the Holy Family of Burdeos after finishing her studies at the order's Loreto College. Her father said she was too young; he was also concerned about the political climate in Spain at that time.

Tomasa later tried twice to enter the Carmelite convent in Valencia, but she became so ill she could not stay. After a mystical experience during PRAYER, Tomasa realized that God wanted her to begin a new congregation. In March 1884, with her bishop's authorization, she and three other nuns established the Community of the Third Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel near Alcantarilla. Tomasa took the name Piedad de la Cruz (Piety of the Cross), and she and her sisters began to help orphaned girls and the sick.

As the community grew and the living space became too small, Sr. Piedad opened another community in nearby Caudete. Eventually, all except one member of the community, Sr. Alfonsa, left Alcantarilla and formed their own community at Caudete. Although devastated, Sr. Piedad prayed patiently for God's guidance.

Bishop Bryan y Livermore suggested that Srs. Piedad and Alfonsa go on a spiritual retreat at the Salesian Convent of the Visitation in Orihuela. There, Sr. Piedad received a new understanding of God's will for her life. On September 8, 1890, she founded the Congregation of the Salesian Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, whose mission was to help orphaned girls, young working women, the sick, and the abandoned elderly. Mother Piedad gave credit for the Salesian congregation's rapid growth to God alone.

Mother Piedad died of natural causes on February 26, 1916. A decree on a miracle was made on April 12, 2003. She was beatified by Pope John Paul II on March 21, 2004, in St. Peter's Square in Rome. During his HOMILY, the pope said, "a model of Christian and religious virtues and in love with Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the poor, she leaves us the example of austerity, prayer, and charity to all the needy."

Feast: February 26.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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OTRANTO (ITALY), MARTYRS OF

The Martyrs of Otranto, also known as the Otranto Eight Hundred or Antonio Primaldo and Companions, were eight hundred male citizens of the Italian town of Otranto who were executed on August 14, 1480, by Turkish soldiers led by Gedik Ahmet Pasha after they refused to convert to Islam.

Otranto, also known by its ancient name of Hydruntum, enjoyed both strategic and economic prominence due to its position on the southern Adriatic coast. After the capture of Constantinople (present-day Istanbul) by the Turkish fleet led by Sultan Mehmet II in 1453, the Ottoman Empire looked to expand into Europe using Otranto as a stepping-stone.

Hoping to take Italy by surprise, Gedik Ahmet Pasha offered the citizens of Otranto advantageous conditions of surrender, but they threw the keys of the city into the sea and prepared for a siege. The Neapolitan soldiers responsible for garrisoning the city deserted the same night.

The siege of Otranto began on July 28, 1480. The citizens, mostly fishermen and merchants, put up a sufficiently spirited defense to gain time for the rest of the Italian Peninsula to prepare defenses against the invaders. Otranto was finally captured on August 11, 1480, with an estimated eleven thousand citizens killed or imprisoned. Of these casualties, eight hundred are considered martyrs for the Catholic faith.

The first to be martyred was the ARCHBISHOP of Otranto, Stefano Pendinelli, who was praying with the women and children of the city in the cathedral. Faced with the choice between conversion to Islam or death, the archbishop refused to renounce Christ. He was beheaded with a single blow of a scimitar. The remaining priests, including a Dominican friar, Fra' Fruttuoso, were also executed. The women and children were imprisoned for sale as slaves, while all the captured males were taken to the Turkish camp outside the city.

On August 13, all the male citizens of Otranto between the ages of fifteen and fifty were bound in pairs and brought in groups of fifty before Gedik Ahmet Pasha, who promised the prisoners their lives, their freedom, and the return of their captive families in exchange for their conversion to Islam. An apostate priest, Giovanni of Calabria, accompanied Gedik Ahmet Pasha and enjoined the men to renounce their faith.

A tailor named Antonio Primaldo, one of the older men, exhorted the others with these words, recorded by sixteenth-century chronicler Giovanni Michele Laggetto, who heard the story from his father:

> My brothers, until today we have fought in defense of our homeland, to save our lives, and for our earthly governors; now it is time for us to fight to save our souls for our Lord. And since he died on the cross for us, it is fitting that we should die for him, remaining firm and constant in the faith, and with this earthly death we will earn eternal life and the glory of martyrdom. (Laggetto 1924, p. 31)

To a man, the citizens of Otranto rejected the offer of Gedik Ahmet Pasha, who fixed their execution for the following day, August 14, 1480. Led to the Hill of Minerva, named for the pagan goddess of war, the men were all decapitated, Antonio Primaldo being the first of the group to suffer martyrdom. An eyewitness, testifying at the canonization process in 1539, declared to have seen the headless trunk of Primaldo remain standing, despite

repeated attempts to knock it down, until the last man of Otranto had been martyred. Struck by this prodigious demonstration of faith, one of the executioners, named Barlebey, converted to Christianity and was impaled alongside the martyrs.

The bodies remained unburied on the hill, now renamed the Hill of the Martyrs, until Duke Alfonso of Calabria retook the city and arranged for their burial in May 1481. The martyrs' remains are now displayed in seven large wooden cabinets in the Cathedral of Otranto.

The BEATIFICATION process began in 1539 with eyewitness accounts from four men who were too young to stand with the martyrs at the time and had been given as slaves to Ottoman commanders. After regaining their freedom, they returned to their home to testify to the bravery they had witnessed. As of 2010, Antonio Primaldo and his companions had not been beatified, although Pope JOHN PAUL II visited the tomb of the Otranto Eight Hundred in 1980, the 500th anniversary of their martyrdom.

On July 6, 2007, Pope BENEDICT XVI decreed the validity of the martyrs of Otranto both historically and theologically. Several accounts of miracles through the INTERCESSION of Antonio Primaldo and his companions have been delivered to the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, awaiting verification.

Several Italian accounts of the tale of the Otranto martyrs are available, but the story remains little known in English, although it may have been the inspiration for Horace Walpole's 1764 novel *The Castle of Otranto*. Several recent English-language articles have made the story better known among Anglophone readers, and Pope John Paul II's homily of October 5, 1980, during a pastoral visit to Otranto, offered modern reflections and meaning to the sacrifice of the martyrs. The principal sources, however, remain the Italian chroniclers who recorded the events as they unfolded.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MARTYR; OTTOMAN TURKS.

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OUR LADY OF ALL NATIONS

From 1945 to 1959, Dutch woman Ida Peerdeman received fifty-six apparitions and concurring messages from the Blessed Virgin Mary in Amsterdam, Netherlands under the title, "The Lady of All Nations." The messages contain the urgent Marian call to prayer, penance, and conversion; a number of geo-political prophecies for the Church and the world; and a consistent urging of prayer and action for the solemn papal declaration of a new Marian DOGMA.

Origins and History. The first apparition occurred on March 25, 1945, with a message predicting a proximate end to WORLD WAR II with the praying of the ROSARY as the saving factor in bringing the war to a close, as well as a call to make known a new prayer throughout the world.

On February 11, 1951, the Blessed Virgin revealed to the seer the following prayer, which supplicates for a new descent of the Holy Spirit into the hearts of all nations in order to prevent global "degeneration, disaster, and war": "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Father, send now your Spirit over the earth. Let the Holy Spirit live in the hearts of all nations, that they may be preserved from degeneration, disaster, and war. May the Lady of All Nations, who once was Mary, be our Advocate. Amen." The Virgin then instructed all peoples to pray this prayer: "This prayer is so short and simple that each one can say it in his own tongue, before their own crucifix, and those who have no crucifix, repeat it to themselves."

Later in 1951, the Lady of All Nations revealed that the prayer was to serve in preparation for a new and final solemn dogmatic proclamation or "dogma" regard-

ing the traditional Catholic doctrinal roles of Mary as Co-Redemptrix, Mediatrix, and Advocate. On April 29, 1951, she revealed to Peerdeman:

> I stand here as the Co-Redemptrix and Advocate. Everything should be concentrated on that.... The new dogma will be the "dogma of the Co-Redemptrix." Notice I lay special attention on "Co." I have said it will arouse much controversy. Once again, I tell you that the Church, "Rome," will carry it through and silence all objections. The Church, "Rome," will incur opposition and overcome it. The Church, "Rome," will become stronger and mightier in proportion to the resistance she puts up in the struggle.... I know well the struggle will be hard and bitter ... but the outcome is already assured.

On May 31, 1954 (which in that time was the feast of Mary, Mediatrix of All Graces) the Mother of Christ appeared to the Dutch seer with the instruction:

> Once more I am here, the Co-Redemptrix, Mediatrix, and Advocate is now standing before you. I have chosen this day: on this day the Lady shall be crowned. Theologians and apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ, listen carefully: I have given you the explanation of the dogma. Work and ask for this dogma. You should petition the Holy Father for this dogma.

This was followed by a vision of a Roman PONTIFF in ST. PETER'S BASILICA making a solemn proclamation in the presence of numerous cardinals and bishops. The Virgin added: "Once the dogma, the last dogma in Marian history has been proclaimed, the Lady of All Nations will give peace, true peace, to the world."

Ecclesiastical Status. In 1956 the Bishop of Haarlem, Bishop Huibers, gave his IMPRIMATUR to the promulgation of the revealed prayer of the Lady of All Nations, but took the position of *non constat de supernaturalitate* regarding the apparitions, which neither approves nor denies their SUPERNATURAL character. In 1974 the Vatican Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH confirmed the position of Bishop Huibers. In 1996 Bishop Hendrik Bomers of Haarlem, after consultation with the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, issued a positive statement which granted Church approval for public devotion to the Lady of All Nations, while leaving the decision of authenticity of the apparitions to the individual CONSCIENCE of the faithful. On May 31, 2002, Bishop Jozef M. Punt of Haarlem, after the establishment of a new formal investigation by a commission, released a positive official ecclesiastical declaration establishing the supernatural authenticity of the apparitions (*constat de supernaturalitate*).

In 2007 Bishop Punt, in consultation with the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, issued a pastoral statement that replaced the phrase originally present in the Lady of All Nations prayer, "who once was Mary," with the phrase, "the Blessed Virgin Mary," in an effort to avoid pastoral misunderstanding. The prayer of the Lady of All Nations has received over fifty imprimaturs by various cardinals and bishops worldwide.

SEE ALSO GOD (HOLY SPIRIT); MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO; NETHERLANDS, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; PROPHECY (THEOLOGY OF).

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OWENS, JOSEPH

CSsR, Canadian priest, philosopher, and scholar; b. New Brunswick, Canada, 1908; d. Toronto, Canada, 2005.

Joseph Owens, CSsR was born in St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, April 17, 1908, professed as a Redemptorist in 1928, and ordained a priest in 1933. In 1935 he entered the Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, receiving his MSL (1946) and MSD (1951) from there after the conferral of its pontifical charter. Except for a year at the Accademia Alfonsiana in ROME (1952–1953) and two visiting appointments at Purdue University (1968 and 1970), Owens's academic career was passed entirely in Canada, notably as Senior Fellow of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and in the Department of PHILOSOPHY at the University of Toronto from 1954 to 1977. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada (1963) and served as president of the American Catholic Philosophical Association (1965–1966), receiving its Aquinas Medal in 1972; the Metaphysical Society of America (1971–1972); the Society for Ancient Greek Philosophy (1971–1973); and the Canadian Philosophical Association (1981–1982). He died in 2005 at the age of ninety-

seven, "manifesting that 'delicate sign of love' which is religious obedience..." (Owens, 1997).

Owens must be numbered among the great commentators on ARISTOTLE, a list that includes Alexander of Aphrodisias, AVERROËS, THOMAS AQUINAS, and Werner Jaeger. In *The Doctrine of Being in the Aristotelian Metaphysics* (1951; 2nd rev. ed., 1963; 3rd rev. ed., 1978), he sets out to uncover an authentic Aristotle and an Aristotle who is the student of his predecessors, yet not reducible to them. Departing from Jaeger, Owens does not find the key to interpretation in the order of composition of the treatises which make up the *Metaphysics*, but in the methodical order, the order in which Aristotle "wished his thought to be studied" (Owens 1951, p. 38). Out of this order, a careful study of Aristotle's terminology and near *ad litteram* textual analysis, Owens concludes that Aristotle's "First Philosophy" is the SCIENCE of BEING as FORM, not of being as EXISTENCE. It is also both the universal science of the being common to all beings and the science of the first, that is, divine beings, because "being *qua* being ... is ... the nature which constitutes separate entity. In studying this definite nature, one studies the Being found in everything else" (Owens 1951, p. 176). For although "'Being' is said in many ways," it is said with reference to one thing (πρὸς ἕν) *entity* (or SUBSTANCE) and all entities are, in turn, related to the first, separate entities, which are pure forms. Despite the existence of separate forms, it is the individual forms (which actualize sensible entities as the kind of things they are) that function as the principles of human knowing. This constitutes the problem of the *universals* as it is found in Aristotle, who, in contrast to Plato, asserts that no entity is universal. Owens's solution is that the form of itself is neither singular nor universal: "Because it is not singular, it can be knowable.... At the same time it can be Entity, because it is not actually universal" (Owens 1951, pp. 242–243).

Owens's study provides CONFIRMATION of Étienne GILSON's claim that "the world of Aristotle" was "existenceless" and "eternally self-repeating," not the "existentially contingent world" of Thomas Aquinas created, as such, by a Being whose very nature it is to exist (Gilson 1949, pp. 72, 162). The basic lines of Owens's own existential THOMISM are laid out in his Marquette Aquinas Lecture (1957), *St. Thomas and the Future of Metaphysics*. For Aquinas, METAPHYSICS is a science, whose subject is *ens*, "the composite of essence and existence," but which "is constituted as such by the existential act" (Owens 1957, p. 49). When a composite thing is presented to the INTELLECT, it is grasped "according to its essence or nature by the act of conceptualization and, simultaneously, according to its being by the judgment" (Owens 1957, p. 38). Being (*esse*), whether real or cognitional, is wholly "outside of essence," and although it follows upon "the essential principles of finite things" in the order of formal CAUSALITY, it does not follow from them "in its own proper order of causality, namely efficient causality." Therefore, "because of its priority and accidentality to the sensible things themselves, the being of these things is seen through demonstration to have been received from something else and ultimately from subsistent being" (Owens 1957, pp. 44–46). Because the Thomistic PROOF for GOD's existence starts from "the being of a thing ... not as already submitted to the finitizing process of conceptualization but as directly attained in the act of judgment..., it establishes being as a nature and thereby has already reached the term of demonstration" avoiding the "'awful leap' from the finite to the infinite" (Owens 1957, pp. 46–47). Owens's own philosophical program, grounded in Thomas Aquinas, is laid out in *An Interpretation of Existence* (1968), *An Elementary Christian Metaphysics* (1985), and *Cognition: An Epistemological Inquiry* (1992).

Owens enters the debate over the existence of CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY on the affirmative side and identifies some of his work as belonging to that enterprise. In *Towards a Christian Philosophy* (1990), he explains how "something accidental and external," such as the notion "Christian," can "bring about the essential differentiation that is intrinsic to a philosophical discipline" through a "radically pluralistic understanding of philosophy," in which differing pre-philosophical DIALECTICS, as engaged in, for example, by Aristotle and DESCARTES, produce a plurality of starting points. "In all general philosophies, then, the source of specification is to be looked for in the personal conditioning and approach of their respective proponents." In the case of Christian philosophy, the starting points are indicated by Christian belief, but are grasped by natural reason when "seen in the things themselves" (Owens 1942, pp. 23–24).

Joseph Owens authored or edited thirteen books and wrote well over 200 articles and reviews. The four volumes of his collected papers and the numerous reviews and critical studies of his work testify to his significance as a scholar of ancient and medieval philosophy. The hundreds of his students who have taught, and who still teach, in philosophy departments across Canada and the United States are a testimony of another kind.

SEE ALSO BELIEFS; ESSENCE AND EXISTENCE; EXISTENTIAL METAPHYSICS; GOD, PROOFS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF; JUDGMENT; NATURE (IN PHILOSOPHY); NATURE (IN THEOLOGY); PLURALISM, PHILOSOPHICAL; REASON, USE OF; REDEMPTORISTS; UNIVERSALS.

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PALESTINE, PAPAL POSITION TOWARD

During the course of its long history, the Holy Land has been a source of inspiration and contention among various civilizations and faiths, and its capital, JERUSALEM, besieged some two dozen times. For centuries before Christ it was the center of Jewish life, attacked by a host of enemies including the Babylonians, Persians, Romans, and others, before it fell to the Islamic Caliphate in the seventh century. Its capture by Christian crusaders in AD 1099 proved temporary, for in 1187 SALADIN pushed them out. In 1517 it fell to the OTTOMAN TURKS, who granted the various Christian denominations rights over the Christian shrines. The various Christian groups and their state protectors over time contested the rights to these holy sites. In 1853 this conflict provided the pretext for the opening of the Crimean War, as France and Russia clashed over the issue of Catholic versus Orthodox protection and supervision of the Christian shrines in Palestine. The contentions continued, as did Turkish control over the Holy Land, until WORLD WAR I, when it was "liberated" by British forces under the command of Field Marshal Henry Hynman, First Viscount ALLENBY, in 1917. Despite the fact that the Muslim Turks had over the course of several centuries proven increasingly respectful of the rights of Christians and Jews in the Holy Land, both groups applauded its liberation and planned for its future. Pope BENEDICT XV (1914–1922) and his secretary of state, Pietro GASPARRI, abandoned their wartime impartiality and openly expressed their joy that Palestine had been freed of Turkish control, while the Zionists hoped to establish a homeland for Jews there. A resulting clash of interests ensued, as the various faiths planned for the future of the region.

The Papacy and Zionism. Dismayed by the religious ANTI-JUDAISM and the racial ANTI-SEMITISM that emerged during the DREYFUS AFFAIR in France and elsewhere in Europe, Theodor Herzl (1860–1904) had by 1896 moved away from Jewish conversion and integration into European life, to seek a home for the Jewish people in Palestine—founding the Zionist movement in the process. Modern political Zionism had two major goals: (1) the return of the Jewish people to the land of Israel; and (2) the establishment of a Jewish state there. From the first the Church and the papacy did not necessarily oppose the first goal, but clearly opposed the latter aim of establishing a Jewish state that might gain control of the Christian shrines. As early as May 1896, Herzl, hoping to secure Vatican support for his program, met with the papal nuncio to Vienna to explore the possibility of that prospect. To allay possible Vatican concerns, he sought to reassure the nuncio, and through him Pope LEO XIII (1878–1903), that the Jewish homeland in Palestine his organization envisioned would not prove detrimental to Catholic interests in the Holy Land. In fact, he promised it would not include such Christian points of interest as Jerusalem, BETHLEHEM, or NAZARETH, and that all the Christian shrines would be accorded extraterritorial status. Neither the nuncio nor the pope showed any interest in the project. In fact, as news of the Zionist goal spread, the Jesuit-run publication *Civiltà Cattolica* opposed the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, considering it contrary to Christ's predictions and the Church's interests. Leo concurred with the JESUITS in opposing Jewish control of the Holy Land, as did his successor, PIUS X (1903–1914).

Like his predecessor, Pius X, while not hostile to Jews or JUDAISM, was most concerned about the Church's position and future in the Holy Land, the

cradle of Christianity, whose indigenous Christian population remained among the oldest in the world. At the opening of Pius's pontificate, the Vatican supported some thirty orders and associations in the Holy Land, some twenty convents and monasteries, and eighteen hospices as well as five hospitals. Pius X shared Leo's concern that the Zionist program might prove detrimental to Christian interests and concessions in the Holy Land, and for this and other reasons he decided to meet with Herzl at the beginning of 1904. In response to Herzl's plea for papal assistance in establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine, Pius responded that as head of the Church, he could never favor such an enterprise. Acknowledging that he could neither sanction nor stop the Jews from venturing to Palestine, he added, "If you come to Palestine and settle your people there, we shall have churches and priests ready to baptize you all." Later, his secretary of state, Cardinal Rafael Merry dal Val, elaborated upon the Vatican's policy regarding Jewish emigration to the Holy Land. He specified that if the Jews sought only to establish agricultural colonies, without wishing to assert political control, Rome would deem it a humanitarian effort and would not impede it.

Pius's successor, Benedict XV, who regretted the persecution of the Jews in the Polish territories on the part of the retreating Russian forces during the First World War and viewed the return of Jews to Palestine as providential, did not oppose their return. He indicated as much to Nahum Sokolow, Secretary General of the World Zionist Organization, whom he met in early May 1917. Benedict revealed his conviction that Jews and Christians could live in the Holy Land side-by-side as good neighbors. However, like his predecessors he opposed the political program of the Zionists and their plans for the creation of a Jewish state. In mid-December 1917, his secretary of state, Pietro Gasparri, explained the basis of papal opposition: The transformation of Palestine into a Jewish state would endanger the holy places, damage the feelings of all Christians, and prove very harmful for the country itself.

Having been clearly told they could not expect help from the papacy to fulfill their political goals, the Zionists sought support elsewhere—especially from the British government. In November 1917 they obtained the "British Declaration of Sympathy with Zionist Aspirations," issued by British foreign secretary, Lord Arthur James Balfour. This declaration seemed to promise the Jews political and territorial rights in the Holy Land. The talk of a British mandate over Palestine led the pope and his secretary of state to fear that Catholic rights in the Holy Land would be compromised and the Church's position undermined. Determined to assure the "inalienable rights" of the Church in Palestine, in May 1917 Benedict XV founded the Congregation for the EASTERN CHURCHES, which he personally directed, and in June 1919 he had a branch of the Biblical Institute at Rome erected in Jerusalem. Not opposed to the British mandate in Palestine or the emigration of Jews there, in an allocution of June 13, 1921, Benedict expressly stated: "We do not wish to deprive the Jews of their rights; we want, nevertheless, that they be not in any way preferred to the just rights of the Christians." Indeed, Cardinal Gasparri complained about the draft of the British proposal that Lord Balfour presented on December 7, 1920, which he believed would establish the economic and political predominance of the Jews in the Holy Land. At the same time, the Vatican considered the prospect of an Arab administration there as unreliable and therefore unacceptable.

The HOLY SEE hoped that the conflicting positions of the Church and the Zionists over the Holy Land would be resolved at the international conference held at San Remo in April 1920. Among other issues to be considered were that of preserving the special status of the French regarding the holy places, and the possible creation of a special international commission to administer these sites. Although the conference granted Britain the mandate for Palestine, neither of the other two papal objectives was attained. A number of Vatican aims were disregarded or rejected, including the papal call for the internationalization of the Holy Land, which would have accorded Catholic countries, especially France and Belgium, special protective rights there. Instead, the British were accorded exclusive control.

Some in the Vatican expressed concern when the British appointed Sir Herbert Samuel as first High Commissioner in Palestine, not so much because he was a Jew, but because he was known to be sympathetic to the Zionist program and aspirations. To allay these fears Samuel visited Rome on the way to his new post. He was received by both Benedict XV and Cardinal Gasparri on June 25, 1920. Rome was not reassured by the promises provided for its position in the Holy Land, and was thus encouraged to facilitate the reopening of relations with the Paris government, whose support on this issue it hoped to garner. Disappointed by the position accorded the Church in the Holy Land and the other consequences of the peace treaties, at the end of December 1921, Benedict caught a cold, which he neglected, and which led to a bronchial infection and his subsequent death on January 22, 1922.

Benedict's successor, PIUS XI (1922–1939), who deplored and protested Nazi Germany's anti-Semitism and supported Jewish emigration to escape that satanic regime, did not approve the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. In March 1922 the Vatican's position on Palestine was concretized in a memorandum to the secretary-general of the League of Nations, which criticized a number of the articles in the draft of the

British mandate for Palestine. These, he noted, sought to implement the Balfour Declaration of 1917, in violation of the Covenant of the League. Gasparri likewise opposed giving the Jews priority in the Holy Land, fearing this would prove detrimental to Christian interests there. The Catholic press during the pontificate of Pius XI proved more critical of Zionism than the pope and displayed a degree of anti-Judaism in its critique of the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. In 1929, *L'Osservatore Romano* denounced "The Jewish Danger Threatening the Entire World," while *Civiltà Cattolica* proclaimed that "the Jews constitute a serious and permanent danger to Christianity." Confronted with conflicting claims, in July 1937 the Palestine Royal Commission's Report (also known as the Peel Report), proposed the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab sectors. This projected division found few supporters among the parties most interested.

Pius XII and Palestine. Since the turn of the century the Vatican had openly opposed turning over even part of Palestine to the political control of Jews or Muslims, a stance Pius XI's successor, PIUS XII (1939–1958), also adopted following his assumption of the tiara. The outbreak of WORLD WAR II in September 1939 witnessed an acceleration and intensification of the Nazi persecution of the Jews that culminated in the genocide that was their "final solution." European Jews who managed to escape the HOLOCAUST (SHOAH) found few open doors and increasingly looked to Palestine for refuge. Their resettlement there led to tension with the resident Arab population as the influx of Jews increased, creating problems for the British who still exercised the mandate over the area. Their problems were compounded by the continued papal opposition to the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Although the situation of European Jewry had changed dramatically following the Holocaust, and international support for a Jewish state had increased dramatically, Pope Pius XII maintained the Holy See's opposition to the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine.

Aware of the growing military and diplomatic standing of the United States, in 1943 Pius XII's secretary of state, Cardinal Luigi Maglione, following Pius XII's directive, wrote the apostolic delegate in the United States, Amleto Cicognani, to apprise Washington of the Vatican's position on the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. He wrote that Catholics worldwide would feel wounded if Palestine were to be given to the Jews, while warning the Americans that the creation of such a Jewish state would enrage the Muslim population and endanger peace and stability in the region. Between the summers of 1943 and 1944, Pius XII's Vatican clearly reiterated its opposition to Jewish control over any part of Palestine. Some inside the Church, as well as outside, were convinced that the prevailing anti-Judaism in the institution was behind the Vatican's opposition for the creation of a Jewish state. Cardinal Johann WILLEBRANDS of Holland explained that many Catholics believed that the Jews as a people were collectively responsible for the death of Christ and were therefore condemned "to eternal pilgrimage across the world outside of Israel."

Despite these contentions, the best available evidence suggests that Rome's objections to a Jewish state did not flow primarily from theological anti-Judaism, which may have been a contributing factor, but not the primary one, in the formation of its policy. Far more important was the Vatican's determination to protect and preserve Catholic interests in the Holy Land, a major priority during the Second World War and its aftermath. This same interest led the Holy See to oppose Arab domination there. The British Minister to the Holy See was convinced that the Vatican would have preferred that neither Jews nor Muslim Arabs control the area, opting instead for a third entity that would be neutral. Although the Catholic Church was most vocal in its opposition to placing Jerusalem under the political control of a competing religious element, it was not the only Christian church to reveal concern about the future of Palestine in general and Jerusalem in particular. When the British refused to continue to be burdened with this responsibility, the Vatican of Pius XII concluded that the next best solution was the internationalization of Jerusalem, and he proposed that this be under the auspices and supervision of the newly formed United Nations (U.N.). Presumably the international organization would not favor one religion of the book over the others, but some complained that the Western bias of the organization would mean that the interests of Christians would be favored over those of Muslims and Jews.

Others observed that there was a pressing need for some solution to the controversy over Palestine as violence escalated among Jews, Muslims, and Christians, as well as against the British who had held the League's mandate over the region since the end of World War I. After 1945 the British had increasingly to resort to military force to subdue the constant clashes between Arabs and Jews, and Britain was increasingly embroiled in the conflicting diplomatic initiatives for the Jews or the Arabs. Although Pius XII was sympathetic to the Palestinian desire for self-determination, he opposed violent means to achieve that end, as he informed a visiting Palestinian delegation in 1946. This pope hoped and believed that the conflict over the future of Jerusalem could be resolved diplomatically, a message he also conveyed to Moshe Shertok, head of the Jewish agency's Political Department and subsequently Israel's foreign minister, whom he received in April 1945.

Initially Pius XII sought to preserve his "impartiality" on the Palestinian conflict just as he had during the course of World War II, having others defend the Vatican stance in favor of the internationalization of Jerusalem. He related his position to a group of Jewish refugees who visited him in November 1945. Probably expecting this group to ask him to lend support for a Jewish state in Palestine, Pius indirectly explained why he could not. The Church does not involve herself in political problems and territorial issues, he related, but he offered the prospect of some help by adding that the Church lays foundations for their solution. This ambiguous, indeed enigmatic, assertion provided no clue concerning the solution he favored. Pius was no more explicit in an encyclical he issued in 1948 following the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli war, which claimed that impartiality was imposed as an apostolic duty, placing the Holy See above the conflicts that agitate human society. In fact, however, this recourse to "impartiality" over the future of Palestine was more rhetoric than reality.

Pius XII soon had to review his position, as did the British. The latter confronted colonial disputes elsewhere and were anxious to protect their own colonies, and so in early 1947 they turned the thorny problem of Jerusalem over to the newly formed United Nations. The British decision to withdraw disappointed the Vatican, which nonetheless believed that the next best solution was to have its administration entrusted to the United Nations. The U.N. Special Committee on Palestine subsequently recommended the partition of Palestine and the internationalization of Jerusalem. The resolution of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947, provided that the city of Jerusalem and its immediate environs would be governed as a *corpus separatum* under an international regime administered by the United Nations. This limited the role and responsibility of the U.N., although its administration would still cover some hundred square miles of territory and a population of over 200,000, and would encompass Bethlehem and the other suburbs of Jerusalem. The Arabs rejected the proposal. The Vatican tacitly accepted U.N. Resolution 181, even though at this time it had reservations about the partition of the Holy Land into Jewish and Arab states. However, from the Holy See's perspective, the partition was rendered palatable by the proposed internationalization of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The Vatican's approval of the plan was reflected in the support it received from the countries of Latin America, Belgium, France, and the Philippines, all protective of the interests of the Church. Zionists, who opposed Jerusalem's internationalization, believed that these Catholic countries had been pressured by the Vatican to favor it.

Following the General Assembly's approval of the partition and the British withdrawal from Palestine in mid-May 1948, David Ben-Gurion announced the creation of the state of Israel, which was attacked by the surrounding Arab states while King Abdullah of Jordan conquered that part of Jerusalem that contained most of the holy places. In October 1948, Pius XII released an encyclical calling for the internationalization of Jerusalem and supporting the cause of the Muslim and Catholic refugees, some 800,000 of whom were either ejected or fled from the territory that fell under Israeli control. The Jewish state, immediately recognized by the United States and the Soviet Union, resisted the internationalization sought by the Vatican and approved by the United Nations. Pius XII continued to insist on the internationalization of Jerusalem, and at the end of 1949 the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution for such an internationalization. This resolution was in turn rejected by Israel and Jordan, which controlled sections of the city. In 1949 Pius XII established the Pontifical Mission for Palestine—a humanitarian effort to provide Palestinian refugees with food, housing, and essential services. By this and other measures he was the first modern pope to open serious relations with the Muslim world. In 1949 Egypt became the first Muslim state to establish formal diplomatic relations with the Holy See.

The renewed outbreak of war in the Middle East in 1956 disturbed Pius, who expressed concern over the plight of the people of the region and the likely damage to the holy sites. His refusal to recognize Israel was not based on anti-Judaism, which indeed persisted in the Church, but was in response to the Israeli refusal to adhere to the U.N. resolutions on the internationalization of Jerusalem, which Pius invoked on three separate occasions in the postwar period. Other factors contributing to the Vatican's refusal to recognize Israel included Israel's unwillingness to permit the return of displaced Palestinians, and the fact that it proclaimed Jerusalem its capital without recognizing any international protection for the adherents of non-Jewish religions. Although Americans clearly favored Israel, Vatican support for the Arab stance in the Middle East did not interfere with U.S. and Vatican cooperation elsewhere. Pius XII sought to improve the Vatican's diplomatic position in the Middle East and the Islamic world by establishing relations with Syria and Iran in 1953, while preserving the friendship of Jordan and Egypt. In 1953, despite its close cooperation with the United States and the Western European powers in the Cold War against the Soviet Union, Pius once again proclaimed Papal "impartiality" and freedom from any political alliance or bloc.

The Second Vatican Council and Its Aftermath. JOHN XXIII (1958–1963), who convoked the Second Vatican Council and encouraged a dramatic improvement in Catholic-Jewish relations, brought about no immediate

official change in the Vatican's position on Israel and Palestine. Nonetheless, the improvement in relations between the two faiths inevitably improved relations between the Vatican and Israel, which continued during the pontificate of PAUL VI (1963–1978). In 1963 Paul was the first pope since apostolic times to visit the Holy Land; he stopped in Jordan and Israel, and preached peace and unity. Following the Six-Day War of June 5–10, 1967, in which Israel occupied Sinai, the Old City of Jerusalem, the West Bank, and the Golan Heights, and defeated an Egyptian, Jordanian, and Syrian alliance, Paul VI moderated the previous Vatican demand for the extraterritoriality of Jerusalem. At this juncture the pope invoked international guarantees for the rights of Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Holy City. In his Christmas message of 1967 he cited two conditions that had to be met to assure peace and provide a just settlement in Palestine. The first was the need to provide security and guarantees for the holy places, and the second was to assure the civil and religious rights of the Palestinian people and the right of return for those forced to flee.

To attain these ends, Paul VI proved willing to make concessions, and in 1974 he completely abandoned the earlier Vatican demand for the internationalization of Jerusalem. By this and other means he set the stage for an eventual agreement with the Jewish state. While Paul tacitly acknowledged the sovereignty of the state of Israel, he insisted on certain guarantees for the Church and the Palestinians before diplomatic relations between it and the Vatican could be established. He presented his position to Israeli Jews in December 1975, noting he was aware of the "recent tragedies which led the Jewish people to search for safe protection in a state of its own." Recognizing and recalling the tragedy of the Holocaust, he called upon the sons of these people to recognize the rights of another people who have also suffered for a long time, the Palestinians. There was also continued concern for the security of the holy places including the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher, the Sanctuary of the Ascension, the Tomb of the Virgin, the Basilica of the Nativity at Bethlehem, and the Field of the Shepherds at Bethlehem, among others.

The Contemporary Papacy and Palestine. The Vatican of JOHN PAUL II (1978–2005) continued the *rapprochement* with the Israeli state and by the 1980s recognized the factual existence of Israel and its right to exist within secure borders. However, two issues continued to block formal recognition of the Israeli state and the opening of diplomatic relations: the status of Jerusalem and its holy sites, and the plight of the Palestinian people. John Paul II also opened a dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), a political and military organization formed in 1964 to unite various Palestinian Arab groups with the ultimate goal of bringing about an independent state of Palestine. In 1982, the first pope to visit a synagogue and mosque met with Yasser ARAFAT of the PLO. Despite the criticism of some, he met with Arafat eight more times over the course of the following two decades, and he concluded a basic agreement between the Holy See and the PLO. At the same time he maintained contact with the Israelis, and at the beginning of 1991 the papal press secretary outlined the Vatican's position toward Israel and Palestine. His release noted that according to international law the Holy See implicitly recognized the state of Israel, but that diplomatic relations had not been established because of a number of unresolved issues. These included the plight and position of the Palestinians, the rights of the Catholic population of Palestine and Israel, and the status of Jerusalem.

Following the Gulf War of 1990–1991, the subsequent Madrid Conference of 1991, which was jointly sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union, brought together Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinians. It was a watershed event that for the first time saw Israel enter into direct, face-to-face negotiations with Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinians, and it seemingly promised finally to bring peace to the Middle East. Two positive developments emerged. The first was the opening of negotiations between the Israelis and Palestinians to settle their differences; the second, which followed upon the first, was the opening of talks between the Vatican and Israel in order to establish full diplomatic relations—which were ultimately established at the end of 1993. That same year talks opened in Norway between Israel and the Palestinian Arabs, which launched what became known as the Oslo Peace Process. On September 13, 1993, representatives of the state of Israel and the PLO signed the "Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements," a document also known as the "Oslo Accords." They were signed at a Washington ceremony hosted by U.S. President Bill Clinton on September 13, 1993, during which Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin ended decades as sworn enemies with a handshake and what seemed to be the prospect of a two-state solution—which John Paul II favored.

The opening of relations between the Vatican and Israel led to extensive talks between the two regarding the legal status of the Catholic Church and its institutions in the Israeli state. An agreement was concluded in November 1997 and ratified on February 3, 1999, which regularized the status and legal position of Catholicism and its institutions in Israel. Among other things, it established the Church's rights in Israel in accordance with the laws of the Jewish state: freedom of religion,



Middle East Diplomacy. *Pope Benedict XVI, during his visit to the Holy Land in 2009, meets with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to discuss the need for an independent Palestinian state alongside a secure Jewish state.* **AP IMAGES**

freedom of worship, and freedom of access to the holy places. The negotiations between Israel and the PLO proved far less successful. Israeli talks with Yasser Arafat brought about only a partial transfer of power to the Palestinians and no permanent agreement. This played a part in provoking the intifada in 1987—the Palestinian uprising against the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. These developments worried the Vatican, which had predicted an increase in violence if there were no peaceful solution to the plight of the Palestinian people.

In fact the continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza led to the 1987 formation of Hamas, which assumed a more militant, and some said terrorist, response. Its defiance of Israel made it popular among many Palestinians, but its recourse to violence only provoked deadly Israeli retaliation. The escalation of violence troubled the last years of the pontificate of John Paul II, whose diplomacy proved no more successful than that of the United Nations in finding a solution to the problems of Palestine.

BENEDICT XVI, who in 2005 succeeded John Paul II as pope, shared his predecessor's concern for the difficult situation in the Middle East. The victory of Hamas in the Palestinian elections at the beginning of 2006, the civil war between Hamas and Fatah that ensued, the Israeli invasion of Hamas-controlled Gaza in December 2008, and its withdrawal in January 2009 all combined to create consternation in the Vatican. Although more of a theologian than a diplomat, Benedict recognized the need for a diplomatic solution to the conflict over Palestine. His solution echoed that of his predecessor—the need for an independent Palestinian state alongside a secure Jewish state. This was the message he hoped to convey and repeated during the course of his mid-May 2009 visit to the Holy Land, which he viewed as a pilgrimage of peace to encourage harmony between Israelis and Palestinians. Benedict also saw the trip as a means of seeking reconciliation with Muslims and Jews: with the first for an unfortunate citation about Islam in an earlier speech, and with the latter for lifting the 1988 excommunication of four members of the

Society of Saint Pius X, one of whom has called into question the veracity of the Holocaust.

In Bethlehem, on Palestinian soil, Benedict XVI sympathized with their suffering and offered a prayer to have the Israeli's lift their blockade of Gaza and tear down their walls in the West Bank. To maintain papal impartiality he also called upon Palestinians to shun violence and terrorism against Israel and to seek a peaceful alternative to their occupation. While given a respectful reception first in Jordan, then the West Bank, and finally Israel, Benedict witnessed firsthand the prevailing antagonisms and difficulties hindering a just and peaceful solution in the Middle East. The Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Fouad Twal, complained that the Catholic population of Jerusalem and the West Bank was shrinking day by day because of the unjust occupation of Palestinian land and the host of humiliations imposed by the Israelis on all Palestinians, Christians as well as Muslims. In an interreligious meeting held at the Notre Dame center in Jerusalem, Sheik Taysir al Tamimi, the chief Palestinian justice who was not scheduled to speak, grabbed the microphone and denounced the unjust and oppressive Israeli occupation, prompting many Jewish attendees to protest by leaving the meeting. In turn, some Jews felt that the pope was too detached in his comments on the Holocaust. The speaker of Israel's parliament denounced Benedict for not showing sufficient personal contrition, and he described the pope as a German who joined the Hitler Youth and the German army.

Benedict was not discouraged by the difficulties his peace mission confronted or the personal attacks; he was confident that eventually peace and justice would prevail, and that the Israelis and Palestinians would live peacefully side by side in separate states. The written message he left May 12, 2009, in the Old City of Jerusalem at the Western Wall, Judaism's holiest prayer site, was an appeal to God to bring his peace upon this Holy Land, the Middle East, and the entire human family. Subsequently, at the end of May, U.S. President Barack Obama told the visiting Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu that, like the pope, he supported a two-state solution to the Palestinian dispute. When President Obama visited a number of Arab states and Israel in June 2009, he repeated this call for the establishment of a two-state solution—which is supported by the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council: the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, and China, as well as the Holy See. The Vatican journal *L'Osservatore Romano*, established by Pope Pius XII's grandfather, praised the U.S. president's stance, which echoed that of Pope Benedict XVI. Awaiting full sovereignty, the Palestinian entity, like the Vatican, has been granted Permanent Observer status at the United Nations.

SEE ALSO COLD WAR AND THE PAPACY; NAZISM, PAPAL RESPONSE TO; UNITED NATIONS AND THE PAPACY.

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PALOMINO YENES, EUSEBIA, BL.

Religious sister of the Daughters of Mary, Help of Christians; b. Cantalpino, Spain, December 15, 1899; d. Valverde del Camino, Spain, February 10, 1935; beatified April 25, 2004, by JOHN PAUL II.

Eusebia Palomino Yenes was one of four children born to Agustin Palomino and Juana Yenes. As a farmhand who was only employed seasonally, Agustin found himself periodically obliged to resort to begging. Eusebia enjoyed frequently accompanying her father on these trips without realizing their social situation. She received her FIRST COMMUNION at the age of eight, and later recounted it as her first mystical experience and the beginning of her vocation. She was obliged to leave school that same year in order to help support her family. The adults in Palomino's life consistently noted her unusual maturity. When she was twelve years old, she and her older sister traveled to Salamanca to work as nannies.

On Sunday afternoons in Salamanca, Palomino would go to the Oratory of the Sancti Spiritus School

run by the Daughters of Mary, Help of Christians. The sisters asked Palomino to help with menial chores around the school. She complied and was known for her cheerful demeanor. Palomino did not at first reveal her desire to enter the community because she believed her poverty would prevent it. But she confided in a visiting superior, who accepted her into the community. She entered the novitiate on August 5, 1922, and made her solemn profession in 1924. Palomino was then sent to the congregation's house in Valverde del Camino.

When she arrived, Palomino was ridiculed by the children of the convent school because of her awkward appearance, but her cheerfulness and storytelling skills won them over. Before long, the children, their parents, the other sisters, and even priests of the area sought out Palomino, who worked as a kitchen hand because of her lack of education, for spiritual advice. She encouraged them to lead a spiritual life based on the wounds of Christ and on the Marian devotion of St. Louis de Montfort. She also taught people to recite the Divine Mercy Chaplet, which had recently been introduced to Spain.

After the establishment of the anticlerical Second Spanish Republic in 1931, Palomino offered herself as a victim soul for religious liberty and the well-being of Spain. She became ill in August 1932 with an undiagnosed ailment that caused her limbs to contract tightly and exacerbated her asthma. She began to experience ecstasies and VISIONS at this time. In spite of intense pain and numerous visitors, Palomino remained cheerful until her death three years later. She was widely proclaimed a saint upon her death, and declared a servant of God by John Paul II on December 17, 1996. On December 20, 2003, the pope accepted evidence of her miraculous INTERCESSION, and she was beatified on April 25, 2004.

Feast: February 10.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939).

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PAPAL ELECTIONS

Upon the POPE's death, the papal chamberlain, or *camerlengo*, alerts the eligible cardinals of the Sacred College (ideally 120) and summons them to meet in CONCLAVE for the election of a new pope. The *camerlengo* administers the HOLY SEE and the VATICAN CITY during the interregnum. Eighteen days later the cardinals begin their deliberations although those who arrive late may still join the negotiations. After JOHN PAUL II's death in 2005 the cardinals, for the first time, slept in the *Domus Sanctae Marthae*, built by the late pope to house visitors. More comfortable than the old routine of cots in the apostolic palace, the cardinals were still transported to the SISTINE CHAPEL for their formal duties.

After mass and communion, on the first day the cardinals call upon the Holy Spirit for guidance and begin their work of deliberation and election. To vote, each writes the name of his choice on a blank piece of paper, folds it in half and, holding it between first two fingers of the right hand, carries it to the altar. There, after he kneels in a short PRAYER, he declares that CHRIST is his judge and that his vote represents GOD's choice. The ballot is placed on a paten and then into a chalice with the others. The new pope should receive two-thirds of the votes. If no one does, the votes continue, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, until a victor is declared. In modern times most winners have already been bishops; the last exception was GREGORY XVI in 1831. Election, nonetheless, means that he becomes bishop of ROME and head of the Episcopal College.

The method used to select the PONTIFF has evolved over the past two millennia. The GOSPEL of MATTHEW (16:18) tells us that Christ selected the APOSTLE PETER, the "rock," to lead his Church. Later, Peter's see of Rome eventually surpassed all rivals as the capital of Latin Christendom and those who succeeded him assumed the role of head of the Church. According to tradition, Peter chose his next three successors, LINUS, ANACLETUS I, and CLEMENT I as the second, third, and fourth bishops of Rome (although the strict notion of *bishop* had yet to be developed). As the office and its importance became clearer in those first centuries, sketchy evidence

indicates that the bishops of Rome were, in one form or another, elected. In the first centuries, votes came from all sectors—other bishops, local clergy, and lay Christians all participated.

While the PRINCIPLE of election has persisted through the past two millennia, political pressures, corruption, and ignorance have violated it, and it was sometimes abandoned altogether. Pope INNOCENT I, for instance, succeeded his father, ANASTASIUS I in 401, although an election may have confirmed this. To rescue papal independence from Byzantine/Gothic intrigue, moreover, FELIX IV appointed his own successor, Boniface II, in 530. When the new pope tried to do the same thing, a popular outcry stopped him. The election principle suffered more at the hands of political factions. In 686 and 767 succession was determined by troops who seized control of the LATERAN palace where elections frequently occurred. By the tenth and eleventh centuries Holy Roman Emperors influenced papal elections almost as a matter of course. HENRY III nominated four of them before he died in 1056.

Reforms by NICHOLAS II in 1059, ALEXANDER III in 1179, and GREGORY X in 1274 addressed papal succession, confirming the electoral principle and the basic routine that largely remains in effect. To challenge imperial meddling, reforming cardinals elected Nicholas who promptly called a Roman synod. There it was decided to restrict voting to the highest ranks in the hierarchy and that preference be given to Roman candidates. Lay factions were permitted the right to acclaim the outcomes. Nicholas's assumption that elections would be unanimous, however, created difficulties. Pope Alexander III corrected the problem at the Third Lateran Council of 1179. There, his APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION, *Licet de vitanda discordia* emphasized the cardinals' role in the process and decided that a two-thirds majority was needed to elect a pope.

The death of Pope CLEMENT IV in 1268 triggered the third major reform concerning the Conclave—the physical details of the election. The rebellious Romans had forced Clement's election to Perugia, and he reigned as pope from Viterbo, north of Rome. Thanks partly to Anjevin and French intrusion, the cardinals deliberated at Clement's Viterbo palace for over three years. At one point the frustrated locals removed the palace roof to force them into a decision. On March 19, 1272, four years after Clement died, his successor was finally crowned in Rome as Gregory X. Anxious that such embarrassments not recur, Gregory called the Council of Lyons in 1274, which approved *Ubi majus periculum*, his bull that set firm rules for electoral procedure. Cardinals would be permitted one or two servants and locked into the Conclave (*cum clave*) with no outside communication. All were to sleep in one large room separated by curtains for privacy. Meals were delivered on a turnstile and after five days were reduced to bread, water and wine. Gregory's reform also determined that, when possible, Conclaves occur in the city of the pope's death. In Rome many took place at the Lateran Palace or at the churches of Santa Sabina or Santa Maria sopra Minerva. The first Conclave at the Vatican Palace was held in 1378. The 1484 election of Giovanni Cibo (INNOCENT VIII) was the first in the Sistine Chapel.

The reforms, nevertheless, failed to cure the nagging foreign meddling, which took on a new life after the RENAISSANCE. Starting with the Protestant Reformation, leading Catholic states—first Spain, then France, and Austria—claimed *jus exclusivae*, veto over papal candidates, a power that was greatly resented but effectively wielded mostly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the nineteenth century PIUS IX's bull, *Consultari ne post obitum* (1877), and LEO XIII's constitution, *Praedecessores nostri* (1882), tried to stem it. By 1903 Austria-Hungary's Emperor Franz Josef (1830–1916) was the last to try it, against CARDINAL Mariano RAMPOLLA DEL TINDARO. Rampolla was not elected, but the new pope, PIUS X, was so outraged that he secretly threatened EXCOMMUNICATION for anyone who revived the *jus exclusivae*. Since the First World War, no Catholic power has felt that interference in Conclaves could bring any rewards, and the issue has become moot.

In recent times Pope PAUL VI's *moto proprio* of November 21, 1970, and apostolic constitution, *Romano pontefici eligendo* (1975), restricted voting to cardinals under the age of eighty; and John Paul II's apostolic constitution, *Universi dominici gregis* (1996), mandated a simple majority for election. BENEDICT XVI's *moto proprio* of June 11, 2007, however, restored the old two-thirds rule.

SEE ALSO APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION; CAMERLENGO; CARDINALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; DOMUS SANCTAE MARTHAE; LATERAN COUNCILS; LYONS, COUNCILS OF; PAPACY; PAPAL CEREMONY AND VESTURE; PAPAL ELECTION DECREE (1059); PAPAL ELECTIONS, VETO POWER IN; PAPAL REGISTERS; POLITICS, CHURCH AND; REFORMATION, PROTESTANT (ON THE CONTINENT); UNIVERSI DOMINICI GREGIS; VATICAN CITY, STATE OF.

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PAPCZYŃSKI, STANISLAUS OF JESUS AND MARY, BL.

Baptized John; founder of the MARIAN FATHERS; b. Podegrodzie, near Stary Sacz, Poland, May 18, 1631; d. Góra Kalwaria, Poland, September 17, 1701; beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI, September 16, 2007.

Stanislaus studied in the Piarist college in Podoliniec (Spisz) and in Jesuit colleges in Lvov and in Rawa Mazowiecka. In 1654 he entered the Piarist novitiate in Podoliniec and received the religious name Stanislaus of Jesus and Mary. In 1656, in Warsaw, at the close of his second novitiate combined with a theology course, he took his simple vows and became a subdeacon. In 1661 he was ordained in Brozozów, while living at the Piarist college of Rzeszów.

Transferred to Warsaw in 1663, he became renowned as a teacher of eloquence and as a preacher and confessor. After a series of legal and religious controversies with his Piarist superiors, he requested to be secularized as a priest of the diocese of Kraków. In the act of his release from vows and the oath of perseverance in the Piarist Institute on December 11, 1670, he solemnly promised God to continue in the religious life through the "Society of the Marian Clerics of the Immaculate Conception," which he planned to found.

The new Marian congregation received its first ecclesiastical approval in 1673, and Papczyński was appointed superior of a small hermitage at Korabiew (Puszcza Mariańska), near Zyradów in the Diocese of Poznań. At first he struggled to obtain even a few vocations, but the order eventually began to grow. In 1677 he fixed his residence in Nowa Jerozolima (Góra Kalwaria), a town near Warsaw, and he devoted the rest of his life to the government and canonical establishment of the Marians in the strict observance of the *Norma Vitae,* the constitutions he had written for them. In 1699 the HOLY SEE approved the Marians, and in 1701 Papczyński made his solemn profession only a few months before his death. His body rests in the "Cenacle" Chapel of Góra Kalwaria.

Papczyński's principal writings are *Prodromus Reginae Artium* (1669), *Orator Crucifixus* (1670), *Templum Dei Mysticum* (1675), *Inspectio Cordis* (c. 1682), *Norma Vitae* (Warsaw 1687), and *Christus Patiens* (1690).

His BEATIFICATION process, begun in 1769, was interrupted in 1775 when, due to political unrest in Poland and lack of sufficient documentation, the Marian Fathers were unable to answer adequately objections to his cause. Early in the twentieth century, the Marian Fathers began collecting documents about Papczyński's life, and the process resumed in 1953. In 1992 John Paul II announced Papczyński's heroic virtue. On December 16, 2006, the Vatican approved a miracle brought about through his INTERCESSION: A baby had died *in utero* and was resuscitated. The miraculous event was verified by ultrasound images.

Papczyński was beatified on the Memorial of Our Lady of Sorrows, September 16, 2007, at a Mass celebrated by Cardinal Tarcisio Bertone at the Basilica of Our Lady of Licheń, Licheń Stary, Poland. In his homily, Cardinal Bertone highlighted Papczyński's work with the poor, promotion of temperance, devotion to the IMMACULATE CONCEPTION, and commitment to praying for the dead.

Feast: May 18.

SEE ALSO JESUITS; PIARISTS; TEMPERANCE, VIRTUE OF; VIRTUE, HEROIC.

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PAQUAY, VALENTIN, BL.

Baptized Louis, known in religion as Valentin, priest of the Order of Friars Minor; b. Tongres, Belgium, November 17, 1828; d. Hasselt, Belgium, January 1, 1905; beatified November 9, 2003, by JOHN PAUL II.

Louis Paquay was born into the deeply religious family of Henry and Anna (née Neven) Paquay. He was the fifth of their eleven children. Louis completed his secondary education at a school run by the CANONS REGULAR OF ST. AUGUSTINE in Tongres. In 1845 he started his seminary studies at Saint-Trond. Paquay's father died in 1847, leaving his mother to give consent for him to enter the Belgian province of the Order of Friars Minor. He took the name Valentin and began his novitiate on October 3, 1849, at the convent of Thielt. On October 4, 1850, he made his religious profession. On June 10, 1854, Paquay was ordained a priest and sent to Hasselt in northeast Belgium.

Paquay lived the rest of his life in Hasselt, where he developed a reputation for sanctity. He preached regularly in clear language, and he taught a deep devotion to the Eucharist. He heard many confessions each day and for this reason has been likened to the Curé of Ars (St. Jean Baptiste Marie VIANNEY). Paquay emphasized the PASSION in his preaching, and meditated on it frequently through daily STATIONS OF THE CROSS. In addition, he advocated devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and to Mary as the "cause of our joy," and he urged his listeners to pray the ROSARY daily. He was noted for his prudent conduct, and he aimed at moderation. Taking St. FRANCIS OF ASSISI as his model, he ate simple meals, took only the necessary rest, and kept a sparsely decorated room. Toward the end of his life, he suffered numerous ills with equanimity, including near total blindness.

At different points, Paquay served as guardian of his house and as vicar of the order. In 1890, and again in 1899, he was appointed provincial for Belgium. He also served as the director of the Secular Franciscan Order in Hasselt for twenty-six years.

Because of his early and widespread reputation for sanctity, Paquay's cause was opened in 1908. Pope PAUL VI declared him VENERABLE on May 4, 1970. On December 20, 2002, John Paul II accepted testimony of a miraculous intervention by the servant of God, and Paquay was beatified on November 9, 2003.

Feast: January 1.

SEE ALSO BELGIUM, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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PAULINE FATHERS AND BROTHERS

(SSP, Official Catholic Directory #1020) Popular name of the Society of St. Paul for the Apostolate of Communications; founded, 1914, Alba, Italy, by Bl. James Alberione (beatified by Pope John Paul II on April 27, 2003) as a religious congregation of priests and brothers engaged in the apostolate of bringing Christ to the world through the mass media and the internet. In the U.S., the society operates a publishing house (Alba House), in addition to St. Paul Publications. The generalate is in Rome.

SEE ALSO MODERN MEDIA AND THE CHURCH; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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PAVONI, LODOVICO, BL.

Founder of the Congregation of the Sons of Mary Immaculate; b. Brescia, Italy, September 11, 1784; d. Saiano, Italy, April 1, 1849; beatified April 14, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Lodovico Pavoni was the first of the five children of Alessandro and Lelia (née Pancarali) Pavoni. Even as a child, he was noted for his intelligence, as well as for his interest in the social questions of the day. He received private theological formation in the home of Fr. Carlo Domenico Ferrari, O.P. (d. 1846), because seminaries were closed during the Napoleonic occupation. Pavoni was ordained a priest in 1807.

Pavoni opened an oratory for poor boys in 1812. A book by Pietro Schedoni (1759–1835) titled *Moral Influences* (1810) shaped Pavoni's work and educational method. When he was appointed secretary to Bishop Gabrio Nava of Brescia (1758–1831) in 1812, he was permitted to continue his work with the oratory. On March 16, 1818, Pavoni was appointed a canon of the cathedral and rector of the Church of St. Barnabas. When he noted that many youths of the oratory were drawn into sin as they entered the workforce, Pavoni sought and received permission to found an orphanage and vocational school. These became known as the Institute of St. Barnabas in 1821. Pavoni instructed the boys in various trades, beginning with printing in an enterprise known as the Publishing House of the Institute of St. Barnabas, later called Ancora Press. Pavoni added additional trades to the curriculum as opportunity allowed. In 1823 he opened the institute to deaf students. His educational method was based on reasonableness and a positive and preventive approach.

Pavoni established a religious institute in 1825 in order to continue and expand his work. Pope GREGORY XVI approved the purpose of the institute in 1843, and on August 11, 1847, the bishop, on behalf of the HOLY SEE, formally established it as the Congregation of the Sons of Mary Immaculate. Pavoni resigned from the cathedral chapter on November 29, 1847, and on December 8 he and his first brothers made solemn profession as the first members of the congregation.

On March 24, 1849, already ill, Pavoni led the boys of the institute out of Brescia to the novitiate at Saiano to escape the violence of the "Ten Days," during which the city rebelled against the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Pavoni died of natural causes the morning of PALM SUNDAY, April 1, 1849. On June 5, 1947, Pope PIUS XII declared him a VENERABLE servant of God. On December 20, 2001, Pope John Paul II accepted as evidence for his cause the miraculous healing of Maria Stevani in 1909, and Pavoni was beatified on April 14, 2002.

Feast: April 1.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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PELCZAR, JÓZEF SEBASTIAN, ST.

Bishop, founder of the Sister Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus; name also given as Joseph; b. January 17, 1842, Korczyna, Poland; d. March 28, 1924, Przemyśl, Poland; beatified June 2, 1991; canonized May 18, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Józef Pelczar became aware of his vocation to the priesthood at a young age, and he entered a minor seminary after he finished sixth grade. He was ordained a priest on July 17, 1864, and soon afterward was sent to Rome for further studies. There, he earned two doctorates, one in THEOLOGY from the present-day Gregorian University and the other in canon law from the Lateran University.

Upon his return to Poland, he served as a theology professor, writing numerous academic and pastoral works, including *Zycie duchowne* (On the Spiritual Life). Known for his efforts to make education more accessible to all Polish people, Pelczar was also concerned for the poor, founding both the Fraternity of Our Lady, Queen of the Polish Crown (1861), and the Sister Servants of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus (1894), who came to the United States in 1959. In 1899 he was made auxiliary bishop of Przemyśl, becoming the ordinary in 1900.

Pelczar had a profound devotion to the Eucharist, the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and the Virgin Mary, which gave him the strength to lead his flock through the hor-

rors of WORLD WAR I (1914–1918) despite his own failing health. He is remembered for his selfless heroism following the invasion of Russia in March 1915, as well as for opening medical centers to care for the wounded and for victims of epidemics.

At his BEATIFICATION on June 2, 1991, John Paul II remembered Bishop Pelczar as "the man who did the will of the Father." At Pelczar's canonization, John Paul II reflected, "He was zealous in all things, but in such a way that in his service Christ himself was the Master." Pelczar was canonized on May 18, 2003, after a miracle attributed to his INTERCESSION was approved in December 2002. He is buried in the Przemyśl Cathedral.

Feast: January 19.

SEE ALSO POLAND; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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PELLESI, MARIA ROSA, BL.

Baptized Bruna Aldina Maria, a professed sister of the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Christ; b. November 11, 1917, Prignano sulla Secchia, Italy; d. December 1, 1972, Sassuolo, Italy; beatified at Rimini, Italy, by Pope BENEDICT XVI, April 29, 2007.

Bruna, the youngest of nine children, was known for her sweetness and good humor. When she was in her late teens, two sisters-in-law died and left behind six children under the age of four. Bruna helped raise the children until answering the call to religious life in 1940.

She was twenty-two when she joined the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Christ, then known as the Franciscan Sisters of Sant'Onofrio. In 1942 she took her first vows as Sr. Maria Rosa of Jesus. She was sent to Sassuolo and taught elementary school for three years. In May 1945, Sr. Maria Rosa went to Ferrara to work in the parish elementary school. That July she opened a nursery school. Her teaching ministry ended when she was hospitalized for tuberculosis.

Sr. Maria Rosa spent three years in a sanatorium in Gaiato and was then transferred to a Bologna sanatorium. Faith sustained her throughout years of surgeries and treatments that eventually included the daily extraction of fluid from her lungs. In 1955 a needle broke in her thorax and could not be removed. Sr. Maria Rosa referred to the needle as "my lance." According to her Vatican biography, during years of hospitalization she smiled and said, "In recompense, my heart sings and I am very happy."

Sr. Maria Rosa made pilgrimages to LOURDES in 1946 and 1961. She returned to her community in Sassuolo on November 6, 1972, where she died the following month. Pope JOHN PAUL II declared her venerable on July 1, 2000. On June 26, 2006, Pope Benedict XVI issued the decree for BEATIFICATION after the miraculous and complete recovery of a person who prayed for Sr. Maria Rosa's INTERCESSION.

At Sr. Maria Rosa's beatification at the cathedral of Rimini, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins observed that she "heroically welcomed her bodily breakdown, which spread within her the abyss of the mystery of the passion, death and Resurrection of Christ. In confinement, she lived with the missionary yearning of Christ." Cardinal Martins also commented, "If there is an immediate sign of thanksgiving by Sr. Maria Rosa, it is surely the smile that became her first work of charity to all who lived with her."

Feast: December 1.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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PEREIRA, NUNO DE SANTA MARIA ÁLVARES, ST.

Soldier, national hero, widower, and Carmelite; b. Portugal (most likely at Cernache do Bonjardim), June 24, 1360; d. Lisbon, Portugal, April 1 (Easter Sunday), 1431. Beatified by BENEDICT XV, January 23, 1918. Canonized by BENEDICT XVI, April 26, 2009.

Saint Nuno was born the illegitimate son of Brother Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira, the prior of Crato, Portugal, and Knight Hospitalier of St. John of Jerusalem. His mother was Lady Iria Gonçalves do Carvalhal. Legitimated by royal decree about a year after his birth, Nuno received an education characteristic of those in nobility. At about thirteen, he became the page of Queen Leonor and was knighted. When he was sixteen, at the urging of his father he married Lady Leonor de Alvim, a wealthy young widow. Nuno and Leanor had three children, two sons who died young and a daughter, Beatriz, who later married Afonso, the first Duke of Bragança and son of King João I. Through this marriage, Saint Nuno is linked to many royal descendants, including Queen ISABELLA I of Spain and CATHERINE OF ARAGON, the wife of King HENRY VIII of England.

Most Portuguese consider Saint Nuno a national hero. When the king of Castile was challenging the claim of João I to the Lusitanian crown, Nuno was made the constable or commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army. He led the army of João I to victory over the invading troops from Castile, an effort which culminated in the Battle of Aljubarrota of August 14, 1385.

After the death of his wife in 1387, Nuno resolved to remain celibate. He pursued a life of deep prayer, with special devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the EUCHARIST. He cared for the poor and built many churches and monasteries at his own expense. When peace was secured in 1423, he decided to give up his military career and enter the convent of the CARMELITES that he himself had established in Lisbon. Taking the name of Brother Nuno of Saint Mary (*frei Nuno de Santa Maria*), he gave away all of his wealth, much of it to needy veterans and widows. Nuno lived out the remaining eight years of his life as a simple Carmelite brother, but the people of his nation did not forget him. When he died on Easter Sunday, April 1, 1431, he began to be revered as "O Santo Condestável," the "Holy Constable."

In 1894 the Postulator General of the Carmelites introduced Nuno's cause for beatification. He was declared "Blessed" by Pope Benedict XV on January 23, 1918. Devotion to Blessed Nuno remained strong throughout the twentieth century, especially among members of the Carmelite Third Order, which traces itself to the Confraternity of Our Lady of Mount Carmel (also known as the Confraternity of the Holy Constable) begun by Nuno. Members of the Blue Army, dedicated to Our Lady of Fatima, likewise promoted devotion to him. The Blessed Nuno Society, originally begun at the Ourém Castle in Portugal, eventually moved its headquarters to Duluth, Minnesota.

The discovery of the original tomb of Blessed Nuno in 1996 intensified the cause for his canonization. In 2000 a volunteer at the Ourém Castle, Guilhermina de Jesus, prayed several novenas to Blessed Nuno after an accident blinded her in one eye. The restoration of her sight later that same year was officially proclaimed a miracle by a July 3, 2008, decree of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. Pope Benedict XVI canonized Saint Nuno at St. Peter's Square on April 26, 2009, along with four others. In his homily, the Holy Father noted Saint Nuno's devotion to the Blessed Mother and his intense life of prayer and reliance on divine assistance. He held up the Holy Constable as "proof that in any situation, even military or in war time, it is possible to put into practice the values and principles of Christian life, especially if they are placed at the service of the common good and the glory of God."

Feast: November 6.

SEE ALSO CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); HOSPITALLERS AND HOSPITAL SISTERS; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, ARTICLES ON; MILITARY ORDERS; MILITARY SERVICE; PORTUGAL, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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PÉREZ, LEONARDO, BL.

Layman, MARTYR; b. November 28, 1883, at Lagos di Moreno, Jalisco, Mexico; d. April 25, 1927, at Rancho de San Joaquín, Jalisco, Mexico; beatified November 20, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Leonardo Pérez Larios was raised in his parents' Catholic faith. He was known for his kindness, diligence in his studies, and strong work ethic. Although Leonardo experienced the call to priestly life, his father's death brought the obligation to care for his sisters. He worked as a clerk in a shop to support his family and contributed some of his earnings to support religious vocations.

Leonardo belonged to a Marian group that made vows of CHASTITY and met weekly for Eucharistic adoration. Those meetings were tests of faith after Mexico approved a 1917 constitution that restricted religious freedoms for Catholics. Restrictions included the requirement that Mass was to be celebrated only in church with a government official present. A Mexican law adopted in July 1926 made the restrictions so oppressive that Pope PIUS XI on November 18, 1926, promulgated the ENCYCLICAL *Iniquis afflictisque* (On the Persecution of the Church in Mexico).

Leonardo defied the law and regularly served at Masses held in homes. He was arrested on April 22, 1927, during a Mass and HOLY HOUR at the home of Josefina and Jovita Alba, siblings who sheltered Fr. José Trinidad RANGEL Montaño, a parish priest who refused to register with the government. The services were organized by Fr. Andrés SOLÁ Y MOLIST, a Claretian missionary who had been in hiding since 1926.

Federal soldiers arrested the two priests and Leonardo. Because he was dressed in black, the soldiers thought Leonardo was a priest, although he told them he was a Catholic layman. The three Catholics were imprisoned and transported in a garbage truck to the train station on April 24. The following day, they were martyred by a firing squad at Rancho de San Joaquín.

Leonardo was among thirteen Mexican martyrs beatified November 20, 2005, by Pope Benedict XVI. Cardinal José Saraiva Martins presided at the Mass at Jalsico Stadium at Guadalajara. He remarked that the martyrs were "privileged witnesses" to Christ's kingship; each had the awareness that "the reign of Christ's love was to be established, even at the expense of his own life." The pontiff, in a satellite message from Rome, said the martyrs were "a stimulus for defending the faith and having faith in modern society."

Feast: April 25.

SEE ALSO MEXICO (MODERN), THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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PERÓN, JUAN DOMINGO

Argentine military and political leader; b. Lobos, Argentina, October 8, 1895; d. Buenos Aires, July 1, 1974.

Juan Perón was a focal point of international controversy during and after the Second World War, when he was variously denounced as a socialist and a

fascist. This led to his being both praised and condemned by elements within the Catholic Church.

Perón was born in a town near Buenos Aires into a lower-middle-class family. He was educated in Catholic schools and subsequently graduated from the Argentine Military Academy. Steadily promoted in rank, he spent much of the late 1930s serving as a military attaché and observer in various European countries, particularly Germany and Italy. He was evidently attracted to the authoritarian regimes of HITLER and MUSSOLINI, seeing in them lessons to be applied in his homeland.

Argentina maintained a neutral position during World War II, and Colonel Perón began to develop a parallel career in politics. In 1943 he joined with other officers in overthrowing the incumbent president, and was named minister of labor and social welfare in the new government. He transformed this hitherto unimportant government position into a major force for developing the consciousness and power of the proletariat. At the same time, he created a charismatic public image of himself as the hero of the industrial working class. He also expanded his role both in domestic and international affairs. His power base grew in 1944 when he was named both minister of war and vice president. By the end of the war, he was regarded not only as the real ruler of Argentina, but also as a spokesman for those in Latin America who rejected the dominance of the United States.

In order to command respect for Argentina's status in Latin America, Perón steadily increased the military forces of his country. Within five years the army grew to more than 100,000 men, with proportionate increases in the navy and air force. Ultimately, the Argentine fleet would include major warships, including an aircraft carrier, and new, often innovative, planes were added to the air force. Admittedly, there was a risk that what was intended to dramatize Argentina's leadership role in the region might provoke fear and antagonism in nearby countries. Brazil, which had long competed with Argentina for the role of dominant nation in South America, was particularly offended by Perón's action. Indeed, Perón initiated what became, over time, an arms race between the two countries.

The United States was particularly disturbed by Perón's posturing in political and military matters. Brazil had earned the goodwill of the United States by declaring war on the Fascist Powers and dispatching two infantry divisions to fight in the Anglo-American campaign in Italy. It also sent several fighter squadrons to aid in the American reconquest of the Philippines. This "positive" use of military force against global aggression contrasted sharply (in Washington's judgment) with the sinister intentions of Argentina, a country that had not supported the United States during the war. The militaristic path taken by Perón would continue to shape Argentine behavior long after his departure, notably in the invasion of Britain's Falkland Islands colony in 1982, a move that created serious issues for the United States.

Some have suggested that the U.S. government was behind a 1945 coup by Perón's rivals, who attempted to eliminate him by arresting and imprisoning him. His tremendous influence among the workers led to mass demonstrations in his favor, however, and he was released from prison. This reversal of fortune culminated in his election as president in 1946.

Between 1946 and 1956 Perón was at the pinnacle of his power. Proclaiming a "third way" between capitalism and communism, he announced grandiose plans for industrial expansion and total self-sufficiency, fashioning an Argentine socioeconomic program that borrowed heavily from the corporative and autarkical philosophies that he had admired in Italy and Germany. Inevitably, he developed a strong level of anti-U.S. propaganda, and he often denounced the forces of imperialism and colonialism. His main source of support remained the laboring masses, who proudly proclaimed themselves the *descamisados*, or "shirtless ones." He was aided to an enormous degree by the political and dramatic skills of his second wife, the actress Eva Duarte (1919–1952), who held virtually dictatorial powers in matters relating to welfare and popular culture. Although she was scorned by the traditional elite, her ability to project charm and to influence a wide variety of people was reflected in a much publicized visit to the VATICAN.

President Perón had established some Catholic connections himself during the immediate postwar period, when he provided sanctuary in Argentina for a considerable number of Fascist functionaries from Germany, Italy, and such satellite countries as Croatia. Many of these individuals had notorious records for crimes and atrocities, but they had managed to gain the patronage and protection of some Church officials in Europe. Such connections would prove to be embarrassing in international circles, however.

After the death of Eva Perón, her husband's fortunes began to decline as his dictatorial behavior aroused more and more resentment, his economic policies began to fail, and the Washington regime became more hostile. By 1955 he was engaged in a public quarrel with the Catholic hierarchy over matters relating to schools, Church property, and the right of the clergy to speak out on moral issues. Perón's clash with the Catholic hierarchy over matters such as divorce, press freedom, and his attempts to imprison his critics led to his excommunication in June 1955. Church leaders joined with

wealthy landowners and powerful military commanders to demand his resignation, and even his working-class loyalists proved unable to save him. Perón fled Argentina and eventually established residence in Spain in 1960. However, his political movement, *Peronismo*, continued to command the loyalty of a large segment of the Argentine masses.

Political and economic weakness continued to plague Argentina throughout the 1960s, and in 1971 the incumbent president, General Alejandro Lanusse, decreed the right of Perón to return to Argentina as long as he abstained from seeking political office. Perónists quickly organized a campaign to elect Hector Campora as a stand-in president. This figurehead resigned the presidency in July 1973, within a few months of taking office. Perón, despite all previous agreements, ran for the vacated presidential seat in September and was elected with some 60 percent of the vote. His third wife, Isabel, became vice president. Perón's health had deteriorated significantly, however, and he died the following year. President Isabel Perón did not enjoy a long tenure either, for she was deposed in yet another coup in 1976.

In the long, unhappy history of Latin American dictators, Juan Perón was one of the most visible and memorable, not least because of his striking consort, whom her admirers called Evita. Some of them sought to have her proclaimed a saint on the strength of her charitable works. When ecclesiastical approval was not forthcoming, others established a virtual secular cult honoring her memory. Like most of his predecessors and successors, Perón ultimately fell afoul of the military. But his inability to manage relations with the Catholic Church was perhaps a portent of new things to come. In the years since Perón's regime, both the Vatican and the Latin American bishops have developed a wider range of approaches to dealing with the political, social, and economic problems that remain perennial in the Western Hemisphere.

SEE ALSO ARGENTINA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; FASCISM; LATIN AMERICA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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PERPETUAL ADORATION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT, NUNS OF THE

(AP, Official Catholic Directory #3190) This cloistered community of nuns, with papal approbation, was dedicated to an apostolate of contemplative prayer, primarily through the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. The order was founded at Rome, Italy, on July 8, 1807, by Bl. MOTHER MARY MAGDALENE OF THE INCARNATION (Catalina Sordini Movizzo, 1770–1824), a Franciscan sister from the convent on the island of Ischia in the bay of Naples. She was beatified by Pope Benedict XVI on May 3, 2008. The nuns, who take solemn vows, are engaged in constant prayer, including the Divine Office, before the exposed Blessed Sacrament. In the U.S. they are located in El Paso, Texas (1925), and San Francisco, Calif. (1928). Worldwide, the congregation has houses in Spain, Mexico, Chile and Africa.

SEE ALSO EUCHARISTIC DEVOTION; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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PERSONALISM

It is a wonderful thing to be a PERSON—everyone is one—and yet further to be a personalist. People acknowledge their personhood and that of others each time they use a personal pronoun such as *he*, *she*, or *they*. But the depth of meaning conveyed by pronouns, in people's busy lives, usually remains implicit, at least until further reflection brings it to CONSCIOUSNESS. The task of philosophical reflection is to do just this, and that is no small matter, for such CONTEMPLATION acknowledges the value of the SELF in relation to the values presented to the self in the context of the whole of REALITY.

Characteristics of Personalist Philosophies. Philosophies that merit the name *personalist* give preeminence to three characteristics that are constitutive of the human composite—KNOWLEDGE, FREEDOM, and BEING.

Taken together in a distinctive UNITY, they refer to something of which it is no longer asked "What is it?" but "Who is it?" The recognition of this distinctive unity of any person brings philosophical inquiry close to such philosophies as IDEALISM and contemporary EXISTENTIALISM, but a proper understanding of the human person expands beyond these philosophies and into deeper terrain. For there emerges in the human person a distinctive mode of unity that transcends human nature even as it includes the unity of the shared SPECIES and the particularity of individual participation in that species. The result is to bring philosophizing to a unique kind of presence.

In this triad, knowledge plays a special role. As intellectual, the mind is transcendently open in principle to the full intelligibility of reality. But the other two features are also crucial for appreciating personal existence, namely, human freedom and human existence. While intelligence is the prerequisite for these other two, it is in exercising their capacity for knowledge that humans come to realize their distinctive and TRANSCENDENTAL character as persons. They possess a value-oriented freedom with an existential foundation in their singular and unique reality as persons. It is the unity among these features that the PHILOSOPHY of personalism renders explicit by identifying the cognitive, volitional, and ontological constituents of common nature and open INDIVIDUALITY. In sum, what is distinctive of personalism is the explicit recognition of the interplay of these features as grounded in the intrinsically open singularity of each individual.

An outright denial of these features occurs in MATERIALISM, and a selective overemphasis on one rather than another in an idealism of cognition or a spontaneity of the WILL. Taking one or another feature as absolute or exclusive leads to only a fragmentary understanding of personalized humanity. Thus, René DESCARTES' all but exclusive attention to ideas, or Immanuel KANT's separation of thought from being and still further of practical reason from speculative reason, or Friedrich NIETZSCHE's voluntarist embrace of the will-to-power do not qualify as personalism, nor does Jean-Paul SARTRE's absolutism of choice. For exclusive attention to knowledge or freedom or existence does not acknowledge the ontological center that is freely engaged in self-determination through participation in transcendent values. Among the several philosophies that do qualify as personalist, one finds a difference in the emphasis placed either upon the values that engage people's freedom or the being that is its foundation, so long as both are seen to be rooted in the unitary status of each person.

Origin of the Awareness of the Person. The explicit and growing awareness of the person occurred over more than two millennia and initially began in Etruria and Greece with the CULT of the goddess Persephone (Phersu). The term for the mask in her cult (*prosopeion*) was derived from the Greek (*prosopon*). Taken into the Latin *persona*, it melded the role of the mask in Roman theatre with the word for *sounding through* (*personare*). Whereas today the term *person* is used in the familiar sense of a differentiation of human gender (he, she), it originally arose from a dramatic and religious context. Subsequently, however, it served in an expanded sense in the first century BC by designating the concrete reality of individuals and their distinctive value, as when it was used in the law courts to identify those individuals who possessed special legal rights and duties that raised them beyond the generality of other humans. This meaning still reverberates in the value-constituted term *citizen*, with its attendant rights and obligations.

It is noteworthy, moreover, that the term *rights* has served in a more elevated sense that persists even into the twenty-first century, as can be seen in its secular usage within the grammar of human and personal rights, as in the "rights of man and natural law" and the "right to life." In the course of its history, the term served religious interests as well, as in the Alexandrian rendering of the HEBREW SCRIPTURES into Greek, with its reference to sacred Scripture as speaking its revealed words: "*ex persona domini*" (i.e., "out of the mouth of the Lord"). Later, with the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries and subsequent Church DOCTRINE the term was raised to its apogee in the articulation of the Holy Trinity in which the Godhead was celebrated as three divine Persons in the unity of the divine Nature. Inasmuch as humans come to be in and through the creative activity of the Divine Persons and in their divine image, humans were seen to be finite participants as persons. This usage gave to humans an unprecedented dignity and value that, even in those not confessing the Christian faith, lends an aura of exceptional dignity to the human term, as in the theme of "inalienable rights."

Different Expressions of Personalism. Among the nuances and variety of expressions of personalism, two especially may be singled out insofar as the one addresses and places central emphasis upon the role of value within the context of the person, whereas the other situates the person within the foundational context of being. Not surprisingly, an American version of personalism speaks most directly and positively to the value of freedom. The American Methodist Borden Parker BOWNE (1847–1910), in stressing the notion of person as the fundamental reality within the universe, found its dignity so overwhelming as to move from a transcendental EMPIRICISM that owed much to both Kant and

George BERKELEY to a liberal THEOLOGY of personalism, in which God is immanent to human experience. Although he also owed much to William JAMES's pragmatism, Bowne developed his own method in close association with PROCESS PHILOSOPHY, and he placed great emphasis and pragmatic value on the role of the will and freedom by stressing "the volitional and practical nature of belief." His student, Edgar Sheffield BRIGHTMAN (1884–1953), gave expression to what became known as Boston Personalism, in which the human self is the fundamental metaphysical reality together with a finite understanding of God as an immanent participant in human affairs. He adapted his ideas from the philosophies of Alfred North WHITEHEAD and Charles HARTSHORNE.

Contemporary European authors recognized the centrality of the human person expressed in nuanced forms. Some expressed the idea of person in terms of value, whereas others emphasized the primacy of being, so that value-personalisms and ontological-personalisms both acknowledge the specific integrity of the person. Emmanuel MOUNIER (1905–1950), founder of the journal *L'Esprit* (1932) and author of *The Personalist Manifesto* (1950), stressed the communal sense of the person against the all-too-prevalent confusion of the personal with the individual. Whereas the individual was thought to preserve his or her identity by self-enclosure and consequently by merely external relations to others (*les autres*), Mounier insisted that the person preserved his or her unique identity by open engagement with others in a "personalist and communitarian" movement of the spirit.

Still others were drawn into an acknowledgment of the primacy of the person through the twentieth-century descriptive method of PHENOMENOLOGY developed by Edmund HUSSERL and applied to the examination of values by Max SCHELER (1874–1928). While resisting the later Husserl idealistic tendency to rest the first principle of experience in transcendental consciousness, Scheler readily accepted the earlier descriptive phenomenology of Husserl's *Logical Investigations*. Scheler's adaptation set forth the range of values and their intrinsic ordering within a hierarchy of objective values. In so doing, he placed the person as the "value of all values," to which everyone ought to be moved by the supreme value of love. In contrast to Kant's merely formalistic value of freedom, Scheler defended what he termed the material character of values—material in the sense of not merely formal and relatively empty, but rather as values embodied in their own objective selves and not simply in their relation to human consciousness and Kantian RATIONALISM.

The value-personalism of Dietrich von HILDEBRAND (1889–1977) contains a remarkable depth of insight into the formative role of values that shape the good of the human person. Beyond values that are subjectively satisfying for each individual and even beyond those that are objectively good lie a stratum of values that affect personal character and value in a deep and integral way. More intimate than singular actions performed by a person and through his or her power, they pervade all that touches the individual in more or less enduring fashion, in the way a friendship is not abolished even when interrupted by attention to particular actions. Such superactual values constitute the sphere of virtues, determining the good of each person in accord with the good proper to persons. They are superactual in that they embrace people in their deepest and most perfective degree. Deeper than singular actions directed towards specific goods, superactual values affect all that shapes integrity, that is, as an integer and a unique totality. Nor are they simply in a person's control, but rather have the power to affect as they call for an affective response. That is, people do not *effect* superactual values through their initiative but are *affected* by them in their affective response. Individuals are called to receive superactual values as beyond their control, for they are shaped by the transcendent power of the values. In a mysterious way people receive from superactual values a freedom as they participate in the values as in a transcendent good for themselves as persons. Such cooperative freedom is the highest gift anyone can both receive and participate in.

Just as some personalisms focus on the domain of value, other philosophies understand persons within the integral context of being. These might be called ontological personalisms. The ontological personalism of Gabriel MARCEL (1889–1973) articulates a personalism of the concrete in contrast to a system of functions. The most decisive distinction operative within his thought is that between problem and mystery. With this he sought to reach beyond the divisive manner in which the human person is so often identified with a systematic assembly of his functions and problems in search of solutions. Such an approach he termed *primary reflection*. Instead, in what he called *secondary reflection*, he saw a depth in the unitary totality of the human person not reached by such reductive inquiries, however useful they may be in other respects. In this sense Marcel speaks of the person as a mystery, not in the negative sense as simply unknowable, but in the positive fullness of a reality that transcends such an objective system of problems. Penetrating more deeply into the existential reality of the person, he speaks of the human person as concrete, thereby opening a path of reflection that transcends systematic OBJECTIVITY and raises the relation between persons to the level of intersubjectivity. No longer does an individual simply ask: What am I? but Who are we? Humans become available to others (*disponibilité*) in a

shared interpersonal existence that entails both the hope of IMMORTALITY and participation as wayfarers in the mystery of being.

After the nineteenth century, in which the philosophical movements of idealism, empiricism, and POSITIVISM played a dominant role, the twentieth century saw a renewed interest in the philosophy of being, anticipated by Husserl's phenomenology, rendered thematic in his own way by Martin HEIDEGGER'S ONTOLOGY of *Dasein* and above all, broadly advanced in Catholic circles especially by Pope LEO XIII's call for the recovery of St. THOMAS's thought. The papal initiative expanded into a widespread and intensive study of the MIDDLE AGES that was already underway, but in which the liaison between theology and METAPHYSICS became a principal feature. The study was carried out vigorously in such centers as ROME, COLOGNE, Louvain, River Forest, Laval, and Toronto with special attention to the editing of the works of Thomas and others, already underway.

With his conversion to Catholicism in 1905, Jacques MARITAIN (1882–1973) undertook an intensive study of St. THOMAS AQUINAS, not so much in the strict spirit of a historian as in the potential application of Thomas's thought to the issues of the present day, by concentrating on metaphysics among other disciplines, by addressing a number of fields, and by bringing the metaphysics of being and the existential principle (*esse, actus essendi*) into play within EPISTEMOLOGY, political philosophy, and AESTHETICS. For the broad range of his interest, however, he never lost the primacy of his metaphysical approach, but maintained a growing awareness of the original and fundamental role played by the existential act in the deepening of knowledge. For all the comprehensive scope of his writings, Maritain never lost the sense of the central role of the person in relation to being, thought, and freedom, so that, while universal in scope, his contribution to an understanding of the person in modern life remained primary.

While the study of Maritain, Étienne GILSON, and others in the works of medieval thinkers had the effect of revitalizing the intellectual richness of twentieth-century thought, other sources of intellectual energy also arose. In relation to personalism, perhaps the most impressive was found in those philosophers who turned to the person under the new mode of reflection termed *phenomenlogy*. The fruits of phenomenology are evident in such thinkers as Scheler, von Hildebrand, and others not considered here. The task of bringing together the results of a more traditional metaphysics of being and its principles and causes with the modern philosophy of consciousness and its dedication to the description of the experience of the essences and their objective and intentional presence resulted in an expansion of the range and depth of conscious experience, inasmuch as it brought into play the methods of medieval causal explanation with the descriptive methodology of contemporary phenomenology.

Such a task engaged Edith STEIN (1891–1942), who was received in the religious life as Sr. Teresa Benedicta of the Cross. A respected student and assistant of Edmund Hussserl, she was thoroughly expert in the descriptive methods of phenomenology, though she seems to have had some reservations (along with those of her close friend Hedwig Konrad-Martius) regarding her master's exclusion of questions of existence from his analysis of essences. Upon converting to Catholicism she undertook a study of St. Thomas, initially through a study of the saint's *Disputed Question on Truth* (*De Veritate*), an issue that was of critical interest to the phenomenologist. But she did not forget her master, and for his seventieth birthday, she penned a fictional dialogue between Thomas and Husserl. More than that, she undertook an extended reflection titled *On Finite and Eternal Being* (published after her death in the dreaded Nazi death-camp of Auschwitz). In this impressive work she addressed her interpretation of being (*ens*) with special attention to the internal relation of ESSENCE (*essentia*) and EXISTENCE (*esse*) as constitutive of each and every being. She did not always agree with Thomas, sometimes preferring the position of John DUNS SCOTUS. This was not surprising, given her early work with the descriptive attention to essence (*Eidos*, *Wesen*), so characteristic of Husserl's phenomenolgy. Husserl, however, had concentrated on the methodical description of essences to the deliberate exclusion or bracketing of existence (*epoche*) because existence did not contribute to the formal intelligibility of the objects under analysis. For such essences are what they are and mean what they mean, whether existing or not. She departed from her master on this important point and strove to integrate both the essential character of the objects studied with their relation to the actuality of being, thus expanding the horizon of analysis to a philosophy of being.

One of the most developed integrations of the two distinct methods—that of contemporary phenomenology and that of traditional metaphysics of being—is found in the work of Karol Wojtyła (1920–2005; Pope JOHN PAUL II). His initial acquaintance with philosophy occurred through the manuals of SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY, but his first formal academic study was given over to the theology of St. JOHN OF THE CROSS and Carmelite MYSTICISM, culminating in a doctoral dissertation at the Angelicum in Rome. After a brief service as a parish priest, he was commissioned to write a second doctorate, this time based upon the philosophy of the German phenomenologist Max Scheler. While he drew from the experiential approach of the descriptive method of phenomenology, he was not uncritical of some aspects

of Scheler's thought and found the concept of practical reason in Immanuel Kant to be more faithful to ethical experience and ethical thought without, however, embracing Kant's critical idealism. Upon completion of the second doctorate (this one from the Jagiellonian University in Kraków), he was appointed to the chair of ethics in the newly reformed Catholic University of LUBLIN, where he taught from 1954 to 1957. Upon becoming auxiliary BISHOP, he held the chair until his election as PONTIFF in 1978. Immersed in the phenomenology of ethical experience, Wojtyła sought a more universal and fundamental ground of responsible freedom than he discerned in phenomenology. The *Lublin Lectures* contrasted the thought of both Kant and Scheler with the metaphysics of being in the texts of St. Thomas Aquinas. He placed particular emphasis upon the role of existence as the first actualizing principle in which the principles of the essential order (FORM, MATTER, SUBSTANCE, and ACCIDENT) received that energeia of which ARISTOTLE had spoken but were now understood as the power of existence (*esse, actus essendi*). With this, he integrated both the descriptive power of the method of contemporary phenomenology with the modern adaptation of the foundational philosophy of being in the existential thought of St. Thomas Aquinas. From his abiding interest in the person, he wrote a work on *Love and Responsibility*. This was followed by his major philosophical treatise entitled *Osoba i Czyn* (*Person and Act*), which roots the primacy of personal existence in the responsible exercise of free activity. His papal writings continued his reflections on the person, both in its singular and its communal aspects, with a distinctive ENCYCLICAL on human work (*Laborem Exercens*), in which he does not so much focus on the processes of modern industrial production as on the person of the worker, both in his singularity and in his communal participation. Moreover, in his theological writings he continued to think in personalist terms as a philosopher. Among his most noteworthy papal writings is the Encyclical dedicated to the relation between philosophy and theology, titled *Faith and Reason*, which celebrated the authenticity of philosophical reason even as it opened itself out to the transcendental heights of theological participation in the truths of divine Revelation. Paramount in the papal and pre-papal works is the author's steady gaze on the human person, on the responsible exercise of freedom, and on the interconnectedness that forms, not simply a human collectivity, but a community of persons (*communio personarum*) dedicated to the pursuit of the TRUTH and values already instilled in things by the Creator.

SEE ALSO AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU; ESSENCE AND EXISTENCE; EXISTENTIAL METAPHYSICS; FATHERS OF THE CHURCH; KAROL WOJTYŁA: EARLY YEARS; KAROL WOJTYŁA: POET, PLAYWRIGHT, PHILOSOPHER, AND PATRIOT; LABOREM EXERCENS; PERSON, DIVINE; VOLUNTARISM.

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PETER KIBE KASUI AND 187 COMPANIONS, MARTYRS OF NAGASAKI (JAPAN), BB.

Also known as Petrus Kibe Kasui; four priests, one brother, 183 laity; d. various cities in Japan, 1603–1639; beatified November 24, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Peter Kibe Kasui and 187 companions, the martyrs of Nagasaki, were beatified in Japan on November 24, 2008. The previous day Pope Benedict XVI had reminded his audience in Rome that the 188 martyrs of Nagasaki represented only a small portion of the thousands of faithful who were executed in Japan. In his homily at the BEATIFICATION, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins commended each of these martyrs who had "laundered his robe in the blood of the Lamb" (Rv 7:14) and had become an example of the ultimate act of love. Set against the backdrop of shogun rule that closed all churches, forbid missionaries to enter the country, and executed an estimated 30,000 Christians, the courage of these faithful provides a shining example for others.

Of the 188 martyrs only five were religious; the rest were laity, mainly families, often with children. In addition to fifty-six spouses, at least twenty-six children died, some as young as one year, and several were teenagers. Many underwent torture. Persecution forced the Church underground, where it remained for almost two centuries, until the country once again opened its doors to foreigners. In 1865 missionaries were startled to find a vibrant, thriving Catholic community that had kept the Faith alive during those many years of suppression.

Fr. Peter Kibe Kasui was a minister of this clandestine church. After taking his Jesuit vows in 1622, he returned to Japan, knowing he faced possible persecution and death. He ministered in secret until his capture in 1639. His captors, hoping to induce him to deny his faith, bound him tightly and hung him with his head in a pit of offal. Yet Fr. Kibe still encouraged those around him, angering the guards, who cut him down from his bindings and speared him. Fr. Kibe was the last of the 188 martyrs to die. The others are listed as follows, arranged according to the locations where they died.

YATUSHIRO

In the Fukuoka Diocese, men were beheaded; women and children, crucified. Samurai Ioannes (John) Minami (b. c. 1568, Yamato) died December 8, 1603. Others in his village died the following day. His wife, Magdalena (b. c. 1560, Setsu-no-Kuni), and their seven-year-old adopted son, Ludovicus (b. c. 1596, Yamashiro), prayed together from their crosses.

Simon Takeda Gohyōe (Miyako), samurai, (b. c. 1568, Kyōto) died with his wife, Agnes Takeda (b. c. 1563, Ise), and his mother, Ioanna Takeda (b. c. 1548, Ise), who preached from her cross.

Later beheadings include Ioachim Watanabe Jirōzaemon (b. c. 1551, Yatsushiro; d. August 26, 1606); and catechists Michaël Mitsuishi Hikoemon (b. c. 1559, Yatsushiro) and his teenaged son, Thomas Mitsuishi (b. c. 1597, Yatsushiro), who both died January 11, 1609.

On the same day, Ioannes Hattori Jingorō (b. c. 1570, Muro) died from torture in prison, and his five-year-old son Petrus Hattori (b. c. 1604, Yatsushiro) knelt by his father's corpse, prayed, and offered his neck to the executioner, who missed. Petrus kept praying until his head was severed.

SENDAI

Baptized against his master's wishes, high-ranking samurai Leo Saisho Shichiemon (b. c. 1569, Jōnai; d. November 17, 1608) was executed three months later.

YAMAGUCHI

From the Hiroshima Diocese, Melchior Kumagai Motonao, samurai, was beheaded (b. c. 1554, Miiri; d. August 16, 1605, Hagi). Also Damianus, a blind catechist who spread the Faith with stories and songs, was beheaded, maimed, and thrown in a river (b. c. 1560, Sakai; d. August 19, 1605).

IKITSUKI

On November 14, 1609, Samurai Gaspar Nishi Genka (b. c. 1555, Ikitsuki), catechist of the Nagasaki Archdiocese, his wife, Ursula Nishi (b. c. 1555, Ikitsuki), and their son, Ioannes Nishi Mataishi (b. c. 1585, Ikitsuki), repeated the names of Jesus and Mary as they died. Notes placed with their heads announced it was because they were Christians.

ARIMA

Three families of samurai from the Nagasaki Archdiocese were burned alive on October 7, 1613. All had been born in Arima, but no records exist of most birthdates. Hadrianus Takahashi Mondo and his wife Ioanna Takahashi; Leo (Leon) Hayashida Sukeemon, his wife, Martha Hayashida, and their children, Magdalena (b. c. 1593, Arima) and Didacus Hayashida (b. c. 1601); and Leo (Leon) Takedomi Kan'emon and his son Paulus (b. c. 1589) died for their faith.

Later, Adam Arakawa (b. c. 1551, Arima), a sixty-year-old catechist from Amakusa, was imprisoned and tortured for months, then beheaded on June 5, 1614, in Shiki. His body, wrapped in nets and weighted with stones, was thrown into the sea.

KYOTO (MIYAKO)

On October 6, 1619, the largest group of martyrs—fifty-five people of all ages—were tied to crosses and set on fire. One of the families, whose members were all born in Toyko, included Ioannes Hashimoto Tahyōe, his pregnant wife, Thecla Hashimoto, and their five children—Catharina (13), Thomas (12), Franciscus (8), Petrus (6), and Ludovica (3). After the fire freed Ludovica from her bindings, she ran to her mother, who cradled her close as flames consumed them.

Others martyred that day include: Thomas Kian, b. Bungo (now Ōita); Thomas Ikegami, b. Hokuriku; Linus Rihyōe, b. Chūgoku, and his wife, Maria, b. Setsuno-Kuni; Cosmas, b. Kyōto; father of Franciscus Shizaburo, b. Kyōto; Antonius Dōmi, b. Yamato (now Nara); Ioachim Ogawa, b. Mino (now Gifu); Ioannes Kyūsaku, b. Kyōto, his wife, Magdalena, b. Kyōto, and their daughter, Regina (2), b. c. 1617, Kyōto; Thomas Koshima Shinshirō, b. Yamashiro, and his wife Maria, b. Yamashiro; Gabriel, b. c. 1549, Owari (now Aichi); Maria, b. Yamashiro, and her daughter, Monica (4), b. c. 1615, Yamashiro; Martha, b. Kawachi (now Ōsaka), and her son, Benedictus (2), b. c. 1617, Kawachi (now Ōsaka); Maria, b. Tanba, and her son Sixtus (3), b. c. 1616, Tanba; Monica, b. Mino (now Gifu); Thomas Tōemon, b. Owari (now Aichi), and his wife, Lucia, b. Owari (now Aichi); Rufina, widow, b. Owari (now Aichi), and her daughter, Martha (7), b. c. 1612, Owari (now Aichi); Monica, b. Ōmi (now Shiga); Emmanuel Kosaburō, b. Tanba; Anna Kajiya, widow, b. Tanba, and her son, Thomas Kajiya Yoemon, b. Tanba; Agatha, b. Ōmi (now Shiga); Maria Chūjō, b. Bungo (now Ōita); Hieronimus Sōroku, b. Aki (now Hiroshima), and his wife, Lucia, b. Aki (now Hiroshima); Ioannes Sakurai, b. Bungo (now Ōita), and his daughter-in-law, Ursula Sakurai, b. Bungo (now Ōita); Mancius Kyūjirō, b. Kyōto; Ludovicus Matagorō, b. Kyōto; Leo Kyūsuke, b. Owari (now Aichi), and his wife, Martha, b. Owari (now Aichi); Mencia, widow, b. Ōmi (now Shiga), and her young daughter, Lucia, b. Ōmi (now Shiga); Magdalena, b. c. 1616, Owari (now Aichi); Didacus Tsūzu, b. Kyōto; Franciscus, b. Kyōto; and Maria, b. Tanba.

KUMAMOTO

Between 1619 and 1636, eighteen members of the Kagayama and Ogasawara families died for their faith.

The first beheading was of the samurai Didacus (Diego) Kagayama Haito, governor of Kokura (b. c. 1565, Takatsuki; d. October 14, 1619, Kokura). The executions of his cousin Balthasar (Belshazzar) Kagayama Hanzaemon (b. c. 1572, Takatsuki), and his four-year-old son Diego (b. c. 1615, Hiji) followed. The *daimyo*, or feudal lord, Hosokawa Tadaoki (1563–1646), had ordered their deaths.

On January 30, 1636, a mass execution of the Ogasawara family included Ogasawara Yosaburō (Ogasawara Gen'ya); his wife, Ogasawara Miya Luisa; and their nine children, all born in Kokura, whose birthdates are unknown. Along with the Ogasawara sons (Genpachi, Sasaemon, Sayuemon, Shiro, Goro, and Gonnosuke) and daughters (Mari, Kuri, Tsuchi), four servants of the Ogasawara family were also decapitated in the courtyard of a Buddhist temple. The family left behind a legacy of letters, a testament to their strong faith, from their forty-day imprisonment prior to their deaths.

TOYKO (EDO)

Often called the Great Martyrdom of Edo, a large group massacre occurred in Tokyo on December 1, 1623, and included Ioannes (John) Hara Mondo (b. Usui, Chiba) as part of a group of forty-seven secularists, along with three priests who were beatified in 1867, along with a group of 205 martyrs. Samurai Ioannes Hara Mondo was honored in this beatification, because he, too, burned alive that day.

HIROSHIMA

The three martyrs of Hiroshima were: Franciscus Tōyama Jintarō, samurai (b. c. 1600, Yamanashi; d. February 16, 1624), who was killed first; Matthias Shōbara Ichizaemon (Matias Shobara Tchizaemon) (b. c. 1587, Aki [now Hiroshima]; d. February 17, 1624); and Ioachim (Joachim) Kurōemon, catechist (b. c. 1559, Aki; March 8, 1624), who like Matthais was crucified.

UNZEN

A total of twenty-nine Christians from the Nagasaki Archdiocese drowned in the Shimabara River or were scalded to death in the sulfur springs of Unzen. Among them were several children who were horribly tortured. One of the models of constancy was Paulus (Paul) Uchibori Sakuemon (b. Fukae), whose three young sons were tortured before him. Balthasar Uchibori (b. Fukae), and his two younger brothers, Antonius (b. c. 1609, Fukae) and Ignatius (b. c. 1622, Fukae), had three fingers cut off on each hand. Five-year-old Ignatius held his bloody hands up and uttered no complaint. The three boys were then taken and drowned on February 21, 1627.

Still Paul Uchibori did not renounce his faith. After he had endured more torture, he and a group of martyrs were taken to the hot springs and repeatedly plunged into the water until they died. He died at Unzen on February 28, 1627. Guards stabbed some of the faithful

and then poured sulfurous water over the wounds, hoping the pain would make them renounce their faith. The following stayed true to God and died for their beliefs on February 28, 1627:

Gaspar Kizaemon, b. Arie, and his wife, Maria Mine, b. Kuchinotsu; Gaspar Nagai Sōhan, b. Kuchinotsu; Ludovicus Shinzaburō, b. c. 1601, Kuchinotsu; Dionisius Saeki Zenka, b. Fukae, and his son, Ludovicus Saeki Kizō, b. Fukae; Damianus Ichiyata, b. Antoku Koba; Leo Nakajima Sōkan, b. Fukae, and his son, Paulus Nakajima, b. Fukae; Ioannes Kisaki Kyūhachi, b. Fukae; Ioannes Heisaku, b. Arie; Thomas Uzumi Shingoro, b. c. 1575, Kuchinotsu; Alexius Sugi Shōhachi, b. c. 1602, Amakusa; Thomas Kondō Hyōemon, b. c. 1564, Mogi; and Ioannes Araki Kanshichi, b. c. 1593, Koga.

The following were martyred at Unzen on May 17, 1627:

Ioachim Mine Sukedayū, whose wife had died earlier from torture, b. c. 1567, Kuchinotsu; Paulus Nishida Kyūhachi, b. c. 1553, Fukae; Maria, b. c. 1591, Fukae; Ioannes Matsutake Chōzaburō, b. c. 1589, Fukae; Bartholomeus Baba Han'emon, b. c. 1574, Fukae; Ludovicus Furue Sukeemon, b. c. 1590, Arie; Paulus Onizuka Magoemon, b. c. 1563, Hachirao; Ludovicus Hayashida Sōka, b. c. 1560, Arie; Magdalena Hayashida, b. c. 1559, Arie; Paulus Hayashida Mohyōe, b. c. 1592, Arie.

YONEZAWA

The following Christians from the Niigata Diocese were executed at Okusanbara on January 12, 1629:

Ludovicus Amagasu Iemon; Michaël Amagasu Tayemon, b. c. 1594, his wife, Dominica Amagasu, b. c. 1606, Wakamatsu, and their daughter Iusta (3), b. c. 1626; Vincentius Kurogane Ichibiyōe, b. c. 1603, his wife, Thecla Kurogane, b. c. 1611, Sado, and their daughter Lucia (1), b. c. 1628; Maria Itō and her children, Marina Itō Chōbo, Petrus Itō Yahyōe, and Matthias Itō Hikosuke; Timotheus Ōbasama Jirōbyōe and his wife, Lucia Ōbasama; Ioannes Gorōyōe, b. c. 1549; Ioachim Saburōbyōe, b. Wada; Ioannes Banzai Kazue, his wife, Aurea Banzai, and their child, Antonius Banzai Orusu, b. c. 1617; Paulus Sanjūrō, his wife, Rufina Banzai, and their children, Paulus (5), b. c. 1624, Martha (1), b. c. 1628; Simon Takahashi Seizaemon and her daughter, Thecla Takahashi, b. c. 1616; Paulus Nishihori Shikibu, b. c. 1598; Ludovicus Jin'emon, b. c. 1549, and his wife, Anna, b. c. 1549; Mancius Yoshino Han'emon and his wife, Iulia Yoshino; Antonius Anazawa Han'emon and his son, Paulus Anazawa Juzaburō; Andreas Yamamoto Shichiemon; Ignatius Iida Soemon; Ioannes Arie Kiemon and his son, Petrus Arie Jinzō; Alexius Satō Seisuke, b. Shindōgadai (now Shimo Hanazawa), husband of Lucia Satō, and their child, Elisabeth Satō (3), b. c. 1626; Paulus Satō Matagorō, b. Shindōgadai; N. Shichizaemon and his wife, Magdalena, and their daughters, Shichizaemon and Magdalena, born around 1624 and 1626 in Shindōgadai.

The following were executed on January 12, 1629, in Nukayama; many are spouses of martyrs listed above:

Lucia Iida, b. Nukayama; Crescentia Anazawa and sons Romanus Anazawa Matsujiro, b. c. 1615, Nukayama, and Michaël Anazawa Osamu, b. c. 1618; Maria Yamamoto and daughter Ursula, b. c. 1626, Nukayama; Magdalena Arie, b. Nukayama.

These sacrificed their lives on January 12, 1629, at Hanazawa:

Alexis Choemon, b. c. 1603, Hanazawa; Candidus "Bōzu," b. c. 1615, Hanazawa; Ignatius, b. c. 1628, Hanazawa.

Three martyrs died in 1633: Michaël Kusuriya, known as the "Good Samaritan of Nagasaki" (d. July 28, 1633, Nishizaka), was burned alive. Jesuit Nicolaus Fukunaga Keian (b. c. 1570, Nagawara; d. July 31, 1633, Nishizaka), was the first to die by pit hanging. Jesuit priest Iulianus Nakaura, who secretly gave help and administered the sacraments to believers (b. c. 1567, Nakaura), died October 21, 1633, in Nishizaka.

Three others also suffered pit hangings: Japanese Jesuit priest Didacus (Diego) Yūki Ryōsetsu, b. c. 1574–1575, Awa, Tokushima; d. February 25, 1636, Ōsaka; Augustinian priest Thomas Ochia (Kintsuba) Jihyōe (Thomas of Saint Augustine), b. c. 1602, Ōmura; d. November 6. 1637, Nishizaka; and Jesuit priest Petrus Kibe Kasui, b. c. 1587, Kibe; d. July 4, 1639, Edo. It is the latter's name under which this group of 188 martyrs is organized.

SEE ALSO Apostasy; Augustinians; Japan, Martyrs of; Japan, The Catholic Church in; Jesuits; Martyr.

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PETKOVIĆ, MARIA OF JESUS CRUCIFIED, BL.

Baptized Marija and also known as Maria; foundress of the Congregation of the Daughters of Mercy of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis; b. December 10, 1892, Korčula, an island in Blato, Croatia; d. July 9, 1966, Rome; beatified June 6, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Maria Petković was the sixth of eleven children born to Antun Petković-Kovac and Maria Marinovic. Her parents were wealthy and generous to the poor. Maria shared their concern for others. Her ministry included service with the Association of the Good Shepherd, a group that visited the sick and prepared children for FIRST COMMUNION. She discerned a religious vocation in 1906, and discussed her calling with Bishop Josip Marcelic, who became her spiritual advisor.

When Maria's father died in 1911, she helped care for her siblings and continued to educate other children. Maria started the Society of Catholic Mothers in 1915. Two years later, she became responsible for guiding members of the Third Order Franciscans. She also helped in the Servants of Charity soup kitchen.

Maria entered the Servants of Charity on March 25, 1919. In May, the superior died and some of the nuns returned to Italy. Maria was charged with the apostolate, and Bishop Marcelic directed her to follow the example of the crucified Jesus. Maria asked that the sisters follow the Rule of the Third Order Franciscans. By the winter of 1919, Maria had opened a childcare center, orphanage, and recovery center.

The following August, she wrote the constitution for the new order. The Congregation of the Daughters of Mercy was inaugurated on the October 4 feast of St. FRANCIS OF ASSISI, and the founder took the name Maria of the Crucified Jesus. Mother Maria served as superior general from 1920 through 1952. She opened forty-six communities, traveling through Croatia, Italy, and Latin America. The sisters ministered in hospitals, nursing homes, nursery schools, parishes, and seminaries.

While in Rome, Mother Maria became ill and was partially paralyzed three years before dying on July 9, 1966. Pope John Paul II issued the decree for BEATIFICATION after the miraculous rescue in 1988 of the crew from a sunken Peruvian submarine, the *Pacocha*. At Mother Maria's beatification at Harbour Square at Dubrovnik, the pope observed that she chose to consecrate herself to God and to "fulfill her aspiration to total devotion to the spiritual and material well-being of those most in need."

Feast: July 9.

SEE ALSO CROATIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; FRANCISCANS, THIRD ORDER REGULAR; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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PIANZOLA, FRANCESCO, BL.

Priest and founder of the Congregation of Oblate Priests of the Diocese of Vigevano and the Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate, Queen of Peace (Pianzoline), Mortara, Italy; b. Sartirana Lomellina, Italy, October 5, 1881; d. Mortara, Italy, June 4, 1943; beatified October 4, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Francesco Pianzola was born in a town of 1,800 inhabitants in the province of Pavia in northern Italy. A

local priest, Don Carlo Moretti, recognized an unusual piety in the child and became his spiritual guide. Francesco entered the seminary and on March 16, 1907, was ordained at the Cathedral of Vigevano.

Fr. Francesco dedicated himself to bringing the GOSPEL to the local people. He conducted hundreds of local missions and religious seminars and focused attention on the youth, working women, factory and field workers, and rice weeders of the province. He encouraged other priests to take up his method of bringing the word of God out of the churches and to the people where they lived and worked. In 1908, with some fellow priests, Fr. Francesco organized the diocesan Congregation of Oblate Priests. On May 8, 1919, in Mortara, he founded the Institute of the Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate, Queen of Peace, known as the Pianzoline, to provide religious education to the area's boys and girls and to promote the social welfare of workers. The original members of the group were six young women who believed in the missionary work of Fr. Francesco and wanted to support the diocesan priest in ministering to those in both spiritual and temporal need. Today, the Pianzoline continue their work in Europe, Central and South America, and Africa.

Fr. Francesco was known as "the holy priest of the rice weeders"; in his work, he shared the hardships and frustrations of those he served. Prior to Fr. Francesco's elevation, during a pastoral visit to Vigevano and Pavia, Pope Benedict XVI observed that Fr. Francesco was "motivated by an ardent evangelical spirit" and "was able to respond to the forms of spiritual poverty of his time with a courageous missionary approach." At the Mass of BEATIFICATION in 2008, with more than six thousand people in attendance, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins said the new blessed dedicated himself "to love and to travel among his people, giving everything to everyone, wanting to possess nothing, content to live in communion with the Lord and to consider himself and call himself 'Don Niente.'"

Feast: June 4.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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PICCO, EUGENIA, BL.

Known as Anna Eugenia, also known as Maria Angela; professed sister of the Little Daughters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary; b. November 8, 1867, at the town of Crescenzago, district of Milan, Italy; d. September 7, 1921, at Parma, Italy; beatified October 7, 2001, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Anna Eugenia Picco was the daughter of Giuseppe Picco, a famous musician, and Adelaide Del Corno. Because Eugenia's parents were entertainers who toured constantly, her grandparents raised her. That changed when her mother returned home alone, leaving Eugenia to conclude that her father had died. Adelaide raised her daughter in what was described as an irreligious, morally corrupt environment. Eugenia found solace in praying daily at the Basilica of St. Ambrose.

Eugenia was twenty when she discerned a religious vocation. She discussed it with Ursuline Sisters in Milan. They asked Agostino Chieppi, a priest from Parma, to accept her in the congregation he founded, the Little Daughters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. He agreed, and Eugenia made her final vows in 1894. Her ministry included service as novice mistress, archivist, general secretary, and member of the council. From 1911 until her death a decade later, she served as superior general. Within the congregation, Mother Eugenia was known for excellent management skills. She was also recognized for her devotion to the Eucharist and her CHARITY to the poor, especially children.

During WORLD WAR I (1914–1918), Mother Eugenia reached out to people traumatized by the devastation of the "Great War." She comforted war victims while suffering the effects of a degenerative bone disease. The condition, diagnosed when she was an adult, led to the amputation of her right leg in 1919. Mother Eugenia died on September 7, 1921, in Parma.

Pope John Paul II declared Father Chieppi VENERABLE on December 21, 1992. The pontiff declared Mother Eugenia venerable on December 20, 1999, and

beatified her on October 7, 2001, at St. Peter's Square. The Holy Father remarked that Mother Eugenia "took upon herself the poverty of the people responding to the needs of the young and of needy families and assisting the victims of the war that in this period made Europe suffer." The Holy Father spoke again about Bl. Eugenia on October 8 in an address to pilgrims at St. Peter's Square. He observed that, "the experience of illness, especially in the last years of her life, purified her soul. She can now teach everyone how to face difficult situations with the help of grace."

Feast: September 7.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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PIDAL Y CHICO DE GUZMÁN, MARÍA MARAVILLAS DE JESÚS BATTISTA, ST.

Baptized María Christina Luisa Ildefonsa Patricia Josefa, name also given as Mother Maravillas de Jesús; Discalced Carmelite and founder of the Association of Saint Teresa; b. November 4, 1891, Madrid, Spain; d. December 11, 1974, Carmel of Aldehuela, Madrid; beatified May 10, 1998; canonized May 4, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

María Pidal was born to devout parents. Her father, Luis Pidal y Mon, the marquis of Pidal, was the Spanish ambassador to the HOLY SEE, and her mother, Cristina Chico de Guzmán, was also a faithful Catholic. Despite María's youthful piety—she made a vow of CHASTITY at age five—she did not enter religious life until she was nearly thirty because her mother initially disapproved of her desire to become a NUN. In the meantime, María completed her schooling and cared for her ailing father. Six years after his death, drawn to the CARMELITES after reading the works of JOHN OF THE CROSS and TERESA OF ÁVILA, María entered the Escorial Carmel in Madrid and was professed in 1921.

After taking final vows in 1924, María, with three other sisters, founded the Carmel of Cerro de los Ángeles at the geographical center of Spain in 1926. Her purpose was not to break with the Discalced Carmelites, but rather to focus on living out the charisms of Teresa of Ávila and John of the Cross.

The new Carmel grew quickly, and in 1933 María established another CONVENT in Kottayam, India, which also expanded rapidly. Even when her community was displaced during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) and had to live in an apartment in Madrid, their numbers continued to increase. In September 1937, they opened a Carmel in the Batuecas near Salamanca. Following the war, in 1939, the sisters restored the Cerro de los Ángeles monastery. Later, the convents at El Escorial and Ávila were also rebuilt.

Mother María established other Carmels in Mancera de Abajo, Duruelo, Cabrera, Arenas de San Pedro, San Calixto, Aravaca, Talavera de la Reina, La Aldehuela, and Montemar-Torremolinos. She humbly served as prioress of every community she founded. To bind them together, Mother María obtained Vatican approval for the Association of Saint Teresa in 1972.

Despite her exterior life of joyful service, Mother María experienced complete aridity in PRAYER, a "dark night of the soul" that only her spiritual directors knew she underwent. Her ASCETICISM, extreme poverty, and numerous responsibilities weakened her health. She received last rites on the Feast of the IMMACULATE CONCEPTION (December 8) in 1974. In her last moments, she repeatedly murmured, "What happiness to die a Carmelite!"

During his HOMILY for her BEATIFICATION on May 10, 1998, Pope John Paul II observed that María Maravillas de Jesús used her fame "to attract many souls to God.... She lived with heroic faith, formed in response to an austere vocation, by putting God at the center of her life." She was recognized for heroic virtues on December 17, 1996, and had a miracle officially attributed to her INTERCESSION on December 18, 1997. She was canonized on May 4, 2003, and recognized for her "heroic faith" despite adversity.

Feast: December 11.

SEE ALSO CARMELITES; CARMELITES, DISCALCED; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939).

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PILSUDSKI, JOZEF

Polish political and military leader; b. December 5, 1867, Zulow (near Vilnius), Russian Empire (now Lithuania); d. May 12, 1935, Warsaw, Poland; Aliases and Pseudonyms: Ziuk, Wiktor, Mieczyslaw, Pan Marian, Grandfather, Marshal, Commandant.

Jozef Pilsudski was born into a minor, impoverished noble family, in which his mother, Maria Pilsudska (née Billewicz) instilled within him an extraordinarily strong Polish patriotism. This manifested itself in clandestine activity ranging from organizing reading groups for Polish literature to contact with radical, anti-Tsarist revolutionary groups. Although Maria Pilsudska was a firm and faithful Catholic, Pilsudski was never a strong believer. By the time he joined the Polish Socialist Party (*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna* or PPS) in 1892, he had fallen completely away from the faith and married his first wife in the Evangelic-Augsburg Confessional Church in 1899. Pilsudski returned to the Catholic Church in 1916. However, his true devotion was to Poland.

Socialist Thought and Connections. Pilsudski lived the difficult life of an itinerant, underground agitator while in the PPS, moving throughout Europe and even briefly in the United States. He wrote voluminously for and edited several periodicals for the PPS. Pilsudski was familiar with the ideas of many activists of international socialism, but found them useful only if they served the cause of Polish independence, which generally meant effective attacks on the Tsarist government.

Due to ideological struggles within the PPS, Pilsudski turned his attention to developing a military arm of the party. He became an expert on the January Uprising (1863) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Pilsudski also created the *Riflemen's Association*, which was the genesis of the Polish Legions. The Polish Legions fought under Austrian command against Russia during World War I. Pilsudski's military achievements made him a legend.

After the collapse of Russia in 1917, the interests of the Central Powers and the Polish legionnaires diverged sufficiently so that many legionnaires, including Pilsudski, refused to take an oath of loyalty to the Central Powers and were imprisoned. In November 1918, Pilsudski was released and arrived in Warsaw. His arrival brought with it the restoration of Polish independence. His status as national hero was permanently established when he defeated communist Russia in the war of 1919 to 1921.

Domestic Issues. Due to a lack of a clear system of political authority, Pilsudski, Ignacy PADEREWSKI, and Roman Dmowski (1864–1939) agreed to share power for the sake of Poland. Their uneasy relationship lasted until the Polish Parliament (the *sejm*) was formed, assumed power, and backed Pilsudski, who tried to institute a federal vision of Poland over that of the ethnic national vision of Dmowski. Whereas the ethnic national vision assumed that a natural unity existed between culture and politics, the federal vision assumed that different cultures could find unity within the same polity. The federal vision of Pilsudski was only partially realized, and interwar Poland can be characterized as chiefly Dmowskiite.

The borders of the Second Republic were formed by the Treaty of Versailles (1919), messy plebiscites, the seizure of Vilnius (1920), and the Treaty of Riga (1921); these aforementioned events allowed for the incorporation of minorities into the Polish state, but often in strained relations with ethnic Poles. Pilsudski assumed that the *sejm* would be sufficiently able to handle these issues as long as its members did not act out of ambition or avarice.

By 1923 he was bitterly disappointed and retired from politics convinced that the *sejm* was contributing to the insecurity of Poland. In May 1926, Pilsudski became so disgusted with the increasingly chaotic state of affairs that he seized power in a coup d'etat and ruled until his death in 1935. During his quasi-dictatorship, he did not manage domestic affairs directly, but set parameters of conduct for the *sejm*. He dominated military and foreign policy, as he had during the early years of the Second Republic.

Foreign Policy. Pilsudski considered Soviet Russia the more dangerous and immediate threat to Poland, and Germany a long term, but perhaps greater, threat. In regard to the latter, the establishment of the Franco-Polish Alliance was pivotal, but ultimately useless. In regard to the former, Pilsudski attempted to strengthen the Polish military and also to establish positive relationships and alliances with neighbors, especially the Baltic states. It should be noted that Prometheanism, "the goal of breaking up Soviet Russia into independent national states," as defined by Anna Cienciala and Titus Komarnicki in *From Versailles to Locarno*, ultimately had more the character of propaganda than substantive foreign policy. Security proved elusive and Poland never achieved adequate security.

The Vatican. Poland had good relations with the VATICAN, chiefly through the understanding that Pilsudski had with the nuncio, Achille Ratti, later Pope PIUS XI. The major point of contention between Poland and the Vatican was the existence of both Eastern Rite Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches in Poland. The Vatican wanted only the former and not the latter; the Orthodox desired the reverse. Pilsudski wanted an autocephalous Polish Orthodox Church to lure Orthodox Christians, many of whom were minorities, away from Moscow and toward Warsaw. This was established in 1925, the same year that the concordat was ratified between Poland and the Vatican.

Legacy. M.B. Biskupski notes in *The History of Poland*, "Consciously, Pilsudski had made himself the symbol of Poland restored, and his death automatically posed the question of whether Poland could endure without him." Those who followed him ruled poorly, trying to institutionalize a style of governance Pilsudski never codified. Pilsudski is interred with Polish kings at the Wawel in Kraków. His heart is interred with his mother in Vilnius. Only JOHN PAUL II rivals him in the esteem of his fellow Poles.

SEE ALSO COMMUNISM; EASTERN CHURCHES; ORTHODOX AND ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES.

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PIUS XII, POPE

Pontificate: March 2, 1939, to October 9, 1958; b. Eugenio Maria Giuseppe Giovanni Pacelli, Rome, March 2, 1876; d. October 9, 1958, Castle Gandolfo, Italy (near Rome); declared VENERABLE on December 19, 2009, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Eugenio Pacelli appeared destined for the PAPACY. His father and grandfather worked for the popes; his brother was a papal lawyer. After he was ordained in 1899, he studied canon law, attended the papal diplomatic school, entered the papal diplomatic service, and in 1917 was named nuncio to Bavaria, where he carried BENEDICT XV's peace note to the German emperor. He remained in Bavaria after WORLD WAR I, confronted Communists during the Red Bavarian Revolution, and in 1920 was appointed nuncio to the new German Republic, where he negotiated concordats with Bavaria and Prussia.

In 1929, PIUS XI (1922–1939) named Pacelli a cardinal and appointed him papal secretary of state. During the following decade he became the pope's chief adviser and factotum, carrying out the pontiff's policy of negotiating concordats, including the controversial *Reichskonkordat* with Nazi Germany in 1933. He traveled extensively and helped the pope in his confrontations with the totalitarian states and in dealing with violent anticlerical persecutions in Spain and Mexico. In 1937 he helped Pius XI edit *Mit Brennender Sorge*, the



Pope Pius XII (1939–1958). *Born Eugenio Maria Giuseppe Giovanni Pacelli, Pius XII is shown with his arms outstretched, on Oct. 15, 1943, during his inspection tour of the Italian capital after the August 13 American air raid in World War II.* **AP IMAGES**

encyclical protesting German violations of the *Reichskonkordat* and denouncing Nazi racism and statism.

Political Pontificate. Pacelli was elected pope after a short conclave on March 2, 1939. Because of the international crises during his pontificate, Pope Pius XII became the most political pope of modern times. Immediately he had to face the outbreak of WORLD WAR II, and then, even before the war ended, he had to contend with the Cold War, as the Soviets moved into Eastern and Central Europe, subjecting the Church there to their domination.

Less confrontational toward the Italian and German dictators than his predecessor, Pius XII hoped to prevent the outbreak of World War II through diplomatic negotiation and offered the contending powers his services for mediation. When his initial mediation was unsuccessful, he served as a secret conduit and guarantor of peace offers from anti-Hitler Germans to the British government. These negotiations fell through, and Pius maintained strict neutrality thereafter, still offering to mediate the conflict even to the end of the war in 1945. In his Christmas messages and other statements, he condemned wartime violence but avoided specific condemnations of individual nations.

He tried unsuccessfully to prevent Italian entry into the war—and then wanted above all to prevent any destruction of the historical monuments and treasures of ROME. This task took on added urgency after the Germans occupied Rome from September 1943 to June 1944. During this vacuum of Italian political power,

Romans viewed him as protector of the city and looked to him for leadership as he beseeched both Germans and Allies to spare Rome from destruction. He welcomed the liberation of Rome by the Allies, but he feared Communist infiltration into the partisan bands that attacked German occupiers in northern Italy. During the war, the HOLY SEE dispensed charity with its limited resources, aided refugees, and maintained files of prisoners of war to keep their families informed.

In 1944 his secretary of state, Luigi MAGLIONE, died. Pius did not replace him; he handled diplomatic matters himself for the rest of his pontificate. When the war ended, he took on the task of fighting Communist elements in the new Italian Republic; he threatened excommunication for Italians who voted Communist in the 1948 elections. He condemned the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe and the Communist regimes' imprisoning bishops in Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. He forcefully protested the Soviet crushing of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 and condemned membership in the Communist Party everywhere. He spent much of his time after the war drafting speeches and other writings and addressing the many groups visiting the Vatican. He died in October 1958, something of a Cold Warrior unto his last days.

Pius and the Holocaust: The Controversy. In his last years and shortly after he died, Pius received accolades from all people, including Jews, for his services to humanity during World War II, for being a moral beacon, and for helping victims of Nazi persecution. Then, five years after he died, the German playwright Rolf Hochhuth presented his play *Der Stellvertreter (The Deputy)*, in which he portrayed the pope as a cold, calculating pontiff who refused to condemn the German takeover of Europe, who saw Nazi Germany as a bastion against Soviet Communist expansion into Eastern and Central Europe, and who was more interested in protecting Vatican investments than in protesting German atrocities, especially the HOLOCAUST (SHOAH). Hochhuth's charges were championed to a lesser degree by other writers, and this led to a response from defenders of Pius.

The Holy See published, from 1965 to 1981, a series of diplomatic documents to refute the criticism, demonstrating that the pope had not collaborated with the Germans and had in fact protested the persecutions, albeit in words couched in papal rhetoric. The controversy died down for a few years and then was reignited in 1999 when the English journalist John Cornwell published *Hitler's Pope*, arguing that Pius's tepid response to the Holocaust served to embolden the Germans in their persecution of the Jews.

The renewed controversy in the early twenty-first century was somewhat more scholarly, with new approaches to the documents, including those found in the opening of some of the VATICAN ARCHIVES. Despite the fact that Pius himself said both in public and in private on more than one occasion that he believed a strong specific protest would make things worse for Catholics in the occupied lands, as well as for Jews, critics of the pope have rejected this explanation and instead have centered their arguments on a number of charges:

1. That the pope favored Germany because he had lived there as nuncio and admired the Germans. Papal supporters argue that Pius liked German culture but abhorred the Nazi regime, as he demonstrated in numerous formal complaints while he was secretary of state.
2. That Pius did not want to create a crisis of conscience for the Germans, forcing them to choose between their state and their Church. Papal supporters say that Pius believed that such a choice would place German Catholics in an untenable situation, that most would have resisted the pope anyway, and that avoiding criticism kept the churches open in Germany.
3. That Pius did not want to criticize Nazi Germany because doing so would weaken it and thereby open the door to Soviet Communist expansion into Central Europe. Papal supporters argue that he rebuffed German attempts to get him to support the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, and he moderated Pius XI's strictures forbidding Catholics to support Communists by specifically allowing American Catholics to support the Soviets during the war.
4. That Pius feared the destruction of historic Rome and therefore did nothing to antagonize the Germans during the occupation, and further, did not protest the roundup of the Roman Jews in October 1943. Papal supporters say that the pope was equally determined to prevent Allied destruction of Rome, that he offered papal gold to meet German demands on the Jews, that he instructed his secretary of state to threaten the Germans with a strong protest (which had the same effect as an actual protest), and that he opened convents and monasteries to the Jews.
5. That the pope was not overly concerned with the destruction of the Jews because of centuries of official Church anti-Judaism. Papal supporters argue that he did not vociferously protest German atrocities against the Poles, an eminently Catholic people,

either, because he believed that any protest would simply make matters worse for the persecuted.

6. That Pius hoped to mediate the conflict and therefore believed that his condemnation of the Germans would lessen his chances of doing so. His supporters point to numerous statements, which, while couched in papal rhetoric, still were understood by the Germans as condemning them.

In sum, the pope's critics argue that Pius was too timid and unwilling to use his prestige to condemn the Germans, while his supporters say that he preferred to use quiet diplomacy to pursue his aims, and in fact, saved many Jews by doing so. For those critics who, when told that a papal denunciation would have made things worse, ask what could have been worse than the total destruction of the Jews, defenders say that no one, not even the Allied leaders, believed that such a horrible atrocity was possible, that the Germans were bent on killing *all* the Jews. Moderate critics point out that while a protest probably would not have moved the Nazis to halt the persecutions, it might have encouraged those Catholics who were in a position to help individual Jews to do so. Finally, in many cases, both critics and defenders have confused the pope's two roles, as leader of the Church and as VICAR OF CHRIST. They have also failed to recognize that although Pius was the pope, there were many clergy throughout Europe, both bishops and priests, over whom he had little control, or even knowledge of their behavior, so that he was neither liable for blame nor worthy of praise for their actions.

While it is believed that opening of the Vatican Archives will shed more light on the controversy, few historians believe it will substantially change views. Furthermore, the controversy has taken on a life of its own that in many ways has more to do with current views of the Church and the clergy than with the Holocaust itself. Pius has become the symbol of an imperial papacy, an attractive target for anticlericals and the champion of conservative Catholics.

Papal Teaching. Pius was a popular pope during his lifetime, and he was the first pope of the media age. His writings were voluminous, including speeches, allocutions, apostolic exhortations, and letters, and he wrote forty-six encyclicals, many of which were, in the popular mind, invested with the authority of infallibility. His major encyclicals were *Summi Pontificatus* (1939), in which he addressed the problems of the age, particularly those which had led to World War II; *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943), in which he encouraged biblical research based on the original texts; *Mystici Corporis Christi* (1943), advancing the doctrine of the Church as the mystical body of Christ; *Humani generis* (1950), in which he suggested that physical evolution might be possible but that God directly created each individual human soul (he also condemned the notion of polygenism, the idea that all human beings are not necessarily the descendants of one person, ADAM); and *Mediator Dei* (1947) which relaxed some liturgical regulations and encouraged lay participation in the Mass.

Pope Pius XII exercised the first use of papal infallibility since Pius IX enunciated the doctrine in the nineteenth century. In his apostolic constitution *Munificentissimus Deus* (November 1, 1950), he defined, EX CATHEDRA, the DOGMA of the ASSUMPTION OF MARY, that the mother of Christ was bodily assumed into heaven.

While Pius held only two consistories, he appointed enough non-Italian cardinals to break Italian domination of the College of Cardinals.

Pope Pius XII died in October 1958. Over the years the cause for his beatification was promoted, with success in May 2007, when he was cited for his "heroic virtue" by the Congregation for the Cause of the Saints.

Conclusion. Pope Pius XII was an intensely spiritual person, as his writings attest. However, his long career in the papal curia and diplomatic service made him appear to be the quintessential papal bureaucrat. Although trained in diplomacy, he ascended the papacy at a time when Vatican diplomacy could hold no sway against the Nazi and Soviet dictatorships. Faced with the terrible choice between being the leader of the Church, working to maintain freedom for Catholics to practice the Faith, or exercising his prophetic role as the Vicar of Christ, denouncing injustice regardless of the consequences, he chose the first role, believing that he could do little anyway for all the unfortunates—Catholics as well as Jews—caught up in the Nazi and Soviet terrors.

Pius, while inwardly shy, projected an ethereal, remote, otherworldly image and was universally held to be the paragon of what a pope should be. He was everywhere praised, and during his pontificate was probably the most popular person in the Western world. That image suffered in comparison to the attractiveness of his successor, Pope JOHN XXIII, and by the great changes in society, technology, politics, and religious practices in the decades after his death. Pius was the last of the imperial popes, and historical opinions of his pontificate are as conflicted as the great crises he lived through and tried to influence.

He was declared venerable by Pope Benedict XVI on December 19, 2009. This declaration signifies that

his cause for canonization has been accepted and that Pius XII practiced all the virtues to a heroic degree.

SEE ALSO COLD WAR AND THE PAPACY; HITLER, ADOLF; HUMANI GENERIS; HUMANI GENERIS UNITAS; JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (PUBLIC); JEWISH-CATHOLIC RELATIONS (THEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF); JEWS, POST-BIBLICAL HISTORY OF THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO; UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE PAPACY.

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POLANYI, MICHAEL

Physical chemist and philosopher; b. Budapest, Hungary, March 11, 1891; d. Oxford, England, February 22, 1976.

Michael Polanyi, whose given name was Mihály Lazar Pollacsek, was born into a nonobservant Jewish family that had come to Budapest from Vienna. Polanyi's father died in 1905, so his mother, Cecile Wohl, was a major influence during Polanyi's formative years. She led extended discussions of socialism, art, and literature in the household, and Polanyi's later willingness to move from science to social analysis, economics, PHILOSOPHY, THEOLOGY, and aesthetics may have been influenced by his exposure to and participation in these wide-ranging discussions.

Polanyi's older brother, Karl, advocated a kind of Christian socialism. Karl would go on to write *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (1944). Michael, meanwhile, perhaps goaded by debating with his brother, but also guided by his experience as a successful scientist, became a resolute defender of individual liberties in thought, economics, social organization, and theology (cf. *Logic of Liberty: Reflections and Rejoinders*, 1951).

Scientific Achievements. While completing a degree in medicine at the University of Budapest in 1913, Polanyi's work on biochemistry led him to propose a novel theory of the forces at work in adsorption (Scott and Moleski 2005, p. 25). Polanyi's work was interrupted when he was drafted to serve as a medical doctor in the Austro-Hungarian army, but various sick leaves and light-duty assignments let him pursue a Ph.D. in physical chemistry, which he completed in 1919.

Over the next twenty-five years, Polanyi made noteworthy contributions in X-ray crystallography, theories of crystal strength, the adsorption of gases, and reaction kinetics. This last area, which is the study of how energy is exchanged and released in chemical reactions, was the topic that most intrigued Polanyi. His work in this field culminated in a groundbreaking work, *Atomic Reactions* (1932), which gave one of the first accounts of how molecules are broken up by energetic collisions, and of how new molecules can then be formed from the materials that result from these collisions. Polanyi was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1944, and he received many other honors for his work, both in science and philosophy.

Epistemology of Personal Knowledge. The experience of two world wars, unemployment, inflation, economic depression, and the rise of totalitarian forms of socialism

caused Polanyi to wonder why Europe had taken such a self-destructive turn. He decided that a false philosophy of science had fed the fires that were consuming the foundations of the Western tradition. "I start by rejecting the ideal of scientific detachment," he wrote in 1958, adding that he wanted "to establish an alternative ideal of knowledge, quite generally" (Polanyi 1958, p. vii).

Based on his experience of making scientific discoveries, Polanyi asserted that "all knowledge is ... tacit or is rooted in tacit knowing" (Polanyi 1974, p. 61). He believed that the structures of formal reasoning, articulation, objectivity, and proof depend upon informal reasoning, personal perceptions, subjective commitments, and intuitive evaluation. Because he showed that science itself depends upon personal knowledge, he expected that his fiduciary philosophy would spur a revival of religious awareness: "Once religious faith is released from pressure by an absurd vision of the universe ... there will open up instead a meaningful world which could resound to religion" (Polanyi 1966, p. 92).

Theological Concerns. Polanyi was baptized as a Catholic in 1919, but he was married before a justice of the peace and never took Communion. Nevertheless, he saw himself as a Christian, advocated that his fellow Jews should adopt the Christian framework, and used the Protestant principle of free inquiry and independent judgment as a model of scientific freedom of thought.

Opinions are sharply divided about the meaning and value of Polanyi's concept of God, and an entire issue of *Zygon: Journal of Religion and Science* (vol. 17, 1982) was devoted to exploring this vexing question. In *Theology in a Polanyian Universe: The Theology of Thomas Torrance* (1994), Colin Weightman argued that Thomas Torrance, Richard Gelwick, and other theologians have glossed over Polanyi's ontological ATHEISM. Many Catholic theologians have found Polanyi's philosophy of personal knowledge and tacit knowing very enriching for theological EPISTEMOLOGY and apologetics. Most notable among those who have advocated this view is Avery Dulles in *The Craft of Theology: From Symbol to System* (1992).

SEE ALSO APOLOGETICS, HISTORY OF; CONSCIOUSNESS: METHODOLOGY (PHILOSOPHY); METHODOLOGY (THEOLOGY); ONTOLOGISM; PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE; SCIENCES, CLASSIFICATION OF.

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POLONI, VINCENZA MARIA, BL.

Baptized Francesca Maria Luigia; cofounder of the Institute of the Sisters of Mercy of Verona; b. January 26, 1802, Verona, Italy; d. November 11, 1855, Verona; beatified September 21, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Luigia was the youngest of twelve children born to Gaetano and Margherita Biadego. Religion and concern about the vulnerable were important values to her family. Luigia helped care for the children in her family, worked in her father's shop, and helped her brother manage a farm.

Luigia discerned her vocation after meeting Fr. Charles Steeb, a German priest who came to Verona to study and stayed to minister to the poor. She cared for the sick and dying at Fr. Steeb's Pio Shelter. Luigia's service also included ministering unconditionally during an 1836 cholera outbreak.

When Fr. Steeb asked Luigia to cofound a community of women religious, she accepted. The priest drew inspiration from St. Vincent de Paul as he wrote rules for the community dedicated to serving the sick and elderly. Luigia and Fr. Steeb started the Institute of Sisters of Mercy of Verona on November 2, 1840. She and three women moved into two rooms at the Pio Shelter and lived as a religious community.

As more women joined them, the community bought a house. On September 10, 1848, Luigia and twelve women took vows of POVERTY, CHASTITY, and OBEDIENCE. Luigia took the name Vincenza Maria and headed the community for the next fifteen years. Mother Vincenza Maria's ministry included care of the elderly, sick, and orphans. She advised the sisters to see Jesus in everyone they met, and told them, "the poor are our masters."

Mother Vincenza Maria was diagnosed with cancer and lived for several years afterward. During the last ten days of her life, Fr. Steeb administered the Sacrament of the Sick to her. Mother Vincenza Maria died on November 11, 1855, in Verona. At that time, the community consisted of forty-eight sisters. In the twenty-first century, more than one thousand Sisters of Mercy of Verona minister in Europe, Africa, and Latin America.

Pope PAUL VI beatified Fr. Steeb on July 6, 1975, and Pope Benedict XVI beatified Mother Vincenza Maria on September 21, 2008. Archbishop Angelo Amato represented the pope at the liturgy at the Verona Sports Palace. The archbishop observed that Bl. Vincenza Maria displayed charity and God's mercy when ministering to others.

Feast: November 11.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SISTERS OF MERCY.

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POPE JOHN PAUL II CULTURAL CENTER

The cultural center that takes its name and inspiration from Pope JOHN PAUL II is located in Washington, D.C., adjacent to the Basilica of the NATIONAL SHRINE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION and The CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA. The center was conceived in the mid-1980s by Bishop Adam MAIDA of Green Bay, Wisconsin (now Cardinal Maida, archbishop of Detroit). The inspiration for the center came from Pope John Paul's call for renewed evangelization in the new millennium. After several iterations, the building design of architect Leo Daly was approved, and ground was broken in 1997.

The Pope John Paul II Cultural Center opened on March 21, 2001. In attendance were President George W. Bush, members of the College of Cardinals, bishops from across the country, and donors and friends from around the world. Facilities include a library, auditorium, and conference rooms. The center is overseen by a board of directors, chaired by Adam Cardinal Maida and comprised of members of the hierarchy and laity from across the United States. In addition, there are over 200 active "Trustees" who advise the center.

Among the main features of the John Paul II Cultural Center are a contemplative chapel, state-of-the-art exhibits, and interactive media activities designed to provide visitors an experience that inspires faith, promotes religious values, and fosters respect for diverse cultural backgrounds. The five main galleries explore various facets of the Catholic faith, including: (1) the history of the Church and the papacy; (2) how faith is celebrated around the world; (3) the relationship between the human and the physical world; (4) ways that God's presence is expressed in art; and (5) world cultures and their relationship to the Catholic Church. The permanent collection highlights Marian themes and treasures spanning the life of John Paul II.

Another integral part of the center is its academic component, the Intercultural Forum for Studies in Faith and Culture, which has taken center stage since the death of John Paul II. The board of directors believes that an exploration of the faith traditions and the study

of the late Holy Father's own writings will provide living witness to the greatness of the late pope. Both permanent and visiting scholars can therefore conduct research and study themes related to the impact of the PAPACY on world cultures and the promotion of values relating to the dignity of the human person. A particular focus has been Catholic-Muslim dialogue. The Intercultural Forum also hosts lectures throughout the year.

SEE ALSO FROM ROME TO CAIRO AND BEIJING: JOHN PAUL II ON FAMILY AND HUMAN RIGHTS; JOHN PAUL II AND INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE; JOHN PAUL II INSTITUTE ON MARRIAGE AND FAMILY.

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PORTILLO, ALVARO DEL

Bishop, prelate of personal prelature; b. Madrid, March 11, 1914; d. Rome, March 23, 1994.

Alvaro del Portillo held doctorates in civil engineering, history, and CANON LAW. In 1935 he joined OPUS DEI, a predominantly lay organization founded by St. José María ESCRIVÁ for the spiritual, ascetical, and doctrinal formation of persons in the world. As a close associate and collaborator of Escrivá, del Portillo remained with him during much of the Spanish civil war (1936–1939).

After the civil war, del Portillo worked with Escrivá to rebuild Opus Dei in Spain and foster its spread elsewhere. As a layman, he traveled to Rome in 1943 on the founder's behalf in order to introduce the new organization to Pope PIUS XII and curial officials and to prepare for the establishment there of its international headquarters. On June 25, 1944, del Portillo became one of the first three members of Opus Dei to be ordained as a priest.

Del Portillo was secretary general of Opus Dei from 1940 to 1947 and again from 1956 to 1975. From 1947 to 1950 he was counselor (regional director) of Opus Dei in Italy, and from 1947 to 1956 also served as its procurator general. He was first rector of the Roman College of the Holy Cross, a position he held from 1948 to 1953. He often accompanied Escrivá on trips to prepare for or consolidate the apostolic work of Opus Dei in Europe and, between 1970 and 1975, in Latin America.

In the preparatory phase for the Second Vatican Council, del Portillo was president of the preparatory commission for the laity and was among the first 100 *periti* (Theological Advisors) to be named. During Vatican II he served as secretary for the Commission on Clerical Discipline and the Commission of the Christian People.

Beginning in the 1950s, successive popes—Pius XII, JOHN XXIII, PAUL VI, and JOHN PAUL II—named del Portillo a consultor to various dicasteries and other bodies of the HOLY SEE. Among these were the Congregation for Religious, the Commission for the Revision of the Code of Canon Law, the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, the Congregation for the Clergy.

Personal Prelature. Following Escrivá's death in Rome on June 26, 1975, a general congress of Opus Dei on Sept. 15, 1975 unanimously elected del Portillo to head the association of the faithful as its founder's first successor.

During the next 19 years, Opus Dei grew from approximately 60,000 members to approximately 77,000 while beginning apostolic activities in 21 new countries in Latin America, Africa, Europe, Oceania, and Asia. In the United States, where it was introduced in 1949, the number of cities with centers of Opus Dei rose from eight to seventeen, and apostolic activities were begun in several other places.

Another major initiative of Opus Dei during these years was the establishment in 1984 of the Roman Atheneum of the Holy Cross, with faculties in theology, canon law, and philosophy.

By the Apostolic Constitution *Ut sit* (Nov. 28, 1982) Pope John Paul II created the Prelature of the Holy Cross and Opus Dei, the first personal prelature of the Church, and named del Portillo its first prelate. Pope John Paul II ordained del Portillo titular bishop of Vita on Jan. 6,1991. Finally, in 1992, a cherished goal of del Portillo's was realized when, on May 17th, Pope John Paul II beatified Escrivá. On October 6, 2002, John Paul II canonized Escrivá.

In 1994, del Portillo suffered a heart attack and died in the early morning of March 23.

SEE ALSO SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939).

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EDS (2010)

POVEDA CASTROVERDE, PEDRO, ST.

Priest, MARTYR, scholar, educator, founder of the TERESIAN INSTITUTE, Carmelite tertiary; b. December 3, 1874, Linares, Spain; d. July 28, 1936, Madrid, Spain; beatified October 10, 1993; canonized May 4, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Although from youth Pedro Poveda Castroverde desired to become a priest, his family experienced financial difficulties, and after having begun his studies, he lacked the means to continue them at the diocesan seminary at Jaén. Fortunately, he was offered a scholarship by the bishop of Guadix to attend his seminary in southern Spain. Following ordination in 1897, Fr. Poveda taught in that seminary. In 1900 he earned his licentiate in THEOLOGY at Seville and then worked in Guadix. In 1906 he was appointed canon of the Basilica of Covadonga in Asturias. Later, he returned to his first seminary at Jaén to teach theology, among other duties.

Throughout his adult life, Poveda's primary apostolate was education. He built an elementary school and started workshops for the cave dwellers of Guadix. In 1911 he founded St. Teresa of Avila Academy as a residence for students, which became the basis for the Teresian Institute, an organization that was dedicated to the development of teachers. The institute received diocesan and civil approval in Jaén and then VATICAN approbation in 1924. Additionally, Poveda initiated pedagogical centers, opened the first Spanish university residence for women in Madrid (1914), and served as the spiritual director of Los Operarios Catechetical Center. He also continued to take an active role in teacher formation. He published articles and pamphlets and founded several periodicals to advance pedagogy in Spain.

After moving to Madrid in 1921, Poveda was appointed chaplain to the Royal Palace and sat on the Central Board Against Illiteracy. He continued to guide the Teresian Institute as it spread to Chile and Italy (1934), until he was killed at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). When martyred for the Catholic faith, he identified himself to his persecutors by stating simply, "I am a priest of Christ."

Pope John Paul II, upon beatifying Poveda, noted that "his apostolic desires focused on promoting the evangelizing presence of Christians in the world, mainly in the field of teaching and culture." The miracle necessary for his canonization was approved by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints on January 22, 2003. On May 26, 1994, Antoni (Antonio) Llabrés Cerdá was born after a difficult labor with a fever and insufficient oxygen. He was soon diagnosed with meningitis and sepsis from beta-hemolytic streptococci. The INTERCESSION of Poveda having been sought, the boy's health improved unexpectedly on May 29, leading to a full recovery. Such a complete and rapid recovery was determined to be miraculous.

Poveda was canonized by John Paul II in Madrid during a Mass celebrated at the Plaza de Cólon, which the Spanish royal family attended. In his HOMILY following the canonization, the pope stressed Poveda's work in education, particularly among the poor, and his efforts to inculcate Christianity in all aspects of the professional lives of Christians, so they might contribute to a more just world. The pope noted that Poveda life's culminated in "the crown of martyrdom."

Feast: July 28.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939).

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PRAETER INTENTIONEM

Praeter intentionem is the Latin term meaning beside or beyond the intention. It is an often central concept in Catholic moral PHILOSOPHY and THEOLOGY. The Catholic tradition recognizes the sources of moral acts to include the object chosen, the end or intention in view, and the circumstances of the ACT. Knowing what *praeter intentionem* is can help to determine what intention the moral AGENT has in view, and thereby the true scope of the agent's responsibility. The concept of *praeter intentionem* is especially relevant to moral problems of complicity, SCANDAL, and justifiable killing. It is also a concept required by double-effect reasoning.

ARISTOTLE takes the idea of *praeter intentionem* to be what is accidental to an act (*Physics* 196b 25). This term refers to something that pertains to an act but is not of its essential or substantial nature. Of effects outside of one's intention, some are foreseen and others are unforeseen. Aristotle observes that unforeseen effects of one's acts, perhaps because of CHANCE, are an undeniable part of moral life. Barring negligence, one is not responsible for the unforeseen, as one was ignorant of it. And one's responsibility for foreseen effects is morally different from the responsibility that one incurs for what one intends.

St. THOMAS AQUINAS writes of what is *praeter intentionem* of an act; he explains that one may foresee killing a human being in self-defense without intending to kill that person. He regards what is *praeter intentionem* as willed indirectly. Aquinas writes that "there is nothing to prevent one act from having two effects, of which only one is intended by the agent and the other is outside of his intention" (*Summa theologiae* 2a-2ae, q. 64, a. 7). In this case, one may act in self-defense, intending to save one's life, while foreseeing but not intending that the aggressor die (for one can merely foresee and not intend certain effects of one's acts). Although some secular and consequentialist moral philosophers maintain that one must intend all foreseen effects of one's acts, this position is unwarranted, as another example shows.

Joseph Mangan, S.J., recalls in "An Historical Analysis of the Principle of Double Effect" (March 1949), the story of Eleazar in a battle in 1 Maccabees 6. To topple the enemy king, who was riding on an elephant, Eleazar saw that his only success lay in stabbing the underbelly of the beast. Because he would be under the beast, Eleazar foresaw that his own death would follow, but he did not thereby intend suicide. It is most reasonable to believe that one may intend a good act, such as defeating an enemy king, while foreseeing the undesired effect of losing one's own life in so doing.

Catholic teaching also uses double-effect reasoning to explain the moral difference between EUTHANASIA and terminal sedation. The Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith's *Declaration on Euthanasia* (1980) recalls Pope PIUS XII's teaching that pain suppression by narcotics is permitted, even if one foresees that the use of narcotics will shorten life, provided this does not prevent the carrying out of other religious and moral duties. The document observes, "In this case, of course, death is in no way intended or sought, even if the risk of it is reasonably taken; the intention is simply to relieve pain effectively..." (*Declaration on Euthanasia* III). This terminal sedation, unlike euthanasia, foresees but does not intend death. Euthanasia is prohibited because it intrinsically includes an intention to alleviate pain only by killing the patient.

Aquinas maintains that one may have mitigated or even no responsibility for the effects that are outside of one's intention. In the moral analysis of an action, the end of the act, regardless of one's intentions, tells one the SPECIES, or kind, of act with which one is dealing. One intends an end through seeking its object, the SUBSTANCE of the act. Aquinas holds that "intention" is said of the end and that "choice" is said of the means to the end of an act (*Summa theologiae* 1a, q. 19, a. 9 ad 1). But intention thus governs both the means and the end of an act. The means can be seen as a proximate end relative to a remote end, and so the concept of *praeter intentionem* may be relevant to the analysis of that action's end. The means cannot be said to be *praeter in-*

tentionem, for one typically wills the means and end by one act. No EVIL means can be justified by a GOOD end.

The concept of *praeter intentionem* does not allow one to excuse oneself of responsibility for a sinful act on the grounds that one did not directly intend evil. Since evil is undesirable in itself, an evil act's inordinateness is always *praeter intentionem* of the sinner. Evil is therefore intended only to avoid another evil, or to obtain another good. The same is true of the inordinateness of an act and the fact that an act departs from right reason. So too, one does not intend the PUNISHMENT that is due for a sin. Thus, although the evil effects of a sin are beside the sinner's intention *qua* evil, these effects necessarily fall within the intention of the sinner by virtue of being essential to the nature of the act that he chooses.

Aside from the intention of the moral agent, the Catholic philosophical tradition has recognized that acts themselves may have intentions. That is, acts tend by their nature to certain effects. Some acts (e.g., FORNICATION, nuclear bombing) cannot be made good by any intention on the part of an agent. If any good comes from such acts, it is beside the intention of the act. These acts are intrinsically evil and bring harm to people regardless of an agent's intentions. Just as in the physical order man cannot breathe unaided under water, in the moral order sinful acts by their nature cannot but destroy man's spiritual, if not physical, BEING.

However, what is done through IGNORANCE or on account of force may be inculpably beside the intention of the agent. Also, in an exclusionary role, *praeter intentionem* explains how an act that is materially unjust may not be formally an act of injustice. Thus one may say something false, thinking it to be true. One would not be guilty of a lie, since the falseness is beside the speaker's intention.

What classifies acts in the moral order is not what is *praeter intentionem*, but what is within their intention. A clear concept of *praeter intentionem* requires one to claim all that is essential and intended in one's acts and be free of responsibility for what is not.

SEE ALSO ABORTION; CIRCUMSTANCES, MORAL; DOUBLE EFFECT, PRINCIPLE OF; END; FINIS OPERANTIS; FINIS OPERIS; INTENTION, PURITY OF; INTENTIONALITY.

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PRECA, GEORGE, ST.

Priest, founder of the Society of Christian Doctrine (an Institute of Consecrated Life), evangelizer, Carmelite tertiary; b. February 12, 1880, Valletta, Malta; d. July 26, 1962, Santa Venera, Malta; beatified May 9, 2001; canonized June 3, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

George (Ġorġ in Maltese) Preca was the seventh of nine children. Having been inspired by the example of Blessed Ignatius FALZON and having completed his studies at the lyceum, Preca entered the diocesan seminary, where he distinguished himself in his studies. He was ordained to the priesthood on December 22, 1906.

Even before his ordination, Preca was inspired to devote his life to catechetical ministry. In the town of Hamrun, he gathered a group of young men and catechized them, first entering their company by offering cigarettes, hoping later to lead them to spiritual realities. These young men would become the Society for Christian Doctrine. Preca originally gave the group another name, *museum*, after the facetious name for the rundown building in which the group first met. The name was adopted as an acronym that stood for *Magister Utinam Sequatur Evangelium Universus Mundus* (Divine teacher, may the whole world follow your GOSPEL).

This innovative group raised suspicion in the diocesan curia. In 1909 the vicar general ordered Preca to close all the centers and cease the gatherings of young men. Preca obeyed, but the ban was lifted after parish priests protested. In 1910 Preca founded a women's branch of the group, but difficulties continued. In 1914 and 1915, in response to critical articles about the society in the local press, Preca required that members take a vow of meekness. After some changes, the bishop canonically established the Society of Christian Doctrine on April 12, 1932. The society's members were celibate lay men and women who lived a life of PRAYER and maintained an apostolate of catechesis to both adults and children. The society expanded to Australia in 1952 and later to other countries.

Preca held great devotion to the Word of God as shown through the sacred scriptures and in the INCARNATION. Preca preached the Gospel in a plain

style, stressing both the justice and mercy of God, and he translated parts of the BIBLE into Maltese so that more people could read it. His devotion to the Incarnation was such that he made *Verbum Dei caro factum est* (The Word of God became flesh) the motto of the society, and society members wear a badge with these words.

Preca also demonstrated great devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in particular to her brown scapular, Our Lady of Good Counsel, and Our Lady of the Miraculous Medal. He was known to have preternatural gifts, including knowledge of hearts and the future. Preca was one of three Maltese beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II on his May 2001 visit to Malta.

The miracle necessary for Preca's canonization was approved by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints on February 22, 2007. A few days after Eric Catania was born on June 15, 2001, in Malta, he was diagnosed with an acute liver disorder. The boy was moved to a London hospital, where he was considered for a transplant. Meanwhile, the INTERCESSION of Bl. George Preca was sought by Eric's parents, who placed a relic of Preca on Eric's abdomen. The miracle occurred between July 19 and 20, when, with clear indications of insufficient liver function and ascites, the boy's liver began to heal. His complete recovery was determined to be miraculous.

In a homily following the canonization of Preca, Pope Benedict XVI noted Preca's witness to holiness and evangelization. The pope spoke of the Johannine statement of the Incarnation that directed Preca's life, and of the pious utterances with which Preca always spoke to God.

Feast: May 9.

SEE ALSO MALTA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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PRECIOUS BLOOD SISTERS

This entry contains the following:

I. ADORERS OF THE BLOOD OF CHRIST
Sister Angelita Myerscough/EDS

II. SISTERS OF THE MOST PRECIOUS BLOOD
Sister Mary Patrice Thaman/EDS

III. SISTERS OF THE PRECIOUS BLOOD
Sister Mary Gutman/EDS

I. ADORERS OF THE BLOOD OF CHRIST

(ASC, Official Catholic Directory, #0100) This religious community is one of several congregations of religious women who owe their origin, directly or indirectly, to the influence of St. Gaspare del BUFALO. This particular congregation was founded by St. Maria De MATTIAS (canonized by Pope John Paul II on May 18, 2003) in 1834 in Acuto, Italy, according to the plan of St. Gaspare del Bufalo and under the direction of Giovanni MERLINI. Dedicated principally to the education of the poor, the sisters opened 65 schools in central Italy before the death of the foundress in Rome (1866).

On Oct. 17, 1860, a group of Precious Blood Sisters, who had been established originally at Steinerberg, Switzerland, in 1845, and who later moved, because of government hostility, to Gurtweil, Baden, Germany, formally joined the Italian foundation. Ten years after this amalgamation the Gurtweil sisters opened a school in the U.S. at Piopolis in southern Illinois, when the KULTURKAMPF threatened them in Baden. While the majority of the sisters who went to America between 1870 and 1873 became an independent congregation (Sisters of the Most Precious Blood of O'Fallon, MO), the few sisters remaining at Piopolis under the direction of Mother Clementine Zerr, the novice mistress, continued under the Italian affiliation. When Mother Clementine was approved as superior of the U.S. foundation by the superior general, she transferred headquarters to Ruma, IL, in 1876. Subsequently, the sisters extended their work through Illinois, Missouri, and the Great Plains states, with a second central house and novitiate in Wichita, KS. The small

band of German sisters who remained in Europe found a permanent home in 1879 in Banja Luka, Bosnia, whence new foundations were later made in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Poland. Sixteen sisters, brought from Banja Luka to the U.S. in 1906 by Mother Pauline Schneeberger, formed the nucleus of a third U.S. province with its central house in Columbia, PA.

In 1855 PIUS IX granted initial approbation to the congregation; final papal approval of the constitutions was given in 1897. The spiritual ideal of the congregation is centered in the mystery of Redemption through the Blood of Christ, which the sisters worship in particular through daily Eucharistic adoration. Their active apostolate consists primarily of work in schools and hospitals. The generalate is in Rome. There are three U.S. provinces: Ruma (1876), Wichita (1929) and Columbia (1925). In 2009 there were 1,649 sisters living in 319 houses spread throughout the world (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 487).

SEE ALSO EUCHARISTIC DEVOTION; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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II. SISTERS OF THE MOST PRECIOUS BLOOD

(CPPS, Official Catholic Directory #3270) This religious community is one of several congregations of religious women who owe their origin, directly or indirectly, to the influence of St. Gaspare del BUFALO. It was given papal approbation and has its motherhouse in O'Fallon, MO. The community was founded originally in 1845 at Steinerberg, Switzerland, by Rev. Karl Rolfus and Magdalena Weber (Mother Teresa) to honor the Precious Blood in convents of perpetual adoration. In 1848 the Swiss government forced the young community into exile, and a new settlement was made at Ottmarsheim in the Alsace region of France. Some eight years later, at the invitation of Rev. Herman Kessler, 18 sisters went to Gurtweil, in Baden, Germany, to establish a school and open a home for delinquent girls. The combined responsibilities of perpetual adoration and the active apostolate of teaching posed serious problems. The conflict was resolved in 1860 when the sisters of Gurtweil separated from those of Ottmarsheim and became affiliated with the Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood, a congregation dedicated to the active apostolate.

Difficulties with the government in Baden, which sought to establish nondenominational schools, led the sisters to answer a call for teachers from Rev. Blasius Winterhalter of St. John's, IL (later Belle Prairie, now Piopolis), in the Diocese of Alton (now Belleville). On Feb. 2, 1870, nine sisters set sail for America; others followed in the next few years. The majority of these sisters soon separated themselves from the European congregation and became known as the Sisters of the Most Precious Blood of O'Fallon, MO. This was accomplished in 1874 with the assistance of Archbishop Peter Kenrick of St. Louis, MO, and his vicar-general, Henry Muehlsiepen. Mother Augusta Volk was the first superior general of the new community to which the Holy See granted final approval in 1938.

The congregation is engaged in academic education, catechetics, pastoral ministries, social outreach, care of elderly, parish ministries, and foreign missions. In 2008 there were 197 members of this community (Official Catholic Directory 2008, p. 1714).

SEE ALSO EUCHARISTIC DEVOTION; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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III. SISTERS OF THE PRECIOUS BLOOD

(CPPS, Official Catholic Directory, #3260) This religious community is one of several congregations of religious women who owe their origin, directly or indirectly, to the influence of St. Gaspare del BUFALO. It has papal approbation and its motherhouse is located in Dayton, OH. The community originated in 1834 at Castle Loewenberg in the Diocese of Chur, Switzerland. Mother Maria Anna Brunner, the foundress, was then an elderly widow and the mother of six children. In the previous year, during a pilgrimage to Rome for the Holy Year of 1833, she came in contact with the Society of the Precious Blood, whose founder was St. Gaspare del Bufalo. Inspired by his example, she determined to devote her remaining years to the adoration of the Precious Blood and to the spreading of this devotion. After returning to Castle Loewenberg, she soon attracted a

sufficient number of associates to keep up nocturnal adoration before the Blessed Sacrament. By the time of her death in 1836 the nucleus of the future congregation was formed and its main features indicated. Her eldest son, Bl. Father Francis de Sales BRUNNER, guided the early years of the community and eventually transferred it to the U.S.

In 1844 three of the sisters went to Peru in northern Ohio. About six months later a permanent foundation was made at New Riegel, OH, where there now stands a convent adapted for the use of a cloistered group that was later formed within the congregation. The motherhouse in the U.S. was transferred from New Riegel to Maria Stein, OH, in 1846, and then to Dayton in 1923. The U.S. community was granted final approval by the Holy See in 1946.

In accord with the primary purpose of the foundress, daily Eucharistic adoration is maintained in the community's principal houses. In fulfillment of Mother Brunner's secondary aim, the sisters from the beginning engaged in academic education and catechetics. Gradually their apostolate broadened to include care for the sick and the aged, healthcare, retreats and spiritual direction, social outreach to immigrants and homeless, and pastoral ministries. In 2008 there were 198 members of this congregation (Official Catholic Directory 2008, p. 1714).

SEE ALSO EUCHARISTIC DEVOTION; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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PROTOEVANGELIUM OF JAMES

This apocryphal or noncanonical gospel, purporting to be the work of James, perhaps the brother of the LORD (cf. Gal 1:19, Jas 1:1), bears the double title *Genesis Marias, apokalupsis Iakoob* (*The Nativity of Mary, Revelation of James*) on the earliest extant manuscript of the text (Testuz 1958). Copied in Greek either during the fourth century (Cullmann 1991) or even as early as the third (Testuz 1958), this earliest extant exemplar was discovered only in 1958. Its more common title, *Protoevangelium of James* (PJ), originated in the sixteenth century with the French philologist Guillaume Postel (1510–1581). Origen (185–254) had called it *The Book of James*.

The mariologist René Laurentin characterized the content of PJ as an "exégèse midrashique" (midrashic exegesis) of the INFANCY NARRATIVES presented in the first two chapters of Matthew and Luke. Indeed PJ presupposes these canonical accounts of the infancy of Jesus. The earliest papyrus redaction (Bodmer Papyrus 5), even if copied as early as the third century, nevertheless reflects the development of an older text from around 150, since JUSTIN MARTYR (d. 165) mentions both the birth of JESUS in a cave (18–20) and the genealogical descent of the Virgin MARY from DAVID (10.1), two details that derive from PJ. Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215) refers in *Stromateis* 7.93 to the midwife attending Mary "who was found to be a virgin" after the birth of Christ (PJ 20). Origen (c. 185–c. 254) in commenting on Mt 13:55–56 alludes to the tradition in PJ 9.2 that the brothers of Jesus were children of Joseph from a marriage prior to that with Mary: They thought, then, that He was the son of Joseph and Mary. But some say, basing it on a tradition in the Gospel of Peter, as it is titled, or "The Book of James" that the brethren of Jesus were sons of Joseph by a former wife, whom he married before Mary. Now those who say so wish to preserve the honor of Mary in virginity to the end. (*Commentary on Matthew*, 10.17; tr. John Patrick, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 10:424, cited by Terian 2008, "Introduction" p. xvii, n. 25). The original Greek text of PJ gave rise to translations and in some cases highly embellished versions in Syriac (likely fifth century), Georgian (seventh century), Latin (ninth century), Armenian (ninth, thirteenth/fourteenth, and fifteenth/sixteenth centuries), Arabic (tenth century), Coptic (Sahidic fragments of the tenth/eleventh century), and Ethiopic (heavily paraphrased) manuscripts. A secure original text remains yet to be achieved.

Widely popular throughout the East, PJ took longer to circulate throughout the Western Church, owing not only to its opposition on theological grounds primarily by St. JEROME (342–420) and its consequent condemnation by Popes DAMASUS (reigned 366–384) and INNOCENT I (reigned 401–417), but also because of the distasteful aspect of its legends (the skeptical Salome's probing of the Virgin). PJ ranks among the series of Infancy narratives rejected by name in the *Decretum*

gelasianum. Nevertheless, the material of PJ was incorporated into the Latin Gospel of pseudo-Matthew (a composite of PJ and the Gnostic Gospel of Thomas) at an early date and gained wide currency throughout the West, especially once JAMES OF VORAGINE (d. 1298) incorporated it into his hagiographical compendium *The Golden Legend* (c. 1265). It is noteworthy that, although in the wake of the Council of TRENT, Pope St. PIUS V (reigned 1566–1572) removed the office of St. Joachim from the Roman BREVIARY (1568) and suppressed the text of the PRESENTATION OF MARY in the Temple, both were restored later.

Context. PJ emerged in a polemical context that witnessed vehement Jewish attacks on the Christian doctrine of the virginal conception and birth of Jesus. Although Matthew and Luke earlier had discreetly addressed the widespread slander that Jesus was the illegitimate offspring of a Roman soldier named Panthera (a jest skewing the Greek *parthenos* or virgin), PJ underscores quite vividly the absolute sinlessness and inviolate virginity of Mary before, during, and after childbirth. The overarching theme of PJ is the glorification of the ever-virgin Mary and her indispensable role in bringing salvation history to its culmination in the virginal birth of CHRIST.

Contents. PJ recounts the miraculous conception and birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the daughter of the prosperous but sterile Joachim ("established by God") and Anna ("grace"). These names derive from the Old Testament (Daniel 13:1–4; 1 Sam 1:19–20). The generosity of Mary's parents prompts them to divide their wealth into three parts: the first for the upkeep of the Temple and the priests, the second for the poor, and the remaining third for the needs of their own household. Despite their heroic charity, Joachim is dispelled from the Temple because of his childlessness, and Anna endures the mockery of her handmaid because of her barrenness. Joachim withdraws in shame to shepherd his flocks in the pastures near BETHLEHEM, and Anna bemoans her sterility at home beneath a laurel tree. Joachim and Anna separately receive news from a heavenly messenger that a daughter will be born to them, and this child will become in due course the mother of the long-awaited MESSIAH. They meet at the Golden Gate of JERUSALEM, where they embrace and kiss. In their piety, they vow to present their offspring to the Lord for his exclusive service.

Upon giving birth to Mary in due course, Anna glorifies the Lord in terms that echo the MAGNIFICAT of Mary (Lk 1:46–55; cf. canticle of Hannah, mother of SAMUEL, 1 Sam 2:1–10). Mary's parents, in fulfillment of their vow, present her in the Temple when she reaches the age of three, and on the third step she dances for joy with her feet (cf. her ancestor David dancing before the ARK OF THE COVENANT, 2 Sam 6:14, 16). Mary remains in the Temple until the age of twelve, "nurtured like a dove and given food from the hand of an angel"(PJ 8:2).

When Mary reaches puberty, the high priest is inspired to summon the widowers of ISRAEL to the Temple. He places their staves before the holy of holies and prays for a sign; as he redistributes them, a dove flies out of the rod of JOSEPH and alights on Joseph's head. The widower Joseph, already considerably advanced in years and with children of his own, undertakes the care and guardianship of the Virgin Mary. Meanwhile, Mary begins to weave a curtain for the holy of holies in the Temple.

Drawing on the canonical accounts in Luke, PJ describes the archangel GABRIEL's annunciation to Mary (cf. Lk 1:26–38) and Mary's visitation to her kinswoman Elizabeth (cf. Lk 2:39–56). In the sixth month of her pregnancy, Mary faces the doubt and bitterness of Joseph, who blames himself for the neglect that led to Mary's seeming disgrace (cf. Mt 1:18–25). After a trial by ordeal involving the mysterious "water of the conviction of the Lord," the high priest determines that neither Mary nor Joseph have impaired Mary's virginity (PJ 16:1).

In obedience to a census decreed by Caesar Augustus, Joseph and Mary travel to Bethlehem where Mary gives birth to Jesus in a cave (cf. Lk 2:1–7). At this point Joseph utters a monologue that describes all creation suddenly pausing as Mary, overshadowed by a bright cloud, gives birth to Christ in the cave. When the midwife announces to Salome that a virgin has given birth, the latter ridicules the notion, declaring that unless she can test Mary's condition by placing her finger on the Virgin's maidenhead, she refuses to believe the mystery proclaimed to her (cf. THOMAS the Apostle's skeptical boast about Christ's RESURRECTION, Jn 20:25). Because Salome dares to touch the person of Mary, the ark of the new covenant, she, like Uzzah in 2 Samuel 6–7, is punished by the Lord, although she is not killed; instead, her hand feels consumed by fire and withers. Upon repenting of her doubt concerning the *virginitas in partu*, Salome touches the Christ child and finds healing and joy. After the visit of the MAGI to Bethlehem (cf. Mt 2:1–12) and Herod's slaughter of the innocents (cf. Mt 2:16–18), Mary wraps the child Jesus in swaddling clothes and lays him in an ox-manger (cf. Lk 2:7).

The last section presents perhaps the most bizarre scenario of the piece. When Elizabeth flees with the infant John into the hill country, a mountain is rent asunder and receives them. Meanwhile Zechariah, who refuses to reveal to Herod's soldiers the whereabouts of his son, is slain in the forecourt of the Temple (cf.

slaughter of Zechariah, 2 Chron 24:20–22). Amid the wailing and mourning of the faithful, the body of Zechariah goes missing, and his blood congeals into a stone. The priests then cast lots for Zechariah's successor, and thus the Holy Spirit chooses Simeon who later encounters the Holy Family at the presentation of Christ in the Temple (cf. Lk 2:25–35).

Theological Significance. The theological implications of PJ far exceed its historical reliability. The work emphasizes the holiness of Mary, who is conceived in purity and remains a virgin throughout her life. The failing generative faculties of her parents suggest that she is conceived with little or no carnal desire. Although the GOSPEL makes no clear allusion to an IMMACULATE CONCEPTION per se, Mary's conception and birth do not arise from lust, hence she stands to inherit from her parents a chaste, though loving, disposition. Dedicated to the Lord from her infancy, Mary serves God in purity and humility first in the Temple, then in the house of Joseph.

PJ accounts for the primitive reference to the Lord's "brothers and sisters" and at the same time safeguards Mary's virginity by presenting Joseph as an elderly widow with children from his previous marriage. This depiction of Joseph as an old man certainly has had its effect on Christian iconography in both East and West, although St. Jerome and St. BERNARD (1090–1153) insist that Joseph in fact preserved his virginity and entered into a celibate marriage with Mary at an early rather than later age. James of Voragine presents an odd, rather convoluted genealogy of St. Anne to account for the virginity of both Mary and Joseph on the one hand and the scriptural mention of the brethren of the Lord on the other. St. Jerome, confident in his understanding of HEBREW LANGUAGE and nuance, simply identifies the brethren of the Lord as his cousins.

The high CHRISTOLOGY advanced by PJ and the ignorance surrounding Jewish attitudes toward vowed virginity as manifested, for instance, in the conceit of a community of consecrated virgins living in the Temple at Jerusalem point to a non-Jewish source of the Gospel. In fact its predilection for consecrated community life and its insistence on the perpetual virginity of Mary may hint at an Alexandrian origin.

By its myriad details about Mary's birth, infancy, and marriage, PJ furnishes early, though not the only, support for the Church's explicit teachings regarding the conception and birth of Mary, her perpetual virginity, and her motherhood of God the Son. The Arabic version has Mary conceive Christ through the ear. This underscores the observation of St. AUGUSTINE (354–430) that Mary conceived Christ in faith before she conceived him in her womb.

Influence on Marian Piety. The three feasts of Mary's Conception (December 8), Nativity (September 8), and Presentation in the Temple (November 21), plus the feasts of her parents (July 26–St. Anne, August 16–St. Joachim; now combined on July 26 in the general Roman calendar), all trace their inspiration to PJ. Indeed Marian piety finds additional expression in devotion to Ss. Joachim and Anne, whereas the ambivalent treatment of St. Joseph by PJ could scarcely be credited with having generated much veneration of the humble carpenter from NAZARETH.

Perhaps the most renowned example of the far-reaching influence of PJ on Western art remains the cycle of frescoes of Mary's life by GIOTTO DI BONDONE (1267–1337) in the Arena Chapel (also known as the Scrovegni Chapel) in Padua completed around 1305. Marian art in both the East and West continues to draw on these themes. In addition to influencing venerable liturgical traditions, these feasts also inspired extended prayerful reflection on these mysteries and their further elucidation both in homiletic literature, particularly in the East, and in doctrinal development.

SEE ALSO ANNE AND JOACHIM, SS.; HEROD ANTIPAS; JOHN THE BAPTIST, ST.; LUKE, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; MARIAN FEASTS; MATTHEW, GOSPEL ACCORDING TO; NATIVITY OF MARY; ORIGEN AND ORIGENISM.

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Q

QUIETISM

In the most specific sense, "Quietism" refers to the doctrine of total passivity taught by the Spanish priest Miguel de MOLINOS (circa 1628–1697), who had attained considerable notoriety for his 1675 work, *A Spiritual Guide* (*Guia espiritual*). Questions of orthodoxy, though, resulted in a censure of sixty-eight propositions of Molinos by a decree of the Holy Office issued on August 28, and confirmed on November 20, 1687, by the constitution *Caelestis pastor* of Pope INNOCENT XI (Denzinger-Hünermann (D-H) 2005, 2201–2269). Quietism, therefore, is best described as an exaggeration of orthodox spirituality. It is, at base, a recurrence of the ultra-supernaturalism that has both plagued and stimulated the Church from its earliest years. It is thus akin to but different from every other form of ILLUMINISM and enthusiasm that has existed in the Church in the past.

"Quietism" is also used in reference to the spiritual movement of "pure love," associated with the French widow Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte GUYON, also known as Madame Guyon (1648–1717), and the Archbishop of Cambrai, François FÉNELON (1651–1715), who supported her. This spiritual movement, sometimes called "Semi-Quietism" (Fastiggi 2007, p. 899), was censured by a board composed of Bishop BOSSUET, Bishop de NOAILLES, and Fr. TRONSON, the superior of the SULPICIANS, in the thirty-four *Articles of Issy* of 1695. Archbishop Fénelon, however, subsequently authored several treatises attempting to explain and defend the doctrine of pure love, a habitual state in which souls "should no longer care about their own perfection, the practice of the virtues, or their own salvation" (Fastiggi 2007, pp. 900–901). Bishop Bossuet attacked Fenelon's defense of pure love, and controversy between the two prelates ensued. Pope INNOCENT XII intervened by means of his papal brief *Cum alias ad apostolatus* of March 12, 1699, which sided with Bossuet and listed thirty-four errors of Fénelon (D-H, 2351–2374). While some have interpreted Innocent XII's brief as an effort to place "acquired contemplation" itself under suspicion (Sluhovsky 2007, p. 134), others have understood the pope's intervention as protecting authentic CONTEMPLATION from an alleged need for detachment from the virtues and concern for one's own salvation (Fastiggi 2007, p. 901).

History. The Messalians of Asia Minor in the fifth and sixth centuries claimed to practice continual prayer and encouraged a spirit of complete indifference. They taught that those who reached a spiritual state free of all passion (*apatheia*) were exempt from works of penance or recourse to the sacraments. Both the local Synod of Side in Pamphilia (c. 388) and the ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431) censured the Messalians.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the monks of Mt. Athos, led by Gregory PALAMAS (c. 1296–1359), were called Hesychasts or Quietists because they encouraged a state of inward quietude (*hēsuchia*) acquired by the frequent repetition of the JESUS PRAYER. These monks developed a spiritual theology centered on divinization or *theosis* by means of the uncreated "energies" of God. Some of them also claimed to experience the so-called Taboric light similar to the light that surrounded Jesus during his TRANSFIGURATION (Mt 17:1–7; Mk 9:2–8; Lk 9:28–36). This form of Quietism was attacked by some, such as BARLAAM OF CALBARIA (c. 1290–1350), and condemned in two Constantinopolitan synods of 1342. Eventually, however, it was upheld as orthodox by a synod of 1347 held by the Byzantine emperor John VI Cantacuzenus. It is important to distinguish this type of Byzantine Quietism (Fastiggi

2007, p. 899) from the seventeenth-century Quietism of Molinos and the Semi-Quietism of Madame Guyon.

In the West, the Brethren of the Free Spirit were said to claim an entire passivity along with an antinomian outlook on morality, that is, one that freed them from the obligation to obey the commandments. Because of this, as well as their apparent claim to be exempt from the sacraments and Church authority, the Brethren were condemned by Pope BONIFACE VIII in his bull *Saepe sanctam ecclesiam* of August 1, 1296 (D-H, 866). The BEGUINES AND BEGHARDS were loosely organized religious communities of men and women. Suspected of Quietist tendencies, they were condemned at the Council of Vienne in 1312 for maintaining, *inter alia*, that the state of perfection renders a person incapable of sinning (D-H, 891), and that meditation on Christ's Sacred Humanity is an imperfection and a departure from true contemplation (D-H, 898). In a similar manner, twenty-six propositions of the Dominican Meister ECKHART (c. 1260–1328) were censured by Pope JOHN XXII's constitution, *In agro dominico*, of March 27, 1329. Among the condemned propositions was the apparent claim that we should not attempt to avoid sin if God wishes, in some way, for us to sin (D-H, 964).

The *Devotio Moderna* of medieval Germany, which seemingly preferred to feel compunction rather than define it, did much to separate theology from MYSTICISM. As a result, the area of man's highest aspirations was left open to sentimentalists who felt called to contemplation by experiences not transcending their own emotional upheavals, and Quietists who neglected everything to drift in their spiritual daydreams became self-proclaimed experts in matters spiritual.

The antecedents, then, of seventeenth-century Quietism in Italy are manifold, but it would be impossible to trace a causal nexus positively influencing Molinos and his adherents. It is true that the aberrations of the ALUMBRADOS of southern Spain were condemned only in 1623, and although many of their confessed tenets are similar to those of Molinos, the movement was vigorously repudiated by him. It was rather the contemporary scene that provided the fertile ground for Quietism. In the seventeenth century European spirituality was devoted to schools and to controversy. The Jansenist crisis was just abating when a new struggle developed between the adherents of the Ignatian method of meditation and those who saw in it the denial of the contemplation espoused by the great Spanish and French mystics of the preceding century. The protagonists exaggerated the approved spiritual doctrines, literalized the symbols and figures of the canonized authors, and in general made man's approach to God in prayer a matter of partisanship.

Foremost in the ranks of those defending the primacy of contemplation were Juan Falconi (d. 1638), Francis Malaval (1627–1719), the gentle recluse of Marseilles, Pier Matteo Petrucci (1636–1701), later to become a curial cardinal, and the enigmatic figure of Miguel de Molinos; all were to see their writings placed on the Index. Since none of these authors ever claimed to set forth a new conception of the spiritual life, it is only by reference to the orthodox doctrine of approved writers that one can recognize their version as a caricature of Catholic mysticism.

Quietist Teachings. Whereas sound doctrine holds that there is a state of contemplative passivity in which God acts in man by His operating grace and which one reaches normally only after exercising oneself in the ascetical life for a long time, the Quietists held, paradoxically, that the way of passive contemplation is acquired at will by the very cessation of every operation. Using the language of Sts. TERESA OF AVILA and JOHN OF THE CROSS, the Quietist opened the door to illuminism, because he looked upon his own intellectual activity as a refusal to adore God in spirit and in truth, as God alone must work in the soul. So adamant were they in removing the mental images on which meditation feeds that, for them, even the consideration of the Sacred Humanity itself was a distraction to be rejected. According to Malaval, meditation on Christ's humanity keeps people away from real devotion and the authentic gaze of true contemplation. This contemplative gaze, then, became the sole measure of true mysticism and was for the Quietist a single act unbroken even by sleep.

Given their error concerning the fundamentals of contemplation, it is not surprising to discover the bizarre nature of their practical moral conclusions. This way of obscure faith offers no consolations, for these are a betrayal; it cares nought for yearnings for perfect happiness, for they would be an expression of self-will and not God's; and it despises any reflection on self, for that is base infidelity to grace. As a result, the movement leaves no opportunities for the acts of virtues; prayers of petition, examinations of CONSCIENCE, and even confession itself become impossible for the soul perfected in the way of darkness and aridity, for these elements necessarily involve conscious activity on the soul's part.

These tendencies are apparent in the sixty-eight propositions of Molinos condemned in 1687 (D-H, 2201–2269). Among the more prominent errors are the following assertions: contemplative self-annihilation does away with the soul's own *esse operativo* or operative being (D-H, 2205); the "interior way" (*via interna*) makes the soul entirely indifferent to reward, punishment, heaven, or hell (D-H, 2207); in the passive state of contemplation, there is no longer any concern for perfection, virtues, sanctity, or salvation (D-H, 2212); those in

the state of annihilation should no longer care about temptations (D-H, 2217), sensible images (D-H, 2218), or discursive prayer (D-H, 2219); those in the passive state should detach themselves from devotion to the Blessed Virgin and the humanity of Christ because these involve sensible objects (D-H, 2235); God sometimes permits a demon to cause perfect souls to commit carnal acts in order to humiliate them, and these acts, therefore, are not sinful (D-H, 2241); by means of true contemplation, some souls reach a state of impeccability in which they can longer commit sins, either mortal or venial (D-H, 2257); having reached such a state, these souls should no longer make use of the sacrament of confession (D-H, 2260), and they can choose for themselves whatever seems good for them (D-H, 2266).

The antinomian aspects of Molinos's Quietism might have provided a cover for his own immoral activities. Accusations of immorality, particularly from two women he had directed, led to his arrest in 1685. After two years of interrogation and investigation, Molinos confessed to his guilt, and he lived out the remainder of his life (until 1697) in confinement and penance.

SEE ALSO Antinomy; Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit; Hesychasm; Ignatian Spirituality; Index of Prohibited Books; Jansenism.

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R

RANGEL, JOSÉ TRINIDAD, BL.

Martyred priest; b. June 4, 1887, Dolores Hidalgo, Guanajuato, Mexico; d. April 25, 1927, Rancho de San Joaquín, Jalisco, Mexico; beatified November 20, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

José Trinidad Rangel Montaño was ordained in 1919. He served as a parish priest and was known for his zeal in support of his parishioners. Two years before his ordination, Mexico adopted a constitution that limited religious freedoms for Catholics. Restrictions included the requirement that a government official be present when Mass was celebrated. A Mexican law adopted in July 1926 tightened those restrictions, prompting Pope PIUS XI to promulgate the ENCYCLICAL *Iniquis afflictisque* (On the Persecution of the Church in Mexico) on November 18, 1926.

The following year, Fr. Rangel was ministering in the city of Silao when the mayor ordered him to register with the government. Fr. Rangel refused and fled to the city of León, where he was sheltered by siblings Josefina and Jovita Alba. In León, he met Fr. Andrés SOLÁ Y MOLIST, a Claretian missionary who had been in hiding since 1926.

In April 1927, Fr. Rangel's brother Agustín urged him to seek refuge in the United States. Instead, he secretly celebrated HOLY WEEK in San Francisco del Rincón, administering the sacraments and visiting hospitalized people. On April 22, federal soldiers arrested Fr. Rangel and took him to a seminary that had been converted into military headquarters. On April 24, Fr. Rangel was transported in a garbage truck to the train station and taken to León Lagos de Moreno. Fr. Rangel never denied that he was a priest and spoke freely about his ministry. He was tortured and executed by a firing squad on April 25 for violating government regulations about celebrating Mass. Also martyred that day were (Bl.) Fr. Solá y Molist and (Bl.) Leonardo PÉREZ Larios, a layman arrested at a secret Mass.

Pope JOHN PAUL II declared Fr. Rangel VENERABLE on June 22, 2004, and the priest was among thirteen Mexican martyrs beatified on November 20, 2005, by Pope Benedict XVI. Cardinal José Saraiva Martins presided at the BEATIFICATION Mass at Jalsico Stadium at Guadalajara. He observed that the martyred priests followed the example of the Good Shepherd. The pontiff, in a satellite message from Rome, described the martyrs as "a stimulus for defending the faith and having faith in current society."

Feast: April 25.

SEE ALSO MEXICO (MODERN), THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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RAPTURE

The term *rapture*, derived from the Greek *harpazō* and the Latin *raptus*, has the general meaning of something being quickly snatched away or taken by force. Since the earliest centuries of the Church, Christian writers have used the term to describe a particularly elevated kind of mystical experience or ECSTACY (cf. TERTULLIAN (c. 160–235), *Against Marcion*, V, 8). In the latter nineteenth century certain Protestant fundamentalist circles began using the term with reference to the "end times." In both cases, biblical texts that include forms of *harpazō* form a basis for the use of the term in Christian life and literature. The present understanding is also profoundly affected by a long history of extrabiblical developments.

Mystical Rapture. Paul's statement that he was "caught up into Paradise and heard ineffable things, which no one may utter" (2 Cor 12:4; NAB) is the most prominent biblical description of mystical rapture. In the later tradition of Christian MYSTICISM, general characteristics of rapture (as distinct from other deep experiences of union with GOD) include the following: It comes suddenly, without warning; one has the awareness of being irresistibly acted upon by God; one is completely entranced interiorly, temporarily losing some or all physical and mental faculties; and blissful supernatural knowledge is infused.

The term *rapture* is applied with different nuances by various mystics, and some use other terms for what appears to be the same phenomenon. St. TERESA OF AVILA, for example, names "suspensions," "transports," "flights of the spirit," and "impulses" (1976), whereas the Rhineland and Flemish mystics such as HADEWIJCH of Antwerp and Jan van RUYSBROECK speak of a "storm of love" (Underhill 1911). All of these seem to manifest the general features named above.

The extreme character of these experiences sometimes leaves the body exhausted, in pain, or out of joint, but if rapture is genuine its long-term effects will be beneficial. Authentic raptures usually occur at an advanced point in the mystical life, when the mystic is undergoing the final PURIFICATION before entering the culminating spiritual marriage. Spiritual teachers agree that these experiences are not to be sought after, especially because of the great danger of false raptures induced by causes such as mental illness, emotional or physical stress, overwrought imagination, or malevolent spirits.

End Times Rapture. Quite different is the notion of a coming rapture toward the end of the world, when Jesus Christ will return secretly to earth. In this scenario, popular among contemporary fundamentalists and evangelical Protestants, Jesus will "snatch away" his true followers into heaven, leaving behind everyone else to suffer the tribulation that will punish the world before his final coming in glory.

Rapture teachers claim biblical support for the notion in several texts. The passage most cited is 1 Thes 4:17, which says that believers who are still alive at Christ's coming "will be caught up [in the Latin Vulgate translation, *rapiemur*] together with [those who have died] in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air" (NAB). Also quoted are Jesus' words in Mt 24:40–41 (as well as the parallel passage in Lk 17:34–35), which speak of a coming judgment in which "one will be taken and one will be left."

Until historically recent times, however, the notion of a secret rapture has been conspicuously and consistently absent from the various interpretations of these passages by Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant writers alike. Paul's words have been viewed simply as a reference to Christ's final coming in glory. Jesus' words have been taken to refer either to the terrifying events surrounding the fall of JERUSALEM in AD 70 or to the final judgment day when, "as it was in the days of Noah" (Mt 24:37), the wicked will be swept away in judgment while the righteous are left to stand secure.

Nowhere, in fact, among ancient or medieval Christian teachers, nor even among the leaders of the Protestant Reformation, do we find clear historical evidence for belief in a secret rapture. Similar notions appeared occasionally, however, in early America. In the eighteenth century, for example, Increase Mather (1639–1723), a Puritan minister in Boston, wrote of Christians being "caught up in the air" before the world was consumed by divine judgment. In 1788 Morgan Edwards (1722–1795), a Baptist pastor and educator in Philadelphia, taught that Christians would be taken to heaven three and a half years before Christ judged the world (although he admitted that few of his contemporaries embraced such a belief).

Ironically, the writer of that period whose end-times ideas came closest to the modern rapture teaching was a Chilean Jesuit, Manuel de LACUNZA Y DÍAZ. His *Coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty*, first published in Spanish in 1812, proposed that toward the end of the world, Jesus would snatch from the earth faithful

Catholics who regularly received the Eucharist. They would remain safe with him for forty-five days while terrible judgments chastised the world. Then they would accompany him when he returned to judge the world.

The rapture teaching as commonly presented today did not appear until later in the nineteenth century. Two sectarian religious leaders in England, Edward IRVING and John Nelson DARBY, developed and promoted the secret rapture belief among their respective followers. Irving had translated Lacunza's book into English in 1827 and so may have adapted Lacunza's ideas for his purposes.

The more fully developed rapture notions of these teachers were transplanted to North America through Darby's visits there and his influence on several nineteenth-century revivalist preachers. They gained widespread popularity through the publication of *The Scofield Reference Bible* (1909), which sold nearly two million copies within thirty years after its appearance. American attorney Cyrus Ingerson SCOFIELD, who produced the extensive commentary within this edition of the King James Bible, presented belief in the rapture as part of the system of biblical interpretation developed by Darby and known as dispensationalism.

In more recent times, the rapture notion has received extensive publicity as the premise of the *Left Behind* series of novels by Tim LaHaye (1926–) and Jerry B. Jenkins (1949–), which sold more than 43 million copies between 1995 and 2007. Numerous popular television preachers also make the rapture an essential part of their message, most notably Jack van Impe (1931–), who has focused largely on end times subjects since the 1950s.

Many contemporary scholars criticize the dispensationalist doctrine of the rapture on both biblical and theological grounds. They say the imagery of the Thessalonians text needs to be interpreted in view of its background in Jewish APOCALYPTIC literature, in which it is not uncommon for visionaries to be snatched up to heaven. This genre of writing is not intended to provide literal descriptions of past or future events, but rather to offer a mythic framework of hope to communities in crisis.

The larger context of 1 Thes 4:17 indicates that Paul's main purpose is to reassure grieving Christians that a day is coming when the dead and the living will be equal and together again as one community with the Lord. The dispensationalist doctrine of the rapture, on the other hand, stresses separation, VENGEANCE, and destruction rather than reconciliation, HOPE, and constructive activity. An adequate understanding of rapture must be approached by careful study of the full range of biblical and post-biblical insights into how God acts powerfully and salvifically within human lives and communities.

Critics of the secret rapture teaching—including many evangelical Protestants—have observed that, like certain other essentials of dispensationalist thought, such a belief easily leads to despair about the world's future and indifference toward efforts to improve it. The notion also implies that God will spare his people from SUFFERING rather than make use of it for their benefit. Catholic critics in particular have noted that rapture believers often display hostility toward the Church and insist that if Catholics reject fundamentalist teachings, they will be "left behind" by Christ when he returns secretly.

The "Statement on *Left Behind* Books and Videos" by the Catholic Conference of Illinois (2003) urged the faithful to reject the rapture belief, which apparently had found its way into some Catholic catechetical and educational settings. The bishops identified the *Left Behind* literature as "a tool for active promotion of a fundamentalist theology of the end times in conflict with Catholic teachings" and "a vehicle for anti-Catholic sentiments." They urged the removal of such books and videos from Catholic institutions and called on "those responsible for faith formation to provide planned, coherent, and informed catechesis to all age groups about Church teachings on the end of the world, based on Scripture and Tradition."

SEE ALSO DISPENSATIONAL THEOLOGY; MYSTICI CORPORIS; REVELATION, BOOK OF.

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RAVASCO, EUGENIA, BL.

Founder of the Congregation of the Daughters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, also known as the Ravasco Institute; b. January 4, 1845, Milan, Italy; d. December 30, 1900, Genoa, Italy; beatified April 27, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Eugenia Ravasco was the third of six children born to Francesco Matteo and Carolina Mozzoni Frosconi. Her mother died when she was three, and her father and elder brother Ambrose moved to Genoa. Eugenia remained in Milan, where a pious aunt raised her until 1852, when her father reunited the family in Genoa. After her father died in 1855, Eugenia lived with a devout aunt and uncle and their ten children. She and her family became concerned about Italy's anticlerical atmosphere and its effect on Ambrose.

When Eugenia's uncle died in 1862, she helped raise the family. She and her aunt tried unsuccessfully to save Ambrose from anti-Catholic influences. In 1863 Eugenia discerned a religious vocation and began teaching catechism to poor girls who lived on the street. Other women joined in that ministry, and Eugenia founded the Congregation of the Daughters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary on December 6, 1868. Also known as the Ravasco Institute, the congregation taught catechism and opened secular schools for the poor.

Mother Eugenia served as the congregation's superior for the remainder of her life. In 1878 she opened a school to teach girls and prepare Christian teachers. She also traveled throughout Italy, France, and Switzerland to establish new communities, teach, and give direction to sisters. She also ministered to the dying, the imprisoned, and people who fell away from the Church.

Mother Eugenia died of natural causes on December 30, 1900, in Genoa. The congregation she founded currently ministers in Italy, Switzerland, Albania, Africa, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, Venezuela, and the Philippines. The sisters serve in schools, parishes, and missions. They maintain their founder's dedication to young people, the poor, and the promotion of the dignity of women.

Pope John Paul II declared Mother Eugenia VENERABLE on July 1, 2000. On July 5, 2002, the pope signed the decree recognizing the cure of a Bolivian girl, a miracle obtained through Venerable Eugenia's INTERSESSION. The pope beatified her on April 27, 2003, at St. Peter's Square. The pontiff remarked that Bl. Eugenia "joyfully devoted her whole life to young people and the poor. With foresight, she was able to open herself to the pressing needs of the mission, with special concern for those who had 'fallen away' from the Church."

Feast: December 30.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SACRED HEARTS OF JESUS AND MARY, CONGREGATION OF THE.

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REDEMPTION (THEOLOGY OF)

Central to the Christian message is the announcement that only in Jesus is salvation to be found (cf. Acts 4:12; 1 Tim 2:4–6). The term *redemption* designates the mystery of God's deliverance of mankind from the evil of sin and death, as well as its restoration to grace by the supreme act of divine power and merciful love achieved and manifested in Christ's death and resurrection. This redemptive act spans the whole of human history in its effects, for "God wishes all men to be saved and to

come to knowledge of truth" through the "one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself as a ransom for all" (1 Tm 2:4–6). Thus, all redemption before Christ moves toward him, preparing for and anticipating his act, and all later redemption flows from him.

THE MEANING OF REDEMPTION

God's gracious initiative in sending his only son into a fallen world is a profound mystery, rooted in Trinitarian love. Salvation ultimately consists in sharing that divine life through insertion into Christ, who said, "Without me you can do nothing" (Jn 15:5). Since God is love (1 Jn 4:8, 4:16), his attitude toward his creatures, however sinful, does not have to be changed. He initiates SALVATION by sending his son to the cross (Rom 8:32; Jn 3:16). What scripture characterizes as God's wrath is his love experienced by unrepentant sinners refusing to open their hearts to God (Rom 1:18–32). Hence, the change effected by the INCARNATION has to take place in this world. Jesus shatters hardened hearts in order to share his divine life of love with sinners summoned to REPENTANCE. That feat has been described in various ways in scripture and Christian tradition.

Redemption is one of many images or metaphors employed to identify the change in man's state accomplished by Christ's death on the cross. It is borrowed from the Old Testament, where God redeemed Israel from bondage. Its metaphorical employment is manifested not only by the proliferation of other images seeking to portray salvation in Christ (e.g., liberation, JUSTIFICATION, reconciliation, substitution, sanctification, Body of Christ, the vine) but also by the refusal to identify the one to whom the RANSOM is paid. God can be beholden to no creature. Furthermore, though the Old Testament supplies the basic language applied to Jesus and his work, insofar as he surpasses all Jewish expectations, the Old Testament categories must be reinterpreted from Christ; they attempt to capture the mystery of God's only son, who was denied, abandoned, and betrayed by his followers, yet who rose from the dead to offer them forgiveness and peace, establishing in his own person an indestructible union of God and man (Jn 20:19–23; Eph 2:14–21). God's love thus evokes a response of love from sinful hearts and joins men to himself in his son, the head of the Church, his body. Hence, a double application of analogy is required: from human experience of redemption to God's acting in the ancient covenant, and from the old covenant to Jesus, the new covenant. Indeed, almost all salvific terms from the Old Testament are ultimately identified with Jesus. Despite the inability of any human analogy to capture the full reality of Jesus Christ, "in whom are revealed all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (Col 2:3)—all was created in, through, and for him (1 Cor 8:6; Col 1:16–17; Jn 1:3–10)—some analogies, images, or metaphors must be employed. For divine revelation supplies men with some intelligibility of what the son accomplished on earth in order that they might respond freely to his gift of forgiveness and accept him into their lives. Without freedom's response, God's love cannot pervade human hearts and effect salvation, a sharing in his life.

The New Testament refers *redemption* primarily to Jesus's freely accepted death on the cross, the price paid for salvation (see 1 Cor 6:19–20; Ti 2:13–14). Redemption in or through Christ's blood joins the mercantile analogy of buying back to the Old Testament imagery of sacrifices by which God is propitiated (1 Pt 1:18; Acts 20:28). Although such transactions and sacrifices rightly presuppose and reflect inner-worldly justice, they fail to encapsulate the justice of God, which mercifully justifies sinners (Rom 3:23–26). JUSTICE and MERCY are both attributed to God in human attempts to approximate the mystery of infinite love. Justice is essential for the functioning of human society and provides the moral intelligibility required for human freedom. Furthermore, without a notion of justice, God's mercy cannot be recognized. Finally, God's self-giving, justifying love requires from men a conversion, which is difficult and seems penal, the just penalty for sin.

While all analogies limp, the language of redemption and sacrifice is necessary to communicate the significance of what God's son accomplished in history: He emptied himself to fill others (Phil 2:6–11; 2 Cor 8:9); he empowered men to enter into a new relation of saving intimacy with God. He taught sinners what love involves: giving one's life for others in obedient fidelity to the Father (Jn 12:27–28; 15:13; 17:26). Then by rising from the dead, Jesus proved that love is stronger than death and sin. Resurrected, he bestows his Spirit on his disciples to join them in love to himself and over him to the Father. Hence, although the term *redemption* in the New Testament refers primarily to the cross, by extension it comprises the Resurrection so that its effects might be manifested. Analogously, it can refer to Jesus's whole life, in which he was constantly revealing himself, that is, giving himself, to men and preparing his disciples for the mystery of love to be revealed fully on Good Friday and Easter Sunday. Since Jesus lives in the Church, his body, through the Spirit and is really present in the Eucharist, believers can have an experience of redemption through him.

Salvation history traces a pattern of God's redemptive activity and will provide many of the theological categories within which Christian theology will reflect upon the decisive and definitive redemption that God works on behalf of mankind in and through Christ. Although a complete theology of redemption must include all that can be known of God's act of deliver-

ance and restoration, Christian theology has concentrated on the revelation of the New Testament, which marks the "fullness of time" in SALVATION HISTORY, when "God sent his Son, born of a woman ... that he might redeem ... that we might receive the adoption of sons" (Gal 4:4).

For the New Testament writers, *redemption* may refer to the purpose of Christ's work in its total accomplishment (e.g., Rom 8:23; Eph 4:30; Rv 5:9) or in its partial accomplishment on Earth (e.g., Eph 1:7; Col 1:14). The term also designates the plan of Christ's work (e.g., Rom 3:24; Ti 2:14). Finally, redemption and its cognate forms can refer to the very accomplishing of the work of Christ in terms of what is done and how the work is effective.

This article considers Redemption chiefly as a process in which the redeeming activity of God is mediated in and through the life and death and resurrection of the Incarnate Word. The investigations are polarized to the side of Redemption as it is something objective. This is to say that the Redemption is considered as the decisive and definite act of God in Christ on behalf of mankind so that, as regards the divine activity in this order of things, redemption is accomplished "for once and for all" (Heb 9:26). In the consideration of Redemption as objective, the focus is on God's efficient activity rather than on man's reception of and response to the redemptive act of God.

The objective of this article is to present a doctrinal survey that indicates the main lines of theological reflection upon this mystery. This article is not an effort to construct an integral theology of the Redemption according to any one soteriological theory. The Redemption is a mystery properly so called. In certain epochs and according to certain schools of theology, different aspects of the mystery have been put in relief while others have been passed over almost unnoticed. No single theory of the Redemption has ever been total or complete. The investigation proceeds, in general, through scriptural themes and dogmatic formulations by the Church, the doctrinal context of the Redemption, and, finally, theories of the Redemption considered within the doctrinal context.

SCRIPTURAL THEMES AND DOGMATIC FORMULATIONS

These themes and formulations serve as points of departure for the reflections of the Church and the articles of FAITH toward which are addressed the theological questions for an intelligence of the mystery.

Scriptural Themes. There are seven themes that can be derived from the New Testament as theological points of departure for the inquiring Christian who asks the question: How and by what means is man delivered from the evil of sin and restored to grace with God Although not all these themes are equally central in the mystery, each of them, nonetheless, provides a clue for insight into the various aspects of the mystery.

First, redemption is revealed as achieved by the very fact that the Word of God assumes human nature and becomes the mediator between God and man. The theme is derived from the Fourth Gospel. The sources are also Pauline (e.g., 1 Tm 2:5; Heb 8:6; 9:15). Compare the reestablishment of all things in Christ (Eph 1:10; Col 1:15–20) and the Christ-Adam parallel (Rom 5:12–19; 1 Cor 15:21–22, 45–49). Second, redemption is accomplished through Christ's giving his life as a price of purchase, or ransom, as it were (Mk 10:45; 1 Cor 6:20; 7:23; 1 Tm 2:6; Ti 2:14; 1 Pt 1:18–19; Rv 5:9). Third, redemption is effected through the suffering and death of Christ, undergone because of SIN and on behalf of sinners (Jn 1:29; Rom 4:25; 5:6–21; 1 Cor 15:3; 2 Cor 5:15; Gal 2:20; Eph 5:2; Col 2:13–14).

Fourth, redemption is performed through the sacrifice of Christ offered on the cross (from the account of the institution of the Eucharist in the Synoptic Gospels; the Epistle to the Hebrews; Rom 3:25; 1 Cor 5:7; Eph 5:2; 1 Jn 4:10). Fifth, redemption is acquired through Christ's victory over the devil (Jn 14:30; Col 1:13; 2:15; 1 Jn 3:8), sin, and death (Rom 5:21; 6:6–23; 8:3; 1 Cor 15:20–58).

Sixth, redemption is attained through the obedience of Christ (Jn 10:18; 14:31; Phil 2:5–11).

Seventh, Redemption is carried out by the RESURRECTION OF CHRIST (Rom 1:4; 4:25; 1 Cor 15; 2 Cor 5:15), and his INTERCESSION in heaven with the Father (Rom 8:34; Heb 7:25).

These themes are scattered throughout the New Testament. The texts cited are simply some examples in the scriptures whence these themes can be derived. They converge on the central truth of Christian revelation—man's deliverance from sin and his restoration to union with God by means of Christ's coming, his life, and especially his death and Resurrection. The New Testament authors scarcely go beyond the statement of the mystery. They illustrate various aspects of the mystery with comparisons to similar things in the world of man.

The redemption wrought by God in Christ is something absolutely and entirely unique. Faith in the redemption accomplished by Christ was a living experience far richer than the New Testament author's attempted formulations of the experience. These writers formulated their experience not to set out ideas in a system, but rather to set out ideas in various contexts and on different occasions in order to foster the faith and sustain this living experience in the infant Church.

God invites man to participate in the mystery and intends that man read out of his living experience of the mystery some understanding of the reasons why. This is precisely what happened in the Church when these scriptural themes became the points of departure for the subsequent theological reflections made within the living experience of the Redemption.

Dogmatic Formulations. Definitions of the Church are usually formulated in response to questions raised in controversy or in answer to a heresy.

Before the Council of Trent. There are no salient pronouncements on the subject of the Redemption by the authoritative teaching Church before the Council of TRENT. No serious controversies arose in the Church over the redemptive work of Christ before the Council of Trent. It is true that the logic of the early Christological heresies and Pelagianism could have had repercussions in the doctrine of the Redemption, but unorthodoxy did not press its principles into applications in this field of the faith. The Church was satisfied to aim its anathemas at the principles themselves.

The creeds can be considered the earliest formulations of the faith on the Redemption. Employed for catechetical and baptismal purposes, the creeds are statements of the fundamental articles of the faith with a minimum of doctrinal development. In the earliest creeds, the belief in Christ as SAVIOR is professed. There is a recital of the great events of his life: Christ is born, is crucified, is buried, and rising on the third day sits at the right hand of the Father. Forgiveness of sins and life eternal are confessed, at least in an implied manner, as the fruits of the life and death and Resurrection of the Savior (cf. Denzinger-Hünermann, Enchiridion symbolorum 1–30),

As such, creeds develop further; one may note that a reason is assigned for the coming of the Savior. Thus, in the NICENE CREED: "For us men and for our salvation He came down and was enfleshed, made man, suffered, and rose on the third day, [and] ascended into heaven" (ibid. 125). The Creed of Constantinople in 381 goes one doctrinal step further by inserting: "crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate" (ibid. 150).

Until the time of the Council of Trent, the faith of the Church relative to the Redemption appears in certain doctrinal pronouncements, but it does so incidentally, with other subjects. The doctrine is usually expressed in the terminology of the scriptures or of the creeds and without any real doctrinal advance (cf. ibid. 539, 700, 801, 852). It is in the fourteenth century that the concept of MERIT as applied to Christ's sufferings and death begins to appear in the ecclesiastical documents (ibid. 1027, 1347).

Council of Trent and After. Significant doctrinal advances were made within the formulations issued by the Council of Trent. In defining the hereditary character of ORIGINAL SIN, the council employed the notion of merit to explain the forgiveness of sins (ibid. 1513). The concept of satisfaction is also adjoined to the notion of merit to explain the manner in which man is redeemed by Christ (ibid. 1529). (The meaning of merit and satisfaction as applied to the Redemption will be taken up later; only the employment of these concepts is noted here.)

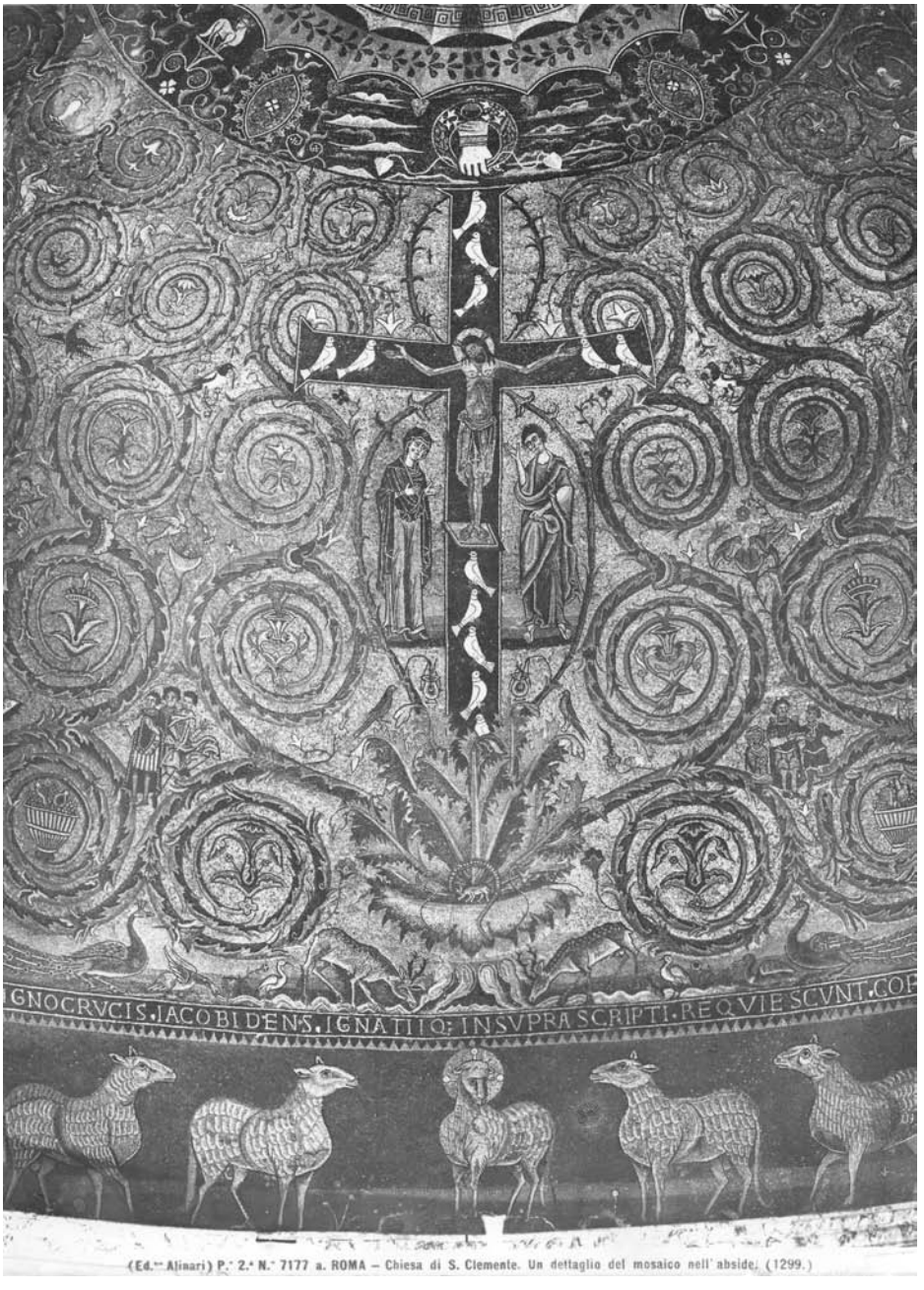
This notion of satisfaction for sins offered to God in the sufferings of Christ is mentioned again in the council's treatment of the sacrament of Penance (ibid. 1689–90; cf. 1713). As Jean Rivière remarks: "In these passages there is no question of a doctrinal definition. This was not called for. Nevertheless, by the very fact of being included in the solemn decree of justification the two categories of merit and satisfaction which were already current in the schools as describing the work of Christ acquired a kind of official character" (*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 13.2:1919). The sacrificial character of the Redemption was affirmed by the Council of Trent in its defense of the Holy Mass, against the objections of the reformers (Denzinger-Hünermann Enchiridion symbolorum 1739–42).

In 1555, while the council was still in session, Pope PAUL IV condemned the proposition of the Socinians that "Jesus Christ did not submit to the most cruel death of the cross to redeem us from sins and from eternal death and to reunite us with the Father unto eternal life" (ibid. 1880).

This formula affirms the objective character of the Redemption against those who would see in the PASSION OF CHRIST only the value of an example (an opinion that was to be proposed again by certain nineteenth-century liberal Protestant theologians).

Modern Times. VATICAN COUNCIL I included in its program a general schema on Christian doctrine in which the doctrine of the Redemption was to have had a prominent place. The schema included a canon that would have declared heretical the affirmation that Christ could not and did not truly and properly satisfy for sins; that vicarious satisfaction of one mediator for all men is repugnant to divine justice. These canons do not have the authority of a pronouncement of the Church, but they manifest the thinking of the Church current at that period.

Summary. In great part, these formulations from the Magisterium are paraphrases of the themes derived from the text of scripture. The teaching Church puts particular insistence on the role of the sufferings and death of Christ in the work of redemption, but not



Redemption Motifs. *This twelfth-century mosaic of combined Redemption motifs is located on the apse of the Church of St. Clemente in Rome. At the center of the work is the Crucifixion surrounded by curving vines of flowers, and food and drink. You can also see a river flowing from beneath the Cross with animals drinking from it. At the very bottom of the mosaic, there are lambs flanking the Lamb of God. At the very top of the mosaic, you can see the hand of God.*

more emphasis than the New Testament itself does (cf. 1 Cor 1:23–25; 2:2).

In the mind of the Church, the death of Christ has the value of a supreme lesson for and example to mankind. But more than that, Christ's sacrificial death is objectively and sovereignly efficacious in the work of delivering man from the evil of sin and of reestablishing the union between God and man.

There is a doctrinal advance in Trent's explanation of that efficacy by way of the theological categories of

merit and satisfaction. The council did not canonize any particular theory of merit or of satisfaction in relation to the work of the Redemption. Neither did it sanction any theory of sacrifice. The council and the subsequent official teaching of the Church do, however, direct that authentic Catholic theology will explain the manner of the Redemption within some valid conception of merit and satisfaction. That is, the work of Christ somehow earns or acquires the deliverance from sin and the reunion of man with God; Christ in his sacrificial death in some real way compensates for the evil of sin and thereby becomes for man "God-given wisdom, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption" (1 Cor 1:30). In employing these categories of merit and satisfaction, the Church has interpreted the data of revelation and sanctioned some principal currents of doctrine in tradition.

THE CHURCH FATHERS ON REDEMPTION

The thoughts of the FATHERS OF THE CHURCH on the mystery of the Redemption are unsystematic, and their views are not always clear-cut or precise. It is therefore difficult, if not impossible, to summarize their doctrine briefly, accurately, and without distortion.

Problems in Patristic Thought and Method. The Fathers' doctrine on the Redemption contains fixed elements derived from scripture, the creeds, and the liturgy. In the early Church, especially among the Greeks, the decisive moment of the Redemption in the life of the Incarnate Word is never pinpointed. In the West, the sufferings and death of Christ very soon became the events that specially focus the act of redemption, whereas in the theology of the East one finds a moving viewpoint, according to which it is sometimes the very fact of the Incarnation in which redemption is accomplished, sometimes the total life of Christ. Yet even in the East there is a marked emphasis on the death of Christ.

In the scriptures, the Redemption is something God does in and through Christ for the SALVATION of sinful men. But redemption is also something that Christ, as man, offers to God on man's behalf. The redemption is a work that takes place in God and in man with an effectivity, apparently, in opposite directions. The Greek Fathers tend to emphasize the first conception; the Latin Fathers, the second. Though both conceptions might be affirmed side by side, an emphasis on one tends to become an underestimation of the other.

Furthermore, a writer's general approach to the Christian religion will exercise a determining influence on his doctrine of the Redemption. If Christianity is conceived of primarily as a code of conduct, redemption through the teaching, example, and inspiration of Christ will become a key concept. If Christianity is considered a cult rather than a code, redemption will take place through some religious event or experience in which the faithful are to participate.

In the West, cult is considered generally after the manner of an exchange. Christ offers his humanity in loving obedience to the Father in the event of his sacrificial death to obtain from the Father for sinful mankind forgiveness of sins and eternal life. The faithful participate objectively in this exchange because Christ performs the work in the name of all mankind.

In the East, cult is a mystical transplantation rather than a sacrificial exchange. Man does not so much achieve something as experience something in cultic action. The Word of God is made flesh, and by living in human history he releases into the world of men a new dynamism that is able to effect a moral reorientation and a mystical transfiguration. As a power of moral reorientation, the Christian dynamism is able to rescue man from the power of evil. As a power of transfiguration, it is able to cure him of his involvement in sin, his weakness and death, and all the other deprivations consequent to the Fall. The faithful participate objectively in this power because it has been made available to the experience of all in the life of the Church. Such divergent conceptions will set a theology of redemption on different courses.

Views of the Fathers. Historians of doctrine—both Catholic and non-Catholic—trace different patterns of thought and divergent lines of progress in the development of the doctrine in tradition. Each of these authors can adduce long lists of impressive names and pages of patristic dicta to support his conclusions.

The monumental work of the French theologian Jean RIVIÈRE (1878–1946) defended a fundamental unity of doctrine in tradition against the works of Albrecht RITSCHL, Louis Auguste SABATIER, and Adolf von HARNACK. For the theology of Ritschl, see Ernest Bertrand's *Une Nouvelle conception de la rédemption* (Paris 1891); for Sabatier, see his *Doctrine of the Atonement and Its Historical Evolution*, translated by V. Leuliette (London 1904); for Von Harnack, see *History of Dogma*, translated by Neil Buchanan et al., 7 v. (New York 1961) 3:310–315; 5:55–60. These three authors underline the discordance between scripture and tradition, between the Greek and Latin Fathers, and between primitive Christianity and the Middle Ages. The disunity is certainly not so serious and sharp as Rivière's adversaries contended. But neither is there such an obvious unity as Rivière seemed to propose amid the multiplicity of divergent ideas found in the writings of the Fathers (see G. Oggioni in *Problemi e orientamenti di teologia dommatica* [Milan 1957], 2:312–314, 318).

Rivière ably defended a unity in the tradition of the East and the West, and of the ancient and the modern

in exposing a line of doctrinal development that leads to a theory of vicarious moral satisfaction. But he did this at the expense of failing to integrate into a theology of the Redemption other important scriptural themes and significant developments in tradition. In a section titled "Definitive Organization in the Catholic Church," Rivière wrote, "Upon the basis of the Anselmian system, with some superficial modifications, the Catholic dogma of the Redemption rapidly took the form which it has today" (*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 13.2:1947).

Most Catholic theologians in the twenty-first century, however, find that judgment deficient and one-sided. There has been an extensive renewal of biblical studies in the Church and a return of theology to a critical study of the sources of the faith. This renewal and return have exerted a full and fruitful influence on the theology of the Redemption. It is being seen with an ever greater clarity that a theology of the Redemption that pays exclusive attention to the death of Christ and explains its redemptive value chiefly in terms of a moral satisfaction offered God for the sins of men is an unbalanced and impoverished theology. Besides, it is a theology not altogether faithful to the rich data in scripture and tradition.

REDEMPTION IN A DOCTRINAL CONTEXT

In the twentieth century, the doctrine of the Redemption began the process of an awakened and rapidly unfolding development. The development is the result of an effort to integrate the modern scholarship in scripture and the more recent critical studies on the history of doctrine. The development is also in terms of an extension of the field of inquiry as new questions, new methodology, and new contexts are introduced into the investigations. In view of this theological unfolding, it is not out of place to examine the doctrinal context of the Redemption.

"Context" in this sense refers to the galaxy of subjects, issues, and related divine and human facts that are to be related and integrated into a comprehensive theology of the Redemption. "Doctrinal," meanwhile, implies that what is said of these matters is verifiable in the commonly accepted doctrines of reputable theologians, biblical exegetes, and other scholars.

There are other reasons to examine this doctrinal context. First, the context provides a framework in which to organize the reflections of the more important Fathers of the Church. Second, the context affords a frame of reference in which to situate the systems of the theologians as well as those areas of present doctrinal development. The Redemption is the mystery of God's redeeming act in and through Christ whereby mankind is delivered from the evil of sin and reunited in grace with God. This general definition implies three fundamental and distinct subjects related in the mystery: (1) the redeeming activity of God in and through Christ;(2) the evil of sin; and (3) the reunion in grace. These subjects, in their theological implications, are the three dimensions, as it were, of the doctrinal context of objective redemption.

The Divine Redeeming Act. The Redemption must be considered as an act accomplished both by God and by Christ. There are two phases, as it were, in the salvific act of God's merciful love.

The Redeeming Act of God through Christ. The origin of the Redemption is the absolutely free love and MERCY OF GOD, who wills to incarnate his son and send him into the world and into human history to deliver mankind from the evil of sin and to reunite man with himself. This statement indicates that the initiative in the redeeming act is with God. The motive is God's free love and mercy offering for man's Redemption, nothing less than the gift of Himself. The means by which the redeeming act is accomplished is the Word made flesh in his human life. The purpose is to deliver man from the evil of sin in order to unite man with God. God's act is a deliverance *from* something and *into* something. It is a deliverance acquisition. God enables Christ as man to undertake and accomplish the work of deliverance and reunion by inspiring Christ with that love and obedience whereby the Word Incarnate freely performs in his life and in his humanity that work of liberation and ATONEMENT.

This affirmation declares that the divine redeeming activity is essentially performed by means of the human acts of the Word Incarnate motivated by love and obedience. As human acts performed in his humanity, these acts operate in the physical order. As inspired by love and obedience, these acts are operative in the moral order. Consequently, there are two parallel effectivities able to be considered in Christ's acts: a physical effectivity and a moral effectivity. As physical, Christ's acts are related to the effects that the very acts themselves produce as a result of their own operative efficiency. As moral, Christ's acts obtain a moral right that God acts to produce some effect.

God raises Christ from the dead in order that the crucified and risen Lord might be able to communicate to mankind his grace of deliverance and reunion. This proposition proposes that the act of God resurrecting Christ is an essential part of the activity of God redeeming, so that the sufferings and death of Christ are not to be considered as redemptive independently of the Resurrection. It implies besides that it is by means of the Death-Resurrection event, two aspects of one mystery, that Christ, "who was delivered up for our sins,

and rose again for our justification" (Rom 4:25), becomes, for mankind, "God-given wisdom, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption" (1 Cor 1:30).

The Redeeming Act of Christ. Although the divine redeeming activity has its first and eternal origin in the love of the Blessed TRINITY for sinful man (Eph 2:4), in a second moment and in "the fullness of time God sent his Son ... that he might redeem ... that we might receive the adoption of sons" (Gal 4:4–5). Christ is the mediator of God's redeeming activity, becoming himself for mankind the cause of their deliverance from sin and the cause of their reunion with God in grace.

The Incarnate Word exercises this function of mediating the redemptive act of God in four ways: (1) in the fact of his becoming man; (2) in the mediation of his life as messiah-king, as prophet-teacher, and as high priest; (3) in the mediation of his death as victor, as redeemer, as priest-victim; and (4) in the mediation of his Resurrection as savior and as intercessor.

In the very fact of the Word of God's becoming man there is an assumption by the Word not only of a human nature but also of a redemptive history. The INCARNATION is an actual and decisive event, an intervention in the current of human history. It is an event capable, in itself, of interrupting the processes of human history and of setting history on the course of a new direction.

The redeeming activity of God is mediated by Christ as messiah-king. Christ establishes the KINGDOM OF GOD and the new covenant by making disciples and winning their faith, love, and loyalty. In making disciples and in giving them the new law, he establishes the lines of that community in which deliverance from the evil of sin and reunion with God might take place and, when realized in the members, might be lived in freedom.

As prophet-teacher, Christ instructs mankind in the way of God's salvific will, in the way of response to God. Christ points out the way of life and the way of death; what is true and what is a lie. Christ becomes for mankind the way, the truth, and the life in order that men might know how they are to be delivered from evil and from what evil they are to be liberated; how to be reunited with God and what the realities and terms of that union are.

As high priest, Christ establishes the new priesthood and the new cult so that, by means of the acts of cult, mankind might be enabled and inspired to hate the evil of sin and love the goodness of God.

The redeeming activity is mediated by Christ in his death as victor, as redeemer, and as priest-victim. This area of the doctrinal context bears the burden of the traditional theology of the Redemption. At this point should be set out, along general lines, the doctrine that, as variously interpreted by the theologians, is used to support their doctrinal theories.

Christ is considered as victor in his death from two points of view. In the first place, Christ is seen as victorious over the powers of evil itself. For although the death of Christ was plotted by Jews, pronounced by Pilate, and executed by Roman legionnaires, behind these men were the forces of evil itself. Jesus speaks not simply of his human assassins but of the "prince of this world" (Jn 14:30) and the "power of darkness" (Lk 22:53). Under this attack of his enemies, and even in the agony of his sufferings, Christ is victorious in his supreme resolution lovingly and obediently to do as the Father commanded (Jn 14:31). Christ dies but to rise on the third day.

Second, Christ is victor in his death because, by the power of his obedient charity, he is able to vanquish the objections and the revulsions of his human nature in the terrors of the CRUCIFIXION. It is in the real and historical circumstances of his death that Christ finds the opportunity for the full expression of his loving obedience (cf. Jn 15:13). It is in the actual circumstances of his suffering that Christ's human nature becomes fully actuated by the mighty power of his grace. As redeemer, Christ, in accepting his death out of love and obedience, accomplishes on behalf of mankind that work by means of which man is delivered from his complicity in, and his liability to, and his oppression by sin and death. As priest-victim, Christ offers himself through the bloody sacrifice of the cross, thereby reconciling sinful mankind to God.

How Christ as victor, redeemer, and priest-victim mediates the deliverance of man from sin and reunites him with God will be taken up shortly. How the victory affects man, how the work of deliverance is accomplished, and how the sacrifice is a reconciliation—all these questions are answered variously in the theological systems.

The redeeming activity is mediated, finally, by Christ as savior and intercessor. It is the grace of the crucified and risen Savior, the grace formed in him by the death-Resurrection event, which is to be communicated to the faithful. This grace, when shared, will make those "in Christ" die to the flesh and be transformed to live to Christ in the grace of his Resurrection and in the grace of the Spirit. Moreover, this redemption is mediated by the risen Christ insofar as it is the risen Christ, in the grace of his Resurrection, who is the efficient cause of man's justification (cf. Rom 4:25; 6:1–11; 8:23; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 3a, q. 56 a. 1–2).

Summary. The redemptive act is performed by God in and through Christ. The act of redeeming has its origin in God, who loves man and wills to be merciful to him. This act of God is mediated by means of the activity of

the Incarnation. The redeeming activity of the Word made flesh is manifold and mediated by his very assumption of human nature, by the redemptive roles he exercised in his life, death, Resurrection, and Ascension to the Father. It is this totality that accomplishes, once and for all, the work that is able to deliver man from the evil of sin and to reunite him in grace with God.

The Evil of Sin. The second dimension of the doctrinal context is the subject of the evil of sin. A theology of redemption must explain how the salvific activity of God, mediated through Christ, is directed to the deliverance of man from sin in all the actual or possible aspects of evil in sin.

As introduction, it is to be remarked that sin is taken here in a biblical conception that names as sin anything defecting from what God wills to be realized in man. This conception of sin is altogether objective. It prescinds from the subject's attitude toward, or even knowledge of, the fact of this defect. It is assumed, however, that such an objective defect from God's will enters the world of man by a deliberate abuse of intellect and will. Sin is introduced by man's knowing and willing refusal to acknowledge God, and by his failure to choose the good that God wills for him. It is this conscious and deliberate refusal and failure that introduces the evil of sin into man's history, into his society, into his person, and consequently into his activity toward his destiny. The evil of sin, therefore, has four main aspects: (1) evil in relation to man's destiny, (2) evil in relation to his person, (3) evil in relation to his society, and (4) evil in relation to his history.

Sin in Relation to Man's Destiny. The evil of sin is related to man's destiny as a condition of fallen nature. This condition is caused by man's alienating himself from God in the act of his free choice. This act of free choice is an act of alienation when man, in his freedom, refuses to love and obey God. This act of alienation causes a state of alienation that implies a loss of the supernatural gifts of GRACE, a withdrawal of his life from God as his final destiny, and a choice of what he determines for himself to be his destiny.

From a moral point of view, man's act of alienating himself from God can be understood as an act dishonoring God, or as an act violating God's just will, or as an act injuring God's supreme majesty, or as an act offending God's infinite goodness. The state of man's alienation may be considered as a debt, since man is in default of payment to God of what is his due, or as a fault, inasmuch as man's refusal of love and obedience is a rupture of the right order between God and man.

It should be noticed that when the evil of sin is described either as the human act and state of alienation or as dishonor, offense, debt, and fault, the identical reality is being described. These are two viewpoints on the same thing. God's honor is verified in man's free love and obedience. Man pays his debt to God in retaining his gifts of grace. Man will never default if he seeks God above all things. The act of alienation and its consequent state describe a physical condition of man theologically considered. Dishonor, offense, debt, and fault describe those same realities in a transposition of understanding into the moral order.

Sin in Relation to Man's Person. The evil of sin in relation to man's person is, in the first place, damaging. The immediate result of man's alienation from God is his loss of the gifts of grace. Implied in his act of refusal to love God is a withdrawal of his life from God as his final destiny. In this act of withdrawal there is contained a choice of self. This act of choice, in which a man determines for himself what will be good for him introduces within his person a condition of disintegration and disability, so that his very nature as man is in a damaged condition.

There is a disintegration, an "infirmity," in what man is, because, having rejected what God wills for him, man is without that principle that must integrate both the various powers of activity within himself and his activity in relation to his fellow men. God's will determines man's nature to be what it is (cf. *Summa theologiae* 1a, q. 19 a. 4). It is man's correspondence with that divine will that alone is the principle of social and personal integration. Without this principle, men are left to the devices of their own wills and to the autonomous desires of their own persons.

Man is led in life by what St. PAUL would call the spirit of the flesh (cf. Rom 7:13–25; 8:5–13). Governed solely by his own will, man is in bondage to sin. He comes to fear himself and his fellow men (cf. Rom 8:15; 7:13–25). The refusal to obey God's will is a refusal of freedom: "Everyone who commits sin is a slave of sin" (Jn 8:34; cf. Rom 6:15–23). The damaged condition of man becomes a disability, a "weakness," besides. Once a man has lost the gifts of grace, he is unable to accomplish what God wills him to achieve. As alienated from God's will, man has cut himself off from the sources of "life" that God grants to those united with him. Man is left only with the resources of his nature now disintegrated. In Pauline terms, he is reduced to the existence of the "flesh," and his life becomes "death" (cf. Rom 7:13–25; 8:2).

Living without grace and in alienation from God, man has a disabled life. It is unproductive from God's point of view; it is a succession of nothing, to be terminated by physical death without the hope of eternal life. Physical death ratifies and makes final what has been taking place continually: a dying in man's person

from the disintegration and the disability. The result of this damage is the fact that a man is without the powers to produce what the very nature of man requires for its own well-being: ordered, purposeful activity that is good for the whole man and for the common good of society. Sin disintegrates and disables man and through him sin disorders society.

Sin in Relation to Society. A society established by men inspired by the "lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life" (1 Jn 2:16) becomes a fallen society. Like the sinful men who compose it, society incorporates within itself the alienation from God and damaged condition of men. Society is alienated from God as it seeks its own self-assigned destiny. Society becomes disintegrated as groups within society are at counter purposes. The social body becomes disabled in its efforts, by reason of its lack of unity in the quest for the common good. In Johannine terms, this society is the "world" that is "not from the Father" (1 Jn 2:16), that hates Christ (cf. Jn 15:18), that does not know the Word of God (cf. Jn 1:10).

It is such a society, perverted by its sinful members, that in its turn becomes a force of evil to pervert its members. In the dynamism of social influence, man is induced into sinful ways of living as his social milieu endorses his sin and provides him opportunity for the expression of his sinful person. Furthermore, fallen society enforces its mores on its members as it rewards those who adopt its standards and goals. The world loves what is its own (cf. Jn 15.19): "They are of the world; therefore of the world they speak and the world listens to them" (1 Jn 4:5).

Besides inducing its sinful members further into their personal sin, society also seduces its members into sin by engendering its ways of sin, conforming them to this world (Rom 12.2) so that they walk "according to the fashion of this world" (Eph 2:2). This seduction is imperceptible. It happens unconsciously, and without a man's being aware of it, he defects from the good God wills for him and becomes like a sheep gone astray (1 Pt 2:25). This seduction also happens prior to the time when a man is competent to exercise personal freedom. Personal sin mediates sin to society. Social sin and personal sin, as it has a social aspect, mediate sin into history.

Sin in Relation to History. The evil of sin in relation to history is a kind of deviation. This deviation takes place in two historical frames of reference: first, in the history of the race as a whole and, second, in the history of the individual. By history is meant this plain fact: The condition of man and his activity at one point of time in his existence affects his condition and his activity at succeeding points along the line of time.

There is an interlocking of the *before* and the *after* in man's historic existence. This interlocking is a process in which the *before* affects the *after* in terms of continuity, causality, immanence, and transcendence. There is in the process the effect of continuity, for the *after* is always, at least in something, contained in the same order of things as the *before*. What is before is the matrix of what comes after. There is the effect of causality because there is a correlation between the existence of the before and the existence of the after. What is before is the condition of possibility for what comes after. There is the effect of immanence insofar as there is some presence of the *before* in the *after*. What is before is a determinant of what comes after. Finally, there is the effect of transcendence inasmuch as the *after* is able, in something, to go beyond the *before* by means of the unique contribution of the *present*, the *now*.

First, in the actual history of the race, the sin of Adam at the beginning of history causes Adam's condition to be that of fallen man, alienated, damaged in his disintegration and disability. This condition is the beginning of a process in which the *before* affects the *after* and in which the *after* is able to transcend the *before*.

The first man passes on to those after him a condition like his own. Men are born alienated from God, damaged in view of God's will that man be elevated to grace. Man becomes disintegrated as soon as the choice of self, proceeding from his person deprived of grace and of nature's integrity, becomes actual. This process is repeated as generation follows generation. The process is also transposed to the social order as the social lines of a sinful society at any given point of time are affected by the social dimensions of a previous society in terms of continuity, causality, immanence. The process compounds itself through the effect of transcendence as both men and society make their unique contributions to the alienation and damage of sin. The result is a perpetuation of evil, a process of continual, ever-widening deviation from the will of God.

Second, when the evil of sin is considered in relation to the history of the individual, certain considerations must be introduced. In the context of concrete existence, the human individual may be considered a "person" insofar as he freely disposes of himself by personal decision and possesses his own reality in the act of making a free decision about himself. In this same method of considering man, the individual is also a "nature," that is, all in him that is given and is prior to this personal and free disposal of himself.

Nature is the object-given, the passivity, the reception, the spontaneous in man.

Nature is the condition of his possibility. *Person* is the subject-positing, the activity determining, the man

in his freedom to determine himself as a whole in relation to what is good.

The terms "person" and "nature" with this meaning must be distinguished from these same terms as they have been traditionally used in scholastic theology. The use of the terms here is in the context of the modern metaphysics of existence. Some such terms are necessary because there is a need to distinguish between that in man which is given, which is structured and dynamic within him but without his freely disposing himself as such, and that in man which is such as it is by reason of his free disposition of himself. This is the distinction that common sense sees partially in the division between "what I am" and "what I want to be and try to be."

In the personal history of man and in the context of this dualism, nature is prior to person. Nature is acted upon and has its specific activity before a person acts to posit that which the subject freely wishes to be. This dynamism of nature is the necessary presupposition of the conscious, free decision of the person. And although the free decision of person should comprehend and transform the prior and spontaneous act of nature, the act of nature and the determinations already set up in nature come to affect the act of person.

It happens that before person in man is sufficiently awakened and before he is able to dispose of himself as a whole toward what is good simply, and before the inner core of the subject-person is able to posit what he will be and modify what he actually is, nature has already been determined in a deviation toward sin. Nature has already been determined as born alienated from God, damaged in view of God's will concerning the ELEVATION OF MAN to grace. Nature is potentially disintegrated and disabled because, lacking a positive conversion to God, the man is potentially converted to self.

The potential conversion to self becomes actual from three agencies. (1) The spontaneous dynamisms of "nature" tend to the particular good, not to good simply but to what is good in the here and now for the subject. Such tendencies induce the subject into acts of choice toward particular goods. And such a choice becomes equivalent to a choice of self, given the lack of a "personal" conversion to good simply. These acts lay down habituations and sets of determinations that are dynamic elements within the subject when the person is first called upon to make the free decision of person. Consequently, antecedent to the subject's determination of himself by personal decision, dynamic orientations are already there within the subject's nature toward specific self-related values. In the dynamism of these determinations, freedom of personal choice is jeopardized because the determinations of nature tend to specify the act of person in terms of a continuity with nature, a causality from nature and in an immanence of nature. Person penetrates nature with difficulty. Nature must be reformed and person fortified in its own dynamism before free decision succeeds completely in making its way without being deviated by nature. (2) Personal choice is further deviated by the influence on the subject by other sinful persons. (3) Personal determination is deviated by the influence exerted by sinful society. Until a person is able to take up a stand, command and comprehend its freedom, the human subject is related to others and to his society in a relationship of profound dependency. In this dependency nature is open and a person is susceptible to whatever modifications the external personal and social environment introduces. In the concrete circumstances of his human history, a man's personal freedom is jeopardized so that he is not able to overcome what he is by nature through the free decision of person.

Summary and Conclusions. It is in man and in man's world where sin is situated as something real and concrete. Sin in its reality is fundamentally something (or, to put it more accurately, something missing) in man. But given the facticity of sin in man, one can go on and consider the evil of sin in other categories of intelligibility.

From a moral point of view, the evil of sin is transposed in understanding and is seen as a rupture of the interpersonal relations between God and man. One goes on to speak of how God regards sinful man and how man dares to regard God. One speaks of the rights of the person offended, of the obligation and the manner of making a suitable satisfaction for the offense. The categories of explanation of sin and deliverance from it are contained within the field of amicable, interpersonal relationship.

From a juridical point of view, the evil of sin is transposed into the order of law. Sin is seen as a violation of law incurring the penalties that justice decrees as corrective or vindictive punishments. One speaks of the expiation of crimes, of penalties undergone to avoid the retributive punishments determined by law. The categories of explanation of sin and of man's deliverance from sin are retained within the context of jurisprudence.

These transpositions in the understanding of sin are an enrichment of the conceptions of the fact of sin. The mystery of sin is related to familiar analogies in human affairs. But these conceptions tend to become an impoverishment and, possibly, a distortion of the fact. Sin is a rupture of the relations between God and man. Sin is a violation of law. Nevertheless, the reach and applications of these conceptions fall short of comprehending the totality of aspects in the reality of man's sin. It is never theologically safe to discuss the WILL OF GOD and his law without looking at the reality and seeing it steadily. God's law is God's will. God's actual will is the cause of the reality of things such as they are.

It is necessary to understand sin not only in the moral and juridical orders but primarily in the physical order of man's actual condition. In this physical order, sin is something done to man. Sin is also something happening to man. If the Redemption is to be the deliverance from this evil, then redemption must be both something done (completed) and something happening (continued) to deliver him from all the aspects of reality in sin.

The Reunion in Grace. Like the subject of sin, the reunion in grace has several aspects insofar as the realities of this reunion are transposed into various frames of understanding. The reunion in grace may be considered in relation to the physical order, the moral order, the juridical order.

Reunion in the Physical Order. The reunion in grace has the aspect of identity with the deliverance from sin when this reunion is considered in the physical order. As God has determined things, there is no deliverance from sin without a reunion in grace (cf. *Summa theologiae* 1a2ae, q. 113 a. 2). If sin be an alienation, then mankind is delivered from this evil by the gift that will convert him to God and sustain that conversion. If sin be a damage, man is delivered by the gift that restores the integrity and the ability of his nature. If sin be a social perversion, society is delivered by the gift that reforms the lines of perverted society. If sin be a historical deviation, history is delivered by the gift that reorients the processes of human history.

In this frame of reference, theology must explain how the redeeming activity of Christ is related to the grace of conversion for mankind, the grace of personal restoration, the grace of social reform, and the grace of historical reorientation.

Reunion in the Moral Order. Sin is conceived, in the moral order, as an offense against God. Offense is given when several wills regard the same object and there is contrariety of choice and conflict of act between those wills. One person wills and acts contrary to the will and act of another person. This other person is offended if he has equal or superior rights over the subject. God wills that man love and obey him. In sinning, man refuses this love and obedience. God is offended by this will and act of man, for God has absolute rights over man. Man has the obligation to reverence his Creator.

To be reunited to God, man must willingly and with love do that which God loves more than he hates the offense. In this moral frame of reference, theology explains how the work of Christ is something God can love more than he hates the sin of mankind, so that by reason of this compensating work of Christ, satisfaction is made for the offense and grace is given to man by God.

Another consideration in the moral order understands sin as a fault or a debt. As a fault, sin is a defection destroying the right order that must obtain between God and man. From this aspect, theology shows how the work of Christ accomplishes a mutual reconciliation through the act of propitiation. As a debt, sin is the refusal of man to offer what he owes to his Creator. From a basis in this understanding, theology proposes how the work of Christ offers a payment or ransom, so that man, redeemed from his debt and solvent through Christ's work, may avail himself freely of God's grace for a life of love and obedience.

Reunion in the Juridical Order. Sin is understood in the juridical order as a violation of the just law of God that demands that the sinner be punished according to his crimes. From this conception, theology will describe how the work of Christ is an EXPIATION for the penalty due to sins so that, God's justice being satisfied, he may freely and lovingly give the grace of pardon to man.

It will be noticed that when the understanding of sin is transposed into the moral and juridical orders, the redeeming activity appears as a work that Christ as man offers to God on behalf of man. The effectivity of Christ's work has a term in (or at least a direction toward) God. Man comes to God in the Redemption achieved by Christ. However, when sin is seen in the physical order, the redeeming activity is a work done by God in Christ and offered to man. Both the term and the direction of the effectivity are immediately related to man. God comes to man in the Redemption performed by Christ.

These two conceptions of the Redemption point up a significant fact. In the moral order, it is man who must reunite himself to God, for God never ceases to love man. In the physical order, it is God who must reunite himself to man, because once man loses this supernatural union with God, there is nothing man can do to regain this union.

THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION ON INCARNATION ITSELF

In this section, and in the corresponding one that follows, the more important theories will be situated within the doctrinal context. The first dimension of the context, namely the divine redeeming activity in and through Christ, will provide the points of departure in this discussion.

Considered first will be the theories based on the Incarnation itself as redemptive. According to such theories, the Incarnation is like a new act of creation; or better, a new moment in the creational act of God when

God purposes to create all things anew in Christ. This doctrine is a theme in the writings of St. John and St. Paul. In it the very coming of Christ and his life as a totality are understood as redemptive.

The Mystical Explanation. St. IRENAEUS (c. 125–202) founds his redemptive theory of RECAPITULATION in Christ on this scriptural basis. His insight was to conceive an identity of pattern and a parallelism of action between the course of man's history, beginning with creation and Adam's sin, and Christ's salvific life. Irenaeus traces a pattern of identity and a parallelism of contrasts in these two courses of history with a remarkable ingenuity. For Irenaeus, Christ recapitulates humanity. Christ is a compendium of human history by summarizing in his life the course of human history as willed by God and by reiterating in his life the human processes, being victorious where man fell in defeat.

The conception most notable in Irenaeus is the understanding that Christ comes and shares all the experiences of humanity, with only sin excepted. While people live their lives in the circumstances of human history, Christ conquers the forces of evil at work in the world, thereby reversing the processes of human history. Instead of man's history leading him to sin and death, by the work of Christ, those men who are united with him are brought to divinization and immortality.

The Realistic Explanation. Modern theology returns to this idea initiated by St. Irenaeus and echoed by TERTULLIAN and St. METHODIUS. In becoming man, Christ entered the world formed by the history of apartness from God. This alienation causes "sin and death" (in the Pauline eschatological sense of definitive separation from God). Although Christ could not be touched by the moral guilt of sin, he took upon himself the historic conditions of mankind's sinful existence. He came "in the likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom 8:3) and "did not consider being equal to God a thing to be clung to, but emptied himself, taking the nature of a slave and being made like unto men" (Phil 2:7). He became "one tried as we are in all things except sin" (Heb 4:15), and he even "learned obedience from the things that he suffered" (Heb 5:8).

In his Incarnation, Christ as man chose a self-emptying, a condition in which the fullness of his grace was not able to have its full effects. It was the very life history of the Incarnation in the actual unfolding of his life that provided, under God's providence, those opportunities permitting the full expression of his grace and those conditions allowing the Spirit of God to penetrate fully and to possess entirely his created nature. In this abasement, Christ accepted a historic solidarity with the sinful human race.

In his book *The Resurrection* (1960), the French Redemptorist F. X. Durrwell writes that "the redemption of human nature is a drama unfolding first of all in Christ. It takes place in him as a sanctifying transformation from the state of sinful flesh to the holiness of divine life which is its direct opposite" (p. 58). This act of God transforming the humanity of Christ—in the circumstances of his lifetime from the state of sinful flesh to full participation in the divine life—is the redemptive act mediated by Christ to sinful man for the reorientation of human history. The redeeming act of God is not a single, static act. It is a continual irruption into history: first into Christ's history, and then, through him—into the history of mankind. This redemption begins with the first moment of the Incarnation and spans the lifetime of Christ, so that the life of Christ as a unit has the aspect of efficiency in relation to the deliverance from the evil of sin and to the return in grace in their historical dimensions.

The Moralistic Explanation. Another theological viewpoint that conceives the Incarnation in its totality as the cause of man's redemption is the so-called moralistic, or exemplarist, theory. This theory considers the life of Christ as the supreme example of how man is to encounter the circumstances of life, and how God is prepared to act to deliver man from sin and to unite man to himself. In this conception, redemption is accomplished primarily by God's grace, and only secondarily through the revelation, example, and inspiration in the life of Christ. The life of Christ is a work performed by God in humanity to be seen and considered by man and thereby to become the occasion for faith in God's redemptive act. Christ's life is a living lesson of faith and a lesson for living the free gift of faith offered men by God.

The theory, stated in such general terms, has a scriptural basis and is represented in the writings of the Fathers, particularly IGNATIUS, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, the APOLOGISTS in general, ORIGEN, and AUGUSTINE. The theory is valid because the example and teaching of Christ are redemptive insofar as there is presented objectively for all mankind the revelation of God's redemptive will and that source of inspiration to motivate men to respond to God's saving grace.

No Catholic theologian will question the fidelity of this theory to scripture and tradition until it is pressed to the conclusion that the life of Christ has the value only of an example, that the efficacy of his life is exclusively that of revelation and inspiration. The theologian Peter ABELARD (1079–1142) seems to have held this view, and later the Socinians also put it forth. In the twentieth century it became the preferred theory of many liberal Protestant theologians, who were following either the current of nineteenth-century rationalism

or the existentialist interpretations of Christianity fostered by the German theologian Rudolf BULTMANN (see Rivière 1909, 1:18–33; Malevez 1958, pp. 67–117).

Christ as Messiah-King and High Priest. Although no redemptive theory has been elaborated on the specific doctrine of Christ as messiah-king and high priest, modern theology would insist upon integrating into the theology of the Redemption Christ's life activity of making disciples and establishing the foundations of that community of life and cult wherein the deliverance from the evil of sin might take place and the reunion, once begun, might be fostered and sustained. It is Christianity—seen as the community formed by Christ—that becomes redemptive of society's perversion. The Christian community, by means of the dynamism of social influence, counters and corrects the seducing influence of the "world." This is an area of present doctrinal development.

THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION ON CHRIST AS VICTOR, REDEEMER, AND VICTIM

The redeeming activity of God is mediated by Christ in his death as victor, as redeemer, and as victim. This doctrinal statement embraces five of the seven scriptural themes on redemption. It is, besides, a doctrinal summary of the greater part of the official teaching of the Church. As well, it is a compendium of the central body of doctrine presented by the Fathers and the theologians and is a foundation for several theories of the Redemption. Only the barest outline of these systems is offered here.

Christ as Victor. Christ's victory over the devil, "sin and death," is a theme from scripture, and from the earliest times there was a tradition of developing a theory of the Redemption around this favorite theme or idea. The theme began to be developed as early as St. Ignatius, and it was carried in the current of tradition both in the East and in the West until the time of St. THOMAS AQUINAS.

The Devil's Rights. The theory of the devil's rights, as it has been called, has almost as many variations as there are writers handling it. But fundamental to the doctrine is the representation (this is a product of image-thinking) of a contest between Christ and the DEVIL, who holds man in the bondage of "sin and death." In the theory, sin and death are personifications of the dynamic forces of evil within man's life and the allies of the devil. Christ conquers sin because the devil cannot tempt Christ from his resolution to obey even in the terrors of the Crucifixion. Christ conquers death in his rising from the dead in divine power. As a result of Christ's victory, the devil is a vanquished foe of man. God delivers all those united to Christ the Victor from the power of the evil one.

When the theory of the devil's rights is understood in sympathy with image-thinking, the theory appears to be an effort to explain how the work of Christ delivers man from that evil of sin that is nonpersonal and beyond the evil present only in the disordered and deliberate will of the individual. Such a nonpersonal and transcendent evil is the evil of sin in its social and historical aspects.

Person versus Nature. A new development in theology would see the victory of Christ in another way. In the actual assumption of the human nature by the Word, Christ's human nature is in the condition of "sinful flesh." This condition allows that—although Christ is personally sinless, and although his humanity is endowed with a fullness of grace—he will suffer unto death in his humanity in performing the will of God. This suffering is significant. The very fact that Christ is able to suffer is evidence of the fact that nature in Christ is able to have its own determinations—its own "will" as St. Thomas calls it (cf. *Summa theologiae* 3a, q. 18 a. 3–4). St. Thomas also quotes St. JOHN DAMASCENE to the effect that "the divinity of Christ permitted his humanity to do and to be done to in whatever manner is proper to human nature" (ibid. 3a, q. 46 a. 8).

Therefore, in the terrors of the Crucifixion (and even in the less difficult situations of Christ's life), nature in Christ is able to protest. Pain and sorrow are the signs of nature's objections, of the protest that nature does not want that which both external causes and personal decision force upon it. The Crucifixion was the external condition that nature in Christ violently refused, as is apparent in the agony in the garden (Lk 22:39–45). But the mighty act of free decision of Person in Christ, fortified by divine love and obedience, conquers the act of nature in Christ's obedient choice of his death. This act of free decision in Christ has, as its first effect, a disposition of nature itself. Nature is penetrated by person, and person succeeds in having its way. "By sending his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh [that is, with a nature able to object and protest to what is concretely to be performed to fulfill God's will] he has condemned [conquered] sin in the flesh" (Rom 8:3).

Christ as Redeemer. In the present context, *redeeming* means specifically the act of delivering from sin. There are three general theories explaining the deliverance of mankind from sin by the death of Christ the Redeemer.

Substitutional Penal Expiation. The evil of sin may be conceived primarily in the juridical order, as a violation

of the divine law that decrees rewards for virtue and punishment for vice. Analogies from jurisprudence are employed to illustrate this theory. Redemption is accomplished, according to this system, by the objective fulfillment of divine laws eternally enacted. Divine law decrees that for sins committed there must be punishment equal to the crime. If the sinner does not repent, the punishment is inflicted upon him. Should he repent, he must voluntarily accept punishment to make up for his evil act. As voluntarily accepted, the punishment becomes satisfaction rather than vindictive punishment.

In the case of man's sin, adequate satisfaction is impossible. Deprived of grace, man is forever unable to love God as he ought. Besides, as the crime of a creature against his Creator, man's sin takes on an infinite magnitude. Since God cannot forgive sins according to his justice until an equitable satisfaction is made, man is hopelessly in his sin and under the threat of punishment. Yet because God loves man, even when they are sinners (see Rom 5:9), God decrees in mercy to send his son, who in his sufferings and death offers the satisfaction that divine justice demands. Christ, as divine and sinless, offers an infinite satisfaction. Christ, as man, takes our place and suffers the punishment divine justice imposes for the sins of mankind.

Such an explanation can find some justification in scripture. It has been proposed by many Fathers, theologians, and orators. It was employed especially by the Protestant reformers, who adapted it to their principle of imputed justice. For Martin LUTHER and John CALVIN, all the sins of mankind were gathered and laid on Christ. He became their sin in order that they might become his righteousness. As the bearer of sin in the sinners' stead, he had to suffer the punishment for sin, viz., God's wrath. Indeed, he suffered the very pains of hell. Thus he paid the price of sin. His punishment makes satisfaction to God's justice so that mankind might be freed of guilt's condemnation and punishment. Jesus doubly took the place of humanity: He fulfilled the Law by living it perfectly in love, thus bestowing his righteousness on mankind by imputation, and he suffered the curse of sin, Godforsakenness, in humanity's place. Luther admitted that in Christ the greatest joy accompanied the greatest sorrow, and later Lutheran theologians interpreted Jesus's descent into hell as a victorious liberation of the Old Testament just, thus rejoining the traditional Catholic view, but subsequent Calvinist theologians retained Calvin's view (see IMPUTATION OF JUSTICE AND MERIT).

At its best, this system of penal substitution proposes to the faithful the doctrine of the inexorability of punishment for sin and the necessity of satisfaction. It presents the cross of Christ as the great manifestation of the evil of sin. But when it affirms that Christ assumed the punishment so that man would not have to suffer it, or that Christ offered satisfaction so that men need not make it, the theory is theologically unsound. When it affirms that God delivered Christ to his cross to manifest to the world not only the evil of sin but also how severely sin is punished, this is nothing less than terrorism.

If sin is inexorably punished (and it is), this is because the sinner himself passes a sentence of suffering upon himself and his world in his very sin, which damages himself and contributes to the perversion of his society and to the deviation of history. God need do nothing but let the laws of man work themselves out. If satisfaction is necessary, it is because even after repentance a man must positively do something to compensate for the evil done in his nature by the act of sin, to his society and to human history. If the cross of Christ is a manifestation of the evil of sin, this is because it was evil men who hated the person who would save them from themselves.

But the theory has an insight. It can be said that Christ takes away the punishment due to sin and makes satisfaction in man's place because, by reason of Christ's work, man will not have to suffer the kind of punishment from sin that would have been man's fate if Christ had not come to bring grace and truth to the world. It can be said that Christ makes satisfaction for sin in man's place because, by reason of the grace of Christ for man's person, his society, and his history, man is not required to compensate for the evil he perpetrated by his sin in the manner that would have been necessary (indeed, impossible) had not Christ come "to serve and give his life as a ransom for many" (Mk 10:45).

Vicarious Moral Satisfaction. In this system, the evil of sin is considered in the moral order as an offense of God, destroying the interpersonal relationship between God and man. The theory intends to explain why God loves sinful man and forgives his sins while he is yet a sinner and offers the grace of restoration.

God sends his son into human nature and inspires in him an indomitable charity for and obedience to God and a boundless love for mankind. United to mankind by the bonds of flesh and blood and charity, Christ is willed by God to become the head of humanity, so that what Christ does is done for himself and also on behalf of his members, who are as one mystical person with him (*Summa theologiae* 3a, q. 48 a.2 ad 1). Christ, in the name of mankind and on his behalf, offers God his love and obedience in his sufferings and death. It is this offering that God can love more than he hates the offense of mankind.

Christ, as head of humanity, is given grace not only for himself but also for his members, and his works are referred to himself and to others as the works of another

man are referred simply to himself (ibid. 3a, q. 48 a. 2). Consequently, since God gives as a reward for a man's actions that for which he gave him the power to act (ibid. 1a2ae, q. 114 a. 1), and since God gives grace to Christ for the attainment of salvation, Christ merits glorification for himself and salvation for all men (ibid. 3a, q. 48 a. 1; q. 49 a. 6).

Such is St. Thomas's doctrine, simply stated and without the many doctrinal implications to be drawn out by the application of other principles in his thought. This theory avoids all the improprieties of the theory of substitutional juridical satisfaction. The doctrine centers on the love and obedience of Christ as the cause of man's deliverance from sin and his reunion in grace. The efficiency of Christ's loving obedience in the delivering of man from sin is by way of moral compensation or satisfaction. The efficiency of Christ's obedient love in reconciling man with God is by way of merit. Satisfaction and merit are considered as operative in the moral order. Christ performs the redemptive work not in place of mankind but rather on its behalf, for he is united to mankind in a moral solidarity.

Representative Physical Satisfaction. This theory transposes the understanding of redemption from the moral order to the physical order. This transposition is encouraged by St. Thomas's doctrine of "capital grace," which affirms that it is the very grace resident in Christ, in its physical entity, that becomes the source and cause of grace for all men (ibid. 3a, q. 8; *De veritate*, q. 29 a. 4–5; *Comp. theol.*, 214). Put another way, it is the Sacred Humanity in its physical entity as "graced" that is the conjoined instrument of God in the production of grace in all mankind (*Summa theologiae* 3a, q. 13 a. 2; q. 19 a. 1; q. 62 a. 5).

With this doctrine as the premise, this theory affirms that it is the actual event of the Crucifixion that forms the grace in Christ so as to be the source of grace delivering men from the evil of sin. In other words, it is the historic event of Christ's sufferings and death in which the Sacred Humanity becomes in a fullness the instrument of God for the production of that grace which will deliver man from sin.

The act of person in free decision has as its first effect a disposition of the subject himself. Christ's personal act of loving obedience sustained in his sufferings overcomes the act of nature that, as nature, refuses the cross. The effect of this act within Christ himself is a victory of transformation of the nature of Christ himself, so that nature joins with Person in the cry of victory: "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Lk 23:46). "It is consummated!" (Jn 19:30). This transformation in Christ is real and pertains to what Christ actually is as man. It is in this transformation that the grace of Christ becomes disposed so as to be the grace for all mankind delivering them from sin. What happened to Christ was physical.

What happened in Christ is also satisfactory in the sense that the redemptive power of Christ and his grace more than offset the power of evil in mankind. "Where the offense has abounded, grace has abounded yet more" (Rom 5:20). God can love what Christ does in loving obedience more than he hates the evil of man's sins because Christ's loving obedience, when communicated to mankind, actually effects more good in the world than sin causes evil.

What happened in Christ is, furthermore, meritorious, for the transformation in the Sacred Humanity is that very effect which God gave Christ the power to accomplish. Merit is not only a right to a reward for an act performed; merit is also the accomplishment and the possession of the actual effects of one's acts.

Finally, Christ in this transformation is representative rather than vicarious or substitutional. The transformation itself is representative in the order of signs, for what happened in Christ manifests what must happen in man in order that he be delivered from sin, namely, a death to the flesh when person, fortified by grace, resists to death the sinful ways of nature. Christ himself is representative in the order of physical reality, for Christ, in solidarity with human history, is the event that reorients history's deviation; in solidarity with human society, he is that social person who is able to reshape the form of social living; in solidarity with men, he is that person who is able to convert man's person and restore his nature.

Christ as Priest-Victim. Sacred revelation presents the death of Christ in the context of sacrifice. Christ mediates the redemptive activity of God as priest-victim. Scripture reveals simply the fact that the death of Christ is a sacrifice of reconciliation of man to God. The text does not reveal precisely how the death of Christ is to be understood as sacrificial. Neither has the Church designated any precise sacrificial theory in which the faithful are to understand this sacrifice.

When theologians attempt to explain the death of Christ in the context of sacrifice, there are two doctrinal controls that guide their explanations. First, the sacrifice of Christ must be explained in some continuity with the ritual of sacrifice in the Old Law, the figure of things to come. Second, the sacrifice of the cross must be explained in a coherence with the doctrine of Christ's death as redemptive in delivering mankind from sin.

Sacrifice of Expiation. If the theory of the redemptive death is cast in the juridical order, the death of Christ will be understood as a sacrifice of expiation. Theologians who hold this theory see Christ's death in an analogy

with the expiatory sacrifices of the Old Law, in which (in these writers' view) an animal was symbolically loaded with the sins of the people and then ritually slain. The animal is substituted for sinful man, and man, seeing the death of the animal, may understand what his sins deserve and how severe are God's punishments. By means of this sacrifice, God's anger is appeased and his wrath averted.

This theory has had many adherents among both Catholics and Protestants, especially among the reformers themselves. But biblical research has questioned, indeed attacked, this understanding of the death of Christ in terms of such an expiatory sacrifice. It is affirmed in this theory that the sins of mankind are imputed to Christ. God permits, even wills, that Christ be slain both to appease his anger and to manifest to the world the evil of sin and the fact that God will not forgive without satisfaction being made either by the innocent or by the guilty. It does not matter. This is nothing short of amorality, even immorality. In such an understanding of the Redemption, God does not keep his own command to man to forgive without demanding satisfaction (Mt 5:38–48).

Sacrifice of Propitiation. If the redeeming death is understood in the moral order, then the sacrifice of the cross is conceived of as a sacrifice of propitiation or reconciliation. In the Old Testament sacrifices, according to this doctrine, there was a victim (something suitably representing man), an offering (to represent man's gift of himself to God), the act of immolation (some sacred action done to the victim to express man's irrevocable dedication of himself to God), an official priest to offer the sacrifice in the name of the community that participates in the victim offered.

St. Thomas fits these essential sacrificial lines over the offering of Christ on the cross. Christ is a suitable victim representing man, as having his humanity to offer and being the head of humanity. There is an offering in Christ's willingly going to his death, and there is an act of immolation in his fatal Crucifixion. Christ himself is the priest offering what is most acceptable to God. The faithful are able to participate in the victim through Christ's gift of the Eucharist (*Summa theologiae* 3a, q. 48 a. 3).

Modern Thought. A more recent trend in Catholic thought finds something more involved in Christ's sacrifice. After investigating the idea of sacrifice in the Old Testament, many theologians are recasting the conception of the immolative act, and in this recasting the significance of sacrifice is somewhat modified. Sacrifice is a ritualistic expression of man's dedication to God. It is, besides, an effort to attain an actual union with the divinity. Man offers himself in sacrifice, and God is understood as actually accepting man by giving him a participation in the divinity in and through the sacrifice itself.

In the moral order, the purpose of sacrifice is conceived of as man's effort to please God. In the physical order, the purpose of sacrifice is to effect in man what is pleasing to God, to produce in man what is in itself the reconciliation with God.

Transposing the understanding of sacrifice into the physical order, the act of immolation has as its purpose the ending of the form of existence the victim had had hitherto in order that the *oblata* might become sacred to God. The act of immolation signified a transfer of the profane and human thing to divine ownership. The rite was a sort of consecration, an invitation for God to make it his own and transform it into something divine. The offerers expected God to accept the gift, sanctify it, and impregnate it with his divinity, so that all those who partook of it might share in the divine holiness and be in communion with God.

The rite of immolation has two moments. First, there is the act of transfer, when the gift is taken out of the realm of the profane and placed in the realm of the divine. Second, there is the act of transformation, when the gift is sanctified in God's very acceptance of it.

Applying this doctrine to the sacrifice of the cross, the act of transfer is verified in the following manner. Christ's consent to undergo his suffering is the offering of the victim of sacrifice. The historical event of his Crucifixion presented Christ with that final and full opportunity for the free act of Person to transform nature by bringing nature into full submission to and perfect acceptance of the will of Person. This transformation of nature is the transfer of the Sacred Humanity from the condition of "likeness of sinful flesh." In the death of Christ, the first moment of the immolative act is accomplished.

It is the Resurrection in which the second moment is fulfilled, when God raises Christ from the dead and his humanity is transformed by the fullness of participation in the divine life and the complete possession of the Spirit. As Durrwell writes:

> In the light of [this] sacrificial theory, the glorification of Christ appears as a necessary phase of his oblation. It is the completion without which his sacrifice is essentially mutilated and is therefore no sacrifice—just as there can be no movement that does not arrive anywhere, and no gift where there is no one to accept it. His glorification not only completes his sacrifice in itself, but also makes it beneficial; in the divinized victim, God communicates

himself to the offerer and to all who eat at the altar. (Durrwell 1960, p. 76)

Redemption Mediated by the Risen Christ. One last point of the doctrinal context needs be discussed: the mediation of the Redemption through the Resurrection of Christ. St. Thomas considered the Resurrection, as well as the sufferings and death of Christ, as being an integral part of Christ's redemptive work (*Summa theologiae* 3a, q. 56). But St. Thomas's contemporaries and his successors made little of this doctrine as long as the theology of Redemption was dominated by the concepts of merit and satisfaction, as understood in the juridical and moral orders.

The contribution of modern biblical research to the theology of the Redemption is the growing understanding of the data demonstrating that, in the mind of St. Paul, the Resurrection is inseparable from the Passion in the work of salvation. Christ "was delivered up for our sins, and rose again for our justification" (Rom 4:25). Following out the line of thought, in which the Redemption is conceived of as something happening in the physical order, the Resurrection is the event in human history that reorients its course of deviation. The risen Christ becomes the redemptive source of social reform and the cause of personal conversion and restoration.

The event of the Resurrection reorients the course of human history, for it is an intervention by God through an event that interrupts the course of continuity, causality, and immanence set up in history by sin. In resurrecting Christ, God establishes him as a new principle of continuity. By the power of the risen Christ, God sends his Spirit into men to enable them to do the same work in history that Christ himself performed in his lifetime. A new order of things begins. In the Resurrection, Christ has the power to communicate his nature to men, the nature transformed by grace in his Resurrection. A new form of man's existence begins. Through the Resurrection, Christ is enabled to communicate his Person to men in the mystery of Christ (cf. Col 1:24; Eph 3:17; Rom 16:25–27). A new immanence of God in Christ begins in man's history.

The risen Christ is the source of social reform as being the head of the Church. Christ engenders in it his Spirit, his life, and his Person, enabling it to deliver men from the evil of sin and reunite them to God through its preaching of him, through its administration of his sacrifice and Sacraments, and through its life for and service of mankind.

The risen Christ is the source of personal restoration and conversion to God, because the grace formed in the Crucifixion and communicated to Christ's members is a grace enabling them to die to the flesh. As a grace filled with the Spirit in the Resurrection, it is a grace enabling men to live unto God in the fullness of the Spirit. "Jesus Christ our Lord was established Son of God in power according to the spirit of holiness by resurrection from the dead, through whom we have received grace and apostleship to bring about the obedience to faith among all the nations" (Rom 1:4–6).

VATICAN II AND THEREAFTER

The Second Vatican Council often employed the language of redemption to indicate Christ's work and its effects. Whoever is saved is saved "in view of Christ the Redeemer," who by his obedience accomplished redemption by the sacrifice of the cross, which is applied to men in the Mass and sacraments. By Christ's death all men are somehow put into salvific relation with the Paschal Mystery so that the Church, Christ's body, becomes "as it were the sacrament or sign and instrument of intimate union with God and of the unity of the whole human race" (*Lumen gentium*, 1–3; *Gaudium et spes*, 22).

Despite the council's teaching, some theologians have denied that Jesus saw his death as sacrificial. René Girard did so after interpreting sacrifice as a primitive psychological mechanism whereby a community transfers its violence upon a surrogate victim, or scapegoat, in order to attain unanimity in its murder. Heavily influenced by the agnostic presuppositions of Bultmannian exegesis, Jon Sobrino likewise maintained that Jesus did not consider his death a sacrifice. In this view, the Last Supper was only a thanksgiving celebration. Seeking to explain how salvation might encompass all men, Jacques DUPUIS postulated a *Logos asarkos* in whom men might participate without knowing of the Paschal Mystery and allowed for complementary ways of salvation.

While these theories eviscerate the cross, Hans Urs von BALTHASAR exaggerated in another direction. Claiming that the Apostles' Creed's "descent into hell" designates Christ's experience of hell, viz., total abandonment by the Father, he postulated that such a descent enables Christ to empty hell; consequently a Christian can and should hope that all men will be saved.

To avoid many errors about Jesus as the sole mediator of salvation redeeming mankind by the cross, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith issued the declaration *Dominus Iesus* (2000) and published subsequent notifications cautioning against ambiguities in the views of Dupuis (2001) and Sobrino (2006). A Christian understanding of sacrifice starts from the fullness of Jesus's self-giving and interprets less perfect examples as pointing to him. This blunts Girard's critique. Scripture refers too often to sacrifice and redemption to be ignored. Balthasar's interpretation of the descent into hell runs contrary to Catholic tradition,

whereby Jesus preaches the liberating gospel in the limbo of the Fathers (*Catechism of the Catholic Church*, pars. 632–634).

Scripture also implies that Judas doomed himself to hell (Mk 14:21; Jn 17:12), and that others are and will be sent there (Mt 7:13f, 12:41f, 13:41f.49f, 25:41–46; Jn 1:5, 5:29; 2 Thes 2:9–12; 2 Cor 2:15–16; 1 Pt 4:17–18; 2 Pt 2, 3:7; Jd 6–23; Rv 20:10). No one is obliged to hope for the impossible, though one should hope and pray for the conversion of individuals. But von Balthasar's opinion seriously relativizes the human analogate of justice, and the emptying of hell threatens to trivialize human decisions. In 1995 the INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL COMMISSION issued a balanced appraisal of redemption in *Some Questions on the Theology of Redemption*.

SEE ALSO ADAM; ARTICLE OF FAITH; BODY, THEOLOGY OF; CHRISTOCENTRISM; CHRISTOLOGY; FORGIVENESS OF SINS; FREE WILL; GRACE (IN THE BIBLE); GRACE (THEOLOGY OF); GRACE, THE STATE OF; GRACE AND NATURE; IMPUTATION OF JUSTICE AND MERIT; KENOSIS; MAN; NATURE (IN THEOLOGY); PASSION OF CHRIST, I (IN THE BIBLE); PASSION OF CHRIST, II (DEVOTION TO); PELAGIUS AND PELAGIANISM; PERSON (IN THEOLOGY); REDEMPTION (IN THE BIBLE); RESURRECTION OF CHRIST; SACRIFICE OF THE CROSS; SATISFACTION OF CHRIST; SIN (IN THE BIBLE); SIN (THEOLOGY OF); SOCINIANISM; SOTERIOLOGY; TRINITY, HOLY; WILL; WORD.

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EDS (2010)

REGGIO, TOMMASO, BL.

Archbishop, founder of the Sisters of St. Martha, journalist; b. January 9, 1818, at Genoa, Italy; d. November 22, 1901, at Triora, Italy; beatified September 3, 2000, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Tommaso Reggio, the son of the Marquis of Reggio and Angela Pareto, discerned a vocation when he was twenty and was ordained in 1841. Fr. Reggio said he wanted to become a saint and would live by the Christian cornerstones of PRAYER and ascesis (self-discipline).

At age twenty-five, he became vice rector of the Genoa seminary. By the mid-1800s, he was rector of the Chiavri seminary. During that time, he was among the founders of Italy's first Catholic newspaper, *The Catholic Standard*. In 1865 the *Standard* joined other newspapers advocating for a Catholic political party in the newly unified Italy. Nine years later, Pope PIUS XI forbade Catholics from voting, and Fr. Reggio closed the newspaper.

In 1877 Fr. Reggio was consecrated bishop of the poor diocese of Ventimiglia. The following year, he founded the Sisters of St. Martha, a community that welcomed "the poorest of the poor," just as Martha served Jesus. Bishop Reggio organized three synods in fifteen years. His renovation projects included opening new parishes, reviving hymns and LITURGY for Mass, and establishing teaching programs for all age groups.

After an earthquake in 1887, Bishop Reggio traveled through the rubble to bless and console people. He wore a patched cassock and his watch hung from a string, visual signs of his commitment to the poor. Concerned about the growing number of orphans after the earthquake, Bishop Reggio founded orphanages in Ventimiglia and San Remo.

In 1892 Reggio asked Pope LEO XIII to relieve him of his duties. Instead, the pope appointed him the archbishop of Genoa. Archbishop Reggio's ministry included working with other bishops to establish a network to help immigrants. The archbishop planned to make a pilgrimage to the Redeemer statue on Monte Saccarello. Illness prevented the trip, and Archbishop Reggio died on November 22, 1901, in Triora, Italy.

Pope John Paul II beatified the archbishop on September 3, 2000, in Rome. The pontiff remarked that Tommaso Reggio "was a man of faith and culture ... as a pastor he knew how to be an attentive guide to the faithful in every circumstance. Sensitive to the many sufferings and the poverty of his people, he took responsibility for providing prompt help in all situations of need."

Feast: November 22.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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RENDU, ROSALIE, BL.

Baptized Jeanne Marie, professed sister of the Daughters of Charity of St. VINCENT DE PAUL; b. September 9, 1786, at Confort, France; d. February 7, 1856, at Paris; beatified November 9, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Jeanne Marie Rendu was the eldest of four daughters born to small-property owners. She was three years old when the FRENCH REVOLUTION started, and priests who refused to take an oath supporting the civil constitution faced execution. Some went into hiding, and the Rendus sheltered them. Jeanne made her FIRST COMMUNION in the family's basement.

Life in France settled down by 1796, and Jeanne attended an Ursuline boarding school. While there, she became concerned about the sick and served in a hospital. At the age of seventeen, she entered the Company of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul in Paris. She took the name Sr. Rosalie and visited the sick and the poor in the impoverished Mouffetard District. She also taught catechism and reading to poor girls.

Sr. Rosalie made her first vows in 1807 and became her community's superior in 1815. She was known as the "Mother of the Poor" because of efforts that included opening a free clinic, a pharmacy, a school, an orphanage, a child-care center, a youth club, and a home for the elderly poor. The wealthy aided her ministry with donations and service, such as home visits by the Ladies of Charity.

When cholera broke out in 1832 and 1846, Sr. Rosalie carried bodies from the streets. During political uprisings in 1830 and 1848, she treated wounded fighters. In 1852 Emperor NAPOLEON III awarded her the Cross of the Legion of Honor. Two years later, she began suffering from progressive vision loss. She nevertheless continued to minister, until dying in 1856 after a brief illness.

Pope John Paul II declared Sr. Rosalie VENERABLE on April 24, 2001. The miracle leading to her BEATIFICATION was the 1952 cure of a spinal-cord lesion that caused progressive paralysis in Sr. Thérèse Béquet, a Daughter of Charity, who was ninety-three years old in 2003 when Pope John Paul II beatified Sr. Rosalie at St. Peter's Square. The Holy Father observed that Bl. Rosalie's "charity was inventive. Where did she draw the strength to carry out so many things? From her intense prayer life and the continuous praying of the Rosary.... Her secret was simple: to see the face of Christ in every man and woman."

Feast: February 7.

SEE ALSO FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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RESSOURCEMENT THEOLOGY

Nine years after the invasion of the Papal States shut down the First Vatican Council, Pope LEO XIII on the Feast of St. Dominic promulgated *Aeterni Patris*, "On the Restoration of Christian Philosophy." F. Russell Hittinger explained the 1879 Leonine reform as less directed toward outright errors (as PIUS IX had understood it) but responding to destructively one-sided positions incapable of representing the Church's tradition and of satisfying MAN's thirst for the TRUTH (Neuhaus, Hittinger, Jones, et al. 1994, p. 17). However, the solution to the problem of the day created the problem of tomorrow.

The crises endured by continental Protestantism in biblical scholarship and in the creation of Liberal Protestantism strengthened the need for philosophical REALISM and certitude on the Catholic side. However, the protection derived from THOMISM, according to some scholars, led to an impoverishment when it was widely perceived that only St. THOMAS AQUINAS should be studied. The unintended result of this official sponsorship of theological and philosophical Thomism after *Aeterni Patris* produced a narrowing of Catholic INTELLECTUAL LIFE. Even St. AUGUSTINE, who had been the center of Western THEOLOGY for many centuries, was eclipsed.

While officially sponsored Thomism served an original purpose, some circles felt the need for a RENAISSANCE and a return to a genuine pluralism in theology. The impact of institutional Thomism, according to some scholars, was a freezing of systematic theology into a Thomist ORTHODOXY. Thomistic PHILOSOPHY created the illusion that theology could be perfectly systematized. This RATIONALISM seemed to curtail theological speculation. It became a closed debate in theology, which Henri de LUBAC and other French intellectuals wanted to see reopened.

That renaissance took the form of a *retour aux sources* or *ressourcement*. Even within Thomism there was a revival. Thomists recognized the need for historical context and use of the original text of Thomas rather than merely learning about him from commentaries. Thomas himself needed to be reappropriated and rescued from decadent SCHOLASTICISM.

A chief opponent of the "return to the sources" in ROME was Réginald GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, O.P., the influential Dominican professor of the Pontifical University of St. Thomas (the Angelicum). He taught there from 1909 to 1959, also serving as qualificator and consultor for the Holy Office (Peddicord 2004, p. 21). Father Garrigou-Lagrange began his teaching career when the Modernist crisis was in full bloom—he is noteworthy for his later thoughts on Ressourcement Theology—and he ended his long tenure on the eve of the Second Vatican Council. For health reasons he did not serve on any of the preparatory committees.

Garrigou-Lagrange was an enforcer of *Aeterni Patris* according to a precise interpretation. For him, Catholic orthodoxy and philosophical Thomism coincided. His interpretation left little room for historical consciousness, devaluing historical studies as well as exegesis and biblical theology. This narrowness was the target of French Catholic unrest. Garrigou-Lagrange accepted Dominican commentaries on Thomas as if they were the real Thomas (Peddicord 2004, p. 160)—perhaps as JESUITS with their in-house magisterium formerly knew Thomas through the prism of Francisco SUÁREZ (1548–1617), according to author Gerald A. McCool (McCool 2005, pp. 205–207).

The French Ressourcement Theology movement or the *retour aux sources* lasted from the early twentieth century through the Second Vatican Council. It saw the key to the revitalization of both theology and pastoral life in the Church as a reappropriation of the sources—the LITURGY, the Scriptures, the Early Church Fathers, and the writings of other saints and doctors in whom the Catholic tradition is expressed especially powerfully, including St. THOMAS AQUINAS. Rudolf Voderholzer, the biographer of Henri de Lubac, wrote about him that "he would make an influential impression on a whole generation of young Jesuit students who studied at Fourvière in the thirties and forties but were only bored [and] repulsed, by the Scholastic theology that was offered there, while they were fascinated by Henri de Lubac, who lived in the same house" (Voderholzer 2008, p. 48).

In 1942 Henri de Lubac and Jean DANIÉLOU cofounded the collection *Sources chrétiennes* to make available critical editions of the Church Fathers. By 1999 more than 440 volumes had been published (Voderholzer 2008, pp. 49–50). When *Sources* was launched, the Dominican Marie-Michel Labourdette, O.P. (1908–1990), editor of the *Revue thomiste*, criticized the "underlying rationale of the project" (Peddicord 2004, p. 149). "The publishers of *Sources chrétiennes* realized that it is not enough simply to make the texts available and to repeat the slogan 'back to the sources.' Also needed is an explication of the enduring content of patristic theology and its application to a different set of contemporary issues" (Voderholzer 2008, p. 51).

Derisively called the *new theology* or *la nouvelle théologie* by Garrigou-Lagrange (Garrigou-Lagrange 1946, pp. 126–145), this movement was led by French theologians including Henri de Lubac, Jean Daniélou, Henri Bouillard (1908–1981), Yves CONGAR, Louis Bouyer (1913–2004), Marie-Dominique CHENU, and the Swiss theologian Hans Urs von BALTHASAR. Ressourcement employed the ideas of philosophers and poets, especially Maurice BLONDEL, Pierre ROUSSELOT, Étienne GILSON, and Charles PÉGUY. Of them all, Henri de Lubac (1896–1991) perhaps had the most influence, partly because he lived to the age of ninety-five. De Lubac, Daniélou, Congar, and Balthasar later were named cardinals.

The history of the *De auxiliis* controversy between Jesuits and DOMINICANS in the sixteenth century replayed itself in the perceived dispute between the French Jesuits (especially those at Fourvière in Lyon) and The Dominican School (especially in Fribourg and in Toulouse) represented by Garrigou-Lagrange. The dispute is described as "perceived" because neither party ever publicly acknowledged the other as the adversary. In 1985 de Lubac wrote that he did not think the ENCYCLICAL letter *Humani generis* (1950) was directed at him (Wood 2005, p. 331). It is also no secret that, in addition to the Dominicans, many inside the Society of Jesus opposed de Lubac and the new theology (Voderholzer 2008, p. 67).

Garrigou-Lagrange's biographer says that the new theology was headed toward MODERNISM, which, for Garrigou-Lagrange, "was a perennial tendency in Catholic circles" (Peddicord 2004, p. 147). Garrigou-Lagrange was for decades opposed to the thought of Henri BERGSON and Maurice Blondel. The same trends

he saw in the new theology were identical to those taken up by Pope PIUS XII in *Humani generis* (Peddicord 2004, p. 160). De Lubac wrote that he feared Garrigou-Lagrange was "doing everything he can to disturb the conscience of the Pope in private conversations" (Peddicord 2004, p. 51).

For de Lubac, using alternative sources solved a problem that Neo-Thomism could not resolve. De Lubac "transmitted to the field of theology the impulse that started with Blondel" (Voderholzer 2008, p. 35). In other words, the classic DUALISM between GRACE AND NATURE is overcome by speaking of the one final end of man which is God (Voderholzer 2008, p. 150). For de Lubac the "two-story thinking" that had bedeviled Catholic theology for centuries, with the implication that "the supernatural order of grace is abruptly added on to the natural order, without the possibility of demonstrating any intrinsic coordination of the two levels," was resolved at last by a unitary theological solution (Voderholzer 2008, p. 31).

With the election of Cardinal Karol Wojtyła as Pope JOHN PAUL II in 1978, French Ressourcement Theology, which by then was not so new, was re-evaluated. Wojtyła and most of the French thinkers of the 1950s were present at the Second Vatican Council. Their expertise was called upon in drafting the conciliar texts. Even a cursory reading of those official documents shows a style congenial to Ressourcement and a departure from the Thomistic vocabulary that Garrigou-Lagrange and his school would have preferred. One historian of the council, John F. Kobler, C.P., has written about the influence of PHENOMENOLOGY, not scholasticism, at Vatican II. It was a twist of history that just as Thomas Aquinas was not able to attend the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, so Garrigou-Lagrange did not attend the Second Vatican Council. He died on February 15, 1964.

When Henri de Lubac became a cardinal in 1983, this elevation alone rehabilitated his intellectual career, including his spirited, though qualified, defense of Pierre TEILHARD DE CHARDIN. Always an advocate of pluralism, at the end of his life de Lubac also defended Thomism against its adversaries.

In 1993 Pope John Paul II issued an encyclical that, to some observers, "corrected" *Aeterni Patris* and *Humani generis*. Though the thought of St. Thomas took precedence, he wrote, other avenues in theology and philosophy may be explored for the GOOD of the Church. Healthy competition replaced the pontifical strategy of *Aeterni Patris* and *Humani generis*. In *Veritatis splendor* (29), John Paul II stated: "Certainly the Church's Magisterium does not intend to impose upon the faithful any particular theological system, still less a philosophical one."

SEE ALSO AETERNI PATRIS; CERTITUDE OF FAITH; DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH; DOMINIC, ST.; EXEGESIS, BIBLICAL; FATHERS OF THE CHURCH; HUMANI GENERIS; LYONS, COUNCILS OF; NATURAL ORDER; NEW TESTAMENT SCHOLARSHIP; PATRISTIC THEOLOGY; PLURALISM, PHILOSOPHICAL; SUPERNATURAL ORDER; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); TRADITION (IN THE BIBLE); TRADITION (IN THEOLOGY); TRUTH, DIVINE; VATICAN COUNCIL I; VATICAN COUNCIL II; VERITATIS SPLENDOR.

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RITA AMADA DE JESUS, BL.

Foundress of the Institute of the Sisters of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph; b. March 5, 1848, at Ribafeita, Portugal; d. January 6, 1913, at Ribafeita; beatified by Pope BENEDICT XVI on May 28, 2006.

Rita, the daughter of Manuel Lopes and Josefa de Jesus Almeida, grew up in a family that prayed the ROSARY nightly. She discerned a vocation and wanted to become a missionary, but was prevented from entering religious life because the government had banned congregations from accepting new members. Rita, however, found another way to share her faith: She traveled through Portugal teaching the rosary and the importance of the Church. While some people appreciated her efforts, she also received death threats.

Rita was twenty-nine when she entered the Sisters of Charity, the only congregation still functioning in Portugal, but she soon left because she wanted to minister to single mothers and their children. She decided to establish a new congregation, and received financing from a wealthy family. Rita bought a home and started the Institute of the Sisters of Jesus, Mary, and Joseph on September 24, 1880.

Mother Rita opened a school for children in her parish and established other schools in Portugal. Local governments closed some of the schools, and matters worsened in 1910 when rebels replaced Portugal's monarchy with a republic even more hostile to the Church. The government seized Church property and closed more schools. Mother Rita, the sisters, and their students disguised themselves as gypsies and fled to Rita's parents' house, which served as home for the institute and a school.

Mother Rita wanted the congregation to survive, so she sent most of the sisters to Brazil. Her health kept her from joining them, but she lived long enough to learn that they had succeeded in their CHARISM. By the time she died of natural causes on January 6, 1913, at Ribafeita, the community had established its first school in the Brazilian city of Igarapava. In the twenty-first century, the congregation ministers in Portugal and various other countries, including Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, Angola, and Mozambique.

Mother Rita was beatified on May 28, 2006, by Pope Benedict XVI, with the recognition celebrated in Viseu, Portugal. Cardinal José Saraiva Martins observed that Mother Rita "knew how to read the signs of the times which demanded new and courageous responses to the needs of that age: the different forms of social poverty—material, moral, and spiritual."

Feast: January 6.

SEE ALSO PORTUGAL, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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RODRÍGUEZ CASTRO, BONIFACIA, BL.

Cofoundress of the Servants of St. JOSEPH and foundress of the Josephine Association; b. June 6, 1837, at Salamanca, Spain; d. August 8, 1905, at Zamora, Spain; beatified November 9, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Bonifacia Rodríguez Castro was the eldest of six children born to Maria Natalia and Juan, a tailor who worked at home and taught his craft to his daughter. When he died, fifteen-year-old Bonifacia supported the family with those skills. Her devotion to the Virgin Mary and St. Joseph drew young women to her home, prompting Bonifacia to form the Association of the Immaculate and St. Joseph, later known as the Josephine Association.

Bonifacia discerned a religious vocation when she met Jesuit father Francisco Javier Butiña y Hospital (1834–1899). Fr. Butiña and Bonifacia cofounded the Siervas de San José (Servants of St. Joseph), receiving permission from the Salamanca bishop for the community on January 7, 1874. Bonifacia's home housed the community, consisting of her mother and six Josephine Association members.

Inspired by the Holy Family, the community employed poor women in the home shop, an unusual practice that shocked some people and drew opposition. Fr. Butiña was exiled from Spain three months later. After the Salamanca bishop was transferred, some sisters who opposed the shop wanted the community constitution changed, but Mother Bonifacia refused.

After his return to Spain, Fr. Butiña established Siervas de San José houses in other cities. When Mother

Bonifacia left town in 1882 to establish a union with those houses, the congregation director worked to remove her as superior. Mother Bonifacia endured that rebuke, offering to form a house in Zamora. The director and the Zamora bishop accepted her offer, and Bonifacia and her mother traveled there in 1883. The Salamanca motherhouse changed the constitution, and in 1901 Pope LEO XIII granted pontifical approbation of the congregation, excluding the Zamora house.

Mother Bonifacia tried to mend the rift by returning to Salamanca, but the sisters were ordered not to receive her. She went back to Zamora, believing the Zamora house would unite with the community after her death. Mother Bonifacia died on August 8, 1905, and the congregation incorporated the Zamora house in 1907.

Pope John Paul II beatified Bonifacia on November 9, 2003, at St. Peter's Square. The pontiff observed that Mother Bonifacia had discovered in the Holy Family "a model of the spirituality of work that gives the human person dignity and makes every activity, however little it may seem, an offering to God and a means of sanctification."

Feast: August 8.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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RODRÍGUEZ SOPEÑA, MARÍA DOLORES, BL.

Foundress of the Sopeña Lay Movement and Sopeña Catechetical Institute; b. December 30, 1848, Velez Rubio, Almería, Spain; d. January 10, 1918, Madrid; beatified March 23, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Dolores Rodríguez Sopeña was the fourth of seven children born to Tomas Rodríguez Sopeña and Nicolasa Ortega Salomon. Her father's work as a magistrate took the family to different countries, where Dolores ministered to others. In Almería, seventeen-year-old Dolores helped a leper and two sisters diagnosed with typhoid fever. She and her mother also visited the poor of St. VINCENT DE PAUL.

In 1868 her father moved to Puerto Rico with several family members, while remaining family members moved to Madrid. There, Dolores taught Catholic doctrine to Sunday school students and to imprisoned and hospitalized women.

Dolores and the rest of the family joined their father in Puerto Rico 1872. There, she started schools for the disadvantaged and taught reading, writing, and catechism. The family moved to Cuba in 1873 after Dolores's father was named state attorney of Santiago de Cuba. In Cuba, Dolores established centers of instruction in three poor neighborhoods. She taught catechism and general courses there.

In 1877, after Dolores's mother died, the family returned to Madrid, where Dolores cared for her father. She opened a center in 1885 to help the poor. After visiting poor neighborhoods with friends, Dolores formed Works of the Doctrines, the organization later known as the Center for the Workers.

In 1892 D. Ciríaco Sancha, the bishop of Madrid, suggested that Dolores form the Association of the Apostolic Laymen, now the Sopeña Lay Movement. In 1900 Dolores made a pilgrimage to Rome for the HOLY YEAR, and received approval to establish a religious institute to continue her Works of the Doctrines and spiritually sustain the Sopeña Lay Movement. She founded a community in Rome 1914, and the first house opened in the Americas in 1917.

Dolores died in Madrid on January 10, 1918. Her ministry continues through the Sopeña Catechetical Institute, Sopeña Lay Movement, and Sopeña Social and Cultural Work. These institutions minister in Spain, Italy, Argentina, Colombia, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, Mexico, and the Dominican Republic.

Pope John Paul II beatified Dolores on March 23, 2003, at St. Peter's Square. The pope remarked that Dolores "wanted to respond to the challenge of making Christ's redemption present in the world of work. For this reason, she gave herself the goal of making all men one single family in Jesus Christ."

Feast: January 10.

SEE ALSO CUBA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; PUERTO RICO.

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ROMA (GYPSIES)

Roma, popularly known as Gypsies, are a nomadic people whose origins, history, and culture are often shrouded in myth and controversy.

Origins and History. Linguistic evidence indicates that the Roma probably originated in northwest India and migrated through Persian-speaking areas. They are known to have appeared in Byzantine lands by the eleventh century AD. The expansion of the Seljuk and OTTOMAN TURKS and the destruction of the BYZANTINE EMPIRE seem to have hastened the Roma dispersion into Europe, though Roma were known to be in the Balkans and Russia in earlier times. One theory links the Roma to a caste of traveling entertainers brought to Persia from India in the 400s. The origin of their itinerant culture and lifestyle is also the subject of much speculation. Roma oral tradition is vague on this subject, though a popular legend is that a Roma blacksmith made the nails for Christ's Crucifixion but delivered only three of the four needed. The fourth nail refused to cool for the smith, who fled in fear. The glowing hot nail periodically appeared in the tents of the smith's descendants, prompting them to move. The term "gypsy" itself reflects this confusion since it stems from a popular belief that was once promoted by some Roma that they originated in Egypt.

Roma were found in most areas of Europe by the early modern period, though the largest groups were known to be in the Balkans, Poland, and the Austrian Empire. Following the migratory patterns of other Europeans, they emigrated to the Americas and Australia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They pursued a variety of occupations, generally as tinkers, craftsmen, and peddlers. In some areas, basket weaving was an important Roma craft, and in others they made and sold copper implements. Roma also worked as entertainers, primarily as musicians, but they were also known to be animal trainers. In many areas of the Balkans, Roma musicians were and continue to be an essential feature of weddings and other ceremonies.

Roma have long been viewed with suspicion by settled peoples. While the popular association of Roma with thievery and beggary has some basis in fact, they were severely marginalized from the 1700s onward, especially under absolutist monarchies and by modern states. In the eighteenth century they were occasionally sold as indentured servants to estate owners in Austria and Hungary. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, laws restricting itinerant merchants—often enacted in places such the American Midwest—were drawn up with Roma in mind.

The application of modern racial theories to the Roma in early twentieth-century Germany had disastrous and tragic consequences. Nazi racial theorists categorized Roma as subhuman and subjected many to sterilization, medical experiments, and other restrictions. Roma were slated for extermination under the so-called Final Solution, though the application of this policy was not as uniform as that against the Jews. The Roma Holocaust—known as *porraimos* (literally, "the Devouring")—took the lives of an estimated 220,000 people, about a quarter of Europe's Roma population. Some 23,000 were murdered in Auschwitz, most during May 1944. Nazi-allied fascists exterminated 26,000 people, almost the entire Roma population of Croatia.

Following WORLD WAR II, under Soviet-installed regimes in eastern and central Europe, Roma were treated as second-class citizens. Local authorities attempted to stop their traditional wandering lifestyle and force them to settle in fixed locations. These actions resulted in severe social and family strains on Roma communities, and were resisted when possible. After the fall of COMMUNISM, efforts to stop the traditional lifestyle ceased, but new prejudices emerged. There were a number of anti-Roma riots and attacks in Romania, Slovakia, Austria, and the Czech Republic. Roma from more impoverished countries such as Romania migrated to more prosperous Poland or to western European countries. While some worked at odd jobs, others could be found begging in train stations or outside churches, or engaging in petty theft. At the same time, a new generation of Roma activists emerged, claiming to represent European Roma, to press claims for greater recognition and protection of human rights. This has resulted in a better understanding of the Roma Holocaust and in resolutions by the European Parliament to protect Roma rights.

Culture and Beliefs. Roma are divided into many subgroups based on region and clan. Even the terminology used to distinguish them is a source of confusion. In eastern and southern Europe they are known as Roma; in Germany and Austria, Sinti; in Scandinavia, Wales, and Spain, Kale/Calé; in France, Manush. Roma subgroups take their names based on their trades or crafts, including Kalderash (coppersmiths) and Lovari (horse traders).

Roma society is based on extended families and clans, which provide the basis for Roma life and beliefs. Clans are patriarchal and often dominated by one man, though generalizations about Roma life, culture, and communities are perilous given the great variation among Roma worldwide. Among the most controversial aspects of Roma social life is the matter of child brides. Female purity and VIRGINITY are extremely important, and marriages of girls as young as thirteen are not unheard of. In some areas young girls are kidnapped for marriage, though kidnapping is sometimes done simply to avoid having to pay a bride price to the girl's family.

Roma have extremely strong customs and practices related to purity and relationships to the dead that clearly distinguish Roma from non-Roma. Those who follow traditional purity laws are called Romanipen, while outsiders and those Roma who associate too closely with outsiders are called Gajdee. These terms have clear implications of ritual purity and impurity. The lower parts of the body are considered impure, as are menstruating women. Clothing associated with either must be laundered separately. Death is surrounded by a range of taboos in which the dead are not spoken of and their possessions are burned.

Most Roma have adopted the faith of the regions in which they travel and live. Roma in Bosnia and Albania often became Muslim. Orthodox Roma are found throughout the Balkans and former Soviet Union, while Catholicism is the predominant faith among Roma in central and southern Europe, as well as France and Belgium. Evangelical groups have made some inroads into Roma communities, but it is impossible to gather reliable statistical data on Roma because they frequently evade government censuses and often do not belong to established parishes or congregations.

The faith practices of Catholic Roma are a syncretic blend of orthodoxy, tradition, and superstition. The veneration of St. Sarah, known as Sara e Kali or "Black Sarah," is a well-known example. Associated with the shrine of Saintes-Maries-del-Mer in Camargue in southern France, St. Sarah was said to be an Egyptian servant of Mary, the wife of Cleopas. Though never recognized by the Church, she was popularly believed to be a gypsy and subsequently adopted by the Roma as one of their own. Roma in western Europe make annual pilgrimages to the shrine on May 24.

The official patron of the Roma is Blessed Zefferino GIMÉNEZ MALLA (1861–1936), a Spanish MARTYR known for his piety and for his ability to resolve disputes peacefully among his people and between Roma and non-Roma. During the persecution of the Church in Spain in the 1930s, he was arrested by leftists after he defended a local priest who was also being arrested. He was executed along with several priests in 1936. In 1997 the Holy Father Pope JOHN PAUL II proclaimed him Blessed.

The Church is increasingly interested in the pastoral problems involved in ministering to the Roma, and in protecting the human and cultural rights of Roma communities throughout the world, especially in Europe. The Pontifical Council for Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People is the primary body designated by the HOLY SEE to oversee pastoral care for Roma. Its existence dates from 1988, when Pope John Paul II replaced the previous pontifical commission dealing with migrant people with a Pontifical Council. In 2005 the council oversaw the publication of *Guidelines for the Pastoral Care of Gypsies*, a document intended to provide guidance for the care of Roma. In 1989 the Holy Father stated that:

> all discrimination against the Gypsies is unjust and harsh, because it is clearly against the teachings of the Gospel.... Therefore, Paul VI was right when in 1965, at Pomezia, on meeting them on the occasion of their first international pilgrimage, which brought them to the Tomb of the Apostles, he said: "You are in the Heart of the Church, because you are poor, because you are alone."

SEE ALSO FASCISM; HOLOCAUST (SHOAH); SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939).

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ROMERO MENESES, MARÍA, BL.

Salesian sister; b. January 13, 1902, Granada, Nicaragua; d. July 7, 1977, León, Nicaragua; beatified April 14, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

María Romero Meneses was one of eight children born to upper-class Nicaraguan parents. As a young girl, she attended a SALESIAN SISTERS' school and received instruction in drawing, painting, and piano. When she was twelve, her education was interrupted by rheumatic fever, which paralyzed her for six months and caused what her doctor said was a seriously damaged heart. María told a classmate that she knew that the Virgin Mary would cure her; several days later, María recovered and returned to school. María credited her recovery to Mary. This experience led to her vision of a vocation in the Salesian congregation, also known as the Daughters of Mary, Help of Christians.

María joined the Daughters of Mary, Help of Christians, in 1920. She made her final profession in 1929 and was sent to San José, Costa Rica, in 1931. There, Sr. María taught wealthy girls at a school, but she also ministered in the barrios. Students called *misioneritas* joined her in the work of catechizing and aiding the oppressed and abused.

Sr. María established recreation centers in 1945, food distribution centers in 1953, a school for poor girls in 1961, and a medical clinic staffed by volunteers in 1966. She then started to develop a village to provide housing for the poor; by 1973, seven homes were built in the Centro San José. The village grew to include a church dedicated to Our Lady, Help of Christians, along with a farm, a market, and a school facility that provided religious formation, catechesis, and job training.

As Sr. María advanced in years, she stopped teaching full time but continued catechesis. In 1977 she returned to the Salesian house in León, Nicaragua, for a rest, and died there from a heart attack on July 7.

Pope John Paul II beatified Sr. María at St. Peter's Square on April 14, 2002. At her BEATIFICATION, the Holy Father observed: "With a passionate love for God and an unlimited confidence in the assistance of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Sr. María Romero was an exemplary religious, apostle and mother of the poor people." The Holy Father also commented that Central Americans could find in the "new Blessed who loved them so much, an abundance of example and teaching to renew and confirm their Christian life."

Feast: July 7.

SEE ALSO COSTA RICA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; NICARAGUA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SALESIANS.

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ROSAL VÁSQUEZ, MARÍA VICENTA, BL.

Baptized Vicenta, known in religion as María Encarnación del Corazón Jesús (Mary Encarnación of the Heart of Jesus); reformer of the Institute of Bethlehemite Sisters; b. Quetzaltenango, Guatemala, October 26, 1820; d. near Tulcán, Ecuador, August 24, 1886; beatified by Pope JOHN PAUL II on May 4, 1997.

Vicenta recognized her religious vocation at age fifteen, as she reflected on the mystery of the Incarnation. On Jan. 1, 1837, she entered the BETHLEHEMITES, founded by St. Pedro de San José BETANCUR (canonized by John Paul II on July 30, 2002). Distressed by the laxity of the Beatario de Belem—which drifted from its original charism—Vicenta (now Sister María Encarnación) migrated to the convent of the Catalinas. Finding that convent also unsatisfactory she returned to Belem resolved to reform it. She had her opportunity when she was elected prioress in 1855. She revised the constitutions; the older sisters, however, refused to accept them. After her continued attempts at disciplinary reform were resisted, she founded a new *beatario* in Quetzaltenango (1861). Her devotion to the Sacred Heart led to the tradition within the order of dedicating the twenty-fifth of each month to prayers of reparation. The Bethlehemites are now active in Africa, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, India, Italy, Nicaragua, Panama, Spain, the United States, and Venezuela.

While endeavoring to reform her congregation, Mother María Encarnación founded two schools in Quetzaltenango (1855). When Justo Rufino Barrios expelled various religious orders from the country (1873–85), she continued her work of reformation of the order and evangelization abroad. Arriving in Costa Rica in 1877, María Encarnación established the first women's college in Cartago, about fourteen miles from San José. She was a refugee again in 1884 when the Costa Rican government unleashed a persecution against religious groups, but returned to found an orphanage in San José (1886). She continued to Pasto, Colombia, to start a home for abandoned children. Untiring in her travels, she established the Bethlehemites in Tulcán and Otavalo, Ecuador.

On a trip from Tulcán to Otavalo, Mother María Encarnación fell from her horse and died. Her incorrupt body was translated to Pasto, where it is enshrined. After her cause for beatification was introduced, April 23, 1976, María Encarnación was declared venerable on April 6, 1995. On Dec. 17, 1996, the decree was signed approving a miracle attributed to her intercession. When she was raised to the altars by John Paul II on May 4, 1997, Mother María Encarnación became the Guatemalan *beata*.

Feast: April 18.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SACRED HEART, DEVOTION TO.

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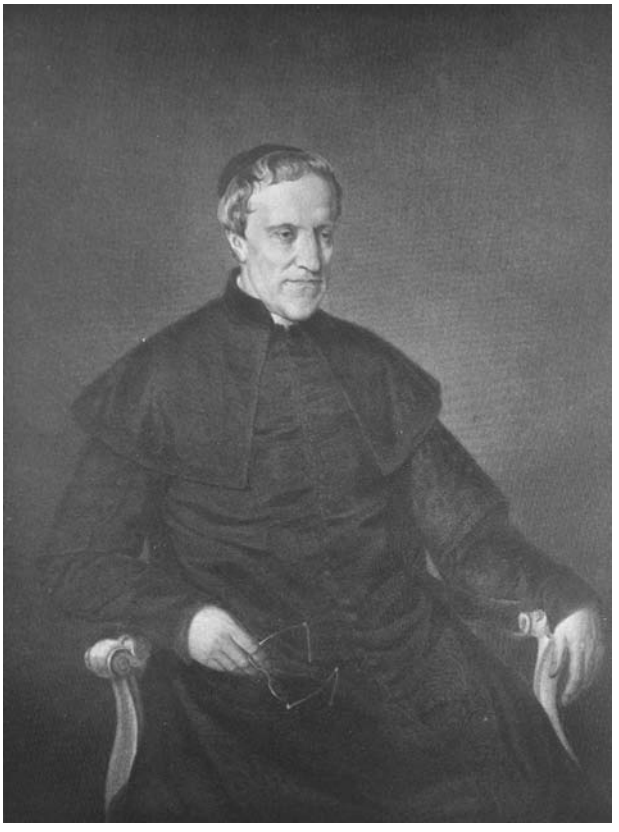
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ROSMINI-SERBATI, ANTONIO, BL.

Founder of the Institute of Charity, philosopher, theologian, and patriot; b. Rovereto, Trentino (then under Austrian domination, now part of Italy), March 25, 1797; d. Stresa (Lago Maggiore), July 1, 1855.

Against the initial objections of his parents, Rosmini was ordained in 1821. His entire life until 1826 can be considered as a preparation for his creative work. During this period, his studies embraced mathematics, political theory, education, medicine, natural sciences, Oriental languages, and all branches of philosophy and theology. *The History of Love*, an early work of Rosmini on Holy Scripture, bears witness to his intense application to the word of God and his great talent for synthesis.



Rosmini-Serbati, Antonio (1797–1855). *This Catholic religious intellectual was one of the most prolific writers of his day.* **THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS**

Rosmini's deliberate aim, in an age characterized by liberal ideas and revolt against established order, was to achieve a balance between old and new by showing how true development in every science depends upon growth from basic and unchangeable principles. On the advice of PIUS VII he devoted himself to this task, principally in philosophy.

Rosmini's personal traits were defined and established in these early years. Prayer and devotion to the will of God became habitual; he grew familiar with practical affairs by managing a large fortune inherited from his father; and his extraordinary capacity for lasting friendship with different types of men manifested itself (Manzoni, Tommasco, Capellari [later GREGORY XVI], and Gustavo CAVOUR were among his many

intimates). The plan of his congregation, for which he had the active encouragement and advice of St. Maddalena di CANOSSA, was completed in 1828. His chief ecclesiastical work during this time, which he called "nearly my only recreation," was the formation of a clerical circle at Rovereto to study the then overly neglected St. THOMAS AQUINAS.

His Philosophical Writings. In 1826 Rosmini went to Milan to continue his research and to begin publishing the results of his philosophical studies. He was a writer of astounding fertility and originality. His complete works, many published posthumously, are currently being edited in a planned eighty-volume critical edition (*Opere edite e inedite di Antonio Rosmini,* 1966–). About forty volumes have been produced to date. To these must be added thirteen volumes of letters, with some 700 pages per volume (*Epistolario completo di Antonio Rosmini-Serbati*, 1887–1894). He treated thoroughly the problem of the origin of ideas and CERTITUDE, the nature of the human SOUL, ETHICS, civil society, the relationship between CHURCH AND STATE, human rights, METAPHYSICS, GRACE, ORIGINAL SIN, and the sacraments in general. There is no single school of thought to which he can be said to belong. Basing his thought upon an encyclopedic reading of philosophers and ecclesiastical tradition, he endeavored to present principles that would serve as a coherent basis of unity for all knowledge.

At the foundation of his system he placed the intuition of universal and undetermined being, which he was careful to distinguish from the concept of God. Many of his adversaries (Matteo LIBERATORE, S.J., for example) later maintained that there could be no distinction between the two concepts and consequently accused Rosmini of ONTOLOGISM and PANTHEISM. This accusation is now discredited by scholars, however, as evidenced by a July 2001 document of the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH. The idea of being is for Rosmini the objective and infallible light of reason, the source of man's dignity as a person, the font of moral obligation, the unshakable foundation of human rights, and the spring of the immortality of the soul. A man's moral standing depends upon the use or misuse of this innate light, according to which he can either evaluate things in their objective order or attempt to place them in an order of his own making.

His Theological Writings. Theological works published during Rosmini's lifetime concern the nature of original sin, which he maintained was more than a mere lack of sanctifying grace, the PROVIDENCE OF GOD, and what he called "supernatural anthropology," a study of fallen human nature restored through the sacraments.

His Ascetical Writings. His ascetical works are not numerous, but in them he treats the fundamental issues of Christian life. This is especially the case with *Maxims of Christian Perfection*, in which he shows how all duties culminate in devotion to Christ's Church—a devotion that he himself manifested in submitting fully to the ecclesiastical prohibition of two of his works. These *Maxims* form the basis of his *Constitutions of the Society of Charity*, synopsized in GREGORY XVI's 1839 Apostolic Letter *In Sublimi*, which approved the rule of Rosmini's Institute of Charity (*Istituto della Carità*).

From 1826 until his death, Rosmini's growing influence as a leader in the forces opposing the domination of sensism in European thought was subject to continual attack. He was looked upon with suspicion by Austria on account of a panegyric on Pius VII, in which he condemns JOSEPHINISM. His *Treatise on Moral Conscience*, which contains an attack on the use of PROBABILISM as applied to the NATURAL LAW, was repudiated especially by Antonio BALLERINI, S.J., who wrote anonymously as *il prete bolognese*. Rosmini's teaching on original sin and the distinction he made between sin (*peccatum*) and fault (*culpa*) were also the source of bitter criticism. *The Five Wounds of the Church*, in which he discusses the dangers to the Church from within, and *A Constitution Based on Social Justice* were placed on the Index in 1848 for unspecified reasons, during the troubled days following the assassination of Pellegrino ROSSI in Rome. At the same time, following PIUS IX in his flight from Rome, Rosmini fell from favor at Gaeta after expressing his views in favor of a constitution and against Austrian domination.

Examination by the Holy Office. In 1854, the year before his death, a papal commission conducted a full examination of his published writings. At its final meeting, with Pius IX presiding, the commission declared that the works under consideration were to be dismissed without censure. In 1881, however, the Sacred Congregation of the Index, under pressure from some of Rosmini's opponents, ruled that the 1854 decision did not necessarily mean that Rosmini's writings were without error, but only that they were not forbidden (cf. Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 3154–3155). Subsequently, in 1887 under LEO XIII, forty propositions taken from Rosmini's works were condemned by the Holy Office without any specific theological censure. Their contents fairly well span the breadth of Catholic theology, but supporters of Rosmini have always denied that they express his genuine thought. Their position has been officially accepted now by the Magisterium in its examination of the nineteenth-century doctrinal decrees concerning Rosmini's works.

His Legacy. Rosmini exercises a growing influence through his philosophy of Christian spiritualism and his ascetical writings, and there has been renewed interest in his social thought. In his encyclical letter *Fides et Ratio*, JOHN PAUL II numbered Rosmini among the modern thinkers in whom a fruitful meeting between philosophical knowledge and the Word of God had been realized. Rosmini's influence continues through the Institute of Charity, which has a strong presence in Italy and Great Britain as well as communities in India, New Zealand, Tanzania, Kenya, Venezuela, and the United States. The Centro Internationale di Studi Rosminiani, located on the shores of Lago Maggiore in Stresa, Italy, has a resident community, a library, and facilities for visiting scholars. It hosts an annual seminar on the thought of Rosmini and publishes an academic journal, *Rivista Rosminiana di filosofia e di cultura*, as well as the monthly bulletin *Charitas*. Over twenty volumes of Rosmini's works have been translated into English as part of an ongoing project of the Rosmini House in Durham, England, overseen currently by Fr. Terence Watson.

His Beatification. The 2001 Note of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith helped pave the way for Rosmini's beatification. On June 26, 2006, the Congregation for the Causes of Saints published a decree recognizing his heroic virtue, making him worthy of the title "Venerable." On June 1, 2007, Pope BENEDICT XVI authorized the same Congregation to publish a decree recognizing as a miracle the healing of Sister Ludovica Noè, through the intercession of the Servant of God, Venerable Antonio Rosmini. On Sunday, November 18, 2007, at a sports arena in Novara, Italy, he was formally declared "Blessed" at a Mass for his beatification which was presided over by Cardinal José Saraiva Martins, the Prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. In his homily the cardinal spoke of Blessed Antonio as "a philosopher, a teacher, a political theorist, an apostle of the faith, a prophet and a cultural giant" who gave witness to "a theological life, where faith implied hope and charity ... trusting in Providence." On the same day, after praying the ANGELUS with the crowd gathered in St. Peter's Square, Benedict XVI referred to Rosmini as "a great priestly figure and illustrious man of culture, inspired by a fervent love for God and the Church," who "witnessed that virtue of charity in all its dimensions and at a high level," especially by means of "intellectual charity," namely, "the reconciliation of reason with faith."

Feast: July 1.

SEE ALSO ASCETICISM; BEATIFICATION; CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY; INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; PHILOSOPHY; ROSMINIANS; SOCIAL THOUGHT, CATHOLIC; SPIRITUALISM; TEACHING AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH (MAGISTERIUM); THEOLOGY.

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ROSMINIANS

(IC, Official Catholic Directory #0300) The Institute of Charity, as the Rosminians are officially titled, was founded in 1828 at Calvario in Piedmont, Italy, by Bl. Antonio ROSMINI-SERBATI (beatified on November 18, 2007, by Pope Benedict XVI), at the instigation of St. Maddalena CANOSSA. The ascetic principles expressed in Rosmini's *Maxims of Christian Perfection* (1830) determined the nature of his religious institute, which was approved as a congregation of exempt religious by GREGORY XVI in 1839.

In 1832 the congregation, which had spread in northern Italy, became associated with the SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE, founded by one of Rosmini's disciples and given papal approval in 1946. In 1835 Rosmini sent three priests to England, where they were later joined by other recruits. Notable among them was Luigi Gentili, a zealous and ascetic Roman, who exercised an important influence on the Catholic community in England from 1842 to 1848. He spent three years evangelizing the newly developed industrial towns of England, preaching missions of two to three weeks duration. In 1848 he went to preach in Dublin, Ireland, where he died of cholera. Among the innovations brought to England and Ireland by the Rosminians were the introduction of the clerical (or Roman) collar, the wearing of the cassock and religious habit in public, the preaching of missions, the practice of the Forty Hours, May devotions, the use of the scapular, the celebration of novenas, public processions, and the blessing of throats on the feast of St. Blaise (February 3).

Members of the Institute of Charity profess the three religious vows. They carry out such ministries by the need of their neighbor or the invitation of the pope or bishops. No work is preferred and none refused; work once undertaken may not be abandoned for a more attractive apostolate. The institute has no distinctive habit, only the cassock. As of 2009, there were 307 religious men in 202 houses (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 467).

The Rosminians first arrived in the U.S. in 1877. In the U.S., the congregation is principally involved in parish ministries. The U.S. headquarters is in Peoria, Illinois. The generalate is in Rome.

SEE ALSO BLAISE OF SEBASTE, ST.; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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EDS (2010)

RUBIO Y PERALTA, JOSÉ MARÍA, ST.

Priest, Jesuit, CONFESSOR, preacher; known as the Apostle of Madrid; b. July 22, 1864, Dalías, Almería, Spain; d. May 2, 1929, Aranjuez, Spain; beatified

October 6, 1985; canonized May 4, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

José María Rubio y Peralta, the eldest of twelve children of farmers, began his studies for the priesthood in the minor seminary of Almería in 1876. He moved to the major seminary at Granada in 1878, completed his training in Madrid, and was ordained on September 24, 1887. Although desiring to join the Society of Jesus, he could not because he was caring for an elderly priest. He served as assistant pastor in Chinchón (1887–1889) and pastoral administrator in Estremera (1889). In 1890 he was called to Madrid, where he taught METAPHYSICS, Latin, and pastoral THEOLOGY at the seminary there. He was also an examiner and notary to the diocesan tribunal. In 1893 he became chaplain to CISTERCIAN NUNS of the convent of St. Bernard in Madrid.

More than a decade later, after a 1905 pilgrimage to the Holy Land, on October 11, 1906, Fr. Rubio entered the Jesuit novitiate in Granada. On October 12, 1908, he pronounced his vows and in 1910 completed the Jesuits' third probation. In 1911 he returned to Madrid, where, from the Jesuit house, he carried out his priestly ministry with distinction until his death.

Fr. Rubio was known for his exceptional ability as a confessor, spiritual director, and preacher—especially on the Blessed Sacrament and the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Late in his life, he became known as a miracle worker. He organized a group of more than six thousand women, called the Marys of the Tabernacles, who provided and cared for sacred vessels and linens and, more importantly, adored the Blessed Sacrament to keep the Lord company and to make reparation for sins committed against it. Rubio directed the Honor Guard of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Its five thousand members, like their chaplain, were devoted to corporal and spiritual works of mercy. Rubio showed great attention to the poor, visiting the most impoverished parts of Madrid. He lived his life in conformity with the divine will, with the principal focus being PRAYER, adhering to the motto "to do what God wills and to will what God does." Following his death from a heart attack while visiting the novitiate at Aranjuez, he was buried in its cemetery. In 1953 his remains were transferred to the Jesuit residence on the Calle Maldonado, Madrid.

The miracle necessary for his canonization was approved by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints on April 23, 2002. In the fall of 1987, the left upper lung of Fr. José Gómez Muntán, S.J., was found to have carcinoma. It was determined that the cancer had affected the priest's lung and heart, and Gómez had a circle of dead tissue, approximately 8 centimeters in diameter, in his lung. Surgical removal of the tumor was deemed impossible. Radiation therapy was administered at the beginning of 1988. Meanwhile, his sister and other friends of the Society of Jesus sought the INTERCESSION of Rubio. During this time, Gómez began to heal and then recovered fully. His complete and rapid recovery was determined to be miraculous.

Rubio was canonized by John Paul II in Madrid during a Mass celebrated at the Plaza de Cólon, which the Spanish royal family attended. In his HOMILY following the canonization, the pope stressed Rubio's complete giving-over of himself to the Word and the sacraments, leading many Christians to such sanctity that they would die as martyrs during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939). The pope also cited Rubio's motto concerning God's will.

Feast: May 2.

SEE ALSO JESUITS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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SACRAMENTINE SISTERS OF BERGAMO

Also known as Suore Sacramentine di Bergamo, a congregation with papal approbation (1908), founded at Bergamo, Italy, in 1882 by St. Gertrude Caterina COMENSOLI (canonized by Pope Benedict XVI on April 26, 2009). The sisters have as their special purposes daily Eucharistic adoration and the education of youth. Caterina, who became known in religion as Mother Gertrude of the Blessed Sacrament, gathered her first companions in 1882, and received the religious habit in 1884. From Bergamo, where they had started their activity, the sisters had to move to Lodi, Italy, where they received episcopal approval in 1891. The foundress died in 1903. The congregation has expanded to Europe, Africa, and South America.

SEE ALSO EUCHARISTIC DEVOTION; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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EDS (2010)

SACRED HEARTS OF JESUS AND MARY, CONGREGATION OF THE

(SSCC, Official Catholic Directory #1140) This religious congregation of priests, brothers, and sisters, was founded to continue the work of the communities suppressed by the FRENCH REVOLUTION but with a new motivation: reparative love for the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary. Its founders were Rev. Pierre Marie Joseph COUDRIN, newly ordained priest of the Diocese of Poitiers, France, and Countess Henriette de la Chevalerie, a young aristocrat who had been imprisoned and condemned to death. After her release, she joined a small group of women known as the Association of the Sacred Heart, who were secretly keeping perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. Coudrin was named director of the association in 1792, and two years later the priest and the countess established the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary and of Perpetual Adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. In its early days, the congregation was popularly known as the Picpus Fathers, from the Rue de Picpus, Paris, where its first house was founded and where the Picpus cemetery, containing 1,700 victims of the guillotine and the body of the Marquis de Lafayette, is located.

PIUS VII approved the new congregation in 1817. In 1825 LEO XII requested missionaries for Oceania, and priests and brothers went to Hawaii in 1827, the Marquesas Islands and Tahiti in 1833, Easter Island in 1837, and the Gambier and Tuamotu Islands in 1838. The twentieth century witnessed the congregation

establishing missions in Japan, China, Southeast Asia, Africa, Norway, South America, and the South Seas.

Because of Protestant opposition, two of the priests sent to Hawaii in 1827 were exiled to California in 1832. During the next ten years, French-born Alexis Bachelot became the first resident pastor in Los Angeles while Irish-born Patrick Short founded the first school near Monterey. In 1845, a group of these fathers arrived from Valparaiso, Chile, to found a college but were assigned instead to staff the vacant California missions from San Francisco to San Diego. Later they withdrew after having opened a school in San Francisco. In 1835, Bp. Benedict J. Fenwick of Boston, MA, asked for missionaries to evangelize the Passamaquody natives in Maine. Fathers Edmund Demillier and Amabilis Petithomme labored there and in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont, and even as far north as Nova Scotia. Demillier wrote the first grammar and catechism in the native language. In 1905, Bishop. William Stang of Fall River, MA, invited the society to establish a residence in his diocese at Fairhaven.

The congregation has three provinces in the U.S.: Eastern Province (estab. 1946 and headquartered in Fair Haven, MA); Western Province (estab. 1970 and headquartered in La Verne, CA); and Hawaii Province (headquartered in Kaneohe, Oahu, HI). The generalate is in Rome. In 2009, there were 898 religious in the community world-wide (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 467). Renowned members of the congregation include St. Damien (Joseph de VEUSTER), well-loved missionary to Hawaii who is remembered for his care of those afflicted with Hansen's disease. He was canonized by Benedict XVI on October 11, 2009.

SEE ALSO EUCHARISTIC DEVOTION; HAWAII, CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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SAINTS AND BLESSEDS

From the beginnings of Christianity the Church has venerated those who have followed Christ more closely by their faithfulness to His command: "Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect!" (Mt 5:48), and thus have attained heaven, the goal of their earthly pilgrimage. As early as the first century the Church has venerated with particular devotion the Blessed Virgin Mary and the ANGELS as well as the apostles and martyrs because they were considered closely joined to us in Christ. The Christian faithful sought the aid of their INTERCESSION for help in the difficulties of this life.

The cult or veneration of the martyrs was among the first expressions of the veneration of the saints and has its origin in the concrete experience of the early Church. Many Christians suffered persecution for this new faith in Jesus Christ. They were given the choice of either denying the faith or enduring a violent death. In choosing to die for the faith they gave witness (in Greek, *marturein*, from which the English word *martyr* is derived) to the faith and willingly accepted death. As the Christians saw their relatives and friends suffer a violent death for the faith, they knew that their turn would most probably also come. Thus, the martyrs served as models to be imitated by their fellow Christians because they had died for the faith courageously and thereby won the crown of victory.

Those left behind considered themselves as intimately united to those who had preceded them to heaven. United in a communion of faith, hope and love, the early Christians sought the help and intercession of those who had already given witness to the faith by their violent deaths. They called upon them to intercede with almighty God so that they would remain faithful and in turn give their own witness to the faith in the act of martyrdom. The Christian faithful venerated or honored the memory of these martyrs by gathering around their tombs in the catacombs. This veneration was usually expressed in the liturgical ritual which identified the Christian community as Christian, namely the celebration of the Eucharist.

In summary, the veneration of the saints by the primitive Church was greatly shaped by the concrete experience of persecution. This veneration is marked by three characteristics that have perdured to this very day: The saint is a model for imitation by the faithful; the faithful may pray that, through the intercession of the saint, God will grant help in the difficulties of this life; and finally, the saint is venerated by the Church in its liturgy.

In the fourth century, the situation of the early Church changed radically. In AD 313 the Emperor Con-

stantine signed the *Edict of Milan* that proclaimed religious toleration in the ROMAN EMPIRE. Even though fewer Christians were martyred for the faith, the primordial mission of the Church was to foster HOLINESS among the faithful who are called to follow Christ closely. All Christians may not be given the grace to die as martyrs for the faith (*martyres fidei*) by the shedding of blood (*red martyrdom*). All Christians, however, are called to holiness through a daily dying to sinfulness (*white martyrdom*) by living the Christian virtues (the Theological virtues of FAITH, HOPE, and LOVE; the CARDINAL VIRTUES of PRUDENCE, JUSTICE, FORTITUDE, and TEMPERANCE; and all other virtues connected to them, such as POVERTY, CHASTITY, and OBEDIENCE) in such a heroic manner as to be a model of imitation by the faithful. Such Christians are called confessors of the faith (*confessores fidei*).

The centuries after the early persecutions saw the rise of desert spirituality and the monastic life. The Christian would live now a sort of heaven-on-earth. Sts. BENEDICT and BASIL established rules of life for their followers that would facilitate the attainment of holiness of life on earth and, therefore, eternal life in heaven. As is true for the holy men and women of the Old and New Testaments, these saints of the early centuries were not canonized after a juridical, investigative process. The act of canonization consisted in the *translatio corporis* or the transfer of the body of the saint from the catacomb to a place where a BASILICA or church was constructed to honor the saint and preserve the RELICS.

In this period of Church history the voice of the faithful (*vox populi*) was a valid and an adequate proof of the holiness of the saint. This popular criterion did not, however, preclude some form of intervention on the part of Church authority. The local bishop was the head of the community and thus permission to allow the liturgical veneration of the saint depended upon his approval. It is noteworthy that the authentic voice of the faithful, which is indicative of the finger of God (*digitus Dei*), is to this present day required before the local bishop may initiate a cause of BEATIFICATION and canonization.

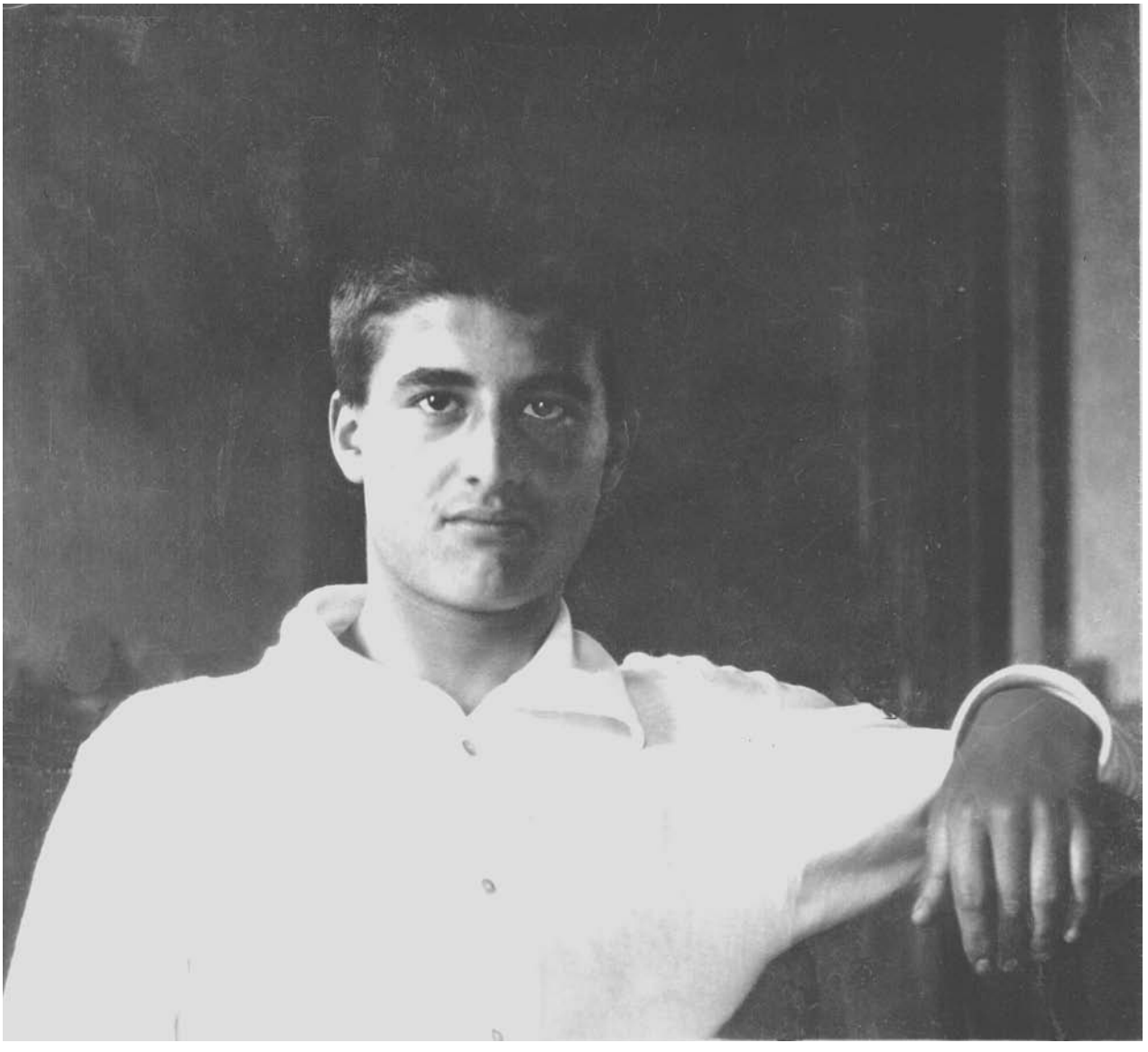
From the fifth through the twelfth centuries canonization was decided by the local bishop. In the year 1234 Pope GREGORY IX published the *Decretals* that, among other things, reserved canonization to the Roman PONTIFF alone. Canonization by the local bishop, however, continued to occur until approximately 1642, when URBAN VIII published his collection of *Decrees*. It is difficult to trace the exact origin of beatification. It seems that historically the institution preexisted the terminology, and the reasons for its appearance on the ecclesial scene seem to be more pastoral than theological. The institution of beatification developed historically as a result of the distinction between a canonization done by the Roman Pontiff in contrast to one performed by the local bishop. In the former, only the Roman Pontiff has the power to grant universal liturgical honors to the saint, while in the latter the local bishop was able to grant liturgical honors only locally.

A clearer answer may be found from the diverse elements of their respective definitions. Canonization is the act by which the Roman Pontiff infallibly declares and defines that someone is a saint, and orders liturgical veneration to that saint throughout the universal Church. Beatification is the act by which the Roman Pontiff simply states that someone is to be called "Blessed," and permits liturgical veneration to that blessed that is restricted to the local Church. Canonization alone is the definitive judgment of the Roman Pontiff regarding the sanctity of the individual. Beatification, therefore, is an intermediate step prior to canonization.

These definitions leave one question unanswered: Is the blessed in heaven? From both logical and theological perspectives it seems clear that if the blessed is in heaven then he or she is a saint. Certainly the liturgical honor given to both saints and blesseds has the same three characteristics: the commemoration of their *dies natalis* (birthday) into heaven which is in actuality the day of their death; the celebration of the Eucharist; and the recitation of the LITURGY OF THE HOURS.

Liturgical veneration of the blessed is distinguished from that of the saint by the restriction of the former to the local church. For example, Blessed MOTHER TERESA OF CALCUTTA, Blessed JOHN XXIII, and the soon to be beatified John Henry NEWMAN may be liturgically honored, respectively, in the Archdiocese of Calcutta (Kolkata, India) and the houses of the MISSIONARIES OF CHARITY, in the dioceses Italy, and in the Archdiocese of Birmingham (Great Britain) as well as the houses of the Oratories of Saint Philip NERI. Increasing liturgical honors to the blessed, such as celebration of the Eucharist or the Liturgy of the Hours, naming of a parish or of a church, and holding prayer services, is beyond the authority of the local bishop and, therefore, requires the express permission of the HOLY SEE through the aegis of the Congregation for DIVINE WORSHIP AND THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

The twentieth century has seen a gradual increase in the number of saints and blesseds proposed by the Roman Pontiffs for the imitation, intercession, and veneration of the faithful. These candidates were from various parts of the world and different states of life in the Church. It was during the pontificate of Pope JOHN PAUL II (1978–2005) that the most dramatic increase took place. An effort was made to counteract the increasing SECULARIZATION of the modern world by offering examples of holiness of individuals from so many walks



Bl. Giorgio Frassati (1901–1925). *Pope John Paul II beatified Frassati on May 20, 1990.* **FRASSATI FAMILY ARCHIVES**

of life. Priority was given to causes of the laity, for example, Kateri TEKAKWITHA, the Lily of the Mohawks, Francisco and Jacinta Marto, the Seers of Fatima, Pier Giorgio FRASSATI, revered by participants in the World Youth Days; to causes of married couples, for example, Louis and Zélie Martin, the parents of the St. THÉRÈSE DE LISIEUX (the Little Flower), and Luigi and Maria Beltrame QUATTROCCHI; and to causes from countries that have few or no saints, for example, Blessed PETER TO ROT (Papua New Guinea) and St. Alphonsa of the Immaculate Conception MUTTATHUPANDATHU (India).

The Roman Pontiff makes the final judgment to canonize the blessed and beatify the Servant of God, and he performs the ceremony of canonization himself. As regards the ceremony of beatification, however, Pope John Paul II departed from traditional practice and performed the ceremony of beatification as well, oftentimes during his apostolic visit to the local church. This accentuated the importance of the local church in fostering and nourishing the holiness in which the blessed excelled as a particular expression of the faith of that local church.

Immediately upon his election in 2005 Pope BENEDICT XVI restored the traditional practice that was in existence prior to 1978. The Prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints or someone duly delegated by the Supreme Pontiff for the occasion celebrates the

ceremony during which the Apostolic Letter authorizing the beatification is read. This ceremony is usually celebrated in the local church. As regards the number of canonizations and beatifications that have taken place during the first years of the pontificate of Benedict XVI, there has been no change of direction, as has been suggested by some, but rather a continuation of this activity.

SEE ALSO APOSTLES OF JESUS; BENEDICT OF NURSIA, ST.; CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); CHURCH, HISTORY OF, I (EARLY); CONSTANTINE I, THE GREAT, ROMAN EMPEROR; DESERT FATHERS; HEAVEN (THEOLOGY OF); INFALLIBILITY; MARTYRDOM, THEOLOGY OF; MONASTICISM; SAINTS, INTERCESSION OF; VIRTUE, HEROIC; WITNESS, CHRISTIAN; WORLD YOUTH DAY.

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SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA

Portuguese statesman and dictator; b. Vimieiro, province of Beira Alta, Portugal, April 28, 1889; d. Lisbon, July 27, 1970.

The most significant figure in twentieth-century Portugal, António de Oliveira Salazar, a modest but determined authoritarian, rescued his nation from political and economic ruin but failed to understand that the circumstances that had once made it great no longer existed.

Salazar was born into a family of landowners living in reduced circumstances in north-central Portugal. His intensely Catholic mother encouraged him to study for the priesthood. After spending some years in a seminary, he decided to pursue a law degree. He subsequently specialized in economics at the University of COIMBRA and became a professor there in the early 1920s.



Salazar, Antonio de Oliveira (1889–1970). *Portuguese statesman and dictator.* **THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS**

Early Political Career. An intense, devout, and conservative young man, Salazar found little to like in the Portugal of the early twentieth century. The MONARCHY had been overthrown in 1910, traditional society seemed to be collapsing, and the new republic was torn by factionalism and militarism.

His first venture into politics, as a founding member of the Catholic CENTER PARTY, brought him into Parliament in 1921, but he left after only a year, frustrated by the disorder and disputes that left public problems unresolved. During the next few years he concentrated on teaching and lecturing and gained recognition for analytical writings that suggested a disciplined, orderly approach to national issues.

After the military coup that brought António Carmona (1869–1951) to power in 1926, Salazar tentatively accepted the portfolio of finance but declined after he could not get the guarantee of sweeping reform that he demanded. By 1928, President Carmona was ready to

meet the professor's terms and made him minister of finance with a free hand to reorganize the tax system and all other aspects of fiscal affairs. Salazar was named prime minister in 1932, retaining the finance ministry as well until 1940. Salazar was essentially dictator from this point on. His creation of the Estado Novo (New State) in 1933 gave him full constitutional authority to rule the country under the title of prime minister and left successive presidents of the republic as mere figureheads.

Dictatorship and World War. Considering the onset of the worldwide economic depression, the civil war in neighboring Spain in 1936, and the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Salazar might well have resigned in despair or proclaimed excuses for not being able to rescue Portugal from its economic woes. His reputation as a virtual miracle worker, although greatly exaggerated, came mainly from his ability to transcend all these problems by a combination of austerity and bullying. The common people of Portugal were told that they must be prepared to bear hardships and stand together in a time of adversity. The traditional elite, including the landowning gentry, the officer core, and the Catholic hierarchy, were promised that their institutional interests would be safeguarded, albeit on a modest scale. The dictator set the example by his modest, frugal, lifestyle. His critics complained that he was employing smoke and mirrors to confuse and mislead the public. Yet by leaving them no parliamentary or journalistic outlets for protest, he was able to secure acquiescence. His guiding doctrines were a mixture of German autarky, Italian FASCISM, and pious trust in the LORD. Above all, dreams of bygone glory were put aside for belt-tightening demands for REALISM and minimalism.

Neutrality proved to be Portugal's salvation amidst a complex of conflicts. Although sympathetic to Francisco FRANCO's right-wing doctrines, Salazar gave minimal support to the nationalist revolt in Spain and did not formally recognize the new regime there until it had been firmly established. As for the new European war precipitated by Adolf HITLER and Benito MUSSOLINI, Salazar once again felt a degree of ideological sympathy but remembered all too well the folly of Portugal's entry into the previous Great War. During World War I the newborn republic had sought the benefits of a British alliance and had suffered ghastly losses on the field of battle.

Neutrality during World War II proved to be a master stroke of policy. Salazar sold tungsten to the German military industrialists while making bases in the Azores available to the Western allies. He turned Lisbon into a center of international intrigue and espionage from which financial benefits trickled down to many sectors of Portuguese society. He secured his colonial boundaries from British invasion while hinting that Portugal herself might make strategic advantages available to Hitler and Franco.

By 1945, the Salazar regime had acquired a reputation for cunning but was flourishing, while that of Franco remained long discredited and those of Hitler and Mussolini were destroyed. Critics who wished to attach the label of fascism to Portugal were unable to do so, for Salazar's programs were eclectic and his philosophy pragmatic and patriotic rather than malign.

Cold War Years. By 1949 Salazar had transformed his somewhat ritualistic denunciation of Communism into a membership card in the Cold War alliance led by the United States. He was the only dictator whose country was admitted into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Those who considered the Soviet Union a police state rarely bothered to mention that Salazar's secret police, modeled on the Gestapo, still kept a tight lid on America's new partner.

During the two decades following the end of World War II, Portugal exhibited a long-delayed economic upturn. Overseas investment poured in, its gross national product grew steadily, and Salazar was able to launch his deferred dream. A country with a European area of 35,000 square miles that held a colonial empire of over 800,000 square miles had long been regarded as an anomaly that could not possibly be transformed into a renewed sense of historical pride and contemporary profit. Salazar now decided to launch his grand design by drawing upon Portugal's new domestic prosperity to extract the natural resources of her colonies. Despite the seizure of Goa by India and some African outposts by newly independent British colonies, Salazar refused to appreciate the dangerous course upon which he was embarking. When the United Nations warned Portugal that colonialism was no longer an acceptable basis for international policy, Salazar insisted that such territories as Angola and Mozambique had recently been elevated to the status of "overseas provinces." This response was met with derision and rage, and it inspired the emerging nations of Africa to aid nationalist rebels in the struggles for independence that broke out in Portugal's African empire.

Final Years. The aging dictator refused to yield the territory that constituted the foundation of all his plans and expectations. Tens of thousands of conscripts were called up to wage Europe's last great imperial war. Gunboats and warplanes patrolled coasts and rivers while aircraft bombarded rebel strongholds. Civilians and even professional soldiers began to question the long-respected wisdom of their leader. Then in 1968, Salazar suffered a

disabling stroke. It was not clear whether he ever understood what had happened to him. His veteran henchman, Marcelo Caetano (1906–1980), took charge of the government and carried on the war. Two years later, Salazar died. It was not until 1974 that his infamous legacy was swept away by a bloodless revolt of troops based in Lisbon who ousted Caetano and forced the abandonment of the colonial empire.

Catholicism and Salazar. António de Oliveira Salazar, who might have become a priest, chose to follow another career. Many thought of him as being a kind of secular MONK. He never married, lived in almost monkish austerity and simplicity, and clung throughout his life to the basic principles of Catholicism. Yet he was, in many respects, moved more by patriotism than piety. The Catholic Church in Portugal, for all its influence over the centuries, never wielded the power that Catholicism could mobilize in Spain. The world learned to think of Spain and Catholicism for extended periods as virtually synonymous during the COUNTER REFORMATION and during the great age of missionary activity, for example. Portugal had no such reputation, for all of its conversions in Brazil and (to a lesser extent) in Asia and Africa. In turn, the world never denounced the Portuguese INQUISITION, nor even knew that one existed. It is, therefore, not surprising that Salazar remained devout but restrained, treating the Church and its interests as part of the whole structure of traditional Portuguese society. That society he wished to preserve. He opposed the radicalism of the left, including Communism, less for its challenge to the Church than for the damage it could do to the nation.

In 2007, nearly four decades after Salazar ceased to rule Portugal, the television network RTP invited its viewers to make their own nominations in the series *Great Portuguese.* In what became a contest to name the greatest of all, such worthy nominees as Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524), the navigator who had led the way in the fifteenth century to the founding of a colonial empire, and Aristides de Sousa Mendes (1885–1954), a diplomat who used the cover of wartime neutrality to save thousands of Jews from the HOLOCAUST (SHOAH), a plurality was awarded to Salazar. The result of this vote was a national tumult with citizens of all political and religious persuasions denouncing or praising the long-dead dictator. Nostalgic admirers insisted that the country had been better off in his time; realists insisted that the word *great* was indefinable and that Salazar had done the best he could with what circumstances had given him. Perhaps the ghost of Salazar might have been most intrigued by those participants in the national furor who saw in all of this an opportunity to promote tourism and even sell such souvenirs as Salazar-emblazoned T-shirts. The Late Great Man was, after all, an economist.

SEE ALSO PORTUGAL, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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SALKAHÁZI, SÁRA, BL.

MARTYR, member of the Sisters of Social Service; b. May 11, 1899, Kassa-Kosice, Upper Hungary (now Košice, Slovakia); d. December 27, 1944, Budapest, Hungary; beatified September 17, 2006, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Sára Salkaházi, the daughter of well-to-do parents, worked in several professions before entering religious life. In each career, she wrote about social issues. As a teacher, she examined the problems of poor students. She then worked as a bookbinder's apprentice and in a millinery shop. Sára joined the Christian Socialist Party and was editor of the party newspaper.

Sára discerned a religious vocation and wanted to join the Sisters of Social Service, a Hungarian congregation founded in 1923, but she was rejected because she smoked cigarettes. Sára managed to quit smoking and was accepted in 1929. She was thirty when she took her first vows.

Sr. Sára's ministry included organizing Catholic Charities' work, teaching, and supervising a shelter for the poor. She also wrote and published a Catholic women's journal. Sr. Sára's demanding schedule—she received fifteen different assignments in one year—left her exhausted, and her superiors questioned her vocation. They refused to allow her to renew her vows and barred her from wearing her habit for one year. She was later allowed to renew her vows and hoped to serve as a missionary in Brazil. However, the start of WORLD WAR II (1939–1945) prevented her from leaving Hungary. Sr. Sára's subsequent ministry included build-

ing the first Hungarian college for working women and opening homes for working girls in Budapest.

When the Hungarian Nazi Party began persecuting Jewish people, Sister Sára and her community sheltered Jews. In 1943 she offered herself to the sisters as a sacrifice in the event of religious persecution. On December 27, 1944, Sr. Sára encountered Nazi soldiers outside a girls home where she served as director. Instead of fleeing, she went inside. The soldiers followed her and arrested people, including Sr. Sára. She was shot to death after she knelt and made the sign of the cross. After Sr. Sára's sacrifice, no other sisters were harmed. She saved one hundred Jewish people, while her congregation saved some one thousand lives.

Pope Benedict XVI beatified Sr. Sára on September 17, 2006. At the recognition, celebrated at St. Stephen Basilica in Budapest, Cardinal Péter Erdő observed that Sr. Sára "lived through the storms of the 20th century Hungarian history and she gave us an example of the feminine way to holiness."

Feast: December 27.

SEE ALSO HUNGARY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SOCIAL SERVICE, SISTERS OF.

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SALVATION, NECESSITY OF THE CHURCH FOR

For most of the Church's history, its necessity for SALVATION has been expressed by the statement: "There is no salvation outside the Church." Rather than by a positive statement about the necessary role that GOD has given to the Church in His plan of salvation, the Church has expressed its belief by a negative statement about those outside it. This negative statement has also implied a judgment that those outside were guilty and were therefore justly excluded from salvation. However, a notable exception to this can be seen in the way that the early Fathers replied to the question about the salvation of those who had lived before the coming of CHRIST.

Teaching of the Church Fathers. One of the questions put to early Christians was: "If Christ is the savior of all humanity, why has he come only now into the world? What about the salvation of our ancestors?" To this question no early CHRISTIAN writer is known to have replied that those ancestors would be excluded from salvation because they had not believed in Christ. On the contrary, they taught that God had given the Mosaic Law to the Jews and the LAW of reason to the GENTILES and that people who had lived according to those laws would be saved. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA interpreted 1 Pet 3:19; 4:6 to mean that all those who had lived justly would hear Christ announce their salvation when he descended among the dead (*Stromata* 6:6, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 2, 490–92). There was a remarkable consensus among early Christian writers that all those who had lived virtuously before the coming of Christ would be saved.

There was a very different consensus about the fate of Christians who remained in a state of separation from the Church by adhering to heretical or schismatic sects. CYPRIAN, bishop of CARTHAGE and MARTYR, coined the axiom: "There is no salvation outside the Church," and used it as a warning to Christians who persisted in a state of separation from the Church. He and his fellow bishops believed all such people guilty of grave sin, for which, if they did not repent and return to the Church, they would be excluded from salvation. They did not warn people who were not Christian that there was no salvation for them outside the Church, while Christians were still a small and persecuted minority. A striking change took place during the course of the fourth century, which began with a severe persecution of the Church and ended with Christianity as the official religion of the ROMAN EMPIRE. It is not surprising that the fourth and fifth centuries saw a great influx of people into the Church, which resulted in a new attitude toward those who had not accepted the Christian FAITH. Saint AMBROSE (In Ps 118, *Sermo* 8:57. *Patrologia Latina* 15:1318), Saint GREGORY OF NYSSA (*Oratio Catechetica* 30, *Patrologia Graeca* 45:76-77), and Saint JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (In Epist. *Ad Rom.*, Hom. 26:3–4; *Patrologia Graeca* 60:641-42) all taught that since the GOSPEL had now been proclaimed everywhere, and everyone had been given the opportunity to accept it, those who had

not become Christians were guilty of refusing God's offer of salvation and would be justly condemned.

Prior to his controversy with Pelagius, Saint AUGUSTINE also taught that there was no salvation for those who had heard the Gospel and refused to accept it (Epist. 102:8–15, CSEL 34, 2:551–58). However, the new understanding of ORIGINAL SIN he arrived at as a result of that controversy led Augustine to believe that God could justly condemn people to eternal PUNISHMENT for the inherited GUILT of original sin alone. This led him to conclude that those who died without faith in Christ, even if they had never heard the Gospel preached, would be condemned to Hell. This also led Augustine to explain 1 Tim 2:4, "God our savior wills everyone to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth," in such a way that it does not mean that God's saving WILL is truly universal. However, not all the conclusions that Augustine drew from the DOCTRINE of original sin became part of the mainline Christian tradition. The consensus among medieval theologians was that God provided everyone with the means by which they could be saved and that no one would be condemned except for grave personal sin.

The Doctrine of St. Thomas. St. THOMAS AQUINAS took this PRINCIPLE into account in his interpretation of the traditional axiom: "There is no salvation outside the Church." St. Thomas explained that this is true because only in the Church does one have the faith and sacraments that are the necessary means of salvation (*In I Decret.*, ed. Parma 16:305). Hence, his understanding of the necessity of the Church for salvation depended on his understanding of the necessity of faith in Christ. He shared the belief of his contemporaries that the Gospel had been preached everywhere, so that those who lacked Christian faith, such as Jews and Moslems, were guilty of the sin of infidelity and would be justly condemned. When the question was raised about a person who had heard nothing about Christ, the thought did not occur to him that somewhere there might be vast numbers of people to whom the Gospel had not been preached. Rather, along with other medieval theologians, he imagined a person who had been brought up among brute beasts. He was confident that if that person followed his natural reason in seeking the GOOD and avoiding EVIL, God would make explicit faith in Christ possible for him, either by private revelation or by sending him a preacher. Once he had faith in Christ, he could have baptism as well, at least by implicit DESIRE.

Doctrinal Development after Discovery of New World. The discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shattered the medieval belief that the Gospel had been preached everywhere, so that everyone, with perhaps a rare exception, had the opportunity to arrive at explicit Christian faith. The Dominican missionaries in Latin America sent word to their brethren at the University of Salamanca that none of the people to whom they were preaching had ever heard of Christ. If explicit faith in Christ is necessary, how could the previous generations of those people have been saved? In response, the Dominican theologians went back to the solution Saint Thomas had given to the question about the salvation of Gentiles who had lived before the Christian era and had not heard of the MESSIAH to come.

His answer had been that if they had been following their CONSCIENCE, God would have made available to them that faith "without which it is impossible to please God, for anyone who approaches God must believe that he exists and that he rewards those who seek him" (Heb 11:6). He interpreted this to include faith in God's providence, which would implicitly include the whole economy of salvation and, therefore, faith in Christ as its Mediator. This solution was followed by the JESUITS and some other Catholic theologians, but it was rejected by the Reformers, especially by John CALVIN, who taught that God would see to it that all those who were predestined to salvation would come to explicit faith in Christ (*Institutes of the Christian Religion*, III, 21:5–7; 24:12). A similar position was held by the Jansenists, who continued to insist on the absolute necessity of Christian faith and, hence, on the exclusion of all non-Christians from salvation.

The Doctrine of Pope Pius IX. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, knowing the immense number of people in the world who had not yet heard the Gospel preached and could not be judged guilty of rejecting Christian faith, many Catholics, reacting against the rigid Jansenist position, accepted the idea that it did not matter what religion people professed as long as they lived good lives. This was known as "religious indifferentism," which Pope PIUS IX condemned as that "impious and deadly opinion that the way of eternal salvation can be found in any religion" (*Singulari quadam*, *Acta Pii IX* I/1, 626). Nevertheless, Pius IX insisted that "those who labor in invincible ignorance concerning our most holy religion," and who "live an honest and upright life can, through the working of the divine light and grace, attain eternal life, since God, by reason of his supreme goodness and kindness, will never allow anyone who has not the guilt of willful sin to be punished by eternal sufferings." He went on to explain "the well known Catholic dogma that no one can be saved outside the Catholic Church" to mean that it is those who are "contumacious against its authority" and are "pertinaciously divided from the unity of that Church," who cannot obtain eternal salvation (*Quanto*

conficiamur moerore, *Acta Pii IX* I,3, 613). In thus interpreting the "well known Catholic dogma" to apply only to those who are guilty of grave sin by not belonging to the Catholic Church, Pius IX anticipated the doctrine of Vatican II.

The Doctrine of the Second Vatican Council. The Second Vatican Council, in its Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, explained the necessity of the Church for salvation in the following way:

> This sacred Synod, basing itself upon Sacred Scripture and tradition, teaches that the Church, now sojourning on earth as an exile, is necessary for salvation. For Christ, made present to us in his Body, which is the Church, is the one Mediator and the unique way of salvation. In explicit terms He himself affirmed the necessity of faith and baptism (cf. Mk 16:16; Jn 3:5) and thereby affirmed also the necessity of the Church, for through baptism as through a door men enter the Church. Whosoever, therefore, knowing that the Catholic Church was made necessary by God through Jesus Christ, would refuse to enter her or to remain in her could not be saved. (*Lumen gentium* 14)

The Council based the necessity of the Church for salvation on the fundamental Christian beliefs that all mankind has been alienated from God by sin, that eternal salvation depends on being reconciled with God, that Jesus Christ is the one Mediator of this reconciliation, and that salvation depends on a relationship with Him. This saving relationship with Christ is obtained through faith and baptism and, therefore, through the Church which provides these means of salvation. Since these are available through almost all Christian churches, the question arises why the Council said that God has made the Catholic Church so necessary for salvation that those who refuse to belong to it could not be saved. The reason would seem to be that, as the Council said in its Decree on Ecumenism: "It is through Christ's Catholic Church alone, which is the all-embracing means of salvation, that the fullness of the means of salvation can be obtained" (*Unitatis redintegratio* 3). In other words, it is God's will that all who can do so should have the fullness of the means of salvation. It is only those who recognize that this is God's will for them and would sin grievously in refusing to belong to the Catholic Church, who would be excluded from salvation. On the other hand, the Council recognized that the churches and ecclesial communities that are separated from the Catholic Church "have by no means been deprived of significance and importance in the mystery of salvation. For the Spirit of Christ has not refrained from using them as means of salvation which derive their efficacy from the very fullness of grace and truth entrusted to the Catholic Church" (*Unitatis redintegratio* 3).

Universal Role of Church in Salvation. Vatican II affirmed that God offers to everyone the grace by which they can be saved and said that those who are not Christian are "related in various ways" to the Church (*Lumen gentium* 16), but it did not explain of what this relatedness consists. In three of its documents it described the Church as the "universal sacrament of salvation" (*Lumen gentium* 48, *Gaudium et spes* 45, *Ad gentes* 1). The first time the council described the Church as "sacrament" it explained this to mean "sign and instrument" (*Lumen gentium* 1). Hence the term "universal sacrament of salvation" can be understood to describe the Church as sign and instrument of salvation for all people. Such a universal role of the Church in salvation has been affirmed in some authoritative documents since Vatican II.

In his ENCYCLICAL *Redemptoris missio*, referring to people "who do not have an opportunity to come to know or accept the Gospel revelation or to enter the Church," John Paul II said: "For such people salvation in Christ is accessible by virtue of a grace which, while having a mysterious relationship to the Church, does not make them formally part of the Church" (*Redemptoris missio* 10). He described the Church as "the sacrament of salvation for all mankind" (*Redemptoris missio* 20), and since, as sacrament, the Church is both sign and instrument, he criticized those who "consider the Church herself only a sign" (*Redemptoris missio* 17).

In its Declaration *Dominus Iesus* (2000), the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith listed a number of truths, which it said some people think have been superseded, but which the Congregation intended to reiterate as part of the Church's faith. Among these truths it included "the universal salvific mediation of the Church" (4). It explained the term *universal sacrament of salvation* to mean that the Church "has, in God's plan, an indispensable role in the salvation of every human being" (20). "With the coming of the Savior Jesus Christ, God has willed that the Church founded by him be the instrument for the salvation of *all* humanity" (22).

While the INTERNATIONAL THEOLOGICAL COMMISSION does not share the authority of the Magisterium, its document *The Hope of Salvation for Infants Who Die Without Being Baptized* (*Origins* 36/45, April 26, 2007, 725–746) affirms not only the recent development of the Church's doctrine on *Limbo*, but also its teaching on the universality of the Church's role in salvation. For instance, after quoting several passages

from the documents of Vatican II, it said: "What is striking in these quotations is the universal extent of the Church's mediating role in ministering God's salvation." (57) Its statement: "All salvation comes from Christ and therefore, in some way, through the Church" (82) reflects Catholic teaching about the Church's universal mediation of salvation, but also the lack of an official answer to the question as to how the Church exercises such universal mediation. Some have suggested that it is through the Church's celebration of the EUCHARIST, in which it prays that this sacrifice "may advance the peace and salvation of all the world," and describes its offering of the body and blood of Christ as "the acceptable sacrifice which brings salvation to the whole world."

SEE ALSO DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE; DOMINUS IESUS; ENCYCLICAL; FAITHFUL; FEENEY, LEONARD; INFIDEL; JANSENISM; LAW, MOSAIC; NECESSITY OF MEANS; NECESSITY OF PRECEPT; PELAGIUS AND PELAGIANISM; PROVIDENCE OF GOD (THEOLOGY OF); REDEMPTORIS MISSIO; REVELATIONS, PRIVATE; SALAMANCA, UNIVERSITY OF; SALVATION HISTORY (HEILSGESCHICHTE); SOCIETY (THEOLOGY OF); SUMMORUM PONTIFICUM; VATICAN COUNCIL II; VOTUM; WILL OF GOD.

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SALZANO, GIULIA, ST.

Foundress of the Congregation of the Catechetical Sisters of the Sacred Heart; b. Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Caserta Province, Italy, October 13, 1846; d. May 17, 1929; beatified April 27, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II. On December 19, 2009, following the approval of a miracle, the Holy See announced that Salzano would be elevated to sainthood in 2010. At the time of publication of this entry, a date had not yet been set.

Born to Diego Salzano, a captain in the lancers of King Ferdinand II (1810–1859) of Naples, and Adelaide Valentino, Giulia Salzano was entrusted to an orphanage at age four after her father's death. She remained there, raised by the Sisters of Charity in the Royal Orphanage of Saint Nicola La Strada, until age fifteen. In 1865 Salzano earned a diploma as a primary school teacher. The

same year, she moved with her family to Naples Province and began teaching at a local school in Casoria.

Salzano is recognized for the CHARISM of imparting the Church's teachings to people of all ages. This, and her devotion to the Sacred Heart, led her in 1905 to found the Congregation of the Catechetical Sisters of the Sacred Heart. Its motto was *Ad majorem Cordis Jesu gloriam* (For the greater glory of the Heart of Jesus). Today, the Catechetical Sisters of the Sacred Heart are devoted to catechesis, education, and mission in Italy, Canada, Colombia, Peru, Brazil, India, the Philippines, and Indonesia. Encouraging her daughters, Salzano once told them, "The Sister catechist must be ready, at every moment, to instruct the little ones and the uneducated. She must not count the sacrifices such a ministry demands, indeed she should desire to die while doing it, if this be God's will."

Salzano was affectionately and respectfully called Donna Giulietta (Lady Juliet) by the people of Casoria. In addition to educating her pupils in the school, she reached out to their families and the townspeople, helping them to grow in the faith. "All Casorians must know, love, and serve God," she once wrote in a letter to Vincenzo Maria Sarnelli (1835–1898), archbishop of Naples.

On the day before she died, she examined more than a hundred children preparing for FIRST COMMUNION. In his HOMILY beatifying Salzano and five others in April 2003, Pope John Paul II praised her for being ahead of her time, calling her "an apostle of the new evangelization in which she combined apostolic activity with prayer, offered ceaselessly, especially for the conversion of the 'indifferent.'" She is considered a prophetess of the new evangelization because of her charism of sharing the teachings of Jesus.

Feast: May 17.

SEE ALSO EVANGELIZATION, NEW; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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SARTRE, JEAN-PAUL

Existentialist philosopher; b. Paris, June 21, 1905; d. April 15, 1980.

Jean-Paul Sartre received his degree in PHILOSOPHY from the École Normale Supérieur in 1929 and taught at various Lycées from 1931 to 1944. In 1933 he went to Germany for a year to study the philosophy of Edmund HUSSERL and became aware of Martin HEIDEGGER. Returning to France he wrote both philosophy and fiction (his novel *Nausea* appeared in 1938) and taught philosophy until 1939. He was drafted into the French army and, when France fell to the Germans, he became a prisoner of war. Released in 1941 he taught philosophy at the Lycée Condorcet. In 1943 he gave up teaching and published *Being and Nothingness* (a lengthy and sometimes brilliant, philosophic ramble) and a popular play, "The Flies," a version of the Greek legend of Orestes. These brought him considerable fame. Sartre wrote additional fiction calling for humans to free themselves from the past and to define their own values.

Development of Philosophy. Through his experience of the Second World War, the Occupation, the Resistance, and the new France that emerged, he became politically engaged. This decision marked a turn from the individualist teaching of *Nausea* and *Being and Nothingness*. He and several friends founded a left-wing journal, *Les Temps modernes*. Together with his longtime companion Simone de Beauvoir (also an accomplished writer; 1908–1986) he traveled much, visiting Russia, China, and Fidel Castro's Cuba. They became Marxists and admirers of Castro and the Soviet Union, yet never joined the Communist Party. This admiration ceased when the Soviets crushed the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, but Sartre's interest in Marxism continued. Through it all, he still considered himself an existentialist, claiming this was a necessary phase in human history. He believed that, as time passed, EXISTENTIALISM would be absorbed into Marxism and that Marxism would eventually be absorbed into a FREEDOM that presently cannot be understood.

In 1964 Sartre published *The Words*, a bittersweet account of his childhood, and won the Nobel Prize for Literature, which he respectfully refused together with the money that went with it, because he did not accept "official distinctions" and the prize was too associated



Sartre, Jean-Paul (1905–1980). *French existentialist philosopher and writer.* © JAMES ANDANSON/APIS/SYGMA/CORBIS

with the "Western Bloc of Nations" (Cohen-Solal 1987, p. 448). He became an outspoken critic of the French in Algeria and of all forms of colonialism. In 1967 he joined Bertrand RUSSELL in Stockholm to conduct their own war crime trials of the U.S. leaders in the Vietnam War. During the French political troubles of 1968 he led revolutionaries on the streets of Paris. He supported Mao Zedong in China and spent much time writing *The Family Idiot*, a 2,802-page biographical analysis of Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880) that he published in 1971 and 1972. Much of this work contains further reflections on his own philosophy. He became slower with age and in his final months gave some highly controversial interviews (*Hope Now*) that showed a sympathetic interest in RELIGION. In his final years, he was often considered passé, yet 50,000 people blocked the streets of Paris to form his funeral cortege.

Thought. Sartre's thought underwent considerable change during his lifetime ("My outlook changed … fundamentally after the Second World War"). His early writings were in Phenomenology, and he soon became known as an existentialist. Both of these affiliations involved analyzing consciousness and, in doing so, he saw everything in terms of the Cartesian *cogito*, that is, based only on the immediate data of consciousness. He saw the ego, not as dwelling in consciousness, but as an object largely created by the gaze and expectations of others. He held that consciousness has no identity; it is endlessly other. However, to avoid knowing this and to conceal freedom, people cooperate with what others tell them, and in bad faith develop an objective identity. But it does not work, for we are condemned to freedom.

Being and Nothingness proposes an "existential psychoanalysis," by which to free oneself from the burden of a false identity. The "Being" (the "in-itself") mentioned in the title is the objective world that exists without cause, while "Nothingness" (the "for-itself") refers to consciousness. The two are radically opposed; a similar set of opposing terms can be found in the Catholic mystics that Sartre read as a young man (JOHN OF THE CROSS, for instance, tells of *todo y nada* ["all and nothing"] and also presents a way of PURIFICATION—many Catholic mystics have spoken of themselves as nothing). Sartre claimed that "existence precedes essence," and this formulation would see "ESSENCE" as an identity that has been given or assumed. GOD would

be the union of BEING and Nothingness. As Sartre develops the ONTOLOGY of the terms, they are seen to be contradictory, so he argues that God is impossible. Yet each individual tries to achieve the impossible union and thus be God; but it does not work: "Man is a useless passion" and "Every enterprise is absurd." Sartre quotes Dostoevski: "If God didn't exist, everything would be permitted" and calls this the starting point of Existentialism. "That is, everything is permitted since God does not exist" (Sartre 1966, p. 36). It follows that each individual must create, without any objective reason for doing so, whatever values one might have. So in the early texts of Sartre, there is no basis for a common human ethic.

Under the influence of the war and the "ENLIGHTENMENT" of Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908–1961) and others, Sartre decided that humans freely do things that change history and then developed a very different philosophy that is presented at length in *The Critique of Dialectical Reason*. His starting point was no longer the Cartesian *cogito*, but the "enlightenment" that we are the free makers of history. He became a moral crusader—a role not possible in his earlier philosophy. And the radical opposition between *Being and Nothingness* became softened as he called for their reconciliation in a Hegelian "SYNTHESIS," whereby freedom would be one with necessity (see especially his *Saint Genet*, p. 186, and T. King's, *Sartre and the Sacred*, pp. 174–77).

But in calling for this "Synthesis" (what he once meant by God), he did not become a believer. He maintained his ATHEISM by speaking of God as Being to the exclusion of Nothingness or Nothingness to the exclusion of Being—the very opposition that characterized God in his earlier philosophy. Many of Sartre's works of fiction tell of the move from the helpless freedom of *Being and Nothingness* to the active freedom that joins others in building a new society. This new society would be the reconciliation of opposites that once was his understanding of God.

Catholicism. Sartre was fifteen months old when his father died and his mother returned to live with her parents in Alsace. Charles Schweitzer, his Protestant and anti-Catholic grandfather (an uncle of Albert Schweitzer, the humanitarian), doted on the young Jean-Paul. His mother and grandmother were nominal Catholics and sent Jean-Paul for several months of Catholic education until he protested. "Raised in the Catholic faith I learned that the Almighty had made me for his glory.... But later I did not recognize in the fashionable God of whom I was taught the one whom my soul awaited" (Sartre 1964, p. 61). Catholic themes abound in his writings, and he explained, "Removed from Catholicism the sacred was deposited in belles-lettres and the penman appeared, an ersatz of the Christian I was unable to be.... I grew like a weed on the compost of Catholicity; my roots sucked up its juices and I changed them into sap" (Sartre 1964, p. 156).

As a prisoner of war in 1940 Sartre wrote a Christmas play ("Bariona") for his fellow prisoners in order to bring Christians and Communists together.In it one of the three wise men undergoes a change of heart and reflects on the meaning of the birth of CHRIST. This same understanding would run through many of his later works of fiction ("The Flies," *The Roads to Freedom*, and "The Devil and the Good Lord"). Toward the end of his life he said with regret that he had been writing his books for God to read and that he still needed the Holy Spirit to validate his identity as a writer. He would tell of wanting to develop a purely human ethic, but his Catholic past remained with him: "It is certain that the notions of absolute GOOD and EVIL were born from the catechism I was taught" (De Beauvior 1981, p. 552) He called his atheism a cruel and long-ranging affair and added, "I believe I have carried it through" (Sartre 1964, p. 158). Shortly before his death he had conversations with a young Marxist who had returned to his Jewish roots. Their conversations were recorded and published. In them Sartre spoke positively of all people returning to life after death and seemed to look forward to a unified humanity that would be "social as well as religious"; human laws would be transcended "from above, not from below" (Sartre and Levy 1996, pp. 106–107). Such texts are surprising, and their meaning is not clear.

SEE ALSO DESCARTES, RENÉ; EXISTENCE; EXISTENTIAL ETHICS; EXISTENTIAL METAPHYSICS; EXISTENTIAL PSYCHOLOGY; EXISTENTIAL THEOLOGY; GOD, PROOFS FOR THE EXISTENCE OF; GOD IN PHILOSOPHY; HEGEL, GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH; MYSTICISM; PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.

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SCHELINGOVÁ, ZDENKA CECILIA, BL.

Religious of the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity of the Holy Cross; baptized Cecilia, known in religion as Zdenka; b. Krivá, Orava, Slovakia, December 24, 1916; d. Trnava, Czechoslovakia, July 31, 1955; beatified September 14, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Cecilia Schelingová was the tenth of eleven children born to a family in Krivá, a small farming village, and she attended the local elementary school. When she was thirteen, the Sisters of Charity of the Holy Cross arrived in her parish. In 1931, when she was fifteen, she sought permission to join the order. The sisters sent her to nursing and radiology school for four years, prior to her entering the novitiate in 1936. In 1937 she made her first vows, taking the name Zdenka. Shortly thereafter, she was assigned as a nurse to a hospital in Humenne. She was assigned in 1942 to a government hospital in Bratislava as an X-ray technician.

In 1948 Communists took over the government of Czechoslovakia, resulting in the persecution of Catholics, particularly priests and religious. Among Zdenka's patients at the government hospital were prisoners, including priests. On February 20, 1952, realizing that one of the priests was going to be sent to Siberia, she drugged the guard and helped the priest escape. Nine days later, while trying to help a group of priests and seminarians escape, she was arrested. In prison, Zdenka was interrogated and brutally beaten. In June 1952, she was tried, convicted of high treason, and sentenced to twelve years in prison. While admitting to certain actions, she denied the charge of treason.

For the next three years, Zdenka was repeatedly tortured, but she refused to become an informant. In 1954 she was diagnosed with breast cancer and underwent a mastectomy in prison with scant follow-up treatment. She was later sent to a prison hospital for radiation therapy. On April 16, 1955, ill and dying, she was released from prison. Due to fear and constant surveillance, neither her community of sisters at the motherhouse in Bratislava nor the community in Trnava would accept her. She was finally taken in by a friend in Trnava, but died in the hospital on July 31, 1955. In 1970 the state reversed the verdict of treason against her. In his HOMILY beatifying Zdenka as a MARTYR of the Church in 2003, Pope John Paul II noted that "Sister Zdenka did not hesitate to risk her life so as to assist God's ministers."

Feast: July 31.

SEE ALSO COMMUNISM; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SLOVAKIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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SECULARISM

Secularism is a theory that religious institutions and religious beliefs must not be allowed to influence political or social affairs. In the abstract the theory does not demand ATHEISM; it requires only a practical AGNOSTICISM that permits people to believe as they wish in private, so long as the PUBLIC ORDER is not disturbed. Secularism has varied greatly in application, however, depending on the extent to which secularists see RELIGION as a damaging delusion or positive EVIL from which the public, particularly children and the poor, must be protected.

The Communist governments of the twentieth century, for instance, combined a brutal secularism, banning any political or social acknowledgment of the existence of religion, with an official atheism that aimed at eliminating all religious belief. The results varied from relative TOLERANCE in POLAND (where the Catholic Church was seen as too strong to eliminate entirely), to harsh restriction in Albania (perhaps the strictest atheistical regime in Communist Europe), to deliberate and widespread murder in Cambodia (home of what came to be called the Killing Fields).

Outside the totalitarian regimes of the Communists, secularism has only occasionally reached violent proportions, usually during socialist and nationalist upheavals. (The Mexican Revolution from 1910 to 1921 and the Spanish Civil War from 1936 to 1939, for example, saw the martyrdom of many religious believers.) Still, even among democracies in the early 2000s, the variation can be considerable. In France, for instance, a strong secularism known as *laïcité* has been enforced, off and on since the FRENCH REVOLUTION in 1789, and consistently since the country enacted its full secularism LAW in 1905. The French form of secularism bans all official interaction with religion and includes a prohibition against wearing religious garb in schools.

In the United States a weaker form of secularism has evolved since the American Revolution of 1776. For much of its history the American form of secularism combined a national preference for religious belief with a constitutional ban on the declaration of any one religion or religious SECT as the nation's official church. A series of U.S. Supreme Court cases from the 1940s through the 1990s moved the nation's laws toward a stricter, more French form of secularism, but the greater social and political order remained generally religious.

Intellectual Foundations. Secularism need not be atheistic, and even the strongest secularists among the founders of America were generally Deists, with at least some theistical belief and little of the active HATRED of Christianity manifest among VOLTAIRE (1694–1778) and the other French philosophers of the ENLIGHTENMENT. Nearly all more recent prominent intellectual proponents of secularism, however, were strongly opposed to religious belief, and the softer secularism of opposition to church teaching and anticlericalism generally turned to a militant atheism in the twentieth century.

Modern manifestations of secularism have been buttressed by leading political and legal theories. Though not all were intended to establish a secularist ideology, many of these theories have had the *de facto* effect of ruling religious ideas out of bounds in public discussions about policy and law.

Perhaps the most important American thinker in this vein was John Rawls (1921–2002). An eminent political philosopher at Harvard, Rawls proposed a theory of political LIBERALISM that sought to take the realities of diversity, pluralism, and reasonable disagreement seriously. His solution to these challenges was his theory of "public reason"—reasons that any citizen could accept—which argued that appeals to any particular "comprehensive doctrine" are inappropriate in public discourse. Because not all citizens share the same beliefs, reasoning about basic issues of political justice has to occur within an "overlapping consensus" amongst the various doctrines.

Rawls argued that this solution to political pluralism was not biased against religious reason, because it excluded appeals to all "comprehensive doctrines," including both religious systems (such as JUDAISM and Christianity) and nonreligious schools of thought (such as Benthamite Utilitarianism and KANTIANISM).

In practice, however, the bias against religion became apparent. Political theorists never insisted that a particular policy or set of arguments violated Rawlsian public reason because they depended too heavily on the thought of BENTHAM and KANT or that the arguments would be acceptable only to those who held the comprehensive doctrine of utilitarianism or deontology. Arguments were frequently made, however, that social conservatives—arguing for the right to life of unborn human beings or the definition of marriage as a union of one MAN and one WOMAN—were violating the demands of public reason by appealing to religious reasoning. In theory Rawlsian public reason would exclude only appeals to religious authority (biblical revelation or ecclesial teaching), but in practice it was used to counter criticize any arguments made by religious believers, even when (as in NATURAL-LAW claims) such arguments never appealed to religious authority.

The work of Ronald Dworkin (b. 1931) played a parallel role within the legal profession, although American jurisprudence had been generally moving toward a strict secularism for some time. Arguing for a strict "separation of church and state," the U.S. Supreme Court eventually demanded that GOVERNMENT must be neutral not only among religions but even between religion and non-religion.

Kai Nielsen argued in his *Ethics Without God* (1972) that MORALITY could not be based on religion and that secular reason provided the only sure foundation for morality. Richard Rorty (1931–2007) claimed in his 1994 essay, "Religion as a Conversation Stopper," that religion is a purely private, personal matter. According to Rorty, appeals to religion end all public conversations because they allow no answer: They have the same intellectual content as subjective preferences for ice-cream flavors.

As Rorty put it, when someone appeals to religious belief in a conversation about public matters, "the ensuing silence masks the group's inclination to say, 'So what? We weren't discussing your private life; we were discussing public policy. Don't bother us with matters that are not our concern'" (Rorty 1994, p. 2). In 2005 Peter Singer, internationally recognized as one of the most important living atheistical philosophers, argued that "by 2040, it may be that only a rump of hard-core,

know-nothing religious fundamentalists will defend the view that every human life, from conception to death, is sacrosanct" (Singer, p. 40).

One of the most surprising developments in the first decade of the twenty-first century was the rise of neo-atheism. Referring to themselves as "The Brights," these modern atheists included a small group of English-speaking militant secularists: Richard Dawkins (*The God Delusion* in 2006), Daniel Dennett (*Breaking the Spell: Religion as a Natural Phenomenon* in 2006), Sam Harris (*The End of Faith: Religion, Terror, and the Future of Reason* in 2004), and Christopher Hitchens (*God Is Not Great: How Religion Poisons Everything* in 2007). What is remarkable about these books is how heated their RHETORIC is: They insist that all religion harms humanity, and religious people are the cause of all the world's ills. While the books sold remarkably well and garnered significant media attention, they received surprisingly negative reviews (even in liberal, secular publications), and they seem to have generated no appreciable rise in atheism among the general population.

Perhaps the appearance of this neo-atheism was in response to the triumphs of JOHN PAUL II's PAPACY (1978–2005) and the political rise of the so-called religious right in the United States from the 1970s into the 2000s. In the American context the strongest challenge to the political manifestations of secularism came from Richard John Neuhaus (b. 1936) in his book, *The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America* (1984). A Lutheran pastor who converted and became a Catholic priest in 1991, Neuhaus argued that the weak form of secularism—the institutional separation of church and state—should be embraced by all citizens, both religious and non-religious. But he further argued that this institutional separation was not meant to exclude religious believers from participating in the discussion of public life. It was, rather, intended to allow all citizens a place at the table.

Critical Evaluation. The initial reaction of the Catholic Church to secularism was extremely critical. The Church saw in the theory's claims of neutrality excuses for states—such as France, which seized the nation's religious schools and monasteries during the French Revolution—to confiscate CHURCH PROPERTY, abolish ancient Church privileges, and enshrine a militant anti-clericalism. As the Church's view of the potential good of DEMOCRACY grew, however, so did its understanding of the potential of a mild form of secularism. The Second VATICAN Council called on the laity to work within secular affairs, to which they could bring a CHRISTIAN DIMENSION, without the imposition of Catholicism.

Nonetheless, the council noted "that ominous doctrine must rightly be rejected which attempts to build a society with no regard whatever for religion" (*Lumen gentium* 36). This rejection of hard secularism is mandatory in Christian thought. Such extreme secularism rejects end and purpose to human life. It excludes any knowledge of God and the spiritual world and thus degenerates into something inhuman and incomplete in the eyes of the Church. The role of mild secularism in democracy, however, remains something that a Catholic can in good CONSCIENCE affirm.

SEE ALSO ALBANIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; CAMBODIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES (LEGAL HISTORY); DEISM; DEONTOLOGISM; ENLIGHTENMENT; ENLIGHTENMENT, PHILOSOPHY OF; FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; FREETHINKERS; POLAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; POLITICS, CHURCH AND; RATIONALISM; TEMPORAL VALUES, THEOLOGY OF; THEISM; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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SEMINARY EDUCATION

In ecclesiastical writings *seminary* designates a special type of school dedicated to the human, spiritual, pastoral, and intellectual formation of the clergy. It is derived from the Latin word *seminarium*, which was commonly used to describe a place where young seedlings were prepared for eventual transplantation. The first official use of this word to describe institutions

for clerical training dates back to the Council of TRENT (Sess. 23, c.18), which did not invent the term as such, but accepted it from some of the writings of the period, by men such as Cardinal Reginald POLE, St. John FISHER, and St. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA.

Tridentine Discipline. The Council made it obligatory for every DIOCESE to erect a seminary for the purpose of educating the local clergy. Whenever possible, this institution was to be built near the CATHEDRAL church so young aspirants to the priesthood might serve an apprenticeship there by participating, each according to his rank, in the divine offices presided over by the local BISHOP. If an individual diocese was too small or lacked the necessary funds, it could join with other dioceses for the construction of a provincial or interdiocesan seminary. Those to be admitted had to be born of lawful wedlock and had to be at least 12 years of age. They were obliged to possess certain minimal educational requirements and to have a sincere desire to dedicate themselves wholeheartedly to the service of the Church. Special preference was given to the children of the poor; the children of the rich, however, were not excluded if they paid for their training. The young men studied letters, humanities, chant, LITURGY, Sacred Scripture, and dogmatic, moral, and PASTORAL THEOLOGY. Their spiritual formation required daily assistance at the Eucharistic Sacrifice even though, according to the practice of the time, they were permitted to communicate only on the days indicated by their spiritual directors. Their moral development was supervised, and the disorderly and incorrigible were punished and, if necessary, expelled. The local bishop chose special priests as instructors and spiritual guides for the young candidates. The bishop also determined the courses; he was the primary judge as to what was necessary for the particular circumstances of his diocese. The seminary received its support from an intricate system of benefices in addition to taxes imposed on the revenues of bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries and institutions. The chief administrator of the school was the local bishop himself, aided by two administrative boards; one assisted him in disciplinary and spiritual matters, and the other helped him with temporalities.

Origins of the Tridentine Decree. The Council's legislation *de seminariis* was not a new creation, but a restoration and renovation of the traditional manner in which young clerics received their formation. Fundamentally, it presented a return to the cathedral school, where from the earliest times in the Church, young men prepared for the priesthood. With the breakdown of FEUDALISM and the rise of the universities, this ancient system of clerical formation became either impoverished or generally abandoned. As a result a large segment of the late medieval and pre-Reformation clergy received inadequate training and were often ordained for offices they were not sufficiently equipped to exercise. Although the question of clerical formation had been mentioned by the preparatory commission in discussions on the teaching of Sacred Scripture and in the work of the fathers at Bologna, it was not until the twenty-third session of the Council of Trent that a sound and practical solution was found.

The source of the Tridentine seminary legislation was canon 11 of the synodal legislation promulgated for England in 1556 by Cardinal Pole. The first draft of Trent's decree closely parallels the corresponding section in Pole's *Reformatio Angliae*. As early as 1562 the entire text of the English CARDINAL's legatine synod was available at Trent and so, when the members of the commission studying abuses in the administration of the Sacrament of Orders sought a means to assure the intellectual and moral training of the clergy, they focused on the late cardinal's solution: erecting seminaries at every cathedral church. The fathers of the Council adopted Pole's solution to the problem, and the first draft of their own legislation *de seminariis erigendis* presents a striking similarity to it. Even though the final ratification of the decree promulgated in the twenty-third session differs considerably from the eleventh canon of Pole's synodal legislation, the essence of his program was largely preserved.

Several proximate sources of the Tridentine seminary decree also may be enumerated. First, some documents presented to the Council in 1563 highlighted certain abuses and remedies in the administration of the Sacrament of Orders. The *Memoriale de quibusdam abusibus in ecclesia corrigendis* submitted by Louis Beccadelli, archbishop of Ragusa, suggested that a *seminarium clericorum* be established. The *Articuli super reformatione sacramenti ordinis* presented by the archbishop of REIMS advised the establishment of special schools attached to cathedral churches, and the petitions of Emperor FERDINAND urged the erection of special *collegia* for the clergy near the universities. Second, the Jesuit influence was illustrated by the work of Claude LE JAY in Germany and by the establishment of the *Germanicum* in Rome. During his mission to Germany (1542–1545) le Jay constantly insisted upon the necessity of providing adequate means for clerical formation. He spoke of this urgent need to bishops, to civil rulers, and to the Council fathers themselves. He insisted that special schools be established to prepare young men for the ministry. Through the instigation of Cardinal John Morone, le Jay's ideas found fruition, at least in Rome, in the *Germanicum*, established there in 1552. This institution was not a seminary in the Tridentine sense, but rather a *collegium*, in which the students lived under a determined rule while they attended classes at the Ro-

man College. Finally, other proximate sources were contemporary attempts to restore cathedral schools as places of clerical formation. It suffices here to cite the work of three men: Gian Matteo GIBERTI, bishop of Verona, who restored and improved the already well-known Acolyte School of Verona; Johannes GEILER VON KAYSERSBERG, the renowned German preacher, who in vain urged his bishop, Albert of Bavaria, to open a theological school in connection with the cathedral church; and, of particular ecumenical interest, Thomas CRANMER (1489–1556), Archbishop of Canterbury, who supervised the revision of the cathedral school of Canterbury and legislated for improved clerical formation by means of the section *de scholis habendis in ecclesiis cathedralibus*, a considerable portion of his famous *Reformatio legum*, completed in 1553.

Remote sources of Trent's seminary legislation included not only particular and general councils of the Church but also the pastoral concern of certain popes. As early as 826 Pope EUGENE II, in a council held at Rome, legislated that next to every cathedral church a dwelling should be erected in which young clerics would be formed in ecclesiastical discipline. In 1179 the Third Lateran Council laid down the general injunction that every cathedral in the universal Church was to establish a BENEFICE for the support of a schoolmaster who would be charged with teaching the clerics attached to the Church. Almost 40 years later, in 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council once again formulated legislation regarding this matter and added that every metropolitan church was to employ a theologian to instruct priests in Sacred Scripture and pastoral THEOLOGY. Good examples of papal concern for the betterment of clerical education are the *Super specula* of HONORIUS III (d. 1183) and the *Cum ex eo* of BONIFACE VIII (d. 1298). Although these constitutions did not envision establishing institutions of learning, nevertheless they adapted the residence laws so that many clerics were released from their obligations of living in their benefices while pursuing higher studies. They also gave added impetus to setting up a permanent, workable solution to the problem of inadequate clerical formation.

Implementation of the Tridentine Decree. Almost immediately after its promulgation, plans were made for the LAW's implementation. In 1565 Pope PIUS IV erected a seminary for the Diocese of Rome, and sections *de seminariis erigendis* were incorporated into the canons of many provincial councils. One of the most outstanding proponents of the seminary decree was St. Charles BORROMEO, Archbishop of Milan. He opened a major seminary under the patronage of St. JOHN THE BAPTIST with facilities for 150 students. Also, recognizing that all candidates for the priesthood did not have the intellectual capacity to be admitted to this institution, he established *La Canonica* for about 60 students who would prepare for the care of souls with classes in Sacred Scripture, case studies, and the fundamentals of the Faith as laid down in the Tridentine Catechism. In various parts of his ARCHDIOCESE, he also founded three preparatory seminaries: one for older students, another for adolescents, and a third for younger boys. From these institutions the candidates passed either to the major seminary or to *La Canonica*. In the beginning Borromeo staffed his seminaries with JESUITS, but later he placed them under the direction of the Oblates of St. AMBROSE, an order that he founded. His *Institutiones ad universum seminarii regimen pertinentes* are valuable amplifications of the Tridentine decree.

In France the cardinal of Lorraine, who was archbishop of Reims, took the first steps to implement the seminary legislation. The Wars of Religion occasioned such a turmoil, however, that very little of a constructive nature was done before the beginning of the seventeenth century. St. VINCENT DE PAUL, John J. OLIER, and St. JOHN EUDES were the most outstanding contributors to the establishment of seminaries in France, institutions that later influenced the erection of similar houses of study in the British Isles, Canada, and the United States. Vincent de Paul's work in this field originated in a series of spiritual conferences and instructions he gave young men about to be ordained to the priesthood. At first these lasted only for ten days, but later they developed into a two- or three-year course given between the completion of philosophical studies and ordination to the priesthood. In 1635 he established a seminary at the Collège des Bons-Enfants for students of theology; later he founded Saint-Lazare for young candidates who were studying the humanities; and in 1642 he erected a junior seminary, which he dedicated to St. Charles Borromeo. Prior to the FRENCH REVOLUTION, his congregation directed one-third of all French seminaries; 53 were major, and nine were minor.

Olier, the founder of the SULPICIANS, began his contribution to the seminary system by establishing an institution in 1642 within the boundaries of the parish of St. Sulpice. He intended this to serve as a national seminary, and within two years representatives from 20 dioceses in France were attending. In 1651 many other institutions that were being constructed throughout France adopted the rules for this seminary, although Olier's original intention had not been to found a congregation for the direction of seminaries. He had merely lent his priests to help establish them. A great number of requests from bishops finally led to his permanently accepting the task of staffing seminaries.

St. John Eudes, a member of the Oratory and later the founder of the Society of the Sacred Hearts, played a significant role in the establishment of seminaries. In

1663 he erected his first seminary at Caen, and by the eighteenth century his priests staffed 40 seminaries.

The upheavals of the eighteenth century—the French Revolution, JOSEPHINISM, and the ENLIGHTENMENT—had disastrous effects upon the seminary system of Western Europe. Many were closed, and others were entirely suppressed. The nineteenth century, however, saw the reestablishment of many seminaries and the construction of countless others. In Ireland, Maynooth was erected in 1795 and All Hallows, in 1842; England witnessed the opening of St. Edmund's, Ushaw, and Oscott; and in the United States, St. Mary's Seminary opened in Baltimore in 1791.

IN THE UNITED STATES

Historical Development. The origin of seminaries in the United States can be traced to Baltimore in the 1780s, where Bishop John CARROLL, seeing the isolation after the American Revolution of Catholics from Europe and the need for priests, made plans to develop an American clergy. His efforts resulted in the establishment of Georgetown Academy in 1789 and in an offer by the Society of St. Sulpice to begin a seminary in the new diocese of Baltimore. Carroll intended Georgetown Academy (later GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY) as a preparatory school to educate Catholic laymen and provide candidates for seminary study.

The arrival of four Sulpician priests with five seminarians in 1791 to open St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore marked the formal beginning of Catholic seminary education in the United States. From 1799 to 1852 the Sulpicians conducted a lay college affiliated with the seminary that provided institutional support to maintain the small seminary program. In 1808 the Sulpicians opened Mount Saint Mary's College at Emmitsburg, Maryland. The small enrollment of young aspirants to the priesthood, however, soon led them to open the school to boys who did not intend to become priests to bring in more revenue and sustain the college. In 1826 the Sulpicians ceded control of Mount St. Mary's to a corporation of diocesan priests under the direction of the Reverend John DUBOIS. Mount Saint Mary's was an example of a *mixed* seminary, that is, one in which a theologate for seminarians stands side by side with a college for laymen.

In 1848 the Society of St. Sulpice opened St. Charles College in Catonsville, Maryland, and four years later closed the lay college they had run in connection with the seminary in Baltimore. Thus St. Mary's Seminary became the American prototype of a *freestanding* seminary, that is, one in which the seminarians and clerical faculty devote themselves exclusively to the task of clerical formation in an environment separated from other activities. Similarly St. Charles Seminary was the country's first freestanding minor seminary.

Diocesan Seminaries. Twenty-two dioceses existed in the United States in 1845. Some bishops sent seminarians to Baltimore and Emmitsburg for training, but most were eager to start their own diocesan seminaries. By 1843 there were 22 seminaries in the country with a combined enrollment of 277, or an average of 13 students per seminary. Most of these local seminaries collapsed during the 1840s and 1850s for one or more reasons: a lack of local youth attracted to the priesthood, the uneven supply of immigrant seminarians, the lack of clerical personnel to conduct them, and the lack of regular funding to sustain their operation.

As dioceses were promoted to the rank of archdiocese with neighboring dioceses grouped around them to form ecclesiastical provinces, efforts were made to form a regional seminary in each province. Thus the Cincinnati archdiocese opened Mount Saint Mary's Seminary of the West at Cincinnati in 1851; the New York archdiocese opened St. Joseph Seminary at Troy, New York, in 1864. St. Francis Seminary, established by the Archdiocese of Milwaukee in 1856, became a regional center for clerical formation especially for German-speaking Catholics. Philadelphia had its local St. Charles Seminary since the 1830s, and in 1871 relocated to a spacious and costly building in the suburb of Overbrook. These seminaries were what social historians of nineteenth-century life labeled *total institutions* with one specific purpose: training priests.

Religious orders of priests also sponsored and staffed diocesan seminaries. The VINCENTIANS established a seminary for the St. Louis archdiocese in 1818 and conducted diocesan programs at their colleges for laymen—St. Vincent's College, Cape Girardeau, Missouri (1858), and Niagara College, Niagara Falls, New York (1857). Likewise, Benedictine monks from German-speaking Europe came to the United States to serve German communities. In connection with their monasteries, they operated schools for laymen and educated diocesan and monastic seminarians for the priestly MINISTRY. This was the case in St. Vincent's Archabbey and Seminary established in 1846 near Latrobe, Pennsylvania, ST. JOHN'S ABBEY AND SEMINARY, Collegeville, Minnesota, established in 1857, and ST. MEINRAD ARCHABBEY and Seminary established in Indiana in 1854. Italian Franciscans were invited to western New York in 1863, where they started a lay college and seminary that became ST. BONAVENTURE UNIVERSITY.

The dependence of the American Catholic Church on Europe led to various proposals for establishing seminaries in Europe near sources of funding and students. In 1857 an American College was established

in the shadow of the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium. During the first half century of the college's history, it trained many Europeans, especially Germans, for the American missions. In 1859 Pope PIUS IX ordered the opening of the Pontifical NORTH AMERICAN COLLEGE in ROME exclusively for American seminarians.

Religious Orders. Religious orders experienced a parallel development. As early as 1834, the DOMINICANS founded their first *studium generale* in the United States at Somerset, Ohio. About 1860 they established a similar institution on the West Coast at Monterey, California, later transferred to Benicia, where it remained until 1932. By 1820 the Vincentians had begun a log rectory-seminary at Perryville, Missouri, that continued until about 1868 when St. Vincent's Seminary was opened at Germantown, Pennsylvania.

The REDEMPTORISTS opened their first house of studies in 1849 in New York City. They moved two years later to Cumberland, Maryland, and in 1907 to a farm at Esopus, New York. The origins of the Franciscan School of Theology now at Berkeley, California, can be traced back to rudimentary beginnings in 1854.

In 1823 the Jesuits established a novitiate at Florissant, Missouri, outside St. Louis, where they taught philosophy and theology. By 1837 Jesuit scholastics were studying at ST. LOUIS UNIVERSITY. In the East, Jesuit scholastics studied at Georgetown, which had received in 1833, from the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the power to grant ecclesiastical degrees in PHILOSOPHY and theology. In 1869, however, the Jesuits unified their seminary program into a single national freestanding seminary, the College of the Sacred Heart, at Woodstock, Maryland, near Baltimore. Woodstock College, as it was known, remained the Jesuits' national seminary until the early twentieth century.

The above patterns were somewhat typical for religious orders through much of the nineteenth century. The growing number of religious seminarians kept pace with the increase of diocesan seminarians. By 1900 there were some 76 seminaries, minor and major, diocesan and religious, enrolling 3,395 seminarians. Religious orders and congregations continued to establish freestanding seminaries into the era of VATICAN COUNCIL II. These houses of study remained total institutions, fully staffed with their own professors and with a student body made up entirely of members of the order or congregation. Many such foundations lasted only a few years before they were moved or closed.

Program Content and Duration. The vision of ministry in the developing Catholic Church in America influenced the kind and length of all seminary programs. The urgent need for priests to minister the Sacraments to the rapidly growing Catholic immigrant population required quick training. Dogmatic and MORAL THEOLOGY tracts, or short articles on theological topics, bound together in manuals were the basis of instruction; other subjects were secondary or not offered. No Church legislation governed the length of the program. Moreover, the volume of seminary activities, substantial though it appeared by the 1870s, did not produce the priests needed for the growing Catholic population. To resolve this and other pressing issues in the American Catholic community, the American bishops convened for their Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884.

The Council's seminary decrees aimed to improve the content and length of seminary training by requiring a six-year course for minor and major seminaries. The major seminary decree curriculum gave unprecedented attention to formerly neglected subjects such as Biblical studies, HOMILETICS, and Church history. The minor seminary decree prepared students for the major seminary by firmly grounding them in the humanities, classical languages, and the rudiments of clerical spirituality and culture. Diocesan seminary educators now had the guidance of a curricular program for a prescribed number of years, though it would be years before all seminaries complied fully with the six-year requirement for the major seminary.

The Third Plenary Council initiated action to establish a national university in Washington, D.C. The CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA opened in 1889. Although The Catholic University was originally intended for priests doing graduate study, it acted as a magnet, attracting seminarians to the city. The PAULISTS and other religious orders established residences and houses of study near the university so that their members could take advantage of the university's philosophy and theology programs. In 1905 the Dominicans opened their own house of studies as a freestanding seminary across the street from the university where their seminarians could pursue the order's distinctive theological program and pontifical decrees without recourse to the university.

The training offered in seminaries in the twentieth century continued the methods of spiritual formation pursued since the seventeenth. Moreover, the separation of seminary communities from lay culture was more complete within the self-contained world of the freestanding seminary and under more rigorous standards decreed by Church authority. The methods of formal learning in most diocesan seminaries and in many seminaries of religious orders were similar. Dogmatic and moral theology dominated the subjects of study.

Preconciliar Period. By the 1950s seminary educators developed a sense of common concerns. Various religious orders engaged in educational activities took the initia-

tive, either through their own seminaries or through seminary education for dioceses, to discuss the need for reform and for common educational policies. It was, however, the seminary department of the NATIONAL CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION (NCEA) that provided a national forum for seminary educators. The annual convention offered an occasion for discussing seminary concerns and exchanging ideas.

In 1958 the NCEA appointed a full-time executive for the seminary department, Reverend J. Cyril Dukehart. Father Dukehart advocated bringing the seminary out of its isolation from the rest of the educational world, which often regarded the Catholic seminary as inferior. He targeted three major areas for seminary reform:

1. obtaining accreditation so that unordained former seminary students and clerical alumni would have academic records and degrees that would be recognized in the educational world;
2. forming an American Association of Catholic Theological Seminaries as a means to improve the standards of seminaries and to establish professional degrees for seminaries; and
3. overcoming the weakness of having over 100 minor and major seminaries with fewer than 50 students.

In 1959 the seminary department of the NCEA reported that there were 381 seminaries, major and minor, diocesan and religious, in the United States, representing a 28 percent increase during the decade. By 1961 the total number of all seminarians, diocesan and religious, was 42,349 in 402 seminaries and houses of religious formation. These institutions ranged in size from great freestanding seminaries of large dioceses and large religious orders, many of them having been established after 1900, to programs of small religious orders training a handful of seminarians. The high enrollments were tributes to the attractiveness of the priesthood to youth born and raised in American Catholic culture after the Second World War. Many seminary educators believed that the growth would continue indefinitely and the need to improve seminaries was therefore urgent.

By 1962 the year the Second Vatican Council opened, the main agenda of seminary reform in the United States had been determined. The following decade saw the implementation of reforms designed to end the isolation of the seminary and to enlarge its educational purposes. These changes were accompanied by both the theological renewal brought by the Second Vatican Council, which altered the content of seminary learning, and the rapid cultural changes taking place within society that changed the attitude of young men toward entering the seminary.

Normative Documents. The immediate impetus for change in seminary curriculum and lifestyle came from the documents of Vatican II that related to priesthood and priestly formation, especially *Presbyterorum ordinis* and *Optatam totius*. *Optatam totius*, the decree that dealt specifically with priestly formation, posited three fundamental principles: First, along with the decree on the priesthood, *Presbyterorum ordinis*, it stated clearly a DOCTRINE of "the unity of the Catholic priesthood." Second, it affirmed, seemingly as a corollary to the foregoing, that the same "priestly formation is required for all priests—secular, religious, and of every rite." Third, it assumed that the diocesan priesthood with its parochial ministries is the analogue for measuring the appropriateness of all priestly training.

Ratio fundamentalis. Optatam totius and *Presbyterorum ordinis* were the bases of the *Ratio fundamentalis* for priestly formation issued January 1970 by the Congregation for Catholic Education. The *Ratio* uses the term *seminary* in the general sense of "institutions organized for the formation of priests" (n. 1). This usage is symptomatic of the erosion of the older distinction between *seminarium*, the diocesan institution, and the *studiorum domus* (house of studies) of religious orders, a distinction that also disappeared from the new Code of Canon Law.

The Program of Priestly Formation. When the first edition of *The Program of Priestly Formation* (PPF) was published by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in 1971 in accordance with the provisions of the *Ratio fundamentalis* of the previous year, it contained a special section on "The Religious Priest's Formation." The preface to the document noted:

> The Conference of Major Religious Superiors of Men ... agreed to accept the *Program* as the recommended program for religious priests' formation, if there were added to the *Program* a short section prepared by them on religious life (Part Four). The National Conference approved the *Program* as the one program for all seminarians, diocesan and religious, and the addition of Part Four. (pp. xii–xiii)

Thus, within the short period between the publication of the *Ratio* and the publication of the first edition of the PPF, seminaries of the orders and congregations found that their training, for the first time in history, required episcopal approval.

The second edition (1976) of the *Program* contained the same Part Four unchanged. The third edition (1981),

however, dropped this section on religious priests because, according to the "Statement from the Conference of Major Superiors of Men," "Religious and diocesan priests share an increasingly pluriform priesthood; their needs for priestly formation as such do not differ.... Thus the Conference of Major Superiors of Men adopts the program of priestly formation as the one program for all United States religious seminarians" (p. 3).

All five editions of *The Program of Priestly Formation* (1971, 1976, 1981, 1993, and 2006) were the result of collaboration among the bishops of the United States, personnel involved in priestly formation programs, and other knowledgeable individuals. This document, approved in the name of the HOLY SEE by the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, concerns itself with all aspects of formation at the theologate, college, and high school levels.

The documents that shaped the content of the last two editions of the PPF (1993 and 2006) were the promulgation of the 1983 Code of Canon Law and the 1992 *Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation: Pastores dabo vobis* of Pope John Paul II. The 1983 Code of Canon Law embodies legislation for seminaries in 33 canons (nn. 232–264), substantially longer than the 19 canons governing the establishment and direction of seminaries in the 1917 Code (cc. 1352–1371). The revised code emphasizes the entire process of preparing a person to be a cleric rather than dwelling on the seminary as an institution. Unlike the 1917 code, which treated seminaries in the section dealing with the ecclesiastical magisterium, the 1983 code places the section, "The Formation of Clerics," in Book II of the code, which treats "The People of God." This new placement reflects the fact that seminary training is broader than doctrinal education.

Significant points in the 1983 Code include the recognition of candidates of a more mature age and the need for programs to assist them, an extensive summary of Vatican II teachings on the spiritual formation of a priest, and the need for pastoral training that includes ministerial field experience. It reiterates the need of four full years of theological studies with distinct professors for all the major disciplines. Bishops are only to appoint faculty who have a doctorate or licentiate from a university or faculty recognized by the Holy See to teach in the major disciplines. The latter is stricter than previous legislation. Canon 242 calls for the episcopal conference of each nation to prepare a program of priestly formation adapted to the pastoral needs of their region. While restating the norm of the earlier code that each diocese should have a major seminary, the 1983 code recognizes that this is not always possible and collaborative efforts on the part of several dioceses may be necessary. It supports minor seminaries, but it no longer requires them of dioceses. The *Ratio fundamentalis* for priestly formation was revised in 1985 to bring it into closer conformity with the 1983 Code of Canon Law. The new version contains very few emendations to the original edition: It highlights the study of Thomistic philosophy and notes the need of background in the "economic questions" of parochial administration.

In 1992 Pope JOHN PAUL II wrote the *Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation: Pastores dabo vobis*, which was revolutionary; it included four dimensions of priestly formation. Formerly three areas of formation had been the *foci* of priestly formation: spiritual, intellectual, and pastoral. Pope John Paul II included the fourth area of "human formation," which he considered to be the "necessary foundation" (n. 43). Following the Thomistic axiom, "grace builds on nature," Pope John Paul II set the course affecting all seminary formation for the future. A man can be truly open to formation only if he knows who he is. He must be free interiorly, and seminary formation in both the internal and external forum (i.e., spiritual direction and formation advising) is meant to lead each seminarian on this path: "*Freedom*, therefore, *is essential to vocation*, a freedom which when it gives a positive response appears as a deep personal adherence, as a loving gift, or rather as a gift given back to the Giver who is God who calls" (*Pastores dabo vobis* 36). John Paul II also called for a renewal of priestly identity: "A correct and in-depth awareness of the nature and mission of the ministerial priesthood is the path which must be taken ... in order to emerge from the crisis of *priestly identity*" (*Pastores dabo vobis* 11).

The 2006 Changes. The fifth edition of the *PPF* (2006) integrated the thought of Pope John Paul II in *Pastores dabo vobis* and expounded upon the four dimensions of priestly formation: human, spiritual, intellectual, and pastoral. This is the first time that human formation was given a specific section in a *PPF* (nos. 74–105). This integration of the vision of Pope John Paul II was acknowledged in the *recognitio* of the *PPF* by the Holy See. Each major division of the *PPF* has a section on "norms" that offers tangible and attainable standards which either "must, should or ought" be attained. This not only includes the four dimensions of formation but also the admissions process, which is treated in a thorough manner. The *PPF* encourages greater cooperation between the diocese and the seminary throughout the admissions process. Recognizing a candidate is not ready for ordination at the moment of acceptance, the *PPF* emphasizes he must pass certain "thresholds or foundations" upon which the formation process can build (no. 36).

To ensure sound candidates for the seminary program, a psychological assessment is an integral part

of the admissions process (no. 52). On the level of intellectual formation, the foundational requirements for philosophy increased to a minimum of thirty credits, which lengthens the pre-theology program to a minimum of two calendar years (no. 186). The *PPF* likewise reiterates "at least four full years should be dedicated to graduate theological studies" (no. 191). "The aim of pastoral formation" is the formation of a "true shepherd" who knows how to teach, govern, sanctify, and lead (no. 239). Pastoral CHARITY should be the animating force for the actions of every priest; thus, sound pastoral formation is crucial if the seminarian is to one day shepherd with the heart of CHRIST.

Perhaps the most innovative notion in the 2006 edition of the *PPF* occurs under spiritual formation, which presents this dimension as the integrating and unifying factor for the other three areas of formation.

> Since spiritual formation is the core that unifies the life of a priest, it stands at the heart of seminary life and is the center around which all other aspects are integrated. Human, intellectual, and pastoral formation are indispensable in developing the seminarian's relationship and communion with God and his ability to communicate God's truth and love to others in the likeness of Jesus Christ, the Good Shepherd and eternal High Priest. (*PPF* 115)

If the whole of the Christian life is about growing in relationship with the Triune God and His Church, spiritual formation must be the integrating force of all seminary formation.

Post Vatican II. It is against this general background, and especially against the impact of Vatican Council II, that the dramatic series of relocations and reorganizations of seminaries and houses of study in the post-conciliar years must be viewed. Between 1966 and 1970 a large number of theologates related themselves in a variety of formal and informal ways to other religious bodies and institutions of learning. Some of the major changes included the formation in 1967 of the CATHOLIC THEOLOGICAL UNION AT CHICAGO, jointly sponsored by provinces of several religious orders. A somewhat similar arrangement created WASHINGTON THEOLOGICAL UNION, incorporated in 1969 as the Washington Theological Coalition. In Berkeley, California, Franciscan, Dominican, and Jesuit theologates associated themselves with the Graduate Theological Union and the University of California in the late 1960s. Several diocesan seminaries closed during this period, but most retained their freestanding status. All the formal clusters or unions and most individual schools soon became affiliated with and accredited by the ASSOCIATION OF THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS; the first of these affiliations took place in 1968.

Two series of Apostolic Seminary Visitations have occurred in the United States since Vatican II. The first series of seminary visitations began in 1981 to "take the pulse," according to Pope John Paul II, of the seminary communities throughout the country. Bishop John A. Marshall of Burlington, Vermont, headed this series of visits. The process took almost seven years from the official announcement of the visitation to its formal conclusion—the final report to the POPE on July 2, 1988. The first Apostolic Seminary Visitation resulted in three letters from the Congregation for Education in Rome to the bishops of the United States: (1) in 1986 a letter on freestanding theologates; (2) in 1988 on college level formation of diocesan candidates; and (3) in 1990 written in conjunction with the Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life on the formation of religious candidates for the priesthood.

Following the SEX ABUSE CRISIS of 2002, Pope John Paul II asked the leadership of the UNITED STATES CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS (USSCB) to once again initiate an Apostolic Seminary Visitation, this time under the leadership of Archbishop Edwin F. O'Brien of the Archdiocese of the Military Services. Archbishop O'Brien had been the rector of two major seminaries and was able to form a team of Visitors to thoroughly review 158 seminaries and houses of formation in 2005 and 2006. The "Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People" (the "Dallas Charter" of 2002), Article 17, notes that "unlike the previous visitation, these new visits would focus on the question of human formation for celibate CHASTITY based on the criteria found in *Pastores dabo vobis* (1992)." The Church and the seminary system in particular have made great strides in admission requirements, psychological assessments, and psychosexual formation of candidates for HOLY ORDERS. According to Pope John Paul II, candidates to the priesthood need growth in "affective maturity which is prudent, able to renounce anything that is a threat to it, vigilant over both body and spirit, and capable of esteem and respect in interpersonal relationships between men and women" (*Pastores dabo vobis* 44). Thus the priest, having been formed according to the four dimensions of *Pastores dabo vobis*, is able to be "a bridge and not an obstacle for others in their meeting with Jesus Christ the Redeemer of man" (*Pastores dabo vobis* 43).

Speaking to seminarians from across the country in New York on April 19, 2008, Pope BENEDICT XVI stated:

> I urge you to deepen your friendship with Jesus the Good Shepherd. Talk heart to heart with Him. Reject any temptation to ostentation, ca-

> reerism, or conceit. Strive for a pattern of life truly marked by charity, chastity, and humility, in imitation of Christ, the Eternal High Priest, of Whom you are to become living icons. ...Remember that what counts before the Lord is to dwell in His love and to make His love shine forth for others. (cf. *Pastores dabo vobis* 33)

SEE ALSO BALTIMORE, ARCHDIOCESE OF; BALTIMORE, COUNCILS OF; BENEDICTINES; CANON LAW, 1983 CODE; CANON LAW, HISTORY OF; CELIBACY, CLERICAL, HISTORY OF; CINCINNATI, ARCHDIOCESE OF; DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; DOGMATIC THEOLOGY; EDUCATION (PHILOSOPHY OF); EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (HIGHER) IN THE UNITED STATES; EX CORDE ECCLESIAE; HOMOSEXUALS, ADMITTANCE TO SEMINARIES OF; LAITY, FORMATION AND EDUCATION OF; LATERAN COUNCILS; LOUVAIN, AMERICAN COLLEGE AT; LOUVAIN, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF; MAYNOOTH, ST. PATRICK'S COLLEGE; MILITARY SERVICES, USA, ARCHDIOCESE FOR; MILWAUKEE, ARCHDIOCESE OF; MOUNT ST. MARY'S COLLEGE AND SEMINARY; NEW YORK, ARCHDIOCESE OF; OBLATE; PASTORES DABO VOBIS; PHILADELPHIA, ARCHDIOCESE OF; PRIESTHOOD IN CHRISTIAN TRADITION; PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH, CONGREGATION FOR THE; SACRED HEART, SOCIETY OF THE; ST. LOUIS, ARCHDIOCESE OF; ST. MARY'S SCHOOL (PHILADELPHIA, PA.); THOMISM; WOODSTOCK THEOLOGICAL CENTER.

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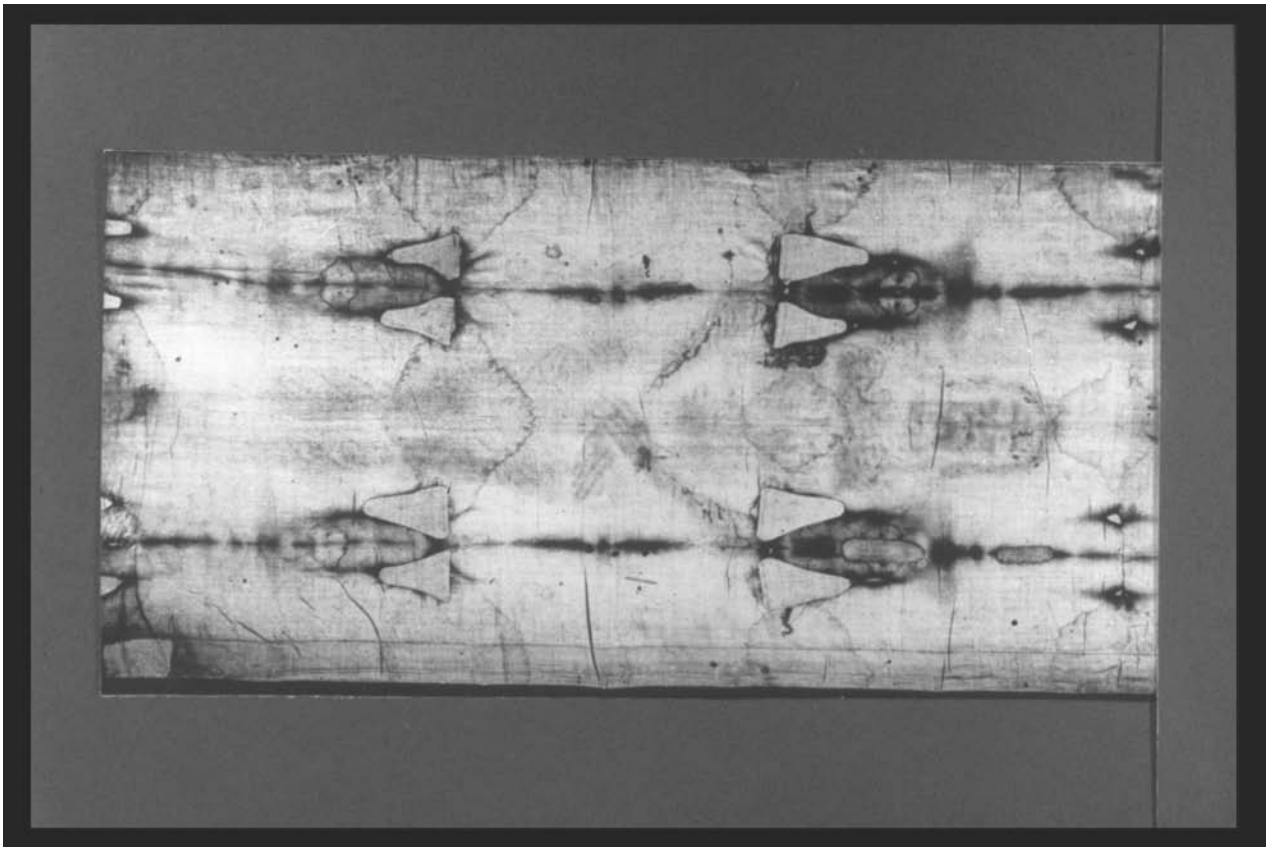
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SHROUD OF TURIN

The Shroud of Turin is an ancient linen cloth of ivory color measuring 14 feet, 3 inches long by 3 feet, 7 inches wide, woven in a herringbone twill, which bears the frontal and dorsal image of a crucified, bearded man, approximately 5 feet, 11 inches tall, between the ages of 30–35, weighing about 175 pounds. In 1578 the cloth was brought to Turin, Italy, and has been preserved in the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist since 1694. Many believe this shroud is the actual burial cloth of JESUS CHRIST.

History of the Shroud. The history of the shroud can be traced with assurance to the mid-fourteenth century. Prior to that period, its whereabouts are uncertain. A third-century Syrian text mentions a cloth bearing the image of the face of JESUS associated with the miraculous cure of King Abgar V (AD 13–59), ruler of Edessa,



Shroud of Turin. *Saint Suaire Exhibition at the Dome in Turin, Italy, April 16, 1998.* © **CORBIS SYGMA**

modern day Urfa in southeastern Turkey. Although no mention is made of a beaten and bloody image of Jesus, a theory advanced by British historian Ian Wilson claims that the cloth was the shroud folded in such a way as to expose only the face.

The cloth was transferred to CONSTANTINOPLE in 944. In 1986 historian and archaeologist Gino Zaninotto discovered a Greek manuscript of a sermon given on that occasion by Gregory Referendarius, archdeacon of Hagia Sophia. In it Gregory states that this Edessa cloth bears not only the image of the face, but the full-length body of Jesus (cf. *Codex Vossianus Latinus* Q69; Vatican Library Codex 5696, p. 35). Wilson proposes that the shroud eventually came into the possession of the Knights Templar. Founded around 1118, their purpose was to defend pilgrims and the sacred sites in the Holy Land after the Crusaders captured JERUSALEM in 1099.

In 1204, following the conquest of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade, Robert de Clari, a knight from Picardy, wrote in his diary that he saw various holy relics among which was the burial cloth of CHRIST. In 2009 Dr. Barbara Frale, a researcher in the Vatican Secret Archives, gave additional support to the theory that the Knights Templar possessed the shroud. Her study of the trial of the Knights Templar brought to light a document in which a young Frenchman, Arnault Sabbatier, testified that during his initiation into the order in 1287, he was taken to a "secret place to which only the brothers of the Temple had access." He said that he was shown "a long linen cloth on which was impressed the figure of a man." The TEMPLARS were often looked upon with suspicion as being a mysterious group. It was alleged that they worshipped a "head" in their secret ceremonies which led to their suppression by order of King Philip IV of France and Pope CLEMENT V at the Council of Vienne in 1312.

According to a letter dated May 28, 1352, by Henri of Poitiers, Bishop of Troyes, Geoffrey de Charny (c. 1300–1356) Lord of Savoy and of Lirey, consigned the shroud to the canons of Lirey. Although there is no specific mention of the cloth in the letter, the bishop acknowledges the piety of the knight and his "devotion ... for the divine cult." Recorded evidence indicates that the shroud was exhibited in 1357 in Lirey by Jeanne de Vergy, widow of Geoffrey de Charny. Being in financial straits after the death of her husband, Jeanne de Vergy exhibited the shroud to raise money for the

upkeep of the collegial church. A pilgrim's medallion bearing the coats of arms of de Charny and de Vergy with an image of the shroud commemorating the exhibition is conserved in the Museum of Cluny in Paris. By 1389 Jeanne had remarried to Aymon of Geneva, the uncle of the Antipope CLEMENT VII. Jeanne planned a new exhibition of the shroud and bypassed obtaining permission from the new bishop of Troyes, Pierre d'Arcis, by appealing directly to the antipope's legate, Cardinal Pierre de Thury.

The opening of the exhibition in April 1389 infuriated the bishop and he appealed to Clement VII. The antipope responded by confirming his permission and imposing silence on the bishop. Not satisfied, Bishop d'Arcis wrote his famous *Memorandum* to Clement VII in which he charged that the dean of the collegiate church of Lirey, "procured for his church a certain cloth cunningly painted, upon which by a clever sleight of hand was depicted the twofold image of one man ... the back and front ... falsely declaring and pretending that this was the actual shroud in which our Saviour Jesus Christ was enfolded in the tomb." He further states that the artist who painted the image divulged this to his predecessor, Bishop Henry of Poitiers.

This letter is often invoked by those who seek to discredit the authenticity of the shroud. Yet, closer examination of the document reveals that it is merely a draft. In 1900 Ulysee CHEVALIER, a French medieval scholar who denied the shroud's authenticity based upon this memorandum, admitted that this was indeed a pro memoria. What is more, Bishop d'Arcis does not substantiate the charges he levels, nor is there any record of the artist's name or confession. In response the antipope Clement VII never ordered an investigation into the accusations made Bishop d'Arcis. Instead, he authorized the continuation of the exposition of the shroud, provided that it was presented as an image or likeness of Christ and not as the true shroud. Any semblance of liturgical ceremony or pomp was to be avoided.

The shroud came into the possession of the House of Savoy at Chambery in 1453, when Margaret de Charny, the granddaughter of Jeanne de Vergy, gave it to her cousin Anna of Lusignano (1418–1462), the wife of Duke Louis I of Savoy (c. 1412–1465). The Savoy dynasty, founded in 1003, extended from southeastern France across the Alps to the Piedmont region of northwestern Italy. The Duke built an ornate chapel for the shroud in Chambery, the Savoy capital in France. It is said that on February 6, 1464, Duke Louis gave fifty francs to the clergy of Lirey as recompense for their loss of the possession of the shroud. The chapel was later enlarged and embellished by the duke's son, Amadeus IX (1435–1472), and was dedicated on June 11, 1502. At that time the shroud was placed in a silver reliquary above the high altar, closed by an iron grate and locked with four keys.

Tragedy struck on December 4, 1532, when fire broke out in the chapel, and the intensity of the heat caused molten silver to drop onto the folded cloth. The parallel set of burn marks that runs down the entire length of the cloth as well as the water stains are a result of that fire. In 1537 the Poor Clare nuns of Chambery repaired the burnt parts of the shroud by applying a number of triangular patches.

Emmanuel Philibert, the Duke of Savoy, brought the Shroud to Turin, Italy, on September 14, 1578. His reason was two-fold. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, had vowed to make a pilgrimage to venerate the shroud in return for Milan's deliverance from the plague. To facilitate the saintly and sickly Borromeo's access to the shroud, it was brought closer to him. The second reason was that the Duke planned to move his capital to Turin. The shroud was never to return to Chambery. The last Duke of Savoy, Umberto II, died in 1983 and bequeathed the shroud to the HOLY SEE. Given the shroud's long history in Turin, the popes have left the relic in the custodial care of the archbishop of Turin.

Scripture and the Shroud. The Gospels relate that, after Jesus was removed from the cross following his crucifixion, his body was wrapped in a burial cloth (cf. Mt 27:59; Mk 15:46; Lk 23:53). Indeed, many striking similarities are found between the evidence on the cloth and Gospel accounts of Jesus' crucifixion. The most notable are the scourge marks (Mt 27:26; Mk 15:15; Jn 19:1). The shroud indicates about one-hundred twenty scourge marks found nearly always in clusters of twos or threes. These correspond to a flagrum, or whip consisting of two or three leather strips with lead balls tied at each end that tore off pieces of flesh. According to Mosaic Law, no more than forty lashes were permitted (cf. Dt 25:3). To ensure that they did not exceed the legal limit, tormentors administered thirty-nine lashes (cf. 2 Cor 11:24).

The Gospels also mention that Jesus was struck at the head (Mt 26:68; 27:30; Mk 14:65, 15:19; Lk 22:63–64; Jn 18:22, 19:3). The image on the shroud depicts a bruised face, a broken nose, and a swollen right eye. The head of the man on the shroud is covered with numerous puncture holes with rivulets of blood trickling downward, which suggest a cap of thorns, and correspond with the Gospel account of Jesus being crowned with thorns (Mt 27:29; Mk 15:17; Jn 19:2). Scripture relates that Jesus was made to carry his cross (Jn 19:17). The shroud image shows that the man must have carried a heavy object on his shoulders, for there are bruises and cuts on his shoulders and knees.

Another significant detail of the man on the shroud is that his wrists and feet had been pierced, correspond-

ing to Jesus being nailed to the cross by his hands and feet (Lk 24:39–40; Jn 20:20–27; Col 2:14). The right wrist is hidden under the left hand, and a blood flow can be seen coming from the base of the left hand. A final telling feature between the man on the shroud and the crucifixion of Jesus is the wound with a large bloodstain located on the right side of the rib cage (cf. Jn 19:34). The correlation between the scriptural account of the sufferings of Jesus and the details depicted on the Shroud of Turin are too compelling to be considered merely coincidental.

Scientific Studies. Serious scientific inquiries on the shroud began in the early twentieth century. Since then, experts from various disciplines have studied the cloth and offered their opinions on how the body images came to exist on the shroud.

In 1978 a public exposition of the shroud was held to celebrate the 400th anniversary of its transfer from Chambery to Turin. Following the exposition, a group of more than forty scientists from Italy and America, known as the Shroud of Turin Research Project, or STURP, was authorized to carry out nondestructive tests on the cloth. Among their findings were: (1) the body image on the shroud is only on the uppermost fibers of the cloth; (2) no significant evidence of paint exists, even though minute particles of iron oxide were discovered; and (3) the coloration goes only one to two fibers deep into the thread structure. Perhaps the most interesting find is the three-dimensional quality of the image of the man on the shroud. A typical painting is two-dimensional, which means the cloth covered a human body. Also, no signs of decomposition existed. The cloth has real bloodstains of the type AB. Of particular note was the presence of bile residue known as bilirubin, which occurs when blood begins to break down, especially after a severe trauma. The left knee shows lacerations and contusions, likely caused by falling, and researchers found evidence of dirt on the sole of the foot and minute abrasions on the nose. The dirt particles from the foot contained travertine aragonite, a rare calcite found in Jerusalem. Dr. Max Frei, a Swiss criminologist, took pollen samples from the shroud and found evidence of fifty-eight different plants, of which all but three grow in the vicinity of Jerusalem.

Authenticity. The small quantity of iron oxide found only on the blood areas of the shroud led some to conclude that an artist used red pigment to paint the image. Paint, however, would have penetrated the fibers. As it is, the shroud shows no evidence of brush marks, and the fibers are not stuck together as would be expected were pigment used. Furthermore, it is not surprising to find iron oxide in the blood areas because iron is a component of blood. Iron oxide is basically rust and can be found in many forms of dust. Subsequent studies showed an insufficient amount of iron oxide on the cloth to account for the least enhancement of the image.

Another theory posited is that the image was somehow heat-induced as with a hot statue. Since the image is only on the upper fibers of the cloth, the heat-emitting object would have had to be on the cloth for less than one second. Also, cellulose begins to yellow during the initial stages of burning. Of particular note is the difference between the burn marks and the body image on the cloth. The fire scorches are redder than the body image. Under ultraviolet light the fire scorches fluoresce whereas the body image does not, and in transmitted light the body image "disappears," whereas the scorch marks do not. Attempts to produce a heat-induced image only result in a distorted image rather than a crisp image such as that on the shroud.

Dr. John Jackson, who was part of STURP, proposes the cloth-collapse theory for the shroud image formation. According to this theory a stimulus, such as radiation passing through the body, caused the image to imprint onto the cloth. The points of the cloth closest to the body would have received the greatest dose of radiation compared to those farther away. Given that radiation is absorbed in air, no body images would be imprinted on those areas.

Perhaps the most damaging findings used against the authenticity of the shroud were the carbon-14 tests conducted in 1988 by three separate laboratories in Tucson, Oxford, and Zurich on small samples taken from the cloth. The report issued by the British Museum concluded with 95 percent confidence that the date for the linen of the shroud was between AD 260 and 1390. Those who were convinced that the shroud was a medieval forgery now seemed to have incontrovertible evidence.

Proponents of the shroud's authenticity remain undaunted. They point to breaches of protocol and the unreliability of carbon-14 testing. Willard F. Libby, who is credited with the discovery of the C-14 test, suggested that 10 to 15 percent of the shroud's weight is made up of foreign matter. Over the centuries the cloth has been subjected to fire, water, handling, incense, candle smoke, humidity, pollution, and other contaminants. Any of these could have skewed the results of the C-14 test.

Another noteworthy observation is that the sample site chosen from the cloth for the test may have contained more modern materials. A photo of this site shows that the sample was collected from one location near a water-stained and scorched site. Closer examination of the sample area reveals the presence of additional threads indicating repair.

In sum, no responsible scientist relies on a single

date or test to settle a major historical issue. Rather, the preponderance of evidence must be considered conclusive. With regard to the Shroud of Turin, the C-14 test was the only incongruent test not supporting the shroud's authenticity.

Post–1988 Carbon-14 Test. In 1997 another fire in the Cathedral threatened the shroud, but the cloth was spared damage by a daring rescue. Public expositions of the shroud took place in 1998 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the first photographs taken by Secondo Pia (1855–1941), which revealed the images on the shroud appeared positive on his negative plates; and again in the year 2000 for the Jubilee Year marking the redemption accomplished by Christ in his death and resurrection. In 2002 the shroud was detached from its cloth backing, along with the patches sewn by the Poor Clares, and a new support was added to the cloth. At that time a digital scan was made of both sides of the cloth, and new photographs were taken. Pope BENEDICT XVI permitted another exposition in 2010.

Catholic Devotion. The Church has refrained from making a definitive pronouncement on the Shroud of Turin as the actual burial linen of Christ, leaving judgments about its age and origin to scientific investigation. Belief in the cloth is not an article of faith; Christianity is belief in a person, and that person is Christ. At the same time the Church has allowed veneration of the shroud by the faithful as a pious devotion to meditate on the sufferings of Christ. In his address announcing the solemn exposition of the shroud for 2010, Pope Benedict XVI said that it offered the occasion "to contemplate that mysterious face, which speaks silently to the hearts of men, inviting them to recognize the face of God."

SEE ALSO CRUSADES; PHILIP IV, KING OF FRANCE; POOR CLARES; VATICAN ARCHIVES.

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SIMON (SZYMON) OF LIPNICA, ST.

Priest, Franciscan Friars Minor; b. Lipnica Murowana, Poland, 1435/1440; d. Kraków, Poland, July 14, 1482; beatified February 24, 1685 (cultus confirmed), by Pope INNOCENT XI; beatification confirmed December 20, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI; canonized June 3, 2007, by Pope Benedict XVI.

Born to parents who were pious in their faith and dedicated to providing a well-rounded education to their children, Simon was a bright and obedient child who showed an early devotion to the Blessed Virgin. He attended the prestigious Jagiellonian University, which was then called the Jagiellonian Academy, in Kraków. While there, Simon was among those riveted by the charismatic preaching of St. John of Capistrano, who had founded a Franciscan convent in honor of St. BERNARDINE OF SIENA in Kraków in 1453.

Strongly drawn to the Franciscan rule and recognizing a true vocation to religious life, Simon entered the convent at Stradom, Poland, in 1457. He studied with Br. Christopher of Varese, who was recognized as an inspired teacher and devoted and pious religious, and who was also a biographer of St. John of Capistrano. In 1460 Simon was ordained into the order of the Franciscan Friars Minor and served as guardian of the fraternity in Tarnów before returning to the convent at Stradom. Fr. Simon soon demonstrated that, like St. John of Capistrano, he was a gifted and zealous speaker, who had an encyclopedic knowledge of Scripture and an

ability to bring people into the faith through conversion. He became the first member of his order to hold the position of preacher at the Cathedral of Wawel, a post he assumed in 1463.

In 1472, in Aquila, Italy, Fr. Simon took part in the ceremony to transfer the body of St. Bernardine of Siena, who was, for the devoted priest, a figure of inspiration and spiritual guidance. In 1478 he attended the General Chapter in Pavia, Italy, and thereafter made a pilgrimage to Rome and then the Holy Land. The final leg of the journey presented a threat of physical danger for a member of the Catholic clergy. Fr. Simon memorized the rule of the order and embarked on the trip with a spirit of humble submission to the will of God. He completed his travels and returned to Kraków unharmed.

In July 1482, a terrible plague struck Kraków. Fr. Simon joined the friars of the Convent of the Observance to assist the effort to help the afflicted. Thinking only of easing the suffering of the sick and dying, he sacrificed his own safety for the welfare of his brothers and sisters in the community and soon contracted the disease; Fr. Simon died six days later. Always humble of spirit, during his illness the priest asked to be buried beneath the threshold of the church so those entering would walk over him.

On February 24, 1685, Pope Innocent XI authorized limited veneration of Bl. Simon of Lipnica (cult *ab immemorabili*). On December 20, 2005, Pope Benedict XVI authorized by decree the heroic virtues of Bl. Simon; on December 16, 2006, the pope approved a miraculous cure, which occurred in 1943, attributed to the BLESSED. In canonizing him in 2007, Pope Benedict XVI called St. Simon of Lipnica "a timely model of a Christian who—enlivened by the spirit of the Gospel—was ready to dedicate his life to his brethren." The pope entrusted to the protection of the new Saint "those who are suffering from poverty, illness, loneliness and social injustice."

Feast: July 18 (other celebrations: July 15, July 30).

SEE ALSO FRIARS; JOHN CAPISTRAN, ST.; MONASTICISM; POLAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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SIN (THEOLOGY OF)

Sin is an EVIL HUMAN ACT. But an act is evil, bad, or wanting in the goodness or perfection it should have, because it is out of conformity with its proper norm, or standard. With regard to the human act, the norm, or standard, from a philosophical point of view, is man's rational nature; and from the theological point of view, GOD's nature and the eternal law. In the theology of sin, sin is considered mainly an offense against God. St. AUGUSTINE's classical definition of sin is a word, deed, or DESIRE in opposition to the eternal law of God (*Contra faustum Manichaeum* 22.27).

This definition applies primarily and univocally to personal, mortal sins. A MORTAL SIN is a fully deliberate act involving a sinner's choice of some created good as a final END in preference to the Supreme Good, with a consequent loss of sanctifying grace if, prior to the sinful act, the sinner possessed that grace. Thus, grave matter, full knowledge, and deliberate consent of the WILL are necessary for mortal sin (cf. John Paul II, *Reconciliatio et paenitentia*, no. 17; *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, no. 1857). In other uses the term is analogical, and as such is applied to (1) venial sin, in which the idea is not fully realized, either because the act is imperfectly deliberate or because the matter with which it is concerned involves no disruption of man's orientation toward his final end and is therefore compatible with sanctifying grace; (2) ORIGINAL SIN, which is not an act, but an inherited defect of sanctifying grace and is antecedent to and independent of personal voluntary action; (3) habitual sin, which is not an act, but a state in which the sinner is without grace because of his personal sin; and (4) concupiscence, which is not an act, but a tendency or imbalance in the psychological integrity of the human composite, and which is not, in the words of the Council of Trent, "sin in the true and proper sense, but [is called sin] only because it is from sin and inclines to sin" (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 1515).



Adam and Eve. *The book of Genesis recounts their disobedience; the first sin of humanity.* **THE ART ARCHIVE/PALAZZO BARBERINI ROME/ALFREDO DAGLI ORTI/THE PICTURE DESK, INC.**

MATERIAL AND FORMAL SIN

There are two ways of looking at an action that is in disaccord with God's law. It can be considered objectively and in its kind or subjectively, as it is in the consciousness of the individual who performs it. From the objective point of view, the act of feeding poison to another is out of accord with the eternal law, but a person doing so could be innocent of subjective fault if he is inculpably ignorant of the fact that the food he offers is poisoned and hence is unaware of the true nature and consequences of his act. The performance of an objectively evil act is called by theologians a material sin; when all the conditions necessary to subjective imputability are present, the act is said to be a formal sin. The determination of the objective sinfulness of an action is made on the basis of divine revelation as interpreted by the magisterium of the Church and also on the basis of the rational analysis of the nature of the

act. This is properly a theological or a philosophical question.

The determination of subjective responsibility is more immediately a psychological question. Contemporary interest, with its personalist orientation, tends to center more on the latter question than on the former, and an anti-intellectualism that fails to distinguish between the two problems leads to moral RELATIVISM and consequentialist ethics. It also brings confusion to any discussion of the role of CONSCIENCE in moral activity. Although all are acutely conscious of the problem of the erroneous conscience and the obligation (not the right) to follow its dictates, the contemporary relativist tends to be blind to the prior obligation to form an upright conscience, the only kind, according to reason and revelation, that confers the right to follow its dictates.

Sin as an Act. Sin is to be distinguished not only from the morally good act and HABIT to which it is opposed, but also from the morally bad habit, or VICE, which is not uncommonly its habitual source. Properly speaking, vices are not sins but habits, whereas a sin is a voluntary act and does not necessarily demand a vicious habit as its source any more than a good moral act demands a VIRTUE. Otherwise the vicious man could never perform a good act, nor could the virtuous man ever sin, an error condemned by the Council of Trent (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 1540). Moreover, a sin is a human act and precisely as such requires the exercise of both INTELLECT and will. When this is lacking, a man's act is amoral and cannot be described as human, or as virtuous, vicious, or sinful. Therefore, sin is a deliberate and voluntary act. Even in the so-called sin of OMISSION, the omission to be sinful must be traceable to a positive act of will, the object of which is either not-to-act or to do something incompatible with the omitted obligation. And in either case there is an act marked by a want of conformity with the law of God.

Reference to God. The elaboration, therefore, of the theological notion of sin must begin not with the sinner, but with God. Pope PIUS XII, as well as recent popes, have decried as one of the errors of modern times the misrepresentation of "the whole nature of original sin, and indeed of sin in general, considered as an offense against God ..." (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 3891). Since the theologian is concerned with creatures only inasmuch as God is their principle and goal, human activity becomes theologically significant in accordance with its orientation to God. Man is made to pursue his HAPPINESS, and ultimately this can be achieved only in the attainment of the Supreme Good, which is God. His human activity must be directed to this goal, and even such part of it as has other more immediate and proximate objectives must be ultimately subordinated to the ultimate, supreme goal, which is desirable above all things and answers objectively to the full amplitude of human desire.

But man's end in reaching toward happiness and God's purpose in creating man are really identical. For God, who is perfect, complete, self-contained in Himself, was not urged or drawn to the CREATION of man by the hope of acquiring new perfection for Himself, for there is nothing good or desirable that was not already contained in His own infinite goodness. It was not, then, for the sake of increasing but of diffusing His goodness that He created. On His part, the object of creation could be nothing but the giving of Himself, the communicating of His goodness. The gain had necessarily to be on the part of the creature. In the ultimate communication of a participation in His own happiness, the extrinsic glory of God that is said to be the purpose of creation is realized. It follows that man, by nature a rational being and a free agent with the power of selective activity, must deliberately and consciously direct himself to the attainment of God, or to the glory of God, as his ultimate end. To deliberately choose some other goal than God as an ultimate is to take something from God that is due Him, to twist the whole order of creation, and to usurp God's place by substituting a human will and a human order for the divine. In this way every sinner imitates in his own fashion the sin of Lucifer.

A further precision, providing a more profound insight into the nature of mortal sin, is possible to theologians who take, as most Catholic theologians have taken, the intellectualist position of St. THOMAS AQUINAS with respect to divine law. This, however, is beyond the grasp of those such as John CALVIN and voluntarists generally, who in their concern to preserve the transcendent and even autocratic supremacy of God, have held that the ultimate norm of what is right and wrong is simply the good pleasure of God. The eternal law, as seen from the intellectualist position, is not arbitrary or whimsical, nor can it be divorced from the nature of things. The eternal law is reducible ultimately not to the divine will but to the divine intellect. It is the plan and pattern of created nature as God's intellect sees this in His vision of Himself. Consequently, the sinner who deviates from the eternal law does violence to his individual nature and to the created order of things, of which he is a part (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles* 3, q. 122). For the voluntarist, the eternal law is a barricade or a leash confining the liberty of individual men who are constrained through FEAR to observe it. It is much easier from the intellectualist position to LOVE God's law, because the intellectualist sees in it a sorely needed gift that God in His MERCY has dispensed to men. It is easier to see sin not only as a violation of

God's law, but as an act of self-mutilation and self-destruction (*Gaudium et spes*, no. 27). Man reaches his perfection and fulfillment in an orderly way by taking his place within God's plan of love, which is manifest to him by the natural and the positive divine law. The voluntary act by which he withdraws from God's plan and substitutes one of his own is sinful because it is the rejection in fact and in deed of God's love (Lk 15 [NAB]). Thus the proportionate remedy for sin—whether it is described as REPENTANCE, reconciliation, remission, conversion, or JUSTIFICATION—is the appreciative love of God, the act of perfect love, which also effects the restoration of the sinner to his proper place in creation, or to the state of grace.

It is possible to express the malice involved in mortal sin in various ways as we see in both the Old Testament (e.g., Gn 3:1–14, Ps 51 [NAB]) and the New Testament (Lk 15:11–32; Rom 5–8 [NAB]): It breaks the ties of love binding man to God and is the rejection of the divine goodness. As an aversion from God and a conversion to some created good in His place (St. Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* 2.53), it is a kind of IDOLATRY. It involves contempt of God and of His precepts (Is 1:4 [NAB]). It is an injustice to Him in denying Him His rights, and it breaks the new covenant of mercy and love made by God through Jesus Christ (Heb 10:28–29 [NAB]). It is an act of base ingratitude to God, who has been so good and generous to man.

THE QUESTION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL SIN

The distinction between sin as an offense against God and sin as a violation of nature makes it possible for one to ask whether a sinner can be guilty of sin in the theological sense of the term if in sinning he is conscious only that his act is out of harmony with his rational nature. Such a person, according to an opinion advanced by the Jesuit François Musnier in 1686, would be guilty only of a philosophical sin, but not of an offense against God. This opinion was proscribed by Pope ALEXANDER VIII in 1690 as scandalous, temerarious, offensive to pious ears, and erroneous (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, no. 2291). All theologians agree that, objectively speaking, all sin is sin in the theological sense. Whether this is also true of all sin, considered from the point of view of subjective responsibility, has been disputed by some authors. In the opinion of most theologians, who see the authority of God as the proximate basis of moral obligation, every sin, even when considered subjectively, must be a sin in the theological sense because in their opinion no true moral obligation can exist for one who does not know himself to be bound to the observance of moral law by the authority of God. Thus, if one can suppose that a man is invincibly ignorant of God's existence, he would not, in this view, be capable of moral action in the proper sense of the word. However advanced he might be in years, he would be morally in the condition of a child who has not yet reached the age of reason. This was, for example, the opinion of Louis BILLOT, who was willing to admit that there are many of adult age in that situation (*De Deo uno* [Rome 1931] 50). However, the recognition of the authority of a divine lawmaker who is offended by sin need not be clear and explicit. It seems to be implicit in all true moral judgment.

Constitutive Elements. In every sin it is possible to distinguish two elements, one positive and the other negative, or, more exactly, privative. The positive element consists in the sinner's conversion to some created "good" that so attracts him that he prefers the satisfaction to be found in it to the divine good. Converting thus to a created good, the sinner by the same act turns away from God and is deprived of his orientation to God along with sanctifying grace and its attendant gifts. This "aversion" from God constitutes the privative element in sin. Which of the two elements is more formal in sin has been debated by theologians, THOMISM generally making the conversion the constitutive element and SCOTISM holding that the privation is more formal. However, the more common Thomist opinion does not deny that the privative element belongs essentially to the sinful act, which would not indeed be a sinful conversion to a created good if it did not entail aversion from God and the privations associated with such aversion.

The distinction of these two elements helps to clarify the psychology of the sinful act, which would be difficult to explain if sin were simply the choice of evil and nothing else. Moreover, it provides an answer to the protest of the sinner who declares that he did not think about offending God when he gave himself up to his sinful deed. But he did seek an illicit good, one to which a privation is inseparably attached, and in doing this he indirectly intended the privation.

Distinction of Sins. The practice of sacramental confession, as required by Canon Law (Code of Canon Law, c. 988) and the Council of Trent (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 1679–1681), requires the confession of all mortal sins committed after baptism according to their kind and number. This practice makes the specific and numerical discrimination of sins a matter of practical importance to the Catholic theologian. The SPECIES of a sin is the kind, or class, into which sin falls, whereas the numerical distinction of sins is simply the number of distinct occurrences. Theologians distinguish between the moral and the theological species of sin. Moral species depend on the type of malice manifest in a sin and distinguishing it from other kinds of sin; for example, THEFT is distinguished from BLASPHEMY. Theological species are compared based on the gravity of the sins.

There is one essential difference between sins in this respect, and thus there are two theological species: mortal and venial (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles* 3, q. 139; *Summa theologiae* 1a–2ae, q. 88, a. 1).

The distinguishing factor in determining the moral species for those who hold that the formal constitutive of sin is not the privative element but the positive conversion of the sinner to something illicit, is the object considered from a moral point of view. This includes not merely what is done (the *finis operis*), but also the sinner's purpose in doing it, as well as the moral CIRCUMSTANCES that give a new kind of moral quality to what is done. That is not to say, however, that the MOTIVE or the circumstances change the moral character of what is done; blasphemy is blasphemy, and murder is murder, whatever the motive. But the motive, or *finis operantis*, is itself an object of the will, and circumstances can so modify an object that it acquires a new kind of morality in addition to that which it has of itself. An act that is single in its physical entity can be multiple from a moral point of view. Thus, the theft of a sacred object is at once an act of theft and an act of SACRILEGE. A lie told for the purpose of seduction is an offense against both veracity and CHASTITY. For those who see the essence of sin to consist more formally in a privation, other norms had to be found to differentiate one sin from another. Some have based the distinction on opposition to different virtues, others on the difference of the laws or precepts violated.

The numerical distinction of sins, although relatively simple in principle, is sometimes complicated in the application of the principle, especially with regard to internal sins of thought and desire. The basic principle is that there are as many sins as there are morally distinct acts of the will.

Connection of Sins. Vices and a fortiori sinful acts are not interconnected in the same way as are the virtues. The acquired moral virtues, in their perfect state, are all connected in PRUDENCE, and the infused virtues are connected in CHARITY, so that the possession of any one perfect virtue guarantees the possession of the others as well. Such is not the case where sins are concerned. Virtue tends to unify and focus all activity upon moral goodness; vice and sin, on the contrary, scatter and dissipate man's moral act. The morally good act is in conformity with the moral law. The possibility of variety in nonconformity or deformity is endless.

Some sins are opposed to others by a relationship of contrariety—for example, prodigality and miserliness—and one therefore is exclusive of the other. Moreover, the intention of the sinner is not directly to depart from the rule of reason or the law of God, but to realize something that he sees as good to himself. Sins would be interconnected if their objects were connected, but manifestly they are not.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that there is some connection between sins. In some cases, what are virtually different sins are joined in the same act, as offenses against JUSTICE and chastity in the sin of ADULTERY. Sometimes one sin can dispose a man to the commission of another of a different kind, as when DRUNKENNESS leads to quarreling. Some sins are the effects of other sins, as when PRIDE begets ENVY, and in this way all the capital sins have a numerous progeny. Again, by grievous sin the infused virtue of prudence is lost and acquired prudence is weakened, and because of this, one becomes less capable of virtuous action and less able to stand firmly and constantly against the TEMPTATION to other sin. Furthermore, one who cuts himself off from the love of God and has overcome the fear of being separated from Him is deprived of a most effective motive against any sin and may more readily fall victim to temptation. Still, one sin cannot be said to contain all others, except in the sense that it disposes more or less remotely to their commission (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 1a–2ae, q. 73, a. 1).

Comparative Gravity of Sins. Not all sins are equal in their gravity. This is the teaching of the scriptures (Jn 19:11; Ez 16:44–58; Jer 7:26; Lam 4:6 [NAB]) and of all Catholic theologians and the Magisterium. Although sin consists in a privation, it is not a pure or total privation, but one that admits of more or less. The gravity of sin is measured objectively and specifically by the extent of the disorder and aversion caused by the sinful object and its consequences, and subjectively by the intensity of the will's act and the dispositions of the sinner.

First and foremost, the gravity of sin is measured against a scale of values, in which God is highest, the substantial good of man is intermediate, and external goods are lowest. These values are secured and protected by the Ten Commandments and the virtues, the comparative excellence of which is judged by reference to the same scale. It is possible and convenient, therefore, to measure the gravity of a sin by considering the comparative excellence of the virtue to which it is opposed and the manner of its opposition (e.g., by excess or by defect). Generally speaking, spiritual sins are considered more serious than carnal sins because the element of aversion from God is more pronounced in them. They also involve the good of the SOUL, which is greater than the good of the body, and, being less influenced by passion, they are less excusable. Whatever weakens the judgment of reason or lessens a sinner's liberty of action diminishes the gravity of a sin because it makes the act less voluntary.

Harmful consequences, to the extent that they are foreseen, also aggravate the gravity of a sin. The dignity,

character, and reputation of the person sinning, as well as the person sinned against, may also have a bearing on the seriousness of a sin. For example, other things being equal, venial sins, when indeliberate, are less serious in a person of greater, as compared with a person of lesser, virtue because they have a greater element of the involuntary in them. Deliberate sins, however, are worse in a person of greater virtue, partly because they are less excusable—because virtue should make resistance to sin easier—and partly because there is more ingratitude to God and scandal to neighbor in them. By contrast, the sin of DEFAMATION committed by one known to be a liar does less harm than it would if it were committed by a person with a reputation for veracity.

SUBJECT OF SIN

Theologians discuss the faculty or power of the soul to which sin is attributed as to a source or principle. It is, of course, the person who sins, not the part, member, or faculty of the human composite. Nevertheless, an act proceeds from a person through the operation of some power or faculty, and theologians seek to identify the powers in which the sinful act can originate. Sin is found primarily in the will, which is the principle of all human action; when it is attributed to other powers, it is only as they are subject to voluntary control and yet retain a capacity for disordered activity. Sin is not attributed to the external members of the body that move in complete subjection to the will, for they are simply the instruments through which the commands of the will are put into effect. Besides the will itself, the sense appetite and reason qualify as subjects of sin inasmuch as in their activity they are subject to disorder that could and should be controlled.

Internal Causes of Sin. Sin can be considered in two ways: materially, in its physical entity, or formally, in its defectiveness, its disorder, its disaccord with moral law. Sin viewed in its physical being must have a direct efficient cause, but the identification of the cause of what is formally evil in it is more difficult. Since the disorder of sin is not mere negation, but a privation of something that should be present, it requires a cause. Because evil as evil is not per se appetible, the activity of its cause will not be directed immediately to the evil, the disorder, of the sin, but rather to some positive goal that entails the privation and disorder. As a human act, sin must proceed from the will as from a cause.

According to St. Thomas Aquinas, the will, "lacking the direction of the rule of reason and of the divine law, and intent upon some mutable good, causes the act of sin directly and the inordinateness indirectly and without intending it. The lack of order in the act results from the lack of direction in the will" (*Summa theologiae* 1a–2ae, q. 75, a. 1). This defect in the direction of the will can be caused by the defect in the will itself that is called malice, or by a defect of knowledge in the intellect called ignorance, or by a defect in the sense appetite called weakness.

Psychologically, choice by the will follows a judgment of reason on the goodness of the proposed object. This judgment may be vitiated by ignorance either of general principles or of the right application of principles. Often, however, it is not in its speculative but its practical role that the mind fails. The judgment that precedes sin is a practical judgment, and it is influenced by factors operating in the here and now, existential in the truest sense of the word. In any case, the practical judgment influences the will and is in that sense a cause of sin. The emotional state of a man at any particular moment unconsciously and even consciously affects his estimate of the value of a proposed action. An angry or terrified man does not think and act as a tranquil one. He judges a thing according to the advantages it appears to offer him here and now, and this judgment so occupies his mind that he is distracted from the use of his moral knowledge.

Sins arising from neither passion nor ignorance are traceable to the malice of a will prepared deliberately to choose the disorder and spiritual loss involved in sin rather than forgo some temporal satisfaction. Malice makes a sin graver, because it is a disposition of the will itself and is a more enduring source of disorder than passion.

External Causes. Factors external to the sinner himself may also contribute to his sin. In their consideration of the mystery of iniquity, theologians have given much attention to the question of God's CAUSALITY with respect to the sinful act of the creature. God, the Supreme Good, wills indirectly physical evil incidental to the total perfection of creation and the penal evil that is incidental to the fulfillment of divine justice, because these evils are not directly opposed to His honor and glory; but He cannot will the moral evil of sin in any way, because it is contradictory to His love. Just as He cannot make anything hating it, neither can He make anything to hate Him. All things come from Him, and are made to return to Him, not to move away from Him. Yet men do sin, and they could not do this without God's help. Theologians distinguish between the physical entity of a sin, which comes from God as does the whole of created being and all its modes; what is human in the sin, which is from God and from the FREE WILL; and what is defective, which is not from God in any way but from the defect of the creature. A radical defectibility is inevitable in the creature because it is not an absolute. But God could preserve the creature from all sin. He has not willed to do this, but this cannot be

understood to make Him the cause of what is formal in sin, because He does not owe such preservation to the creature. Moreover, the privation that is formal in sin requires for its explanation not an efficient but a deficient cause; in a sense it is something *not* caused rather than something caused. But God, as First Cause, lacks nothing. From no point of view can He be conceived as the cause—efficient, exemplary, or final—of the sinful disorder of the act of the will.

The DEVIL cannot be considered the cause of sin in the sense that he directly moves a person's will to sin. At most he is able to tempt humans to sin by operating upon their internal senses, causing them to think of sinful things and to focus their attention on the desirability of illicit pleasures. Not all temptation need be explained in terms of diabolical activity, however; the world and the flesh can account for most of the temptations that people experience. In a general sense, nevertheless, because the devil was instrumental in causing original sin, which has left humans prone to evil, he can be considered an indirect and partial cause of all sin.

One person can cause another to sin by means of persuasion, suggestion, command, example, and so forth, or by cooperating in the sin either materially or formally.

Effects of Sin. The act of sin produces certain psychological, spiritual, and even physical effects, which, although foreseen, are not intended by the sinner. Man's relationship with God, with others, with the Church, and with creation itself is harmed as a result of sin. Theologians speak of the loss of both natural and SUPERNATURAL good.

Man's essential natural good—his existence, the integrity and essential capacity of his natural powers—is not lost in consequence of either original or personal sin. But the human good that consists in an inclination to virtue, a natural characteristic of a rational being, is lessened, but not completely destroyed, by sin. Some diminution of this good is a result in man of original sin. This wound in nature is not healed in man's present state by sanctifying grace. Personal sin aggravates and deepens this wound, making further sin easier to commit and virtue more difficult to practice.

The principal effect of sin, however, is the loss of supernatural good and the incurrence of GUILT. Mortal sin deprives the soul of sanctifying grace, and with the deprivation of grace, the soul's attendant supernatural gifts, capacities, and privileges are lost. It is because of this that mortal sin is referred to as the "death" of the soul, which, in effect, ceases to have being on the supernatural level. Guilt is the state or condition of being at fault (*reatus culpae*) and so deprived of supernatural life, the absence of the splendor of which is a stain (*macula peccati*) on the soul, and also the state or condition of being liable to the penalty due in PUNISHMENT for the fault (*reatus poenae*).

Venial Sin. The words *mortal* and *venial* in connection with sin are not found explicitly in the scriptures, but the distinction between the two types of sin is clearly affirmed. There are sins that exclude from the kingdom (Eph 5:5; Gal 5:19–21 [NAB]) and sins that do not exclude from it (Jas 3:2; 1 Jn 1:8; Eccl 7:21 [NAB]). In the fourth century, the monk Jovinian (d. c. 405) claimed that all sins were equal and therefore deserving of the same punishment. St. Augustine took a strong stand against this doctrine (see J. Mausbach, *Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus*). John WYCLIF, and after him Martin LUTHER, John Calvin, and others among the Reformers, rejected the distinction so far at least as it supposed a difference in the sin rather than the sinner. Pope PIUS V in 1567 condemned a proposition of theologian Michael Baius (1513–1589) repudiating the distinction (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 1920). The Council of Trent spoke of mortal sin, which the just man can avoid, and venial sin, which he cannot avoid without special grace (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 1573); of mortal sin that must be confessed in the Sacrament of PENANCE and venial sin that need not be confessed (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 1707); of mortal sin, by which one falls from justice, and venial sin, by which the sinner does not cease to be just (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 1537).

According to St. Thomas Aquinas, the difference between mortal and venial sin follows upon the diversity of the disorders that constitute the essence of the sin. There are two such disorders: one that destroys the very principle of order and one that leaves the principle but introduces inordinateness among things consequent to it. The principle of the entire moral order is the last end, which is God. Hence when a soul is so disordered that it turns away from God, to whom it has been united by charity, there is mortal sin; when there is disorder in the soul without its turning away from God, there is venial sin. St. Thomas likened the aversion from God in mortal sin to death, in which the principle of life is lost, and the disorder of venial sin to sickness, which is a reparable condition because the principle of life remains (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 1a–2ae, q. 72, a. 5).

From this it is evident that the term *sin* is not applied univocally to mortal and venial sin as to two species contained under a common GENUS. The disorder involved in venial sin is different, and so also the offense to God, and it makes a man liable to quite a different penalty.

St. Thomas thought (puzzlingly, according to some theologians today) that venial sin was not so much

against the law of God (*contra legem*) as outside the law (*praeter legem*; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 1a–2ae, q. 88, a. 1 ad 1). St. Thomas wanted, as did other outstanding theologians of his time, to include under the heading of sin as defined by St. Augustine only those acts in which the idea of sin was fully realized. The restrictive interpretation of these theologians was due to the severity of the early scholastics, who thought that any voluntary and deliberate transgression of the divine will was worthy of eternal punishment. The later scholastics sought to get around the rigor of this doctrine by finding formulas that made venial sin seem something less than an outright violation of the divine law. Thus, John Duns SCOTUS, for example, is alleged by some, although this is disputed by others, to have taught that venial sin is a violation of a counsel rather than a precept. St. BONAVENTURE and St. ALBERT THE GREAT used the same formula as St. Thomas and declared that venial sin is not *contra* but *praeter legem*. However, they did not mean this in the sense that it was opposed to no law, but that it was not opposed to the law of charity that obliges one to love God above all things and to seek Him alone as a final end. A venial sin does not make it impossible for one to be intent upon God as an ultimate end. It disorders a man, not with respect to his end, but with respect to the means employed in the pursuit of his end. But if the law of God is understood in its full amplitude regarding not only end but means, venial sin cannot be said to be only *praeter legem*.

Venial sin differs from mortal sin in the punishment due to it: It merits a temporal, rather than an eternal, penalty. It may be declared in confession but need not be, for it can be expiated by many other remedies (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1965, 1680). Venial sins dispose a man to mortal sin because, by inordinate preoccupation with means, he can become so attached to them that they begin to assume a major importance in his life, or because, being undisciplined in little things, he can grow bolder and become less ready to subject himself to God's law in graver matters (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 1a–2ae, q. 88, a. 3). Nevertheless, venial sin does not directly cause a diminution of charity or of sanctifying grace (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2a–2ae, q. 24, a. 10).

POST-CONCILIAR DEVELOPMENTS IN THE THEOLOGY OF SIN

Since the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), with its emphasis on the communal dimension of the human person and sin (*Gaudium et spes*, nos. 13, 25), the magisterium and Catholic theologians have spoken of sin in terms of how it negatively affects one's relationship of friendship with God and others. They have also retrieved a more scriptural way of speaking about sin, as is evidenced in *The Rite of Penance* (1973), and they have introduced other categories of sin in addition to original sin and personal sin. Social sin, for example, is described by the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* as a type of sin that gives rise to "social situations and institutions that are contrary to the divine goodness. 'Structures of sin' are the expression and effect of personal sins" (no. 1869; John Paul II, *Reconciliatio et paenitentia*, no. 16). In sum, as Pope JOHN PAUL II observes in his 1984 APOSTOLIC EXHORTATION *Reconciliatio et penitentia*: "The mystery of sin is composed of this twofold wound which the sinner opens in himself and in his relationship with his neighbor. Therefore one can speak of personal and social sin: From one point of view, every sin is personal; from another point of view, every sin is social insofar as and because it also has social repercussions" (no. 15).

The Magisterium, however, has also condemned certain postconciliar trends to reinterpret the Church's doctrine on sin. For example, John Paul II's *Reconciliatio et paenitentia* rejected use of the term *grave sin* (no. 17) when used to identify a third kind of sin, thus reaffirming the traditional distinction between mortal and venial sin. Grave sin is a kind of sin more serious than a venial sin, but not as serious as a mortal sin, according to its proponents. John Paul II taught, however, that although the threefold distinction "might illustrate the fact that there is a scale of seriousness among grave sins ... it still remains true that the essential and decisive distinction is between sin which destroys charity and sin which does not kill the supernatural life: There is no middle way between life and death" (no. 17).

In connection with one particular theory of the fundamental option—that is, one's basic orientation either of openness toward the love of God or away from that love that would be understood apart from specific free choices (John Paul II, *Veritatis splendor*, no. 17)—John Paul II warns of reducing mortal sin to an exercise of fundamental option against God, intending thereby "an explicit and formal contempt for God and neighbor." For mortal sin, John Paul II continues, "exists also when a person knowingly and willingly, for whatever reason, chooses something gravely disordered.... Thus the fundamental orientation can be radically changed by individual acts" (nos. 69–70).

This is one reason why John Paul II saw it necessary to note in *Reconciliatio et paenitentia* that "some sins are intrinsically grave and mortal by reason of their matter. That is, there exist acts which per se and in themselves, independently of circumstances, are always seriously wrong by reason of their object. These acts, if carried out with sufficient awareness and freedom, are always gravely sinful" (no. 17). He reaffirmed this teaching in *Veritatis splendor* in the context of upholding the existence of intrinsically evil acts and their correspond-

ing moral absolutes in the face of their denial (nos. 67, 80–81, 90, 95, and 115).

SEE ALSO DEADLY SINS; EMOTION (MORAL ASPECT); GLORY OF GOD (END OF CREATION); RECONCILIATIO ET PAENITENTIA; SCANDAL; SIN (IN THE BIBLE); SIN (PHENOMENOLOGY OF); SIN, COOPERATION IN; THOUGHTS, MORALITY OF; VATICAN COUNCIL II; VERITATIS SPLENDOR.

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SISTER CHURCHES

Sister churches is a term that has found favor in the ecumenical dialogue of recent decades, particularly in the context of Catholic-Orthodox relations. The debate surrounding its proper usage touches on historical and ecclesiological issues that are crucial for Catholic-Orthodox rapprochement.

In 2000, the Congregation for the DOCTRINE OF THE FAITH directed that local or "particular" churches (i.e., dioceses) of the Catholic and other (primarily Eastern) Churches can be called sister churches with regard to one another, and that groupings of such local churches in patriarchates or metropolitan provinces can likewise be called sister churches. Thus the (Catholic) local Church of ROME can be called the sister of the (Orthodox) local Church of Constantinople, for example, and the usage is correct wherever there is a valid episcopate and Eucharist. However, the *Note on the Expression "Sister Churches"* issued by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith specified that the Catholic Church as a whole should not be called the sister of any of the Orthodox Churches nor of the Orthodox Church as a whole, nor indeed of any other church, because that implies "a plurality . . . on the level of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church confessed in the Creed,



Pope and Patriarch. *Pope Paul VI, on right, and Patriarch Athenagoras, the supreme leader of Eastern Orthodoxy, embracing during a ceremony at the St Peter Basilica, October 26, 1967.* **KEYSTONE/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES**

whose real existence is thus obscured" (B, II, 11). In his introductory "Letter to the Presidents of the Conferences of Bishops," Prefect Joseph Cardinal RATZINGER wrote that such usage also suggests that "the one Church of Christ does not exist," but that it needs to be reestablished through the reconciliation of the sister churches. The *Note* clearly shows concern that the term *sister churches*, which has a perfectly legitimate and laudable usage at the local and regional levels of the life of the Church, might compromise belief in the oneness of the Church if used at the universal level.

The main biblical evidence for a sisterly relationship between Christian communities is provided by the concluding verse of one of the early letters between such communities: "The children of your elect sister greet you" (2 Jn 13). Although local churches were not subsequently called sisters in the early centuries, such an understanding may be inferred from the constant practice of calling the bishops of local churches brothers. During the fourth and fifth centuries, regional groupings of local churches began to take shape, and patriarchates formed around major cities. In the East these patriarchates were understood as equal sisters, with Rome in first place, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries two major Byzantine bishops, Metropolitan Nicetas of Nicodemia and Patriarch John X Camaterus, asserted this view against what they interpreted as attempts by Rome to be "mother" rather than "sister" (Congar 1985, pp. 86–87, 90–91).

For a long time after the excommunications of 1054, Catholics and Orthodox actually maintained varying degrees of communion. Not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did the SCHISM really harden into two separate churches (Bouyer 1982), each of which tended to present itself as the only one in which SALVATION could be found (*Uniatism, Method of Union of the Past, and the Present Search for Full Communion*, 10).

In the early 1960s, ecumenical patriarch ATHENAGORAS of Constantinople spoke of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches themselves as sisters. VATICAN COUNCIL II referred simply to the strong Eastern appreciation of local churches as sisters, but the council also acknowledged that from the very beginning the Church developed in different ways in the East and the West (*Unitatis redintegratio*, 14). There is thus a primordial complementarity between East and West within the one Church, and some see this as the primary reason for calling the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church sisters (Lanne 1975a). Proponents of this terminology, therefore, do not necessarily lose sight of the oneness of the Church. It may be said, however, that the terminology implies a full equivalence of the sisters, which is inappropriate because the Orthodox Church does not have the benefit of the universal primacy that Catholics believe pertains to the Bishop of Rome (cf. *Unitatis redintegratio*, 3, 16).

Both Pope PAUL VI (especially in the 1967 apostolic brief *Anno ineunte*) and Pope JOHN PAUL II (e.g., *Ut unum sint* 52, 55–61) spoke of sister churches seemingly with reference to the Catholic and Orthodox Churches themselves. The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith later gave the terminological precision contained in the *Note on the Expression "Sister Churches."* This intervention in no way diminishes the value of another well-known image in which the Church in the East and the Church in the West are the one Church's "two lungs" (*Ut unum sint* 54).

SEE ALSO CONSTANTINOPLE, ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE OF; EASTERN SCHISM; ECUMENICAL DIALOGUES; GREEK CATHOLIC CHURCH (EASTERN CATHOLIC); JOHN PAUL II AND INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE; ORTHODOX AND ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; PATRIARCHATE.

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SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE OF ST. MARY-OF-THE-WOODS

(SP; Official Catholic Directory #3360) The Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods came to the United States in 1840 from Ruillé-sur-Loir, France, at the request of Simon Bruté, the first bishop of the Diocese of Vincennes, Indiana. They were asked to establish a novitiate for the formation of new members and open an academy for young women.

The French community of the Sisters of Providence of Ruillé had been founded in 1806 by Jacques-François Dujarié, in response to the dire needs of the people of the countryside as a result of the French Revolution and its aftermath. By the 1830s the little community was flourishing and generously responded to the needs of the American frontier. After a long and arduous journey, St. Mother Theodore GUÉRIN and her five companions arrived in the midst of the Indiana forest on Oct. 22, 1840.

Four prospective candidates awaited them in the farmhouse, home to the Thralls' family. This frame building, which they would purchase from the Thralls family within the next month, was to serve for 13 years as the first Providence convent. In November 1840, Bishop Celestine de la Hailandière formally opened the novitiate with the reception of three of the original American postulants. In July 1841, St. Mary's Female Institute admitted its first students in the fine brick academy that Hailandière had built.

In the beginning, the community operated under the French Rule of 1835. Modifications to the original rule were made in 1843 and again in 1863. Finally in 1894 LEO XIII gave definitive approval to the Constitutions and established the American congregation as a papal institute.

After the death of Mother Theodore in May 1856, the Congregation continued to grow. Because education was the crying need of the frontier, the sisters were unable to pursue their traditional commitment to healthcare. At the time of the CIVIL WAR, however, some sisters were temporarily withdrawn from the schools to assist in the military hospitals in Indianapolis and Vincennes. For a brief time, they administered the St. John's Home for Invalids in Indianapolis, a facility founded to care for wonded veterans.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the increased influx of immigrants drawn to the large industrial cities of the Midwest reemphasized the need for parochial schools. The Congregation expanded to Michigan, Chicago, and beyond. In November 1920, six Sisters of Providence, under the leadership of Sr. Marie Gratia Luking, opened the first American missionary school for girls on mainland China. In 1929, Sr. Marie Gratia founded an auxiliary congregation of young Chinese women, the Providence Catechist Society. For the next 30 years, the Providence Catechist Sisters remained under the guidance of the Sisters of Providence, but in 1962 they achieved canonical status as an autonomous congregation.

In the United States the Sisters of Providence continued to grow, staffing elementary and secondary schools in New Hampshire, Maryland, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Indiana, Illinois, Oklahoma, Texas, California, and Washington, D.C. They also maintained St. Mary-of-the-Woods College and Immaculata Junior College in Washington, D.C., as well as Providence College of Liberal Arts and Sciences in Taiwan. Of these institutions of higher learning, only St. Mary-of-the-Woods continues in existence in the 21st century.

At the beginning of the third Christian millennium, the Sisters of Providence are engaged in various ministries throughout the U.S. and Taiwan, serving as educators, pastoral associates, healthcare givers, hospital chaplains, and home visitors to the aged and infirm. On Oct. 25, 1998, Pope John Paul II beatified Mother Theodore Guérin. She was later canonized on October 15, 2006 by Pope Benedict XVI.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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SLAVERY

This entry contains the following:

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III. HISTORY OF
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I. IN THE BIBLE

Although slavery existed in ISRAEL on only a small scale, it was an integral part of the ancient Semitic culture; basically, it was an economic institution that remained unchanged in a stable economy.

Enslavement. In Israel the following were reduced to slavery: captives taken in raids (Am 1:6, 9), insolvent debtors (Am 2:6; 2 Kgs 4:1; Neh 5:5, 8), convicted thieves unable to make retribution (Ex 22:2), young girls sold by their fathers into conditional slavery (Ex 21:7–11), and non-Israelite prisoners taken in war (2 Chr 28:8–15). The captives taken in war might become Temple slaves, domestic slaves, or state slaves. It was customary to dedicate some of the captives to Temple service (Nm 31:25–47; Jos 9:21–27); some became slaves in private households; others were made to work as slaves on state projects. The insolvent debtors mentioned above were sold into slavery to satisfy their creditors. To avoid the danger of wholesale population drift of small-scale farmers into slavery as a result of insolvency, the law limited such slavery to a maximum of six years (Ex 21:2; Dt 15:12); at the end of this service, they were to be provided with the means necessary for returning to normal life (Dt 15:13–18). A Hebrew who had sold himself into slavery to escape poverty was to serve till the JUBILEE YEAR. If his master was a foreigner, he could either purchase his freedom or ask to be redeemed by one of his relatives any time before the Jubilee Year (Lv 25:47–55). Yet this humanitarian legislation of seventh-year release and jubilee-year liberty remained largely theoretical, as is seen in the unfulfilled pledge given the Hebrew slaves at the time of the Babylonian siege (Jer 34:8–22).

Legislation. Legally, the slave was property, without name or genealogy, a commodity to be sold, bought, or inherited. However, Old Testament legislation, especially the Deuteronomic code, mindful of Israel's slavery in Egypt (Dt 5:15; 15:15; 24:18) and increasingly considerate of the individual, aimed at keeping the number of Hebrew slaves to a minimum and mitigating the severities in their life. A man who was married when he became a slave could take his wife back with him at the end of his service, but if he was single at the beginning of his service and was given a wife by his master, the wife and any children born of the couple belonged to the master (Ex 21:3–4). A significant difference between Hebrew and foreign slaves was that the latter could be held in servitude permanently and handed on with other family property (Lv 25:44–46). Religious privileges were accorded also to slaves; Hebrew and non-Hebrew slaves were to be circumcised (Gn 17:12) and enjoy the SABBATH rest (Ex 20:11; 23:12; Dt 5:14). A woman captured in war and taken as a wife, if later divorced, could neither be sold nor again reduced to slavery; her husband had to allow her to go free (Dt 21:10–14). The death penalty was prescribed for a man who deceitfully sold a fellow Israelite into slavery (Dt 24:7). The Old Testament codes limit their legislation to domestic slaves; no prescriptions are given for the state or Temple slaves mentioned in nonlegal texts.

Role in Old Testament Economy. Slavery, as such, was not a prominent feature of the Israelite economy. The

agricultural projects were too small to lend themselves to the exploitation of slave labor; the hired laborer did this work more economically. There were no private industrial projects of great scope in Israel, nor was there a continued international commerce. Yet the nation had its building programs and, for a time, a metal industry. Israel's most outstanding use of state slaves was in the copper smeltery and foundry built by King SOLOMON at Asiongaber. Some slaves were attached to the Temple throughout Israel's history (Jos 9:23, 27; Ezr 8:20). But the majority of Israel's slaves were found in private homes performing domestic chores.

Place in New Testament Ethics. The attitude of the New Testament toward the institution of slavery was primarily religious, not social. Christ and his apostles did not give new legislation to oppose the system of existing slavery, but preached principles that would logically lead to its abolition. If all are children of the same Father, no essential distinction can remain between slave and free man (1 Cor 12:13; Gal 3:28; Col 3:11).

The apostles did not intend an immediate change in social institutions; theirs was a religious message with the primary intention of making their converts obedient to God's revelation in Christ (Eph 6:5–9; Col 3:22–4.1; 1 Pt 2:18). Paul does not command PHILEMON to free his slave, although he implicitly recommends this in reminding him that Onesimus is his brother in Christ and is to be treated as such (Phlm 15–16). Moreover, he exhorts the slaves of the Corinth Church not to be impatient with their station, but to accept it, recognizing that they have a higher life in Christ (1 Cor 7:21–24). Nevertheless, in the New Testament the foundations were laid for a slow but effective social revolution that eventually caused the abolition of slavery in Christian countries.

SEE ALSO BIBLE (TEXTS); HEBREW SCRIPTURES; PAUL, APOSTLE, ST.

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II. AND THE CHURCH

Slavery is here understood to signify a social and economic institution in which one human being is the legal property of another. It can also be defined as the condition of such a human being, who becomes a *res non persona*, a human chattel without rights or privileges.

To understand the Church's attitude to slavery, and for a balanced judgment on the morality of slavery, two things must be kept in mind. One is the Church's attitude toward social questions in general, and the other is the fact that slavery has existed under different forms.

The Church was born into a world in which slavery in various forms was universally accepted as a social and economic institution pertaining to the very structure of society, just as in the modern world, where the system of remunerated employment is taken for granted. As in modern society, few would be likely to contemplate seriously the abolition of the existing system, so neither did it occur to Christians of the early Church to advocate the abolition of slavery. The Church did, however, from the beginning, urgently insist on the mutual rights and duties existing between masters and slaves, just as in modern times it emphasizes the mutual rights and duties of employers and employees. God became man and founded His Church not in order to usher in a new social, economic, or political order, but rather to change the hearts of men according to the prophecy of Ezekiel: "I will give them a new heart and put a new spirit within them; I will remove the stony heart from their bodies, and replace it with a natural heart, so that they will live according to my statutes, and observe and carry out my ordinances" (Ez 11:19–20). The Church took men and society as it found them and did its utmost to transform them. Thus, St. Paul wrote to the Galatians: "For all you who have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither slave nor free-man; there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal 3:2728; see also 1 Cor 12:13; Eph 5:9; Col 3:22–24; 1 Pt 2:28). An instructive, concrete case of Paul's conception of things, and of the Church's constant attitude ever since toward the master-slave relationship, and later to the employer-employee relationship, is afforded by Paul's one-page letter to Philemon.

Different Forms. The term "slavery" did not always have quite the odious connotation that it has had in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, no doubt in part because of the seeming intractability of the institution. Historians used to write of a distinction between "slavery in the abstract," or ideal slavery, and chattel slavery. In the ideal conception of slavery, seen for instance in Aristotle's famous discussion of "natural" slavery, master and slave worked together for their mutual good as human beings. In this form there was, on the part of the slave, fidelity, devotedness, and willing service, all in keeping with the slave's dignity and in accordance with his nature as rationally deficient compared to his master; and, on the part of the master, kindness, respect, and even true charity. The slave was part of the household and was treated as such from the moment he came into the service of his master until he died. Much more common in actual practice, however, was parasitic slavery, or "chattel slavery." In this form the master or owner exploited the labor of the slave for his own private advantage and pleasure. In chattel slavery, the slave was the full property of the master, often without any rights or acknowledged standing before the law, and was maintained in his position by coercion. The distinction between ideal and practiced slavery is no longer tenable, however, as the ideal conception of slavery ignores the fundamentally ironic and ambiguous relationship of slave to master. As Eugene Genovese writes in *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (1974), the notion of benevolent paternalism associated with ideal slavery "had little to do with Ole Massa's ostensible benevolence, kindness, and good cheer. It grew out of the necessity to discipline and morally justify a system of exploitation. It did encourage kindness and affection, but it simultaneously encouraged cruelty and hatred" (Genovese 1974, p. 4).

The idea of one human being belonging to another as a piece of property is repugnant to the Christian concept of human dignity. By changing the minds of men, masters and slaves, and legislators, the Church contributed indirectly to the decline of slavery in the strict sense in all Christian lands before the thirteenth century.

In the Christian view of things, work, obedience, and service are noble activities fully in keeping with true human and Christian dignity. Christ Himself came on earth to do the will of His Father (Jn 4:34; 6.8; Heb 10:7,9) and to be obedient unto the death of the Cross (Phil 2:8) out of love for His Eternal Father and out of love for mankind (see Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 3a, q. 46, a. 2). St. Thomas maintained that a life of free service in this sense would have been part of human life in the state of original justice before the fall, (1a, q. 96, a. 3); but in no wise would a life of penal servitude, (ad 1 and art. 4), which was regarded by him and by many of the Fathers of the Church as a consequence of sin (see St. Augustine, *Civ.* 19.15). St. Augustine makes the same point with regard to work: from being a glad and even effortless sharing in God's creative activity, it becomes as a result of sin a painful toil and labor. (*Gen. ad litt.* 8.8).

St. Thomas's teaching that between master and slave, strict justice could not exist (see 2a-2ae, q.57, a. 4, and passim) has frequently been grossly misinterpreted by being perceived outside of its true historical and

doctrinal context. Historically, slavery in the strict sense no longer existed in Christian lands in the time of St. Thomas. Doctrinally, St. Thomas was trying to explain that the virtue governing the master-servant relationship is not mere justice but something greater, for the simple reason that between master and servant there are mutual rights and duties that last as long as the relationship remains. By insisting precisely on these mutual rights and obligations, the Church was instrumental in bringing about the abolition of slavery in the strict sense, transforming it gradually into a state of noble service on the part of the inferior and of conscientious care on the part of the superior or master. The Church insisted over and over again on the inalienable right of man to freedom, to guide his own life, to marry, to enter religion, and to take Orders. It insisted that servants should be given free time to attend to their own lives and families and forbade, for instance, at the Council of AUXERRE in 578 all unnecessary work on Sundays. (c. 16, J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collection* 9.913). On the other hand, the Church condemned most severely those who, under one pretext or another, incited the servants to revolt against their masters (see c.3 of the Council of Gangres in the middle of the fourth century, Mansi 2.1102). Instances of such legislation could be given without number.

The Slave Trade. The great geographical discoveries by Spain and Portugal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought in their train the recrudescence of slavery, so that the problem of the morality of slavery and enslavement again became acute. After a brief period of hesitation and uncertainty, caused by inaccurate information on conditions in Africa and the two Americas and by a desire to avoid greater evils, the Church unreservedly condemned colonial slavery and every type of slave trade as inhuman and immoral. The slave trade as such was not something new. It had been practiced long before Christian times and the Church, from the beginning, regarded it as immoral. Numerous documents attest to the fact. In 873 Pope JOHN VIII wrote to the rulers of Sardinia, exhorting them and ordering them to restore freedom to slaves bought from the Greeks. In 1537 PAUL III excommunicated those who enslaved Native Americans and confiscated their property. In 1838 GREGORY XVI condemned all forms of colonial slavery and the slave trade, calling it *inhumanum illud commercium* (Denzinger-Hünermann 2005, 2745–2746). In a letter to the bishops of Brazil on May 5, 1888, LEO XIII recalled the Church's unceasing efforts in the course of centuries to get rid of colonial slavery and the slave trade and expressed his satisfaction that Brazil had at last abolished it. From the fifteenth century, Catholic missionaries, theologians, and statesmen never ceased to strive for the abolition of the ignominious traffic in human beings. During the FRENCH REVOLUTION the National Assembly—at the instigation of a Catholic priest, the Abbé Henri Baptiste Grégoire decreed in 1794 the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in all French colonies. In 1890 Charles Martial Allemand Cardinal LAVIGERIE founded a French antislavery league for combatting slavery and the slave trade on an international basis. In a radio message to the workers of Spain on March 11, 1951, PIUS XII stated succinctly the Church's consistent attitude to slavery in all its forms. "The Church," he said,

> never preached social revolution, but everywhere and at all times, from the letter of Paul to Philemon up to the great social teachings of the popes in the 19th and 20th centuries, she did her utmost to see that consideration was taken more of man himself than of economic and technical advantages so that all men might have the possibility of living a life worthy of a Christian and of a human being. (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 1951, 214)

In the twenty-first century the Church spares no effort to save men from the many forms of slavery of the modern industrial world. This includes increasingly the trafficking in human beings characteristic of the global sex trade.

The ambiguities noted in the practice of slavery influenced the Church's relationship with that institution. So, for instance, the Church's long-standing condemnation of the slave trade coexisted with teachings recommending against abolition of slavery itself (what some in the United States called "domestic slavery"). Since at least the middle of the twentieth century, Church teaching has followed contemporary scholarship on slavery closely, refusing to countenance any view that sees in slavery the possibility of a benevolent and morally unambiguous relationship between master and slave. The extremely clear condemnation of the slave trade remains prominent, as in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*'s (1997) comment that:

> the seventh-commandment forbids acts or enterprises that for any reason—selfish or ideological, commercial, or totalitarian—lead to the enslavement of human beings, to their being bought, sold, and exchanged like merchandise, in disregard for their personal dignity. It is a sin against the dignity of persons and their fundamental rights to reduce them by violence to their productive value or to a source of profit. (no. 2414)

But to this may be added remarks made at VATICAN COUNCIL II, in *Gaudium et spes* (no. 27), and repeated by Pope JOHN PAUL II in *Veritatis splendor* (no.

80), which state that slavery is among those acts contrary to human dignity. Church teaching thus sees no moral justification for not only the treatment and conditions associated with slavery, but also for slavery itself. It is always and everywhere contrary to human dignity to own another human being or to be owned by another human being.

SEE ALSO CATECHISM OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; LAS CASAS, BARTOLOMÉ DE; MAN, ARTICLES ON; SLAVERY, I (IN THE BIBLE); SLAVERY, III (HISTORY OF); SOCIAL JUSTICE; VERITATIS SPLENDOR.

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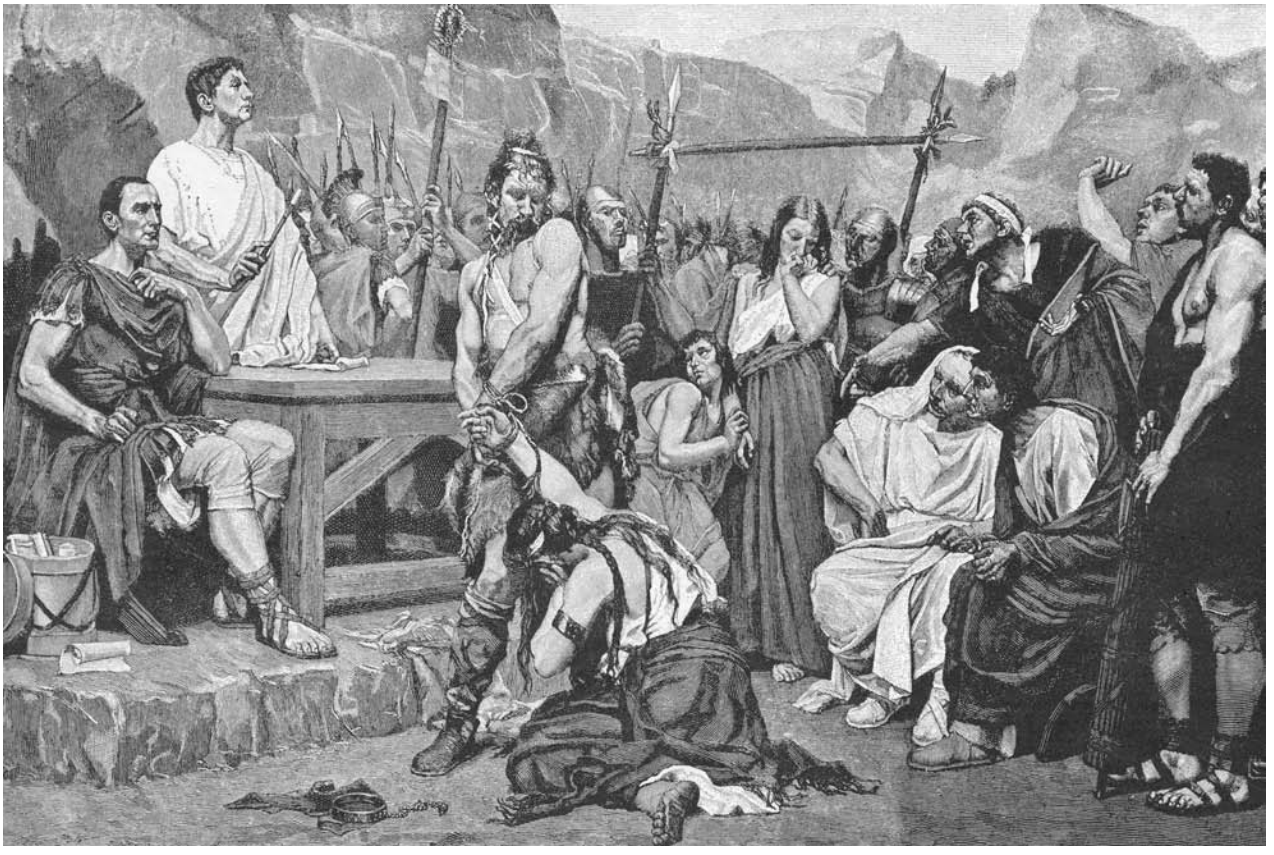
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III. HISTORY OF

Defining slavery is notoriously complex and even controversial because the definition of slavery entails complex and controversial beliefs about the human being and its distinction from the rest of creation and because, as William Westermann wrote, "There has seldom been in history ... any slave-holding community in which the theoretical slave—that is, a thing totally devoid of legal personality and without possessions of his own—has really existed in the actual practice of that community" (Westermann in Finley 1960, p. 18). Slavery is based on the principle of property in man. Slaves were property; the owner owned the labor and the person of the slave. Both Eugene D. Genovese and Keith Bradley point out that because slaves were legal property, slaveowners had complete rights over all aspects of their slaves (Genovese 1974; Bradley 1994). The basis for this complete subordination of one man (slave) to another (slaveowner; master) required the idea of the slave as the *instrumentum vocale*, in ARISTOTLE's term. The slave was a mere "speaking tool," a possession of his or her owner and the means by which the owner could carry out his will. Slaves, then, were characterized as inhuman, or dehumanized humans (Davis 2006), natally alienated (i.e., stripped of all kinship relations) and socially excommunicated (Patterson 1982). Natal alienation and social EXCOMMUNICATION emphasize the utter vulnerability of slaves: They have no independent social standing except as instruments of their masters. They can make no rights claims; no familial claims or ties are binding on society; and like animals they have virtually no standing before the law. But, again, Westermann points out the tension and even contradiction contained in slavery. Though by law, slaves' lives were utterly circumscribed, no society could create and sustain a situation of total subjection; there is a natural and inextinguishable freedom of man that no slave system can ever overcome.

Different kinds of slavery exist; for example, debt slavery, wage slavery, penal and "voluntary" slavery; but the main focus is chattel (from the Latin, *capitalis*, from which *cattle* and *capital* are also derived) slavery. This timeline concentrates on chattel slavery from the ROMAN EMPIRE to the start of the twenty-first century, though chattel slavery was wide-spread centuries before the Roman Empire.

Slavery in Imperial Rome. Generalizing about the treatment of slaves is notoriously difficult and often counter-productive. There was no uniform treatment, even though the juridical status of the slave was nearly universal. Masters were free to treat slaves as well or as brutally as they wished, and they often took the full extent of the liberties afforded by the law. Masters rarely



Under the Roman Yoke. *The Romans selling Iberians as prisoners.* © **BETTMANN/CORBIS**

suffered legal consequences for even the most brutal treatment of their human property. Certainly many masters were benevolent and treated slaves well, but nothing essential to the institution of slavery required this; indeed, good treatment of slaves as property was as likely to be self-interested behavior as it was altruistic. Slaves in ROME and elsewhere were valuable items. Rates of manumission, or emancipation, as well are not particularly helpful as indicators of slaves' well-being. David Brion Davis (1966) is among those authors noting high rates of manumission were often associated with cultures of harsh treatment; and the reverse (low manumission rates and relatively mild treatment) was also true. Thus, this history traces primarily the legal status of the slave and not his treatment.

From the third century BC until the beginning of the imperial era (c. 33 BC), Rome was a slave society. Slave societies are characterized primarily by the function of slaves in the labor force and not merely their sheer proportion in relation to other laborers, though some argue the Roman republic had the greatest proportion of slaves in the antique world. Slaves in Rome performed numerous functions. They served as agricultural workers, miners, and domestic servants; they worked in public construction projects, managed small businesses like brothels, organized and oversaw other slaves, were doctors and lawyers, or were secretaries and assistants to important men. In sum, then, slaves were entrusted with different degrees of responsibility. Their treatment thus varied greatly.

The Republican wars of expansion introduced a massive influx of slaves into Roman society, primarily as agricultural workers, but also as domestic slaves. Roman expansion and consolidation throughout the Mediterranean and Western Europe required many millions of slaves. Enormous agricultural plantations worked by slaves provided Rome with the basis to grow the empire, yet also contributed to its collapse by unsettling an already fragile class system. Not only did the presence of millions of slaves pose a threat to political stability, it also exacerbated tensions between the aristocratic, slaveholding class and the common Roman citizenry. The two-year-long revolt led by Spartacus (c. 120–70 BC) in 73 BC is the most famous of several instances of organized and violent resistance to slavery. Much more common kinds of slave resistance included suicide,

escape, sabotage, truancy, deception, and other less risky acts (Bradley 1994).

The legal status of the slave improved toward the end of the Roman Republic and during the Empire; however, there was more institutional continuity than previously thought. Marc Bloch indicates that a pattern of continuity between slavery and other forms of coerced labor accurately describes slavery's development in the West (Bloch in Finley 1960). Even while legislation was changing—at least theoretically—to restrict the cruelty to which slaves were subject, nonetheless, slaves remained categorized like livestock through the imperial period and into at least the early middle ages. For instance, by law, theft of slaves was the equivalent of stealing other domesticated animals like pigs, horses, and cows, the only difference being the price of compensation for loss. Additionally, though there are accounts of rich and varied slave family life, generalizations about slave families remain difficult. Bradley (1994) notes stable family lives contributed to slave contentment and acquiescence; yet, the laws were not progressive enough to prevent severe disruption of slave marriages and families. Of much greater analytic value than the laws were the different servile states. Slaves in domestic settings generally had more stable families and received better treatment than did their agricultural and mining counterparts.

Early Christianity. St. Paul's proclamation that "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28) would not have struck the Galatian community as a call to abolition of slavery any more than as a denial of the natural division of humanity into two sexes. Instead, slavery seemed as fixed a feature of ancient society as male and female sexuality was fixed in human nature. For most of human history, liberty and prosperity were offered only to social elites; the masses were provided no such hopes. Indeed, ancient society often associated elite liberty with mass slavery and servitude: The leisure of the elites required the forced labor of the many. Thus the egalitarianism proclaimed in Christian scripture was understood first and primarily as referring to a spiritual rather than material reality. Virtually no one thought that the egalitarianism in the body of Christ meant the imminent demise of an apparently permanent human institution; and yet the proclamation of the spiritual equality of all would serve as another reminder of the inherent contradiction built into slavery.

Slavery was an entrenched social institution of the APOSTOLIC age; it was part of the natural scheme of things. Many historians agree that slavery was not a "problem" for this and other ancient societies; they regard "as sentimental" the view that slavery was only grudgingly accepted as a necessary evil (Davis 1966, pp. 62–63). Slavery required neither apology nor excuse, neither defense nor critique. The regions where Paul preached were filled with slaves performing a dazzling array of tasks; Corinth in particular had an enormous slave population. There is every reason to believe Paul was familiar with the conditions of slaves and the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman slave laws that governed their lives. Paul may have been served by domestic slaves in some of the communities he visited. Thus, predictably, Paul was not concerned about bringing or promising material freedom to the slave. "Every one should remain in the state in which he was called," he tells Corinth. "Were you a slave when called? Never mind" (1 Cor 7:21, [ARV]).

Paul's views thus echo the Stoic stress on the internal equality of all human beings. Stoics viewed internal slavery, or slavery of the SOUL or mind, as true slavery to be avoided. Stoic thought thus diminished external or physical enslavement and argued that all men are equal regardless of social status and, as such, are equally capable of attaining internal freedom. The result of such thinking was a critical distinction between legal or conventional slavery and moral slavery. There is great overlap between the ancient and early Christian views on slavery, and one could conclude that the Cynic, and especially Stoic, views together with Christian THEOLOGY loosened slavery's grasp on society.

Hebrew views of slavery located in the Old Testament also influenced early Christian thinking on slavery. Whereas the Stoics clearly had a negative view of slavery, Christians incorporated the apparently positive conceptions of slavery found in the Old Testament. Paul, following a tradition drawing upon MOSES and other Hebrew patriarchs, considered being a "slave of God" a mark of esteem. Moses used the same term (*ebed*) to mark ISRAEL's enslavement to EGYPT and their relationship of bondage to YAHWEH, thereby imbuing slavery with a religious significance (Davis 1966). The combination of Stoic internalization and Hebrew JUSTIFICATION produced a striking ambivalence toward slavery in early and later Christian thought, but again an ambivalence explained in part by the paradox of slavery itself. Very few Christians regarded slavery as fundamentally contrary to God's plan for humanity and, for much of Christian history, many statements on slavery were restricted to behavioral admonitions on the mutual duties of slaves and masters as in AUGUSTINE's *Enarrationes in Psalmos 124.7*, "And what does the apostle [Paul] say when he teaches that slaves are set under their masters? 'Slaves be obedient to those who are your earthly masters.' For the Master is according to the Spirit. He is the true and eternal master; they are temporary and of finite time."

Peter Garnsey (1996) makes a compelling case for ideological continuity from the ancient to the Christian

period. Christian theologians inherited Greek and Hebrew views on slavery and continued to work within philosophical positions tracing back to PLATO and Aristotle. In particular, they struggled with the theory of natural slavery found in Aristotle. So, for instance, Basil writes in *On the Holy Spirit*, "Did they not realize that even among men, no one is a slave by nature?" (Garnsey 1996, p. 45). Augustine echoes this in *The City of God* 19.15, "But by nature, as God first created us, no one is the slave either of man or of sin." Yet, while they struggled against the notion of man as naturally a slave, Hebrew and Pauline theology combined with Stoic moralizing suggested instead the aptness of slavery as a punishment for human sinfulness. The sole social institution permitted by law (as in Justinian's *Institutes*) and recognized as contrary to human nature Augustine accounted for by ORIGINAL SIN. Enslavement to God and enslavement to SIN became powerful metaphors that resonated throughout the West's entanglement with slavery.

Slavery in the Middle Ages. From the end of the Patristic Era until the beginning of the Early Modern period, slavery in Europe waned. The decline of the Roman Empire resulted in a mutation and eventual decline of imperial slavery. The legions of slaves toiling on Sicilian plantations and employed or required by the empire were replaced by a fragmented system featuring the emergence of the *colonus*, or "freed man," attached to an estate. As Marc Bloch writes, *coloni* were by law attached (or enslaved) to the land and not a person, a distinction that "became meaningless in an age too realistic not to reduce all social relationships to an exchange of obedience and protection between beings of flesh and blood" (Bloch 1964, vol. 1, p. 257). Between the ninth and twelfth centuries, however, slaves did remain and continue to perform vital functions. As FEUDALISM grew, the number of slaves declined, and the laws regulating slavery were adjusted accordingly. Though their freedom was restricted in important ways, in particular by being attached to the land, serfs enjoyed more freedoms than did slaves and certainly had more recognition before the law as, throughout the Middle Ages, the gulf between the free man and slave lessened (Bloch 1964, vol. 2).

By the eleventh century, whole parts of Europe, particularly in the north, were completely or nearly completely free of slaves. Slaves were baptized, there was some intermarriage (between free men and slave women or girls), and slaves were allowed even to enter churches. In Spain, in France, in central and north Italy, and in England, slavery was in significant retreat. Such was not the case in Southern Europe surrounding the Mediterranean, however. There slavery remained, in no small part due to the convergence of a vast international trading network and constant contact with ISLAM, where slavery remained vital. War with Islam and the enslavement of prisoners of war was the rule of the day. For instance, the Moors enslaved many Christians in Spain after their conquest.

At some point in the early Middle Ages, slavery shifted from a non-ethnic and non-racial institution to one bearing ethnic or racial connotations. The English word *slave* derives not from the Roman term *servus*, which gives to English the words *servant* and *serf*, but instead from the Latin *sclavus*, a term connoting a person of Slavic descent. The terminological shift from a word indicating a relationship to one indicating ethnicity coincides roughly with the emergence of a thriving Mediterranean slave trade beginning in the early thirteenth century. The trade of thousands of "Slavs" imported from the East and brought to Mediterranean markets bore all the characteristics of chattel slavery in Rome and foreshadowed the later transportation and sale of African slaves in the Americas. This trade overlapped with the semi-freedom of the landed European serf, who unlike his Slavic counterpart, enjoyed real recognition before the law.

The Rise of the Slave Trade in the Americas. As slavery declined on the European continent, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a Mediterranean-based slave trade blossomed, which eventually expanded into Africa and the newly discovered Americas. In Spain and Portugal, the continued engagement with Islam influenced developments in slavery; in particular, with the Reconquest (*Reconquista*) important questions surfaced about the permissibility of enslaving fellow believers and nonbelievers. By the celebrated *Siete Partidas* ("Seven Part" laws compiled during the reign of the Castilian king, Alphonso X) of the thirteenth century, slavery was called the "most vile and most wretched thing," (*"la es la más vil y la más despreciada cosa*," *Las Siete Partidas*, part IV, title V; Burns 2001, vol. 4, p. 901) and yet still was permitted as a consequence of human sin and the need for social order. The *Partidas* thus lamented slavery and yet allowed even Christians to be slaves. They permitted slavery under conditions specified by just titles, including enslavement of INFIDEL prisoners of war, children of slaves, and those who voluntarily sold themselves into slavery.

The slave trade found a source of renewed vigor in increased trade along the north and west African coasts, beginning at the Canaries and Madeiras in the early fifteenth century and moving farther into Africa proper. According to Hugh Thomas and Robin Blackburn in 1997, this trade increased the flow of slaves throughout the Mediterranean as Christian traders exploited trade routes established by their Muslim predecessors (Thomas 1997; Blackburn 1997). Muslim and Portuguese and Spanish Christian traders had been moving slaves back

and forth for years, but as Portuguese and Spanish explorers moved farther and farther into the African continent, the numbers of enslaved Africans grew and became financially beneficial to the growth of exploration. African slaves worked burgeoning sugar plantations on the Madeiras, setting a model for future slave use in the Americas. The slave trade continued and expanded in spite of early papal condemnations, including *Sicut didum* issued by Pope Eugenius IV in 1435. By the end of the fifteenth century, the slave markets in Portugal and Spain were among the largest in Europe, although both David Davis and Anthony Pagden indicate that most slaves were not shipped to the Americas until the middle of the sixteenth century (Davis 2006, p. 96; Pagden 1982).

In 1493 a bull promulgated by Pope Alexander VI granted to Spain the bulk of the New World for the expressed purpose of spreading the Christian faith. The trade of African slaves spread along with Christian expansion throughout the newly discovered Americas. First the Spanish enslaved the indigenous population, but later imported African slaves to help colonize and settle the New World. Shortly after the arrival and settling in the Americas of Spanish and Portuguese explorers, the number of natives declined to the point where enslaved African labor was required. African slaves were more desirable workers, as the native populations proved unreliable, prone to flight, and vulnerable to disease. In addition, the connection of the expansion into the Americas to a specific missionary goal raised the question of enslaving the indigenous population: Could natives be enslaved and saved, or would their possible entry into the Church undermine their possible enslavement?

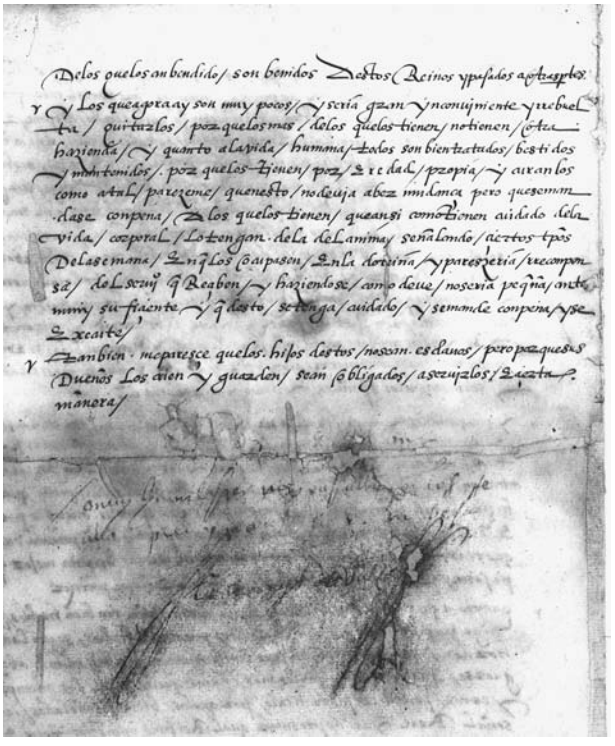
Great Spanish theologians took up these important questions in a way that did not apply to Africans. Francisco de VITORIA and Bartolomé de LAS CASAS were among the theologians who addressed questions concerning the right of the Spanish to despoil and enslave the local population, though Vitoria engaged the question in the context of university lectures and Las Casas engaged it in argument with the Aristotelian humanist Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. In his most extended commentary on the "problem" of the Indians, *De indis* (published in 1557, eleven years after his death), Vitoria argued that the question of the Indians' claims to their land and property turned on a more fundamental and theological question about their status as men (Pagden 1982). Despite reports to the contrary, Vitoria, utilizing a subtle Aristotelian analysis, concluded the existence of cities, of social institutions, of arts, of tools, and so on established beyond doubt that the Indians are men (*sunt illi homines*) and as such had legitimate *dominium*, the right to use and dispose of property at will (Pagden 1982, p. 68).

The debate about the Indians' claims to *dominium* reached its height in 1550, when King Charles V of Spain called a junta at Valladolid to discuss the justice of Spanish force against the Indians. The humanist Sepúlveda drew on Aristotle's theory of natural slavery to buttress Spain's claims. He argued the Indians were barbarians and used examples of Indian atrocities as evidence. As barbarians, he claimed, they were not ruled by reason, but nature, and as such were "natural slaves." As he had earlier, the Dominican Bartolome Las Casas vigorously rejected this argument. He drew on his earlier work, *The Devastation of the Indies* (1539) to show the brutality and cruelty of Spanish colonizing behavior. He developed his argument that the Indians, though culturally behind the Spanish in certain respects, were nonetheless fully rational beings and not natural slaves. Further, he boldly rejected the jurisdictional claims of the Pope and the Crown: Neither, Las Casas argued, could claim jurisdiction over the Indians. The Indians were pagans, not heretics. The Spanish Crown and the PAPACY eventually condemned the Indians' enslavement, providing a critical justification for advancing and expanding the African slave trade (Pagden 1982, pp. 119–145).

By 1820 nearly 8.7 million African slaves had been brought to the New World, comprising close to 80 percent of the people who sailed to the Americas (Davis 2006, p. 80). Another 2 million African slaves were imported between 1820 and 1880, despite the nearly universal condemnation of the slave trade.

Slavery thus sank deep roots into the economy and culture of the Americas at the same time as moral outrage at the slave trade rose. Sugar production was one of the initial incentives drawing great numbers of African slaves west. The Portuguese set up sugar plantations in the Caribbean and Brazil similar to those in the Madeiras and elsewhere off the African coast. Eventually, tobacco, coffee, and chocolate production blossomed as Europe consumed these luxuries as quickly as they could be produced and sold.

Though the introduction of African slaves into North America occurred later than in the Caribbean and South America, African slaves could be found from New England all the way south through the U.S. colonies. The New England colonies never required slaves in the same numbers as the Southern colonies, and they got a late start compared to their Portuguese and Spanish counterparts. Small numbers of slaves were reported throughout New England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As late as 1649, Virginia reported only 300 slaves with an annual import of about twenty slaves (Thomas 1997, p. 207). Indentured white laborers did most of the work on tobacco plantations in Virginia and elsewhere in the United States. Despite reservations against slavery similar to those expressed by



Decline of Slavery in Europe. *This letter to King Charles V of Spain, 1542, from Hernando Cortez, advises putting natives of the colonies under the protection of the Crown to prevent their enslavement.* **THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS**

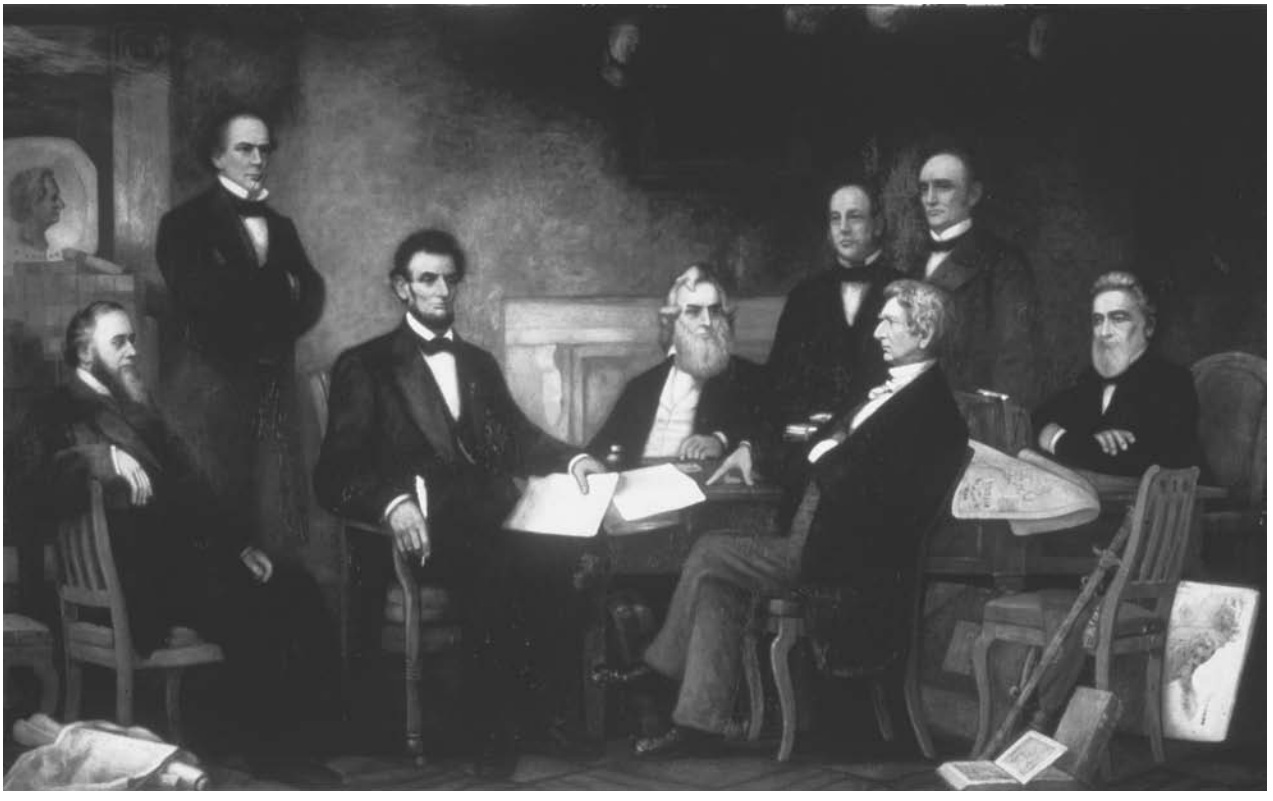
the Spanish Crown and the papacy, slavery blossomed in the South, and by 1775 "two out of every five Virginians was a black slave" (Davis 2006, p. 125). In 1688 Dutch Quakers issued a statement condemning Quaker participation in slavery, and Davis observes that "no British founders of North American colonies, except for South Carolina, intended to create slave societies" (Davis 2006, p. 126).

The initial ambivalence toward slavery in North America that was rooted in the contradiction built into the heart of slavery and stretched through the reluctant, if tight, embrace of slavery throughout Western history eventually succumbed to the unique Southern justification of slavery as a "positive good." The growth of "pro-slavery" arguments in the nineteenth century signaled an enormous change in the understanding of slavery occurring at the time. Previously, seemingly written into the social order and explicitly permitted by traditional readings of Christian Scripture, slavery required little justification. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, economic, political, and religious forces were converging to raise deep questions about slavery. Southern thinkers such as James Henry Hammond (1807–1864) and John C. Calhoun (1782–1850) argued that slavery was good for the slave and for society. Liberty required the stabilization provided by slavery; in addition, many compared the benevolent treatment of slaves favorably with the mistreatment of the free poor laborers in the North. To these rationales were added the evangelical mission of Southern masters and mistresses: God instructed them through Scripture to bear the burdens and obligations of caring for and saving the inferior Negro race.

Slavery and Abolition. Despite apparent economic disadvantages, in the early nineteenth century, Britain began emancipating its slaves and—with its naval power—pressuring France, Spain, and Portugal to cease their profitable slave trade (Davis 2006). Abolitionists including Granville Sharp (1735–1813), Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846), William WILBERFORCE, and James Ramsay (1733–1789) brought the question of British involvement in slavery before Parliament. In 1833 Parliament approved a bill emancipating some 800,000 British colonial slaves and compensating their former owners with twenty million pounds sterling. The enormity of the slave trade provoked papal condemnation. In 1839 Pope GREGORY XVI issued the apostolic letter, *In supremo apostolatus fastiggio*, in which he condemned the "inhuman" slave trade. In 1888 Pope LEO XIII issued the ENCYCLICAL *In plurimis*, in which he drew upon earlier papal condemnations of slavery and extended the argument to condemn explicitly as counter to God's original intention the *dominium* of some men over fellow men.

The abolitionist movement in the United States struggled in ways its British counterpart did not, and for obvious reasons. The deep cultural presence of slavery ripped apart families, Protestant churches, and eventually the nation. Politics, economics, and religion entangled themselves over slavery. Northerners and Southerners alike had difficulty divorcing the three as they sought clarity on the question of human bondage as Eliazbeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene Genovese explained (2005, pp. 69–87). The American abolition movement was characterized by a volatility personified by abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison (1838–1909) and not seen in its British analogue. The radicalism and divisiveness of Northern abolition provoked Southern entrenchment and hostility. Southern defenders of slavery and Northern abolitionists careened toward a fateful collision as each found in their position increasing evidence of national and even universal human SALVATION. In the United States, war became necessary to end slavery, and some 600,000 lives were sacrificed to the emancipation of slaves.

The rapid collapse of slavery in the nineteenth century astounds. All of recorded history attests to the existence of slavery and the slave trade. Not until the late eighteenth century did significant opposition to



The Emancipation Proclamation. *Abraham Lincoln (left, center) at the first reading of the Emancipation Proclamation.* **MPI/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES**

slavery appear. By 1888 a deeply entrenched and economically profitable social institution from which history seemed to know no respite collapsed beneath the weight of moral outrage and war. Slavery, that awful social contradiction, became the occasion for one of the genuine instances of an awe-inspiring social transformation. While the disappearance of slavery is a real triumph of moral progress, vestiges of the long human relationship with bondage remain, particularly in the United States were slavery aligned with racial theories about black inferiority. In addition, the disappearance of slavery did not take with it the human tendency to seek to dominate those deemed inferior. That tendency channels itself into new forms of social domination including the emergent phenomenon of sexual enslavement of young men and women.

SEE ALSO Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor; Cynics; Dominicans; Hebrews; Humanism; Middle Ages, The; Mission and Missions; Pagan; Patriarchs, Biblical; Paul, Apostle, St.; Reason, Use of; Stoicism; Tradition (in the Bible).

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SMALDONE, FILIPPO MARIANO, ST.

Priest, cofounder of the Congregation of the Salesian Sisters of the Sacred Hearts (Congregazione delle Suore Salesiane dei Sacri Cuori), "Apostle of Our Lady of Pompeii"; b. Naples, Sicily, Italy, July 27, 1848; d. Lecce, Apulia, Italy, June 4, 1923; beatified May 12, 1996, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized October 15, 2006, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

The eldest of the seven children of Antonio Smaldone and Maria Concetta de Luca, Filippo Smaldone had decided by age twelve to become a priest, despite the persecution the Church was experiencing. He entered the minor seminary in Rossano Calabria in 1862. His specific apostolate was determined while he was still a philosophy and theology student following an encounter with the mother of a deaf-mute child in St. Catherine's Church in Naples. From that time, he evangelized and taught deaf-mutes. Overcoming some academic difficulties that required his transfer to the Archdiocese of Naples, Smaldone was ordained on September 23, 1871.

While ministering to plague victims, Smaldone contracted the disease but was miraculously healed through the INTERCESSION of Our Lady of Pompeii, to whom he would maintain a special lifelong devotion. Frustrated by his inability to help deaf-mutes sufficiently, Smaldone considered undertaking a foreign mission; however, his spiritual director convinced him to recommit himself to his apostolate in Naples. On March 25, 1885, Smaldone cofounded an institute in Lecce with Fr. Lorenzo Apicella and some specially trained Grey Sisters, who became Salesian Sisters of the Sacred Hearts dedicated to the education of deaf-mutes. Other institutes followed for deaf-mutes in Bari (1897), Rome, and throughout Italy, as well as centers for the blind, abandoned, and orphaned. One of Smaldone's favorite sayings in his ministry was that "the Lord sends us trials and tribulations to settle our debt to him."

Smaldone's love for the Blessed Sacrament was demonstrated by his founding the Eucharistic League of Priest Adorers and Women Adorers. In addition to his charitable activities and spiritual direction of many priests, seminarians, and religious communities, Smaldone served as superior for the Congregation of the Missionaries of St. FRANCIS DE SALES and canon of the Lecce cathedral.

Smaldone lived during a time of political and social unrest in Italy, and had difficulties in his ministry with the local municipal court. In spite of this tension, which called for an apostolic visit from the HOLY SEE, Smaldone received a commendation for his work from civil authorities. He died at age seventy-five of cardiac complications from diabetes, and was declared VENERABLE on July 11, 1995. He passed away in Lecce in the presence of the Salesian Sisters and many of the needy with whom he worked throughout his life.

Pope John Paul II remarked at his BEATIFICATION on May 12, 1996, that Smaldone's "intense, unwavering priestly spirituality, nourished by prayer, meditation, and even bodily penance, spurred him to provide a social service open to those advanced insights which true pastoral charity can inspire." Smaldone was canonized by Pope Benedict XVI on October 15, 2006. During the canonization HOMILY, the Holy Father noted that the saint "saw the image of God reflected in deaf-mutes, and he used to repeat that, just as we prostrate before the Blessed Sacrament, so we should kneel before a deaf-mute." According to the pontiff, "from his example we welcome the invitation to consider the ever indivisible love for the Eucharist and love for one's neighbor."

Feast: June 4.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SAINTS AND BLESSEDS.

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SOCIETY FOR CATHOLIC LITURGY

The Society for Catholic Liturgy is a nonprofit organization founded in 1995 by Monsignor M. Francis Mannion (founder of the Liturgical Institute at the University of St. Mary of the Lake, currently a priest in Salt Lake City, Utah), for the purpose of promoting scholarly study and practical renewal of the liturgy of the Catholic Church in the English-speaking world. Members include scholars and professionals involved in all aspects of the liturgical life of the Church.

Six general principles guide the work of the society:

1. Belief that the primary purpose of the sacred liturgy is to worship God, who continues the work of redemption and sanctification through the sacred mysteries of Christ handed down to us in and through the Catholic Church;
2. Respect for Catholic liturgy in all approved rites and usages from the apostolic period (first and second centuries) to the present day;
3. Desire to support the faithful celebration of the sacred liturgy according to the Roman Rite and to promote a better understanding of its origin, development, and current state;
4. Conviction that the sacred liturgy's incarnational nature and central role in shaping Catholic culture requires fostering the beauty and fittingness of music, art, architecture, language, and other elements integral to the spiritual profundity and ceremonial dignity of the rites;
5. Determination to foster interdisciplinary liturgical study and practice according to rigorous scholarly and professional standards; and
6. Commitment to the virtues of prudence, patience, and charity.

The society hosts an annual three-day conference at the end of January that serves as a center of liturgical reflection and discussion to the benefit of the whole Church. The conference consists of two tracks of presentations, one consisting of academic papers from scholars and professionals in the various fields from which the society membership is drawn, the other of pastoral presentations for clergy, diocesan employees, and parish staff engaged in the liturgical life of the Church. Keynote and plenary sessions are held in common. The conference is open to both members and nonmembers of the society.

Academic papers presented at the annual conference are considered for publication in the society's internationally recognized, peer-reviewed academic journal, *Antiphon: A Journal for Liturgical Renewal*, which deals with significant theoretical and practical questions in the fields of liturgy theology and sacramental theology. *Antiphon* is published three times annually by the SOCIETY FOR CATHOLIC LITURGY and serves both the members of the society and the Catholic Church in anglophone countries.

The Society for Catholic Liturgy works with other groups and institutions in activities and programs consistent with the aims of the society, and members make themselves available for consultation with ecclesiastical leadership on liturgical matters, if requested. The society also maintains a Web site, which serves as a resource for the liturgical renewal.

The society draws its membership from an array of constituencies, including those involved in areas of theology and related fields (such as liturgy, biblical studies, patristics, pastoral theology, and Church history), the social sciences, sacred architecture, sacred art, and sacred music. Full members come from the academic ranks, while associate members are active in some form of liturgical work. All members must meet the membership criteria, which include: being a member of the Catholic Church (Roman or Eastern Rite); sharing a fundamental sympathy with the general principles that guide the work of the society; possessing the ability to participate in the activities of the society in a prudent, charitable, and constructive manner; and bringing a substantive contribution to the work of the society. In addition, full members must possess a strong academic expertise, usually in the form of a terminal academic degree, in an area relevant to the Church's liturgical life, coupled with an ability to make practical applications, or a strong practical, pastoral, or professional expertise in an area

relevant to the Church's liturgical life, coupled with an ability to articulate that expertise theoretically. Bishops who seek membership are admitted as honorary members of the society.

The society is governed by a board of directors elected by full members. The board consists of twelve members with rotating three-year terms. A president, vice president, and general secretary are elected annually by the board.

SEE ALSO LITURGICAL ART, HISTORY OF; LITURGICAL BOOKS OF THE ROMAN RITE; LITURGICAL CALENDAR, I: CATHOLIC; LITURGICAL CALENDAR, II: ECUMENICAL; LITURGICAL HISTORY; LITURGICAL MOVEMENT, I: CATHOLIC; LITURGICAL MOVEMENT, II: ANGLICAN AND PROTESTANT; LITURGICAL MOVEMENT, III: ECUMENICAL CONVERGENCES; LITURGY.

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SOCIETY OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

The Society of Catholic Social Scientists (SCSS) is an organization of Catholic scholars, professors, teachers, and practitioners committed to building up the social science disciplines on the foundation of the Church's social and other teachings. It also seeks to make Catholic social teaching better known in the academic world, the social science professions, and in society at large, and to provide the opportunity for scholarly camaraderie and the exchange of ideas among its members. The SCSS was founded in 1992 by the sociologist Joseph A. Varacalli and the political scientist and lawyer Stephen M. Krason, and it is perhaps the only interdisciplinary organization of Catholic social scientists in the United States and Canada that is firmly committed to the orthodox teaching of the Church. Its members view themselves as resuming the previous scholarly efforts of Catholic social science organizations in the United States, which either disbanded or became overtly secular after VATICAN COUNCIL II. In particular, they want to help to build up the Catholic social science that Pope PIUS XI called for in the encyclical *Quadragesimo anno* (1931).

The organization was part of the Catholic Central Union of America in its earliest years, before it was independently incorporated in 1995. Since its inception, its headquarters has been at Franciscan University of Steubenville in Steubenville, Ohio. The Society's formation and development have coincided with the Church's enhanced recognition of the importance of the social sciences, as seen in Pope JOHN PAUL II's establishment of the Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences. Most of its membership of over 400 (including many prominent Catholic scholars) is in the United States, but there are also members in Canada, Europe, the Philippines, and other countries. There are several local and regional chapters, as well as some disciplinary-specific subgroupings. Membership is mostly made up of laymen, but it also includes priests and religious. The disciplines most frequently represented in the society are economics and business, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology and counseling, psychiatry, sociology, social work, and theology. There is an advisory board of eminent Catholic scholars and a Bishops Board that provides ecclesiastical support and advice.

Following the social encyclicals, the SCSS is careful to stress that it welcomes all socio-politico-economic perspectives and schools of thought in the different disciplines that are within the ambit of the orthodox teaching of the Church. To some degree, it has sought to give particular attention to the work of outstanding past Catholic social scientists, such as the sociologist Monsignor Paul Hanley Furfey, the sociologist and historian Christopher Dawson, the economist Heinrich Pesch, SJ, the psychologist and psychiatrist Dom Thomas Verner Moore, and others who have sought to develop a way of thinking about society that is truly informed by a Catholic vision.

The society promotes research and has scholarly conferences each year, including the organization's main conference in October of each year that features presentations in many scholarly areas, as well as a smaller one focused on a particular topic in the spring. The SCSS publishes the annual *Catholic Social Science Review*, which averages about 350 pages and is probably the only interdisciplinary social science journal committed to the orthodox teaching of the Church in the United States or Canada. Other occasional publications include the two-volume *Encyclopedia of Catholic Social Thought, Social Science, and Social Policy* (2007) and *Defending the Family: A Sourcebook*, which examines many current family issues and makes a social science defense of the traditional family. The society also maintains a Web page and a Listserv for communication among its members. The "Public and Church Affairs" section of

the Web site features short articles by SCSS members about current public and Church questions, and back-issues of the *Catholic Social Science Review* are also available. In addition, the society issues periodic statements assessing public issues from the perspective of Catholic social teaching and addressing crucial issues in the Church.

The SCSS sponsors the Pope Pius XI Award for contributions to building up Catholic social science, the Blessed Frederic Ozanam Award for Catholic Social Action, and other occasional awards for outstanding contributions to Catholic higher education and the Church in general. A for-credit Summer Catholic Social Thought Institute helps professors and graduate students in the social sciences put their disciplines into a Catholic context.

Part of the Society's mission is to bring the Church's social teaching to bear on international questions through its status as a nongovernmental organization (NGO) within the United Nations (UN). In this capacity, it has assisted in providing practicum opportunities for college students to take part in important UN conferences involving NGOs and to work with the Holy See's UN delegation.

The Society has sought to give particular attention to family questions. Among its noteworthy special projects have been the filing of *amicus curiae* briefs in *Troxel v. Granville* (2000), a major parental rights case argued before the U.S. Supreme Court, and *Morrison v. Sadler* (2003), an Indiana Court of Appeals case regarding homosexual "marriage." In addition, the SCSS issued a statement in 1995 criticizing the "homosexual ministries" that have been established in certain dioceses and seek to promote a "gay spirituality," and it sponsored a 2004 luncheon-seminar for Congressional staffers on family issues. It has also launched a Master of Theology program in Catholic social thought, via tutorial and online studies, through the Graduate Theological Foundation.

Virtually all of the SCSS's accomplishments have come about through the voluntary efforts of its members and with the assistance of supportive institutions such as Franciscan University of Steubenville and Ave Maria School of Law. It employs no regular staff and financially sustains itself primarily on modest member dues.

SEE ALSO CATHOLIC LEAGUE; FELLOWSHIP OF CATHOLIC SCHOLARS.

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SOLÁ Y MOLIST, ANDRÉS, BL.

Priest, religious; b. Taradell, Spain, October 7, 1895; d. martyred near Lagos de Oreno, Mexico, April 25, 1927; beatified November 20, 2005, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Andrés Solá y Molist was born on October 7, 1895, in Taradell, Spain, about 40 miles north of Barcelona. On August 15, 1913, he took vows as a member of the Congregation of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (the CLARETIANS). In September 1922 he was ordained a priest, and he was sent the following year to Mexico as a missionary priest.

At first, Fr. Solá y Molist served as a professor at the minor seminary of the Claretian Missionaries in the city of Toluca, about 40 miles west of Mexico City. However, by 1925 he had to continue his ministry in secret for fear of the anti-Catholic and anticlerical measures taken under the presidency of Plutarco Elías Calles (1877–1945), which included the expulsion of all religious from the country. Rather than leave the country, Fr. Solá y Molist hid in the home of Josefina and Jovita Alba in León.

Two years later, on April 23, 1927, the superior of Fr. Solá y Molist's community notified him that the government had issued a warrant for his arrest. The following day, after celebrating the Eucharist and observing a HOLY HOUR, he was arrested by military forces at the home of the Alba sisters after confirming that he was a religious priest. Thence, he was moved to the military commisary near Lagos de Oreno, where he was shot on April 25, 1927.

The cause for the BEATIFICATION of Fr. Solá y Molist was opened in 1939, along with that of several other Mexican martyrs. The decree on their martyrdom did not appear, however, until June 22, 2004. They were beatified by Pope Benedict XVI on November 20, 2005, the Feast of Christ the King, in Guadalajara, Mexico. At the Mass for their beatification, José Cardinal Saraiva Martins emphasized in his HOMILY their willingness to testify to the universal kingship of Christ, and, in rela-

tion to the priests who numbered among the martyrs, he noted:

> This new group of martyrs includes three priests, who died in order to accomplish their priestly and missionary ministry heroically, as was the case with the Spanish Claretian missionary, Andrés Solá y Molist, C.M.F., who died after a long and painful agony, together with Fr. José Trinidad RANGEL and the layman Leonardo PÉREZ Larios.... Having followed the example of Jesus Christ, the Good Shepherd, these priests, together with the 22 Mexican priests canonized by Pope John Paul II in Rome during the Great Jubilee of the Incarnation in the year 2000, are a model and example of charity and heroic pastoral zeal (author's translation).

Feast: April 25.

SEE ALSO MEXICO (MODERN), THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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SONS OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE

(*Filiorum Divinae Providentiae*, FDP; Official Catholic Directory #0410) This congregation of priests, with papal approbation (1944 and 1954), was founded by St. Luigi ORIONE (canonized Pope John Paul II on May 16, 2004) in 1903. It is one of five communities that comprise Orione's Little Work of Divine Providence; there are communities of priests, brothers, hermits, and two of sisters (the LITTLE MISSIONARY SISTERS OF CHARITY, and the Perpetual Adorers of the Blessed Sacrament; the members of the latter group are blind persons). Orione began his apostolate as a seminarian at Tortona, Italy, in 1892, and after ordination he established a series of oratories for the care and education of neglected boys. The bishop of Tortona gave initial approval to Orione and his companions on March 21, 1903, under the name Sons of Divine Providence. The first foundation in the United States was established at Boston, Massachusetts, in 1949. In 1959, the congregation began publishing a quarterly magazine called *The Bridge* aimed at promoting awareness of St. Orione and his work. As of 2009, the congregation had over a thousand priests and brothers working on a variety of health and social care projects in thirty-two countries. The generalate is in Rome.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMAN).

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SOPOĆKO, MICHAŁ, BL.

Priest, founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Merciful Jesus; b. Nowosady, Poland, November 1, 1888; d. Białystok, Poland, February 15, 1975; beatified September 28, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Michał Sopoćko was born in Nowosady, Poland, a town near the present-day border with Lithuania, to a family of noble lineage. When he was eighteen, he sensed a calling to the priesthood. Accordingly, he traveled to Vilnius (also in present-day Lithuania) to enter the major seminary there, and was ordained a priest on June 15, 1914.

Fr. Sopoćko's first pastoral assignment was the parish of St. Michael the Archangel in Taboryszki (present-day Tabariškės, Lithuania). However, WORLD WAR I (1914–1918) saw fighting pass through Taboryszki, and, facing the threat of arrest by German authorities, Fr. Sopoćko moved to Warsaw and became a military chaplain for the Polish army in 1918.

Alongside the military chaplaincy, Fr. Sopoćko provided aid for needy families and founded a school for orphaned children. He also earned a doctorate in theology from the University of Warsaw, graduating in 1923. Following this achievement, he returned to Vilnius as the coordinator of the regional military chaplaincies until 1927, where Archbishop Romuald Jałbrzykowski (1876–1955) appointed him the spiritual director of the major seminary of Vilnius.

In addition to his duties at the major seminary, Fr. Sopoćko served as a CONFESSOR for several religious communities. One of his penitents was St. Faustina KOWALSKA. As her confessor, he evaluated her mystical experiences and advised her to write of them in her diary. He also joined with Faustina in promoting devotion to divine MERCY.

During WORLD WAR II (1939–1945), Fr. Sopoćko remained in Vilnius. Following the instructions of St. Faustina, who had died in 1938, he founded the Congregation of the Sisters of the Merciful Jesus in order to spread devotion to DIVINE MERCY. The life of this new congregation was interrupted, however, by the need for Fr. Sopoćko to go into hiding to evade the Nazi authorities, who were seeking his arrest.

After the war's end, the Russian authorities closed down the major seminary in Vilnius, and Fr. Sopoćko moved to Białystok to take up a position at the archiocesan seminary there. In 1962 he retired from his teaching duties and continued to spread devotion to Divine Mercy. He died on February 15, 1975, in his apartment in Białystok.

Fr. Sopoćko was beatified by Pope Benedict XVI on September 28, 2008. The Mass for his BEATIFICATION was held at the Church of Divine Mercy in Białystok. In his HOMILY at the Mass, Archbishop Angelo Amato, S.D.B., Prefect of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, emphasized Bl. Sopoćko's devotion to Divine Mercy, as well as the need for mercy according to one's state in life and the importance of the Sacrament of Penance in obtaining Divine Mercy.

Feast: February 15.

SEE ALSO POLAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939)

Economic growth and social change in Spain during the 1920s was among the most rapid in the world. Industry and finance expanded rapidly, but low wages, limited productivity, and the poor living conditions of four million urban workers were serious problems. Literacy increased rapidly, and the number of agrarian workers diminished to less than 50 percent of the total labor force. The Spanish economy was recovering from the Great Depression proportionally faster than that of the United States or France. Although marred by somewhat of a forced electoral birth, the founding of a democratic republic in Spain on April 14, 1931, was part of a broad wave of political liberalization in Europe after WORLD WAR I. Initially the new government enjoyed the optimism of citizens with high-minded ideals, who believed it could resolve the pressing socioeconomic problems of the country; but as it turned out, the 1930s was not a decade that favored the success of new democracies in Europe. Shortly after the proclamation of the Second Republic on May 10, 1931, many churches and convents in Madrid, Málaga, and Valencia were destroyed by mobs. The new Republican government did nothing to stop the anticlerical abuses or to punish the guilty.

The Antireligious Constitution of the Early Republic (1931–1936). In December 1931 a new constitution was bulldozed through a legislature that was neither based on broad national consensus nor genuinely

representative. It was, rather, the creation of one significant sector of political society, which imposed its political ideas on others who did not share its values. The sectarian rhetoric and procedures of the leftist Republican-Socialist coalition that approved the constitution was evident vengeance against religious interests that were deemed to be irrevocably linked to the old monarchy and authoritarian regime. The new constitution separated Church and State; moreover, it infringed on the civil rights of Catholics and instituted a policy of religious persecution that imitated the earlier extremist policies of Portugal and Mexico, even though the former had already ended in failure and the latter were evolving into an uneasy truce. Divorce was legalized, civil marriage was required for state recognition, and cemeteries were secularized. The Cardinal Primate of Toledo was expelled for manifesting yearnings for a monarchical government. In 1932 the Jesuit Order was suppressed. In 1933 new laws deprived the religious orders of the rights to teach and to own property. The state confiscated all Church goods. Intransigent anticlerical fanaticism grew in power and outspokenness.

The Spanish Catholic Church, as well as the Roman Pontiff, did not disown or attack the new political regime, which nonetheless attacked them officially by means of the constitution and unofficially through its provocations, rhetoric, and violence. Virtually all the bishops, as well as the apostolic nuncio, tried to accommodate as best they could in the new situation, doing what they could to promote the nation's common good. In his June 3, 1933, encyclical letter *Dilecctisima nobis*, Pope PIUS XI described the Spanish situation as outright "persecution" of the Catholic Church.

The Catholic Church was still the most important and trusted institution in the country, and the overwhelming majority of Spaniards were baptized Catholics. Most hospitals, schools, orphanages, and elderly homes were still run by the Church. But many among the intellectual and cultural elite and the political leftist parties, not to mention prominent military leaders, had fallen away from the faith. Most had become Freemasons, who had already been actively hostile to the Church since the late eighteenth century. But the most serious pastoral problem for the Church was the increasingly aggressive antireligious conviction of many of the leaders of the proletariat and landless farmers. Social Catholicism had been growing in the country, but not at a pace that could stem the tide of antireligious unions and workers' parties. Stanley G. Payne, a leading authority in the history of European facism and well-known scholar of Spanish history, indicates that they did not represent the majority of Spaniards, who were generally moderate voters, and that they were making demands that could not have been met by any country in the world at the time (p. 342). They were committed to a fractious, leftist, revolutionary, radical, liberal, impatient, and utopian rush toward a profound break with the traditionalist bent of most practicing Catholics. Already in 1932 a radical weekly newspaper called *La Traca* depicted the clergy facing a guillotine, because they were all "evil rubbish which wants to make the Republic a failure." Many radicalized supporters of the Republic fostered the attitude that viewed clergy and the Church in general as the enemy. The clergy were increasingly demonized by a virulent populist anticlerical mythology.

Even though there had been four Anarchist and Socialist attempts at revolutionary insurrection between 1932 and 1934, it was only in the latter year that truly serious violence threatened to destabilize the regime. The Republican government elected in 1933 was dominated by center-right parties allied to Republican parties. The leftist parties, which had not accepted defeat at the polls, attempted a Soviet-inspired insurrection in the mining region of Asturias. In October 1934, more churches and convents were burned, and forty clerics were killed, among them some nine Christian Brothers. Many of the intellectuals who had welcomed the new Republican experiment, such as Gregorio Marañón and Salvador de Madariaga, upon seeing this "sovietization" of the political revolution, took the view that the Spanish left had lost all moral credibility and authority to govern under a system of true, democratic rule of law. Tensions between the government and the Church eased, even though the anti-Catholic constitutional and legal systems were still in force. But this was only a truce. The papacy tried to execute a *modus vivendi* with the Republic, on the condition that it reform the antireligious constitution. Catholic politicians and even some priests participated in both Republican and monarchist parties. But an understanding could not be reached.

The Ideological Persecution. On February 16, 1936, the more radical petit-bourgeois utopians under Manuel Azaña came to power, resting on the voting support of no more than 15 to 20 percent of the electorate. They relied on support of the Socialists, who were increasingly revolutionary, in order to impose more land reform policies and other egalitarian policies in their new agenda. The new government was called the *Frente Popular* (Popular Front). It did not take a serious stand against major violence toward either the right or the Church. Instead, it stood by idly and complacently as many Catholic churches in various cities around the country were the targets of arson and other forms of property destruction. The government refused to arrest and prosecute those responsible, be they Communists, Socialists, or Anarchists—the so-called Reds. It refused to enforce the law equally. Revolutionary police officers subverted security forces, much as the Nazis had done in

Germany in 1933. Political violence escalated, mostly in the geographic regions where leftists dominated, especially in the capital, the agrarian south, and the urbanized east, with political harassment and the event execution of opposition politicians. Popular militias opened the gates of prisons, encouraging convicted criminals to take up arms and join in the remaking of Spanish society. The tyranny of the left and its arbitrary government led to civil chaos and psychological terror; the government broke down. The papal nuncio complained time and again about these atrocities, profanations, and murders—to no avail. It is no wonder few Western democratic governments after the July 17 uprising came to the effective defense of the Second Republic, including anticlerical France.

The Insurrection of July 17, 1936, and the Scope of Religious Persecution in Republican Spain. The military insurrection or *levantamiento* of July 17, 1936, was not initially approved by either the Spanish bishops or the HOLY SEE. The conspirators did not share specific religious reasons to revolt, and they certainly did not consult bishops or clergymen before proceeding. The Holy See did not recognize the request of the new government, approved by the military regime, to represent all of Spain. The government established by the military junta allied itself with Benito Mussolini, and it also engaged in political extermination of many of the leftists in the territories it controlled. But the Church was respected and not attacked in the new "Nationalist" Spain.

Once the military insurrection began, an intraleftist conflict erupted in the territories under the Republican regime. Further radicalization of the Anarchist and Communist parties took the form of "popular" takeovers of various municipalities. Republican Spain also experienced a chaotic economic downturn. Historian Julio de la Cueva describes the revolutionary millenarian upheaval these terrorist factions advocated: All social divisions were formally abolished; factories were to be worker-controlled; lands were forcibly collectivized; authority was dissolved into a multitude of committees and organizations—all of this combined with an immense feeling of freedom (de la Cueva 1988, p. 364).

Early Republican propaganda tended to justify the killing of clerics as the outraged reaction of mobs acting in self-defense against priests who were shooting people. But the facts proved otherwise. The executioners acted under the protection of party or union membership cards, and those in authority did not protect clerics; the atrocities were "allowed to happen." The first victims of this genocidal terror were in fact clergymen. Killing a cleric became a sort of revolutionary obligation. Priests had to be killed because they were priests, and as such they were necessarily evil and anti-Republican; they were the epitome of all human vice and wickedness. They were the perfect scapegoats. A whole class of people had to be exterminated. Revolutionary workers were not only absolutely free but powerful, more powerful than God Himself, insofar as they were taking decisions regarding human life.

The killing of priests, friars, nuns, seminarians, and well-known Catholic laypeople began immediately after the military coup, but did not last as long as the war itself. In cities and towns throughout the country, the burning of churches and slaughtering of priests began on July 19. In most places such atrocities peaked in the first three months of the conflict, after which period they gradually declined well into 1936 (due at least in part to the facts that fewer priests were still living and that some had fled to the other side of the conflict). By May 1937 the massive killings were for the most part under control. But the bishop of Teruel was killed as late as January 1939. Throughout Loyalist Spain, about 50 percent of the murders of priests and clerics were committed during the first two months of the war.

Numbers and Circumstances of the Martyrs. All in all, 6,832 members of the Catholic clergy were massacred, including 13 bishops, 4,172 diocesan priests and seminarians, 2,364 monks and friars, and 283 nuns. In the Diocese of Barbastro up to 88 percent of the diocesan clergy was slaughtered. 66 percent of the priests in Lérida were killed; 62 percent in Tortosa; 44 pecent in Segorbe. Half of the priests of Málaga, Minorca, and Toledo were killed; 40 percent of the priests in Ciudad Real and Ibiza were murdered; a third of the priests in Almería, Córdoba, Jaén, Madrid-Alcalá, Tarragona, Valencia, and Vic fell victim to religious persecu-tion. Between a fourth and a fifth of the total number of priests in Barcelona, Cuenca, Gerona, Teruel, and Urgel were killed in the Republican side of the conflict.

The massacres were carried out in different ways and under varying circumstances. Most of the diocesan priests were individually hunted down and killed, but religious were usually rounded up in groups. Mock trials preceded some executions, but sometimes death came without any such proceedings. A vast number of victims were "taken out for a ride" and shot by the roadside. Others were hanged, drowned, suffocated, burned to death, or buried alive. Some victims were tortured, especially male clerics, with a morbid fixation on their genitalia, which were sometimes cut off. In all, it appeared to be a massacre committed by perpetrators who felt no guilt whatsoever. The frequent cruelty and macabre ritualism of the murders could legitimately be described as "satanic."

De la Cueva indicates that the sacrophobic actions which often accompanied the killings were more numerous than the murders themselves (de la Cueva 1988, p.

362). The executioners, who wielded unprecedented and unchecked power, believed they proved the impotence of the Catholic God and His saints. Many holy images were stripped, slapped, ridiculed, and processed in sacrilegious ceremonies where holy vestments were worn by profane sinners, before being hacked to pieces or tossed in bonfires. In many places on the Republican side of the Civil War that unexpectedly erupted, the word "God" was banished from common discourse and even from theatrical performances. In Catalonia the names of more than one hundred villages that had the word "Saint" attached to them were changed.

The Civil War Develops (1936–1939). Soviet Russia intervened on behalf of its political sympathizers in the Second Republic, while Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy intervened on behalf of the rightist military officers who lead the insurrection. On October 17, 1936, the official government publication *La Gaceta de Madrid* publicized the decree that all religious (i.e., Catholic) worship in Republican territory was prohibited. An officially approved policy of thoroughgoing ATHEISM was thus instituted in the Republican- or Loyalist-held territories, with the notable exception of the more religiously inclined Basque region. All traces of religion would have to be eliminated, because, as the Barcelona leftist newspaper *La Batalla* proclaimed on October 18, 1936: "religion and revolution are mutually exclusive." Religious symbols would have to disappear, beginning with crosses. The program of destruction did not spare great works of art or significant religious monuments, and, needless to say, Catholics of all states of life, including unmarried members of the Catholic Youth Organization, elderly women, young and particularly pious married men and women, and even pious gypsies. A person's unwillingness to blaspheme was reason enough to arouse suspicion that he was a counterrevolutionary. The vandalic orgy did not even spare religious cemeteries or the tombs of saints, priests, friars, and nuns. Their cadavers were disinterred and exposed for public ridicule in front of burned-out churches in Madrid, Barcelona, Toledo, and elsewhere.

On August 1936, the Holy See appealed to both sides to stop the carnage and agree to a ceasefire. Some 3,500 clergymen, not to mention thousands of Catholic laypeople, had already been killed. Only on September 14, 1936, when Pope PIUS XI received some refugees from Republican Spain, did he describe the victims of the Spanish persecution as "martyrs." But he still called for his children in Christ on the Republican side to heed his call for peace. On July 7, 1937, almost a year since the beginning of the Civil War, did the Spanish bishops issue a collective letter dismissing the Republican claims of religious impartiality. By then 6,500 clergymen had been killed on the Republican side, including twelve bishops. Catholic institutions were closed or totally destroyed in the Loyalist territories, with the exception of the Basque country. The local Catholic bishops had taken sides with the insurrectionists, which were the only ones who offered the Church respite and true freedom of worship. Yet the Holy See still maintained its diplomatic relations with Republican Spain well until 1938. Its requests for an armistice were to no avail.

The Civil War ended on April 1, 1939, when the National forces took over Madrid, Valencia, and Alicante, and the rightist authoritarian regime of Francisco FRANCO was established. Almost all the dioceses, religious orders, and congregations began assembling facts, documents, and testimonies related to the deaths of their members. Many of the dioceses and congregations began the process of BEATIFICATION by sending the necessary documents to the Holy See. The new Spanish government desired the quick and massive beatification of thousands of martyrs. Popes PIUS XII, JOHN XXIII, and PAUL VI were reluctant to proceed with haste, however, for fear the Franco regime would make political use of this religious recognition of heroic virtue. In April 1964, when the cause of a cloistered nun, who had been murdered in Valencia in October 1936, was to be considered by the Congregation of RITES, a Spanish Catalonian cardinal who was a member of the Congregation requested that Paul VI suspend the proceedings until political change took place in Spain. The pope agreed, and all Spanish causes from the Civil War period were frozen for twenty years.

Political prudence on the part of the Holy See, not just doubts about the authentic character of martyrdom, help to explain the slow pace of canonization for these victims of the Civil War period. One could ask, however, if the Church has a moral obligation to proclaim the HOLINESS of martyrs since rendering them such honors is to honor Jesus Himself, the first and foremost Martyr. The recognition of martyrdom is reserved to the Holy Church. No matter how virtuous a victim might be, if a beatification process identifies political or social reasons for the killing of a believer, that person cannot authentically be labeled a martyr. A martyr may have been a victim of political repression that was fueled by a fierce antireligious sentiment, but he must not have had any evident political preferences. He must not have been involved in political parties or movements. Also, he must have died forgiving his victimizers. The cause of death must have been, strictly speaking, *in odium fidei* (in hatred of the faith) and *in odium Ecclesiae* (in hatred of the Church).

Franco died in 1975, and Juan Carlos I Bourbon was subsequently proclaimed king. The process of political transition to a complete democracy began immediately thereafter, and culminated with a new

constitution promulgated in 1978. By 1982 the Socialists came to power after a democratic election.

SEE ALSO 498 MARTYRS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, BB.; ABAD CASASEMPERE, AMALIA, AND COMPANIONS, BB.; ALMERÍA, MARTYRS OF, BB.; ANARCHISM; ANTICLERICALISM; BARBAL COSAN, JAIME (JAMES) HILARIO, ST.; BARBASTRO, MARTYRS OF; BLANES GINER, MARINO, BL.; CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); DÍAZ GANDÍA, CARLOS, BL.; GALBIS GIRONÉS, VICENTE, BL.; FAUBEL CANO, JUAN BAUTISTA, BL.; GIMÉNEZ MALLA, CEFERINO, BL.; HOSPITALLERS OF ST. JOHN OF GOD, MARTYRS OF THE, BB.; JESUITS; JOSÉ APARICIO SANZ AND 232 COMPANIONS, MARTYRS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, BB.; MARTYR; MOTRIL, MARTYRS OF, BB.; POLANCO FONTECHA, ANSELMO, BL.; SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; TORRÓ GARCÍA, MANUEL, BL.; TURÓN, MARTYRS OF, SS.; VIRTUE, HEROIC; VISITATION SISTERS, MARTYRS OF, BB.

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SPOTO, FRANCESCO, BL.

Priest, religious, superior general of the Congregation of the Missionary Servants of the Poor; b. Raffadali, Sicily, Italy, July 8, 1924; d. martyred Rungu, Democratic Republic of the Congo, December 27, 1964; beatified April 21, 2007, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Francesco Spoto was born in Raffadali, Sicily, the first of three children of Vincenzo Spoto and Vincenza Marzullo. His parents were farmers of modest means, who educated him in Catholic faith and piety. In 1936, at the age of twelve, he entered the seminary of the Congregation of the Missionary Servants of the Poor, following a visit to Raffadali by Fr. Vitale Bruno, then vicar general of the congregation. On July 22, 1951, Spoto was ordained a priest for the congregation. Only eight years later, at the age of thirty-five, he was elected its superior general. Owing to Spoto's solicitude for vocations and for missions, the congregation grew steadily in members, as well as in missions, under his leadership.

On August 4, 1964, Spoto left Italy in order to support the congregation's first mission in Biringi in what is now the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The country was at the time being ravaged by guerrilla forces known as Simba, or Lions, who were the followers of the recently assassinated prime minister, Patrice Lumumba (1925–1961). By November, these guerrilla forces had forced Spoto and three of his confreres into hiding. In December, Spoto and his confreres fled toward the Ugandan border after guerrillas destroyed their mission. However, on the evening of December 11, 1964, guerrillas captured Spoto. Leaving the others behind, they beat Spoto severely and left him for dead. His confreres then rescued him and transported him on a makeshift stretcher to Rungu. Despite difficulty in speaking on account of the severity of his injuries, Spoto forgave his attackers and instructed his companions not to seek retaliation. On December 27, 1964, two days after slipping into a coma, Spoto succumbed to his injuries.

On December 16, 1992, Salvatore Cardinal Pappalardo (1918–2006), Archbishop of Palermo, began a diocesan inquest concerning Spoto's reputation for sanctity. The decree on his martyrdom appeared on June 26, 2006, and the Mass for his BEATIFICATION took place in Palermo on April 21, 2007. Salvatore Cardinal De Giorgi, who celebrated the Mass, emphasized in his HOMILY Bl. Spoto's commitment to leading his congregation by example and to enduring extreme suffering for the sake of the GOSPEL.

Feast: December 27.

SEE ALSO CONGO, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MISSIONARIES OF AFRICA; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, SISTERS OF

(CSJB, Official Catholic Directory #3820) Commonly called Baptistines, this congregation began in Angri, southern Italy, when Bl. Canon Alfonso Maria FUSCO (beatified by Pope John Paul II on October 7, 2001) organized a group of women to take care of orphaned and abandoned children. Maddalena Caputo, a young woman who desired to consecrate herself to God in religion, and at the same time devote her life to the care of the needy and the poor, joined with Fusco in his project.

On Sept. 25, 1878, Maddalena and three companions began their work. The rapid growth of the congregation resulted in the opening of houses throughout Italy. On Aug. 2, 1888, the bishop of Nocera, where the motherhouse was then located, approved the community. The final approbation of the HOLY SEE in 1927 placed the congregation under pontifical jurisdiction. Mother Bernardino d'Auria brought the sisters to the United States in 1906, when she came with five companions to assume the direction of St. Lucy's parish school and orphanage in Newark, New Jersey. The community has since extended its work to education, healthcare, and care of the elderly and children. In 1939 four members of the United States community went to assist their sisters from Italy to establish a foundation in Brazil. The following year sisters from the United States opened a mission in Chile, another in Rhodesia (modern Zimbabwe) in 1947, and in Canada in 1962. As of 2009, the congregation of 820 religious had 123 houses in sixteen countries on five continents (*Catholic Almanac* 2010, p. 487). The generalate is in Rome; the United States provincialate is in the Bronx, New York.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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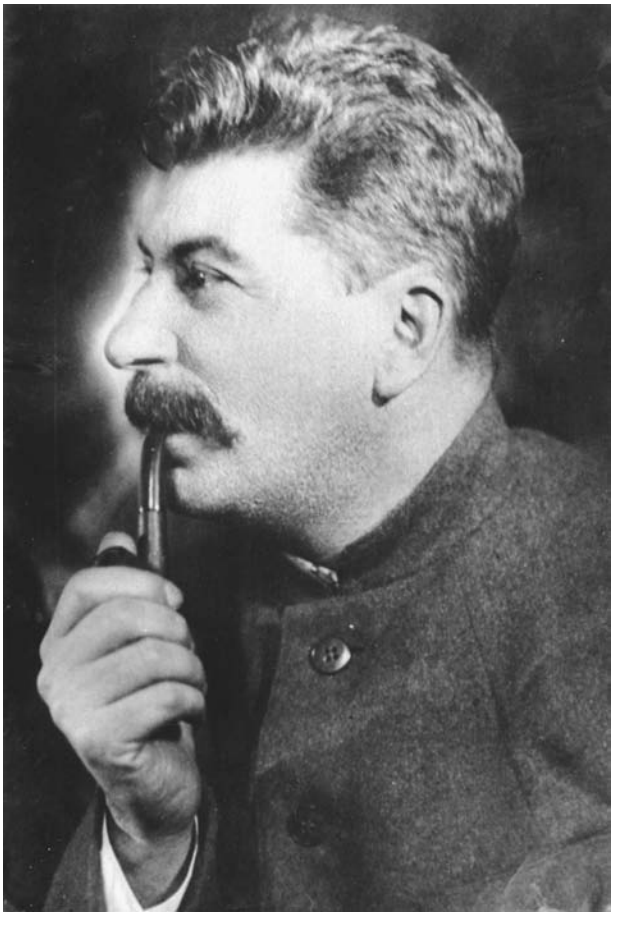
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STALIN, JOSEF

Born Josef Vissarionovich Dzughashvili; Bolshevik revolutionary leader of the Soviet Union; b. December 21, 1879, Gori, Georgia; d. March 5, 1953, Moscow, Russia; alias Stalin; also known as Koba.

Josef Stalin was a Bolshevik revolutionary of Georgian background who succeeded Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) as supreme leader of the Soviet Union and ruled from the mid-1920s until his death in 1953. Sta-



Stalin, Josef (1879–1953). *Photo taken of the Soviet premier in 1928.* **AP IMAGES**

lin built on Lenin's foundation to create a brutal dictatorship characterized by an exaltation of a powerless working class, strict Communist party control of all political activity, an extravagant personality cult of its leader, a repressive secret police apparatus, and an extensive network of harsh labor camps for those considered opponents of the regime.

Early Life. Stalin was born Josef Vissarionovich Dzughashvili on December 21, 1879, in Gori, Georgia, then a part of the Russian Empire. His father was a cobbler; his mother, a housecleaner. He began his studies at the Gori Church School at the age of nine, but in 1894 he won a scholarship and enrolled in the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Tbilisi, the Georgian capital. While at the seminary he immersed himself in Marxist literature and in 1898 was expelled for revolutionary activism. Later that year he joined the newly formed Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) and devoted himself to the political organization of railway workers. Arrested in 1902 and exiled to Siberia, the first of many arrests, he quickly escaped and returned to Georgia by 1904. When news of the split among the Russian Social Democratic leadership in emigration reached the rank-and-file members in the Russian Empire, Stalin sided with the Bolshevik faction, even as most Georgian Social Democrats opted for the Mensheviks.

Before adopting the alias "Stalin," from the Russian word for "steel," he was known as "Koba" in the Georgian revolutionary underground. In 1912 he was elected to the Bolshevik Central Committee, which elevated him to the higher levels of the party. That same year he traveled to Western Europe, where he met exiled Bolshevik leaders. Because of his non-Russian background, he was given the task of collecting information, especially from the multiethnic Austrian empire, to develop Bolshevik policies on the national question within the Russian empire. Back in Russia, he was arrested and exiled to Siberia once more, only to be freed after almost four years by the 1917 February Revolution that overthrew the Russian monarchy and liberated its political prisoners.

Stalin returned to Petrograd (St. Petersburg), and with Lev Kamenev (1883–1936) edited the Bolshevik party newspaper *Pravda*. In this capacity they developed a relatively conciliatory policy toward the Provisional Government that Lenin later forcefully denounced upon his return to Russia in April 1917. Not yet considered a frontline Bolshevik, Stalin did not play a major role during the revolutionary year of 1917 that ended with the Bolshevik overthrow of the Provisional Government in October. The civil war that followed the Bolshevik seizure of power, however, brought Stalin's organizational talents and capacity for work to the forefront. He was appointed People's Commissar for Nationalities in 1917 and People's Commissar for State Control in 1919, and held both positions until 1923. Like many leading Bolsheviks he served as a troubleshooter, traveling to various fronts to settle the numerous crises that threatened to overwhelm the Bolsheviks (known as Communists after 1919) in their first years of power. During the Russian Civil War, he came into frequent conflict with Leon Trotsky (1879–1940), who, as People's Commissar of War, directed the Bolshevik effort to retain power. Their highly personal rivalry developed into enmity and contributed to the brutal tone of Soviet politics during the next two decades.

Rising Through the Ranks. Stalin's emergence in the Bolshevik inner circle dates from 1922, when he was appointed secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Ironically, this was a relatively unglamorous, bureaucratic position, which other leading Bolsheviks felt was beneath them. Lenin's ill health, beginning with a series of strokes in 1922, gave Stalin the opportunity to exercise day-to-day power within the Communist Party and to expand his influence among rank-and-file members, who would produce a younger generation of party leaders who later became instrumental supporters as Stalin consolidated his power. Lenin's death in January 1924 brought the struggle for succession out into the open, and Stalin proved highly adept at internal maneuvering to disarm and defeat rivals. Stalin's considerable administrative abilities and his control of the party's ever-growing patronage network outweighed his rivals' greater Marxist theoretical grounding and oratorical gifts. In rapid succession his better-known rivals—Leon Trotsky, Lev Kamenev, and Grigorii Zinoviev (1883–1936) and, finally by 1928, Nikolai Bukharin (1888–1938)—were dislodged from leadership positions.

The Second Revolution. Scholars have labeled the years between 1928 and 1932 the *Second Revolution*, a period of accelerated state-sponsored social transformation and renewed revolutionary activism that had a large measure of support, especially among urban workers and young party activists. Features of this revolution were a planned economy through a system of five-year plans, the introduction of collective farms in the countryside, and a renewed commitment to the creation of a truly proletarian culture. But Stalin and his allies in the party put their own distinctive stamp on this revolutionary activism, guiding it at a frenetic pace in a more rigidly ideological direction. Marked by a high degree of compulsion and outright violence, this *Second* or *Stalin* revolution represented a dramatic departure from the New Economic Policy (NEP), inaugurated in 1921 and

characterized by small-scale private trade, a hands-off attitude toward the peasantry, and relative tolerance of non-Communist ideas in literature and the arts. Driven by Stalin's slogan of establishing "socialism in one country" and amidst increasing international isolation, the Soviet Union embarked on a crash program of industrialization that essentially co-opted Trotsky's earlier ideas. Stalin also broke with previous moderate agricultural policies, defended by Bukharin, and instead began a program of forced collectivization of agriculture that the Soviet peasantry violently and bitterly resisted.

Increased persecution of religion was an important feature of the cultural revolution of the late 1920s and early 1930s. Although in 1918 the Soviet government had restored the patriarchate, abolished in 1721, it actively harassed the Russian Orthodox Church and tried to subvert it by promoting the activities of a dissenting reformist group of priests known as the Living Church. Churches and temples were closed or used for decidedly nonreligious purposes such as workers' clubs, storage areas, or museums of atheism. The Church was not allowed to appoint a successor to Patriarch Tikhon after his death in 1925. With the foundation of the League of the Militant Godless in 1925 and the upsurge of revolutionary activism in the late 1920s, antireligious activity took on a more organized and violent character that affected all major religions represented within the borders of the Soviet Union.

By 1934 Stalin and his group had dramatically transformed the Soviet Union. But another unprecedented and even more extensive wave of state-sponsored violence was about to strike Soviet society. Soon after the assassination of Sergei Kirov (1886–1934), Stalin's main lieutenant, in December 1934, Stalin unleashed a campaign of terror, initially directed against the party and the state bureaucracy, but that eventually reached the officer corps of the Red Army, provincial and local government officials, and civilians. The grandly orchestrated show trials of 1936 to 1938, where Stalin's old rivals Kamenev, Zinoviev, and Bukharin were among the lead defendants under trumped-up charges, were merely the most visible tip of a vast process of intimidation, false accusations, and mass arrests. The network of labor and prison camps, known by the acronym *gulag*, first created by the Bolsheviks during the Civil War, expanded immensely as millions of Soviet citizens were sent to remote locations across the Russian north and Siberia. Prison labor became one of the dominant features of the Stalinist system and Soviet economy of these years.

Stalin's Foreign Policy. Following Adolf HITLER's accession to power in 1933, Stalin's foreign policy was increasingly preoccupied with the threat posed by Nazi Germany, which was aggressively expansionist and fiercely anti-Soviet. In 1934 the Soviet Union broke out of its diplomatic isolation and joined the League of Nations from which it had been excluded at its conception. For the next five years, Stalin pursued a policy of collective security to thwart Germany's expansionism, but without success, in great part because France and Great Britain did not trust the Soviet Union. In August 1939, after years of harsh anti-fascist rhetoric, the Soviet Union shocked the world and many Communist faithful in Western Europe by signing a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany. Under the terms of the pact, Hitler now had a free hand to attack Poland from the west, while Stalin invoked the pact's secret protocol and occupied the eastern two-thirds of Poland. The Red Army also occupied the Baltic republics that had become independent at the end of WORLD WAR I.

The non-aggression pact lasted almost two years until June 22, 1941, when the German army invaded the Soviet Union, moving rapidly into the Ukraine, Belorussia, and western Russia. By December 1941, German armies were on the outskirts of Leningrad (St. Petersburg) and Moscow, but did not advance any farther. Historians have extensively debated Stalin's performance as a war leader. He has been faulted for ignoring early warning signs of the German invasion and for a puzzling absence in the first week of the war. But in time he emerged as a bold and steady leader who rallied his country to victory. Leaving military operations to his generals, Stalin relaxed the tenor of domestic politics, while in the area of diplomacy, he proved a crafty counterpart to Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882–1945) and Winston Churchill (1874–1965). Domestically, he recognized that the wave of Russian nationalism triggered by the German invasion was linked to a deep religious belief that decades of antireligious persecution had failed to diminish. Age-old Russian heroes such as the thirteenth-century prince Alexander Nevsky (1220–1263) were again featured prominently, while Orthodox believers were given greater freedom to practice their faith, and in 1943, after almost two decades, the Church was allowed to fill the vacant office of the patriarch.

Aftermath of World War II. The victory over Nazi Germany came at an immense cost—more than twenty-five million casualties—but left the Soviet Union as one of two superpowers in a new international landscape. Clever diplomacy, backed by the presence of the Red Army in Berlin and across most of eastern Europe, allowed Stalin to create a bloc of satellite Communist regimes from the Baltic to the Black Sea. By 1949 the Soviet Union, now armed with atomic weapons, was locked with the United States and its allies in a Cold War that lasted another four decades.

Stalin and the Papacy. Stalin's long rule overlapped with the papacies of PIUS XI and PIUS XII. During these

three decades, the HOLY SEE attempted to come to terms with a militantly antireligious government in a country where the relatively small numbers of Catholics gave it little leverage for diplomacy. Under Pope Pius XI, the VATICAN conducted secret negotiations, led by Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, aimed at reestablishing diplomatic relations and restoring prerevolutionary arrangements in the areas of Church property, education, and ordination of clergy. Without any significant results, these negotiations were suspended in 1926. Anticlerical campaigns increased in intensity and brutality in the late 1920s, leading Pope Pius XI to call for a worldwide Day of Prayer in March 1930 to protest Communist persecution of all religions. Even as the Soviet Union sought a diplomatic rapprochement with the West during the 1930s as a counterweight to the threat posed by Nazi Germany, its religious persecutions did not abate. In March 1937 the Vatican issued its most forceful condemnation of Communism and Soviet policies, the encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*. Following the strongly anti-Fascist message of the encyclical *Mit brennender sorge* of the same month, Pope Pius XI rejected Communist overtures for Catholic participation in a broad popular front against Hitler and his sympathizers.

Pope Pius XII, who as Cardinal Pacelli had negotiated with the Soviets in the 1920s, followed the strong anti-Communist line of his predecessor, but faced different diplomatic dilemmas once war broke out in Europe in September 1939. The Holy See declared its impartiality and refrained from any direct criticism of the Soviet Union. It cautiously welcomed Stalin's wartime relaxation of antireligious policies inside the Soviet Union. But as the war came to a close, Pope Pius XII became increasingly concerned with the fate of Eastern Catholics as more of them fell under direct Soviet or Communist rule in the newly Sovietized nations of Eastern Europe.

Postwar territorial changes brought more Catholics, a majority in Poland and Lithuania but a relative minority in Orthodox Russia, under Soviet rule. Although persecuted, the Catholics in these regions maintained their institutions. The government followed a more aggressive policy toward its Eastern Catholic populations, particularly the Ukrainian Catholics. Established in 1596, the UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH maintained its allegiance to the See of Rome, while observing Eastern Byzantine rites and traditions, such as ordaining married men to the priesthood. In 1946 the Soviet government capped decades of persecution by banning the Church and forcing Ukrainian Catholics to join the Russian Orthodox Church. It would be another four decades before the Ukrainian Catholic Church was legalized again in the twilight of the Soviet era.

The postwar extension of Soviet hegemony to countries with large numbers of Catholics, such as Poland, Hungary, and parts of Czechoslovakia, heightened tensions between the Soviet Union and the Vatican. The Soviets also applied the anticlerical policies that had been a hallmark of their rule since 1917 to the Catholic churches of these countries. The Vatican's response was in line with the highly charged atmosphere of the Cold War that was in its early stages. The response itself contributed to the growing polarization between East and West. In the decree against Communism of July 13, 1949, Pope Pius XII threatened to excommunicate any Catholic who knowingly defended the "materialist and anti-Christian doctrine of Communism" (*New York Times* 1949, p. 14).

The Later Years of Stalin's Rule. The years between 1945 and 1953 remain the least known of Stalin's long rule, even though they have been the subject of greater scholarly research in recent years. They were marked by increasing paranoia and secretiveness on Stalin's part, a dominant role for Lavrenti Beria's (1899–1953) security apparatus, greater cultural conservatism and officially sanctioned patriotism, and a return to the isolationism of the pre-war years, sometimes bordering on xenophobia. During these years the personality cult of Stalin, based on massive propaganda, the exaggeration of his achievements, and the falsification of inconvenient episodes reached its height. Sightings of Stalin were rare, and, amidst a climate of increasing paranoia and secretiveness, an alleged conspiracy known as the *Doctors' Plot* was officially uncovered in January 1953. To a wary Soviet public, these signs indicated a possible new wave of purges, in this case, one that would target Soviet Jews. Stalin's death on March 5, 1953, from a cerebral hemorrhage cut short these preparations. The absence of a clearly designated successor opened a struggle that was not resolved until 1956 when Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) emerged as supreme leader of the Soviet Union. The struggle for understanding and control of his historical legacy took much longer; in many ways it continued to be waged up through the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991.

SEE ALSO BOLSHEVISM; BYZANTINE CHRISTIANITY; COLD WAR AND THE PAPACY; DIVINI REDEMPTORIS; MARXISM; ORTHODOX AND ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; RUSSIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; TIKHON, PATRIARCH OF MOSCOW.

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STATES OF THE CHURCH

When the concept of papal temporal rule came into existence in the eighth century, it combined elements of papal patrimonial rights, of former imperial jurisdiction, and of the traditional supremacy of the Roman bishops. In the High MIDDLE AGES, the question of whether the popes ought to be rulers of a given territory in central Italy did not really present itself. For the first time, in the early fourteenth century, Pierre Dubois (c. 1255–c. 1312) posed the problem in these terms. The Middle Ages knew the papal territory as *terrae seu patrimonium ecclesiae* (lands under the patrimony of the Church). The imperial donors spoke of papal lands as being *in iure principatu et ditione ecclesiae Romanae* (under the rule and authority of the Church of Rome); Otto I swore to defend the *terra sancti Petri* (land of Saint Peter).

It is impossible to treat the Papal State on a purely regional and territorial basis. On the one hand its history is inseparable from that of the papal theocracy and the papal Curia; on the other, one cannot make a clear distinction between Papal State policy and papal temporal policy elsewhere in Italy or indeed in Europe. It is also hard to draw a line between developments of the papal bureaucracy that affected the Papal State and those that did not. From the early fourteenth century, the APOSTOLIC CAMERA was both the financial and juridical bureau for the Papal State and for the Roman Church in general. Financial and Papal State policy were always closely related.

Origins of the Papal State. From the time of the Peace of the Church (AD 313), the Roman see possessed great landed wealth, both in Italy and as far afield as Asia Minor. This wealth was used primarily to maintain the



The Lands of St. Peter. *The popes' ability to exert their rule over these lands fluctuated greatly during the entirety of the time that these lands were under their banner.* **REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF GALE, A PART OF CENGAGE LEARNING**

Roman churches and shrines and to support the social welfare of the Roman people. For the latter purpose the PAPACY from the late sixth century assumed many responsibilities formerly met by the imperial government. An elaborate organization existed to run the papal estates, and the rectors and defenders influenced later administrative developments.

The Papal State emerged out of the quarrel between the HOLY SEE and the imperial government at the time of the controversy over ICONOCLASM. In 725–726 Pope GREGORY II put himself at the head of regional Italian resistance to taxation by the emperor Leo III. Some scholars have suggested that his actions and those of later eighth-century popes were part of a long-meditated plan prepared by the papal bureaucracy; others have suggested that the military pressure of the LOMBARDS and Byzantine impotence to resist it were the decisive factors. In 739 Pope GREGORY III sent an embassy to CHARLES MARTEL, the Frankish mayor of the palace, referring to him as PATRICIUS ROMANORUM and asking for help. In 749 the approval given by Pope ZACHARY to Pepin's usurpation of the Frankish crown proved the turning point. When Pope STEPHEN II faced a Lombard threat

from King Aistulf (d. 756) in 752, he wrote to Pepin for aid. In 753 he traveled to Francia and met Pepin at Ponthion in Champagne. The Frankish king swore to restore the Exarchate of RAVENNA and the rights and territories of the *res publica* (Roman Republic). Two Frankish campaigns then occurred against Aistulf, who in 756 was made to swear to return to the Romans the Exarchate of Ravenna, most of Pentapolis, and towns in Emilia and Umbria. A papal territory may be said to have existed from this point.

Some scholars emphasize the care that the eighth-century popes took, in spite of the iconoclast controversy, not to derogate explicitly from Byzantine sovereignty. The territorial interests and ambitions of the Roman nobility, strongly represented in the Roman clergy, also may have played a part. The juridical position of the new state was for long unclear, complicated by these factors and others, such as the confusion between papal patrimonies or landed estates in the strict sense and other lands occupied by Romans.

Development and Early Constitution. The first period of the history of the Papal State probably ended with the tragic death of Pope JOHN VIII (882). The state entered into treatylike relations with the CAROLINGIANS that left it as an autonomous region under Frankish protection. Political turbulence in ROME, sometimes abetted by the popes, led Louis the Pious (778–840) to direct his son Lothair in 824 to issue the *Constitutio Romana*, which imposed a stricter regime of protection on Rome and its surrounding territories. The *Constitutio* called for papal and Frankish *missi*, or envoys, to sit together in Rome and to hear appeals against officers of the papal administration. The Romans, moreover, but not the popes, had to swear allegiance to the Frankish emperor. Within a generation, however, the political dissolution of the Carolingian empire, factional squabbling in Rome, and Muslim attacks combined to leave Carolingian protection a dead letter and papal territorial authority severely curtailed.

A second period ran from the early tenth century to the era of the GREGORIAN REFORM. This period was marked by a continuous, but weak, German presence in Rome and by frequent factions among the Roman nobility—notably the CRESCENTII and TUSCULANI. But also significant was the emergence of a more autonomous Papal State, no longer impeded by Carolingian officials, and showing some consciousness of its powers in its appointments of rectors and in the legal formulas used by papal officials in the exercise of their jurisdiction. Although under the dynasty of MAROZIA and the rule of Alberic of Spoleto (932–954), the Papal State was subject to an aristocratic clique, its administrative foundations were being laid. The restoration of Ottonian power in Italy after 962, however, placed important checks on the Papal State. While Otto III recognized that the popes exercised *potestas legalis* (legal power) in their dominions, he claimed for himself the final say in all matters of State.

One must distinguish between the areas over which the popes had treaty rights and those that they effectively governed. No reliable text exists of any treaty made between the popes and the Frankish government prior to 817, but it is probable that from the promises made by Pepin from 754 onward, the Franks guaranteed Roman rule over areas wider than Roman power was able to administer. It may be that the early papal-Frankish treaties were based on the frontiers between the BYZANTINE EMPIRE and the Lombards, at periods in the seventh or early eighth century when Byzantine power was relatively strong. This would explain the papal claim, mentioned in the *Liber pontificalis*, to the area south of a line from Luni in Liguria to Monfelice on the Adriatic.

The core of the Papal State was the former Byzantine duchy of Rome. The Franks imposed a compromise territorial settlement on the papacy. To the north of Rome, the popes asked for Venetia and Istria, Ravenna and the Pentapolis, and all of Lombard Tuscany. CHARLEMAGNE declined to hand over Venice and Istria; permitted shared rule in Ravenna among the popes, the patriarch of Ravenna, and himself; and added a slice of southern Tuscany to the duchy of Rome while retaining the rest of Tuscany as part of the Lombard kingdom. In central Italy Charlemagne extended papal rule into the Sabina, added some lands around Perugia to effect communications between Rome and the northeast, and advanced papal territory to the south into the Liri valley. He did not assign the duchy of Benevento to the papacy. Effective papal power in Emilia and in the Exarchate of Ravenna dwindled almost to nothing in the late ninth century, and a similar decline of power occurred in Pentapolis, as is made clear in Otto III's donation of eight counties there to Pope SYLVESTER II.

Growth of the Papal State. The policies of Pope LEO IX and his successors in the Gregorian reform were vital to the temporal power, particularly in their results for southern Italy. The papal court was beginning to be acutely affected by feudal law. The reform policy of active intervention on the southern borders of the Papal State and of establishing feudal sovereignty over the new Norman principalities strengthened papal authority in the Papal State proper, as did the reform emphasis on the patrimonial and financial rights of the Holy See. Benevento became a papal enclave (1050).

The key to papal ambitions in southern Italy was control of the town and duchy of Benevento. In the early eleventh century, the Byzantines expelled the Lombards from Benevento, but Byzantine rule proved weak.

Residents of Benevento therefore offered to acknowledge Pope Leo IX's authority in 1051. To legitimize this transfer, the pope sought support from the German emperor Henry III (1017–1056), who agreed in 1053 to exchange Benevento for the bishopric of Bamberg. However, the Lombards hired Norman mercenaries under Robert Guiscard (1016–1085) to reclaim Benevento. Guiscard defeated a papal army at the battle of Civita in 1053, but rather than hand Benevento over to the Lombards, he restored it to the pope in exchange for papal blessings for all future Norman conquests in southern Italy and Sicily. In 1081 Pope GREGORY VII finally secured control of the town when he deposed the sitting bishop and replaced him with a loyal supporter. Rectors reporting to the Papal Curia ruled Benevento. In the 1190s the Hohenstaufen dynasty drove the Normans out of southern Italy and Sicily, and threatened Benevento. In the thirteenth century, Pope URBAN VI secretly promised the French prince, Charles of Anjou (1226–1285; Charles I of Naples), the Kingdom of Naples in exchange for French support. This came to pass with the defeat and death of Manfred of Sicily (1232–1266) in 1266 at the Battle of Benevento.

In the twelfth century the Papal State was still essentially the area from Acquapendente to Ceprano. In this zone Church rights were interpreted in an increasingly feudal sense, whereas the Holy See showed itself willing to acquiesce to some extent in setting up communes. The most important exponents of the feudal policy were Pope ADRIAN IV and his chamberlain, Cardinal BOSO. Although twelfth-century popes had not abandoned their claims to the eastern lands (particularly Ferrara) and had added to them the claim to the allodial lands of MATILDA OF TUSCANY, effective papal rule was nevertheless sometimes reduced to Rome. And in Rome and the district, the new commune that had come into existence in 1143 made the popes' task more difficult.

Pope Innocent III laid the foundations of the later Papal State. To the existing area of effective rule, he added the duchy of Spoleto (in its late imperial sense) and the march of Ancona. To administer the state he set up rectorates in these areas and in the other provinces of Campagna-Marittima, Sabina, and the Patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany. Building on this basis, subsequent thirteenth-century popes set up a machine of provincial taxation and justice. By mid-century, parliaments existed in most provinces for conciliar, financial, and legislative purposes. Particularly after the acquisition of Romagna in 1278, the new state possessed a modest, but appreciable, military and financial power.

The papacy established a presence in Romagna in northern Italy in 1276 when Bologna accepted the Holy See's protection to safeguard its communal liberties after years of strife between the GUELFS AND GHIBELLINES. Bologna was a leading city in Europe with a renowned university, a flourishing economy, and a rich cultural life. That status diminished in the period that followed. In 1347 the Visconti of Milan briefly captured Bologna, but it returned to papal control in 1370. Papal patronage favored artists and architects involved in building or refurbishing churches and the establishment of new religious houses. A splendid new palace, the Rocca di Galliera, was built for its legate. With papal help, Bologna's republican regime gradually fell under the domination of the BENTIVOGLIO family in the fifteenth century. In 1506 Pope JULIUS II incorporated Bologna and the duchy of Romagna into the Papal States, though the city retained a modicum of communal autonomy. A legate at first ruled the city for the papacy; in time, however, a titular bishop handled these duties. In 1542 Bologna hosted several sessions of the Council of TRENT.

By 1300 most of the essential governmental organs of the later Papal States were in existence. In spite of the severe strain placed on the state by the absence of the popes during the AVIGNON PAPACY and by their long and costly struggles with the Ghibelline tyrants of north Italy, the administrative machine held its ground and developed. By the mid-fourteenth century, most of the communes were too weak to oppose the formidable attempt to centralize and rationalize the state institutions effected by the Spanish Cardinal Gil Álvarez Carrillo de ALBORNOZ. Many minor tyrannies, however, remained a source of disorder until the sixteenth century.

Later Avignon popes (notably Pope GREGORY XI) advanced the work of Albornoz, only to be all but undone by the WESTERN SCHISM. Fifteenth-century popes (notably MARTIN V and NICHOLAS V) had to rebuild the Papal State with financial and political resources far inferior to those of the Avignon popes. Under Pope SIXTUS IV and especially under Pope ALEXANDER VI, an exaggerated nepotism became the aim rather than the instrument of papal policy.

The declining international position of the papacy was offset in the Papal State by increasingly centralized administration and by the inability of all but the largest units—whether feudal lordships, communes, or tyrannies—to resist central pressure. Tyrants such as the MALATESTA of Rimini succumbed largely from economic debility. Finally, under the new strains placed on them by the wars of France and Spain in Italy, most of the remaining semiautonomous communes or *seigniories* were reduced to obedience. Bologna and Perugia, the ESTE of Ferrara, and the Montefeltro of Urbino all lost their old positions in the first half of the sixteenth century. The action of Pope PIUS IV against the CARAFA and the COLONNA marked the end of the old style of baronial nepotism. His attempt at a root-and-branch reform of the Papal State was abortive, but reorganization of the various provincial legations and of central

justice and finance nevertheless took place in the course of the century.

Economic and Demographic Factors. The economic power of the early Papal State was closely related to the patrimonial wealth of the Roman see and the application of that wealth on behalf of the Roman people through the agency of the Roman deaconties and *xenodochia*. In the period from Zacharias to Leo III, the papal patrimonies were partly reorganized into larger units (*domuscultae*). Roman nobles, who wished to be granted church property at nominal rents, resented this reorganization.

The influence of the nobles prevailed after the death of John VIII; in the late ninth and early tenth centuries most of the huge papal estates were feudalized and fell into the hands of the great Roman families. At the same time, the value of many of the great estates experienced a decline because of Arab raids, political disorders, and the effects of these on the productivity of the soil. It is, however, disputed whether the decline in agricultural production was as great as was once thought. The turnover to grazing in many parts of south Italy likely preceded this period. Many papal and Roman estates, however, were lost, such as those in the Neapolitan *campagna* and possibly most of those around Ravenna.

In spite of the reorganization of the finances of the Roman see during the reform period, demesne and Papal State revenues were slow in expanding, and the great alienated estates were never recovered. The *Liber censuum*, compiled at the end of the twelfth century, shows a wide variety of patrimonial and feudal dues, but mostly of a residual nature and amounting in all to only a modest revenue. Only after the great expansion of the Papal State in the thirteenth century, particularly with the absorption of such rich areas as the march of Ancona, with its port of Ancona, did the state acquire a respectable revenue. It is true that military expenditure often exceeded income, but the same was true of many European states.

Following depression, plague, and war in the fourteenth century, the population and wealth of the Papal State decreased, but the government became stronger, which suggests that revenues did not fall dramatically. In the fifteenth century the Papal State revenues formed an even larger proportion of total papal income, accentuated in the sixteenth century by more centralized government and by the increased prosperity of Rome, which rose from 30,000 to 100,000 inhabitants in that century.

Following years of consolidation and centralization, the two centuries prior to the French invasion of 1796 witnessed a progressive decline in the Papal State, culminating in its temporary disappearance in 1798. The change from the previous period was notable.

1600 to 1796. Sixteenth-century popes had succeeded in transforming their authority over their realms into a system of absolute monarchy. They regained the large, quasi-independent fiefs and neutralized or abolished the political and judicial power of the feudal families. Through the instrumentality of the papal secretary of state and Cardinal Camerlengo, charged with administering the temporal domain, the popes made their authority effective in the provinces, or legations, where they named the resident functionaries. They created specialized central administrative organisms, which functioned suitably. The College of Cardinals was fragmented into specialized congregations and lost its collegial power, which had once rivaled papal authority. Brigandage declined with the decline of the feudatories, who had profited by protecting brigands. Giovanni Botero (c. 1540–1617) wrote in 1595: "The ecclesiastical state is more peaceful today than formerly, and the authority of the ruler greater than ever." The danger was that this machine, well designed for a state expanding economically and socially, would become outmoded; this happened in the ensuing period when internal and international factors conspired to jeopardize its future.

Internally, the Roman aristocracy and families owing their wealth and honors to nepotism, such as the Pamphili, Rospigliosi, CHIGI, Ottoboni, and Pignatelli, amassed great political influence and economic power, to the detriment of the central authority. Pope INNOCENT XI (1676–1689) attempted to remedy these evils by eliminating the post of cardinal legate, by combating small-scale nepotism, and by introducing rigid economies to ward off bankruptcy. His successors tried to unify the provinces administratively. In this work Cardinal Giulio ALBERONI distinguished himself when, as legate to Ravenna under Pope CLEMENT XII (1730–1740), he sought to eliminate the existing autonomies of medieval origin and annexed the ancient republic of SAN MARINO to the States of the Church, at least temporarily. Bologna completely lost its ancient municipal autonomy in 1788.

Political Decline. These attempts at internal renovation failed to stem the growing political weakness of the state. Internationally, the balance of power preserved an equilibrium among the states of the peninsula, but left Italy vulnerable to outside pressure from the national monarchies. These powers took advantage of this situation by impertinently, even brutally, seeking to extort from the papal government renunciations of some of its rights and prerogatives, to force it to support their selfish political interests, and to introduce changes conformed to their own juridical and anticurial views. LOUIS XIV, King of France (1638–1715), used strong pressure,

and at times violence, to humiliate this state and its rulers. Thus when the Duke of Créqui, the French ambassador, unjustifiably insisted on extending the diplomatic "right of quarters" beyond his dwelling in Rome to embrace an area "as far as his eye could behold," an incident occurred between his entourage and the Corsican guards, which the French government used to impose its will on Pope ALEXANDER VII (1662). Innocent XI (1676–1689), however, refused to bow to a repetition of these pretensions, and Pope ALEXANDER VIII in 1691 caused Louis XIV to renounce these claims, tolerated in no other capital. More extreme were the pressures applied to CLEMENT XIII (1758–1769) and CLEMENT XIV (1769–1774) by the Bourbon courts to break down papal resistance to the suppression of the JESUITS. Besides severing diplomatic relations, France occupied AVIGNON and Venaissin, and Naples seized Benevento and Pontecorvo.

Economic Decline. Agriculture, industry, and trade remained static or deteriorated. The same was true of social conditions. Decline was especially marked in Latium, a region almost denuded of population, where the rule was large-scale ownership, concentrated almost entirely in the hands of the Roman aristocracy, whose income derived largely from rents paid by shepherds for pasturage. The plain neighboring on Rome, the *agro romano*, occupied 485 square miles, but its ownership was limited in 1789 to a mere 113 families. The BORGHESE family alone possessed 55,000 acres; the SFORZA, 27,000. Instead of improving conditions and exploiting these holdings efficiently, the wealthy proprietors leased their lands, subleased, and then sub-subleased to wretched *contadini* weakened by disease contracted from the undrained, malaria-breeding Pontine marshes. Their primitive methods eked the barest subsistence from their tiny parcels. The wheat crop barely sufficed for local consumption; its export was forbidden.

The only industries of any size were the alum mines at Tolfa and the foundries at Canino, Bracciano, and Conca, employing about 300 to smelt the iron ore mixed on the island of Elba. Other than these, the shops were small, family-run affairs. The marches were relatively prosperous, especially Ancona, which became a free port in 1732, and Senigallia, which attracted merchants from Italy and abroad to its famous fair. Foreign trade was, however, minimal. Despite the number of small towns, no real middle class developed.

Rome always remained an important commercial center because of the constant flow of ecclesiastics, pilgrims, and tourists. A cultural capital, it was a magnet for artists in search of inspiration, scholars in search of the past, and collectors in quest of purchases. In 1768 Rome had some 159,000 inhabitants; the entire state about two million.

Papal Attitudes. No help could come from the sovereign or the state. The popes, who supported a court, a diplomatic corps, festivals, building construction, and maintenance, had to bear all the expenses of a great power with the revenues of a poor one. Rome itself absorbed the meager income. At the death of Clement XIV (1774), who was a good administrator, the public debt totaled 74 million scudi, although the annual revenue was only 2.5 million scudi. When financial distress became more acute, sumptuary expenses were trimmed, but profitable, long-term investments were impossible. No policy existed for inaugurating great public works. The draining of the Pontine marshes scarcely passed the planning stage. Economic development was a minor preoccupation of the popes, who did not wish to overload their subjects with taxes and remedied misery by increasing alms when they could.

The governmental and administrative system finally became dilapidated. Papal departments were encumbered with inactive employees, said to number 30,000 by 1800. The clientele of cardinals and the great families could not be allowed to starve. Papal officialdom, like Roman beggary, was an institutionalized form of parasitism. The most enlightened and energetic reformer would have wasted his efforts, because the basic difficulty was economic and social sluggishness.

Peace was preserved in the States of the Church during these two centuries, but it was often accompanied by humiliation and internal disorder. It was disturbed mainly by the endemic brigandage. Public order was not seriously ruffled, save for occasional quarrels concerning diplomatic precedence or squabbles between the Romans and the dependents of foreign ambassadors. The outbreak of the FRENCH REVOLUTION quickly altered this situation. During the nineteenth century disturbances and movements originating outside this state caused ever-increasing public disorders and dissatisfaction within it.

French Intervention, 1796 to 1815. Neither the economic recession of the seventeenth century, the economic stagnation of the eighteenth, the critique of the ENLIGHTENMENT, nor the slow deterioration of governmental and administrative organisms had sufficed to disturb seriously the States of the Church. A tremor of adequate magnitude came from abroad, started by the French Revolution in 1789, which was so powerful that this state, even were it better equipped, would not have remained shockproof, any more than other European states. French revolutionists soon occupied the papal territories of Avignon and Venaissin lying within French

borders, and the Constituent Assembly decreed their annexation to France (September 14, 1791). Rome became the refuge of numerous *émigrés* following the condemnation of the CIVIL CONSTITUTION OF THE CLERGY by the papal bull *Charitas.* Their tragic tales filled the Roman Curia and, still more, the populace with terror and detestation of the revolution. At the same time many republican agents arrived in Rome to propagate revolutionary ideas and found admirers in educated circles influenced by the doctrines of the Enlightenment, who were sympathetic toward Freemasonry. The first revolutionary associations arose as well as popular antirevolutionary outbursts. One of these resulted in the assassination of the French diplomat Nicolas de Bassville (1793); another in the murder of General Mathieu Duphot (1797).

Active French intervention began when General Napoleon Bonaparte's army descended into Italy in 1796. Bonaparte proposed to the Directory that he lay hands on Loreto, containing "the immense treasures that superstition has amassed during 15 centuries. They are valued at one million pounds sterling." In May 1796 he received orders to occupy Rome, but he took only the legations (Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna) in June. Bonaparte proved a prudent governor, because he foresaw his later need for papal cooperation to regulate the affairs of the Church in France. "The influence of Rome is incalculable," he declared. "I ambition more the title of savior than that of destroyer of the Holy See." Once more the Papal State became involved in the general history of the Church. Bonaparte evacuated Ravenna, Faenza, and Ancona (June 23) after 33 million francs were paid to the Directory. Despite the size of this ransom, Rome expressed relief. In 1796 the French occupied Bologna and included it in the Cisalpine Republic and the Kingdom of Italy established by Napoleon, while in 1799 Benevento joined the short-lived Republic of Naples.

After the Austrians were badly defeated in 1797, Pope PIUS VI, who had manifested hostility toward France, had to sign the Treaty of Tolentino (February 19, 1797), ceding Avignon, Bologna, and Ferrara to France, and Romagna to the Cisalpine Republic, an emanation of French power. After Duphot's murder General Berthier seized Rome under orders from the Directory (February 1798). Five days later a group of patriots took advantage of the presence of French arms and proclaimed the birth of the Roman Republic and the demise of papal temporal power. Pius VI was carried off a prisoner to Tuscany, then to Valence in southern France, where he died (August 29, 1799). Defeats in the War of the Second Coalition forced the French to evacuate Rome (September 30, 1799), ended the Roman Republic, and led to the restoration of the States of the Church, minus the legations, according to the Treaty of Lunéville (February 9, 1801). The Neapolitan government, whose army had delivered Rome, continued acting as sovereign there, but in 1800 it turned over the city to the newly elected Pope PIUS VII (1800–1823). The French victory at Marengo (June 14, 1800) would have threatened this fragile restoration of papal authority, had not Napoleon been eager to restore religious peace to France and to arrange the CONCORDAT OF 1801. It was he who obliged the Austrians to abandon their claims to the legations, and the king of Naples to evacuate the States of the Church, including Benevento and Pontecorvo. The Cisalpine Republic, however, was restored and soon was called the Kingdom of Italy (January 26, 1802). This placed the northern boundary of the States of the Church along the line established by the Treaty of Tolentino.

First Restoration. Pius VII was now sovereign of a territory reduced in size and economically less viable than before. He sought first a reorganization of the whole government and administration, and designated four commissions to elaborate a plan. The papal bull *Post diuturnas* (October 10, 1800), which promulgated the reforms, reflected two diverse currents of opinion evident in these commissions. The traditionalists regarded all the recent French innovations as diabolical and wanted only a return to the old state of affairs. The second group considered the former organization outmoded and a fresh start essential. The papal decision favored the conservatives, with few exceptions. Such improvements as were introduced were rendered inoperative by the passive resistance of the prelates assigned to the new posts. The statute did, however, envision the confiding of some positions to laymen, that is, to representatives of the nobility. All that remained of this first restoration was the noble guard.

Another measure, which might have produced good results, was the freeing of commerce, up to then practically a state monopoly. But lack of ports or industry left the States of the Church unable to develop commerce in the near future. A timid agrarian reform was inaugurated, which aimed to divide the *latifundia* (landed estates) and make it possible for cultivators to purchase the land. But these poor persons lacked the capital to buy. Structural reforms hesitantly outlined, devoid of means or will to put them into effect, represented the extent of the restoration in 1800. The States of the Church continued to vegetate during their remaining decades of life.

Relations with Napoleon I. When Bonaparte became Emperor NAPOLEON I (1804), he allowed Pius VII to consecrate him but did not intend to leave to the pope the least liberty of political option as a temporal sovereign, even that of declaring his neutrality in

European conflicts. Napoleon sought to impose the Continental System upon the Papal State. Pius VII thought otherwise and refused to put the boycott into effect in his territory. This led to a crisis that began with the French occupation of Ancona (1805), continued with the seizure of Civitavecchia (1806), the Marches (1807), and Rome itself (1808). In 1806, Napoleon made his minister Talleyrand prince of Benevento. Pius VII was arrested (June 5, 1809) and kept in captivity at Savona and Fontainebleau until 1814. An imperial decree annexed the States of the Church to the French Empire and announced the formation of a commission (*Consulta*) charged with administering the former papal realm (1810). The region was then divided into the two departments of Tiber and Trasiméne. Rome was proclaimed second city of the empire after Paris, and Napoleon's son became king of Rome, a post once held by his father. Though a prisoner, the pope still urged passive resistance. The reactions of the Romans varied. Most ecclesiastics observed the papal instructions; most of the nobles collaborated with the French in the hope of saving their wealth and position. The mass of the populace maintained a stubborn, malevolent opposition because of affection for the pope, the influence of the religious, and discontent with increased taxes and the suppression of charitable institutions, which had distributed the indispensable alms. Young men fled military conscription and formed wandering bands, always ready to take to highway robbery.

French laws of the Civil Code were applied in the region. De Tournon, a capable administrator, was named prefect of Rome and undertook considerable public works, such as restoring ancient monuments, urban planning, laying out the Pincio as a public park, clearing the Tiber channel, improving highways, and draining marshes. Napoleon was eager to revive the old Rome and build a new one, and to improve economic conditions, but he lacked time and was too much preoccupied with his perennial wars. From 1814 on, the French Empire was in its death throes.

Pius VII was liberated and reentered Rome (May 24, 1814), where he was hailed with enthusiasm. A second restoration was about to begin but immediately faced imposing obstacles. Joachim Murat (1767–1815), King of Naples, coveted the States of the Church but lost his claim and his throne when he allied with Napoleon, who had returned from Elba. Then the Congress of Vienna, which aimed to give a territorial status to Europe after Napoleon's downfall, refused for a while to recognize the papal temporal sovereignty. Austria wanted to annex part of Italy and install princes devoted to her. Due in good part to the diplomatic skill of Cardinal E. CONSALVI, papal secretary of state, the congress permitted the pope to regain his former states, save for some alterations of borders and the permanent loss of Avignon and Venaissin (June 1815). Benevento and Bologna were restored to papal control at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, but Bologna rebelled against the papacy in 1831 and 1849.

1815 to 1870. This final period presents two aspects. One concerns domestic events in the papal realm; the other deals with developments outside this region. In a sense the RISORGIMENTO, the movement for Italian unification, combined the two and was largely responsible for the disappearance of the papal temporal power.

Second Restoration. Upon returning from his long imprisonment, Pius VII confronted the problem of administrative realignment, because the French occupation, for all its unpopularity, had roused middle-class aspirations for a more modern regime. Consalvi favored these demands within limits and was largely responsible for the promulgation of a constitutional charter in 1816, which marked some progress, although it still bore close resemblance to the privileges accorded by enlightened despots in the mid-eighteenth century. Opposition to these modest innovations in curial and aristocratic circles was strong enough to impede the effecting of substantial reforms. This, coupled with the worsening economic situation in 1816 and the impact of the Risorgimento, led to the formation of numerous secret societies such as the CARBONARI, especially in Romagna. These found a strong following among the lesser nobility and bourgeoisie eager for opportunities to hold public office and participate in the government. Soon after this restoration started, sectarian influences caused incidents in the legations and marches.

Gregory XVI. Counterrevolutionary forces regained full strength under Popes LEO XII (1823–1829), PIUS VIII (1829–1830), and GREGORY XVI (1831–1846). Following the July Revolution in Paris (1830), the Carbonari joined forces with the liberals against the papal temporal power, in the hope that France would impose on the HOLY ALLIANCE respect for the principle of nonintervention. Insurrection broke out in Bologna (February 4, 1831) and spread rapidly to Umbria, Romagna, and the marches. It gave rise to several provisional governments, which were unified under Terenzio Mamiani (c. 1802–1885). The revolt failed only because of Austrian and French armed intervention, which quickly restored the papal authority. The great powers (France, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia) met in conference and in a memorandum cataloged the reforms required in the Papal States to avert further revolutionary outbursts.

Gregory XVI refused to accept most of its proposals, such as the admission of the laity to positions of

authority, enforcement of the 1816 constitution, organization of consultative representative assemblies on the municipal and provincial levels, and creation of an auditor's office. Minor changes were introduced in 1832, notably the establishment of a corps of Swiss soldiers, but the memorandum was essentially shelved in the VATICAN ARCHIVES. Because papal authority was based on divine right, criticisms were regarded as disrespect toward God Himself, and revolutionary attempts as sacrilegious. The papacy found it difficult, if not impossible, to introduce the requested political and administrative reforms in its state. This was reinforced by the fact that the papacy considered its temporal and spiritual power inextricably intertwined and therefore feared that limitations on the former would inevitably impinge on the latter.

Final Quarter Century. PIUS IX (1846–1878) appeared to Italian patriots for a short time to herald a new era. He had earlier outlined a reformist program for the temporal power in his "Thoughts on the Public Administration of the Papal States" (1845). Once pope, he granted a generous amnesty to political offenders, organized a lay council (Consulta di Stato) and a civil guard, permitted limited press freedom, and protested against Austrian occupation of Ferrara. All this gave further impetus to the movement for Italian unification and to constitutional tendencies. By the Fundamental Statute (March 14, 1848), the pope provided his subjects with a constitution. He also allowed the papal banner to be adorned with the tricolor cockade and sent troops to guard the Po River during the hostilities between Piedmont and Austria.

As spiritual head of all Catholics, however, the pope could not make war on Austria, an impossibility reaffirmed in the papal allocation of April 29, 1848. This alienated both liberals and patriots and made difficult his relations with the legislature, which opened on June 5, and with the constitutional ministry presided over by Mamiani. Pellegrino ROSSI, who succeeded Mamiani early in September, was not acceptable to conservatives because of his constitutional convictions, or to liberals because of his opposition to involving the Papal States in warlike enterprises. Rossi's opposition to the Piedmontese requests for a military league against Austria increased the hatred of the radicals, by whose hands he was assassinated on November 15, 1848.

The ensuing popular tumults forced Pius IX to flee Rome (November 24, 1848) and take refuge at Gaeta in the Kingdom of Naples. Revolutionaries proclaimed the Roman Republic (February 9, 1849), soon placed under the control of a triumvirate composed of Giuseppe MAZZINI, Aurelio Saffi (1819–1890), and Carlo Armellini (1777–1863), who determined to resist the imminent invasion by Catholic France, Austria, Spain, and Naples, which accepted the petition of Cardinal G. ANTONELLI for aid. With Austrian troops pressing from the north and French forces besieging Rome, the republic collapsed. Pius IX reentered his capital (April 1850), but French soldiers remained in the city and Austrian ones in the legations. It was now clear that papal temporal power could continue only with foreign military aid. The events of 1848–1849 deeply troubled the pope, who believed that his goodwill had been unworthily abused. Henceforth, he was hostile to all liberal programs.

The final years of the States of the Church formed an episode in the unification of the Italian peninsula. Bolgona became part of Italy on June 12, 1859, when Romagna was annexed by the Kingdom of Sardinia during the unification, while Benevento joined Italy in 1860. Because of this movement, the papal territory lost the legations (1860). After the papal volunteer army of ZOUAVES met defeat at Castelfidardo (September 18, 1860), Italy annexed the Marches (with 133,000 votes favoring it in a plebiscite and 1,200 opposed) and Umbria (with 97,000 votes favoring it and 380 opposed).

In 1861 Cavour proclaimed Rome the capital of the new Kingdom of Italy. Napoleon's troops protected the remaining papal territory, but the French emperor sought to evacuate them as soon as possible. By the September Convention of 1864, concluded between the Paris government and the Italian kingdom without papal consultation, French forces were to be withdrawn within the course of the next two years. This prompted Pius IX to issue the encyclical *Quanta cura*, deploring contemporary developments, to which was attached the SYLLABUS OF ERRORS. French troops returned to stop Giuseppe GARIBALDI's intrusion into the Papal States in 1867 and remained there until 1870. Once the Franco-Prussian War demanded the withdrawal of the French garrison, the Italians invaded the state and took Rome after some hours of bombardment, breaching the Porta Pia (September 20, 1870). A plebiscite in the small area in papal hands recorded 133,681 votes in favor of annexation to Italy; 1,507 opposed. VICTOR EMMANUEL II in October proclaimed the annexation of Rome and the surrounding area. Thus ended the States of the Church. In the opinion of some, the impending demise of the temporal power played a part in bolstering spiritual power and in the proclamation of papal infallibility in July 1870 during the Vatican Council.

The principal states continued to recognize the personal sovereignty of the pope, admitting among other things his active and passive right to diplomatic representation. When the Law of GUARANTEES proved unacceptable to Pius IX and his successors, the ROMAN QUESTION continued to be a major problem for Italy until its definitive settlement in the LATERAN PACTS

(1929). The state of VATICAN CITY, which then originated, is not, however, a resurrection of the former States of the Church.

SEE ALSO CURIA, ROMAN; DONATION OF CONSTANTINE; LEO III, BYZANTINE EMPEROR; LIBER CENSUUM; LIBER PONTIFICALIS; LOUIS XIV, KING OF FRANCE; NAPOLEON I; OTTO I (THE GREAT), EMPEROR; OTTO III, EMPEROR; PEPIN III, KING OF THE FRANKS; QUANTA CURA; TALLEYRAND-PÉRIGORD, CHARLES MAURICE DE; VATICAN COUNCIL I.

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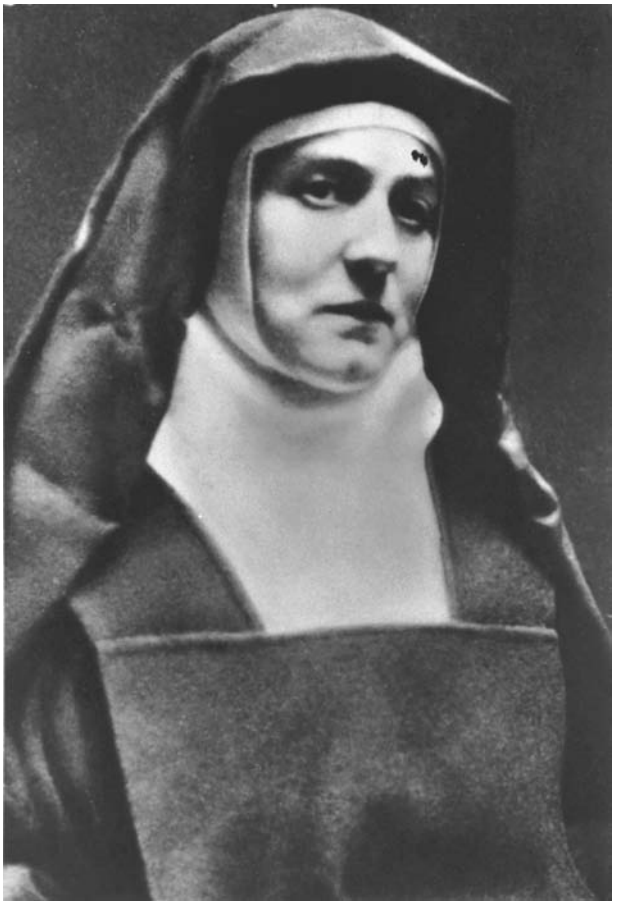
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Stein, Edith (1891–1942). *Known in religion as Sister Teresa Benedicta of the Cross, this saint was martryed in the Auschwitz-Birkenau death camp in 1942.* © **BETTMANN/CORBIS**

STEIN, EDITH (TERESA BENEDICTA OF THE CROSS), ST.

Martyr; Carmelite nun; philosopher and pedagogue; b. Wrocław (Breslau in Prussian Silesia), Poland, October 12, 1891; d. Birkenau section of Auschwitz death camp, August 9, 1942.

Born of devout Jewish parents, Edith gave up her faith as a teenager and became interested in philosophy after dissatisfaction with her studies in psychology. She read the important philosophical treatise *Logical Investigations* of Edmund HUSSERL, the founder of PHENOMENOLOGY, and went to Göttingen University to study with him. There, contacts with Husserl's former pupil Max SCHELER began her acquaintance with Catholicism. After several years of searching, she asked to enter the Church upon reading the autobiography of St. TERESA OF AVILA, and was baptized on January 1, 1922. She accepted a teaching post at a girls' school run by Dominican teaching sisters in the cathedral city of Speyer. Along with her teaching duties, she acquainted herself with Catholic philosophy and translated the treatise *On Truth* by St. THOMAS AQUINAS.

Stein traveled to several German-speaking countries to address Catholic audiences, especially on women's and educational topics. Her growing reputation led her to leave the school at Speyer to teach at a more specialized institution of higher learning. In 1932 she became a lecturer at the German Institute for Scientific Pedagogy in Münster, but in the next calendar year she had to leave this post because of anti-Semitic legislation introduced by the Nazi Party. Convincing her spiritual director the time had come, she now acted on a long-

cherished wish and entered the Carmel of Cologne, taking the name of Sr. Teresa Benedicta of the Cross. After her initial training at Cologne her monastic superiors invited her to resume writing. She transformed an earlier philosophical essay, developed in an unsuccessful effort to obtain a university position a few years previously, into her major opus *Finite and Eternal Being,* in which she attempted to synthesize the philosophy of St. Thomas with modern thought, especially with phenomenology. From her monastery she remained a faithful correspondent with former colleagues, among them the Polish phenomenologist Roman Ingarden.

Soon after the Nazi persecution of the Jews turned violent in the nationwide Kristallnacht pogrom of November 9–10, 1938, she left Germany for exile in the Dutch Carmel of Echt on the last day of the year. Here she wrote another important work, *The Science of the Cross,* a presentation of the life and teaching of St. JOHN OF THE CROSS. This contained several sections that incorporate the phenomenological method. Nazi Germany invaded the Netherlands in 1940, and both Sr. Teresa Benedicta and her sister Rosa Stein, now living at the Echt Carmel as a lay assistant, had to comply with anti-Semitic regulations. SS agents arrested them both on a day Sr. Teresa Benedicta was putting the finishing touches on her *John of the Cross* manuscript (which was published posthumously). That round-up on Sunday, August 2, 1942, led to deportation of several hundred priests and religious and Catholic laity of Jewish origin as a reprisal for an outspoken pastoral letter written by Dutch bishops condemning the anti-Semitic measures of the German occupation forces. One week later they arrived at the Auschwitz concentration camp, where she and her sister died in the gas chamber.

Official introduction of her cause for canonization took place in 1962, leading to her BEATIFICATION at Cologne by Pope JOHN PAUL II on May 1, 1987. He canonized her at ST. PETER'S BASILICA in the Vatican on October 11, 1998. In the same week he recommended reading her works in his encyclical *Fides et Ratio*. The following year the pope declared her copatroness of Europe, the only twentieth-century saint to be so honored.

Stein's early phenomenological writings cover the nature of empathy (our mode of access to another's experience), the individual, community, and the state. She articulates an account of our structure which distinguishes differing types and levels of experience, including more private types of experience (e.g., purely physical experience and personal, free acts) and more communal levels which enable us to understand another's experience, follow intelligible relations, and form genuine communities. (Stein understands communities as neither mere masses nor associations, which have external goals for their formation. Rather, communities develop around an internally shared life based in common values.) Stein's account of the state builds on these analyses; although states per se are not communities, the strongest states are those which grow out of communities and enable the cultivation of a culture.

Stein's lectures on women are less explicitly phenomenological, and in them she distinguishes feminine and masculine souls. All traits (and souls) are fundamentally human; no traits belong exclusively to one gender. Analogously, she argues that no profession ought to be limited to females or males. Nonetheless, she thinks that our souls have gendered natures which incline them toward the development of certain of the human traits, and generalizations can be made about feminine and masculine ways of engaging in common activities. For example, she claims that women tend toward holistic and personally-oriented development, while men toward specialized and object-oriented development. Even while affirming a strong account of intrinsically gendered souls, Stein makes clear both that the goal of development is a common one (full human development) and that our unique individuality marks each of us so that no individual is simply an expression of the more feminine or masculine tendencies.

Stein's translations and writings from the 1930s reveal a deep interest in bringing together the phenomenological and medieval traditions. Her translation of Aquinas's *De veritate* was the first into German, and she makes Thomas speak a more modern language, dropping the form involving objections and replies and providing commentary to help initiate more contemporary thinkers into Aquinas's concerns. *Potency and Act* continues this synthesizing project, and it comes to maturity in *Finite and Eternal Being*. In these later writings, Stein understands philosophy as capable not only of providing a foundation for the other disciplines (as phenomenology) but also of articulating the nature of being (as METAPHYSICS). Hers is a metaphysics, however, arrived at through phenomenological analyses.

Stein frames much of her synthetic project around Thomistic themes. She understands the movement from potency to act to be key to understanding living things; she affirms the centrality of the TRANSCENDENTALS (placing particular importance on BEAUTY) and articulates a variety of ways in which we are oriented toward the eternal; and she employs the analogy of being, understanding our knowledge of God to be fundamentally analogical rather than univocal or apophatic. These more medieval topics are discussed, however, in relation to contemporary concerns with philosophical method and advances in the natural sciences (including quantum physics and evolutionary theory).

Although adopting much from Thomism, Stein's metaphysics differs markedly in her affirmation of an individual form and her understanding of being. She adopts the broadly Aristotelian-Thomistic hylomorphic account of human nature, understanding us as a unity of matter in which potencies are actualized and soul, or form, as the seat of our distinctively human potencies. (This model is slightly adapted to be a unity of body, soul, and spirit, the latter of which is the *I* or conscious, free, and first-personal engagement.) In contrast to Thomas, however, Stein takes the most basic structure of the soul not to be the species form, but rather a unique individual form. Similarly, Stein's account of being is distinctive, understanding being not simply as act. She distinguishes actual being (efficacious being), mental being (being in the understanding), and essential being (*wesenhaftes Sein*, the being of intelligible structures). What comes to act actualizes the structures which *are* already in essential being. Thus, Stein's understanding of potencies coming to act is one of a thing unfolding in act what already is in essential being.

Stein's early writings make contributions to the general Husserlian project, providing a detailed account of intersubjectivity and a phenomenology of types of social groupings. After her conversion, Christian themes become more noticeable, and she draws heavily from the Christian medieval tradition. Throughout all of her work, however, certain themes are constant, including a commitment to a personal core or individual form and the essential communal dimension which are a part of our structure as human beings.

SEE ALSO AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU; DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; DOMINICAN SISTERS; FIDES ET RATIO; HOLOCAUST (SHOAH); HYLOMORPHISM; PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE; WORLD WAR II.

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STENMANNS, JOSEPHA HENDRINA, BL.

Cofoundress of the Congregation of Missionary Sisters, Servants of the Holy Spirit; baptized Hendrina; b. Issum, Germany, May 28, 1852; d. Steyl, Netherlands, May 20, 1903; beatified June 29, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Hendrina Stenmanns was the oldest of seven children born to William Francis Stenmanns and Anna Maria Wallboom. Upon finishing elementary school, Hendrina began working as a silk weaver, a trade she practiced for nearly twenty years. Attracted to the religious life, Hendrina joined the Franciscan Third Order when she was nineteen, but the policies of the

KULTURKAMPF in Germany prevented her from joining a religious order. Her religious aspirations were further complicated by a promise she made to her dying mother in 1878 to care for her siblings.

Hendrina learned about the recently founded missionary Society of the Divine Word from Lambert Wellers, a former apprentice of her father's who had joined the order. She traveled to Steyl in the Netherlands to visit the order's mission house in 1879, then returned there annually for the celebration of PENTECOST. On February 12, 1884, with the approval of the order's founder, St. Arnold JANSSEN, Hendrina joined the mission house as a kitchen maid.

In the next few years, plans crystallized for the foundation of a women's congregation to assist the Society of the Divine Word in its missionary work. On December 8, 1889, Hendrina, along with Bl. Helena STOLLENWERK and a few other women, became postulants in this new congregation, the Congregation of Missionary Sisters, Servants of the Holy Spirit, also known as the HOLY SPIRIT MISSIONARY SISTERS. Fr. Janssen named Hendrina and Helena cofoundresses of the congregation.

On January 17, 1892, Stenmanns received the habit and the religious name Josepha. She made her final vows on September 8, 1901. When Stollenwerk stopped serving as the congregation's first superior general in order to found a contemplative counterpart to the Holy Spirit Missionary Sisters, Sr. Josepha was named the order's superior (1898). As superior, Mother Josepha was responsible for supervising the formation of women entering the order and for running the order's printing press. She oversaw the departure of the first of the order's missionary sisters, to Argentina, Togo, New Guinea, the United States, and Brazil.

Mother Josepha fell ill in late 1902 and died several months later after a painful struggle. The cause for her BEATIFICATION was initiated on October 17, 1950. In anticipation of her beatification, her remains were transferred from the cemetery to the chapel of Sacred Heart Convent in Steyl on April 18, 2008.

Feast: May 20.

SEE ALSO DIVINE WORD, SOCIETY OF THE; NETHERLANDS, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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STERNI, GAETANA, BL.

Foundress, Sisters of the Divine Will in Bassano del Grappa, Italy; b. June 26, 1827, Cassola, Italy; d. November 26, 1889, Bassano del Grappa; beatified November 4, 2001, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

One of six children of Giovanni Battista Sterni and Giovanna Chiuppani, Gaetana suffered a series of tragedies in her early life. Her older sister and father died, and a brother left the family to become an actor. Though these events precipitated severe financial stress, Gaetana, guided by her mother, was devout and studious and grew into a beautiful young woman. At fifteen she married Liberale Conte, a widowed businessman with three children. Tragedy struck this new family when Liberale died while Gaetana was pregnant with their first child; the young wife had a premonition of this heartbreaking event. Although devastated by the loss, she continued to care for her much loved stepchildren and gave birth to her first child, who died just days later. Due to discord with Liberale's family, Gaetana lost custody of the children and returned to her mother's home. Gaetana persevered in her support for the now fatherless children and, in time, repaired relations with her husband's family.

After a period of prayer and reflection, Gaetana entered the Canossian religious community. While there she had another premonition, this one regarding the death of her mother. Tragedy struck again and, after only five months at the convent, the postulant was forced to leave to care for her siblings who were now orphaned. Gaetana maintained her faith through this trying period and ultimately came to believe that she should dedicate her life to God's will by ministry to the poor. Her family obligations satisfied and supported by Fr. Bedin, a Jesuit priest, in 1853 Gaetana began to work in the municipal poor house, a shelter and hospice to the elderly, sick, and indigent of Bassano del Grappa. In 1860 she made a personal vow of devotion to God, approved by her CONFESSOR.

Joined by two other women who shared her faith and commitment to follow only the will of God and serve the poor, Gaetana established the Sisters of the Divine Will in 1860. The local bishop recognized the

congregation in 1875. Gaetana worked among the residents of the shelter until her death at sixty-two. In beatifying her, Pope John Paul II said Gaetana "learned that the will of God is only love," and that she "reminds each believer of the need to seek the will of God in confident abandonment to Him and in generous service to one's brothers and sisters." Today the Sisters of the Divine Will serve the poor in Europe, the Americas, and Africa.

Feast: November 26.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; JESUITS; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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SUÁREZ, FRANCISCO

Philosopher, theologian; b. Granada, Spain, January 5, 1548; d. Lisbon, Portugal, Sept. 25, 1617.

In 1561 Francisco Suárez enrolled at the University of SALAMANCA to study law. In June 1564, he entered the fledgling Society of Jesus and began to study PHILOSOPHY. In 1566, he went on to study THEOLOGY, still at Salamanca, where his most important professor was Juan Mancio, O.P. (1497–1576), a successor of the great Francisco de VITORIA, O.P., in the chair of prime at the university. In 1570, Suárez began to teach philosophy, first at Salamanca and then at Segovia, where in March 1572, he was ordained a priest. He continued to lecture in philosophy until, in September 1574, he began teaching theology at Valladolid. In following years, he taught theology at Ávila (1575), Segovia (1575), Valladolid (1576), ROME (1580), the University of ALCALÁ (1585), Salamanca (1593), the University of COIMBRA (1597), Rome (1603–1606), and again at Coimbra until his retirement in 1615.

Work and Writings. Besides teaching, Suárez took part in theological disputes. Best known of these was the debate *De auxiliis* (On the Helps [for Salvation]) between JESUITS and DOMINICANS, concerning divine foreknowledge, CAUSALITY, grace, and human freedom. On the core question of conditional future contingents (called futuribles), Suárez adopted Luis de MOLINA's doctrine of a "middle knowledge" between GOD's knowledge of mere possibles and his knowledge of actual things other than himself. For Molina's view that God knows things other than himself in their actual reality by a "supercomprehension," he substituted a view that God knows such things in an intentional way.

More political was a quarrel between the Republic of Venice and the PAPACY, for which Suárez in 1607 composed a treatise, *De immunitate ecclesiastica a Venetis violata* (About the ecclesiastical immunity violated by the Venetians). Commending his effort, Pope PAUL V stated that the work revealed him to be "an eminent and pious theologian" (de Scorraille, 1912–1913, vol. 2, pp. 126–127). From this came the honorific title with which Suárez passed into history: *Doctor eximius ac pius*. Also largely political was a work that appeared at Coimbra in 1613, with a title that translates as *A Defense of the Catholic Faith against the Errors of the Anglican Sect, with a Reply to the "Apology" for the "Oath of Fidelity" and the "Warning Preface" of James, the Most Serene King of England*. This was condemned by James and publicly burned in London, because in it Suárez opposed the absolute power of kings and defended the indirect authority of the Church over temporal rulers, as well as resistance to a tyrannical monarch, even to a point of TYRANNICIDE.

Most of Suárez's theological writings tracked areas of the *Summa theologiae* of St. THOMAS AQUINAS. In early volumes the *Doctor eximius* reproduced Aquinas's text, followed it with brief commentary and then lengthy "disputations." In later volumes the Thomistic framework endured, but the text disappeared and Suárez's own presentation became much more important.

In correlation with the First Part of the *Summa theologiae* are the Suarezian treatises "On the Divine Substance and Its Attributes," "On Divine Predestination," and "On the Mystery of the Most Holy Trinity," published together at Coimbra in 1606 as *De Deo uno et trino* (On God, One and Triune). In the same setting are "On the Angels," "On the Work of the Six Days [of Creation]," and "On the Soul," published together posthumously as *De Deo effectore creaturarum omnium* (On God, the Maker of all Creatures) at Lyons in 1620–1621.

Corresponding to the First Part of the Second Part of the *Summa* are the treatises "On the Last End of Man," "On the Voluntary and the Involuntary," "On the Goodness and Evil of Human Acts" (which contained Aquinas's teachings on PROBABILISM and moral being), "On Passions and Habits," and "On Vices and Sins," published together at Lyons in 1628. Also here is the important and influential *De legibus seu de Deo legislatore* (On Laws or on God the Lawgiver). The fruit of Suárez's theological teaching between 1601 and 1603, the *De legibus* was published at Coimbra in 1612. Again in this Thomistic area are three volumes *On Grace*, I and III published at Coimbra in 1619 and II at Lyons in 1651. These related to the controversy *De auxiliis*, as did *Two Books on the Knowledge Which God Has of Future Contingents*, appearing at Madrid in 1599, and *On the True Understanding of [God's] Efficacious Aid*, composed in 1604 and 1605 and published at Lyons in 1655. To the Second Part of the Second Part of the *Summa* correspond *On Faith, Hope, and Charity* (Lyons and Coimbra, 1621) and four volumes, *On the Virtue and State of Religion* (containing, among other items, Aquinas's main thoughts on spirituality), of which two appeared at Coimbra in 1608 and 1609 and the others at Lyons in 1624 and 1625.

Conforming to the *Summa*'s Third Part are *On the Incarnate Word* (Alcalá, 1590), *On the Mysteries of the Life of Christ*, and *On the Sacraments* (Alcalá, 1592, and Coimbra, 1602, respectively) plus *On Censures* (Coimbra, 1603). In *On the Mysteries of the Life of Christ*, Suárez also develops MARIOLOGY in a systematic manner.

Metaphysics. Outside the Thomistic frame is Suárez's best-known work, the *Disputationes metaphysicae* (Metaphysical Disputations), published at Salamanca in 1597. Comprising fifty-four "Disputations," the work was intended as Christian philosophy, propaedeutic to theology. It differed from previous metaphysical treatises, which usually had been either short works, such as Aquinas's *On Being and Essence*, or commentaries on ARISTOTLE. One approach was incomplete and the other too tied to the rambling text of Aristotle. In contrast, Suárez gave a complete systematic exposition of METAPHYSICS.

By any gauge, the *Metaphysical Disputations* displays huge learning. Through 2,000 pages, after stating each problem, Suárez searched history for solutions offered to it. Almost every Greek, Arabic, Patristic, and Scholastic writer seems cited, as many as twenty-two for a single question. Of 245 authors, Aristotle is most mentioned, a total of 1,735 times, while Aquinas is next, cited 1,008 times. But not just compiling opinions, Suárez clearly presented his own metaphysics, to which end he divided the work into two main parts presented in two tomes.

In "Disputation 1" he explains that the object of metaphysics, which is "being insofar as it is *real* being," (Suárez, *Disputationes metaphysicae*, I, s. 1, n. 26, in *Opera Omnia*, Vol. 25, p. 11) includes all that is actual or possible but excludes BEING of reason and being *per accidens*. "Disputation 2" considers the concept of being which, transcending all genera, SPECIES, and differences, represents everything real—from extrinsic denominations, through mere possibles, to the purely actual reality of God. The concept itself is further sharpened by two distinctions. The first is between the formal concept as an ACT of the mind and the objective concept as what that act immediately intends as its object. The second falls between *being* as a participle, which refers to actual existents and *being* as a noun, which refers to whatever is not a mere fiction but is true in itself and apt to exist. The object of metaphysics is then identified with the common objective concept of *being* as a noun.

"Disputation 3" treats the transcendental properties (i.e., UNITY, TRUTH, and goodness) of being, and then considers the principles of CONTRADICTION, IDENTITY, and the EXCLUDED MIDDLE. In "Disputation 4," Suárez discusses unity. This continues in "Disputation 5," with discussion of INDIVIDUATION, and in "Disputation 6," which deals with UNIVERSALS. Still under unity, "Disputation 7" considers real, rational, and modal distinctions. "Disputation 8" discusses transcendental truth, which is balanced by a discussion of FALSITY in "Disputation 9." Transcendental goodness is the subject of "Disputation 10," which is followed by a treatment of EVIL in "Disputation 11." After the properties of being, in "Disputations" 12 through 27 there is treatment of the causes of being. "Disputation 12" treats causes in general while "Disputations" 13–25 deal with material, formal, efficient, and final causes. "Disputation 26" compares causes with effects, and "Disputation 27" rounds out the first part of the work with consideration of the relations of causes to one another.

The second part descends to items under the common concept of being as a noun. "Disputation 28"—of which Section 3 presents the analogy of being—divides being into infinite and finite. Infinite being is the subject of the next two disputations. The existence of God is demonstrated in "Disputation 29." Suárez rejects any physical proof that would use the principle "Everything that is moved is moved by another," to pass from motion to a First Mover. Instead, he proceeds metaphysically, in a way that, reflecting AVICENNA, employs the principle "Everything which comes to be, comes to be by another" and follows the analogous concept of being from lesser and lower being to a First Being. "Disputation 30" investigates divine perfection, simplicity, immensity, immutability, WISDOM, and OMNIPOTENCE. "Disputation 31" begins treatment of FINITE BEING

with the denial of a real distinction between essence and existence in creatures. "Disputation 32" considers SUBSTANCE and ACCIDENT in general. Substance is treated in the next four disputations, whereas the categories of accident are the subject matter of "Disputations" 37 to 53. Important here is "Disputation 47"; it considers real relations, which may be transcendental or categorical. Transcendental relations—as between matter and form, accidents and substance, creatures and God—transcend categories, whereas categorical relations are restricted to the category of relation. Every categorical relation (e.g., one of likeness) involves a real SUBJECT (e.g., one man), a real terminus (e.g., another man), and a real foundation (say, whiteness). Suárez maintains that such a relation is reducible to its foundation as this exists in its subject and connotes a terminus. "Disputation 54" concludes the work with a discussion of "beings of reason," comprising negations, privations, and mind-dependent relations. Suárez added a "Most Ample Index to the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle," which amounted to a medium-size commentary on Aristotle's work.

On the Soul. The *Tractatus de anima* (On the SOUL), which Suárez regarded as part of the Aristotelian philosophy of nature, as well as complementary to theology, once again presents its subject systematically. Its six books treat the nature, attributes, faculties, operations, and ultimate status of the rational soul. This soul, the only substantial form of a human being, is through distinct powers the source of vegetative, sensitive, and intellectual activities. Departing from the general Scholastic tradition, Suárez united the common sense, imagination, memory, and the estimative sense in one internal sense power. At another level, he distinguished between the adequate object of the INTELLECT as such (i.e., being as being, which embraces all intelligible items, including beings of reason) and the object of the human intellect in its present state (i.e., sensible or material things). On the level of the intellect, Suárez allows for a direct and immediate knowledge of the singular.

The excellence of its intellectual operations indicates the spirituality and the transcendence of the soul over the body. Suárez offers two un-Aristotelian proofs for the soul's immortality. First, inasmuch as the soul is spiritual and incorporeal it is also substantially simple. It is, then, incorruptible and thus immortal. Second, under the JUSTICE OF GOD, evildoers should be punished and GOOD persons rewarded. Since that often does not happen in this life, there must be another life in which it can happen, and this can only be if the soul is immortal. But in any AFTERLIFE, the soul without the body would be incomplete, which suggests an argument for the resurrection of the body.

Law and Political Theory. Suárez was just as learned in LAW and political science as in metaphysics. All law is rooted in the "Eternal Law," which is a decree of God's will, establishing the order to be observed either generally in the universe or especially by intellectual creatures in their free operations. In his emphasis on God's will, Suárez parted company from Aquinas, who identified the eternal law with divine reason governing the universe. For both Suárez and Aquinas, the natural law is immediately derived from the eternal law. Residing in human minds, it enables human beings naturally to discern what is morally good or evil. In *De legibus*, Suárez says that natural law first embraces general principles such as "Good must done and evil avoided." Next come principles more particular but evident from their terms, such as "Justice should be observed," "God should be worshipped," or "One should live with self-control." From these principles conclusions are derived that are more or less easily known (e.g., that ADULTERY and THEFT are wrong). Needing more reasoning and not easily known by all are conclusions such as "Fornication is intrinsically evil" or "Lying is never justified." Although they may be affected extrinsically from circumstances, true precepts of NATURAL LAW cannot be abrogated or diminished by any human law or power. Suárez rejects both WILLIAM OF OCKHAM's opinion that God can dispense from the entire Decalogue and John DUNS SCOTUS's view that God can dispense from Decalogue commands that relate to creatures. Rather, the whole Decalogue is indispensable, even by the absolute power of God. Thus, despite its root in divine will, law is not arbitrary either for men or for God.

Verging on natural law, the law of nations (*jus gentium*) is human law, positive but unwritten. Established by the customs of almost all nations, it can in principle, although not with ease, be changed. In one sense, it is "the law of nations among themselves (*inter se*)," a law that nations must observe with regard to one another. Items such as the immunity of ambassadors and free commerce, as well as the right of war (*jus belli*), belong to the *jus gentium* in this sense. In a second way, it is "the law of nations within themselves (*intra se*)." This is the law individual states commonly observe within their own borders. Items like private property, buying and selling, and the use of money, belong to the *jus gentium* in this second way. The first way, in effect an international law, is most properly called the law of nations.

War should be avoided whenever possible. But at times war may be the only option for the preservation of the republic, which has a right and even a duty to defend itself. For the justice of any war, a legitimate, public, and supreme authority was required to declare it. Also needed was a just cause of sufficient gravity. Right conduct should rule at the start of a war, in its prosecu-

tion, and in victory. Authority to declare and wage war is based on one state's right to punish or avenge an injury done to it by another. According to Suárez, each state, supreme in its own order (i.e., the temporal order) with no tribunal beyond, has the authority to forcibly redress injuries against itself. In this, Suárez departed from Vitoria, for whom a state should redress injuries "by the authority of the whole world" (Doyle 1991–1992, p. 907). This difference between the two great Scholastics is reflected in debates about each nation's right to defend its own interests versus its obligations to the community of nations.

Because civil power is similar among Christians and pagans, Christians cannot have more reason than pagans for a just war. Neither can Christians make war against pagans for the sole reason that pagans lack faith. By Suárez's day, issues occasioned by the evangelization of the American Indians were largely settled for Catholic thinkers. The common view was that the Indians were persons, masters of their own lives and possessions, and that it was never lawful, absent just cause, to subjugate or despoil them—even in order to evangelize them. This was Suárez's position. Against any application to the American Indians of Aristotle's division of human beings into those fitted by nature to rule and those who were by nature slaves, Suárez's view was straightforward: It is unbelievable that people in any region have all been born "monstrous and in a way that contradicts the natural disposition" (Doyle 1991–1992, p. 890) of human beings to be free. Rather, because they have been created in the IMAGE OF GOD, persons in all regions are equally capable of dominion over themselves and their possessions.

In origin, the republic is natural. But it is also voluntary inasmuch as free persons, who are naturally inclined to political association, must still agree to it. States then arise from a "consensus," explicit or tacit, freely entered into by communities. People are not by nature forced to choose a particular form of state, and in fact, different, naturally equal forms exist. In practice, the best government is a MONARCHY. But what form a monarchy takes and how much power any monarch has will depend on the initial grant of the people. Thus, civil authority or power, in any form, is ultimately from nature and God but immediately from the people.

Although each state is "supreme in its own order" (Doyle 1991–1992, p. 907), the power of one ends where that of another begins, according to Suárez. Again, while the state has power to enact laws from which there is no appeal to any other earthly tribunal, the power of any state, even within its own territory, is not absolute. Although ordinarily their gift of power is irrevocable, in principle the people retain authority over their government. Hence, as the common good demands, political power, even that of a monarch, may be changed or limited. State power is also limited at the private zones of persons and families, which are by nature prior to the state. For even at a natural level human beings seek a happiness beyond the reach of civil power and civil laws. At another level, God has given men a Revelation and a Church, through which he has called all to a supernatural HAPPINESS. Much less then, will state power and laws reach to this level of human reality.

In contrast with temporal power—which is from God but whose immediate origin is human—ecclesial power is immediately "from the special promise and grant of Christ" (Doyle 1991–1992, p. 895). While church and state are each supreme in its own order, the fundamental relation between the two is hierarchical. State power in this world aims at a common temporal good of political happiness, which does require ethical behavior. Beyond this, the power of the one Christian church, aimed at the eternal SALVATION of its members, is directly within the spiritual order. Indirectly, however, that church has power, at least over a Christian state, even in temporal matters. Suárez counts it a plus for Christian states that their power is raised to a new height as it is subordinated to the Church.

SEE ALSO CATEGORIES OF BEING; CONGRUISM; SUAREZIANISM.

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SURIANO, GIUSEPPINA, BL.

Foundress, Daughters of Mary, Partinico, Italy; b. February 18, 1915, Partinico; d. May 19, 1950, Partinico; beatified September 5, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Born to Giuseppe Suriano and Graziella Costantino, Giuseppina, known as Pina, was a pious and loving child. She was enrolled at the nursery school of the Collegiate Sisters of St. Anthony at the age of four and then attended public school in Partinico. She became a member of the lay organization CATHOLIC ACTION in 1922, and increased her activities in the Church as she matured.

Though she displayed a vocation from an early age, Pina's family was unanimously opposed to her plan to enter religious life. Her mother took extreme steps to dissuade Pina from pursuing her desire; the family wanted the young woman to marry and raise a family. Unable to overcome her family's objections, Pina continued to pursue lay activities in the parish and diocese, and became a leader in the community. Her public persona, however, belied deep despair and a sense of isolation. Her diary reveals her anguish: "My soul cries out and is in danger of falling into a bottomless pit ... it is a constant martyrdom of the heart." She wrote of her feeling of abandonment, even by God, but also of offering her pain as a sacrifice for her faith.

Pina respectfully refused all suitors and, on April 29, 1932, took a personal vow of CHASTITY that she renewed monthly. She became the secretary of Catholic Action in 1939. In 1940 Pina's family finally agreed to let her enter the Institute of the Daughters of St. Anne in Palermo to begin religious training. Medical tests revealed a heart condition, and Pina was forced to leave the convent after only eight days. She returned to Partinico and her work as secretary for Catholic Action, and was president of Youth Catholic Action from 1945 to 1948.

In 1948 Pina created an organization called the Daughters of Mary, which she led as president until her death. Also that year she was diagnosed with a particularly severe form of rheumatoid arthritis that probably exacerbated her heart condition and contributed to her death. Unable to realize her dream of becoming a nun but with the unabated desire to demonstrate her devotion, Pina and three other women offered themselves as

victims for the sanctification of priests on Easter Sunday, March 30, 1948. In beatifying her Pope John Paul II noted her "ardent and faithful love" of Jesus and her "simple, steadfast desire to give her young life to God as an offering of love and especially for the sanctification and perseverance of priests."

Feast: May 19.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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SZYMKOWIAK, SANCJA (SANTIA), BL.

Baptized Janina, religious, Daughters of the Sorrowful Mother of God (Seraphic Sisters), Poznań, Poland; b. July 11, 1910, Mozdzanów, Poland; d. August 29, 1942, Poznań; beatified August 18, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Janina, as she was baptized, was one of five children born to a wealthy family. Unusual for a girl of those times, she was encouraged in her studies and, due to her family's privileged position, able to pursue an advanced education. After graduating from high school, she attended the University of Poznań's program of foreign language and literature, where she studied French. During the summer of 1934 she made a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Blessed Virgin in LOURDES, France. The experience proved to be a turning point in Janina's life. She consecrated herself to the Virgin and entered the convent of the Oblate Sisters of the Sacred Heart at Montluçon. After many months, Janina gave in to her family's wishes and returned to Poland.

Janina was resolved to enter religious life, writing that "Jesus wants me to be a holy religious, and he will not be happy with me until I use all my strength for him and become a saint. God is everything, I am nothing." In 1936 she joined the Daughters of the Sorrowful Mother of God in Poznań, taking the name Maria Sancja. On June 30, 1938, Sr. Sancja took first vows. Thereafter she worked in a nursery school and started a course in pharmacology, which was interrupted by the Nazi invasion of Poland in 1939.

The congregation was forced to work for the occupying forces and to care for the English and French soldiers who had been taken prisoner and were held at the convent. Conditions were extremely hard, but Sr. Sancja never stopped in her efforts to alleviate the pain and suffering that was all around her. Given an opportunity to leave the convent and return to her family in 1940, she refused, wishing to remain with her sisters. Sr. Sancja's unflagging spirit, despite the terrible conditions of privation, became a mainstay of strength for those around her, particularly the prisoners who saw her as an "angel of goodness."

Sr. Sancja took solemn vows on July 6, 1942, although she was already in failing health, and she died on August 29, 1942. In beatifying her in a ceremony in Poland, Pope John Paul II said that the "work of mercy" led Sr. Sancja to commit her life to God, and that even through the horror of war she "considered her religious vocation a gift of Divine Mercy."

Feast: August 29.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; POLAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); WORLD WAR II.

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T

TADINI, ARCÁNGELO, ST.

Diocesan priest, founder of the Congregation of Worker Sisters of the Holy House of Nazareth; b. Verolanuova near Brescia, Lombardy, Italy, October 12, 1846; d. Botticino Sera, Brescia, May 20, 1912; beatified October 3, 1999, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized April 26, 2009, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Arcángelo Tadini was the youngest in a noble family headed by Pietro Tadini, a widower with seven children by his first wife, along with four by his second wife, Antonia Gadola. Arcángelo's father, the communal secretary and a patriot during the struggle for Italian independence, died in 1860. A sickly child, Arcángelo studied in the local schools until he entered secondary school at Lovere. He began his seminary studies in Brescia in 1864 at age eighteen. An accident during these years left him with a limp. He was ordained in 1870, but due to illness he remained for a year with his family.

After he regained his health, Fr. Tadini served as a parish priest and elementary school teacher in the mountain village of Lodrino in Voltrompia (1871–1873), at Santa Maria della Noce near Brescia (1873–1885), and for a brief time at San Nazzaro in Brescia. At one point, after a flood devastated his parish, he set up a soup kitchen that served three hundred meals a day. In 1885 he was transferred to Botticino Sera, where he ministered for the rest of his life. There, he proved himself a zealous pastor, who preached with a warmth and conviction that energized his parish to come alive with many activities, including a choir, catechetical classes for all ages, and various confraternities.

By promoting the sanctification of daily work, Fr. Tadini gave flesh to the teachings of *Rerum novarum* (Of new things), an encyclical on the rights and duties of capital and labor issued by Pope LEO XIII in 1891. He taught his parishioners that work is not a burden but a way in which men and women can become holy in their daily lives. With the spread of the Industrial Revolution, Fr. Tadini found ample ways to serve the local people. In order to help ill, disabled, and elderly workers, he founded the Workers' Mutual Aid Association. In addition, he established an agricultural cooperative and built a spinning factory with his own inheritance to provide work for the unemployed, acquiring the adjacent villa to house the female workers. To ensure the continuance of his work, Fr. Tadini founded the Congregation of Worker Sisters of the Holy House of Nazareth in 1900. The sisters went into factories to work alongside those whom they sought to evangelize. Today, the order operates in Italy, England, Switzerland, Africa, and Latin America.

Fr. Tadini, who came to be known as the Apostle of the Working World, taught his parishioners to sanctify the workplace, taking the Holy Family of Nazareth as their example. During his life, he had a deep and steadfast devotion to the Eucharist, which gave impetus to all his charitable works. At his BEATIFICATION in 1999, Pope John Paul II emphasized this devotion to the Eucharist:

> In the school of the Eucharist he learned to break the bread of God's Word, to practice charity, and to respond with pastoral resourcefulness to the social and religious challenges that marked the end of the last century.... The needs arising then in the working world spurred his pastor's heart to search for new ways to proclaim and bear witness to the Gospel.

At his canonization in 2009, Pope Benedict XVI also emphasized this Eucharistic theme, stating: "He

reminds us that only by cultivating a constant and profound relationship with the Lord, especially in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, can we bring the Gospel leaven to the various fields of work and to every area of our society."

Feast: May 20.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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TALAMONI, LUIGI, BL.

Priest and founder, Congregation of the Merciful Sisters of St. Gerard (Suore Misericordine); b. October 3, 1848, Monza, Italy; d. January 31, 1926, Milan, Italy; beatified March 21, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Born to hatter Giuseppe Talamoni and his wife Maria Sala, Luigi was the second oldest of six children. A devout child, he went to daily Mass with his father and was an altar boy. He attended the oratorio at Carrobiolo, an institution run by Barnabite priests serving young men who wanted to study for the priesthood but were unable to pay for training. In 1865 Luigi transferred to the Theological Seminary at Milan to complete his religious studies. He was ordained on March 4, 1871; he also was awarded a degree in literature and PHILOSOPHY from a lay institution. Fr. Talamoni taught at Collegio San Carlo in Milan, and in 1875 he was assigned to the seminary in Monza.

Fr. Talamoni's tenure at the seminary at Monza, where he worked for the rest of his life, was marked by considerable difficulty. Internal conflict caused incidents of personal cruelty among the priests, who had divided themselves into liberal and conservative factions. Fr. Talamoni, perhaps considered too traditional in his faith, was the butt of jokes and attempts by some to cause embarrassment and humiliation. Throughout Fr. Talamoni showed himself to be honorable and forgiving, never allowing himself to become mean-spirited or angry.

Fr. Talamoni taught and spent a great deal of time hearing confessions; in this latter role he served both the lay population and his fellow priests. He was a well-respected spiritual guide and trainer for priests and religious. Unusual for the time, he accepted civil obligations by serving on the city council at Monza from 1893 to 1916, and again from 1923 to 1926.

Untiring in service to the poor, Fr. Talamoni was particularly devoted to the homebound elderly and sick. Providently, the priest, desperate to find a way to serve this population, met Maria Biffi Levati, a laywoman of great faith, who was also dedicated to easing the suffering of those sick people living in poverty. Together they founded the Congregation of the Merciful Sisters of St. Gerard in 1891. Fr. Talamoni wrote the first rules of the congregation.

Achille Ratti, the future Pope PIUS XI, taught by Fr. Talamoni as a high school seminary student, called him a "gem of Ambrosian [Milanese] clergy." In beatifying him, Pope John Paul II said Fr. Talamoni stood as "a faithful reflection of God's mercy," and lauded his work as confessor, minister to prisoners, and champion of the sick indigent.

Feast: January 31.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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TAPARELLI D'AZEGLIO, LUIGI

Baptized Prospero; Jesuit priest, social, political, economic, and NATURAL LAW theorist; b. Turin, Italy, November 24, 1793; d. Rome, September 20, 1862.

Son of the Marquis Cesare d'Azeglio, of ancient Piedmontese nobility, young Prospero was inducted into the military academy of Saint-Cyr in Paris in 1809, and released after a few months upon request to study for the priesthood. The marquis served King Vittorio Emanuele I in exile and, after Napoleon's fall, was made ambassador to the HOLY SEE. He took a leading role in the early Catholic action movement.

In 1814 Prospero, taking the name Luigi after St. ALOYSIUS GONZAGA, entered the novitiate of the reinstituted Society of Jesus. He became director of the Collegio di Novara in 1818, and the first rector of the restored Collegio Romano (later, GREGORIAN UNIVERSITY) in 1824. Concluding as early as 1825 that philosophical confusion required a return to SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY, Taparelli formed a clandestine circle at the Gregorian to study the writings of St. THOMAS AQUINAS, and he advocated in 1827 for the society to reaffirm its commitment to the Angelic Doctor in the revised *Ratio Studiorum*. In this period, Gioacchino Pecci, future Pope LEO XIII, was among his students. Taparelli was relocated to Naples in 1829, where as provincial he brought together other supporters of the scholastic cause. He was relocated again in 1833, to the Collegio Massimo in Palermo, where he taught, among other things, natural law. This led to the composition of his magnum opus, the *Saggio Teoretico di Dritto Naturale Appogiatto sul Fatto* (*Theoretical Treatise on Natural Law Based on Fact*, 1840–1843), in which he sought to refound modern political thought on Catholic anthropology. His novel methodological approach to social and political questions involved confronting rights and duties derived from scholastic natural law reasoning with empirical historical facts, resolving competing rights and interests with JUSTICE and PRUDENCE, and confirming conclusions in the light of revelation and sound doctrine. Taparelli developed the view that subjective rights were the product of objective human duties; thus the duty of "sociality" yields a right of association. He coined the new term "social justice" to describe the rights (and duties) of intermediary associations formed thereby, governed by the principle of SUBSIDIARITY (his phrase, "*dritto ipotettico*"), which defines the hierarchy of rights and duties between interrelated associations that make up every vital society. Versions of the book were translated into German, Spanish, and French for use in Jesuit schools. In Palermo during the revolutions of 1848, Taparelli defended the claims of the rebels and the freedom of the Church in the pamphlet *Sulla Libertà di Associazione*, which precipitated his temporary exile from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

In 1849 Pope PIUS IX invited Taparelli and two colleagues, Carlo Maria CURCI, S.J., and Matteo LIBERATORE, S.J., to establish a journal to engage the reigning ideas of the day, *La Civiltà Cattolica*. Taparelli wrote biweekly essays for the journal from 1850 until his death in 1862, and in these he applied the scholastic natural law principles of man and society that he developed in the Saggio to pressing economic, social, and political issues. Taparelli's dialectical method and the polemical zeal with which he deconstructed liberal shibboleths irritated even moderate Catholic liberals, and fostered a lasting prejudice in RISORGIMENTO Italy and across liberal Europe, especially among those who had only superficial knowledge of his writings. The separate publication of a series of articles critical of the absolute claims for representative government, *Esame critico degli ordini rappresentativi nella società moderna* (1854), contributed to the simplistic characterization of his political ideals. Toward the end of his life, while he was working on the emerging science of political economy (series translated into French by Robert Jacquin, *Essai sur les principes philosophiques de l'économie politique*, Paris, 1943), Taparelli indicated the need for economists to account for the "three motors" of human action: material interests, social interests, and spiritual interests. Few scholars have elaborated on the significance of this neo-Aristotelian-Thomistic psychology for social scientific inquiry.

Shifting political contexts and the course of the Thomistic revival itself tended to obscure Taparelli's paradigmatic contribution to Catholic social thought, let alone the significance of his social scientific methodology. Taparelli's influence on Leo XIII is evident in the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879), on restoring Thomistic philosophy, and in the "magna carta of Catholic social thought," *Rerum novarum* (1891), the last draft of which

was written by Taparelli's protégé, Liberatore. The Jesuit Oswald von Nell-Breuning employed Taparelli's principles of sociality (or solidarism, as rephrased by Heinrich Pesch, S.J.) and subsidiarity in the drafting of PIUS XI's *Quadragesimo anno*. Pius XI believed that Taparelli's writings could "never be studied enough" (*Divini illius magistri*, 1939), and ranked Taparelli in importance for Catholic thought right after St. Thomas himself.

SEE ALSO AETERNI PATRIS; ANTHROPOLOGY, THEOLOGICAL; CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA, LA; DIVINI ILLIUS MAGISTRI; JESUITS; NAPOLEON I; QUADRAGESIMO ANNO; RERUM NOVARUM; SOCIAL JUSTICE; SOCIAL THOUGHT, CATHOLIC; TAPARELLI D'AZEGLIO, MASSIMO.

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TAPARELLI D'AZEGLIO, MASSIMO

Piedmontese statesman, Italian unification leader, author, and painter; b. Turin, Italy, October 24, 1798; d. Turin, January 15, 1866.

Massimo was the son of the Marquis Cesare d'Azeglio and brother of Jesuit NATURAL LAW theorist, Luigi Taparelli d'Azeglio. His first wife was Giulia Manzoni, daughter of author Alessandro Manzoni. Massimo was Prime Minister (1849–1852) of the Kingdom of Sardinia (Piedmont) under VICTOR EMMANUEL II.

As a young man, Massimo set out in ROME as a painter of romantic and patriotic subjects. He turned to writing historical novels with the hope of having greater political impact. His patriotic novels *Ettore Fieramosca* (1833) and *Niccolò de' Lapi* (1841) brought him some early popularity. In his pamphlet *Degli ultimi casi di Romagna* (1846, *On the Latest Events in Romagna*), d'Azeglio criticized both the clerical administration of the Papal States as well as the ineffective insurrectionary approach to Italian unification advocated by Giuseppe MAZZINI and other radicals. That pamphlet thrust him to the forefront of nationalist politics. Believing war inevitable with Austria over its claims in Lombardy and the Veneto, and with the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, supported by Austria and Russia, d'Azeglio had early on been convinced Italian unification could be accomplished only through Franco-Piedmontese military might. D'Azeglio's memoir of his upbringing and early career, *I miei ricordi*, is an important RISORGIMENTO autobiography.

As a constitutional monarchist, the moderately liberal (now Marquis) d'Azeglio was briefly among the leaders of the neo-Guelf movement, supporting an Italian confederation under symbolic papal leadership before the ill-fated First Italian War of Independence (1848–1849). With the military defeat and abdication of Carlo Alberto, Victor Emmanuel invited d'Azeglio to form a government to negotiate peace with Austria and to salvage what he could of Piedmont's constitutional government in the face of popular but unrealistic demands to renew the war. D'Azeglio brought Count Camillo di CAVOUR into the cabinet in 1850, out of respect for his experience with industrial and financial matters. He soon came to regret the latter's opportunism and ambition, however, as Cavour conspired successfully to supplant him as prime minister with a more aggressive unification program.

The anticlerical d'Azeglio's relationship with his Jesuit brother Luigi is among the more interesting personal dramas of Risorgimento Italy. As one of the chief writers of the papal intellectual journal *La Civiltà Cattolica*, Luigi was publicly among the chief defenders of the temporal authority of the pope. Correspondence of the two reveals an abiding respect and fraternal love, as well as much closer shared social and political perspectives than has been widely known or imagined. Massimo wrote to their brother Roberto concerning Luigi, "It is odd that while he has such a fervent faith, and I am altogether on the other side, that we are almost always in agreement on the social questions" (Jacquin 1943, p. 74).

SEE ALSO ANTICLERICALISM; CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA, LA; JESUITS; NEO-

GUELFISM; TAPARELLI D'AZEGLIO, LUIGI.

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TARRÉS I CLARET, PERE (PETER), BL.

Priest and doctor; b. May 30, 1905, Manresa, Spain; d. August 31, 1950, Barcelona; beatified September 5, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Born to pious parents of modest means, Pere was a quiet and thoughtful child. A loving brother to his sisters, who both entered religious life, Pere showed an early interest in medicine and worked in a local pharmacy. Awarded a scholarship, he began medical studies in 1921 in Barcelona.

Kindling a strong devotion to the Holy Eucharist and the Blessed Mother, Pere first became actively involved in Catholic organizations during his medical training. He joined the lay Federation of Young Christians and led by example in the group's apostolic work. He served as president of the local branch and later as the vice president of the federal group. A member of CATHOLIC ACTION, another lay organization dedicated to addressing social issues from the Catholic perspective, Pere served as vice secretary and secretary of the diocesan committee. He was an inspirational voice in both groups.

Pere's personal faith guided his work as a doctor, and he was known as a compassionate and selfless healer. The Spanish Civil War heralded a time of persecution against Christians by the Spanish government, and for a time, Pere lived in hiding, but in 1938 he was conscripted and served as a military doctor. The physical and psychic horrors of war haunted Pere. A gifted writer, he recounted his experiences in diaries that were published as *El meu diari de guerra: 1938–1939.*

Emerging from the war years with the belief that God wanted him to heal not only bodies but also souls, in 1939 Pere began religious training at the seminary in Barcelona, and he was ordained in 1942. He was awarded a degree in theology from the Pontifical University of Salamanca in 1944. Returning to Barcelona, Fr. Pere continued his work of ministering to the poor and became the spiritual advisor to religious congregations and to a hospital that cared for prostitutes; he was appointed the diocese's delegate for the welfare of women. He also continued his work with Catholic Action.

Diagnosed with lymphatic cancer and facing death, Fr. Pere wrote of the "joy to have the possibility to be a priest." In beatifying him, Pope John Paul II noted that "he devoted himself with special concern *to the poorest of the sick,* convinced that 'the sick person is a symbol of the suffering Christ.'" In 1936, during his residency, Fr. Pere cofounded a clinic that served the poor in the community. That clinic is now the site of the Pere Tarrés Foundation, which is dedicated to continuing Fr. Pere's work.

Feast: May 19.

SEE ALSO DIRECTION, SPIRITUAL; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO; SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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TAVERNIER GAMELIN, ÉMILIE, BL.

Religious foundress; b. February 19, 1800, Montreal, Quebec, Canada; d. September 23, 1851, Montreal; beatified October 7, 2001, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Marie Émilie Eugène Tavernier lived her childhood and adolescence between the homes of her aunt, brother, and cousins, having lost her mother in 1804 and her father in 1814. Between boarding school and her initiation into the bourgeois social circles of Quebec City, Émilie sought out opportunities to practice the love of underprivileged persons, instilled in her at an early age by her parents, Antoine Tavernier and Marie Josephte Maurice. In 1823 Émilie married quinquagenarian apple merchant Jean Baptiste Gamelin, who shared her sensibilities and compassion for the poor. Tragedy marked their brief marriage: of their three children, only Toussaint François Arthur survived his father, who died in 1827.

The widow Gamelin immersed herself in organized CHARITY and devotional PRAYER. As a member of the Ladies of Charity of Montreal, she founded a refuge for impoverished and neglected old women. After Toussaint's death in 1828, she bound herself ever more closely to Our Lady of Sorrows and expanded her ministry for her aged "guests," while continuing to visit poor, sickly, and imprisoned persons.

In his efforts to ensure the permanence of Émilie's apostolate, the bishop of Montreal, Ignace BOURGET, eventually decided to form the Sisters of Charity of the House of Providence (1843). After some months, Émilie asked for admission into the novitiate; she was accepted, and after taking their vows the fledgling congregation elected Sr. Gamelin their first superior on March 30, 1844. In the face of precarious finances, the SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE under Mother Gamelin multiplied their charitable works: housing orphans, retired priests, and mentally handicapped persons; opening schools, including a pioneering institute for deaf girls; and providing relief from typhus and cholera epidemics. Just as her congregation was beginning to flourish, the founder suddenly fell ill during the night and died the following afternoon.

The cause for the BEATIFICATION of Émilie Tavernier Gamelin was opened in Montreal in 1980. After Pope John Paul II officially recognized her heroic virtues on December 23, 1993, the diocese investigated the case of Yannick Fréchette, who was allegedly healed from acute lymphoblastic leukemia through Mother Gamelin's INTERCESSION. The miracle was confirmed, and within a year her beatification followed. The pope's beatification HOMILY highlighted Mother Gamelin's profound confidence in divine providence as a bountiful source of her charity, creativity, compassion, and joy.

Feast: September 23.

SEE ALSO CANADA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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TEILHARD DE CHARDIN, PIERRE

Paleontologist and proponent of a synthesis of evolution with the Christian world view; b. Sarcenat (Orcines, Puy de Dôme), France, May 1, 1881; d. New York City, Apr. 10, 1955.

After graduating from the Jesuit College of Mongré, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin entered the Society of Jesus (in the Province of Lyons) in 1899. In 1901, however, French anti-clerical laws forced the Jesuits and other religious orders to leave France. Teilhard continued his studies in Jersey and then, as part of his training, taught physics and chemistry at the Jesuit school in Cairo. In 1908 he began studying theology in England and was ordained in 1911. By 1912 the anti-clerical laws were relaxed and he returned to France to begin doctoral studies in paleontology under Marcellin Boule at the Museum of Natural History in Paris. These studies were interrupted by World War I, during which Teilhard served as a stretcher-bearer. He defended his doctoral thesis at the Sorbonne in 1922.

Teilhard taught geology for a brief period at the Institut Catholique in Paris before leaving for China in 1923. It was on this trip that he and Émile Licent, S.J., became the first to find early human tools in China. Soon after returning to France in 1924, Teilhard found that an essay that he had written on original sin (see *Christianity and Evolution*, 45–55) had been sent to



Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre (1881-1955). *Consulting Paleontologist of the National Geological Survey of China, Rev. de Chardin is shown at a symposium of Early Man at the Academy of Natural Science in Philadelphia, PA., in this March 18, 1937 photo. He holds a skull of a Peking man he found in China.* **AP IMAGES**

Rome. In this essay, he judged the story of Adam and Eve to be a parable rather than history, and he suggested that humans originated from more than a single set of parents. The Church responded by requiring him to submit further writings in philosophy or theology to Rome for approval (no restriction was ever placed on his scientific writings). In addition, he could no longer teach at the Institut Catholique. He had become an important figure in Catholic intellectual circles in Paris and this concerned the archbishop. So the Jesuits suggested in 1926 that he return to China. There he soon began writing a devotional work titled *The Divine Milieu*.

As a consultant to the National Geological Survey of China, Teilhard focused on the stratigraphy and paleontology of northern China. He participated in the excavations at Zhoukoudian (or Choukoutien), where the Peking Man fossils were found. China became his base as he went on numerous scientific expeditions in Central Asia, India, and Burma, and he attended many scientific conferences in Europe and the United States. Teilhard accepted natural selection as the basic process of EVOLUTION, but he also believed that evolution had a built-in direction toward increased consciousness. His understanding of evolution is presented in *The Phenomenon of Man,* a work completed in 1940.

Teilhard spent the years of World War II in China. However, stenciled copies of his writings were circulated in Paris, and when he returned there in 1946 he found he had a large popular following. Thus, the French bishops were relieved when he relocated to New York in 1951 as a fellow of the Wenner-Gren Foundation, which twice sent him to South Africa. He died suddenly on Easter Day, April 10, 1955.

With the approval of his religious superior, Teilhard had bequeathed his religious and philosophic manuscripts to a friend who, after Teilhard's death, proceeded with publication. These works became a minor sensation, and Teilhard became a popular hero to many people because of his ideas, his hope for the human future, and his adventurous spirit. Some see his influence on Vatican II, especially in *Gaudium et spes* (Joy and Hope), the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World. Indeed, he was quoted four times in the general assembly.

> *Gaudium et spes* speaks of the importance of science, technology, and human development. It speaks of Christ as omega and as "the goal of human history" (45). It tells of humanity today being "struck with wonder at its own discoveries and power" (3). It asks that individuals and nations join together in "the promotion of global progress" (84). It tells of humanity having a "more dynamic and evolutionary" concept of reality (54). "The future of humanity lies in the hands of those who are strong enough to provide coming generations with reasons for living and hope" (31).

Teilhard's religious and philosophic writings are now collected in thirteen volumes (ten of which are collections of essays), and his scientific writings are collected in ten volumes. There are also fifteen volumes of his letters.

In 1980 Teilhard was accused of complicity in the 1912 Piltdown hoax, in which modern bone fragments were claimed to be the skull and jaw of an unknown form of early human. On June 30, 1962, the VATICAN issued a *monitum* (warning) stating that his writings contained ambiguities and "even serious errors, as offend

Catholic doctrine." Despite this criticism, on May 12, 1981, Agostino Cardinal CASAROLI, the Vatican secretary of state, called Teilhard "a man seized by Christ in the depths of his being and concerned to honor faith and reason at the same time" (Origins, July 16, 1981, vol. 11, no. 8). On July 20, 1981, however, the Vatican stated that the earlier *monitum* was still in effect.

Teilhard's theology was shaped both by his work in science and his understanding of Saint Paul. His studies in evolution showed him over time matter has been formed into increasingly complex units, and with this rise in complexity he saw a corresponding rise in consciousness. With the first humans, he believed, consciousness became reflective. He saw modern humans moving toward the formation of a single organism, much as separate cells once joined to form the first multicelled animals. A single soul, he believed, progressively animates this growing organism, and, using Pauline texts (especially Colossians and Ephesians), he argued that this soul is the risen Christ.

Teilhard believed that human work to build a society of justice and love provide the infrastructure needed for Christ to achieve his fullness (*pleroma*). He wrote, "Fundamentally—since all time and forever—but one single thing is being made in creation: the Body of Christ" (*Christianity and Evolution*, p. 74). Christ, he pointed out, is the one "in whom all things hold together" (Col 1:17; see also Eph 4: 9–16). Some have seen his understanding of such texts as verging on pantheism. In 1968, Joseph Ratzinger (later Benedict XVI) outlined Teilhard's vision, noting, "here the tendency of Pauline Christology is in essentials correctly grasped from the modern angle and rendered comprehensible again, even if the vocabulary employed is certainly rather too biological" (Ratzinger 1969, p. 239). In 1995, John Paul II used a quote of Teilhard to say what the Mass meant to him: The Eucharist is "celebrated in order to offer 'on the altar of the whole Earth the world's work and suffering' in the beautiful words of Teilhard de Chardin" (John Paul II 1996, p. 73).

SEE ALSO ANTICLERICALISM; CHINA, CHRISTIANITY IN; FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; JESUIT RELATIONS; JESUITS; PAUL, APOSTLE, ST.; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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An association of Catholic women founded in Spain by St. Pedro POVEDA (canonized May 4, 2003 by Pope John Paul II) in 1911; it subsequently spread throughout Western Europe, Mexico, South America, the Philippines, Japan, Formosa, Jordan, West Africa, and the Congo. In the U.S. the institute was established (1961) in Boston, MA, and Coral Gables, FL. Its members, known as Teresians, devote their lives to the apostolate of Christian education, teaching all age levels, irrespective of class or nationality. The aim of the institute is a harmonious blend of action and contemplation; every member must follow some course of study in order to obtain a university degree or other professional qualification. No habit or special uniform is worn by Teresians, whose patroness is ST. TERESA OF AVILA. As of 2009, this private international association was present in thirty countries on four continents, and was part of the Pontifical Council for the Laity.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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THÉRÈSE DE LISIEUX, ST.

French Carmelite nun celebrated for her autobiography; b. Alençon, France, January 2, 1873; d. Lisieux, France, September 30, 1897.

Early Life. Marie Françoise Thérèse Martin was the youngest of nine children born to Louis and Zélie (Guérin) MARTIN (who were beatified as a married couple October 19, 2008, by Pope Benedict XVI), two boys and two girls having died before her birth. Louis was a successful watchmaker and jeweler, while Zélie was a lacemaker. Their last child, Thérèse, was a sickly infant and had to be boarded with a wet nurse for the first year of her life. As she was a warm and affectionate child, deeply devoted to her family, her mother's death constituted a traumatic experience in her young life and plunged her into a state of sadness and sensitivity that she endured for eight years.

Thérèse, in her autobiography, divided her own early life into three distinct periods: The first was the happy and untrammeled period of her infancy before her mother died; the second, the eight years from 1877 to 1886, her "winter of trial," as she called it, a time of sensitivity and weariness and occasional religious scruples; the third was the period between 1886 and 1888, beginning with what she called her "conversion" and terminating with her entrance into the convent.

The family moved to Lisieux in 1881, and Thérèse was enrolled in the Benedictine Abbey school as a day student. She was a bright, retentive student, but shy and somewhat withdrawn, and consequently found school life unpleasant. In 1883 at the age of ten she contracted a strange illness during which she suffered a mixture of convulsions, hallucinations, and comas for three months. Finally, while earnestly imploring the help of the Blessed Virgin, she was instantaneously cured. Thérèse always believed her cure was miraculous and that the statue of Our Lady of Victories, before which she had been praying, actually smiled at her.

On Christmas 1886, Thérèse experienced her "conversion," an instant change that marked the inception of a new maturity and a more intense religious program. The actual occasion of this experience was simple. She had just returned from midnight Mass, and her father made an impatient remark about the festivities arranged for his youngest daughter. Ordinarily she would have been deeply hurt by the careless remark but, as she wrote: "Thérèse was different now, Jesus had changed her heart." Her sister Céline stated: "I was a witness to that sudden change, and I thought I was in a dream. That transformation was not limited only to a new self-possession but, at the same time, her soul could be seen to develop and grow in the practice of zeal and charity." From her earliest years Thérèse had been extraordinarily religious; in fact, she remarked near the end of her life that from the age of three she had never refused anything to the good God. She had been diligent at prayer and extremely conscientious in the practice of virtue. But the experience of Christmas 1886 marked a new stage in her religious development, as she acquired an intense interest in the apostolate, conceived a desire to suffer for God, and began to make immediate plans for entering the Carmelite convent in Lisieux.

A Carmelite. Her two older sisters, Pauline and Marie, had already entered the cloistered convent of the Discalced Carmelite nuns in Lisieux, and it was there that Thérèse wished to serve God. At one time she had wanted to become a foreign missionary but she finally concluded she could help in the conversion of even more souls by joining a contemplative order. She was only 14 when she made application to the Carmel, and while the nuns were willing to receive her, the Abbé Delatroette, ecclesiastical superior of the convent, felt she should wait until she was 21. Thérèse, accompanied by her father, visited Bishop Hugonin to petition her early admission to the Carmel. The bishop took the matter under advisement; while waiting for his ultimately favorable reply, she and her father and her sister Céline embarked on a pilgrimage to Rome. During a general audience Thérèse was presented to LEO XIII, and despite the prohibition to speak she asked him to allow her entrance into Carmel at the age of 15. He gently assured her she would enter if it were God's will.

On April 9, 1888, at 15 she entered the Carmelite convent, spending the remaining nine-and-a-half years of her life in the red brick building on the Rue de Liverot. All was far from serene in the Carmelite convent of Lisieux during the years that Thérèse lived there, and the major part of the difficulties can be ascribed to her superior for most of her time in the convent, Mother Marie de Gonzague, a woman of mercurial temperament, jealously guarding her position of authority and allowing the convent to be split into two factions. Thérèse abstained from the inner politics of the convent and concentrated on her own life of prayer. She was intensely faithful to the rule of the order, quietly performing the duties assigned her; the full heroism of her life of fidelity and closeness to God was not even comprehended by most of the nuns in the convent until her memoirs were published posthumously.

In 1893 Thérèse was appointed acting mistress of novices, an office she held for the last four years of her life. During that time she articulated her "Little Way," that attitude of approaching God that Pope BENEDICT XV said "contained the secret of sanctity for the entire world." There was nothing essentially new about her

"Little Way," but it was a fresh and vigorous restatement of basic Christian truths. Pope PIUS XI defined it by saying "it consists in feeling and acting under the discipline of virtue as a child feels and acts by nature." Her "Way," therefore, is not a single virtue or a slogan, but a whole attitude of soul, the basis of an entire relationship with God.

The first manifestations of a tubercular condition came some 18 months before her death, but she continued the monastic observances as well as she could for more than a year until she was finally placed in the convent infirmary. During her final illness she was often fatigued, wracked with pain, and plunged into a bitter temptation against faith. Shortly before her death she said: "I did not think it was possible to suffer so much." Her final words were: "My God, I love You."

Autobiography. One year after her death a form of her autobiography was published privately and mailed to a number of other Carmelite convents in lieu of the traditional obituary notice. There was an immediate demand for additional copies and a general printing was ordered. In the next 15 years it was translated in countries all over the world and more than a million copies were printed. Thérèse did not originally intend to compose an autobiography, and it was only in the last months of her life, when she realized she had a mission to teach others her "Little Way," that she asked her sister to collect and edit her writings. The first section of the memoirs was written as a feast day present for her sister Pauline, the second as a short spiritual essay for her sister Marie, and the third for the prioress, Mother Gonzague. The document is epistolary in form and baroque in style, thus the language often appears coy and saccharine. Thérèse, writing in the full stream of the late Romantic movement, used the only language she knew, but she wrote with a complete honesty and candor that is the ultimate appeal of these amazingly successful memoirs.

Cult. Worldwide reaction to the young French nun was impressive. Pius XI called it a "hurricane of glory." As Thérèse's autobiography gained popularity, letters began to inundate the Carmel of Lisieux and there were countless reports of favors, spiritual and material, granted through her intercession. The HOLY SEE waived the usual 50-year waiting period, and allowed the investigations for beatification to be inaugurated. She was beatified in 1923 and canonized May 17, 1925, less than 28 years after her death.

In 1997, JOHN PAUL II declared Thérèse a DOCTOR OF THE CHURCH in the Apostolic Letter, *Divini amoris scientia* (The Science of Divine Love). She is the youngest to be granted this title and also the most recent. Of Thérèse, the Pope said:

> Thus we can rightly recognize in the Saint of Lisieux the charism of a Doctor of the Church, because of the gift of the Holy Spirit she received for living and expressing her experience of faith, and because of her particular understanding of the mystery of Christ. In her are found the gifts of the new law, that is, the grace of the Holy Spirit, who manifests himself in living faith working through charity. (*Divini amoris scientia* n. 7)

In the bull of canonization, Pius XI said that she fulfilled her vocation and achieved sanctity "without going beyond the common order of things." This phrase is the key to understanding her message and popularity. Her life was simple, devoid of the drama and major conflict that characterize the lives of so many saints, but in the framework of that simple life she achieved sanctity.

Feast: October. 1.

SEE ALSO CARMELITES, DISCALCED; MARY, BLESSED VIRGIN, DEVOTION TO; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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THEURGY, DOCTRINE OF

The term *theurgy* first appears in the Chaldean Oracles, a syncretistic collection of religious verse dating from the middle of the second century AD. Theurgy itself denotes the "work of God" or "work of the gods," from the Greek *theos* ("god") and *ergon* ("work"). As such, theurgy can be etymologically distinguished from *theology*, the rational discourse (*logos*) of God, or from *liturgy*, the work of an assembly of people (*laos*). In antiquity it was also necessary to differentiate religious theurgy from magic (*goeteia*), which sought merely to amuse or effect vengeance. However, whether the meaning of theurgy is taken as the work executed by the divine (taking *theos* as a subjective genitive) or as the work performed for the divine (*theos* as an objective genitive), the goal of theurgic ritual is the same: the deification of the human soul, the unity of created spirit with the divine through symbolic utterances and a prescribed set of ritualistic actions. That is, through the proper incantations, chanting of hymns, NUMEROLOGY, or the manipulation of divine "vehicles" such as rocks, plants, or even certain animals, theurgy culticly represents nature's divinely bestowed power to elevate and thus reinstate the rational soul to its proper place in the cosmic hierarchy. It seeks to reorder the soul's location from its enervating relationship with the temporal order, as well as the concomitant individuality and laws of growth and decay inevitably occasioned by embodiment, so as to reestablish the soul's place among the divine.

History of Non-Christian Theurgy. A shadowy figure by the name of Julianus was the first to receive the title of *theurgos*: A contemporary of the Emperor MARCUS AURELIUS (121–180), this Julianus is arguably the compiler of the Chaldean Oracles. As described there, a theurgist is one who has not only been released from the limitations of the realm of fate, but who has also been made a member of the heavenly pantheon. From here, the history of theurgy becomes intertwined with the rise of NEOPLATONISM (in all probability through the second century Neo-Pythagorean and Neoplatonic precursor, Numenius of Apamea).

Since PLOTINUS (c. 205–270), the founder of Neoplatonism, conceived of all *psyche* as a single, divine continuum, his philosophical SOTERIOLOGY never required a doctrine of theurgy. That is, if the soul has not in essence broken away from God, there is no fissure to bridge through ritual and external mediation; CONTEMPLATION (*theoria*) is therefore enough to discover the One latent within the undescended soul. Plotinus' most devoted disciple, PORPHYRY (d. circa 305), though, began to make room for the possible need for theurgic ritual. Dividing the human spirit into a descended and an undescended part, Porphyry maintained, as evidenced in his *De Regressu Animae*, that theurgy could assist the lower soul in returning to the divinity from whence it fell, while later Platonists (Athenian more than Alexandrian) came to give theurgy an even more prominent and hence secure role in the soul's SALVATION.

For instance, IAMBLICHUS (d. c. 325) argues in *De Mysteriis* 2.11 that union with the divine "is attained only by the perfective operation of unspeakable acts correctly performed, acts which are beyond all understanding, and by the power of unutterable symbols which are intelligible only to the gods." Finally, in the theophilosophical macrostructures of PROCLUS (412–485) and Damascius (d. c. 538) theurgy received a more systematic treatment, in that reason's ability to redeem was muted, and true ascent (*aneleusin*) could be achieved only through the particular rites and unifying prayers of theurgy.

Christian Reaction and Incorporation. A Christian instance of theurgy first comes through *Syntagma ad quendam politicum* at *Patrologia Graeca* 28.1505C, a text spuriously attributed to St. ATHANASIUS, but it is not effectively incorporated into Christian theology until later Greek theologians. Christian theurgy is rarely employed objectively but is always used in the subjective sense, to describe God's saving work on behalf of his faithful. That is why Dionysius the Areopagite (fl. 485–525) found in theurgy the perfect term to describe the liturgical rites and symbols initiated and enacted by God to unify his creatures to himself and to one another. Jesus Christ, Dionysius writes in *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, §3.3.7, has established "saving sacraments by means of which the participants are divinized" and all of these channels of grace represent "the work of God (theurgy) on our behalf." Similarly, in *Ambigua ad Thomam*, §4, MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR (c. 580–662) describes

Christ's divinization of human nature as the most perfect act of theurgy. In such theologians we see how theurgy retains its strictest etymological sense to convey God's work among creatures. It is also employed to reveal that the truest work of God is the deification of humanity. Yet, now stripped of any pagan overtones, such deification is always explained as a participation in the perfect humanity of Christ, a state attainable only within the sacramental worship of Christ's Church.

St. AUGUSTINE is the first churchman to Latinize the term, appearing as *theurgia*—and its various cognates—in book ten of his *De Ciuitate Dei* (however, nowhere else in his entire corpus). In chapter nine Augustine sees the cosmic sympathy on which theurgy is based as a "nefarious curiosity" and its manipulation of creatures to bring about a desired effect nothing other than diabolic superstition. Since he and the Latin fathers received their understanding of theurgy mainly from Porphyry, who wrote so vehemently against Christianity, it is understandable that *theurgia* never became an acceptable way of describing the sacred rites of the Church in the West.

Byzantine and RENAISSANCE attempts to incorporate various theurgic practices into a Christian worldview arose through the cosmologies of Michael Psellus (1018–1078) in CONSTANTINOPLE as well as Marsilio FICINO (1433–99) among the Florentine literati. Such later revivals were in the main short-lived.

SEE ALSO BYZANTINE THEOLOGY; CHALDEANS; COSMOLOGY; NEOPYTHAGOREANISM; ORACLE.

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THEVARPARAMPIL, AUGUSTINO, BL.

Diocesan priest; also known as Kunjachan; b. April 1, 1891, Ramapuram (Kottayam), Kerala, India; d. October 16, 1973, Ramapuram; beatified April 30, 2006, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Augustino Thevarparampil was the youngest of five children born to farmers in southern India. Educated in Ramapuram and Athirampuzha (Kottayam), he entered the seminary shortly after high school and was ordained a priest of the Syro-Malabar Catholic diocese of Palai on December 17, 1921. After serving one year at St. Augustine's Forane Church in Ramapuram, Kunjachan (as he was known during his priestly life) accepted the role of assistant pastor at a parish church in Kadanad (Kottayam), only to return to his home village in March 1926 to recover from an illness.

When Kunjachan regained his health, the pastor at Ramapuram charged him with the spiritual care of a large number of neophytes from among the low castes of Indian society. With this assignment, Fr. Thevarparampil began a four-decade ministry dedicated to ameliorating the spiritual, economic, and social condition of poor Indians, especially those considered untouchable, the Dalits. Spreading the GOSPEL among them, he treated each one with compassion and respect as he labored to promote their education and culture and to help provide for their basic needs. Energized by prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, he continually nurtured his growing flock through frequent home visits.

While not everyone liked the "Apostle of the Dalits" or appreciated his work, many looked upon Kunjachan as a holy man, even a saint, prior to his death. In spite of his explicit request to be buried among the Dalits, he was honored with a tomb before the altar at St. Augustine's. Thereafter, many began to seek his INTERCESSION for every kind of need, just as they had sought his prayers and blessings during his lifetime.

At the request of Sebastian Vayalil (1906–1986), bishop emeritus of Palai, the diocese of Palai initiated the official process that led to the opening of Kunjachan's cause for canonization in 1987. Pope JOHN PAUL II declared him VENERABLE in 2004, and in 2005 Pope Benedict XVI officially recognized that Gilson Varghese had been healed through Kunjachan's intercession from talipes equinovarus of the right foot. Authorized to declare Fr. Thevarparampil BLESSED in the pope's name, Varkey Cardinal Vithayathil delivered the HOMILY at the BEATIFICATION ceremony in Kunjachan's parish. He stressed the blessed's simplicity, devotion, and tireless efforts on behalf of his Dalit brothers and sisters, in whom he encountered Christ.

Feast: October 16.

SEE ALSO CASTE SYSTEM, INDIAN; INDIA, CHRISTIANITY IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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TOLERATION ACTS OF 1639 AND 1649, MARYLAND

The import of neither of these acts is entirely clear; the first is all the more tolerant for being imprecise. In 1639 Maryland's first provincial assembly included two religious provisions in its original ordinance of government. One, "An Act for Church liberties," reads this way: "Holy Churches within this province shall have all her rights and liberties." An earlier form of the act used the singular, "Church," and it is likely that the law passed under pressure from JESUITS who feared that the colonial proprietor, Cecil Calvert, though a fellow Catholic, might threaten their privileges. The more significant provision was the second, "An Act for the liberties of the people," which stated that Maryland's inhabitants "shall have all their rights and liberties according to the Great Charter of England [i.e., the Magna Carta]." An earlier draft granted to provincials all those rights natural born subjects "hath or ought to have" in England proper. The assembly had in mind a very extensive claim to liberty.

That was not the case in 1649. True, the "Act concerning Religion" guaranteed that no one "professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall henceforth be any waies troubled, Molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor in free exercise thereof ... nor any way compelled to the beleife or exercise of any other Religion [*sic*]." The act also punished those who used religious terms pejoratively—and the terms ran the gamut, from "heretic" to "Puritan" to "Jesuit," with many stops between. Interestingly, Catholics thought their faith especially vulnerable, and reserved the same punishments (capital, on the third offense) for scorning the Virgin Mary as for blaspheming Christ or the Trinity. The act also protected the Sabbath with a vigor that was less Catholic than puritanical—a sign of the times and of the balance of power in the colony as well as at home.

George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore (in the Irish peerage), and his heir, Cecil, were converts to the Roman Catholic faith, but the colony they founded was, in its formative years, colored by the older and resilient culture of Anglo-Catholicism. The uniform appeal and political primacy of the Church—the status quo before the Henrician reforms—were never to be recovered. Queen Mary had tried and definitively failed. The late Stuart attempt to find a place for Catholics in the vanguard of England's governing class would also fail. What persisted was the Faith itself, as its priests and practitioners maintained an active, if enclosed, life within the manors of the Catholic nobility and gentry. Cecil Calvert joined this culture when he married Anne Arundell, the daughter of Lord Arundell of Wardour.

Their Catholicism preferred the prerogatives of the laity over those of the clerical hierarchy. The political ambitions of leading Catholics were modest, and they recognized only the spiritual authority of the pope. Temperament as well as necessity encouraged their belief in liberty of conscience. This Anglo-Catholic elite provided, through its cadet branches, the original elite in Maryland, and the characteristic attitudes of this group were those of the colony's first cadre of leaders.

The manorial style of Maryland Catholicism was formalized in the colonial charter. The proprietor enjoyed Palatine privileges on the model of the old Durham bishops. The king's writ did not run, or run as quickly and smoothly, in either medieval Durham or Lord Baltimore's Maryland. And, in an age when parliament's powers were beginning to trump those of the sovereign, this meant that the colonial government could ignore those parliamentary statutes it deemed unsuited to its jurisdiction.

Cecil Calvert thought he could dominate that government, but, like other proprietors after him, he was dismayed to find that even a benign authority was questioned—and questioned not only by Protestants, who were in the majority from almost the very beginning, but by the ruling minority of Catholic squires as well. Such men controlled the assembly that passed the tolerant measures of 1639. There was, however, no clear statement of religious tolerance, as there would be ten years later. The assembly met without an explicit call from the proprietor. That independent streak grew wider as it refused to accept Baltimore's proposed code of laws in its entirety. Some of his recommendations, such as a seigniorial veto and harsh punishment for SACRILEGE and sorcery, were put aside; others, such as Baltimore's already rather liberal ideas about freedom of worship for all Christians, were revised in such a way as to strengthen the case for CONSCIENCE. According to the ordinance of 1639, religious and civil freedoms alike rested on a broad interpretation of individual rights. Christianity did not create or encompass those rights—a Jew sat in Maryland's assembly in that first momentous decade.

Hope would, however, retreat before the hard-earned anxieties of the period. England suffered through its civil war, as parliament and its army—both increasingly Puritan in character—hounded and eventually killed a king seen as soft on popery. In Maryland, a colony named for Charles's Catholic queen, the 1640s saw the temporary collapse of Baltimore's government. Protestant rogues led by Richard Ingle invaded the

colony and nearly destroyed its political institutions. Priests abandoned the colony or were deported from it in shackles. Baltimore managed to resurrect his proprietorship in 1647, but thenceforward he and other Catholic settlers took no chances. They could no longer rely on manorial privilege or natural rights to protect their Church.

The Act Concerning Religion, passed in 1649, was more specific and less forgiving than the 1639 ordinance. It provided for the toleration of all Christian—and only Christian—forms of worship. In line with the sitting parliament, the act punished various heresies and blasphemies. This was tolerance in the Cromwellian mode, and, though Maryland would prosper in the years ahead, it did so under conditions of Protestant hegemony.

SEE ALSO CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES (LEGAL HISTORY); CROMWELL, OLIVER; MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

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TOLOMEI, BERNARD, ST.

Baptized Giovanni, founder of the Olivetan Benedictines; b. Siena, Italy, May 10, 1272; d. Siena, August 20, 1348; beatified in 1634 by Pope Innocent X; canonized April 26, 2009, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

As a youth, Bernard Tolomei wanted to become a religious but he could not obtain his father's consent. He served in the armies of King Rudolph I (1218–1291) and was knighted. He later studied law and became *podestà* (magistrate) of Siena. While working successfully as a magistrate, he also dedicated his time to serving the sick. At this point, Bernard began to lose his eyesight, which caused him to leave his position but also provided the occasion for Bernard to begin a more radical form of ascetic discipleship.

In 1313, with two companions, he withdrew into solitude at Accona, a tract of land outside of Siena that was owned by his family. In 1319 Bishop GUIDO OF AREZZO gave the little community a white habit to honor the Virgin Mary and also established the BENEDICTINE RULE for their group. At Accona, Bernard founded the monastery of Our Lady of Monte Oliveto, from which developed the strongly centralized Olivetan Benedictine Congregation. The primitive penitential observance exercised a strong appeal, and for a while the institute grew rapidly. Bernard was elected abbot of the monastery in 1322 and served in that capacity until his death in 1348. With many of his fellow monks dying from the plague, Bernard left Mount Oliveto to serve them. He died caring for victims of the Black Death shortly thereafter.

St. Bernard was officially canonized on April 26, 2009, the third Sunday of Easter, by Pope Benedict XVI. During the canonization HOMILY, the pope reflected on the RESURRECTION OF CHRIST and the centrality of the Eucharist. The homily focused on the renewal that is brought about by the risen Christ in the lives of the faithful. Additionally, Benedict XVI emphasized the nourishment St. Bernard received from the Eucharist and the wellspring it provided for him to live a life of profound love for others. Speaking of the sacrifice St. Bernard made in serving his fellow monks with the plague, the pope stated, "His was a Eucharistic life, entirely dedicated to contemplation, expressed in humble service to neighbor." The homily was concluded with the exhortation for the faithful to follow St. Bernard's example of prayer, service, and sacrifice.

Feast: August 21.

SEE ALSO BENEDICTINES, OLIVETAN; MONASTICISM.

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TORRES MORALES, GENOVEVA, ST.

Religious, foundress of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Holy Angels (Angelicas); b. Almenara, Castile, Spain, January 3, 1870; d. Saragossa, Spain, January 5, 1956; beatified January 29, 1995; canonized May 4, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Young Genoveva Torres Morales endured many tragedies during her lifetime: By the time she was eight, four of her five siblings and both her parents had died. She grew up as a child homemaker for her older brother and had her left leg amputated to the thigh due to gangrene in 1883, forcing her to use crutches for the rest of her life. Spiritual reading and prayer strengthened her fortitude. Because of her disability, she was barred from joining the CARMELITES of Charity, in whose Mercy Home she had lived from 1885 to 1894. During this time, she developed skills in sewing and grew in piety, being guided in the spiritual life by the diocesan priest, Fr. Carlos Ferris, who went on to found a leprosarium.

In 1911 Canon Barbarrós encouraged Genoveva and the two women with whom she lived to form a religious community to assist needy women. They opened their first boardinghouse in Valencia. Despite the numerous obstacles of a new enterprise, the community soon spread to other parts of Spain: Barcelona, Bilbao, Madrid, Pamplona, Santander, and Saragossa. In 1925 Genoveva and eighteen others founded the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Holy Angels, the religious order known as the Angelicas. The order's boardinghouses were closed by the government during the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), yet Genoveva ensured that they would rebuild later. The institute of the Angelicas received papal approval in 1953, several years before Mother Genoveva's death. She continued to minister through the boardinghouses until her death on January 5, 1956.

When Pope John Paul II beatified Mother Genoveva in 1995, he stated that her love of the Sacred Heart "led her to devote her life to caring for retired women, to remedy the loneliness and deprivation in which many of them lived, looking after them materially and spiritually in a true home." Genoveva was canonized in the Plaza de Colón, Madrid, by John Paul II on May 4, 2003, during his apostolic visit to Spain. The Holy Father described her as "an instrument of God's tender love for lonely people in need of love, comfort and physical and spiritual care" who "made an enormous impact on the Church and society of Seville in her day."

Feast: January 5.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN (THE CHURCH DURING THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931–1939).

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TOUS Y SOLER, JOSÉ, BL.

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Also known as Josep Tous Soler or Josep de Igualada; founder of the Congregation of the Capuchin Sisters of the Mother of the Divine Pastor; b. March 31, 1811, Igualada, Barcelona, Spain; d. February 27, 1871, Barcelona, Spain; declared VENERABLE by Pope BENEDICT XVI, December 22, 2008.

José Tous y Soler entered the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin when he was fifteen years old and professed his vows at the age of sixteen on February 19, 1828. He was ordained in Barcelona six years later on May 24, 1834.

Within a few months, anti-clerical violence broke out in Catalonia and forced him into exile in France. He continued to minister there until 1843, but, although Father Josep returned to his homeland, he was unable to rejoin his order because the Spanish government had outlawed religious orders. Instead, he served as a parish priest for the remainder of his life.

Father Josep remained true to his Franciscan beliefs and in 1850 encouraged a group of young women to follow these ideals as well. The women later became the Capuchin Sisters of the Mother of the Divine Shepherd on December 22, 1858, and devoted themselves to the care and teaching of young children. Father Josep died in 1871, shortly before he would have turned sixty, as he was celebrating Mass.

In light of his heroic virtues, he was declared venerable on December 22, 2008, by Pope Benedict XVI, and one year later, on December 19, 2009, the same pope recognized a miracle attributed to Father Josep's intervention, leading to his beatification in 2010. At the time of the publication of this entry, a date had not been set for his beatification.

SEE ALSO FRANCISCANS, FIRST ORDER; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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TOVINI, MOSES, BL.

Diocesan priest, catechist; b. Cividate Camuno, Italy, December 27, 1877; d. Brescia, Italy, January 28, 1930; beatified September 17, 2006, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

The oldest of the eight children of Eugenio Tovini and Domenica Malaguzzi, Moses Tovini began to discern his vocation to the priesthood as a teenager. With the support of his uncle and godfather, Bl. Giuseppe TOVINI, Moses Tovini began his seminary studies at Brescia. After his uncle's death in 1897 and a period of military service, Tovini completed his preparation for the priesthood and was ordained on June 9, 1900. Tovini spent four more years of study in Rome, after which his bishop appointed him professor at the seminary in Brescia (November 1904). He served in this position until his death, teaching mathematics, philosophy, and theology.

Tovini would go on to also serve in many other positions in the diocese, including canon of the cathedral (from 1923) and rector of the seminary where he taught (from 1926). In addition to his activity in the formation of clergy, Tovini worked with the laity by teaching catechism and preparing catechists. With Don Giuseppe Schena, Tovini began the lay movement CATHOLIC ACTION in Italy. In January 1930, Tovini contracted pneumonia and died shortly thereafter.

At his HOMILY at the BEATIFICATION Mass in 2006, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins praised Bl. Moses Tovini as "a model of priestly life, a teacher of Christian life in difficult times and a shining sign of the continuous help of the Holy Spirit."

Feast: January 28.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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TRČKA, METOD DOMINIK, BL.

Redemptorist priest and MARTYR; b. Frýdlant nad Ostravicí, in what is now the Czech Republic, July 6, 1886; d. Leopoldov Prison, Czechoslovakia (now Slovakia), March 23, 1959; beatified November 4, 2001, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Metod Dominik Trčka entered religious life in 1902, made his profession on August 25, 1904, and was ordained a priest on July 17, 1910, at Prague. After preaching parish missions, he was sent to L'viv, Ukraine, in 1919 to serve Greek Catholics. In L'viv, he met Fr. Mykola Čarneckyj (1884–1959), who taught him the language and customs of the Greek Catholic faithful. In 1921 Metod moved to Stropkov to cofound the first biritual Byzantine-Latin Redemptorist community, of which he became superior in 1924.

Metod preached effectively in the eparchies of Prešov, Užhorod, and Križevci. The community moved to Michalovce in 1931. Then, in 1932, he returned to Stropkov for a few years. He rejoined the Michalovce community in 1935 and was elected superior in 1936. During his tenure, he founded a convent, two retreat houses, and an association for women. He resigned the position in 1942 in order to protect the community from the Czechoslovakian Communist government's suspicions that the REDEMPTORISTS were spreading anti-Communist propaganda.

On December 21, 1945, the vice province of Michalovce was erected, and Metod was elected vice provincial on March 23, 1946. Immediately, he launched several mission projects and publications that made him a target for the Communist government. The government suppressed the vice province in 1949 and took all the Redemptorists to concentration camps on April 13, 1950, for interrogation and torture. Often, Metod would offer himself for torture in place of his confreres to alleviate their suffering.

In a show trial on April 12, 1952, Metod was convicted of collaboration with Bishop Pavel Peter GOJDIČ of Prešov for disseminating the bishop's pastoral letters. Additionally, he was convicted of espionage for communicating with his Roman superiors. He was sentenced to twelve years of hard labor. He served out the sentence in several prisons: Illana, Mírov, and finally Leopoldov, to which he was transferred in April 1958. In Leopoldov, a guard caught him singing a Christmas carol and took him to the "correction cell." When another prisoner pleaded on his behalf, the guards transferred Metod to solitary confinement. After forgiving his persecutors, he died as a martyr in solitary confinement on March 23, 1959.

Metod was beatified by Pope John Paul II on November 4, 2001, at St. Peter's Basilica. In his HOMILY, the pope emphasized Bl. Metod's heroic service to the GOSPEL, demonstrated by his supreme sacrifice.

Feast: March 23.

SEE ALSO COMMUNISM; CZECH REPUBLIC, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SLOVAKIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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U

ÜFFING, MARIA EUTHYMIA (EMMA), BL.

Baptized Emma; nurse, Sister of Charity; b. Halverde, Germany, April 8, 1914; d. Münster, Germany, September 9, 1955; beatified October 7, 2001, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Born in the northwest of Germany in Halverde and christened Emma, Bl. Maria Euthymia Üffing endured a difficult childhood. One of eleven siblings, she developed rickets at the age of eighteen months, which permanently interrupted her growth and destabilized her physical constitution. Nonetheless, she continued to labor on the family farm until the age of fourteen, at which time she opted for a religious vocation.

Somewhere between her seventeenth and nineteenth birthdays, while stationed at the hospital of St. Ann in Hopsten, Emma encountered the Sisters of Charity of Münster, otherwise known as the Clemens Sisters. Despite initial reluctance on the part of the sisters due to her physical condition, Emma was admitted to the order in July 1934 and joined the motherhouse in Münster with forty-seven other postulants. She made her vows in October 1936 and took the name Maria Euthymia.

Shortly thereafter, she was sent to St. Vincent's hospital in Dinslaken. There, on the threshold of WORLD WAR II (1939–1945), Sr. Euthymia received her nursing degree with honors on September 3, 1939. Throughout the war years, she cared for the sick. In 1943 she was given the special charge of overseeing the care of prisoners of war, including British, French, Poles, Russians, Ukrainians, and many other nationalities. She became known to those she cared for as Mamma Euthymia, and the French priest Émile Esche later referred to Sr. Euthymia as "a canticle of hope amidst the war." Following the war, Sr. Euthymia was assigned to be the head of a laundry room, a job she accepted with obedience. She was subsequently moved to a larger laundry with an adjacent clinic.

After being afflicted with a severe form of cancer, several weeks of intense suffering concluded with Sr. Euthymia's death on September 9, 1955. During her lifetime, Sr. Euthymia's character and reputation for holiness were well known; she was often asked to intercede for others in prayer.

Sr. Euthymia was beatified on October 7, 2001. In his HOMILY, Pope John Paul II extolled "her faith in small things" in which "lies her greatness." Speaking of her assignment to a laundry room after the war, the pope noted that "she would have preferred to serve human beings rather than machines," but concluded by praising her for remaining "a dedicated sister who had a friendly smile and a kind word for everyone."

Feast: September 9.

SEE ALSO GERMANY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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V

VALDÉS, JOSÉ OLALLO, BL.

Religious of San Juan de Dios Brothers; b. Havana, Cuba, February 12, 1820; d. Camagüey, Cuba, March 7, 1889; beatified November 29, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

José Olallo Valdés was born in Havana to unknown parents and was baptized on March 15, 1820, after being entrusted to the care of an orphanage, the Casa Cuna San José de La Habana. As a young man, he was inspired to join the Order of the San Juan de Dios Brothers, whose purpose is to help the ill and impoverished. At the age of fifteen, Valdés was selected to serve in the San Juan de Dios Hospital in eastern Camagüey Province. He gained recognition in the region for his medical expertise, and dedicated his life to the service of the hospital's patients. In fifty-four years, he was absent only one night, due to circumstances beyond his control. In 1856 he was named the superior of the community there.

In his many years of service to the hospital, Valdés overcame great adversity. Along with the Spanish government's confiscations from and suppression of ecclesiastical orders, Valdés had to endure the social strife brought about by a war that spanned ten years (1868–1878). During this period, he did not resist the demands of the military administration that the hospital be used for the care of soldiers. Olallo nevertheless continued to provide care for all without regard to class, race, or religion. Toward the end of the war, he interceded on behalf of the population of Camagüey to avoid a massacre in the face of military hostility. Olallo was best known for his unceasing kindness and love of the poor of Camagüey, where he was known as the "*apóstol de la caridad*" (apostle of charity) and "*padre de los pobres*" (father of the poor).

Padre Olallo died on March 7, 1889. His funeral was well attended. In 1999 Olallo was credited with a miraculous INTERCESSION on the behalf of a three-year-old girl who was dying of cancer. On November 29, 2008, he was declared BLESSED by Cardinal José Saraiva Martins in the first BEATIFICATION ceremony to take place on Cuban soil. Olallo's remains lie in the general cemetery of the San Juan de Dios Church.

Feast: March 7.

SEE ALSO CUBA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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VALLE, GIULIA NEMESIA, BL.

Religious of the Sisters of Charity of St. Joan Antida THOURET; b. June 26, 1847, Aosta, Italy; d. December

18, 1916, Borgaro, Italy; beatified April 25, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Baptized on the day she was born, Giulia Valle was the daughter of a businessman and a milliner. Her mother died when she was four, and her father sent her to live with relatives, causing her great homesickness. At age eleven, she was sent to a French boarding school run by the Sisters of Charity. When Giulia returned home, she found her father remarried and living in Pont Saint Martin. Both Giulia and her brother, Vincenzo, found their stepmother difficult. Vincenzo left the household, never to be heard from again, and Giulia channeled her discomforts into caring for the lonely and needy.

When the Sisters of Charity of St. Joan Antida Thouret started a community in Pont Saint Martin, Giulia refused a good marriage offer in order to join them at the age of nineteen. On the Feast of the NATIVITY OF MARY, September 8, 1866, Giula's father accompanied her to the monastery of St. Margherita in Vercelli, where the Sisters of Charity had their novitiate. Throughout her novitiate, Giulia regularly prayed this aspiration: "Jesus, empty me of myself, let me be clothed in you."

In the monastery, Giulia took the name of Nemesia, an early Christian MARTYR. She spent time in Tortona at St. Vincent's Institute, where she founded two schools and an orphanage. At the age of forty, she became the superior of her community. Her motto in all difficulties was, "Concentrate on the one goal: God alone!"

In 1903 Sr. Nemesia left Tortona for Borgaro to be the novice mistress at the monastery there. Emphasizing charity, self-mortification, and patience, Sr. Nemesia formed a group of novices, carefully considering each one's needs and abilities. The provincial superior strongly disagreed with Sr. Nemesia's methods, favoring a much stricter course of discipline for the young women. Despite being chastised and humiliated, Sr. Nemesia carried on smilingly. In her thirteen years at Borgaro, she formed over five hundred novices. She is now buried there.

Sr. Nemesia was beatified by John Paul II on Easter Sunday, April 25, 2004, for her heroic virtue. In his HOMILY, John Paul II called Sr. Nemesia an "example of a shining holiness directed towards the high summits of evangelical perfection, which can be translated in the simple gestures of daily living, completely spent in God's service."

Feast: December 18.

SEE ALSO RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SISTERS OF CHARITY, FEDERATION OF.

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VAN LIESHOUT, EUSTÁQUIO, BL.

Baptized Humberto; priest of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, missionary; b. November 3, 1890, Aarle-Rixtel, Holland; d. August 30, 1943, Belo Horizonte, Brazil; beatified June 15, 2006, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

The eighth of eleven children, Humberto van Lieshout grew up in a family of devout Catholic farmers. He attended a school run by the Sisters of Charity of Schijndel, and early on he felt a vocation to the priesthood. Despite being discouraged by several teachers and his father, Humberto declared, "I am determined to give the best of myself, and we should have trust in our Lord. Things will go well."

In 1913 Humberto entered the novitiate of the Priests of the Sacred Hearts in Tremeloo, Belgium, after reading an inspiring biography of Fr. Damien de VEUSTER, the Apostle of the Lepers. Taking the name Eustáquio, he was ordained on August 10, 1919. He ministered in Holland as an assistant novice master and parish priest for five years, paying special attention to the Wallonians, an immigrant group of Belgian glasscutters. The Belgian government gave him an award for his service to this population.

In 1924 Fr. Eustáquio went to Spain to study so he could go to Uruguay as a missionary. However, a year later he was sent to the Portuguese-speaking country of Brazil. There, he spent ten years in Agua Suja, or Romaria. In 1935 he was moved to Our Lady of Lourdes in Poá, where he became known as a healer, praying through the INTERCESSION of St. JOSEPH. Word spread of his abilities, and thousands of people came to see him. Civil authorities were displeased with the disruptions this caused, and during the last two years of Fr. Eustáquio's life, his superiors moved him frequently, sending him to Rio de Janeiro, Fazenda de S. José de

Rio Claro, Patrocinio, Ibiá, and lastly to St. Dominic's in Belo Horizonte. While in Belo Horizonte, he heard as many as forty confessions a day. Land was donated for a parish church dedicated to the Sacred Hearts by the prefect, Juscelino Kubitscheck, who believed he had been healed by Fr. Eustáquio's prayers.

In August 1943, Fr. Eustáquio contracted typhus and died. He was beatified in Belo Horizonte on June 15, 2006, after a priest was miraculously healed from throat cancer due to his intercession. At his BEATIFICATION, Cardinal José Saraiva Martins emphasized Fr. Eustáquio's concern for "the poor, the afflicted, all those who suffered, and children."

Feast: August 30.

SEE ALSO BRAZIL, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); SACRED HEARTS OF JESUS AND MARY, CONGREGATION OF THE.

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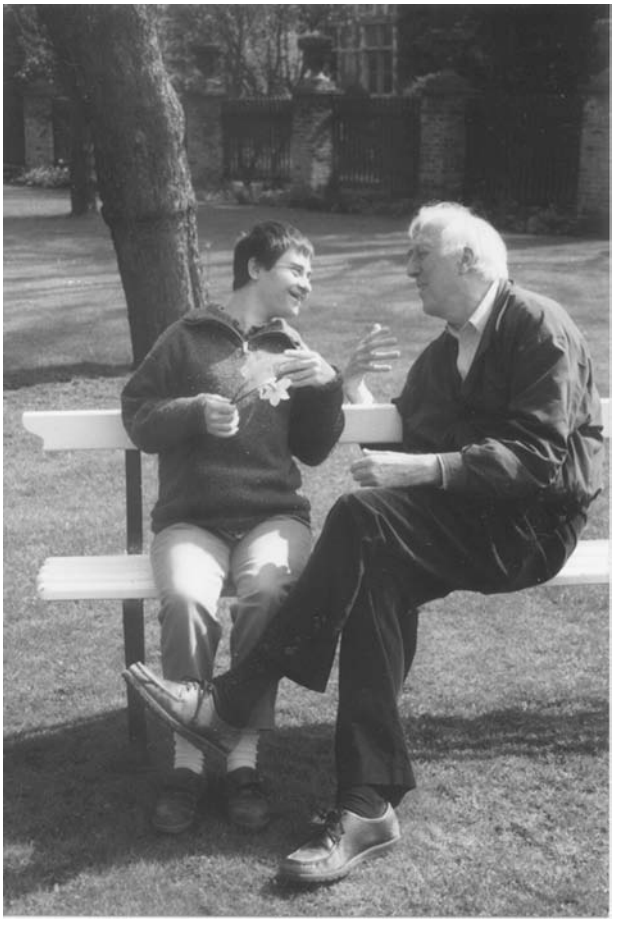
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VANIER, JEAN

Founder of L'ARCHE®, co-founder of Faith and Light and Intercordia, founder of Faith and Sharing, writer, speaker, humanitarian; b. September 13, 1928; Geneva, Switzerland, of Canadian parents.

Jean Vanier was educated in England and Canada. His father, Georges P. Vanier, had a distinguished diplomatic career and in 1959 became Governor General of Canada. Vanier's father and his mother Pauline were both devout Catholics who were well known and loved for their social concern.



Pleasant Coversation. *Jean Vanier (right) and Mark Zeigler of L'Arche Antwerp.* **COURTESY OF LIEVEN VANKEER**

Early Years. Vanier's early life was touched by world events. In 1940, the family, then in Paris, fled the Nazis with other refugees and after numerous perils arrived back in Canada. In 1942 at age thirteen, Vanier asked his father's permission to make the dangerous trip back across the Atlantic and enter the Royal Naval College in Dartmouth, England. His father's trust in him at that time was a formative event.

Vanier served a total of eight years in the navy, beginning in the Royal Navy and later transferring to the Royal Canadian Navy. Although he loved naval life, by age twenty he increasingly engaged in a spiritual quest. He resigned his naval commission and went to Paris, where he met Père Thomas Philippe (1905–1993), a Dominican whose HOLINESS was obvious to him and whom he asked to be his spiritual director. The priest had a life-long influence on Vanier.

While studying PHILOSOPHY at the Sorbonne, Vanier lived in and later headed *Eau Vive*, a community of students who were close to Père Philippe. Vanier completed a doctorate (*cum maxima laude*) on Aristotle at the Institut Catholique in 1962.

Establishment of L'ARCHE. Vanier taught briefly at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto. In 1964, convinced that he had not yet found his life's work, he gave up a promising teaching career and returned to France. Père Philippe was then chaplain to an institution for men with intellectual disabilities in the village of Trosly-Breuil. The suffering of people in the institutions appalled Vanier. Hearing their cry for relationship and for someone to be committed to them, he purchased a small house and invited two men with developmental disabilities to live with him—a step that he knew was irrevocable. He named the house "L'ARCHE," after NOAH's Ark, a safe abode. Vanier soon discovered an unexpected mutuality in his new relationships: He learned much about LOVE, forgiveness, celebration, and what he refers to as "our common humanity," from those whom he welcomed into L'ARCHE.

Growth of L'ARCHE. The time was ripe for the deinstitutionalization of people with developmental disabilities, and Vanier was in the forefront of this movement. L' ARCHE grew quickly. New homes were opened as young people from various countries, some his former students, flocked to live and help in the new community. After spending time in Vanier's new little community in Trosly, they took L'ARCHE back to their home countries. As of 2009 there were over 130 communities in 34 countries on 6 continents, including 16 in the United States.

In the early 1970s Vanier, with others, established the International Federation of L'ARCHE communities. It soon became clear that L'ARCHE would be ecumenical and sometimes interfaith, reflecting local populations, and Vanier embraced this reality. He also maintained an important relationship with the VATICAN. Since his first visit to the Pontifical Council for the Laity in 1966, he and others have met annually with the various pontifical bodies to which L'ARCHE has been assigned. In 1998 he was invited to address 350,000 members of lay communities gathered in ROME. He has also spoken at World Youth Days as well as at numerous ecumenical and secular gatherings. He had a personal bond with Pope JOHN PAUL II, who invited Vanier to accompany him on the pope's last pilgrimage to LOURDES.

Beyond L'ARCHE. In 1971, recognizing the isolation of families who have a child with a disability, Vanier joined Marie-Hélène Mathieu to co-found Faith and Light. There are over 14,000 Faith and Light groups around the world. He also founded Faith and Sharing, an inclusive retreat movement, and in the 1990s, cofounded Intercordia, a university-accredited program applying the L'ARCHE principles to develop peace-making skills.

By 1980 Vanier had given over his administrative responsibilities for L'ARCHE to focus on sharing his gospel-based message about the needs and the gifts of people with developmental disabilities. At the heart of this message is his firm belief that those with developmental disabilities have the unique ability to bring others together across differences of culture and religion, breaking down barriers and creating unity. He continues to spread his message through his writing and public addresses all across the world. Profoundly a man of PEACE, Vanier has a breadth of vision that speaks to people of all faiths as well as to those of no particular faith. In such books as his best-selling *Becoming Human* (1998) he writes about loneliness and belonging and expresses a vision of a different kind of society from that which we have today, one that is not a pyramid with a few powerful people at the top but rather a body where everyone has a place and can contribute (1999). Vanier lives in the original L'ARCHE community in Trosly.

Vanier has received many honors including the "Pope PAUL VI Prize," the "*Gaudium et spes* Award" from the International KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS, the "Blessed are the Peacemakers Award" from the Catholic Theological Union in Chicago, and the highest civilian honors of state from Canada and France. He has accepted these in the name of the people with disabilities, his teachers.

SEE ALSO ARCHE, L'; CANADA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; MERCY, WORKS OF; PERSON (IN PHILOSOPHY); PERSON (IN THEOLOGY); PONTIFICAL COUNCILS; WORLD YOUTH DAY.

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VARIARA, LUIGI, BL.

Priest, Salesian, founder of the Congregation of the Daughters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary; b. January 15, 1875, Viarigi, Asti, Italy; d. February 1, 1923; beatified April 14, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

At age twelve, Luigi Variara entered the Salesian Oratory at Turin, Italy, where he had the opportunity to meet Don BOSCO. On August 17, 1891, Variara entered the Salesian novitiate. He made his perpetual vows a year later on October 2 in the presence of Bl. Michael Rua.

While studying philosophy, Variara met Fr. Michele Unia, a Salesian who had come to speak of his apostolate to the lepers. When Unia returned to his apostolate in Colombia in 1894, Variara joined him and began working with the lepers in Agua de Dios. After being ordained on April 24, 1898, Variara, in addition to teaching music and drama to the young lepers, exercised priestly duties, notably, hearing confessions often for four to five hours daily. In 1905 he opened the Michele Unia Youth Hostel, which was a leprosarium dedicated to helping leprous youths learn the faith, to read and write, and a manual skill, all so that they might avoid a destitute and vicious life. On October 7, 1905, Variara founded the Congregation of the Daughters of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary to care for the residents of the hostel and to permit its members to offer themselves as expiatory victims to God. The congregation was intended, also, to permit leprous women to join, so as to consecrate their lives to God.

This founding of the congregation caused Variara much suffering; indeed, many SALESIANS thought this to be an error on his part. In 1907 Variara was transferred from Agua de Dios to Venezuela, never to be stationed again with his lepers and his congregation. He was living the life of expiatory victim. Variara was moved repeatedly, arriving in 1921 in Táriba, his final assignment. Throughout this period, he remained in contact with Mother Lozano of the congregation by letter. On November 17, 1941, his remains were interred at the sisters' shrine in Agua de Dios.

The miracle necessary for his BEATIFICATION was approved by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints on December 21, 2001. In 1989 Sr. Hedwig Roso of the Congregation of the Daughters of Mary Auxiliatrix was miraculously cured of an incurable ovarian cancer through the INTERCESSION of Variara. During the HOMILY following Variara's beatification, John Paul II mentioned Variara's closeness to Christ's suffering.

Feast: January 15.

SEE ALSO Colombia, The Catholic Church in; Religious (Men and Women).

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VENERINI, ROSE, ST.

Foundress of schools and the Order of the VENERINI SISTERS; b. Viterbo, Italy, February 9, 1656; d. Rome, May 7, 1728; beatified May 4, 1952, by Pope PIUS XII; canonized October 15, 2006, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Rose Venerini was the third of four children born to Goffredo, a physician, and Marzia (Zampichetti)

Venerini. An early biographical account describes her decision to consecrate herself to God at age seven. A highly intelligent young woman, the formation in prayer and education she received from her family helped shape her talents. At times, she felt a conflict between the attractions of the world and her desire to serve God. Engaged to be married at one point, she entered a contemplative Dominican order at age twenty, after the death of her fiancé. Her father died shortly after her entrance, however, and she returned home to care for her mother. Within the next few years, her older brother and mother died. With her older sister married and only her younger brother remaining at home with her, Venerini searched for a way to serve God.

At age twenty-four, Venerini began to host a prayer group at her home, inviting the local women to pray the ROSARY together. The women's lack of moral and spiritual formation dismayed her. Encouraged by her spiritual director, Fr. Ignatius Martinelli, who recognized her gifts as a teacher and prompted her to consider a vocation in the world, Rose realized that her mission was to provide education and Christian formation for young women, an urgent need for the society of her time.

Aided by two friends, and with the approval of the local bishop, Cardinal Urbano Sacchetti (1640–1705) of Viterbo, Rose started Italy's first free school for girls on August 30, 1685. Some local clergy, as well as some upper-middle-class women, were initially hostile to her efforts. Her school became popular, nonetheless, and several years later Cardinal Mark Antonio Barbarigo (1640–1706) of Montefiascone invited her to open schools in his diocese. There she became friends with Lucy FILIPPINI, to whom she entrusted the care of the Montefiascone schools once they were established.

After starting ten schools in Montefiascone, Venerini opened schools in Lazio and then attempted to establish one in Rome, in 1706, which failed. This failure affected her deeply, but she persevered and by 1713 opened another. Three short years later, the school was visited by Pope CLEMENT XI, who attended lessons and, greatly pleased with her work, is reported to have told her, "Signora Rosa, you are doing what we cannot do. We thank you very much because with these schools you will sanctify Rome."

As appreciation for her work spread, she traveled tirelessly, training teachers, founding more schools, visiting those already established, and offering her life in sacrifice and service. By the time of her death in Rome on May 7, 1728, she had founded more than forty schools. After her death, her lay teachers were formed into the religious congregation of the Venerini Sisters. The fire that ignited Rose's work was her love of God and her desire to save souls. She realized that ignorance of moral and spiritual truths was a chain that bound the girls and women of her time. She sought to educate them in order to free them to respond to the good news and God's plan for each one of them. Realizing that her human efforts alone would be in vain, she united her work and self-sacrifice to Christ's sacrifice on the CROSS and joined herself spiritually each day to all of the Masses offered in the world. Following the inspiration of their foundress, "Educate to Save" became the motto of the Venerini Sisters.

Feast: May 7.

SEE ALSO ITALY, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS EDUCATION; VENERINI SISTERS.

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VENERINI SISTERS

(MPV; Official Catholic Directory #4180) The Religious Venerini Sisters are a congregation with papal approbation, founded August 30, 1685, in Viterbo, Italy, by St. Rose VENERINI (1656–1728; canonized October 15, 2006, in Rome by Pope Benedict XVI; feast: May 7). The congregation's mission is centered on the Christian education of young women, especially among the poorer classes according to the CHARISM of St. Rose, "Educate to set free."

As a diocesan institute under the bishop of Viterbo, the congregation spread to other dioceses, especially to Montefiascone where St. Lucy FILIPPINI took up their work. At the death of St. Rose there were 40 houses in 17 dioceses. The sisters came to the United States in 1909, to a parochial school in Lawrence, Massachusetts. In 1914 they added a school in Providence, Rhode Island. Other foundations, usually in parishes of Italian immigrants, were established in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York. In 1926, they opened their United States novitiate in Worcester, Massachusetts, where Venerini Academy is located. In parochial schools, day nurseries, and high schools, the sisters follow the method of their foundress, who was a pioneer in the education of young women. They hold frequent meetings with the mothers of their students, in order to coordinate the school with the family.

The Congregation also offers laypersons to enter an associate program, through which they share in the work and prayer of the congregation. These associates do not live in community with the sisters and are only asked to make yearly promises, instead of permanent vows, to live a life of poverty, chastity and obedience.

SEE ALSO EDUCATION (PHILOSOPHY OF); EDUCATION, CATHOLIC (K THROUGH 12) IN THE UNITED STATES; VENERINI, ROSE, ST.

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VEUSTER, JOSEPH DE (FR. DAMIEN), ST.

Picpus (Ss. Cc.) priest, missionary to lepers; b. January 3, 1840, Tremeloo, Belgium; d. April 15, 1889, Molokai, Hawaii; beatified June 4, 1995, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized October 11, 2009, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Joseph, one of many children of a prosperous farming family, was sent to college at Braine-le-Comte to prepare for a commercial career, but decided to follow his eldest brother, Auguste (later Fr. Pamphile), into the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (Picpus Fathers) at Louvain. He was professed on October 7, 1860, and took the name Damien. When Pamphile fell sick and was unable to sail for the missions, Damien received permission to go in his place, even though he had not yet been ordained. Before his departure, he wrote to his parents: "The sacrifice is great indeed for one who tenderly loved his parents, his family, his brethren and the land of his birth. But the voice that has called upon us to make a generous sacrifice of all is the voice of God Himself." He arrived in Honolulu, Hawaii, on March 19, 1864, and was ordained on May 21 in Our Lady of Peace Cathedral.



Father Damien (1840–1889). *Born Joseph de Veuster, he showed heroic virtue in ministering to a leper colony before he succumbed to the disease himself.* **THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS**

Damien served for eight years as a missionary on the island of Hawaii at Puna and Kohala. In 1873, when the vicar apostolic, Louis Maigret, decided to supply a priest for Kalaupapa, the Molokai leper settlement, Damien volunteered. On May 10, 1873, he went to Molokai and was subsequently given permission to

remain there permanently. The colony's 800 lepers had only the clothing and meager food rations supplied by the government. Officially, Damien was the pastor of the Catholics in the colony, but in fact he served all the lepers as physician, counselor, teacher, house-builder, sheriff, maker of musical instruments, gravedigger, and undertaker, laboring to transform their prison into a home. He founded two orphanages at the leprosarium, and effectively fought the despair, immorality, drunkenness, and general lawlessness he found among the adult lepers upon his arrival. Most importantly, he instilled in his flock a sense of their human dignity; he taught them to live rather than simply await death.

For ten of his sixteen years with the lepers, he was without the companionship of other priests. In a letter home he wrote, "Without the Blessed Sacrament, a position of mine would not be tolerable. But having the Lord with me, I am happy and work cheerfully for the relief of the unfortunate patients." By 1884, at which point he had contracted leprosy (Hansen's disease), he wrote that he would not wish to he cured if the price of his cure involved leaving the island and giving up his work. He continued that work untiringly until the month before his death. He was buried next to the church he built, St. Philomena.

Before and after his death, rumors circulated regarding Damien's morals, primarily because some held the mistaken belief that Hansen's disease was sexually transmitted. A thorough investigation made shortly after he died completely exonerated him, however. During his last years he was also troubled by the misunderstandings of his superior and some fellow priests, which arose due to his fundraising efforts and an invitation he had made, asking a secular priest to join him in Molokai. One posthumous attack upon Damien's reputation by a Protestant clergyman was answered by Robert Louis Stevenson's scathing retort, *Father Damien: An Open Letter to the Reverend Doctor Hyde of Honolulu*.

Less than two months after his death, a leprosy fund was established in London, the first such organized effort devoted to helping the victims of this disease. In 1936 his RELICS were translated to Louvain, Belgium, where they were placed in a crypt of his congregation's church. In honor of his sacrifices, in 1965 a bronze statue of Damien was placed in the U.S. Capitol's Statuary Hall to represent the State of Hawaii.

Pope PAUL VI declared Damien venerable on July 7, 1977. In 1985 Sr. Simplicie Hue, a French nun of the same order as Damien, had been cured of a chronic intestinal condition after asking for Damien's INTERCESSION. Her healing was officially accepted as miraculous in 1992, and Pope JOHN PAUL II beatified Damien at the Sacred Heart Basilica in the Koekelberg neighborhood of Brussels, Belgium, on PENTECOST Sunday, June 4, 1995. After the BEATIFICATION ceremony, Damien's right hand was returned to the Hawaiian people, who placed it in his original grave at Kalaupapa, Molokai.

In 1999 Audrey Toguchi, a retired teacher from Honolulu, was miraculously cured of terminal lung cancer after asking for Damien's intercession. In 2008, after an investigation by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints, the healing was officially recognized as miraculous and attributed to Damien's intercession. On October 11, 2009, at ST. PETER'S BASILICA in Rome, Pope Benedict XVI canonized Damien along with four other saints. The eighty-one year old Toguchi and her doctor, Walter Chang, participated in the canonization Mass, which was attended by more than 10,000 people, including Belgian and Hawaiian officials. In a homily that emphasized the new saints' examples of selfless giving, Pope Benedict observed that Damien "teaches us to choose the good fight—not those that lead to division, but those that gather us together in unity."

Damien is the patron of lepers and those with incurable diseases, particularly AIDS.

Feast: May 10 (the day Damien arrived on Molokai).

SEE ALSO CANONIZATION OF SAINTS (HISTORY AND PROCEDURE); HAWAII, CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; SACRED HEARTS OF JESUS AND MARY, CONGREGATION OF THE.

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VIGNE, PETER, BL.

Founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, associate member of the Priests of the Blessed Sacrament; b. Privas, France, August 20, 1670; d. Rencurel, France, July 8, 1740; beatified October 3, 2004, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Born in Privas, France, in 1670, Peter Vigne was the son of Peter Vigne Sr. and Frances Gautier. Two of Peter's sisters died in infancy, and he lived with his two older siblings, John-Francis and Eleonore, in relative comfort. When he was eleven years old, the parish priest asked him to serve as a witness, in which post he was responsible for signing the parish register for baptisms, marriages, and deaths.

Peter received a good education through his teenage years and entered the Sulpician Seminary in Viviers after a transformative experience that increased his awareness of the presence of Jesus in the Eucharist. He was ordained a priest on September 18, 1694, in Bourg-Saint-Andéol.

After working as a parish curate for six years, he felt called to continue his work as a missionary for the poor. He continued his formation in 1700 by joining the Vicentians in Lyon, with whom he received a solid foundation for his future work with the poor. After leaving the Vicentians in 1706, he became an itinerant missionary, traveling for more than three decades on foot or on horseback. He evangelized, visited the sick, catechized children, and administered the sacraments. He gave special care to celebrating the Mass and exposing the Blessed Sacrament.

On November 30, 1715, Peter founded the Congregation of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament in Boucieu-le-Roi. He instituted the CROSS and religious HABIT, and encouraged community life and adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. He also opened schools for youth and established teacher training schools.

Peter Vigne relied heavily on the support he received from his former colleagues at the Sulpician Seminary, including his spiritual director and confessor. He also found himself drawn to the spiritual dedication of the Priests of the Blessed Sacrament, and he was accepted as an associate member of the order in 1724.

Peter's constant traveling and pastoral work finally began to take their toll. At age seventy, during mission work at Rencurel, he became ill and was unable to continue celebrating Mass. He retired to private prayer, and died on July 8, 1740. His remains were taken to the church in Boucieu.

In his HOMILY beatifying Fr. Peter Vigne, Pope John Paul II extolled the missionary zeal and the discipleship he manifested through his love of the Eucharist: "By contemplating Christ present in the Eucharist and in his salvific passion, Father Peter Vigne was led to be an authentic disciple and faithful missionary of the Church."

Feast: July 8.

SEE ALSO BLESSED SACRAMENT, SISTERS OF THE; FRANCE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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VISINTAINER, AMABILE LUCIA, ST.

Known in religion as Mother Paolina (Pauline) of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus; foundress of the Daughters of the Immaculate Conception (Irmazinhas da Imaculada Conceiçao); b. Vigolo Vattaro, Trentino, Italy (then Austria), December 16, 1865; d. São Paulo, Brazil, July 9, 1942; beatified October 18, 1991; canonized May 19, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

For two years before emigrating to Brazil with her family in 1875, Amabile Visintainer, the daughter of Antonio Napoleone Visintainer and Anna Pianezzer, worked in the local silk mill. With other immigrants, they established the village of Vigolo (now part of Nova Trento, 60 miles from Florianópolis) in Santa Catarina Province in Brazil. Amabile received her FIRST COM-

MUNION at age twelve and participated in parish life by taking catechism classes, visiting the sick, and cleaning the chapel of Vigolo. Upon her mother's death in 1886, Amabile assumed household responsibilities and cared for her twelve siblings. When her father remarried, Amabile was free to respond to her recurring dream of religious life.

In 1890 Amabile and Virginia Nicolodi began caring for a woman dying of cancer in an abandoned shack. This act of mercy led to the formation of the Congregation of the Little Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, which was approved by Bishop José de Camargo Barros of Curitiba. Along with two sisters, Virginia and Teresa Anna Maule, Amabile pronounced religious vows on December 7, 1895, and assumed the name Sr. Paolina of the Agonizing Heart of Jesus.

The Sisters of the Immaculate Conception soon spread to nearby towns and to São Paulo, where they directed hospitals and asylums and assisted the recently emancipated slaves. In 1909, after difficult internal conflicts in the order, Mother Paolina accepted her removal from the office of mother general *ad vitam* (for life) by the archbishop, Duarte Leopoldo da Silva. For the next ten years, she humbly served her sisters by caring for the sick at Santa Casa de Bragança Paulista and remained assiduous in prayer.

Although she never reclaimed her office as superior, Sr. Paolina's reputation was rehabilitated, and she was venerated during her lifetime as the congregation's founder. On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the order, Sr. Paolina called on the sisters to "Be humble. Trust always and a great deal in divine Providence; never never must you let yourselves be discouraged, despite contrary winds. I say it again: trust in God and Mary Immaculate; be faithful and forge ahead!" Beginning in 1938, she suffered complications from diabetes that led to her death in 1942. Her final words, after spending the last two months of her life blind, were "God's will be done."

During the October 18, 1991, ceremony of the first Brazilian citizen to be beatified, Pope John Paul II said: "She was able to convert all her words and actions into a continual act of praise to God.... This being-for-others is the background for her whole life." She was canonized on May 19, 2002, by John Paul II. In his canonization HOMILY, he described St. Paolina's work as "a manifestation of the Holy Spirit who is 'the best comforter; the soul's most welcome guest, sweet refreshment here below.'"

Feast: July 9 (Bolzano).

SEE ALSO BRAZIL, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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VITCHEV, KAMEN, BL.

Baptized Peter; priest, Augustinian of the Assumption, educator, writer, MARTYR; b. May 23, 1893, Strem, Bourgas, Bulgaria; d. November 11, 1952, Sofia, Bulgaria; beatified May 26, 2002 in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Baptized into the Byzantine rite of the Catholic Church as Peter, Kamen Vitchev attended grammar school in Bulgaria and parts of the Ottoman Empire (Bulgaria only became fully independent in 1908). On September 8, 1910, he entered the novitiate of the Augustinians of the Assumption in Gemp, Belgium, and took the religious name Kamen. He made his final profession in 1912. From 1918 to 1920, Vitchev taught in Bulgaria and Turkey. He returned to Louvain, Belgium, for one year to complete his studies and afterward returned to Kadiköy, Turkey, a suburb of Istanbul, where he taught THEOLOGY until 1925 and where he was ordained to the priesthood on December 22, 1921, according to the Byzantine rite.

After having gone to Rome and Strasbourg, France, for further studies, Vitchev obtained a doctorate in theology in 1929. In 1930 he returned to the College of St. Augustine in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, where he had taught previously. There he would hold the positions of rector, dean of studies, and lecturer of philosophy until the school was closed by Communists in 1948. He was both known for his severity and deeply respected by his

students. The school successfully accepted non-Catholics, which seems to have been notable. While at the college, Vitchev wrote articles for, among other publications, *Istina* and *Review of Byzantine Studies*, sometimes under pseudonyms.

After the school was closed, Vitchev was made superior of the seminary in Plovdiv, and when all foreign religious were expelled from Bulgaria, he was appointed provincial vicar for the ASSUMPTIONISTS in Bulgaria. Having foreseen his fate, he was arrested on July 4, 1952; nothing further was known until his name was published in newspapers on September 20 as one accused of being a spy for the VATICAN and France and for seeking to foment war against the U.S.S.R. and its allies. After having been tortured in prison and found guilty, he was executed on November 11, 1952; the details of his execution were only confirmed after the fall of the Eastern Bloc.

According to the norms at the time of his BEATIFICATION, no miracle was needed for the beatification of a martyr. At the HOMILY following the beatification of Vitchev, John Paul II stressed Vitchev's desire to be faithful to Christ and the Church in his daily life so that he could witness (become a martyr) when the time came.

Feast: November 11.

SEE ALSO BULGARIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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VOLPICELLI, CATERINA, ST.

Foundress of the Servants of the Sacred Heart; b. Naples, Italy, January 21, 1839; d. Naples, December 28, 1894; beatified April 29, 2001, by Pope JOHN PAUL II; canonized April 26, 2009, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Born into an upper-middle-class family, Caterina Volpicelli received an excellent education at the Royal College of San Marcellino under the tutelage of Margherita Salatino (who would later cofound the Franciscan Grey Sisters of St. Elizabeth). As a young woman, Caterina often attended the theater and ballet, and competed with her sister to be noticed in society. Gradually, however, she was drawn to a life of holiness rather than luxury and entertainment.

In 1854 she became the spiritual mother to Bl. Bartolo LONGO after meeting him in the home of her brother-in-law, Marchese Francesco Imperiali. Under the influence of Bl. Ludovico da Casoria PALMENTIERI, she joined the Third Order Franciscans and developed an ardent devotion to the Sacred Heart. Bl. Ludovico impressed upon her the good she could accomplish while remaining in society if she became a "fisher of souls." Guided by her spiritual director, however, she sought entrance into the Adorers of the Blessed Sacrament on May 28, 1859. She later left the community due to illness. Upon her recovery, she was active in promoting the APOSTLESHIP OF PRAYER. On July 20, 1861, she received approval from Cardinal Sisto Riario Sforza (1810–1877) to promote holy hours for the conversion of sinners.

In addition to founding the Servants of the Sacred Heart in Naples with the Third Rule of St. Francis on July 1, 1874, Caterina instituted the Daughters of Mary, opened an orphanage, established a lending library, and participated in the national Eucharistic conference in Naples (November 19–22, 1891). The Congregation of the Servants of the Sacred Heart, which includes both cloistered nuns as well as married and single oblates, tended to the sick during a cholera epidemic in 1884. The constitution was approved in 1911.

Caterina was beatified by Pope John Paul II, April 29, 2001, for being "prophetically oriented to the promotion of the laity and new forms of consecrated life." In the HOMILY for the Mass of her canonization, Pope Benedict XVI stated:

> St. Caterina shows to her spiritual daughters and to all of us the demanding journey of a conversion that radically changes the heart, and is expressed in actions consistent with the Gospel. It is thus possible to lay the foundations for building a society open to justice and solidarity, overcoming that economic and cultural imbalance which continues to exist in a large part of our planet.

Feast: December 28.

SEE ALSO Italy, The Catholic Church in; Religious (Men and Women).

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WALDHEIM, KURT

Jurist, politician, and diplomat; b. December 21, 1918, Sankt Andra-Wordern, Austria; d. June 14, 2007, Vienna, Austria.

Kurt Waldheim was born at the tail end of WORLD WAR I, in a small village near Vienna. His father, Walter, a minor school official of Czech origin, changed his last name from Watzlawick to Waldheim the year his son was born. Despite the dislocation caused by the Great War, he raised his family in a firmly bourgeois, Roman Catholic home. Young Kurt Waldheim attended primary and secondary school in a town near his home. He showed promising intellectual aptitude and an ambitious streak early in life, and, having already decided on a career in the diplomatic service, he enlisted for a one-year term in the Austrian army upon graduation from secondary school in 1936. He was encouraged, perhaps, by a newly passed law making prior military service mandatory for all future government employees.

On His Military Career. Waldheim successfully completed his basic military training and received his orders on his eighteenth birthday in December 1936. He reported to the garrison town of Stockerau as a reserve officer assigned to a light cavalry unit. Popular among his fellow officers, efficient, and intelligent, Waldheim compiled a fine record. After completing his service year he earned an academic scholarship to the prestigious and highly selective Consular Academy in Vienna. There Waldheim studied international relations and law, in addition to the standard curriculum, which focused heavily on languages and the classics. He acquitted himself very well and showed an uncanny ability to attract the favorable attention of his superiors.

Unfortunately for millions of people like the Waldheims, world events began to eclipse individual wills and shape individual fates. As Germany began to pressure Austria to surrender state sovereignty in 1937, the Waldheim family, patriotic Austrians loyal to their nation and justifiably concerned about German hostility toward the Catholic Church, publicly opposed the German efforts to undermine Austria. After the German annexation of Austria in 1938, the family came under suspicion. Kurt lost his scholarship at the academy and had to borrow money to resume his schooling. The family suffered routine harassment and the German Secret Police twice arrested Walter Waldheim, who eventually lost his job as a school inspector.

On April 1, 1938, Kurt Waldheim joined the National Socialist Students League, although he would later deny joining this Nazi organization. He probably joined the League only as a means of continuing his education, as most friends considered him to be nonpolitical in nature. In July 1938 Waldheim returned to his military unit for more training, although this time he found himself under direct German command. Shortly after completing his training Waldheim enrolled in the mounted Corps of the Nazi SA. In later years he vigorously denied that he had ever joined the corps, but membership rolls confirmed his status. Once again, it is likely that he enrolled not out of political convictions but to protect his family and to advance his own career.

Waldheim graduated from the Consular Academy in the spring of 1939. He planned to pursue graduate study in Italy, but the world scene darkened, and Waldheim reported for military service as a cavalry officer in late August. WORLD WAR II began three days later, with the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939. In his autobiography written years later, Waldheim

claimed to have served in the Wehrmacht very reluctantly, harboring great hope that the war would end in short order. He stated that he fought in Russia as a junior officer, suffered a serious leg wound during the Russian offensive on December 14, 1941, and was declared unfit for further active duty. He claimed that he mustered out of the army at that point and began doctoral studies in Vienna. This tale apparently answered questions concerning his whereabouts during the war years, and Waldheim stuck with it for decades, but the story would fall apart under close scrutiny in 1986.

On His Political Career. Waldheim finished his studies and earned a doctor of laws degree at the University of Vienna in 1944. He joined the Austrian Foreign Service the same year and served in progressively more responsible positions from 1946 through 1966. He served a term as Austrian foreign minister, and was also the Austrian representative at the United Nations. He resigned from the latter position to run unsuccessfully for the presidency of Austria in 1971. Following his loss in the presidential race, he was elected to the secretary generalship of the United Nations (U.N.) in December 1971.

Waldheim earned modest credit during his first term as secretary general, mainly by avoiding ideologically charged issues, with the exception of the infamous U.N. Resolution 3379, which branded Zionism a form of racism. During the remainder of his first term Waldheim concentrated on convening and sponsoring conferences on matters of world interest. For the most part his efforts to participate actively in diplomatic initiatives were fruitless. Despite some Third World opposition, in 1976 Waldheim won a second term as secretary general, during which he played a generally ineffective, albeit well-intentioned, role as a peacemaker, trying to mediate wars in various parts of the world. He also tried, without success, to defuse the U.S.-Iranian confrontation of 1979–1980, when he personally lobbied for the release of American embassy personnel held hostage in Iran. Waldheim made a dramatic trip to Iran in January 1981, but the Iranian government refused to see him.

Waldheim enjoyed his role as secretary general immensely and, despite few concrete accomplishments, sought a third term. Chinese opposition to this measure doomed Waldheim's bid; he returned to Austria in 1982, but the final acts of his long career still lay ahead. He announced plans to seek the presidency of Austria in 1985, and he won the election in June 1986. Waldheim had not anticipated politically motivated inquiries into his past, but rumors concerning his falsified war record were commonplace in Austrian political, diplomatic, and intelligence circles. His campaign elicited a deluge of intrigue, controversy, and criticism worldwide, and Waldheim's evasive answers and explanations simply prompted more questions and criticism.

Exhaustive studies would later establish that Waldheim served as an intelligence officer with a German unit in Greece, which had participated in notable atrocities, including sending Italian soldiers to German slave labor camps after Italy abandoned the war in 1943. Waldheim signed the memoranda and other forms authorizing these actions. A full commission absolved him of any charges of war crimes. It added, however, that he had been complicit in the acts committed by his unit and that he had acted as an accessory in the strict legal sense. A continuing stream of revelations stained Waldheim's credibility. In 1987 U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese III placed Waldheim's name on a list of people prohibited from entering the United States. Waldheim found himself unwelcome in most other Western countries, and during his term of office he made only two state visits, one to Jordan and another to the Vatican in 1987. Waldheim's personal isolation proved to be a source of international embarrassment, and he declined to run for reelection in 1992.

Waldheim retired to the Austrian countryside after his term of office. He had been a practicing Catholic all of his adult life and remained grateful to the Church for helping to lessen his international isolation while he was president of Austria. In 1992 Waldheim received an honorary membership in the KHV Welfia Klosterneuburg, a Catholic student fraternity. Two years later, Pope JOHN PAUL II awarded him a knighthood in the Order of Pius IX. The announcement of these awards ignited intense criticism in certain quarters and inevitably raised the old and thoroughly discredited questions of Catholic complicity in the Holocaust. Some have speculated that the pope served as a personal spiritual mentor to the elderly Waldheim, helping to direct him back to a state of grace, but this explanation failed to appease critics.

Kurt Waldheim died of heart failure on June 14, 2007.

SEE ALSO HOLOCAUST (SHOAH); NAZISM, PAPAL RESPONSE TO.

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WIECKA, MARTA MARIA, BL.

Religious, b. Nowy Wiec, Poland, January 12, 1874; d. Sniatyn, Poland (now Ukraine), May 30, 1904; beatified May 24, 2008, by Pope BENEDICT XVI.

Marta Wiecka was the third of thirteen children of Marcello Wiecki and Paulina Kamrowska. At the age of two, her recovery from a serious illness was credited to the INTERCESSION of the MOTHER OF GOD of Piseczno. Marta joined the Daughters of Charity of St. VINCENT DE PAUL, the Grey Sisters, at the age of eighteen and spent many years serving hospital patients. Her superior, Sr. Maria Chablo, once reflected on her gift to evangelize others through love and service: "It is difficult to describe how much effort she put to convince patients to go to confession, to receive holy sacraments. Hard hearts melted and were sincerely united with God, influenced by her words" (quoted in Watroba 2008).

It has been said that none of Sr. Marta's patients died without receiving the Sacrament of Reconciliation. She was even approached by Jewish patients asking to be baptized. It is reported that in 1899 Marta had a vision of Jesus on the Cross. This experience preceded a trying time in her life caused by a mentally ill man who spread a rumor that Marta was pregnant due to an affair with a patient. Sr. Marta suffered greatly from the gossip, until time passed and it was evident that she had not been pregnant.

It was her selflessness that led to her early death. After the job of disinfecting the room of a typhoid patient was assigned to another nurse, Marta took on the task to protect him, and she contracted the disease. Witnesses of her final moments on Earth believe that she was in a state of ecstasy after receiving the Eucharist. She died on May 30, 1904, in Sniatyn and was buried there. The local Jewish community held a prayer service for her at their synagogue, and Christians of various denominations continue to pray at her grave.

Marta was beatified on May 24, 2008, in the Cathedral of L'viv, Ukraine. Cardinal Tarcisio Bertone, Vatican Secretary of State, presided at the rite. He noted how the grave of Sr. Marta had become a symbol of national unity and an example of ecumenical dialogue. "When you care for the sick do not forget to consider their spiritual needs, necessary for full health," the cardinal said, concluding, "Today this humble Sr. Marta of Sniatyn shines in heaven among the blessed and she sends us a hymn of life. She encourages us to love life and protect it in all phases, from conception to natural death."

Feast: May 30.

SEE ALSO POLAND, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN); UKRAINE, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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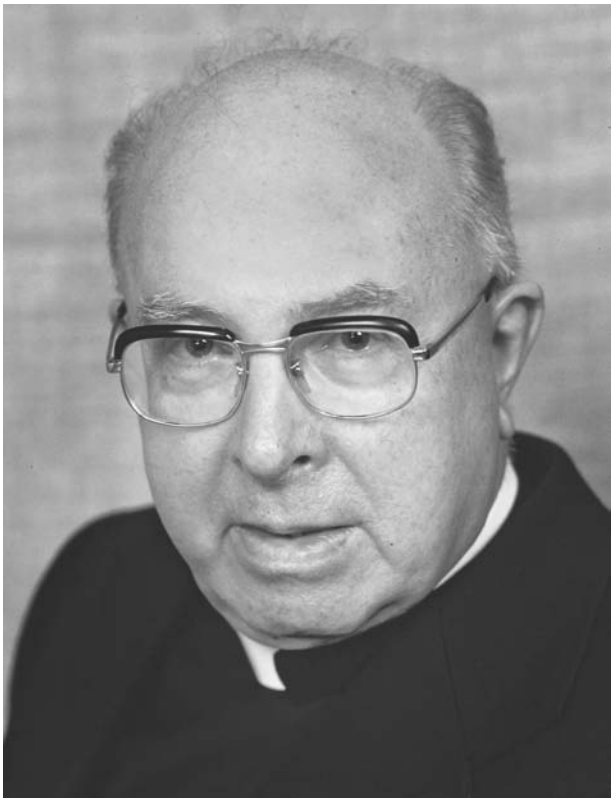
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WILLEBRANDS, JOHANNES

Cardinal, president of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity, archbishop of Utrecht, and primate of Holland; b. September 4, 1909, Bovenkarspel, Netherlands; d. August 2, 2006, Denekamp, Netherlands.

Willebrands studied in the seminary of Warmond and was ordained a priest May 26, 1934. In 1937 he earned a doctorate in philosophy at the University of St. Thomas Aquinas (Angelicum), Rome, with a dissertation titled "The Illative Sense in the Thought of John Henry Newman." Back in Holland he taught at Warmond, becoming rector of the seminary in 1945.

In 1946 Willebrands accepted the presidency of the St. Willebrord Association, a group devoted to promot-



Willebrands, Johannes Cardinal (1909–2006). *This Dutch Cardinal was known at the Vatican as "The Flying Dutchman" for his travels around the world promoting Christian Unity.* **AP IMAGES**

ing Catholic APOLOGETICS. Through his efforts it developed into an instrument for promoting ecumenism in the Netherlands. Even more significant was his cooperation with a priest friend, Frans Thijssen, in founding the Catholic Conference for Ecumenical Questions. This unofficial group of Catholic scholars became, with the knowledge of the Dutch bishops and the Holy See, a kind of informal contact from within the Catholic Church with Orthodox, Anglican, and Protestant ecumenists and leaders. It contributed notably to the development and work of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity.

In 1960 Pope JOHN XXIII chose Monsignor Willebrands to be the secretary of the preparatory commission on ecumenism for the Second Vatican Council, under the presidency of Cardinal Augustin BEA, S.J. In 1962 Willebrands visited Orthodox leaders, secretaries of world confessional families (for example, the Lutheran World Federation and the World Alliance of REFORMED CHURCHES), and the World Council of Churches to explain the new ecumenical outreach on the part of the Catholic Church. This prepared the ground for other confessions to send observers to the council and, in the long run, led to the multilateral theological dialogues that began after the council and were to be central in the Catholic ecumenical enterprise.

Working with a number of scholars who had been in the Catholic Conference, Willebrands produced the text that was the basis for the conciliar Decree on Ecumenism (*Unitatis redintegratio*). Willebrands also had major responsibility for the Declaration on Religious Liberty (*Dignitatis humanae*), the Declaration on the Relations of the Church to Non-Christian Religions (*Nostra aetate*), and a substantial part of the Constitution on Divine Revelation (*Dei Verbum*).

Pope PAUL VI consecrated Monsignor Willebrands titular bishop of Mauritania in 1964. Before the council ended, the preparatory commission for ecumenism was declared a permanent organ of the Roman Curia with the title of Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity. (In 1988 it was renamed the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity.) After Cardinal Bea died in 1968, Willebrands was named president of the new dicastery and created cardinal deacon of Saints COSMAS AND DAMIAN. Under his guidance the secretariat produced a Directory on Ecumenism and initiated a series of international multilateral theological dialogues with major Christian confessions (as of the year 2000 there were nine of these) as well as a cooperative relationship with the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, especially its Faith and Order Commission. To promote reception of the ecumenical stance of Vatican II within the Catholic Church, Willebrands encouraged the establishment of ecumenical commissions in bishops' conferences and began to have occasional meetings of their representatives in Rome. In 1974 Willebrands established within the secretariat the Commission for Religious Relations with JUDAISM, based on Vatican II's *Nostra aetate* 4. He guided it carefully, focusing on questions of doctrine, pastoral practice, and religious formation, and avoiding complicated political questions. This approach bore visible and striking results with the visit of Pope JOHN PAUL II to the Rome synagogue in 1986, as well as the more spectacular papal visit to ISRAEL in 2000.

In 1975 Paul VI asked Cardinal Willebrands to become archbishop of Utrecht and primate of Holland while remaining president of the secretariat. This meant living in Utrecht but returning to Rome regularly. These visits became less frequent as he dealt with a Church in the Netherlands whose institutions had been deconstructed by secularization and postconciliar polarization. Using his sympathetic style and human relations skills, he was able to win respect for his leadership and to establish some sort of equilibrium, although he was un-

able fully to revive the forces of the Church in the Netherlands. It was a relief for him to hand over the archdiocese in 1983 to a successor whose way he had prepared. He returned to Rome at an important moment, as several of the relationships and ecumenical dialogues were reaching new maturity. His collaboration with Pope John Paul II became closer and ever more fruitful. He provided leadership in such events as the 1986 Assisi World Day of Prayer for Peace, and he responded to the crisis in relations with the ANGLICAN COMMUNION and the Orthodox churches. He also encouraged the ever more promising theological developments with the Lutheran World Federation and the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches.

When Willebrands reached the statutory age of retirement at seventy-five, John Paul asked him to continue in office; he did so until December 12, 1989, when, several months past his eightieth birthday, he became president emeritus of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity and the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews (succeeded subsequently as president by Cardinal Edward I. Cassidy, 1989–2001, and Cardinal Walter Kasper, 2001–). Willem Visser't Hooft, the founding secretary of the World Council of Churches, described Cardinal Willebrands as "a man with a fine combination of vision and realism." That quality enabled him to give a stamp and direction to Catholic participation in the ecumenical movement. For the communications media, he never became the iconic figure that Cardinal Bea was. Yet Willebrands was, in many ways, the architect of Catholic ecumenical engagement encouraged by Paul VI and Vatican II and continued by Pope John Paul II and Benedict XVI.

In 1997, Cardinal Willebrands retired to a Franciscan convent in Denekamp in the Netherlands, where FRANCISCAN SISTERS cared for him. He died there on August 2, 2006, at the age of 96. Prior to his death, he was the oldest living member of the College of Cardinals.

SEE ALSO CARDINALS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT; MAURITANIA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; NETHERLANDS, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; ORTHODOX AND ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES; PONTIFICAL COUNCIL FOR INTERRELIGIOUS DIALOGUE; VATICAN COUNCIL II.

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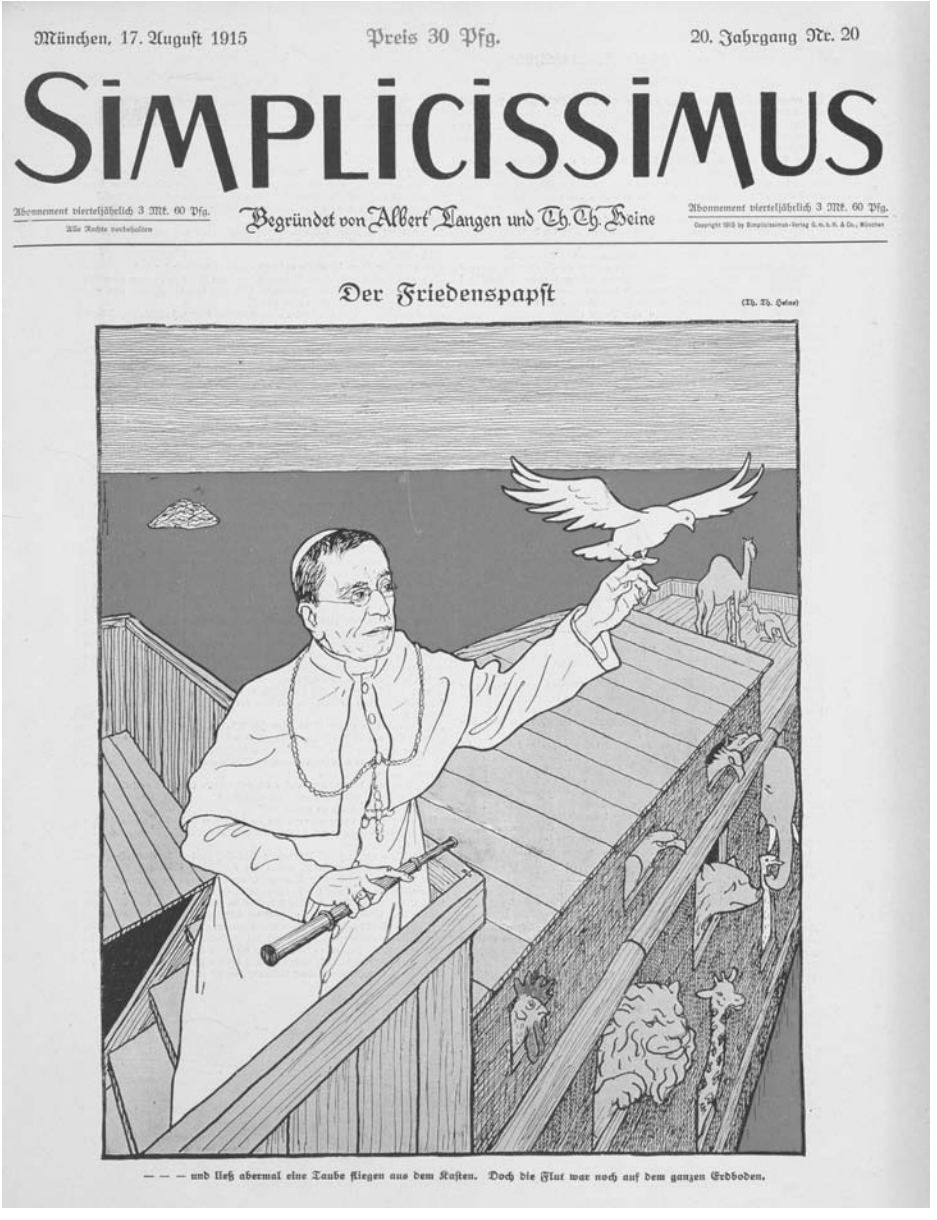
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WORLD WAR I, PAPAL REACTION TO

In the conclave of 1903, Cardinal Melchiore Sarto was elected pope and took the name PIUS X. Like PIUS IX, he was more of a pastoral than a diplomatic pope, and he had never held a diplomatic post. Not surprisingly, during his pontificate (1903–1914) he dealt primarily with matters of faith, focusing on doctrinal, ecclesiastical, liturgical, and institutional issues rather than diplomatic ones. Nonetheless, Pius X recognized the dangers posed by the destabilization of international relations during the prewar decade, and toward the close of his pontificate he had a premonition that Europe and the world were threatened by an impending conflict of immense proportions and unfortunate consequences for Church and society. His prophecy materialized at the end of July 1914, when Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia following the assassination of the archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife. This sparked the intervention of Germany, France, and Russia and a series of other continental powers, as well as a number of extra-European ones, including the United States and Japan. When Pius X's offer of mediation was rejected, his solution was to pray for peace and to urge Catholics to do likewise. These prayers were not answered, and Pius X died soon after on August 20, 1914. Subsequently, some historians have launched the dubious charge that the Vatican's conclusion of a concordat with Serbia in 1914 precipitated Austria's attack on that Slav state, sparking the world war.

The CONCLAVE of August 1914, which opened as a destructive war raged in Europe, sought a pope who could respond to the threats confronting the peoples of the continent and the Church, while both belligerent camps desired a successor to Pius X who would be sympathetic to their cause. Some hoped, while others feared, that the VATICAN might influence the course of



The Peaceful Pope. *Pope Benedict XV on the front cover of a German magazine,* Simplicissimus*, published in 1915.* **© 2010 ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK/VG BILD-KUNST, BONN. PRIVATE COLLECTION/THE STAPLETON COLLECTION/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY**

events. A dynamic papal role was rendered difficult during the summer of 1914 because of the restricted diplomatic reach of the HOLY SEE. At this juncture, it did not have a representative in London or Paris, and while it had an apostolic delegate in Washington, he was often ignored. Nonetheless, the Vatican still wielded considerable moral influence that could not be ignored by the powers. On September 3, 1914, the three-day conclave selected the sixty-year-old Giacomo Giambattista della Chiesa, who assumed the name BENEDICT XV. His election followed that of Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), professor of political science at Princeton University, as president of the United States (1913–1921). The paths of these two figures would cross in the following decade as they both searched for peace.

Vatican Impartiality. Della Chiesa, who trained as a papal diplomat in the College for Noble Ecclesiastics, was fluent in French, German, and Spanish, as well as his native Italian, and served as undersecretary of state after 1901. From the start of his pontificate he sought to restore peace by scrupulously preserving Vatican

impartiality. In his first message to the Church on September 8, 1914, the pope pledged to do all within his means to hasten the end of the calamity and proved true to his promise. The following month, on the feast of All Saints' Day, Benedict issued an appeal for peace within Europe. In the first of his twelve encyclicals, he revealed his deep distress at the carnage and ruin of the calamitous war. Similar sentiments were expressed in a series of exhortations to the powers—including those of September 8 and December 6, 1914; May 25, July 28, and December 6, 1915; March 4 and July 30, 1916; and January 10 and May 5, 1917—in which he invoked the negotiation of a just peace. He was assisted in his efforts to restore peace by his secretary of state, Pietro GASPARRI, and undersecretary Eugenio Pacelli (who became Pope PIUS XII).

Secretary of State Gasparri was the chief architect of the policy of "impartiality" to which the papacy adhered during the course of the conflict, and which he and the pope differentiated from neutrality. This distinction, although understood by few, served an important function. It assured the Christian world that the pope not only could but indeed would have to make moral judgments between conflicting principles and issue general pronouncements. As Vicar of Christ, he was not, and could not, remain neutral in moral matters. However, he would not necessarily act upon these moral judgments by making concrete political decisions or issuing specific public pronouncements. In the conflict between states, the pope, the Father of all, had perforce to be impartial, because members of the faith were found in both camps, and the Holy See could not support one part of its flock against the other. The pope also proved unwilling to apply the just-war theory, unconvinced that either side fought from a position of justice.

Thus, although he censured the violators of international law in general, Benedict's refusal to cite specific abuses and his silence regarding responsibility earned him the enmity of most of the belligerents. His general denunciations did not satisfy the Allied countries, which believed Benedict should have condemned the invasion of Belgium, with both sides critical of his impartiality and his failure to name those responsible for the calamity. In 1916 a pamphlet titled *The Silence of Benedict XV* charged that papal silence compromised the Church and hindered its moral mission. Despite this criticism, Benedict steadfastly refused to assume a partisan stance, and, preserving his impartiality, he sought to mediate a peace. This approach was not appreciated in Berlin and Vienna or Paris and London, each side resenting outside interference while nourishing hopes of winning the war. Some even criticized Benedict's efforts to alleviate the suffering.

Paradoxically, both belligerent camps charged that the Vatican supported the other. In 1915 the correspondent Louis Latopié of the French newspaper *Liberté* wrote that during an interview, the pope blamed England for the war while exonerating Germany—a contention Benedict quickly and publicly denied. Nonetheless, this and other rumors continued to circulate, including the Italian suspicion that the Vatican's peace efforts were really inspired by its desire to gain international support to regain Rome for the papacy. This fear inspired the government of Prime Minster Antonio Salandra (1853–1931) to insist on article 15 of the secret Treaty of London of April 1915, which brought Italy into the war. This article promised that the Vatican would be excluded from any peace conference. To make matters worse for the Vatican, Italy's intervention in the conflict in May 1915 exposed the Vatican's precarious position inside one of the belligerent countries, which some believed compromised the impartiality and even the security of the Holy See.

During the course of that same year, the pope and Gasparri, seeking to limit the conflict, dispatched Eugenio Pacelli, who was known to be sympathetic to German culture and spoke German and six other languages, as the Vatican's special envoy to the multinational Habsburg Empire. In the Vatican note to Emperor Franz Josef (1830–1916) introducing their emissary, Gasparri indicated they were sending a representative who had their complete confidence. This did not matter much to the old emperor, who was more concerned with the message than the messenger. During the meeting, Pacelli concluded that the Austrian emperor was not prepared to make any a priori territorial concessions, adding that diplomatic and military decisions were not made in Vienna but Berlin.

Vatican Efforts to Secure Peace. At the end of 1916, when the Central Powers sent a note to the Entente Powers and the pope suggesting the opening of peace negotiations, the Holy See reacted cautiously, largely because of the skepticism of the secretary of state, Gasparri. The Vatican did not respond to the German initiative because it feared that its support might be seen as favoring the Central Powers. This accusation was deemed plausible in light of the fact that Joseph Caillaux (1863–1944), a former French premier who was pro-German and a political opportunist, planned to venture to Rome to obtain Vatican support for the German plan. Unwilling to jeopardize his absolute impartiality, Benedict did not meet with him. Furthermore, the pope was on the verge of launching his own peace initiative. The papal proposal called for the replacement of military force by moral right, and national self-interest by international cooperation. The proposal reflected the internationalism of the prewar pacifist peace movement,

which sought a compromise solution without conquerors or conquered, invoking the restitution of occupied territory and the status quo antebellum.

Meanwhile, the pope urged the Americans, who were still neutral, to launch a peace effort, but at this juncture President Woodrow Wilson would only act if all the warring parties welcomed his intervention. As the war dragged on, Benedict continued his efforts to help the victims of the conflict in both camps, Jews as well as Christians. Both the pope and his secretary of state, Gasparri, made it clear that the pope considered all men brothers and that the papal "crusade of charity" included relief for Jews. Although Benedict did not object to Jewish emigration to Palestine, like his predecessor he had reservations about granting the Jews, or any other religious group, control over the Holy Land and its religious shrines. Benedict, who sympathized with all the victims of the conflict, determined to make a major effort on behalf of peace. In April 1917, the pope and Gasparri decided to have Eugenio Pacelli, a member of a family devoted to the papacy, present the outline of the papal peace proposal to the Germans. To assure he would get a proper hearing, the pope appointed Pacelli apostolic nuncio to Bavaria, whose residence was Munich, but at the same time also accredited him to the Imperial Court at Berlin.

On May 25, Pacelli reached Munich, where he received a quasi-royal reception, presenting his credentials to King Ludwig III (1845–1921) of Bavaria a few days later. Toward the end of June, Pacelli commenced his peacemaking mission when, accompanied by Cardinal Felix von Hartmann (1851–1919), he arrived in Berlin and settled in the nunciature in Briennerstrasse, opposite the building that Adolf HITLER later converted into his Brown House. Soon thereafter, Pacelli met with the German chancellor, Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg (1856–1921), and discussed the necessary preconditions for a negotiated settlement as outlined by Pope Benedict.

Pope Benedict's seven-point peace proposal called for: (1) a simultaneous and reciprocal decrease in armaments; (2) recourse to arbitration and an international court to resolve disputes rather than reliance on armies; (3) free exchange and liberty of the seas; (4) the reciprocal renunciation of war indemnities; (5) evacuation and restoration of all occupied territories; (6) the resolution of political and territorial claims between Italy and Austria and France and Germany to be determined in a spirit of equity and justice; and finally (7) a similar spirit of equity and justice to determine other territorial and political disputes and particularly those concerning Armenia, the Balkan states, and Poland.

Following the specific instructions Gasparri had dispatched to him on June 13, Pacelli planned to meet with the German emperor to assess whether he was willing to recognize the independence of Belgium and return Alsace-Lorraine to France. On June 29, Pacelli ventured to the kaiser's military headquarters at Kreuzach with Lorenzo Schioppa (1871–1935), the chief political advisor at the Munich nunciature, to present the pope's letter outlining the papal peace plan. The kaiser frowned as he read the papal proposal, and his remarks did little to reassure the nuncio. Wilhelm further disturbed Pacelli, who favored papal impartiality, by complaining that Benedict had failed to use his infallibility to condemn the "atrocities of the Allies." On key issues, the kaiser proved evasive and questioned crucial aspects of the plan, including the future of Belgium as well as French claims on Alsace-Lorraine, jumping from one point to another in rapid succession. Finally, he shocked the sensitive nuncio by suggesting the positive consequences of Benedict dying a martyr's death in the cause of peace. Later, the kaiser boasted that he had provided the inspiration for the papal peace note—an assertion that Pacelli felt constrained to contradict. Nonetheless, a good part of the political class in the Allied camp found it convenient to believe the kaiser's contention—thereby providing another pretext for their rejection of the papal peace proposal.

Neither the Allies nor the Central Powers responded positively to the Vatican peace proposal, with both rejecting the notion of returning to the status quo antebellum. The Germans, who had defeated the Russians, were not prepared to sanction the peace without victory that the pope envisioned. Benedict was saddened to see the destructive conflict continue, and he was distressed by the issuance in November 1917 of the Balfour Declaration, which promised to create a Jewish state in Palestine, which he believed to be to the detriment of Catholic interests there.

Papal Reaction to Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points. One positive development from the papal perspective was President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points peace proposal of January 1918, delivered after the United States had entered the war as a cobelligerent. Wilson's program mirrored and appeared to elaborate upon Benedict's earlier peace plan. It called for: (1) renunciation of secret diplomacy; (2) freedom of the seas; (3) removal of economic barriers between nations; (4) reduction of armaments; (5) impartial adjustment of colonial claims; (6) evacuation and restoration of Russian territory; (7) restoration of Belgian sovereignty; (8) evacuation of France and the return of Alsace-Lorraine; (9) redrawing of the Italian frontier along national lines; (10) autonomy for the peoples of Austria-Hungary; (11) evacuation of Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia; (12) self-determination for the peoples of the Ottoman Empire and freedom of navigation through the Dardanelles; (13) establishment of an independent Poland

with access to the sea; and finally (14) creation of an association of nations to govern international relations.

Benedict approved of Wilson's Fourteen Points, seeing them as a refinement of the principles he had outlined six months earlier in his own peace plan. He was convinced that a peace without victory would work to assure the tranquility of the continent and the well-being of its people. Having from the beginning of his pontificate invoked a reorganization of international relations and a peaceful manner of resolving disputes, he wholeheartedly supported Wilson's fourteenth point, which called for the creation of an association of nations to govern international relations. He also appreciated the American president's insistence that provision for the proposed league be included in the various peace treaties: Versailles with Germany, Saint-Germain with Austria, Trianon with Hungary, and Neuilly with Bulgaria. The Vatican did have some reservations about the league's structure, which the American president helped draft, including the division between the smaller states and the great powers, as well as the initial exclusion of the vanquished states. Despite these shortcomings, Benedict proved supportive of the projected league.

Early in January 1919, Benedict XV met with Woodrow Wilson, the first president of the United States to be received by a pontiff, and the two discussed prospects for peace and the need to construct a new basis for international relations. Like Wilson, Benedict favored a reorganization of such relations, noting the inability of the prevailing international anarchy to peacefully resolve conflicts. He had long adhered to this stance and as early as 1914 appealed to the nations of the world to find some other means of resolving differences and disputes. Deploring the violation of international law, Benedict believed this contributed to the carnage of the world war and sought a new code of conduct to assure a more tranquil future. Cardinal Gasparri, the pope's chief advisor on foreign affairs, expressed similar sentiments, focusing on Benedict's call for a new world order that included the suppression of compulsory military service and the constitution of a court of arbitration for the solution of international disputes, the prevention of infractions, and the establishment of boycott procedures.

Papal Reaction to the Peace Treaties. The response of the European Allies to the American peace proposal was far from positive, but they chose not to openly reject the Fourteen Points, for the Allies were increasingly dependent upon the Americans to bring the war to a successful conclusion. Instead, they subtly and gradually undermined Wilson's program and the terms under which Germany had surrendered. As a result, Benedict had serious reservations about the treaties concluded at the Paris Peace Conference. The pope believed there would be neither peace nor stability unless there was a return to mutual charity and the banishment of enmity, and he hoped this would be reflected in the treaties. Consequently, he was disappointed by the terms imposed on the defeated Central Powers. Benedict, like the Germans, expected that the treaties would be based on Wilson's points and was deeply disappointed when these provisions and promises were largely disregarded. Following the publication of the terms of the treaties, the Vatican had reservations about the war-guilt clause imposed on the vanquished, the reparations imposed, the exclusion of the defeated from the League of Nations, the attempt to put the kaiser on trial, and the territorial losses imposed on Germany, Austria, and Hungary. Benedict particularly decried the consequences for Catholic Austria, lamenting that this nation, which had valiantly defended Christian civilization over the centuries, had been reduced to a fragment of its former self, lacking the elements for a continued existence.

While the Vatican applauded the restoration of Catholic Poland and the creation of the League of Nations, its secretariat of state decried the fact that most of the other points upon which Germany had surrendered were violated during the peacemaking process, and found the treaty both unfair and counterproductive, observing that the Germans had real cause to complain. These sentiments were registered in the Jesuit periodical *La Civiltà Cattolica*, which branded the 440 "articles of peace" as "articles of war" and, like the pope, expressed pessimism about the preservation of the peace. These sentiments were shared by the Vatican's journal, *L'Osservatore Romano,* which noted that the terms imposed on the defeated states, in violation of the terms of surrender, would create rancor and the call for revenge rather than provide for reconciliation and resolution. These predictions proved prophetic.

SEE ALSO League of Nations and the Papacy; War, Morality of; World War II and the Papal Role.

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WORLD WAR II AND THE PAPAL ROLE

During the last months of his life and pontificate, the old and ailing Pope PIUS XI (pope 1922–1939) was shocked and scandalized by the racism of Nazi Germany, which he saw imitated by Fascist Italy and which he found both irreligious and inhuman. In response, he adopted a confrontational attitude toward Adolf HITLER and Benito MUSSOLINI, and he questioned the value of the concordats he had earlier signed with Italy (1929) and Germany (1933). By the end of 1938, he deemed the Fascist dictatorships a greater danger than BOLSHEVISM and perceived the appeasement policy of the British toward Hitler as unrealistic and unfortunate, personally adopting a more combative course.

However, his policy created considerable consternation in his secretariat of state, which feared the consequences that might flow from provoking these tyrants and preferred to pursue the policy outlined by Cardinal Pietro GASPARRI, who had served as secretary of state under BENEDICT XV (1914–1922) and Pius XI. The pragmatic cardinal had called for a cautious and conciliatory response to these "dangerous regimes," and this had contributed to his dismissal at the end of 1929 by Pius XI. His successor, Eugenio Pacelli (who became Pope PIUS XII), while more diplomatic than his predecessor, shared Gasparri's determination to appease the dictatorships to preserve the concordats and protect the Church. As a result, Pius XI felt he could not rely on his secretariat of state to draft his projected ENCYCLICAL against racism and ANTI-SEMITISM, assigning the task to an outsider—the American Jesuit John LA FARGE. Political intrigue worked to delay the pope's receipt of the projected encyclical, and the pope died before he could release it.

Pius XII's Conciliatory Course. Following the death of Pius XI on February 10, 1939, the CONCLAVE met in early March to select a successor as Hitler was on the verge of breaking another of his promises and the clouds of war thickened. Some believe and others still maintain that Pacelli was elected pope with the expectation that he would continue the former pope's policies, citing the fact that Pacelli assumed the name of his predecessor and had collaborated with Pius XI for almost a decade. In fact, the cardinals in the conclave knew better, and elected Pacelli pope on March 2, 1939, not because he favored the confrontational course of his predecessor, but because he was known to favor a more conciliatory one. The new pope did not disappoint those who sought to keep the HOLY SEE from becoming embroiled in the impending conflict, for he immediately took steps to improve relations with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Among other things, Pius XII shelved the encyclical Pius XI had commissioned against anti-Semitism and had the galleys of Pius XI's last critique of Mussolini's policies destroyed. Finally, he borrowed the policy of impartiality developed by Gasparri and utilized by Benedict during the course of the First World War (1914–1918) by remaining politically neutral while religiously committed. Pacelli justified his recourse to neutrality in order to assume the role of honest broker between the rival powers and because of his analysis of the Lateran Accords of 1929, which he believed mandated impartiality.

One of Pacelli's first aims as pope was to improve relations with the German Reich. In an audience of April 23, 1939, speaking to a group of German pilgrims, Pacelli avoided the condemnations of his predecessor and assured the German ambassador to the VATICAN, Carl-Ludwig Diego von Bergen (1872–1944), that friendly relations would be restored between Germany and the Vatican. In fact, the ambassador immediately sensed a relaxation of the tension that had accelerated during the last year of the pontificate of Pius XI. Hoping to mediate a settlement of disputes, Pius XII invited Britain, Germany, France, Italy, and Poland to a Vatican conference to consider the Polish-German differences and Franco-Italian friction, invoking concessions to avert war. The offer was rejected by both camps. Still, Pius did not lose hope, and toward the end of August 1939 he issued a radio appeal pleading for peace. His prayer was not answered, and on September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland. Britain and France declared war on Germany two days later. Pius, still hoping to mediate a settlement, remained publicly neutral and did not condemn the German invasion of Poland. Some saw this as the first instance of papal "silence."

Papal Impartiality. Although Pius refused to condemn the belligerents in the conflict, preserving a rigorous public impartiality, he denounced aggression in general in November 1939, calling for the renunciation of the cult of might against right, and the acceptance of the supreme authority of the Creator as the basis of



The Mark of War. *The central nave of the Basilica of San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura, in Rome, flooded with rubble after the heavy bombardment of July 19, 1943.* © **ALINARI ARCHIVES/CORBIS**

individual and collective morality. This position represented an indirect criticism of the policies of the Fascist regimes, as well as an indictment of the present order of international relations. Early on, the pope spoke of the need to fashion a new organization to assure the independence of small and large nations, while safeguarding the liberty, human dignity, and prosperity of all. In his Christmas message of December 24, 1939, Pius XII returned to the theme of a reorganization of international life and the construction of new juridical institutions. Here he lamented the "calculated act of aggression against a small, industrious, and peaceful nation." However, when Joachim von Ribbentrop (1893–1946), the German foreign minister, complained, the pope responded that the small nation he had referred to was Finland, the victim of Soviet aggression.

During the first months of the war, Pius XII worked to keep Italy from entering the conflict, as Benedict XV had in 1914, an aim shared by the American president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945), who pondered the prospect of closer relations with the Vatican. To coordinate American and papal efforts to limit the dimensions of the war, and possibly to broker a peace, President Roosevelt decided to dispatch the businessman Myron C. Taylor (1874–1959) to Rome, as his personal representative to the pope, at the end of December 1939. Soon after Taylor arrived in February 1940, the Vatican expressed its fear that Mussolini was preparing to plunge Italy into the war alongside Germany, rendering the position of the Vatican precarious. Despite the best efforts of the two to keep Italy a nonbelligerent, Mussolini brought the country into the conflict on June 10, 1940. This rendered the position of the Vatican all the more precarious and reinforced its determination to remain publicly neutral, even after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June of 1941 and the American entry into the war in December of that year. In fact, Pius XII remained "silent" following the Italian invasion of

Greece, the Nazi invasion of Russia, and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Pius XII's Private Position during World War II. Privately, the Vatican displayed a certain bias in favor of the Allies by secretly informing the British government early in 1940 that a group of German generals was prepared to overthrow the Nazi regime if they could be assured of a just and honorable peace. The message was transmitted to the cabinet in London, which decided it could not proceed on this "nebulous proposition." Although Pius XII was not prepared to publicly reveal his inner sentiments, he once again revealed a pro-Allied bias when he quietly alerted the Allies to the impending Nazi invasion of the Low Countries. Subsequently, he dispatched messages of sympathy to the rulers of Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg—a gesture that the Nazis loudly condemned, while the Allies found these messages to be "too little, too late."

Surrounded by the dictatorial powers, Pius XII displayed even greater public prudence, rejecting the Allied suggestion that he excommunicate Mussolini or Hitler because he considered the advantages of such excommunications problematic but the disadvantages predictable. Pius scrupulously preserved this public neutrality during the course of the entire conflict. In 1940 and 1941, despite repeated reports of Nazi atrocities, Pius adhered to this diplomatic course. He did lament the evils afflicting not only fighters but entire populations, but he steadfastly refused to cite the specific perpetrators or the victims. The Allies deemed this another instance of papal "silence."

Despite the criticism of papal policy by both camps, Pius rejected both Roosevelt's suggestion that he denounce Nazi atrocities and the Nazi call that he deem their war against Russia as a crusade that warranted the Vatican's moral support. Pius XII's long-awaited Christmas message of December 1942 provided only indirect criticism of Nazi Germany's genocidal policies and practices, without citing the Nazis' specific violations of human rights and persecutions. The pope's message did express Vatican concern for those who, without fault on their part, and sometimes only because of race or nationality, had been consigned to death or to a slow decline. Pius later indicated that he did not publicly condemn the Nazi genocide of the Jews because he feared the consequences of such denunciations for those subject to their occupation. He also feared Nazi retaliation against the organizational Church in Nazi-occupied territories, a stance he shared with a majority in the Curia. Some observers later charged that this "silence" reflected his anti-Judaism, if not his anti-Semitism and indifference to the plight of the Jews. Neither assertion is accurate, and this "silence," as well as his earlier silence regarding the Nazi invasion of Catholic Poland, was prompted by the fear of Nazi retaliation. That he did not speak more openly and frankly was due to his desire to prevent greater evil—*Ad maiora mala vitanda*.

The Papal "Crusade of Charity." Papal "silence" did not mean papal inactivity, for Pius provided assistance to the Jews of Slovakia, Romania, Hungary, and Turkey, among others. When the government of Slovakia promulgated its anti-Semitic Jewish Code in 1941, Pius had his secretary of state issue an official protest to the Slovakian government. When Msgr. Josef Tiso (1887–1947), the Slovakian president, indicated that he perceived no conflict between Nazi principles and Catholic doctrine, the Vatican threatened to strike him from the list of monsignori if he did not retract. It was only the repeated Vatican protests against the deportation of Jews and their annihilation that led Slovakia in 1943 to discontinue its contribution to the "final solution."

These and other steps indicate that Pius XII was not indifferent to the plight of the persecuted. Drawing upon his experience in assisting the casualties of conflict during the First World War, Pius XII established the Vatican Information Service in 1939, putting relatives in touch with prisoners of war, missing persons, and refugees, while monitoring and mitigating the suffering and separations provoked by the Second World War. The Vatican Information Service was asked to learn the fate of millions of displaced and incarcerated people and report back to their families—and did so with considerable efficiency. Vatican radio transmitted hundreds of thousands of messages on behalf of the relatives of victims and casualties of the war. In addition, the Pontifical Relief Commission provided material assistance to the needy in those countries where it was allowed to function, and Pius quietly instructed the Church and clergy to provide discreet aid to the Jews—which saved many lives. Relief in the form of food and medical supplies was provided to France, Belgium, Holland, Greece, Finland, Norway, Ethiopia, Malaya, and the Philippine Islands, among others. For many, the Vatican effort was the sole avenue of information and assistance, providing a virtual "crusade of charity."

The Vatican's Fear of Soviet Communism. The political and diplomatic as well as the social, economic, and religious consequences of the war caused concern at the Vatican, which quietly opposed the "unconditional surrender" policy that Winston Churchill (1874–1965) and Roosevelt had agreed upon during the Casablanca Conference of January 1943. The pope deemed this Allied demand neither prudent nor practical, fearing this policy would prolong the war and benefit the Soviet Union, which would push its way into Eastern Europe.

A number of factors determined Pius XII's diplomacy toward Nazi Germany: a deep affection for that nation and its people, a strong commitment to the preservation of the Reich Concordat of 1933, an overriding opposition to COMMUNISM, and above all fear of the wrath of an enraged Hitler assisted by Fascist Italy, which surrounded the Vatican. To this one might add the papal concern that publicly ranging itself alongside the Allies would at once undermine the Vatican's mediating role and violate the neutrality it had pledged in the Lateran Accords. Pius XII also feared that abandoning his impartiality would traumatize German Catholics, subject them to Nazi persecution, and jeopardize the unity of the universal Church. Perhaps he also shared the concern expressed by the nuncio in Berlin that if German Catholics were made to choose between their patria and their faith, they might choose the former.

In May 1943, Taylor informed the Vatican that the United States was prepared to negotiate with a successor government to Mussolini's regime. Taylor suggested that this message be transmitted to those in a position to depose the duce. This prospect apparently struck a responsive chord in the Vatican, which again quietly abandoned its neutrality by conveying the message to King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy (1869–1947), who proved cautious and noncommittal. However, the Vatican later learned that the king was involved in the conspiracy that deposed Mussolini.

The "Silence" of Pius XII. The Allied invasion of Sicily in July 1943 provided the rationale for the dismissal of the duce on July 25, 1943, followed by Italy's surrender in September 1943. This development enraged Hitler and prompted a German drive into the peninsula, which included the occupation of Rome on September 10. The Vatican was now much more subject to increased Nazi pressure, as rumors swirled of a Nazi plot to seize the Vatican and kidnap the pope. Hitler did not do so, and Pius remained in the Vatican throughout the German occupation. Nonetheless, on October 16, 1943, the Germans arrested more than one thousand Jews in occupied Rome and commenced transporting them to concentration camps, where more than eight hundred were slaughtered.

Pius XII preserved his diplomatic approach and personal "silence" even when the Germans rounded up the Jews of Rome "under his very windows." However, he indirectly protested the arrest and deportation of Rome's Jews by means of Bishop Alois Hudal (1885–1963), the rector of Santa Maria dell' Anima, who issued the Vatican's complaint to the German commander, General Rainer Stahel (1892–1955), while the papal secretary of state, Cardinal Luigi MAGLIONE, protested to the German ambassador. In this fashion, the Holy See quietly secured the release of some two hundred baptized Jews. Some suspected that this effort revealed that Pius XII was only interested in saving converted Jews. Such was not the case, but rather reflected the German belief that the pope had something to say about those who were now members of the Catholic faith but had no jurisdiction over Jews who remained Jewish. Similar papal prudence restrained Pius from protesting the massacre of 335 Italians in Rome's Ardeatine Caves on March 24, 1944.

Pius XII's adherence to impartiality allowed him to remain politically and diplomatically neutral in public, while permitting him to condemn principles and philosophies that violated the faith. Thus, in his Easter message of 1941, he lamented the evils afflicting not only fighters but entire populations—the old, the innocent, the peace loving, and those bereft of all defense—urging those who occupied territories not to burden the people living there. It is true that here and elsewhere during the genocide, Pius XII did not speak of the Jews as a distinct group of victims. While some suspect this flowed from his alleged anti-Judaism, this cautious approach was sparked by his desire not to arouse the vindictive Nazi regime. Furthermore, he indirectly attacked the Nazi persecution of the Jews in his encyclical *Mystici Corporis Christi* (On the Mystical Body of Christ) of June 1943, which stressed that the Church embraced all peoples "whatever their nationality or race," commenting that the Catholic Church was not confined by boundaries of race or territory. At the same time, he decried those who "return to the teachings, customs and practices of ancient paganism," indicating that there must be love of one's neighbors rather than persecution. In his *Divino afflante spiritu* (On Promoting Biblical Studies) of September 1943, he deplored the fact that, in a number of unnamed nations, there was extinguished not only Christian moderation and charity, but humanity as well.

During the war and the genocide, when millions were massacred, Pius XII adhered to his impartial stance, personal public "silence," and cautious diplomacy in the face of heinous Nazi crimes. The documents he issued alluded to this human tragedy in an oblique manner, indirect terms, and legalistic fashion, in contrast to the language of outraged conscience in those released by his predecessor, Pius XI. The pope failed to directly denounce German aggression, Nazi atrocities, and Hitler's Holocaust, and he did not prohibit Catholics from joining a party he described as satanic at the war's end. Following the German occupation of Rome and the roundup of Jews for extermination, the pope did not publicly protest the crime perpetrated "under his very windows."

Thus, though Pius condemned the principles underlying Nazi totalitarianism and paganism, he was reluctant to more publicly, directly, or loudly protest the

Nazi crimes culminating in the Holocaust, fearing the consequences that might flow from his abandonment of political neutrality. Clearly, the political and military situation that developed during the course of the Second World War led Pius to appease rather than openly oppose FASCISM and Nazism, but he was not "Hitler's pope," as some have called him. In fact, he indicated that though politically neutral he was not religiously impartial and believed he had spoken out and fulfilled his responsibility as Vicar of Christ without provoking the wrath of Nazi Germany, with which the Vatican preserved diplomatic relations. However, his messages in little-read long encyclicals did not reach the broad masses, as did Pius XI's *Mit brennender sorge* with burning anxiety (On the Church and the German Reich), issued in March 1937. This earlier encyclical focused more directly on Nazi abuses, and Pius XI conspired to have it read from Catholic pulpits! Privately, Pius XII was uncertain that he had chosen the proper course and wondered whether he should have said more publicly.

Over the years, critics have charged that Pius did not respond to the plight of the Jews with a sense of urgency and moral outrage, failing to raise an authoritative voice on behalf of the persecuted. Others have launched more serious charges, including that of anti-Semitism—which is clearly unwarranted. In turn, his defenders contend that public protests would have made matters worse and proven detrimental to all, including the Church and the Vatican. The debate and the plethora of publications continue. We do not know, and cannot know, what impact more-spirited papal protests of the Holocaust and Nazi aggression would have had on the war and its victims. Many are convinced, however, that it would have better preserved the moral integrity of the papacy, and the reputation of Pius XII.

SEE ALSO CONCORDAT WITH GERMANY (1933); DIVINO AFFLANTE SPIRITU; HOLOCAUST (SHOAH); LATERAN PACTS; MIT BRENNENDER SORGE; MYSTICI CORPORIS CHRISTI; NAZISM, PAPAL RESPONSE TO; WAR, MORALITY OF; WORLD WAR I, PAPAL REACTION TO.

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Z

ZATTI, ARTEMIDE, BL.

Pharmacist, hospital administrator, brother of the Salesian order; b. Boretto, Reggio Emilia, Italy, October 12, 1880; d. Viedma, Argentina, March 15, 1951; beatified April 14, 2002, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

The third of eight children born to Luigi Zatti and Albina Vecchi, Artemide Zatti and his family moved to Argentina in 1897, settling in the town of Bahía Blanca. There, he came into contact with Salesian missionaries, including his parish priest, Fr. Carlo Cavalli, who encouraged his vocation for the priesthood. Zatti entered the Salesian seminary in Bernal on April 18, 1900. However, after caring for a sick priest who later died from tuberculosis, Zatti contracted the disease himself and was forced to leave Bernal and recuperate at the Salesian house in Viedma in Patagonia. After eight years of gradual recovery, Zatti was finally allowed to enter the Salesian novitiate; he took his solemn profession on August 1, 1908, and his final vows three years later. But by this time, Zatti was thirty-one and too old to be considered for ordination.

By 1907, Zatti had already begun working in the pharmacy operated by another Salesian, Fr. Evarisio Garrone. The order had also opened St. Joseph's Hospital in Viedma (the first in Patagonia), and when its administrator died, Zatti was put in charge of its day-to-day operations. From its beginnings, the hospital was plagued by anticlerical opposition. These sentiments came to a head when a prisoner-patient named Patricio Cabrera escaped from the hospital. Zatti took responsibility for the escape and was arrested and incarcerated by the local authorities. However, after five days and numerous demonstrations by the SALESIANS, he was released by a city magistrate.

Zatti was renowned for his home visits to the sick and poor, which he made by bicycle, dressed in his white medical coat. He offered the services of the hospital following the motto of his predecessor: "He who has little pays little, and the one who has nothing pays nothing." Zatti was also beloved for his insistence on personal humility and poverty, rejecting the title "don" and refusing to drive a car because it might embarrass the poor he served. His generosity resulted in a large debt load for the hospital, and therefore fundraising was a constant requirement, in addition to his other duties.

Zatti was deeply disappointed when his superiors ordered that the hospital be torn down in 1941 to make room for a residence for the newly appointed bishop. He then moved the hospital to the nearby Salesian Agricultural School, where it remained until his death. Ever the jack-of-all-trades at the hospital, Zatti injured himself in 1950 when he fell from a ladder while attempting to repair a water tank. An examination after the fall revealed that he suffered from inoperable pancreatic cancer. After his death at the age of seventy, the grateful people of Viedma thronged to his funeral, which was described by the press as the largest demonstration ever witnessed in that city.

At his BEATIFICATION, Pope John Paul II observed that:

> Artemide Zatti, Salesian religious brother, left the diocese of Reggio Emilia with his family to seek a better life in Argentina, the land dreamt of by Don BOSCO. There he discovered his Salesian vocation, which took the form of a passionate, competent and loving service to the sick. His almost fifty years in Viedma represent the history of an exemplary religious, careful to accomplish his duties in his community and

totally devoted to the service of those in need. May his example help us to be conscious of the presence of the Lord and bring us to welcome him in all our needy brothers and sisters.

Feast: March 15.

SEE ALSO ARGENTINA, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN; RELIGIOUS (MEN AND WOMEN).

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ZEGRÍ Y MORENO, JUAN NEPOMUCENO, BL.

Priest and founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy, Málaga, Spain; b. October 11, 1831, Granada, Spain; d. March, 17, 1905, Málaga, Spain; beatified November 9, 2003, by Pope JOHN PAUL II.

Born to Antonio Zegrí Martín and Josefa Moreno Escudero, Juan was raised in a Christian environment and given the best secular education available. From an early age, he displayed empathy for the poor. He recognized a vocation to the priesthood and entered the seminary of St. Dionysius in Granada. In 1855 Fr. Juan was ordained and thereafter assigned to the parishes of Huetor Santillan and San Gabriel de Loja, both in Granada.

Fr. Juan's abilities were recognized by the Church hierarchy, and he was appointed to positions of increasing responsibility and visibility. He served as a synodal judge in Málaga, canon of the Cathedral of Málaga, and diocesan visitor to religious orders and formator of seminarians. Fr. Juan was summoned to the royal court in Madrid to be chaplain and preacher to Queen Isabella II, roles in which he served until the queen was deposed in 1868.

Fr. Juan returned to Málaga where he founded the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy, a congregation dedicated to easing the physical and spiritual suffering of the poor. Believing that "charity is the only answer to all social problems," Fr. Juan used his considerable talents to promote the work of the community. In a short time, the community grew and established religious houses throughout Spain.

The community continued to thrive; however, some sisters brought serious charges of misconduct against Fr. Juan. The allegations were sent to Rome, and Fr. Juan was barred from contact with the congregation by a pontifical decree dated July 7, 1888. A lengthy investigation followed, and a second decree, dated July 15, 1894, vindicated the priest. Fr. Juan was free to return to the community, but since some of the members rejected Rome's verdict, he respected their feelings and did not return. At the time of his death in 1905, he had not obtained a rapprochement with the congregation he had founded.

Though his life ended in loneliness and separation, the community ultimately acknowledged the injustice of the allegations, and in 1925 Fr. Juan was recognized as the founder of the order. In beatifying him, Pope John Paul II said that the spirituality of the new Blessed was "born from intimacy with Christ and directed towards charity for the neediest." The pope also remarked on the congregation founded by Blessed Juan Nepomuceno: "following in the footsteps of its Founder, [it] continues its dedication to witness and promote redemptive charity."

Feast: March 17.

SEE ALSO BEATIFICATION; SPAIN, THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN.

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