KUNGL. VITTERHETS HISTORIE
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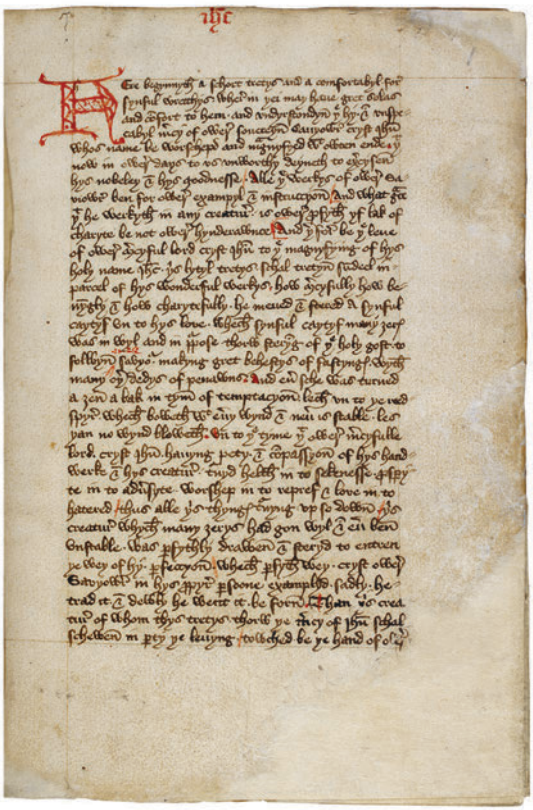
KONFERENSER 94

SPIRITUAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHIES

RESEARCH, RESULTS, AND READING



KVHAA KONFERENSER 94

Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Biographies

Research, Results, and Reading

Editor:
Anders Jarlert

Konferenser 94

KUNGL. VITTERHETS HISTORIE OCH
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Abstract

Spanning from Augustine to present time – the articles in this volume present methodological aspects on biographical work in different genres and from different angles. The difficulties in biographical research and writing are discussed, as well as the results and contextual settings of old and new biographies, and the new, critical reading of biographies in our time.

The 22 articles on biographical material from Finland to South Africa, and from Ireland to Lithuania, with some concentration on Sweden, is the result of the work of researchers active in the Commission Internationale d'Histoire et d'Études du Christianisme (CIHEC), at the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, and other invited researchers, representing research areas such as general history, history of literature, and Slavic studies. The articles discuss biographies on medieval saints, 20th-century popes, a Russian patriarch, the Presbyterian clergy, Saami narratives, and the Holocaust theme. The common theme is the relevance of spiritual and ecclesiastical biographies to Church history in a wider sense, varying in time and confession.

Keywords

Biographies, Ecclesiastical history, Ecclesiastical biography, clergy, Pietism, Deism, hymnography, historiography

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Preface

This volume is the result of the conference *Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Biographies – Research, Results, and Reading*, which took place on 11–12 June, 2015, at the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities in Stockholm.

The conference was organized in cooperation with the international organisation for Church history, CIHEC (Commission Internationale d'Histoire et d'Études du Christianisme, *www.cihec.org*).

The aim of the conference was to offer Swedish and international researchers a possibility to present methodological aspects on biographical work in different genres as well as from different angles and epochs. The aim was also to offer the researchers a possibility to present their work to an international forum on an advanced level, more than presenting the biographed persons as such. Research, writing, and critical reading of biographies with relevance to Church history were the main targets.

The conference covered a wide spectrum of countries, epochs, and confessions. It is my sincere hope that the volume will inspire to further work in the field of spiritual and ecclesiastical biographies, which is of such a great importance in our contemporary world, where religion sometimes is being treated entirely as something collective and non-personal.

Anders Jarlert

Spiritual Autobiographies:

Augustine as a Case in Point

Anders Cullhed

The topic of this book, based on the conference "Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Biographies" at the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities on 11–12 June 2015, is certainly a crucial subject in the Humanities of today. It concerns a genre, biography, that over the past few years tends to pop up in many different disciplines and, moreover, under new labels such as life-writing or ego-documents. For my immediate purposes in these introductory words, however, I will limit its scope to spiritual autobiographies.

Admittedly, it frequently seems difficult to draw a clear-cut line between spiritual and secular autobiographies. At least in a Western context, the latter might be considered an off-spring of the former. It would certainly be worthwhile to test the hypothesis that the modern biographical genre overall, as a rule interested in the mental life of its subjects and, furthermore, setting out from or presupposing a dynamic concept of human personality, is based on a venerable Christian tradition of spiritual biographies, reaching from Late Antiquity to Early Modern times.

I am afraid I cannot go very deeply into this fascinating topic for now, but I would like to at least hint at what it means. As a rule, modern autobiographies avoid fragmentation; they make quite a few efforts to present coherent pictures of human lives. And, additionally, they tend to look for motives and explanations, to contextualize a person's life, to understand her or his later development in the light of early childhood or youth experiences, in short: to inscribe a person's life in a grand narrative, or even to understand it as a narrative, in the sense that there is a beginning, a progression of some kind, perhaps a climax, and frequently what the English professor of literature Frank Kermode once called "the sense of an ending", or, in (post)modern parlance, a closure.[1] This narrativization of human life, so-to-speak, in turn presupposes a firmly held belief in *change* as the very essence of time or history.

1 Kermode 1967.

I would say that we find very little of this in ancient (pre- or non-Christian) life-writing. Plutarch (*c.* 46–120), for example, is dealing with anecdotes rather than consistent narratives; normally, as is clear from his opening paragraph of his *Life of Alexander*, he was not interested in writing "Histories, but Lives" (*bioi*), and those Lives amount to what he calls "a manifestation of virtue or vice", a "revelation of character" (*ēthos*, 1.2).[2] More or less the same could, *mutatis mutandis*, be said of Emperor Marcus Aurelius' (121–180) famous *Meditations*, replete with personal reflections and recollections based on Stoic philosophy. And, just to finalize this short survey, Cicero's (106–43 BC) *Letters* are certainly personal, or even intimate, but they do not attempt to construct a self-portrait in any narrative sense.

Augustine's *Confessions* (*c.* 397), on the other hand, radically deviates from the old schemes. This work in thirteen books is based on the conviction that each and everyone's individual destiny rests in the hands of God, and that is why the *Confessions* is construed as an ongoing dialogue with the Savior, replete with expressions of penance, thanks-giving and praise, all within the framework of a narrative with a clearly circumscribed climax or *peripeteia* in Books VIII and IX, that is, the Conversion scenario in the Milanese garden followed by the so-called vision at Ostia.[3]

Characteristically, after this climax, Augustine's *Confessions* actually ceases to be "confessions" *sensu stricto*, in order to revert to philosophical meditations on memory and on time (Books X and XI), and finally to Biblical exegesis (Books XII–XIII). This seems perfectly logical, since after his conversion and his contact with the Divine at Ostia, Augustine has virtually nothing left to tell. The writer is saved, once and for all, which – as far as the *Confessions* is concerned – entails the end of narrativity (or drama) and the start of contemplation (or theology). Obviously, to Augustine the bishop and the preacher, human individuality – inextricably linked to change, narration and language – is a risky business, and since he was so anxious to demonstrate this in the first nine books of his autobiography, he revolutionized Western self-writing.

In Augustine's work, then, ancient philosophy and rhetoric had to step back in favor of what Erich Auerbach once called a form "of such immediacy that its like does not exist in the literature of antiquity".[4] He did not get any immediate successors, but nevertheless, this early Christian dynamic conception of individual life constituted a mighty heritage to medieval and Early Modern Western literature. Let me just single out two very different writers from the 16th century as illustrative examples. Teresa of Ávila's *Libro de vida* (1562–1565) is admittedly a rather far cry from the Church Father's *Confessions*, but this Spanish saint certainly intensifies and even erotizices her Late Antique predecessor's "speech of the heart", reusing his association of human

2 Plutarch, 1919.

3 Augustine, 1997.

4 Auerbach 1968, p. 45 (specifically, Auerbach refers to the scene of Peter's denial in Mark 14).

desire with narrativity to suggest mystical scenes of divine ecstasy.[5] Teresa's famous French contemporary, on the other hand, Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), deviated just as clearly from Augustine's consistently narrative pattern, but his analysis of the human individual as the unstable, ever-changing sum of her or his experiences is clearly Augustinian, stripped, however, of the *Confessions*' devout and Biblical framework.

Let us finally take a quick glance at the equally famous *Confessions* of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, that is, *Les Confessions* (1782), frequently considered the very prototype of modern self-writing. On the first page of his work, Rousseau promises to deliver "the only portrait of a man, painted exactly according to nature and in all its truth, that exists and that will probably ever exist".[6] Are these claims justified? Yes and no. Yes, because in Rousseau, all pretensions to exemplarity are gone. By contrast, Augustine, right through his frank exposure of his personal *vita* from Thagaste to Ostia, claims to provide an exemplary, that is, a typical demonstration of the human sinner's dilemma, famously captured by Saint Paul in Romans 7.17: "For I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I keep on doing", a predicament characteristic of each and every one, that is, of human life under the Law. In fact, the same could be said of Montaigne. In spite of the well-known declaration in the preface to his *Essays* (1580), "So, reader, I am myself the substance of my book", he frequently generalizes his observations and conclusions to mankind as a whole.[7] Rousseau, for his part, only treated of himself, and he did so without moralizing or repenting, consistently appealing to nature.

On the other hand, and from another point of view, Rousseau's claims are false: he *did* presuppose the Augustinian heritage. When concentrating on the feelings, the hidden motives of his own self, or even on his supposedly base instincts, in short, his emotional life as it was constituted from early childhood, he retraced the itinerary of the Church Father's *Confessions*. His life narrative is truly based on desire, what Rousseau calls "the inclinations which my heart received from nature".[8] This secularized concept of a dynamic as well as organic human nature seems to me to be at the root of modern Western (auto)biographical writing, and somewhere behind it, however distantly, looms – to be sure – the Augustinian case of spiritual as well as narrative ego-documentation.

5 Cf. the chapter 'The Speech of the Heart', in Cullhed 2015, pp. 93–110.

6 Rousseau 1995, p. 1.

7 Montaigne 1993 (1958), p. 23.

8 Rousseau 1995, p. 12.

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The Biographical Images of St Birgitta

Some Reflections

Carina Nynäs

The English title of my thesis is: *Do I see clearly? An analysis of the images of Birgitta in 20th-century Swedish biographies* (2006). The title bears a reference to Birgitta's own revelations, *Reuelaciones celestes*, in which the devil and his assistant imps are equipped with a so called *subtile ingenium*. One of them declares in *Rev. I 34:11* the following: "I see so clearly that nothing secret and diffuse could be hidden from me". These words could also be regarded a self-critical *memento mori* for every biographer.

The period from the 18th century to the last decades of the 19th century turned out to be one of the most intellectually challenging and questioning time Christianity so far had witnessed. The salient feature of the Age of Enlightenment was an inimical criticism of established orthodox Christian faith. It has often been stated that we, born on this side of the Age of Enlightenment, are incapable of understanding a medieval spiritual mind and worldview. Is then the biographical project concerning a saint like Birgitta fore-doomed to failure if the biographer is religiously indifferent or saturated by atheistic, rational and psychological objections?

When studying the different biographies written between the 14th century and our own time, it is obvious that the portraits of Birgitta have been sensitive to fluctuations over time and context and with the form and function of biography within the discipline of history. The many biographies of Birgitta are without exceptions also exponents of their time. They constitute cultural, political, religious and personal reflections and display various conducted scientific discourses. And so it should remain: the art of biography is also an intellectual scene for hermeneutical human *dialogue* over time in order to reflect and contemplate upon what it means to live as a human being in different epochs.

The many and varying images of the Swedish saint from the end of the 19th century until today, which I concentrate on in this text, clearly coincide with developments

in theology, politics, society, sciences, literary and psychological trends. In my work, I wanted to inquire to what extent the biographers' profession, religious convictions, sex, political opinions, view of history and man, together with academic ideals, have contributed to their image of Birgitta. In short, I tried to identify the limits of spiritual biographies as well as the problems, pitfalls and hidden rocks involved.

Nationalism, romanticism and medieval roots

After centuries of lying fallow Birgitta once again became a "hot topic" in the end of the 19th century. This newborn interest is deeply connected with the Swedish national Romanticism. Thus, the fascination was ambiguous: historians, biographers and feminists desperately needed her to paint a grandiose picture of the Swedish history. Historians were searching for the historical roots in order to build and boost the national historical self-assuredness. The suffragettes and the members of womens' liberation movement wanted a prominent figure to encourage their issues. The theologians used her to demonstrate the inferiority of the Catholic superstitious confession compared to the enlightened Protestantism, later for ecumenical reasons.

The psychology of religion, then a newly founded scientific branch and later followed by the psychoanalytical approach, also saw an interesting object of study in Birgitta, when religious understanding gradually shifted from metaphysical thinking to an interest in the individual experiences: religion was to be found in the inward of human beings, not in outer evidences.

One major problem, however, was that this great woman was a catholic. The first biographers therefore became funambulists; they exercise very hard on the tightrope to make a Swedish patriot and pre-protestant of Birgitta – who in fact, as living in the 14th-century Sweden, was a natural born European and, consequently, a devote catholic.

The biographical scholar Daniel Madelénat assigns the different forms of biography to the *classical*, the *romantic* and the *modern* paradigm. These paradigms are, naturally, elastic and lack clear time boundaries.

The function of image, and the type of personality and society determine the classical paradigm. Lydia Wahlström's patriotically coloured biography belongs partly to this category: Birgitta is portrayed as a collective prototype of a Swedish woman, a female primordial Nordic power, almost a woman Viking.

The romantic paradigm follows the chronological approach and is an endeavour to describe accurately the unique individual person, intimately portrayed in accordance with the ideal of liberalism, the ideal of democracy, individualism and literary evaluation. Knut B. Westman's and Emilia Fogelklou's biographies belong here even if the gigantic prototype function is prominent too.

National romanticism, the search for one's own roots in the Middle Ages, the turning of the prophetess into a heroine and the fear of the contemporary "Catholic peril" colour the biographies of Birgitta written by Wahlström, Westman and Fogelklou. For them it was a question of turning Birgitta into a national heroine without totally describing her as the forerunner of Luther, which earlier imbued the images of Birgitta. Genuinely Swedish characteristics, as well as Lutheran individual traits in the saint, were, however, emphasized by both Westman and Fogelklou and the unwanted rest was attributed to Catholic superstition and authoritative belief. The balancing act is intricate: the authors try to fix Birgitta in her own identity searching for individual liberation – hidden and embedded in the Catholic medieval Birgitta. We might talk of a "covert Protestantization" of the Swedish saint.

The picture given of the Middle Ages in these biographies is predominantly negative. Wahlström stresses the "patriotic, educating Birgitta", Westman "the prophet of revelation mysticism" and Fogelklou sees in Birgitta "the soul mother and prophet", almost a twin sister to the Holy mother Mary. The visionary and mystical are, however, subordinated to ethical vocation and factuality. Birgitta has to be adapted to Swedish fine culture and the writers' own theology.

The "Uppsala theology" somewhat nuanced the image of Birgitta in the beginning of the last century. Archbishop Nathan Söderblom's view of Birgitta as a prophet and his identification of two lines of tradition in Christianity, the revelation-mystical and the infinity-mystical, constituted a breakthrough. These concepts made the biographers see Birgitta as the evangelical pious type in whom vocation and ethical life are given priority over what can be seen in the "typically Catholic and mediaeval dreamy enjoyment of God". The discipline of comparative religion with William James and Henri Delacroix pervades the abovementioned biographies. The first biographies border to hagiography.

The contemporary debate about the equality of the sexes, a woman's right to be a *persona publica* and the question of universal suffrage is strongly reflected in Emilia Fogelklou's portrait of Birgitta. Her biography is a gateway for the women's rights movement. Lydia Wahlström's biography, too, is a contribution to this debate. Fogelklou's biography demonstrates an almost unbelievable image of female power but it involves a "paradigm shift" when the door is opened to intimate individualization and literary concept in biography writing.

In many respects, I find the biography written by Emilia Fogelklou the most intriguing as belonging to all the three paradigms. The author has absorbed the then available knowledge of the medieval world of ideas and modern philosophy of religion. She writes intuitively: her biography transforms itself to a brilliant novel. Despite the exaggerated portrait of Birgitta this biography has survived the decades and maintained its freshness thanks to the intuitive literary language and ability to live a

part. The text suffers from many problems (from the point of view of a historian) but when reading it today as a novel the biography offers a biographical method still useable.

The first biographies needed only to draw up a chart of the Middle Ages and the Catholic faith. Antipathy and fear created distortions. It was only with the arrival on the scene of the Catholic Toni Schmid that Birgitta's own concrete theological/philosophical world was described objectively. Schmid wrote the first source-critical biography, guided in part by Weibull's historically critical view of man where motives and power collisions provide the explanation for biography. Everything not proved in historical sources remains unmentioned. Toni Schmid's biography, or actually monograph, was published in 1940 and between the lines we read a severe scorching castigation of the earlier biographies. Her self-chosen task is to weed in the jungle of errors of fact, misunderstandings, distortions and precipitate conclusions and images.

The modern biography: intuition, psychoanalysis, and gender

The modern paradigm emerged from the academic and ideological crisis in humanism when psychoanalysis gave rise to scepticism about both rationalism and the Christian view of life. The modern biography is opposed to the ideal of objectivity and positivistic theory of knowledge. The form of the novel (even journalistic and essayistic) inspired a wavering between art and science. Intuitive knowledge was revaluated.

Generally spoken, 20th-century debate about biography seems to swing between personal history and fiction, reconstruction based on fact, and artistic construction. Three paradigms can be discerned: biography as *reconstruction* (Leon Edel), biography as *construction* (Ira Bruce Nadel) and biography as *deconstruction* (William H. Epstein).

Psychoanalysis and the complex view of man, nullified earlier moral considerations. Hjalmar Sundén's and Sven Stolpe's biographies belong in part here because of their use of psychoanalysis, deconstruction and intuition as a biographical method.

Leon Edel talks about "demythologization" as the task of biography in the search for "the figure under the carpet". Both Hjalmar Sundén's and Sven Stolpe's biographies adapt the arguments for a secular readership. Sven Stolpe and Hjalmar Sundén oscillate between piety and iconoclasm in their wavering between their own beliefs and the need of surrounding society for secularly defining explanations. The demythologization is here performed with the interpretative approach of psychoanalysis and sexuality. Birgitta becomes a sexual object and both her personality and visions are read through her professed "sexual problems".

The biographies are definitely not genderless. The psychopathological biographies with their sexually coloured interpretations are all written by men. Ironic or bantering censure and reductionist models are notable only in these biographies. The bi-

ographers establish a psychological interpretative impress that is not to be found in Birgitta's female biographers. This does not mean that the women writers of Birgitta's biographies remain silent about the darker sides of her character – quite the opposite. But their approach is a more respectful one, maintaining the biographical subject's integrity. In the hagiographies, we see admiring portraits written by males too but this does not alter the fact that none of the female biographers writes reductionist and psychopathological biographies.

Birgitta's female biographers commune with a subject. Her male describers, with the exception of Birger Bergh, tend to confront an object, imagining that they have both the right and perspicacity to penetrate. Other exceptions are Richard Steffen's fine biographical essay and Lars Bergquist's deconstruction of theological and philosophical elements in Birgitta's cultural sphere in order to make her world-view comprehensible.

Historians' views of biography

Many biographical projects have gone astray, according to Göran B. Nilsson, as a result of both "the lazy hermeneutist", whose work often ends up between hagiography, ideological production and literary coining, and the structuralist, who sees the individual as exchangeably uninteresting. Lazy hermeneutists are many in the historiography of the Birgitta biographies.

Göran B. Nilsson claims to take a median position and wants – despite all the pitfalls – to see biography as a form of spearhead research within the humanities. The individual is not uninteresting since outstanding men and women have been able to have an exceptionally good insight into social systems. "If structuralists study structures with the help of the theoretical giants of posterity, then I have studied structures with the aid of the theories embraced by contemporary actors", is Nilsson's motive.

The categorizations made by Swedish biographers have proved to be functional in my analysis. Gunnar Eriksson's variants of biography, *the monumental biography*, *the psychobiography*, *the existentialist biography* and the *traditional life and occupation biography* and Eva Österberg's distinction between *accumulating* biographies and *interpretative* biographies constitute good rough tools. In the accumulative biography, there is no thread; facts are added to facts without any obvious interpretation. Interpretative biographies focus on the changes and frictions in a person's life of definitions.

Professional historians as Birgitta-biographers have a greater source-critical awareness and a range of better methods at their disposal than popular biographers and particularly those with a background in the psychology of religion. Historians often avoid a biographical, psychological interpretation. A further distinction is that the biographical form is used by historians to study questions other than the personal.

Historians as Birgitta-biographers are source-critically and empirically corrective, i.e. referentially referable. These biographers do not want to just present their interpretation of Birgitta and her surrounding world as corrective. Rather, they avoid the biographical line of development and focus on deconstruction and reconstruction of elements in Birgitta's environment and her oscillation between her own life, mission and the surrounding cultural sphere.

Daniel Madelénat's crude distinction between the *psychologically focusing biography*, where personality is emphasized, and *historical biographies* or *academic biographies*, where analysis tries to clarify the interaction between the actor and the surrounding culture, is salient traits in the biographies of Birgitta. But many of the biographers succeed in striking a balance between the two lines: Emilia Fogelklou, Sven Stolpe, Hjalmar Sundén and Birger Bergh – even if their execution is jerky in some cases and firmer and more certain in others.

The most refined academic and historically reliable biography on Birgitta as a protagonist is found in Birgit Klockars' trilogy. She commits herself to the same task as the abovementioned historian Toni Schmid, i.e. the corrective mission. Through meticulous and assiduous reading of almost every available historic source, she is describing the Swedish and Italian world of Birgitta. Without mentioning any names it is nevertheless easy to find out who she actually is scrutinizing and rectifying. In a strict sense, some of these books may not be characterized as biographies at all but in yielding new facts they convey many fresh biographical views of the main character. Her monographs turn out to be biographies. Hidden in plain, for some reader perhaps even boring, facts the countenance of Birgitta glimpses through. I find this method quite fascinating.

Atheistic paradigm shift and super biography

Finally, we come to the biographical dialogue with the supposed secular public around the turn of the century (2000) in Hans Furuhagen's and Birger Bergh's biographies. Christianity has to be recoded through a process of cognitive transformation or irrespective of the biographical subject's deep religious conviction.

Hans Furuhagen's biography (1990) meant a real paradigm shift. His method is founded on both deconstruction and demythologization. In his text Birgitta is stripped of religion and the interpretation is based on the perspective of a power struggle where no real religious motives are attributed to Birgitta and the persons around her. As an historian myself I admit that this biographer may be praised for his preparatory scientific work. In my opinion, however, Birgitta without any strong religious conviction becomes indubitably a Birgitta who has never lived nor seen her life in the way portrayed by the biographer. This is a serious problem.

Here I would like to introduce a distinction between *demythologization* in the sense of revealing a life myth and *unmasking*, which without entering into the spirit of the complex variations in pattern in the "hidden myth" as opposed to the "life myth" of the life of the subject of the biography, interprets the subject against her own conception of her life. In unmasking there is a meta-ideological or life-attitudinal confrontation in the interpretation.

However, only one of the later biographies of the last century can be regarded as a *super biography* in accordance with the modern paradigm, i.e. the perfect development of biography to a synthesis between scholarship, intuitive understanding, credible interpretation and literary execution that is characteristic of Birger Bergh's biography.

Birger Bergh's biography too comes at a time when belief in secularization was strong. This demands more of the biographer as a mediator between cognitively different worlds. In this type of biography humour, the bantering, tragicomical approach, makes its appearance for the first time in the historiography of Birgitta biographies. Earlier biographies were deadly serious in their approach to Birgitta even though Fogelklou, Schmid and Stolpe perceived an element of humour in Birgitta herself, which Bergh does not.

After "living together" with Saint Birgitta and her revelations for many decades Birger Bergh is, as is Birgit Klockars, extremely expedient and fit for the biographical job. As an interpreter, he is mostly reliable. As a biographer, he conducts his task independently and adds a surplus value to the genre. His biography is in many ways outstanding and introduces a new biographical method. I particularly want to underline his using of dialogue as a biographical technique. In this way he exhibits clear lines of demarcation when Birgitta herself "talks" and when the biographical interpreter raises his own voice. I really hope that this method will find imitators because in this type of text the reader is given her or his own space as interpreter. The reader is free to search for her own image of the biographical subject.

Towards an ecumenical horizon

The stamp of time in the abovementioned biographies follows the political trends of the day and the contemporary debate. They span the spectrum from the self-evident nature of Christianity as a state religion, questions of democracy, the debate about equality and a proud patriotism versus Catholicism in the first biographies, to the vociferous communication with psychoanalysis, ideologically based questions of values such as Christianity and dominant western ideology together with sexuality, puberty and feminism.

Another salient treat is that the growing ecumenical movement through the century is a clearly identifiable feature in the biographies. The oscillations of the figure of

Birgitta between the Catholic and the Protestant poles can be seen throughout the 20th century as a vaguely distinguishable line that follows the awakened and growing ecumenical trend. From tense caution and a struggle over what interpretation should prevail in the early part of the century, there begins to emerge a picture of Birgitta in the Swedish church, theology and culture so that by the end of the 20th century she is referred to as a saint of the Swedish church.

Birgitta's "post-mortem pilgrim's journey" starts as a collective object in Protestant self-understanding vis-à-vis Catholicism and ends up as a unitary ecumenical image. The journey has necessitated distortions. All Birgitta's ecstatic remarks have been toned down. Only in our century when she has become ecumenically domesticated is the remarkable in her ecstatic visions once more emphasized, as seen for example in Birger Bergh's biography. Before, the visions were regarded primarily as theological invention.

I assume, that it is Birgitta's denominational and ecumenically coloured personality that has made her the subject of so many biographies. Emanuel Swedenborg, for example, has not been presented with the same interest. He and his visions seem to have remained outside both the high-cultural space and the church gate. Birgitta's multipurpose capacity perhaps surmount Swedenborg's visionary world even if her visions sometimes are equally obscure, abstruse and of mysterious origin.

Conclusions

The different functions of Birgitta have varied over time. We find a "Reformation Birgitta", a "nationalist Birgitta", an "emancipation Birgitta", a "feminist Birgitta", an "ecumenical Birgitta" and with a number of other functions. Daniel Madelénat emphasized that biography becomes imaginary or simply literary if it lacks a purpose function. I partly agree with him. The social, political and religious agendas sometimes unfortunately blur the images of Birgitta. Diversions towards autobiography combined with a veering towards the super-ideologies or socio-political debate of the day are remarkable and dangerously effective as ideological or religious propaganda. In certain cases, we can speak of double individualization functions, i.e. both the biographer's and the public's need for identification.

These tendencies are particularly obvious in Lydia Wahlström's, Knut B. Westman's, Emilia Fogelklou's, Hjalmar Sunden's and Sven Stolpe's biographies. The iconoclastic function, marked in the biographies written by Hans Furuhagen and Birger Bergh, is strengthened by the secularization beliefs of today.

Many of the biographies are not examined in this text. In my (too severe?) opinion many of the biographies are more or less obsolete. Thus, from my point of view three of them remain as classics, i.e. those written by Emilia Fogelklou due to her intuitive

literary sensibility and power of insight, Birgit Klockars, who as a true source-critical medieval expert unearths many unknown biographical facts about Birgitta and her world, and Birger Bergh due to many reasons but first and foremost I want to extol his introducing of dialogue as an excellent biographical technique.

A biography is not solely a description of someone's life written according to a strict historical discipline or a free combination of research, psychological experience and literary narrative techniques. Biography is a litmus paper of history, revealing confessions, political preferences and denominational convictions, contemporary debate, gender dispositions and academic ideologies. In this sense I think biographies belong, as Göran Nilsson stated, to the spearhead research within the humanities.

A biography is always a double picture: the time and subject of the biography are coloured by time and personality of the biographer. This hermeneutic inescapability is not necessarily disadvantageous to biography. A comparison with hagiographies reveals that this sub-genre is recognisable just because the time marks and personality of the biographer are invisible in the hagiographical text. The result is a stereotype compared to biographies that come alive precisely through the encounter between different contexts. We should, consequently, not be afraid of our subjective role as biographers – as long as we critically and assiduously reflect on our subjectivity and our relation to the biographical subject. As stated in the introduction to this text, believing that "seeing clearly" is a devilish temptation which should be regarded a self-critical *memento mori* for every biographer. As Liz Stanley suggests, this reflection must involve and engage three dimensions: the relation between the biographer and the biographical subject in question, a search for a deeper comprehension of the protagonist and, finally, conveying the life history of the biographical subject.

I do believe in our possibility to permeate the supposed intellectual "border of Enlightenment" and penetrate personal minds of the Middle Ages. This task, however, requests an assiduous work. My own contribution to the biographical method may be the following: when studying, for example, a person from the 14th century we should not make a backward movement from the belvedere of our own time in our research process. Instead we ought to deepen our understanding of the 12th and 13th centuries. Within these cognitive, mental, spiritual and ideological perspectives and frames our biographical subject *de facto* lived and understood his or her personal life – in the same way as the message of the New Testament also has to be read in the light of the Old Testament. Those of Birgitta's biographers who have neglected this time-consuming, essential and indispensable workload may, in my opinion, as well have written a novel, which, if skilfully performed, also might bring forth a new illuminated and animated image. A good biography is, however, inseparable from a faithful picture of the period in question.

A spiritual biography may in some respect make an exception from the presump-

tion that we are not enabled to fully imagine the life of a medieval person. When reading Birgitta's revelations it soon becomes obvious that many of them are immediately comprehensible to anyone sharing her religious belief. They are of a so-called traditional Christian design. Others, especially those drawn on contemporary occurrences, metaphors and analogical contemplation, require a sound knowledge of the medieval political, social and symbolic world.

Biographical studies may, at best, yield at least one "blessed" insight, which cannot be underscored often enough. Biographies and biographers are both deeply rooted in real life. A person that I take a liking to and even may love can be perceived in a totally opposite way by another person. A richness of many different biographical angles can train our eye to find a more open-minded perspective and see someone in another light, both in life and text, among the living as well as among the dead.

It is my deep conviction that this ethical question is particularly important when talking about spiritual biographies, because here we deal with a multitasking charge as critical historians, sensitive interpreters and Christians, while the departed subjects we are trying to understand, as Olof Lagercrantz underscores, lack the opportunity to defend themselves. On the other hand: writing biography is the art of communicating with the dead so that they come to life again.

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Moulding Margery:

The Life and Afterlives of Margery Kempe

Robert N. Swanson

It goes almost without saying that spiritual lives may be lived without being recorded; while spiritual biographies often exist without being accurate records of a lived life. Lives now lost to oblivion can leave no afterlives, whatever their impact on contemporaries. On the other hand, textual spiritual biographies transmitted across time carry their own agendas, pose their own problems, and often accumulate more of both as time passes; but can usually be imagined as deliberately produced for posterity to provide role models and exemplars – although unable to control how they will be received, or even to guarantee that they will be received at all.

This paper considers a life lived some five hundred years ago, a life which has left sufficient textual trace for its memory and its manipulation to be tracked over subsequent centuries and into the present one. Paradoxically, though, it is a life which was essentially unknown to scholars before 1934, so that as now known it is a life largely shaped and reshaped through the lenses of the late 20th and present centuries. It is a life so obscure that there are no indubitable contemporary references to its liver outside the single manuscript which records it; yet knowledge of where it was lived, and of other people mentioned in its text, is extensive and expanding. Beyond all that, it is a life which has been exploited in its afterlife, certainly since the 16th century, but whose recent exploitation raises its own issues for current scholarly approaches to spiritual and ecclesiastical biographies. There is no grand narrative at its heart, nor does it easily fit into one; nor does it offer a comprehensive and orderly chronological tale. As a "life story" the text accordingly also challenges the notion of biography as the recounting of a complete and completed life, perhaps best matching a genre recently labelled "autohagiography".[1]

The sole manuscript of the text now known as *The Book of Margery Kempe* pro-

1 Greenspan 1996, pp. 216–236, but without mentioning Kempe.

vides the only basis on which Margery Kempe's lived life can be recovered.[2] An Englishwoman, the daughter of a leading burgess of the East Anglian town now known as King's Lynn – but then as Bishop's Lynn – she had a firm sense of her status as daughter of a man five times mayor of a thriving port. Married to a man less successful in business than her father, she produced fourteen children, and had several failed independent business ventures. She was probably born around 1373. There are a couple of references to a Margery Kempe at Lynn in 1438, but they may not be to *the* Margery Kempe; if they do refer to her she probably died not long after.[3] Given the attention she has received since the 1940s, it is unlikely (but not absolutely impossible) that much more information will emerge from English records to flesh out Margery Kempe's existence; but that does not preclude further discoveries among continental records.[4]

As she is now known, or as she is now imagined, Margery Kempe can seem an unconvincing candidate for a 15th-century spiritual biography. Margery,[5] it could be said, "got religion" and, relatively late in life and in a complex process which scholars are still debating, arranged for her recollections of her spiritual development and experiences to be written up as an episodic third-person ghosted autobiography. This now survives in one copy, itself a copy (and so potentially an adaptation) of the original text, much of which had in any case been rewritten and reshaped at least once in the production process, and then further extended. The original text was created by a cleric who at the least independent level of involvement was merely an amanuensis, but whom some commentators see as the text's true author.[6] Margery is the central character of

2 Now London, British Library, MS Add. 61823; digitised at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_61823 (accessed 3 December 2015). The manuscript was first edited in Meech & Allen 1940. This was intended to be complemented by a second volume comprising further notes and commentary, but that never appeared. Subsequent editions with modernized orthography include Windeatt 2000; Staley 1996. There have been several translations, including Windeatt 1985; Staley 2001 – with a selection of extracts from recent criticism; most recently Bale 2015. The ever-growing bibliography generated by debates surrounding Margery Kempe means that citation can easily get out of hand; here it cannot be exhaustive, and points endemic to the scholarship are generally left unreferenced.

3 For attempts to recover the reality of Margery's life and context, Goodman 2002; Atkinson 1983; Swanson 2003, pp. 141–165; Myers 1999, pp. 377–394.

4 See Bale 2015, p. xiv n. 21, noting forthcoming fruitful work on records at Gdansk, where her son had business connections, and which Margery visited on her final pilgrimage.

5 How she should be referred to is now a debated point in its own right, especially in the wake of Staley 1994 and the insistence (at p. 3) on "a distinction between Margery, the subject, and Kempe her author", see further Mitchell 2005, pp. 80–82. The choice is not always so theorised, and can be considered as simple preference: Windeatt 2004, p. 4. I usually use "Margery" here largely out of habit, hopefully avoiding the trap in which use of given or family name reflects "the relative level of respect meted out to a writer dependent on their gender" (Mitchell 2005, p. 82).

6 Hirsh 1974, pp. 145–150. His identity is equally debated. The debate over scribal influence is

this spiritual life; she obscures her identity almost to the point of anonymity, usually referring to herself as "a creature", but cannot hide her personality. The text records a dramatic spiritual life with a strong focus on pilgrimages within England and across Europe, even to the Holy Land; a life shaped also by personal travails and challenges as Margery sought to live out an individualistic spirituality which over time attracted supporters, opponents, praise, blame, and charges of heresy. It is a life marked both by dramatic ostentatious fits of weeping and roaring, and by an intensely personal relationship with Christ evoked through visions and dialogues of spiritual consolation; a disconcerting mix of the earthy and the ethereal.

While now well known, this version of Margery Kempe was unknown before 1934, when the text was discovered by chance in a context which (in what might be considered the "orthodox version", regularly reiterated in the scholarship) could almost be a scene from a Noël Coward play or a P.G. Wodehouse plot, although the tale may have been embellished in the telling.[7] Since then, analysis of Margery has become an academic industry, "something that might be called Kempe Studies",[8] but seemingly without attracting much attention in popularised historical culture.[9]

The discovery of the text allowed the rediscovery of a person, enabling a re-evaluation of someone who already had a textual incarnation in print dating from around 1500. In looking at Margery Kempe over time, in assessing the spiritual and other responses to her, four distinct stages can be postulated. First, there is the life as lived, with its immediate challenges and tensions; but encountered as a life known only through the text, and so already an edited life. Second, there is the immediately posthumous life, Margery's early afterlife as the text circulated in pre-Reformation England – if it indeed had a circulation – before disappearing into total obscurity.[10] Third, there is the initial printed life, the shadow of Margery which was all that was visible for over 400 years. Finally, there is the modern Margery, the rediscovered, reconstructed, theorised Margery whose analysis torments modern academe and whose text provides a minor strand in current spirituality. These lives clearly exist in a chronological order; but cannot be addressed using it.

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complicated by the surviving manuscript being itself a transcript, allowing possible further intervention by its transcriber: Bale 2015, p. xix.

7 See the dissection in Chappell 2013, pp. 62–64; also Mitchell 2005, pp. 65–66.

8 Mitchell 2005, p. 5 (but more concretely applied elsewhere in the volume, e.g. pp. x–xi); also e.g. Evans 2007, p. 513.

9 Some comment on her appearance in drama and novels in Mitchell 2005, pp. 110–112.

10 Chappell 2013, pp. 29–30, 52–67, attempts to reconstruct the surviving manuscript's history between Mount Grace and its reappearance in 1934. The hypothesis is irrefutable, essentially because it is built wholly on surmise to cover the gap until its firmly attested ownership by the Bowdon family *c.* 1800.

The most stable of the four lives is the third one, embodied in a text which appeared in print in 1501 and 1521 – although even it provokes debate. The production of the printed version requires the pre-existence of the manuscript text; but despite that dependence exists independent of it, and historically in isolation from it. To call this version a spiritual biography is probably wrong: the reduced text offers very little about Margery as a living person. She appears out of time, the manuscript text edited down to around 5% of its length, cuts which transform her into a stereotypical pre-Reformation mystic. The 1501 edition did not pin her down, but the 1521 version identified and pigeon-holed her for later readers as an anchorite, a professed holy woman. As was realised when the full text finally became available, all the interesting bits (for historians, at any rate) had been cut out in the editing process, reducing Margery to a demure mystic who submits to the conventions of her age. Even her conversations with Christ appear reduced and modified, excising their theological stings.[11]

The evident effort and thought involved in the editing down of the text produced a new Margery. Exactly when that was done has been debated, with suggestions that the redacted text was actually constructed by a priest who had known the living Kempe and was deliberately reshaping her as uncontroversial. This would mean that the "second" and "third" Margeries co-existed for several decades, potentially with different reception histories. Alternative arguments suggest a late 15th-century redaction possibly associated with Syon abbey, or deliberate editing to create the printed Margery.[12]

The responses to this printed Kempe are essentially unknowable. A short-lived distinction may be needed between responses to the first printing, which edited the text as a stand-alone publication, and its 1521 reprint, in which the extracts were placed with other short texts united as a compendium. That perhaps channelled interpretation and responses by putting Margery alongside segments from Walter Hilton, Bridget of Sweden, and Catherine of Siena, in addition to the inclusion of other anonymous texts. This – with readerly expectations compounded by identifying her as an anchoress – made Margery Kempe unequivocally part of a mystical tradition in which she has sat uneasily ever since.[13]

Why Margery was extracted and anthologised at these specific dates remains uncertain; although the 1521 print has been associated with the contemporary resistance

11 The reduced text is conveniently accessible in Meech & Allen 1940, pp. 353–357; Windeatt 2000, pp. 430–434. See also Foster 2004; Holbrook 1987; Summit 2000, pp. 126–134; Schoff 2007, pp. 116–139; Crofton 2013, pp. 101–124.

12 Crofton 2013 argues for the last of these possibilities, providing references for the alternatives (argued in Holbrook 1987, Foster 2004, and Schoff 2007) at pp. 103, 116–117.

13 For her inclusion within that tradition, Riehle 1981 – warily, see p. 11; Glasscoe 1993, Ch. 6; Nuth 2001, pp. 140–148, 165–169; see also below, p. 32. Fries 1984, pp. 217–235, 354–358, retains her insularity, without really integrating her into the European mystical tradition suggested by the volume's title.

to Luther. Perhaps ironically, through the excisions Margery could then be conscripted into the ranks of orthodox defenders of Catholicism.[14]

Unfortunately, after that brief surfacing Margery Kempe again sank into near oblivion. Later notices of her, let alone responses to her, are almost untraceable. There are the faintest shadows of continued immediate post-Reformation relevance and reading.[15] She was mentioned in Bishop Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, published posthumously in 1748. Beyond noticing the existence of the text, his one-line comment makes her a precursor of contemporary Quakers and Quietists.[16] Four years later she merited a page in George Ballard's survey of British literary women, which set her in the reign of Edward IV. This essentially repeats Tanner's notice, translating the Latin into English without really adding to it beyond the red herring of the weak and incorrect attempt at dating.[17] Yet, while the entry is chiefly a declaration of ignorance about Kempe, her inclusion in this list of female writers can be said to put down a marker for her literary canonisation in the 20th century.

The basic problem from the 16th to the 20th century was that Margery remained unknown because she could not be known. The manuscript – if only one had survived – was hidden away. Both printed versions were extremely rare, and neither was reprinted until Edmund Gardner produced a new edition of the 1521 anthology in 1910.[18] Coming shortly before the resurfacing of the manuscript, Gardner's brief introductory comments perhaps indicate the cloud of unknowing in which Margery was then immersed. He mentions Tanner but not Ballard; and limits his comment to a couple of sentences which included a suggestion that the original text might have been written in the 13th century, seeing her as a precursor to Julian of Norwich.[19]

The sense of Margery which existed in the early 20th century was clearly extremely limited: there was no reason to give her much attention. Completing her magisterial work on mysticism in 1910, Evelyn Underhill summed up the inheritance, complete with errors:

> England ... first appears in the history of mysticism at the end of the 13th century, with the shadowy figure of Margery Kempe (probably writing *c.* 1290), the anchoress of Lynn. We know nothing of this woman's life; and only a fragment of her 'Contemplations' has survived.[20]

14 Summit 2000, pp. 134–135.

15 Below, n. 31.

16 Tanner 1748, p. 452.

17 Ballard 1752, p. 8.

18 Gardner 1910; the annotated Kempe extract at pp. 51–59. There are reprints; with an online version at http://www.ccel.org/ccel/gardner/cell/files/cell.html (accessed 9 December 2015).

19 Gardner 1910, pp. xix–xxi.

20 Underhill 1912, pp. 554–555. The comment appears in an appendix providing a brief historical survey. The single reference in the main body of the work (p. 270) cites Gardner. The very

The picture thus imparted is one of almost total ignorance, yet comments on reactions to the rediscovery of the manuscript, written with hindsight and for an academic and disciplinary audience, can convey the impression that its appearance merely modified Margery's place within a tradition, that she was already acknowledged. Some people clearly did know of her, but minimally. Gardner's reissue of the Pepwell print was a commercial venture, and presumably had readers – in sufficient numbers to justify republication in 1925. Awareness had seemingly created sufficiently fixed preconceptions and expectations to lead those first invited to examine the rediscovered manuscript to decline, "being so sure the B[ook of] M[argery] K[empe] was written by an anchoress".[21] The sheer novelty, and shock, of the woman revealed in the manuscript, and then made publicly available in the first modernised and edited versions of her text, needs to be emphasised.

Margery's afterlife changed with the revelation of the manuscript and its central character. Only then was it possible to go back to the beginning, to examine the true Margery – or at least try to imagine her. The life revealed in the *Book* is the only testimony we have to her contemporary impact. Less "autobiography" than "biography", less "biography" than selected episodes from a life, its analysis with regard to the 15th century is unavoidably tainted by the fact that almost all of the assessments date from the past eight decades. The contemporary responses to the lived life must be quarried from within the original text; but that is itself problematic, presupposing a purpose behind the writing which must be discerned or imposed before any analysis can really take shape; requiring appreciation of the basic problems behind the initial writing and the role of the original scribe (a major debate in modern scholarship);[22] and necessitating some assessment of the principles of analytical selection, if any, and what issues actually do merit attention. Subsequent pre-Reformation responses similarly depend on the sole manuscript, whose fate cannot be fully recovered, beyond its certain association with the Carthusian priory of Mount Grace by the early 16th century.[23]

Reaction to the rediscovered text and its chief protagonist was not always positive, and after the initial flurry of interest soon muted. The modern Margery Kempe is very much a creation of the 1980s and after; as early as 1941 one writer felt driven to write 'In

brief entry by C.L. K[ingsford] in the *Dictionary of National Biography* in 1908 has Margery as "temp. incert.".

21 Correspondence of Hope Emily Allen, quoted in Mitchell 2005, p. 15 (abbreviated title expanded).

22 See n. 7.

23 See below, at n. 29. Stokes 1999, pp. 47–49, offers useful if not fully convincing speculation on the manuscript's fate between 1440 and its arrival at Mount Grace.

Defence of Margery Kempe', complaining that "there is little sign that its [the *Book*'s] value has been appreciated".[24]

The dialogue between modern commentary and 15th-century text required to re-create the responses of Margery's own lifetime both elucidates and obscures. There is only the self-representation of the text; but text and representation are now constantly re-interpreted and re-presented in scholarly commentary in ever more complex and perplexing fashion. The base is a woman apparently constructing and recounting a complex spiritual evolution, for purposes which never become clear except that her priest thought it worth recording, essentially (to judge from the bits that are recorded) because the evolution involved a deepening and intense relationship with Christ which stimulated both devotional excesses and the assumption of some kind of pastoral role over her fellows. The former is manifested in her decade of weeping and roaring triggered off by the emotional response of her pilgrimage to Jerusalem; that pilgrimage itself is only one of several heroic journeys, the last of which seems to have been impetuously unplanned.[25] There is – to impose potentially anachronistic interpretation, which is always a risk with this text – a sense of a woman who casts herself adrift and lets fate, or divine power, take its course. Historically, that is manifestly incorrect; in reality she probably always had reserves to draw on back in England, so that she was much less adrift than the narrative suggests. In context, however, it is the impression which counts. A second strand, of pastorate, may be less overt, or less striking to modern readers, but seems to be there, in her teaching – which she emphatically denies is preaching; in claiming a role as a moral standard-bearer; perhaps in demonstrating the underlying but neglected importance of the Seven Works of Spiritual Mercy in late medieval Christianity.[26]

How far this life was meant to serve as a model life, or the life of a potential saint, is debatable.[27] It provoked reaction, and suffering; the sufferings and rebuffs run as a thread throughout the book; but whether they are always realistically portrayed is indeterminable – as are the occasions when the book mentions appreciations of Margery, and her supposedly nationwide fame or notoriety, for which no confirmation has yet been found.

Her praise may be exaggerated; it is easy to see that the rebuffs and challenges need

24 For reactions Mitchell 2005, Ch. 4 (1934–43); Hirsh 1984, pp. 109–110; general comment Windeatt 2004, pp. 1–4 (esp. 4); Watkin 1979, pp. 35–65 (quotation p. 35), derived from an earlier version in *Downside Review* 69, 1941, pp. 243–263.

25 Dyas 2001, pp. 222–226, 244–245; Webb 2000, pp. 204–207.

26 Davis 1999, pp. 250–265; a less successful discussion (it seems to me) in Cullum 2004, pp. 177–193. See also Craun 2010, pp. 132–142.

27 Bray 1984, pp. 72–77. For Margery as a failed "living saint", see Kleinberg 1992, pp. 149–152. See also the persuasive nuance of Krug 2011, pp. 129–145, seeing the text as a record of a sanctified life which influences others, in contrast to actual hagiography.

not be – she has received as many since 1934. Despite setting herself on a European stage, Margery existed always in a small world, of Lynn, of the specific places through which she travelled, of the small groups of pilgrims she joined. All these were contexts where antagonism could explode, and often did, in challenges, rejection, and brusque condemnation. The *Book* invites scholarly analysis, and has certainly received it, both from historians and from literary scholars (for whom the development of "Kempe Studies" has opened the text to extensive theorising from innumerable perspectives). Those developments dissect Margery Kempe in ways beyond the main concern of this paper, focussing on historical context and reflections, or on the text as literary artefact, in ever-increasing complexity.[28]

Against that proliferation, Margery's long-term spiritual legacy is less obvious. That she had one through to the Reformation is clear from annotations in the extant manuscript which suggest a late-medieval afterlife absorbed into Carthusian spirituality, and from the reduced printed texts. The annotations notably show the attempt by one or more readers to respond to the challenges of the whole text and refine and direct its interpretation by other readers, whether monastic or lay.[29] For the post-Reformation period, suggestive strategic alterations to the surviving manuscript, and to a copy of the Pepwell volume, hint at continued use and possible further adaptation of Kempe's spiritual message to meet the circumstances of the early Anglican church; but these cannot be fleshed out.[30] The allegations of Quietism and Quakerism in Tanner and his derivatives are impositions rather than actual readings.

Spiritual responses to the resurrected original Margery Kempe are uncertain. In the first published version of the manuscript – the modernised text issued in 1936 –

28 The academic afterlife is a major concern of Mitchell 2005, Ch. 5–8 (including her own "cultural-materialist" reading at Ch. 7). Castagna 2011 usefully demonstrates the application of various theoretical stances, although "re-reading" is often "re-hashing". See also Bremner 1992, pp. 117–135. The most radical reading is Staley 1994, which sees the *Book* as a work of fiction (explicitly at pp. 128, 147, 148, 155). For literary scholars, acceptance of this argument to treat the text solely as a piece of writing removes all interpretative constraints (see, e.g., Evans 2007). Even if fictional, as the record of a spiritual life seemingly accepted as a real life by readers that fictionality would not undermine the core of the present commentary. It might, though, require more consideration of the text's hagiographic character.

29 Parsons 2001, pp. 143–216; Bugyis 2014, pp. 138–158. See also Schoff 2007, pp. 113–116 for matches between highly annotated passages and the extracts of the 1501/1521 prints.

30 Chappell 2013, pp. 16–18 (although I would not unquestioningly accept the attribution of the change to a "Carthusian editor"). The change to the copy of the Pepwell text (fortuitously the copy reproduced in the collection of Early English Books Online [EEBO]) deletes the promise of indulgence attached to veneration of an Image of Pity included in the first woodcut in the volume, matching other similar deletions to accommodate the spirituality of the image to the changed religious context after 1535. This is illustrated in Summit 2000, p. 130 (with comment at pp. 135–138). However, the repeat of that block which immediately precedes the Kempe text is not defaced, *pace* the wording of Chappell 2013, p. 24, which misreads Summit.

the emphasis was strongly on the lived life, with the spiritual bits relegated to an appendix.[31] Once known in full, Margery's mysticism could be reassessed, with some interpreters only grudgingly conceding her a place among "the Middle English mystics", and others bluntly denying her status as a mystic. David Knowles perhaps exemplifies the wariness: he included Kempe in his survey of "the English mystical tradition", but perhaps against his better judgement. For him the *Book* "has little in it of deep spiritual wisdom, and nothing of true mystical experience".[32] Analysis from an explicitly and strictly spiritual standpoint has been surprisingly limited, and has not fed significantly into mainstream academic assessments. While Margery's spirituality does receive regular academic analysis, scholarly methodology generates a concern for comparison and contextualisation rather than pastoral guidance.[33] As a spiritual teacher for the modern world, Margery appears more manageable in re-organised edited extracts than in full flight, much as she was in the world of Wykyn de Worde and Henry Pepwell; and can indeed be accessed in a year's worth of snappy spiritual guidance if desired.[34]

The multiplicity of Margeries derived from the one text over 500 years, and especially since 1940, may be Margery's most striking legacy. Whatever she intended when she allowed her priest to record her spiritual life, her text assumed a life of its own. Self-fashioned and refashioned; moulded, remoulded, and now minutely dissected; Margery Kempe still lives, but in ways she would never have imagined.

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31 Butler-Bowdon 1913. The "wearisome" spiritual matter appears at pp. 345–374 (see also p. 16); the passages were restored to their correct places in the 1954 reissue. For a lively if idiosyncratic survey of the non-academic response to Kempe in the late 1930s and 1940s, see Wallace 2011, pp. 61–80.

32 Knowles 1961, pp. 138–150 (quotation at p. 148); for a more caustic judgement Aberth 1996, pp. 102–107. "Paramystical" is the preferred term in Hirsh 1988, with a definition at pp. 19–20; see also comment in Hirsh 1984, p. 113. She is described merely as a "consumer" of mysticism in Windeatt 1994, p. 11; and included in the novel (but intriguing) category of "public contemplative" in Zieman 2012, pp. 700–701. It is perhaps note-worthy that she is not mentioned in Jantzen 1995.

33 See, e.g., Bhattacharji 1997; Yoshikawa 2007.

34 Hawker 1988, almost a modern equivalent of the adapted Margery of the early 16th-century printed texts. See also suggestions for "praying with Margery Kempe" in Nuth 2001, pp. 166–169.

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Conversion as a Biographical Problem

The Infamous Case of Queen Christina of Sweden

Marie-Louise Rodén

When the news of Queen Christina's public conversion to Catholicism reached him, the Swedish courtier Johan Ekeblad wrote to his father from London:

> What I never would have believed in all my days . . . that Queen Christina might defect to the Catholic Religion; but God knows! I am deceived . . . I must confess that I would sooner have believed that the sky could fall . . . [1]

Christina, born in 1626, was the only legitimate child of King Gustavus Adolphus II, whose death in the course of the Thirty Years' War earned him the status of a martyr to the Protestant cause. A month short of her sixth birthday in 1632, Christina succeeded her father as ruler of that nation which Heinz Schilling has described as Europe's most homogeneously Lutheran – the Evangelical counterpart to Counter-Reformation Spain.[2] Her personal reign lasted a mere decade, from 1644 to 1654 when she abdicated and the Swedish throne passed to her cousin, Karl Gustav of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, according to her wishes. She had firmly and openly declared that she did not wish to marry and, unable to provide the nation with an heir, prepared her abdication by having her cousin appointed hereditary prince of the realm. She thereafter converted to Catholicism and Rome became her permanent residence. She died in 1689 and is buried in the crypt of St Peter's Basilica.

Christina's contemporaries found her change of faith, or defection to Catholicism if you will, dramatic if not downright scandalous. Most Swedish scholars who have treated her life either in biographical works or in more specialized studies have gener-

1 Johan Ekeblad to Christopher Ekeblad, London 16.1.1655. *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia 22* (Stockholm 1837), pp. 309–310.

2 Heinz Schilling, 'Confession and Political Identity in Europe at the Beginning of Modern Times (Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)', *Concilium* 6, 1995.

ally reacted just the way Johan Ekeblad did when the news was fresh. Christina's conversion is something mysterious that has to be explained, or indeed explained away, for it remains easier to believe that the sky would fall than that a Queen of Sweden in the 17th century would convert to Catholicism.

In this contribution, I will discuss three aspects of this problematic conversion. First, I will describe the relevant source material that might help us to construct a narrative of Christina's conversion. I will thereafter discuss the major 20th-century contributions to the subject and finally say something about my own approach to the problem.

Though Christina was a prolific writer who left unfinished albeit lengthy memoirs, two collections of maxims and extensive and varied correspondence from different periods of her life, she never really gave an account of her conversion. The memoirs let us follow her until approximately the age of ten, and though she does touch upon childhood doubts about Evangelical Christianity as communicated by the Swedish clergy of her youth, they are an unreliable source. The memoirs were begun during the last decade of Christina's life and were thus composed at a time when she had already lived as a Catholic for more than a quarter of a century.[3]

As a matter of fact, there is an interesting source from the period directly following the conversion which indicates that she considered it a private matter that she preferred not to discuss at all. Christina's reception in Rome occurred during the first year of Alexander VII's (Fabio Chigi, pope Alexander VII, 1655–1667) pontificate. Hoping to obtain information that he might include in his planned biography of the pope, the noted Jesuit historian Sforza Pallavicino asked Christina to answer some questions about her change of faith and its motives, but she simply avoided the issue. In a letter probably written in 1658 she replied that she had been unable to fulfill her promise due to "domestic preoccupations" – probably the first and last time that she used such a phrase. She had then tried to write something down for Pallavicino, but found that her Italian was so deficient that she had consigned everything she wrote to the flames. This last remark was closer to the truth – Christina's command of written Italian was not particularly good even towards the end of her life and French remained her language of preference.[4]

3 There are numerous editions of Christina's memoirs, beginning with that of Johan Arckenholtz in an ambitious compilation from the mid-18th century: *Mémoires concernant Christine Reine de Suède*, Amsterdam & Leipzig 1751–1760. The most recent Swedish translation of the original French text is found in Marie-Louise Rodén, ed., *Kristina. Brev och skrifter*, Stockholm 2006. For an analysis of the memoirs, see Eva Haettner Aurelius, *Inför lagen. Kvinnliga svenska självbiografier från Agneta Horn till Fredrika Bremer*, Lund 1996.

4 Christina's letter to Pallavicino in the Swedish National Archives, The Azzolino Collection K. 401, 'Miscellanea 1658'. See also Sforza Pallavicino, *Vita di Alessandro VII*, Milano 1843.

What we know about Queen Christina's conversion process could best be described as "circumstantial evidence". The available sources indicate that her interest in approaching the Catholic Church began around 1646 and had progressed from interest to certainty by 1651, when she contacted the General of the Jesuit Order directly. In a letter that is still preserved in the archives of the order in Rome and couched in respectful but fairly vague terms, Christina expressed her admiration for the Jesuits and asked for further contacts with members of the order.[5] In the late summer of 1651, she brought up her intention to abdicate with the Council of the Realm but was temporarily dissuaded.

In the early months of 1652, two Italian Jesuits dispatched from Rome, Paolo Casati and Francesco Malines, reached the Swedish court, as did the Belgian Jesuit Philippe Nutius. The influx of Catholic missionaries to the Swedish capital did raise some eyebrows, even if Casati and Malines were thinly disguised as travelling musicians. Protocols from the municipal consistory of Stockholm made note of the "hordes of Jesuits" that were overrunning the capital.[6] Christina's suspicious consorting with foreigners and Papists was also a matter of concern for the court preacher Erik Emporagrius, who in January of 1653 requested an audience with Christina, hoping to steer her towards a more appropriate lifestyle. He even went so far as to complain to Christina's mother, the dowager queen Maria Eleonora, who supported his views but had no influence on her "unruly" daughter.[7]

By the early 1650's, there was a considerable foreign presence at the Swedish court, since the culturally interested young monarch had invited distinguished artists, librarians, philologists and not least the philosopher René Descartes to Stockholm. At the same time, Sweden had attained the apogee of her position in international politics with the favorable conclusion of the Westphalian Peace in 1648. Ambassadors from Europe's Catholic nations were a constant feature at the court, and Christina was especially close to the French ambassador Pierre Hector Chanut.[8] It was the chaplain of the Portuguese legation, the Jesuit Antonio Macedo, who became the courier for Christina's first letter to the superior of his order. Christina's acquaintance with educated

5 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Opp. NN 174–175, fasc. B. On the subject of Christina's correspondence with the Jesuit order prior to her abdication, see Sven Ingemar Olofsson, *Drottning Christinas tronavsägelse och trosförändring*, Uppsala 1953.

6 Nils Ahnlund, 'Drottning Kristinas tronavsägelse. Några randanteckningar', *Personhistorisk tidskrift*, 1931.

7 The most reliable account of this period in Queen Christina's life is found in Olofsson 1953, cited above, as well as his unfinished manuscript of a biography of the dowager queen Maria Eleonora (in the author's possession).

8 Chanut's reports from his years at the Swedish court are published in translation and with commentaries in Curt Weibull, *Drottning Christina och Sverige 1646–1651. En fransk diplomat berättar*, Stockholm 1970.

and – in several cases – devout Catholics is one explanation for how she was exposed to the Catholic faith even though strictures against it in Sweden were so harsh at the time.

Books and manuscripts were another path: even though the instructions drawn up for Christina's education in 1635 prohibited her from contact with any Catholic or Calvinist writings – which were considered equally heretical from a Lutheran standpoint – she as a young adult had access to an impressive royal library which was further enriched by booty from the sack of Prague at the end of the war. A catalogue of the manuscripts in this library drawn up by the philologist Isaac Vossius around 1650 shows that Christina could consult Catholic literature from the patristic age, the Middle Ages and her own time. We can never know which works she might have read and which were simply part of the collection, but it can at least be documented that she had the opportunity of reading works of Catholic theology.[9]

The Italian Jesuits who met Christina in 1652 found that she was already convinced of the central tenets of the Catholic faith and that the major issues to be resolved were of a practical nature. Paolo Casati's account of his mission to "convert the Swedish queen" was written a month after her official reception into the Church and addressed to his superiors. One does not really get a personal picture of Christina at this turning point in her life, but it was here that she took a decisive step towards her conversion, which took place privately on Christmas Eve of 1654 in Brussels and publicly in November of 1655 in Innsbruck.[10]

Given Christina's own reticence on the subject and the relative scarcity of other sources that might illuminate her conversion process, modern studies have been characterized by a high level of speculation and inconclusive attempts to unravel the causal relationships between her abdication, her refusal of marriage and her conversion. A monograph by Curt Weibull, who belonged to a family of distinguished Swedish historians, was published in 1931 and served as an inspiration for a renewed interest in Christina.[11] His contemporary Nils Ahnlund soon entered into debate on the issue of Christina's abdication.[12] Weibull also inspired Ernst Cassirer, who briefly resided in Sweden during the 1930s, to tackle the problem of Descartes' relationship to Christina and his possible role for her conversion.[13] As an historian, Weibull was primarily interested in

9 Christian Callmer, ed., *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Holmiensis C. Annum MDCL Ductu et Auspicio Isaac Vossii Conscriptus*, Stockholm 1971.

10 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Opp. NN 174–175, fasc. B.

11 Curt Weibull, *Drottning Christina. Studier och forskningar*, Stockholm 1931; an abridged English translation was published with the title *Christina of Sweden*, Stockholm 1966.

12 Nils Ahnlund, 'Drottning Kristinas tronavsägelse. Några randanteckningar', *Personhistorisk tidskrift*, 1931.

13 Ernst Cassirer, *Drottning Christina och Descartes. Ett bidrag till 1600-talets idéhistoria*, Stockholm 1940.

Christina as a political animal and he accepted her Catholicism at face value. So did the historian and political scientist Sven Ingemar Olofsson, who published an excellently researched thesis on Christina's abdication and conversion in 1953, and another one on Swedish international politics after the Westphalian Peace in 1957.[14] Though Olofsson maintained that the queen's refusal of marriage was the primary motive for her abdication, he too was interested in Christina the politician and did not question the sincerity of her conversion.

However, this was not the case for the most influential Christina-scholar of the 20th century, Sven Stolpe, who was not an historian but rather an author and publicist who wrote a thesis on Christina in 1959. Stolpe's thesis was followed by a biography published the following year as well as an excellent edition of one of Christina's collections of maxims.[15] Stolpe did not accept Christina's conversion as genuine and it is of some interest that he himself was a convert to Catholicism. Born in 1905, he converted when he was over 40 and he was 54 years old when he obtained his doctorate in 1959.

Unlike the historians, Stolpe was interested in Christina the Catholic and his thesis was a close reading of one of her collections of maxims with the aim of tracing her spiritual development. He skillfully described the influence of St Catherine of Genua's *Treatise on Purgatory* and Christina's interest in the Quietist heresy, which flourished in Rome in the 1680's and also attracted many members of the curial elite. His biography, though admirably written and engaging to read, is a much less sound work than his academic thesis. Stolpe placed an inordinate emphasis on Christina's relationship to her femininity and argued that her unwillingness to marry – a consequence of sexual neuroses – was the real background to her abdication. Unwilling and perhaps unable to provide her kingdom with a successor, she chose to abdicate in order to ensure that the hereditary monarchy established by her great-grandfather should be preserved. In order to support this interpretation, Stolpe had to challenge the veracity of Christina's conversion.

To begin with, he accused Christina of a lack of Christocentricity – a quality she undoubtedly shared with many other Catholics of the Baroque era. Commenting on Cassati's report of his discussions with the Queen in 1652, Stolpe maintained that "all of these are issues which would find their proper place in a discussion forum for libertines, they hardly arise from a soul in need, a human being horrified by her own sins and longing for salvation . . . the bold – and perhaps unsuitable – thought of asking the queen about her sins or finding out whether she really was looking for salvation

14 Olofsson 1953; *idem*, *Efter westfaliska freden. Sveriges yttre politik 1650–1654*, Uppsala 1957.

15 Sven Stolpe, *Från stoicism till mystik. Studier i drottning Kristinas maximer*, Stockholm 1959; *idem*, *Drottning Kristina. Maximer – Les sentiments héroïques,* Stockholm 1959; *idem, Drottning Kristina*, Stockholm 1960–1961.

in Christ apparently did not occur to anyone".[16] It should be noted that Stolpe came to Catholicism by way of the Oxford Movement, which certainly influenced his view of Christina and the intellectually oriented spirituality typical of the aristocratic converts of her age.[17]

Stolpe also made the mistake of confusing Christina's impatience with outward signs of devotion with a lack of faith, and relates a number of anecdotes demonstrating the haughty and often inappropriate behavior of this woman who, after all, had been subjected to the extraordinary upbringing of a ruler in the age of absolutism. In his interpretation, which has been enormously influential among Swedish intellectual historians and scholars of art and literature, Christina's true conversion occurred only towards the end of her life, when she encountered the Quietist teachings of Miguel Molinos.

A scholar who stands out for having treated Christina's conversion as part of a European confessional pattern is, tellingly enough, not Swedish but the American Susan Rosa. In a study of 17th-century Catholic polemic, she explains that post-Reformation religious polemic was less concerned with the substance of dogma than with the reasons to believe in a certain faith. Catholic controversial theologians based their arguments on the so-called *notae,* the signs of the true Church. These arguments were also aimed at a particular group, that is well-educated aristocrats, who were not necessarily schooled in theology but attracted to rational arguments. Rosa's interpretation of Paolo Cassati's report is thus much different than Stolpe's: Christina adopts the classic Thomistic position concerning the relationship between faith and reason, and moreover emphasizes the demand that truth can only be found where there is unity. Thus, Christina's conversion to Catholicism is typical for the pattern of aristocratic conversions to the Roman faith during the 17th century.[18] It is the context, her nationality, and her position that made it exceptional at the time and problematic even in modern scholarship.

16 Sven Stolpe, *Från stoicism till mystik. Studier i drottning Kristinas maximer*, Stockholm 1959, p. 185. "Allt detta är frågeställningar som hör hemma i en libertinistisk diskussionscirkel, de härrör knappast från en själ i nöd, en människa som fasar för sin egen synd och längtar efter frälsning . . . Ingen kom på den djärva – och kanske opassande – tanken att utfråga drottningen om hennes egna synder eller att undersöka, om det verkligen var frälsningen i Kristus hon var ute efter."

17 I would like to thank Prof. Anders Jarlert for pointing out the significance of Stolpe's relationship to the Oxford Movement. This aspect of Stolpe's religious development has been treated in the recent biography by Svante Nordin, *Sven Stolpe. Blåsten av ett temperament*, Stockholm 2014, pp. 151–169.

18 Susan Rosa, 'Seventeenth-century Catholic Polemic and the Rise of Cultural Rationalism: An Example from the Empire', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57, 1996, 87–107.

I will now say something about my own approach to Christina's conversion. To begin with, I am a Catholic convert like Stolpe but an historian like Weibull and Olofsson, and therefore it is Christina the politician who has been the focus of my research. When I initiated my doctoral thesis at Princeton University in the mid-1980s, my ambition was to focus on a subject that had been introduced by Friherre Carl Bildt in two studies from 1899 and 1906, but neglected since then: Christina's role in curial politics in relation to her close collaborator, friend and heir, Cardinal Decio Azzolino and the faction he led, the *Squadrone Volante*.[19] I wanted to avoid the debate on the relationship between the abdication and the conversion, which must remain inconclusive since the source material is so limited. Moreover, I was at that time a fairly recent convert and thought it unwise to consider a topic that touched upon my personal experiences.

I soon discovered that there was a wealth of material highlighting the career of Cardinal Decio Azzolino, both in the Vatican Archives and Library and, through a donation of 1985, in the Biblioteca Planettiana in Jesi. Azzolino (1623–1689) was the fourth official Cardinal Secretary of State of the Vatican and the author of a number of influential treatises in ecclesiastical politics, history and theology. My thesis was a study of Christina's collaboration with his faction during her Roman period, and I followed this with a full biography of Azzolino which was published in the year 2000.[20]

In my biography of Christina published in 2008, I treated her conversion more directly.[21] By this point in my life I hardly reflect on the circumstance that I myself am a convert to Catholicism. However, my own experience has obviously informed my view of Christina's conversion, even though I have tried to be a cautious interpreter of her path to Catholicism. As for the general skepticism towards Christina's conversion prevalent among Swedish scholars, I have often wondered whether they considered how difficult it must have been to live as a Catholic, closely tied to the elite at the papal court in Rome for over 33 years, while secretly keeping an internal distance (which would be the interpretation of Stolpe and his numerous followers).

I also reasoned that looking at Christina's life journey as a whole would tell us more of her relationship to Catholicism than focusing on the crucial six to eight years when she was in the process of conversion. It is indeed true that conventional piety was never her strong suit – there is a marvellous anecdote in Pallavicino which speaks of the frustration of Pope Alexander VII on this subject. Paraphrasing Matthew 6:6, "When you want to pray, go into your room and shut your door and pray to your father in the

19 Carl Bildt, *Christine de Suède et le Cardinal Azzolino*, Paris 1899; *idem*, *Christine de Suède et le Conclave de Clément X*, Paris 1906.

20 Marie-Louise Rodén, *Cardinal Decio Azzolino, Queen Christina of Sweden and the Squadrone Volante. Political and Administrative Developments at the Roman Curia 1644–1692*, Princeton & Ann Arbor 1992; *eadem*, *Church Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, Stockholm 2000.

21 Marie-Louise Rodén, *Drottning Christina. En biografi*, Stockholm 2008.

dark", he shall have said the following to Christina: "In your case, one single Ave Maria said in public would be worth more than an entire Rosary read in private".[22]

If one reads the source material from Christina's Roman period carefully – and it is plentiful – one finds her behaving in the same way that many Catholic converts do at the beginning of their journey. She was externally demonstrative in regard to any rite or ordinance that was specifically Catholic. But in letters from her second northern journey of 1666 to 1668, she expressed genuine concern that she had been forbidden to have a Catholic priest in her entourage when entering Sweden. She was experiencing a period of poor health and was afraid that she might die without a confessor by her side, unable to receive the last rites. These were private reflections intended only for her closest friend in Rome.[23]

I have sought to find a unified understanding of Christina the politician and Christina the Catholic. She was raised in an age where European monarchies developed in the direction of absolutism and firmly believed that the hereditary monarchy was the ideal form of government. She saw the structures exhibited in such a government as the earthly reflection of an order instituted by God. Consequently, the strictly hierarchical Catholic Church conformed to her political ideals. Finally, I believe that an historical personage such as Christina deserves the respect of posterity – if she claimed to be a Catholic and lived as one for the major part of her adult life, we must depart from the assumption that her conversion was sincere. Christina herself had a far more balanced view of her spiritual constitution than many of her biographers: "You know very well," she remarked in a letter to Cardinal Azzolino from 1666, "that I will never be virtuous enough to become holy, nor infamous enough to pretend to it."[24]

22 Pallavicino 1843, pp. 25–28; Rodén 2008, p. 196.

23 Bildt 1899, p. 342f.

24 Queen Christina to Cardinal Decio Azzolino, Hamburg 15 September 1666. Swedish National Archives, The Azzolino Collection K. 394, published in Bildt 1899, p. 226. "Je vous prie de dire au père Fozio, de ma part, qu'il perd son temps à prier Dieu que je devienne sainte, car je n'aurai jamais assez de vertu pour l'être, ni assez d'infamie pour le feindre."

The Biography of Bishop Francis Kirwan:

Pii antistitis icon, sive de vita et morte Rmi. D. Francisci Kirovani Alladensis Episcopi

Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin

The Catholic hierarchy of Ireland of the middle of the 17th century was one of the most unusual body of bishops. The Henrician break with Rome and then, following the brief Marian interlude, the re-establishment of a church under the supreme governorship of Queen Elizabeth I created massive infrastructural problems for Irish Catholicism. Towards the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, it became increasingly difficult for Rome to appoint bishops to the areas of the island under the control of the English state. By 1600, only one Catholic bishop was resident in the entire metropolitan province of Cashel, and none was functioning within the provinces of Dublin or Tuam. The fact that the north of Ireland largely lay outside state control, until the completion of the Tudor conquest in 1603, meant that bishops appointed by Rome continued to operate in the fourth metropolitan province of the island, Armagh. In 1593 no fewer than six Ulster bishops were able to congregate at Enniskillen: the primate, Edmund Magauran of Armagh, Redmond O'Gallagher of Derry, Cornelius O'Devany of Down and Connor, Patrick MacCaughwell of Dromore, Niall O'Boyle of Raphoe, and Richard Brady of Kilmore.[1]

However, at the time of the queen's death in 1603, the reduction to submission of the semi-autonomous lordships of the north ensured this situation could no longer continue. By 1612 only one Catholic prelate, the archbishop of Cashel, David Kearney, was resident within the island.[2] In real terms the post-Reformation resident Catholic hierarchy had ceased to exist. From 1618, however, this situation was transformed again. Taking advantages of the relaxation of state harassment in the wake of the ne-

1 Brian Mac Cuarta, *Catholic revival in the North of Ireland, 1603–41*, Dublin 2007, p. 21.

2 Dominic Conway, 'The Anglican world: problems of coexistence during the pontificates of Urban VIII and Innocent X (1623–1655)', in *Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum 1622–1700*, ed. J. Metzler, 2 vols, Rome 1972, 1 pt. 2, pp. 149–172, there pp. 151–152.

gotiations for the Spanish match in England, and obedience to a new sense of pastoral and mission imperative which found articulation in the foundation of the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* in 1622, an illegal but functioning Catholic hierarchy was recreated in Ireland. By 1630, uniquely in that part of Europe seen in Rome as lying in *partibus infidelium*, roughly 15 bishops had been appointed to and resided in the historic sees of the island. Paradoxically, this hierarchy in some respects approximated more closely to the Tridentine ideal than any other contemporary body of bishops because its members were universally seminary-trained, were appointed to their dioceses with little or no political input and for essentially ecclesiastical reasons, and were overwhelmingly resident. In other respects, they were startlingly anomalous in that they enjoyed no revenues and lived under the threat of state persecution.[3]

Following the collapse of the English state in Ireland in 1641, most of the island fell under Catholic control. This saw a further expansion of the Irish hierarchy with eleven new appointments in 1646 alone. For the first part of the 1640s, the bishops used their position of clerical leadership to underpin the organizational structures of the *de facto* state of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland.[4] In 1648, however, the Irish church split, convulsed by political issues centred around the terms on which the Confederates could make peace with their Protestant monarch, Charles I. Bitter disputes developed between certain members of the Irish hierarchy and the papal nuncio, Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, and those bishops who opted to support him as a mouthpiece of Roman policy.[5]

Rinuccini ultimately excommunicated his opponents which further embittered what became a Confederate civil war. The progress of the Cromwellian conquest in the period 1649–1653 inflicted massive damage on the structures of the Irish Catholic church and by the middle of the 1650s the numbers of bishops in the island had been reduced to just one bed-ridden prelate.[6] This ensured that the practical implications of the split of 1648 became largely irrelevant in terms of ecclesiastical organization. Nevertheless, a great deal of bitterness and antipathy continued to exist among Irish clerical exiles on the continent. For many Irish Catholics, particularly those of Gaelic Irish stock, the disaster of the Cromwellian conquest was a clear proof of the manner in which their people had become the subject of divine retribution for sinful behaviour,

3 Donal Cregan, 'The social and cultural background of a Counter-Reformation episcopate, 1618–60', in *Studies in Irish history presented to R. Dudley Edwards*, eds A. Cosgrove & D. MacCartney, Dublin 1979, pp. 85–117.

4 Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Rebels and confederates: The stance of the clergy in the 1640s', in *Celtic dimensions of the British civil wars*, ed. J. Young, Edinburgh 1997, pp. 96–115.

5 Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The mission of Rinuccini, 1645–1649*, Oxford 2002, esp. Ch. 1 and 6.

6 Patrick Corish, 'The Cromwellian regime, 1650–60', in *A new history of Ireland* III, eds T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin & F.J. Byrne, Oxford 1976, pp. 375–386.

which they identified as the crime of having set the cause of peace with the king above fidelity to Rome and obedience to the papal nuncio. This logic was bitterly resisted by those who had opposed the nuncio. Prominent within the ranks of those who refused to accept this reading of events were a number of clerics from the west of Ireland with strong links to the Old English town of Galway. Ultimately, the most distinguished literary spokesperson of this group proved to be John Lynch, a Galway cleric who went into exile following the Cromwellian capture of the town. In *Alithinologia* and *Supplementum Alithinologiae* Lynch provided a powerful and comprehensive defence of the party which had opposed the papal nuncio and strongly articulated the notion of compatibility between Catholic identity and loyalty to the house of Stuart.[7] Lynch fiercely opposed the notion that the disasters of the 1650s were proof of divine displeasure and disputed the idea that the best Christians were inevitably those who were prepared to fight for their religion. Instead he defended the actions of those who had wished to make peace with the king on the grounds of prudence. In the wake of these polemical and politically engaged texts, which he issued under a pseudonym, in 1669, under his own name, Lynch published *Pii antistitis icon, sive de vita et morte Rmi. D. Francisci Kirovani Alladensis Episcopi*, a biography of the recently deceased bishop of Killala, Francis Kirwan.[8] Kirwan was a Galway native who had previously acted as Lynch's patron, in particular supporting him during his studies at Dieppe in the second decade of the 17th century. Having previously served as the vicar-general to the absentee archbishop of Tuam, Florence Conry, and then to his resident successor, Malachy O'Queely, Kirwan was eventually elevated to the hierarchy himself as bishop of Killala in 1645.[9]

The personal relationship between the two men, and the reverence which Lynch felt for his fellow Galway citizen, were evidently key elements in his decision to produce the biography. Lynch clearly believed that Kirwan was a saintly man and one whose suffering for the faith and exile from Ireland in the 1650s had elevated him to what in the primitive church would have been seen as a confessor of faith.[10] The emphasis on Kirwan as a prelate and bishop in the text is also noteworthy as it was precisely during this period that Lynch himself was under consideration for elevation to the Irish hierarchy, a position which he subsequently declined in order to remain in France.[11] Lynch's portrayal of the ideal bishop in his biography of Kirwan, therefore,

7 Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, 'Though Hereticks and politicians should misdoubt their good zeal: Political ideology and Catholicism in Early Modern Ireland', in *Political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland*, ed. J. Ohlmeyer, Cambridge 2000, pp. 155–175.

8 *Pii antistitis icon or the life of Francis Kirwan bishop of Killala by John Lynch Archdeacon of Tuam (MDCLXIX)*, Dublin 1951; all references to the text are taken from this version.

9 Terry Clavin, 'Kirwan, Francis (1589–1661)', in *Dictionary of Irish Biography from the earliest times to the year 2002*, eds J. McGuire & J. Quinn, Cambridge 2009, pp. 232–233.

10 *Pii antistitis icon*, pp. 111–112.

11 Éamon Ó Ciosáin , 'John Lynch', in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, http://dib.cambridge.org.

may have been related to his own internal questioning concerning an episcopal role for himself.

In addition to this personal spiritual mediation on the episcopal office, three other important themes emerge from Lynch's biography. The first can be seen as part of a wider Irish Catholic project in the 17th century to provide a historicised identity for the post-Tridentine Catholicism which had become increasingly pronounced among the Irish population and most notably among its continentally formed clerics, such as both Lynch, the author, and Kirwan, the subject, of this biography. Much of the biography is devoted to detailing what Kirwan's activities were: he is shown as having visited constantly both as vicar-general of Tuam and later as bishop and the impeccably Tridentine goal of these visitations was instruction and to inculcate frequentation of sacraments, particularly the Eucharist and penance. This visitation was not only in easily accessible urban areas but in difficult terrain, even out to the remote Aran islands off the coast of Galway. As bishop, even while he was himself incarcerated, he continued to minister the sacrament of confirmation to children through the windows of his cell.[12]

Another key characteristic of the bishop was his asceticism. Lynch presents him as an ecclesiastic who relished poor food and avoided rich fare to the extent that the flesh barely covered his bones.[13] He mortified his body both in the daily round of his life – his scourge and hairshirt and their marks on his frame were discovered on his death – and also while on pilgrimage to Holy sites such as Croagh Patrick and St Patrick's purgatory.[14] But he is presented in addition as a prelate who did not shrink from exerting his authority on behalf of God's law. To those who were obstinate he threatened excommunication but fulminated so long and dreadfully on the effects which this would have upon them that the terror of the threats was generally sufficient to bring the recalcitrant into line. Thus, he combined the salutary power of fear with prudence. He was harsh on usury, had adulterers publically whipped, banished sexually incontinent priests to do penance in remote areas, and punished priestly gambling heavily.[15]

He is presented also as a champion of learning, stressing the importance of this to the priests under his authority. Those whom he judged inadequate were forbidden to administer sacraments. While vicar-general of Tuam, he insisted that trainee priests spend a year in his household. Older priests whom he suspected of insufficient learning also had to live under his supervision until he judged that they were fit to discharge their responsibilities. He promoted learned disputation of the Jesuit Cardinal Toleto's

ucd.idm.oclc.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a4945&searchClicked=clicked&quickadvsearch=yes, accessed on 9 February 2016.

12 *Pii antistitis icon*, pp. 16–17.

13 *Pii antistitis icon*, pp. 31–32, 106.

14 *Pii antistitis icon*, pp. 36–37, 102–103.

15 *Pii antistitis icon*, pp. 21–23.

Summa casuum sive instructio sacerdotum as a means of increasing the educational standard and awareness of his priests. It was he who brought the Society of Jesus to Galway and he had supported foreign schools for the formation of Irish priests, before the brief efflorescence of Irish Catholicism as a public faith following the collapse of the authority of the English state in the island in 1641 allowed a wider freedom for Catholic educational establishments to settle in Ireland. As bishop he embraced the responsibility of charity. He is portrayed as an ardent protector of widows and orphans, and succoured prisoners in gaol, ensuring not only that they received confession and the Eucharist prior to their judgement but also a good meal. He fulfilled his family responsibilities by dowering his sisters but he also provided dowries for poor girls to enable them to marry.[16]

Kirwan is thus clearly an exemplar of the saintly prelate which had become such an important figure within Tridentine Catholicism. Like Carlo Borromeo he is portrayed as personally ascetic and utterly devoted to his duty as bishop who did not shrink from the exercise of authority but who ardently embraced the demands of charity. And as befitted a bishop of the Catholic renewal, he placed a primary emphasis on education and instruction. In one area Kirwan is portrayed as not fulfilling a critical aspect of episcopal office, namely in preaching. Here his personal modesty and diffidence are portrayed as the key reasons but, significantly, his flock were not deprived because of his concern to ensure that adequate preachers were available for their instruction.[17]

One of the most interesting aspects of this (to some degree stereotypical) post-Tridentine biography are the repeated references to episcopal exemplars from Ireland's medieval past. Kirwan is compared to a true image of the prototype of a pious prelate represented by St Malachy.[18] In discussing Kirwan's early education, the author compares his imbibing of learning and piety from his kinsman, Arthur Lynch, to St Lawrence O'Toole's education with the bishop of Glendalough, and St Malachy's with Imar.[19] Lynch lovingly enumerates Kirwan's mode of visitation which, for instance, he did on foot like Malachy.[20] Like Malachy and St Lawrence O'Toole of Dublin, Kirwan resisted elevation to the hierarchy.[21] Kirwan is presented like these men but this of course also had the effect of making them like him. Thus, the highly "Tridentine" virtues which Kirwan is shown to exemplify are projected into the Irish past creating a lineage of bishops. This linking of Ireland's medieval heritage and its Tridentine present is heightened by the references to Kirwan's early modern European heroes and exemplars, most notably Carlo Borromeo, for whom he had a particular veneration,

16 *Pii antistitis icon*, pp. 35–36.
17 *Pii antistitis icon*, p. 23.
18 *Pii antistitis icon*, p. 60.
19 *Pii antistitis icon*, p. 13.
20 *Pii antistitis icon*, pp. 16–17.
21 *Pii antistitis icon*, pp. 46–47, 63–64.

and the bishop of Rochester, John Fisher.[22] The stitching together of the past within this Tridentine perspective is perfectly exemplified in the section on the litany of saints to which Kirwan regularly prayed: Augustine, Patrick, Nicholas of Myrra, Francis of Assisi, Carlo Borromeo, Ignatius Loyola, St Teresa and Francis Xavier are key figures in this respect.[23] Their holiness and the holiness of Kirwan are presented in the same manner: the virtues which they exemplify are portrayed as timeless. Rather than the cultural construction of the early modern era, they are the contemporary outcrop of a timeless and essentialist identity.

A second significant theme which emerges as a by-product of this eliding of the differences between the past and the present is a similar blurring of the boundaries between the ethnic identities in Ireland. This is particularly significant as the splits which had convulsed Irish Catholicism in the 1650s had become mapped, to a considerable extent, onto the ethnic fissures within the Irish population.[24] Most of the most outspoken opponents of the papal nuncio were of Old English origin and some of their most scathing denunciators, most notably Richard O'Ferrall, the figure with whom Lynch had duelled in print in *Alithinologia* and *Supplementum Alithinologiae*, had not been slow to draw attention to this fact.[25] Resentment of the Old English assumption of cultural superiority had been a rumbling feature of Irish Catholicism during the first half of the 17th century. Indeed, the great hagiographical projects launched by the Gaelic Irish Franciscans at Louvain had been partly aimed at protecting Gaelic Catholicism from the imputation of barbarity at the hands of their Old English co-religionists. The biography of Kirwan, however, largely ignores the ethnic diversity of Irish life. Kirwan was an Old Englishman from Galway but both the archdiocese of Tuam, where he was vicar-general, and the diocese of Killala, where he was bishop, were largely Gaelic-speaking. Kirwan was probably fluent in the Gaelic tongue but that he ministered to two different ethnic populations is simply not highlighted. Just as Lynch presents a seamless unity between medieval Gaelic episcopal figures, such as St Malachy or Lawrence O'Toole, so too he presents contemporary Gaelic bishops, such as Malachy O'Queely, as identical to their Old English counterparts. Unlike Lynch or Kirwan, O'Queely who was appointed archbishop of Tuam in 1630, sprang from a very different background than the mercantile Old English stock of Galway. Indeed he was representative of precisely the Gaelic social group which was substantially displaced as land owners in the west of Ireland by Old English merchants through processes of mortgage in exactly this period.[26] But Lynch portrays O'Queely in very similar terms to Kirwan

22 *Pii antistitis icon*, pp. 113–114.

23 *Pii antistitis icon*, p. 95.

24 Ó hAnnracháin supra n. 5, Ch. 6.

25 Ian Campbell, 'Truth and calumny in Baroque Rome: Richard O'Ferrall and the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*, 1648–1667', *Irish Historical Studies* 38, 2012, 211–229.

26 Cregan supra n. 3.

himself, as a saintly prelate and notes also the miracles performed by relics of the dead archbishop who was killed by Protestant forces in 1645. The biography thus can be situated as part of that wider Old English movement which eschewed the rather patronizing attitudes evinced by a figure such as John Roche, the bishop of Ferns in the 1620s and 1630s, and which embraced the idea of a common Irish Catholic identity in which both Old English and Gaelic Irish shared.[27] In this way, Old English figures could glory also in the heroic past of Gaelic Christianity and its multitudinous saints and situate themselves as natural heirs, along with their Gaelic contemporaries, to that tradition.

But in addition to this wider framework of Irish Catholicism, a third significant theme of the biography is the manner in which it acts as a tribute to the Catholicism of Lynch's and Kirwan's native city, Galway. While Kirwan, a Galway native, is very much the centre point of the narrative and his concern for the city in which he was born and the reciprocal affection that bound him to its inhabitants is constantly portrayed, other saintly characters are also extolled, most notably Arthur Lynch, Kirwan's uncle and Patrick Lynch, the warden of the collegiate church, Galway's most important ecclesiastical foundation during this era. Like Kirwan, these are presented as intensely holy men. Patrick Lynch in particular is the subject of one anecdote which serves to underpin the idea of the religious culture of Galway as entirely consonant with the spirit of Catholic renewal, and especially its horror of the notion of the contamination of the sacred. The biography records how Patrick Lynch administered the Eucharist to a gravely sick man who immediately vomited it back. Fearing desecration of the host, Lynch therefore swallowed the entire vomit which caused him neither any nausea nor any subsequent health problem.[28]

One can surmise that for the author, John Lynch, this insistence on the hospitality of Galway to the culture and spirit of Catholic renewal was probably connected with some urgency to the rumbling fallout from the convulsions within the Irish church in the late 1640s. In a real sense, Galway had been the primary site of this cleavage. The leaders of episcopal opposition to the papal nuncio, Rinuccini, were precisely a group of bishops drawn from the city and its environs, under the leadership of John Bourke, the archbishop of Tuam, and including Andrew Lynch, the bishop of Kilfenora, and a kinsman of both Kirwan and the author, and Kirwan himself, who was one of John Bourke's supporters. The Jesuits whom Kirwan had helped to establish in Galway also played a significant role in these divisions.[29] Tensions, moreover, were vastly accentuated by the fact that the papal nuncio also withdrew to Galway and was resident in the

27 P. Corish (ed.), 'Two Reports on the catholic church in Ireland in the Early Seventeenth century', *Archivium Hibernicum* 22, 1959, 140–162, esp. 146.

28 *Pii antistitis icon*, pp. 5–8.

29 Ó hAnnracháin supra n. 5, pp. 235–237, 41–42.

city at the same time as John Bourke and his allies, who personally broke the nuncio's interdict on the collegiate church of St Nicholas in 1648.[30]

As noted previously, John Lynch, the author of the biography, had been one of the most significant literary partisans of the anti-nuncioist grouping throughout the 1660s. But rather than stoking these antagonisms, one of the most significant features of the biography is the manner in which it operates to deflect and soothe them. There is very little reference to Kirwan's role in the disturbances. Instead, what is noted is the nuncio's affection for Kirwan and then Kirwan's later repentance at having opposed Rinuccini and the conscientious way in which he sought absolution from the nuncio's censures.[31] The episode, therefore, merely becomes a slight ripple in the smooth glass of the recounting of Kirwan's saintly life and indeed serves to emphasise his modesty and conscientiousness. Perhaps hiding behind this particular portrayal, too, is the suggestion that the opposition of such a saintly figure as Kirwan to Rinuccini accorded a certain legitimacy to that behaviour, but the manner of the presentation is to deflect attention away from this utterly divisive issue.

In conclusion, *Pii antistitis icon* is a text which can be read on a number of different levels. On the one hand, it is a deeply personal tribute by John Lynch to a figure whom he unquestionably saw as saintly. This, one can surmise, is precisely the aspect of the text which attracted such a fervent exemplar of the 19th-century devotional revolution, C.P. Meehan, to the life which he republished in a dual Latin and English format in 1848.[32] On a personal level, too, the text may have operated as a meditation on the qualities necessary for episcopal service at a time when its author was being considered for elevation to the Irish hierarchy. But the life also offers an oblique and irenic take on some of the most important political issues within 17th-century Irish Catholicism. Like much of the Irish literary production of that period, it partakes entirely of the endeavour to create an essentialist Catholic identity in Ireland. The faith and behaviour of Francis Kirwan is revealed as no different from that of his medieval predecessors and thus the spirit of Tridentine renewal is presented as completely consonant with the historic past of the island. The book, therefore, can be seen as another part of the literary endeavour to copper-fasten the notion of an inextricably Catholic Irish identity.[33] As the text of an Old Englishman, this

30 *Commentarius Rinuccinianus de sedis apostolicae legatione ad foederatos Hiberniae Catholicos per annos 1645–1649*, ed. Stanislaus Kavanagh, 6 vols, Dublin 1932–1949, vol. 3, pp. 335–355.

31 *Pii antistitis icon*, pp. 69–70.

32 *The portrait of a pious bishop, or, the life and death of the most reverend Francis Kirwan, bishop of Killala. Translated from the Latin of John Lynch, archdeacon of Tuam, (Gratianus Lucius, – author of "Cambrensis Eversus,") with notes, by Rev. C. P. Meehan*, Dublin 1848.

33 Bernadette Cunningham, 'The culture and ideology of Irish Franciscan historians at Louvain, 1607–1650', in *Ideology and the historian* (Historical Studies, 17), ed. C. Brady, Dublin 1991, pp. 11–30, 222–227; Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish history kingship and society in the early seventeenth century*, Dublin 2010.

is particularly interesting for the lineage of medieval predecessors into which Kirwan is situated was of course Gaelic. The text treads a careful middle ground between traditional Old English condescension towards the Gaelic population and Gaelic rejection of Old English political "Catholicism". Ethnic identity is simply subsumed and replaced by notions of Catholic virtue which are acknowledged as present in both population groups, as exemplified by the Old English Kirwan himself, on the one hand, and the man for whom he acted as vicar-general, the Gaelic Malachy O'Queely, on the other. Yet while even-handed in its acknowledgement of Gaelic exemplars of holiness, the text is also a loving endorsement of the religious culture of Galway, Lynch's native city. Kirwan is very much a holy *Galway* man and, while he is the main character, the biography is stocked with other examples of the city's ability to produce wise and saintly figures. Finally, the biography is in a sense another but different contribution by Lynch to the great and bitter debates which had wracked Irish Catholicism since the nuncio's interdict of 1648. By addressing the life of a significant protagonist in these various events, but by essentially downplaying this aspect of his career, Lynch offers the notion of a wider and common Catholic identity which does not need to be mired in the bitterness of the late 1640s. In Lynch's presentation, the crisis of 1648 was not the pivot of Kirwan's life and the fact that so saintly a figure as Kirwan could have opposed the nuncio is, in a sense, a softly-spoken validation of those positions, but one voiced utterly without stridency. Moreover, in Kirwan's humble concern to seek absolution, to acknowledge his own faults, a lesson can be said to be contained for others who still bitterly lived out these issues. The text thus offers a way of composing still jagged divisions, based on humility and the adoption of a wider perspective which stressed what Irish Catholics shared rather than what divided them.

Olof Ekman (1639–1713) – An Ordinary Swedish Pastor as a Pioneer for Pietism

Perspectives on Writing Ecclesiastical Biographies in the Tension Between Local and International Contexts

Urban Claesson

I have recently finished a study called *Kris och kristnande. Olof Ekmans kamp för kristendomens återupprättande vid Stora Kopparberget 1689–1713. Pietism, program och praktik* (*Crisis and Christianization. Olof Ekman's struggle to restore Christianity by the Great Copper Mountain 1689–1713. Pietism, program and practice*). In that report, my main task was to analyse the emergence of Pietism in Sweden. I chose to focus upon the Swedish vicar Olof Ekman, who lived between 1639 and 1713. One of the main problems I encountered in my research was how to properly contextualize Ekman. To put it very simply: as I related Ekman to the international context of research on Pietism, he appeared as an interesting pioneer for new thoughts. However, as I studied Ekman in the context of his ordinary duties as a vicar, he tended to appear as an ordinary Swedish priest of his time. His ways of conduct in most respects seemed to be in line with the general pastoral care of the era. In this article I will develop how I have dealt with this problem.

International context

In the first part of my study, Ekman is presented in an international context as a Swedish parallel to the German Pietistic pioneer Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705). Ekman was about the same age as Spener when he published a reform programme in 1680 that had many similarities to Spener's *Pia Desideria* from 1675. Ekman's programme is called *Sjönödslöfte* (*Promise at Sea*).

Pia Desideria was the starting point for the Pietistic movement as it emphasized reading of the Bible, conventicles, and a new belief in the future. Ekman and Spener both strove for the activation of the individual's faith into social practice. The main difference was that Ekman published his text as an exhortation to the young ruler Charles XI (1655–1697), who became the sovereign and absolutist ruler of the Swedish

Empire in the same year as Ekman's programme was published. For Ekman the road to improvement of public piety ran through a system of public education, financed by the state. Ekman believed in the transforming power of the new life in Christ that was received through baptism. In the baptismal water the old Adam had been drowned and a new life in Christ had been given. The poor state of Christian life during Ekman's time had, according to him, its cause in the fact that almost no one had maintained this new life. The covenant between God and man had been broken. In sinful ways the people had lost the new life in Christ and its transforming power to conduct a life characterized by love. The poverty of the ordinary people and the divide between the rich and the poor revealed that Christianity was dead. A real Christian would, according to Ekman, share his or her wealth with his brothers and sisters in Christ. However, there were opportunities for change. Ekman proclaimed that it was possible to reconnect to this new life in baptism through repentance. Through education, the fallen Christian would learn how to repent from her or his sins, and receive the power to live a Christian life, which would create a proper Christian society. It was for this cause that Ekman envisaged a system of public schooling. Ekman emphasized that it was important to refrain from corporal punishments in these schools. Instead he advocated friendly forms of persuasion. In his programme Ekman also elaborated ideas about new forms of positions in the church: he wanted deacons to take care of the poor, and elders to be responsible for church discipline. During this era, it was uncommon for a theologian in an Evangelical Lutheran church to offer laypeople the right to conduct church discipline. Another of Ekman's criticisms was that priests often preached dogmatically, far away from the realities of the everyday churchgoer. Ekman also developed ideas about introducing official confirmation of the baptism as a way for young people to strengthen their Christian life. Ekman believed that, through his reform proposals, in 10 or 20 years Sweden could become a society well known for its pious population.

In the politically fragmented Holy Roman Empire of Germany, Spener did not have similar possibilities to trust the state as a force for change. Spener had to rely upon the church as the key to reform. Interestingly, Spener shared Ekman's hope for Charles XI as an ally for creating a more pious life among the lay population in the Swedish Empire. However, *Pia Desideria* was apparently never meant for the kingdom of Charles XI, as Spener did not display ambition to drive his programme in this direction. It should be noted that Spener was very ambitious in sharing his ideas in other directions.

Promise at Sea was written as a promise to God after Ekman had survived a shipwreck on the Baltic Sea in 1679 while on his way home to Sweden after fulfilling his duties as a Field Superintendent for the Swedish Army in Livonia. In that part of the Swedish Empire Johann Fischer (1636–1705) was Superintendent for the church. Fischer was a friend of Spener's, had studied in Rostock, and was influenced by the Ros-

tock theologian Theophil Großgebauer (1627–1661) and his book *Wächterstimme aus dem verwüsteten Zion (The Guardian's voice from the deserted Zion)*. In the province of Livonia Fischer had received support from the Swedish king to realize Großgebauer's ideas about popular education in schools, financed by the state. These schools were intended to raise the population from serfdom and place the peasants in Livonia at the same level as other peasants in the Swedish Empire. Serfdom did not exist in Sweden, but it is obvious that Ekman wrote his *Promise at Sea* with his experiences from Livonia fresh in mind and inspired by Großgebauer's programme.

Ekman much later became recognized by Pietists around August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) in Halle. Joachim Justus Breithaupt (1658–1732) tried to arrange for a translation of *Promise at Sea* into Latin. Pietists in Halle had ambitions to translate Ekman's programme that advocated a form of state Pietism, as they themselves received strong support from the state of Prussia. At the same time it is, as I indicated above, striking that Spener's *Pia Desideria* was not translated into Swedish at the time.

To summarize, Ekman presented a form of state Pietism that foreshadowed the later Francke Halle Pietism in 18th century Prussia. At the same time, his very optimistic view of the future was much like Spener's. In the same way that Spener hoped for a bright future for the Evangelical church, Ekman believed that a new pious Sweden would be an inspiring example to the rest of the world. However, Ekman differed from Spener in that he did not advocate conventicles. Instead, Ekman argued for state-financed public schools in every parish.[1]

Local context

In the second part of my study I present how Olof Ekman fulfilled his duties locally as a pastor in the congregations near the Copper Mine in Falun. How did he preach, manage cases of discipline, educate, and support his congregation? For some years in the 17th century this mine produced two thirds of the total world production of copper, and for that reason it was a very important resource of wealth for the Swedish state.

In 1686 a new law for the Church of Sweden was announced. The law was a result of the new centralized power of the state, and stipulated that every Swede should be able to read the catechism. Ekman expressed his gratitude for this new legislation, as he saw it as a form of fulfilment of his reform programme of 1680. However, the new church law did not concern public schooling. The ability to read should be developed and cultivated at home. As we will see, Ekman struggled to keep public schooling alive in his town. He also organized for the enlargement of the sacristy in one of the main churches in Falun in order to have enough space for teaching and confessions.

1 This text is built on Claesson 2015, pp. 11–127.

The results of my research show a picture of an earnest, very active, and emphatic priest. Ekman was reluctant to report cases of church discipline to the secular powers. Instead, to use his own words, he advocated forgiveness and sensitivity so as not to "harden the hearts" of his congregation. In the protocols from the conduct of church discipline Ekman explained that he wanted the sinner to continue listening to his sermons with an open mind. Ekman wrote that, if he were to punish the members of his congregation, they would start hating him, and thus stop listening to his sermons. It is also obvious that first and foremost, when dealing with church discipline, his approach was one of persuasion. For example, a certain member of his congregation in Falun, Olof Roos, a mechanic responsible for the clock in the church tower, refused to believe in the resurrection from the dead. Instead of simply sending Olof Roos off to court, Ekman tried to reach the heart of this heretic on a number of occasions by trying to persuade him of the error of his ways. Ekman could use the threat of secular punishment, but saw it as the very last step after strong efforts of persuasion. In certain cases of swearing and cursing Ekman, however, could show his temper and act very quickly in reporting for secular punishment.

In Falun the so called Trivial school provided additional ordinary classes for the children of the common people. Ekman tried to obtain funding from the king for wages for the teachers in these classes. A happy moment for him occurred when the king decided that the proceeds of four collections in the local churches each year should be destined to finance the wages of the teachers. Mostly, however, Ekman encountered many problems in his ambitions to finance the teachers.

As a pastor he also published a commentary on *Martin Luther's Small Catechism*, specifically aimed at his parishioners at the Great Copper Mountain. The title was aptly called *Kristendoms övning* (*The Practice of Christianity*). This catechism was in use in 1690 but not printed until 1708. Ekman's textbook was the first Swedish catechism that was based upon Spener's catechism. Ekman was heavily influenced by Spener's Latin version and by Johann Fischer's so called *Riga catechism*.

With this book Ekman outlined the way of repentance back to the new life in Christ. For Ekman this could stimulate social cohesion and caretaking in his congregations that were so strongly plagued by poverty and social divisions.

This catechism also represented the attempt in Sweden to introduce a more elaborate version of what was known as the order of salvation in a textbook for ordinary people. This order consisted of a series of conceptual steps on the path to salvation.[2]

In my study I also present how Ekman developed a general theme of *ordo salutis* in funeral sermons, where the possibility of experiencing eternal blessings on this earth was put forward as a way to stimulate a holy life. The Biblical words from Isaiah 54:10, "For the mountains shall depart, and the hills be removed; but my kindness shall not

2 Claesson 2015, pp. 128–214.

depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace be removed, saith the LORD that hath mercy on thee", were recurrent in Ekman's preaching in front of his mining congregations as a promise of heavenly realities already in this life.[3] Earlier studies have shown that, in an innovative way, Spener emphasized the possibilities of experiencing heaven on earth in his funeral sermons, and, interestingly, Ekman's funeral sermons show a close similarity to Spener's.[4]

A misleading conclusion

Since we know that Ekman belonged to the very first theologians in Sweden to introduce the principles of Pietism to a church heavily influenced by Lutheran orthodoxy, it is tempting to arrive at the interpretation that Ekman was a "softer" and more modern vicar in comparison with the other Swedish orthodox priests at the time. Those were more the "Old Testament type", eager to put forward the threat of punishment, advocating corporal punishment of children who were unwilling to learn, defending pure dogma, and working for a strict discipline of obedience in their congregations. However, I will argue that this hypothesis is misleading, as it does not correlate well with previous research.

Ekman was no doubt influenced by Pietism, but he cannot be said to be very different from his contemporary colleagues in the Evangelical Lutheran church in Sweden. Ekman differed from many other contemporary Swedish priests in his striving for general schooling and in his strong emphasis on social responsibility and teaching of the inner path of salvation, but in other respects he was very typical of his era. When dealing with church discipline it was common to argue against corporal punishment of children, and also to persuade and support members of the congregation instead of meting out punishment. It was also common to argue against dogmatic preaching as being too distant from everyday realities. The negative picture of the orthodox priests of the 17th century was, to put it simply, in many respects constructed by later generations influenced by the Pietistic way of telling the story of Lutheran orthodoxy as something of the past – as something old, cold, dead, and dogmatic compared with Pietism, which represented a warm, authentic, and living faith in everyday life. Lack of source material concerning church discipline has also contributed to an unbalanced view in the historiography of Swedish church history. Records from the final instances of the secular courts have often been preserved in the archives. However, these only present the conduct of discipline at the final stage, after the earlier stages in church where the sinner had been persuaded by the pastor to repent according to the general pattern presented in the gospel of Matthew 18:15–18. There it is written that you must

3 Claesson 2015, pp. 201–202.

4 Winkler 1967; Claesson 2015, pp. 197–210.

start by persuading the sinner in different ways before you exclude him or her from the church. Material from earlier stages of discipline within the church is generally lacking, and this has created an unbalanced view of the control of discipline in Sweden during the 17th century as being very hard and uncompromising. In the case of Falun, however, we still have these records preserved, which contributes to the picture of Ekman as a "softer" and more communicative priest.[5]

A more complicated picture: Pietism within Lutheran orthodoxy

How should we interpret Ekman's different roles in international and local contexts?

If we think beyond the stereotypes of orthodoxy and Pietism, we can see that even if Ekman represented a general pastoral strategy, in other respects he belonged to a certain type of priest within the Swedish Empire. It was possible to be both general and particular at the same time. Within a general theme you could as a pastor accentuate certain aspects of the common heritage.

Lutheran orthodox confessionalism seems to have been characterized by pluralism, where different pastoral strategies were adopted in different ways in different congregations, characterized by different challenges. Thomas Kaufmann has argued for the concept "Lutheran confessional culture", which opens up possibilities to think along these lines.[6] Thus, we may place Ekman in a more nuanced context.

In agrarian congregations where households were the successful integrating communities, the issue of discipline was quite different from urban areas, which were influenced by early industrialization and where the household was not the prevailing form in the same sense. For example, the miners in Falun started to see themselves as independent, outside the realm of the "bergsman" as the father of their household.[7] The records from Falun render a picture of a population that was considerably emancipated from the authority of the church as early as in the 17th century. For example, to quote from the records, it was possible to proclaim that you did not need any priest for your salvation and that you could manage without them.[8] In a situation like this, as a priest, you had to change the mind of the individual by argument and persuasion rather than anything else.

We can assume that we find local varieties of confessional culture within the Swedish Empire, and that a version in line with the main ideas of Pietism was successful in a town like Falun. Pietism represented new ways of creating communities on the basis of individuals. A town like Falun seemed to need these new ways of integration. There,

5 Oja 2000; Malmstedt 2002; Stadin 2004; Jarlert 2005.

6 Kaufmann 2006.

7 Claesson 2015, pp. 46–53.

8 Claesson 2015, p. 166.

many children were fatherless because of the dangers of mining, and thus they needed public education. In a town characterized by lack of outer security, there was probably also a greater need for an inner path to salvation, such as the one Ekman outlined in his catechism.

The confessional pluralism mentioned above is in many respects still unexplored, but a study written by Einar Lilja as far back as 1947 about the pluralism of different editions of *Luther's small Catechism* shows that there existed a wide variety of textbooks in Sweden, aimed at facing different local challenges. It is interesting that Ekman was inspired to write his own version of the catechism by the General Superintendent Johann Fischer in the province of Livonia. As mentioned, he was also inspired by Fischer's school project in Livonia.

Ekman, in turn, inspired followers. In the bustling town of Umeå in northern Sweden Ekman's reform programme from 1680 was very popular, and the Pietistic vicar Nils Grubb (1681–1724) wrote a similar catechism to Ekman's in response to the local challenges of the church.[9] Ekman may be said to have belonged to a group of theologians like Fischer and Grubb, which tried to meet pastoral challenges within a common Lutheran framework, through Pietistic inspiration.

Looking at how the Lutheran orthodox Swedish Empire was characterized by various theological impulses other than a strict Lutheran orthodoxy may contribute to a re-evaluation of the era. The Swedish church Law of 1686, implemented at the height of the reign of the absolutist ruler Charles XI, has been considered the high point of Lutheran orthodox confessionalism in Sweden. Ekman himself, however, interpreted this law as a form of victory for his own programme. Even though the Swedish kingdom has been known for its Lutheran orthodoxy, at the same time it was influenced by the same sources that created Pietism.[10]

Conclusion

Studying a prominent forerunner of Pietism in a general context of Lutheran orthodoxy may provide a key to a more nuanced view of theological pluralism in 17th and early 18th century Sweden. We already know that many Swedes who were expatriated to Siberia after the defeat at the Battle of Poltava in 1709 were attracted to Pietism. However, the picture of confessional pluralism can be broadened. There were many different and simultaneous "confessionalisms" in Sweden, even as early as the 17th century. The Pietism of the alienated Swedes in Siberia had forerunners within the Swedish Empire.

9 Lilja 1947; Claesson 2015, pp. 148; 194.

10 Claesson 2015, pp. 36–39; 132–133. For the concept of Pietistic confessionalism, see: Matthias 2004; Strom 2006.

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Protestant or Deist? Marie Huber's Case

Yves Krumenacker

Marie Huber died in Lyon on 13 June 1753. She was the first daughter and third child of Jean-Jacques Huber and Anne-Catherine Calandrini. Her father was a merchant and one of the wealthiest men in Lyon as well as a prominent member of the community from Geneva. The Huber family, originally from the Tyrol, came to settle in Geneva during the first half of the 17th century after a stay in Schaffhouse. The family divided its time between Switzerland and Lyon where its merchant house owned a trading post until the father Jean-Jacques came to settle in Lyon permanently in 1711. Because of the family's importance Marie's death had probably been noted but she had in fact led a very discreet life. According to her first biographer, Abbé Pernetti, she carried out righteous deeds from an austere retreat.[1] Apart from a restricted circle, few people imagined that some years previously she had written and anonymously published several books which had caused a scandal through the audacity of the thought expressed. These were *Les sentiments différents de quelques théologiens sur l'état des âmes séparées des corps* in 1731, republished two years later with the title *Le sistème des anciens et des modernes, concilié par l'exposition des sentimens différens de quelques théologiens sur l'état des âmes separées des corps.* In the same year was published *Le monde fou préféré au monde sage, en vingt-quatre promenades de trois amis, Criton philosophe, Philon avocat, Eraste négociant*, followed by the *Lettres sur la religion essentielle à l'homme distinguée de ce qui n'en est que l'accessoire* in 1738. These works were condemned by most theologians, whether Catholics or Reformed Protestants, as being Pietistic or deistic even though they claimed to be an attempt at apologetics.

1 Pernetti 1757, t. 2, pp. 359–362.

The sources for a biography of Marie Huber

The first obstacle in establishing a biography is the scarcity of the source material. Obviously her three main works already mentioned have been preserved as well as their translations into German and English. There also exist two other books which were published just before and after her death. The first, *Reduction du Spectateur anglois à ce qu'il renferme de meilleur, de plus utile et de plus agréable. Avec nombre d'insertions dans le texte, des additions considérables et quantité de notes, par l'auteur des XIV lettres*, is a commented version of a translation of the famous journal written by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, published in 1711–1712. The second, *Recueil de diverses pièces servant de supplément aux lettres sur la religion essentielle à l'homme &c.* was published in 1754. But her first book, *Écrit sur le jeu et les plaisirs*, published in 1722, has disappeared.[2] In any case these books provide almost no biographical information as they were all published anonymously.

Even official documents supply very little information about Marie Huber. From the register in the Saint-Pierre church in Geneva we learn that she was born on 4 March and baptized on 13 March 1695,[3] and the municipal archives in Lyon hold a record of her death.[4] But between these dates there is little more to be found. Marie never married, did not exercise a profession, and did apparently not purchase anything in her own name. A study of notarial documents in Lyon has proved extremely disappointing, providing evidence only of her father's and her brothers' trading business in the form of receipts, bills of rental, sales and letting, but there is very rare reference to Marie. There does exist a certificate of existence which informs us that in 1739 she lived in rue du Bât d'argent in Lyon with her father, her sisters Marthe and Marie-Anne, and her brothers Jean-Antoine, Isaac, and Barthélemy.[5] There is also another interesting document, a power of attorney signed by her brothers Jean-Antoine and Isaac leaving her the management of their business during one of their journeys, which proves their trust in her.[6]

Marie is mentioned in the wills of her siblings which is not surprising and only indicates that she played a role in her family. In 1745 several of these wills contained the formula "praying her not to underestimate the affection borne to her or the gratitude he retains for everything he owes her in so many respects".[7] Marie herself produced two wills.[8] In the first one of 1740 the only information given after a common reli-

2 Metzger 1887.
3 Archives d'Etat, Geneva, Registers E.C. Saint-Pierre.
4 Lyon, Archives municipales, Mi 324 (Reg 716), f° 57.
5 Archives départementales du Rhône (AD Rhône), 3E 7883, notaire Saulnier, 8 June 1739.
6 AD Rhône, 3E 7889, notaire Saulnier, 30 July 1745.
7 *Ibid.*, 3E 7889, notaire Saulnier, 3 February 1745.
8 *Ibid.*, 3E 7884, notaire Saulnier, 2 March 1740 and 3E 7886, 18 October 1742.

gious expression (after praying for the mercy of God) is a list of bequests to the Hôtel-Dieu hospital, the poor of the parish (Catholic) and poor Protestant families, and to members of her family. The second will drawn up in 1742 no longer contained a religious formula. It referred to additional bequests to the general Hospital, the Stock Exchange, poor families of Geneva, as well as her servant. Only a very shaky signature dated 28 March 1753 reveals how weak she was a month or two before her death.[9]

In addition to this very limited source material are three fascinating letters dated 5 April 1716, 30 April 1718 and 3 February 1719,[10] written by Jacob, Marthe, and Marie Huber respectively and addressed to their great uncle Nicolas Fatio. This great scholar was not only a friend of Newton but also the secretary to the millenarian group in London, the French Prophets. In these letters, we learn that the Huber family corresponded regularly with Nicolas Fatio and were acquainted with Camisards from the Cévennes region. Consequently, they were impregnated with an enthusiastic and fairly violent millenarian rhetoric. Marthe and Marie, followed by the younger sisters, prophetized; inspired by the Holy Spirit, Marie was sent to Geneva at the end of 1715 and at the beginning of 1716 to administer the pastors there and to fulminate against the behaviour of the Genevans. However, Marie failed in her mission, returned sick, and did not recover before 1719.

The letters to Nicolas Fatio do give evidence of a direct influence of separatist and mystical Pietism on Marie Huber. But the tone of the books she wrote 15 years later differ in so far as they attach more importance to the role of reason. The problem is that no direct source can inform us on the change that had occurred. Certain indirect sources allow us to know more – but they are scarce. For example, notes in the reader and editor forewords of certain editions of her works provide only general information.

More information can be found after her death. When her family published *Recueil de diverses pièces servant de supplément aux lettres sur la religion essentielle à l'homme &c.* in 1754, anonymously at her own request, it did not release any details about Marie's life. However, the family referred to "all her behaviour and especially that which her friends and family had witnessed during her long and last illness which had better expressed the force of the truths in her works than the works themselves as well as her excellent soul".

According to Abbé Pernetti in 1754, she was a self-taught woman: "the only liberty she awarded herself was to write with no other master than her genius, and reading no other book than the Bible". The Genevan pastor Vernet referred to her in 1766 as "a very spiritual young woman"[11] and for Voltaire, who had never met her, she was

9 *Ibid.*, 3E 7897, notaire Saulnier.

10 Geneva Library, Ms fr. 601, f° 211–218: letters written by Marthe and Marie Huber, 1716–1719.

11 Vernet 1766, t. 1, p. 224.

"a young woman with much wit and learning".[12] In 1804, Fortunée Bernier Briquet dedicated an entry on her in her *Dictionnaire historique littéraire et bibliographique des Françaises, et des étrangères naturalisées en France*.[13] Bernier Briquet's source of information remains unknown, but she informs us that "spiritual retreat was her source of joy, philosophy and theology were her usual occupations". What is of even greater interest are the accounts of the Moravian pastor Fries in 1761 and 1762 of his visits to Lyon which bear witness to the influence of Marie's ideas on her siblings and certain Swiss merchants.[14]

Further aims of our research

With the lack of obvious sources, research on Marie Huber's life could be curtailed, but through defining the exact key issues we may use other sources of information. The following three issues are of particular interest:

1. The change in Marie Huber's thinking from radical Pietism to very rational thinking.
2. Marie Huber's influence and the ways her works were spread.
3. The sources of inspiration explaining her change.

The first question concerning her change from radical Pietism to rational thinking seems the easiest to answer. As we are acquainted with her writings, the analysis of them enables us to determine the development. It started with a radical position – her mission in Geneva – which led to her condemning gaming and all pleasures in 1722, for the sake of dedicating her life to God. Then in 1731, it developed into exposing false appearances and religious formalism in *Le monde fou*, and into rejecting eternal damnation in *Le sistème des anciens et des modernes*. Later in 1738, she considered Christianity as founded on the idea of God as a self-sufficient Being. Finally, in her later years she defended her belief in an increasingly rational manner. Of course, there is need to evaluate the exact formation of each of her writings: her manuscripts were intended to be circulated and discussed before the final version was published. As a classical exercise in literary criticism, a careful examination of the different editions shows how the text progressed through dialogue with its opponents.

The second question regarding the influence of Marie Huber on her readers is more difficult to answer. There are definite signs of her influence, such as the number of editions of her works, their translation into English and German, their presence still today in several libraries, accounts of them in academic journals, and controversies

12 Voltaire 1767, t. XXVI, pp. 503–504.
13 On pp. 177–178.
14 Gembicki 2013.

caused by her writings. But more information is needed to discover the readers and the circles which could have been affected by her texts. The bookplates identified in the preserved books do not provide much insight. The comments of contemporary readers, however, are more enlightening. In March 1732 the Pietist pastor from Zürich, Beat Holzhalb, expressed his concern about Marie to his colleague Annoni in Basel: he hoped that "her superior mind ... would not be troubled by this Reasoner tending towards being prophetic (Muralt) and that it be led by the simplicity of Christ".[15] In 1758, another author from Bern compared her ideas to those of Dippel and Muralt, in other words two Pietist writers.[16] At the time of the publication of Marie's books many critics believed Muralt to be the author. An anonymous reader from the 18th century who did not appreciate *Le monde fou*, noted in his copy: "a mixture of Pietism and liberal theology".[17] In 1758, Jeanne-Louise Prevost, Isabelle de Charrière's Swiss governess, known for her Deism, praised Marie Huber's books as being opposed to Calvinist orthodoxy but in compliance with reason.[18] The leading intellectual figure in Basel, Isaak Iselin (1728–1782), a follower of natural religion and fairly sympathetic to Rousseau's idea of human progress, explained that he had discovered the book *La religion essentielle* with enthusiasm and attested to its impact: "a great number of cultivated laymen and theologians in Switzerland found their own gospel in the book without even knowing anything about this woman".[19] The fact that the libertine philosopher Thomas Pichon had three different copies of *Le sistème des anciens et des modernes*, and three partial editions of *La religion essentielle* in his possession seems to indicate that Marie Huber was also appreciated in circles of followers of the most radical thinking but with spiritual concerns.[20] Her books were also discovered at Joseph Bouchard's publishing house in Florence in 1749 alongside prohibited works by Toland, Selden, Spinoza, Voltaire, La Beaumelle, and Locke.[21] Marie Huber's most famous reader was none other than Jean-Jacques Rousseau who owned both *Le sistème des anciens et des modernes* and *La religion essentielle*.[22] From this overview it seems that both Pietists and Deists were influenced by her writings.

More insight into what circles were affected by her writings can be provided by the publishers and translators of her works. Although this may be complicated by typesetting errors in addresses, it is certain that the printers Fabri and Barillot in Geneva and Marc-Michel Bousquet in Lausanne played an important role in the printing and the

15 Wernle 1924, t. 2, p. 40.
16 *Bibliothèque impartiale*, Göttingen & Leyde, January–February 1758, t. 17, p. 136.
17 Copy to be found in Paris, at the Bibliothèque du Protestantisme Français, ref. 3581.
18 Charrière 1979, t. 1, p. 117.
19 Wernle 1924, t. 2, p. 43.
20 Artigas-Menant 2001, pp. 232, 277–278.
21 Pasta 1996, pp. 126–128.
22 Rousseau 2012.

distribution of most of Marie Huber's works.[23] Although their stocks consisted mainly of books of general interest they did possess a considerable collection of religious works albeit eclectic and non-exclusive.

Research into foreign translators and publishers is even more enlightening. Two of the German translators were well-known and Pietists. The first was August Friedrich Wilhelm Sack, a theologian with Pietistic orientation and a leading figure in the *Aufklärung*, and the second was Heinrich Meene, a particularly prolific Pietist writer in the middle of the 18th century. In America both *Le monde fou* and *Le sistème des anciens et des modernes* were translated into English at the beginning of the 19th century. The former was translated in Philadelphia in 1806 and two extracts from it were published in one of the books by the millenarian Theophilus Gates (1787–1846). The latter was translated in 1817 in Cooperstown (New York State) by the universalist preacher Nathaniel Stacy (1778–1867).

Although these indications are limited in number, they all point to the fact that Marie Huber's writings were read in circles that were critical of orthodoxy. It is obvious that Marie Huber's texts were disseminated, and the link to these communities needs to be established. One direction would seem to be towards radical Pietist circles in Switzerland and Germany. These groups were often interested in the writings of English independents, sometimes linked with Jane Lead's mystical and millenarian society the Philadelphian Society at the end of the 17th century. In America, it seems that Marie Huber's ideas were spread by a schoolmaster, Gottfried Mittelberger, who was from Württemberg where Pietism was well established.[24]

The third point concerning the sources for Marie Huber's writings requires other areas of research. First Marie Huber's social status needs more examination, as a way to understand her education and her opportunities to procure books and journals. Considering the lack of direct sources, the situation of Protestants in France and especially in Lyon[25] needs to be understood, remembering that her mother's father, Pastor Benedict Calandrini, was at the forefront of Calvinist orthodoxy in Geneva. Also, notarial records in Lyon allow a relatively precise idea of the business activities and wealth of the Huber family. What emerges from these records is the image of a woman of the upper middle class, the "grande bourgeoisie", with a Calvinist upbringing but with no regular service attendance after her arrival in Lyon as an adolescent. She enjoyed a significant income thanks to the family business and her brother's connections with both French and Swiss suppliers, and with their correspondents abroad in countries such as Italy or Spain (Cadix). These business links could also have played a part in the dissemination of news about religion and of books.

23 Pitassi 1995, pp. 83–96.

24 Liomin 1760, p. 14.

25 Krumenacker 2002.

Consequently, there is a need to try to reconstruct a "virtual" network around Marie Huber: "virtual" because there are so far no ways of knowing if the people involved did actually have any direct contact with her. However, a comprehensive list of all the persons with whom she could have been connected, whether in the family or in her brothers' businesses, would provide an idea of the opportunities available to her. It can be noted that many members of her family in Geneva, especially her female cousins, were in contact with Swiss Pietists such as Samuel Lutz and François Magny. Lutz is known to have had frequent links with German separatist Pietists, who in turn were in contact with the French Prophets, who recruited among the followers of the Philadelphian Society. This strongly indicates that Marie Huber was linked to many radical movements in Europe. However, it must be remembered that this remains a hypothesis which is very difficult to prove.

Another way to trace Marie Huber's sources of inspiration is to examine the references made in her work to books she had read. They are not frequent but provide invaluable insight. The Bible comes first, of course, in David Martin's version. Moreover, it is not surprising that she was familiar with Cicero, Molière, Pascal, and Bunyan. What is more interesting are the mentions throughout her work to *Traité de l'état des morts et des résuscitans* (*De statu Mortuorum et Resurgentium*) by Thomas Burnet, to *Quatre sermons sur la volonté de Dieu* by Samuel Werenfels, the treatise, *De la mort et du jugement dernier* by Guillaume Sherlock, and the *Discours sur les différences du grand homme et de l'homme illustre* by the Abbé de Saint-Pierre.[26] It is even more interesting to note that there are other sources which point to a good knowledge of English and German literature concerning end-times, even though Marie is known to only have read French. The explanation lies undoubtedly in the reference to journals among her sources: the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque*, the *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l'Europe*, and the *Mercure de France*. It can be assumed that Marie had access to many volumes of these periodicals and probably others too. This would mean that through in-depth critical reviews Marie Huber had access to most of the intellectual production in Europe at her time. The importance of journals is an interesting area for research in cultural history; they were instrumental in compensating for the lack of competence in foreign languages and the inadequacy of libraries.

Marie Huber, however, did undoubtedly have access to libraries. But once again we have to resort to hypotheses. The only known library in her surroundings is that of her younger brother, Barthélemy. Its inventory dating back to 1769,[27] appears to contain a certain number of very recent titles. Details are not given for the majority of the works which means that all the books listed have not been identified. As a result, we cannot be sure about what she actually read, even if she did have access to her brother's library.

26 Krumenacker 2003, pp. 106–112.

27 A.D.R., BP 2245, inventory dated 17–18 November 1769.

Despite this, there are some interesting findings, such as the fact that Barthélemy Huber was in possession of Bibles and several volumes of sermons which could have been used for domestic cult. Their authors are not always indicated except in the case of Lenfant and Saurin. The library also contained the *Vray piétisme* by Roques, the *Traité de la vérité de la religion chrétienne* by Abbadie, and the *Œuvres* by Pastor Real from Bern. Among the Catholic works can be cited *La règle des devoirs que la nature inspire à tous les hommes* by the Oratorian priest, Louis de Bonnaire, the *Histoire du peuple de Dieu* by Berruyer, and *Le spectacle de la nature* by Pluche. Besides these works of theology (there are others but the titles or the names of the authors are missing), Barthélemy Huber owned the *Dictionaire historique et critique* by Bayle, the *Histoire des juifs* by Basnage in five volumes, the *Histoire des Camisards*, the *Voyage de Misson*, only to mention the works published before 1753. He also possessed the complete works of Montesquieu and Voltaire published before Marie's death. There are many books by the Marquis d'Argens and the more recent works of Rousseau and d'Alembert. Nevertheless, it must be said that theological and philosophical works were not in the greatest number as they lagged behind Literature, History, and even Law.[28] But an overview of the different streams of thought from Pietism to rationalism expressed in French from the end of the 17th century to the 18th century in Europe is represented. This can be one explanation of Marie Huber's extensive knowledge.

Pietism, Deism, liberal Protestantism: Concepts to be reconsidered

The concepts provided by intellectual history and religious history are problematic, as we try to characterize Marie Huber's way of thinking: was she a Pietist, a Deist, or a liberal Protestant? Should she be classed with the reformed Protestants, Christians without a denomination, or the non-believers? Judgements about her based on her works have been varied. In the 19th century, according to Lamartine, she had inspired Rousseau;[29] Courdaveaux saw her as a "foremother to liberal Protestantism";[30] for Metzger she was one of the precursors of Schleiermacher and his theology of religious feeling.[31] One of her principal modern-day historians, Maria-Cristina Pitassi, considers her "a Rationalist borrowing words from Pietism with a sensitivity more inclined to inner feelings and focussing on moral commitment", and not a Deist because she had not completely rejected the Scripture and had made Christ more than a man, "an angelic spirit".[32]

All these categories present shortcomings. Those from the 19th century judged

28 Krumenacker 2003.
29 Lamartine 1861, p. 51.
30 Courdaveaux 1884.
31 Metzger 1887.
32 Pitassi 1995.

Marie Huber in relation to the future, making her the foremother of movements which developed after her death and which she could obviously not have encouraged. Pitassi's analysis is more nuanced when she points out that the author "cannot be labelled into one category"; she reminds us of the comment made by the critic in the *Nouvelle bibliothèque ou Histoire littéraire* in November 1738: according to theologians "she concedes too much to the Deists" but for the Deists she is far too demanding for their satisfaction.[33] We can only agree with the idea that Marie Huber is to be placed somewhere between reformed Christianity and Deism. But these terms themselves warrant defining, especially "Deism". Then again, the term "Pietist" which has also been applied to Marie Huber needs further definition.

Consequently, it would seem more preferable to use the judgements of her contemporaries to decide why she was considered to be a Pietist, a Deist, a non-believer, or otherwise. This would allow a better understanding of her thinking and challenge the somewhat static way these concepts are used today.

In 1731, Marie Huber referred to herself as a Pietist. This is evident in her work *Le monde fou,* a collection of dialogues between three characters, Crito, Philo, and Erastus, the latter representing the author. Crito and Philo affirm that Erastus has changed, that he is particularly cheerful, amiable, and constantly serene, as opposed to having been mournful, melancholic, and incapable of conversing with anyone – which was probably the case for Marie during her illness.[34] The reason for this change was that he had "recently escaped from the wise world ... to approach the sincere world".[35] Many passages explain the meaning of this: in the wise world it is preferable to be solemn, modest, eager to serve others, generous, selfless, and frank, but this is a result of our concern for our self-respect. Guided by his conscience Erastus has learned not to conceal his real self any longer.[36] As a result, he is considered a Pietist which gave him a bad reputation among the wise who were also concerned about his acquaintances.[37] Concealed in these texts is a Marie Huber who regained her good health, and who is sociable but is keeping away from the Reformed community in Lyon, and who is also suspected of forming a conventicle. Erastus (= Marie Huber) agrees with being treated as a Pietist if this means being a pious person devoted to God, but not if it means belonging to a sect or a party.[38] But what is a Pietist? The text rejects any "partisanship"; it condemns anyone who would "[try] to be different through vanity only".[39] It shows that there exists a wide range of Pietists: some have good judgement and sense, but oth-

33 Pitassi 1996, p. 409.
34 *Le Monde fou*, ed. 1731, pp. 36–37.
35 *Ibid.*, p. 83.
36 *Ibid.*, p. 44, 61, 83.
37 *Ibid.*, p. 53–56.
38 *Ibid.*, p. 2–3.
39 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

ers are quite content to imitate, others again are false and seek to deceive, and finally there are the miscreants harbouring sinister intentions behind pious appearances.[40]

It seems that Marie Huber distanced herself from a certain form of Pietism, from those "who in good faith do what they believe their conscience dictates" but who in this way allow themselves to be thrown into "obvious misbehaviour under the pretext that their conscience did not reproach them".[41]

What was then Marie Huber's intention when writing her books? It was obviously apologetic. This can be seen in her "Letter on Deists" which appeared in all the successive editions of *Suite du système sur l'état des âmes séparées des corps*. In this work, a foreigner, a Deist, is critical of the Christian religion but respects its substance. The author's aim is to show the religion for what it was, to convince and to address any apparent contradictions in the Scriptures. At the beginning of the 1730s Marie Huber was clearly using apologetics to combat disbelief with clear ideas to show that religion aimed at making man happy. The same idea resurfaced in 1738 in *La religion essentielle à l'homme*. Marie Huber starts from the following observation: "We note that man is consistent as far as things of life are concerned but not at all in religion. A cause for this can be found in their complete certitude about things of life and very little about religion".[42] Hence certainties need to be provided for unbelievers, for Deists, to be convinced to return to religion. Marie Huber was of course defending Christianity but with one important difference: there was no necessity to acknowledge this doctrine as being divine, all it needed was to be regarded as perfect and positive in the best interests of man. She simply added as a note that divinity appeared as a logical consequence: "seeing as this very doctrine is good, just and true I consider that its origin is divine".[43]

At least until the beginning of the 1730s Marie Huber considered herself a Pietist, an apologist eager to lead Deists back to Christianity. For her the Deists were sincere and willing to find the truth but had parted from the Christian religion. She also considered herself an inheritor of the Reformation, not so much of the Calvinist Reformation but of an ongoing reformation: "the Reformation opened the door to all beneficial revolutions that we could expect: after all it allowed Christians to regain the right to question, a right that they had lost or had been deprived of".[44]

But how did this bode for the readers at that time? In *Acta Eruditorum*, the book *La religion essentielle* was judged very negatively. It was considered to be full of contradictions, nonsensical propositions, and misinterpretations. According to the reviewer

40 *Ibid*., p. 16–17.

41 *Ibid*., p. 16, 32.

42 *Lettres sur la religion essentielle à l'homme,* 2 t., Amsterdam: Wetsteins & Smith, 1738, "Lettre de l'auteur aux éditeurs", pp. 5–6.

43 *Ibid*., n.p. [f° 9].

44 *Suite de la troisième partie sur la religion essentielle à l'homme*, London 1739, Lettre XII, pp. 121–122.

it was the mark of radical Pietism, enthusiasm ("*Schwärmerey*"), Deism, rationalism – with all these terms being equivalent to him.[45] In 1741, in a manual for librarians published in Königsberg in Prussia, the author of *La religion essentielle* was referred to as a "Deistic enthusiast" ("*deistischer Schwärmer*"),[46] and this was referring to Marie Huber's most rationalist work. Many other German critics accused Marie Huber of Pietism. In 1756, Meyenberg referred to her book in an introduction to the controversy between Leland and Bolingbroke.[47] A more nuanced analysis is that of Christoph Wolle in 1745, who attributed *La religion essentielle* to a *Schwärmer* turned Deist, a disciple of Dippel.[48] In 1754, Baumgarten knew the identity of the author, knew that she was an "*inspiré*" and had become a Socinian,[49] of which she had already been accused by Stapfer in 1747.[50]

This ambivalence between Pietism and Socinianism or Deism was again expressed by Vernet, when he referred to *La religion essentielle* as the work of "Miss Huber, a deeply spiritual young woman born in Geneva, who lived all her life in Lyon and had lapsed into what we call in Switzerland Pietism". According to him both this work and *Le sistème des anciens et des modernes* presented a "hardly disguised deism".[51]

Could Marie Huber in fact have been a Deist? This is what the accusations of Socinianism suggest. It was also the opinion of the reviewer of *Nouveau Journal ou Recueil littéraire*,[52] as well as that of an anonymous writer from Neuchâtel, who in 1740 wrote that *La religion essentielle* "established natural religion".[53] In 1741, David Boullier recalled that *La religion essentielle* was thought by many to be based on Deism: he himself had a nuanced view considering the author to be inept with a tendency to Pyrrhonism, or that the writer was a sort of "half-believer" with a selective view of Christianity.[54]

François de Roches took it one step further by questioning whether the author was even a Christian.[55] Criticism was obviously just as harsh among the Catholics. For example, in the *Mémoires de Trévoux* the work *Le sistème des anciens et des modernes* was considered as a "work of darkness", where impiety is easily unmasked[56] and *La re-*

45 *Deutsche Acta eruditorum. Oder Geschichte der Gelehrten, Welche den gegenwärtigen Zustand der Literatur in Europa begreiffen*, t. 239, Leipzig 1739, p. 763–797.
46 Kessler 2009, p. 88, n. 152.
47 Kessler 2009, p. 40.
48 Wolle 1745.
49 Baumgarten 1754, pp. 359–368.
50 Stapfer 1747, p. 359.
51 Vernet 1766, t. 1, pp. 224–225.
52 *Nouveau Journal ou Recueil littéraire*, 1740, first part, pp. 84–85.
53 *Journal Helvétique*, February 1740, p. 152.
54 Boullier 1741.
55 De Roches 1740.
56 *Mémoires de Trévoux*, December 1735, p. 238.

ligion essentielle was merely a book about "a kind of natural religion".[57] According to Dom Sinsart, (who believed Marie Huber to be English) the ideas of the author upset Christianity.[58]

It is clear that the judgements about Marie Huber are very varied, ranging from her being a Pietist to a Pietist turned Deist, to a Socinian and a non-believer. A final interesting example is the recently published account by Pierre Conrad Fries, a Moravian brother, of his visit to Lyon shortly after Marie Huber's death.[59] Fries was not the first Moravian brother to have visited Lyon. Gradin in 1740 had considered Marie's father, Jacob Huber to be "an old pious Christian";[60] Léonard Knoll had detected several Pietist factions in the capital of the Gauls during his stays in France in 1746–1748 and again in 1752–1754: one group congregated around Jacob Huber qualified as an *inspiré* (*Schwärmer*), and another group around mystical readings of works by Madame Guyon and Marie Huber.[61] When Fries visited Lyon in January 1761 and again in July 1762, he encountered these groups. He was very critical of Marie Huber's disciples considering that their Pietist "awakening" had been spoilt by mystical thinking;[62] in other words what is now considered to be rationalist appeared as mystical to this follower of Zinzendorf. Fries then met the Huber brothers whose principles he found very foreign to his own; first of all, he had been surprised to witness "their complaints about the progress of Deism", and their "aversion to freethinkers" coupled with their interest in the development of Moravian preaching. But the conversation which followed proved that they were faithful to their sister's principles which were unacceptable to Fries.[63]

To conclude, it is obvious that the terms usually employed to characterize a religious movement vary considerably in meaning depending on the authors. This lack of unanimously defined concepts can be an obstacle for the historian undertaking the biography of a figure like Marie Huber. The only recourse is to describe her way of thinking as precisely as possible, using the available sources, the circles of the diffusion of her ideas, the networks the author belonged to, and the way she was perceived at the time. What is interesting and difficult at the same time is that the convenient categories (Orthodoxy, Pietism, Deism, etc.) begin to blur, and links between what are usually considered as antagonistic movements appear, as well as ruptures within these very movements. That being the case, a more complex but also a richer cultural history can be constructed; this not only shatters the traditional frameworks of cultural history, but also shatters the limits established by the different churches.

57 *Mémoires de Trévoux*, February 1740, p. 213.
58 Sinsart 1748.
59 Gembicki 2013.
60 *Ibid.*, p. 375, n. 230.
61 *Ibid.*, p. 59.
62 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
63 *Ibid.*, pp. 375–376.

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Guilt and Identity

An Autobiographical Incentive in Christian Tradition with Special Emphasis on the Female Moravian *Lebenslauf*

Eva Hættner Aurelius

Most autobiographies are written to be read by other people, not only by the author him- or herself; they are public in a very fundamental and important manner. This publicness of an autobiographical text often has a very specific character, namely that of a trial: in many autobiographical texts one can easily trace the different elements of a trial:[1] the accused, the prosecutor, the advocate, the judge, and the jury. The two old names of the genre – confession and apology – clearly indicate this specific character. The autobiographical genre can thus be regarded as a *genus judiciale*, the third type of speech of the classical rhetorical system. It has the characteristic traits belonging to this type: firstly, the public (the addressee) judges the facts and the person of the process (the self and her story in the text), secondly, the addressee has an authoritative position towards the speaker (the self): the addressee (for example the reader, or God) has the power to judge and assess the speaker, and thirdly, the process (the text) is about the past – the text is a story, a narration.

Autobiographies can thus be considered as speeches about guilt – confessed or not. These observations can be placed in a wider field, namely that of moral philosophy, in the context of the connection between guilt and identity. Ever since Paul in the seventh chapter of the *Letter to the Romans* thought about guilt and identity – "I do not understand my own actions. For I do not do what I want, but I do the very thing I hate. [---] I can will what is right, but I cannot do it. For I do not the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I do"[2] – this connection has been central in Christian tradi-

1 This article is a condensed version of the following chapters in Eva Hættner Aurelius, *Inför lagen. Kvinnliga svenska självbiografier från Agneta Horn till Fredrika Bremer* (Litteratur Teater Film, Nya serien, 13), ed. P. Rydén *et al*., Lund 1996: 'Självbiografin som dialogisk text', 'Jagets text', 'Skuld och identitet', pp. 43–67, and parts of the chapter 'Guds skrivare. Kvinnliga religiösa självbiografier', pp. 242–271.

2 *Holy Bible. New Revised Standard Bible Anglicized Version*, 1989 and later.

tion, and Freud made guilt a central element in the formative process of the self and the superego. In a trial and before the law this connection can be seen with brutal clarity, since the question that the judge asks is the following: did *you* do it? The connection of guilt and identity is perhaps most easily recognized in the Pauline experience – the fact that a person can say about her thoughts, her intentions, her actions that "in this I was truly myself, or that in this I was not truly myself".

A short glance at some classical autobiographical texts can testify to this connection. Manfred Fuhrmann has in *Rechtfertigung durch Identität. Über eine Wurzel des Autobiographischen* pointed to the fact that in the earliest autobiographical texts known from classical antiquity, namely Socrates' *Apology* and Isocrates' *Antidosis*, both authors claim their innocence, by way of telling the public who they are, their identity; this identity is partly shown through telling the story of their lives.[3] Interestingly enough, Isocrates has to invent an accusation in order to be able to write the story of his life and to be able to claim an identity, the *semper idem*. It is almost superfluous to mention Augustine's *Confessiones* here, but I cannot refrain from pointing out that one major incentive of this text probably was Augustine's need to defend himself and his theology from the suspicion in the parish of Hippo that he was not a genuine, true Christian. He was for example suspected of libertinism, or worse, suspected of still being a Manichaean. Augustine's logic is principally the same as Socrates' and Isocrates': he is telling the story of his life to show his identity: he is a sinner. Guilt and identity are surely connected here, but the great and truly remarkable difference between Socrates and Augustine is of course the possibility of identity change: the conversion. It is telling that Augustine after his conversion, the discovery of God's mysterious presence in his soul, his innermost self, does not speak about his earthly self any longer – but of God. The self, one's identity, according to Augustine in the seventh chapter of the tenth book in *Confessiones*, is a multitudinous, diverse, and immeasurable thing.

There are of course lots of other examples of this logic, the connection between guilt and identity, such as Paul's apologies in the 21st, 22nd and 26th chapters of *Acts*, Pierre Abélard's *Historia calamitatum* (ca 1130), the processes in the Catholic church concerning saints and heretics, and of course Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Confessions*. They are all stories about a self and a life, aiming at defending or accusing oneself – facing an accusation from God, from oneself, from other people, or from all of these together.

I will now turn to one of the most interesting examples of this logic, namely female Moravian autobiographies written in a Moravian congregation in Stockholm (now called Evangeliska Brödraförsamlingen) in the 18th century. These are interesting in two ways: the first interesting aspect is that they are part of a Christian tradi-

3 Manfred Fuhrmann, 'Rechtfertigung durch Identität. Über eine Wurzel des Autobiographischen', in *Identität* (Poetik und Hermeneutik. Arbeitsergebnisse einer Forschungsgruppe, VIII), eds O. Marquard & K. Stierle, München 1979.

tion stemming from the Old church, i.e. women speaking in their own name of their personal and immediate experience of God, thus communicating knowledge of God. Women's access to the position of religious teaching has always been very precarious, but there were ways, founded on the radical egalitarianism of the New Testament (for example the *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 3:18 and 4:4). During the Middle Ages three ways of knowing God were recognized: the theology of symbols (i.e. the study of Nature), the theology of scholastic (i.e. the study of the Scripture and the tradition), and the mystic theology (i.e. the study of the immediate, personal experience of God). The mystic way was practically the only way open to women, and in these Moravian autobiographies one can easily detect this tradition, although modified in a very important respect. The modification is the second, very interesting aspect of these texts: namely, the women are talking very much about themselves, and they *must* talk about themselves and their lives because the only knowledge one can have of God is *mediated* knowledge, i.e. the inner and the existential, the very personal, experience of Him. This idea of mediated knowledge is partly due to the expansion of mystical theology into the Protestant Reformation; the inner way of the mystic became a major way to knowledge of God's will, both in Calvinist and Lutheran, that is mainly Pietistic, denominations. The second way to a personal knowledge of God's will was narrating the story of one's life – a life filled with *signs* pointing to God's will. The knowledge of God, mediated by inner ecstatic or emotional movements, or by ordinary experiences in life, was in principle only valid for the writer herself, but in telling the story of the experience of God she could function as a missionary and strengthen her fellow Christians' faith.

Thus, in Stockholm's still existing Moravian congregation within the Church of Sweden, there is a collection of handwritten autobiographies[4] dating from the 18th century that tell the story of the inner and outer life of women from all social classes, from maids to ladies. The custom of writing one's autobiography is of course coherent with the general Pietistic piety: with Pietism's great interest for the movements of the soul and for the religious state of the soul. It is also coherent with the special Moravian custom of reading the autobiography at the funeral service for the deceased. These autobiographies were actually a replacement for the usual speech given by the pastor about the deceased, and the idea was that this reading should bring the two "congregations", the one on the earth and the other in heaven, closer to each other. But these

4 These texts were kept in the archive of Evangeliska Brödraförsamlingen in Stockholm, then situated at Sveavägen. Now the parish has moved to Sibyllegatan, also in Stockholm, and I do not know in what state the archive now is. In Hættner Aurelius supra n. 1, p. 385, I give an extensive account of the stock of autobiographies in this archive, and I also, in an excursion, pp. 389–409, reproduce extensive quotations from these autobiographies, containing further examples of the themes I discuss in this articles, and also short biographies of some of the women. There were 36 handwritten autobiographies written by women, stemming from the 18th century, or from the beginning of the 19th, in this archive.

autobiographies were also kept by the parish and were thought of as part of the parish's edifying library. One interesting trait in these texts is that women from the lowest strata of society were obviously also able to write; this was partly due to the characteristic Lutheran trait, the provision of reading lessons to all members in a parish, partly due to the Pietistic praxis that all members in a parish should learn to write.

Even though these texts are per definition subjective, God is mediated through the inner representations and emotions in the self, and through God's workings and signs in one's life. God or Christ is never directly present; he is only mediated. There is a very powerful force restraining the subject from saying anything whatsoever of God, namely the extremely dialogical character in the language used by these women, dialogical in the Bachtinian sense – the already spoken word. The language in these autobiographies is to a very large extent "already inhabited" to use Bachtin's terminology.[5] The authors use the language of the medieval mystics, the language of the hymns, and of course the language of the Bible. They are quite clear about the fact that their inner visions of for example the suffering Christ are mediated, they are visions in and of the faith, but as such these visions point to the real Christ and the unique event at Golgotha. Margaretha Elisabeth Roos (1725–1810, a maid, daughter to a tailor attached to the royal court, and twice married to a Moravian) tells this about a representation of the crucified:

> "This friend told her [my mother] how her mind had occupied herself with *that representation, she sort of* saw a lamb, which newly had been slaughtered and just beside a person who pointed at this lamb and said: this has happened on account of you, and therefore you shall be pardoned." [my italics]

This language construes two realities – the psychological reality, the representations of the faith, and the mediation of the Biblical reality, the crucifixion. The language of these autobiographies is in general much closer to the conventional religious language than to the language of their medieval counterparts. It is clearly dialogical in the bachtinian sense, and this is probably because these women are aware that their visions are mediated; their visions are representations of faith.

What inner landscape, what kind of life do these autobiographies construe? I will dwell upon four themes in these texts, that are all associated with the guilt-identity connection.

The *first* theme is the voice of the judging father – he is quite fundamental in the psychological landscape of these women. This voice can be the voice of a pastor, a fa-

5 For Bachtin's theory of the dialogical nature of language used here, see for example the part 'Självbiografin som dialogisk text', in Hættner Aurelius supra n. 1, pp. 43–46, or Gary Morson & Caryl Emerson, *Mikhail Bakhtin. Creation of a Prosaics*, Stanford 1990.

ther, a husband, God as father, or all these together. These "fathers" are judging, stern, austere, creating an intense sense of guilt and a terrifying fear of being condemned to hell. This is Anna Dorotea Wessman's (1717–1787, married twice, once to a wig-maker, secondly to a wig-maker's journeyman) story:

> "I was always conscious of that I had an immortal soul, for which I was accountable, and a God who sees everything and judges, and who can see into the most secret corners, that there is an infinite eternity [...] My late husband was revived, and his mind was very serious and deep to the outmost degree. [...] My dear husband was not content with me, and said that I was too light [...] and it was quite clear to me, that I did not knew the Redeemer, and I had a great angst in my heart. Some nights thereafter I dreamt that I saw my whole register of sins and the hell and the abyss before me. I was so terrified and in such a distress, that I cried and called for help."

This theme is dominant in the female autobiographies, but it is not at all a prominent theme in the male autobiographies – they are lacking the strong emotions, the feeling of fear and terror, and the strong sense of guilt that permeates the female texts.

The *second* theme is the identity of the lost, the damned, created in dialogue with the judging voice. The construction of evil in the inner representations and the story of the life are of course different for different individuals, but there is one common denominator in this construction – of evil femininity: it is the woman as easily led, thoughtless, inclined towards the delights of the moment, and dependent on others. This is what Anna Catherina Justij (1719–1795, daughter of a cloth merchant) says about her sinful life:

> "I had a cheerful temper and a great lust to have fun with other people and if I some time had an opportunity for that (which seldom was the case) then I thought, before I came to it, that I should have real fun, but when it was over, I was so afraid."

This identity, the product of guilt and anguish, leads to the *third* theme, the conversion, above all in the form of an inner vision or rather representation of Christ, the crucified and bleeding. The representation of Christ is accompanied by strong emotions, which are interpreted as signs of salvation, a clear parallel to the emotions of fear and terror, which were signs of condemnation. The moment of conversion is described thus by Margaretha Stenman (1739–1811, maid, housekeeper, and married to a worker):

> "And I was sweetly shown the pains and blood of Jesus, I sort of spoke with him and called him brother and spouse and many glorious pieces which I sang about his blood. [...] The main sum of this process of hours was that Jesus was mine, and I was his [...] as soon as the Redeemer called me come into my wounds, this was in my way [...] My Redeemer then repre-

> sented himself for my poor heart in the figure of his suffering, which is described in the story of the scourging, what I experienced here, neither with my mouth nor my pen can I describe."

These accounts are immersed with quotations from and allusions to hymns and the Bible, for example *The Song of Songs*, but above all from hymns about the Atonement, about the crucifixion.

The *fourth* theme is perhaps the most interesting one – the idea that knowledge of God can be acquired through experiences in ordinary lives. This results in autobiographical texts crammed with female experiences, with representations of the female body, female sexuality, the relation to the mother and father, to the children, and with expressive accounts of emotional states. In these respects the female autobiographies are quite distinct from the male autobiographies. They describe with great accuracy their bodily weaknesses, their illnesses, and their depressions. This is what Ulrica Elisabeth Wahlberg (1753–1813, daughter of a counsellor of war, governess, and a lady's companion) tells about this:

> "In the year 1791 I experienced a miraculous granting of my prayers, which I never will forget. I felt a lump under my right shoulder, which worried me much, since I with good reasons feared the sad consequences of this. In the summer of 1800 I fell in a very severe gall-fever, I thought my life was drawing to an end."

Very often the accounts linger on bleeding, such as Ebba Beata Dahlcronas' (1786–1815, who at 5 years-old moved to a girl's boarding school in Christiansfeld, Denmark) account of her illness:

> "In November 1813 an attack of blood-spitting laid me in the sick-bed and since it often was repeated, I thought that it would hasten my death [homecoming] and it very much worried me. The 1st of August a renewed attack of blood-spitting forced me to enter the sick-room."

Since these accounts of bodily sufferings, in particular bleeding, are so prominent in these texts, and since representations of Christ are also dominated by the suffering, humiliated, and bleeding Christ, one cannot help but see a parallel between these women and Christ, almost a subconscious identification with Him. In a way, these autobiographies thus have returned to Augustine's *Confessiones*. The women have, by telling the story of their life, shown their identity as sinners, as guilty, and by experiencing conversion and forgiveness through seeing Christ in inner representations, they have in the end experienced some sort of identification with Christ. But it is a mediated identification; they know that it is in their dreams and in representations of their faith that they can see Him and hear Him.

Saami Exemplary Narratives, Transnational Print Culture, and Religious Reading Experience by the Turn of the 18th Century

Daniel Lindmark

The conversion of the Saami youngster Anders

In February 1764, a 19-year-old Saami youngster was enrolled in the Saami School of Jokkmokk. His name was Anders, and for some years he had been working in the reindeer herding economy, but he had also served as a farmhand in the coastal parishes of Northern Sweden. Despite his age, Anders could not read, and therefore his mother had been requested to send him to school. As a student, Anders displayed normal aptitude and diligence, but he was lacking the right Christian disposition. It seemed impossible to touch him by ordinary means: teaching, religious services, and exhortations. Only after catching an epidemic fever that made him confined to his bed for a long time, Anders gave up his resistance.

One night Anders had a frightening vision, which made him more willing to accept the Christian faith. He was visited by a man in a Saami costume who laid claim to his soul. At a closer look Anders realized that it was the devil himself who had come to call for his rightful property. After having promised to return, the man disappeared head first through the floor. This terrifying incident transformed Anders into a very serious and diligent student, who praised God for having stopped him on his road to perdition.

The narrative about the "Conversion of a Saami youngster" can be analyzed from a variety of angles.[1] In this article, I will situate the story in its historical context and

1 In Daniel Lindmark, *En lappdrängs omvändelse: Svenskar i möte med samer och deras religion på 1600- och 1700-talen*, Umeå 2006, several perspectives have been employed. Various aspects are represented in the following English-language articles: Daniel Lindmark, 'Vision, ecstasy, and prophecy: Approaches to popular religion in Early Modern Sweden', *ARV: Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 59, 2003, pp. 177–198; *idem*, 'Pietism and Colonialism: Swedish schooling in 18th-century Sápmi', *Acta Borealia: A Nordic Journal of Circumpolar Society* 23:2, 2006, pp. 116–129; *idem*, 'Colonial encounter in Early Modern Sápmi', in *Scandinavian colonialism*

focus on its literary pattern as part of the burgeoning genre of religious exemplary narratives. Special attention will be paid to questions concerning the authenticity, credibility, and exemplarity of religious narratives. The conversion narrative about the Saami youngster Anders and other stories written by the same author will be related to previous research on the production, distribution and reading of religious tracts. Reports to the Religious Tract Society in London on Swedes' reception and reading of tracts will be used as a source of reading experience. The article will end up in a plea for intensified research on the transnational history of religious tracts, including the history of reading experience.

Theophilus Gran's manuscript on the growth of Christianity

The aim of the Saami school system of 1723 was to Christianize the Saami people.[2] By the middle of the century, one boarding school was in operation in each of the parishes in the Saami region. The story about the Saami student Anders provides a unique interior of the Saami school system. It was authored in 1773 by Theophilus Gran, who had served as a schoolmaster in the Jokkmokk Saami School 1757–1768.

The narrative of the "Conversion of a Saami youngster" was part of a larger manuscript containing "Some collected signs and evidence of the growth of Christianity in Jokkmokk Parish of the Lule Laplands".[3] It was written for the tract and missionary society Pro Fide et Christianismo, which had been founded in 1771. When the manuscript was reviewed by Samuel Gagnerus, a society member and trusted reviewer, the first fourteen chapters were found to be both educating and edifying. The subsequent narratives, however, were regarded as problematic, not least as they presented religious

and the rise of modernity: Small time agents in a global arena, eds Magdalena Naum & Jonas M. Nordin, New York 2013, pp. 131–146; *idem*, 'Colonial education and Saami resistance in Early Modern Sweden', in *Connecting histories of education: Transnational and cross-cultural exchanges in (post)colonial education*, eds Barnita Bagchi, Eckhardt Fuchs & Kate Rousmaniere, New York 2014, pp. 140–155; *idem*, 'Educational media in Sápmi: Religious instruction in a missionary context, 1619–1811', *Bildungsgeschichte: International Journal for the Historiography of Education* 4:1, 2014, pp. 51–62.

2 Sections 2–4 epitomize corresponding sections in Daniel Lindmark, 'De Fide Historica: Societas Suecana Pro Fide et Christianismo and the religious exemplary biography in Sweden, 1771–1780', in *Confessional sanctity (c. 1500–c. 1800)*, eds Jürgen Beyer *et al*., Mainz 2003, pp. 219–241. An abridged Swedish-language version of sections 5–8 can be found in Daniel Lindmark, 'Magisk materialitet och transnationell läserfarenhet: Historiska perspektiv på skriftkulturens utveckling', *Thule: Kungl. Skytteanska Samfundets Årsbok* 30, 2017.

3 Theophilus Gran, 'Några samlade teckn och bewis på Christendomens tilwäxt uti Luleå Lappmarck och Jockmocks Församling', in *Berättelser från Jokkmokk: En kommenterad utgåva av två 1700-talsmanuskript till belysning av lappmarkens kristianisering och Pro Fides äldsta historia*, ed. Daniel Lindmark, Stockholm 1999, pp. 39–114.

visions. There were grave reservations concerning Anders' conversion story, but also a chapter about the deathbed of pastor Hollsten's wife was considered highly precarious, especially since the dying woman claimed to have seen her bed full of little people with palm-leaves in their hands. Skeptics would disregard her experiences as visions or phantasies, maintained Gagnerus, and the narrative would create doubt rather than faith. Consequently, Gagnerus could not recommend the manuscript for publication.

The society found Gagnerus' arguments so convincing and the issue so important that it published a revised and enlarged version of his comments in a book with the title *People's last hours.*[4] In the book Gagnerus rejected stories about criminals who repented and converted under the threat of the gallows. In Gagnerus' opinion, such forced conversions were hazardous as examples. Instead, the deathbed stories should depict the course and ending of pious and virtuous lives.

Gagnerus made a connection between several biographical genres. Grave poems, funeral sermons, eulogies, memorials and deathbed stories were literary forms united by an interest in the life course and death of authentic people, all serving the double function of glorifying the dead and presenting examples to the living. Both grave poems and funeral sermons were seen as hazardous panegyrical genres, the latter in particular. When the discrepancy between the real life and the idealized biography of the deceased became obvious to the church attendant, the credibility of Christian faith was at stake.

The credibility of *The edifying deathbed*

Instead of publishing Theophilus Gran's manuscript, in 1775 the society printed one chapter as a separate tract in the series *God's praise out of the mouth of babes and sucklings*. The title was *The edifying deathbed and blissful death of the Saami girl Elsa Larsdotter*.[5] However, since this child's narrative also had visionary contents, the tract opened with an explanatory preface longer than the narrative itself.

The preface was written by Olof Rönigk, a society member who in 1746 had edited the first Swedish edition of James Janeway's classic collection of children's stories, *A token for children.*[6] In the preface he discussed whether the deathbed story of Elsa Larsdotter was trustworthy or not by assessing the credibility of both the author and the principal character.

4 Samuel Gagnerus, *Tankar om menniskors sista stunder, och deras rätta art och pröfning, til winnande af de bästa, de säkraste och mäst upbyggeliga efterdömen för en rättskaffens evangelisk tro med christelig wandel*, Stockholm 1775.

5 Theophilus Gran, *Guds Lof Af Barnas och Spena-Barnas mun, Fierde Stycket, Innehållande Lap-Flickan Elsa Lars Dotters Upbyggeliga dödssäng och saliga död*, Stockholm 1775.

6 James Janeway, *Andelig exempel-bok för barn, thet är: En utförlig beskrifning, om åtskilliga unga barns omwändelse, heliga och exemplariska lefwerne, samt frögdefulla död*, Stockholm 1746.

Rönigk found that the author, Theophilus Gran, consistently appeared in a trustworthy manner: he did not hide behind anonymity, nor did he conceal the name of the Saami girl. Furthermore, he mentioned several exact details to fix the event in time and space and named other witnesses to the occurrences described. Consequently, the story was not based upon hearsay. Instead Gran was drawing on his own personal experience.

Regarding the credibility of the leading character, Rönigk referred to six circumstances: Elsa had a bright intellect and a good memory; she was anxious about her salvation; she was a diligent student; she benefited from a faithful teacher's instruction; she turned to Bible reading for comfort; she proved to have a sensitive conscience. Apparently, Rönigk paid considerable attention to facts revealing Elsa's knowledge and spiritual maturity.

It is obvious, though, that Rönigk in his preface restricted himself to an internal assessment of the credibility of the author and the leading character. The events related in the story were never confronted with external facts. While displaying the intrinsic consistency of the story, Rönigk basically clarified the genre rules of the religious exemplary narrative. From this perspective, Theophilus Gran had simply conformed to a literary pattern that made his story seem trustworthy.

The birth of the Swedish religious exemplary narrative

The narrative structure of Elsa Larsdotter's deathbed story very closely follows the pattern of the pious children's stories in James Janeway's *A token for children*. In Janeway's classic reader, the children exhibit religious precocity. Their families and guardians are stunned by their fervent prayers exercized already at a young age. The children are eager Bible readers, astonishing their surroundings with their exceptional comprehension of religious matters. The Catechism in particular is embraced with affection and diligence. Obedient to their parents and masters, the children serve as examples to their comrades, not hesitating to warn and admonish them. The salvation of the soul for eternity is the highest priority of these pious children, who in their prayers and conversations constantly express their longing for the final unification with God. Turning all their attention to the rewards of eternity, the children on their deathbeds patiently endure the most painful diseases. Despite their sufferings, they refuse medical care and will not even accept the family's comforting. Instead, they themselves comfort their mourning relatives, happily awaiting the hour of release. At the appropriate point in time, death appears as a dear guest, bringing the attendants joy and gratitude.

Theophilus Gran emphasised Elsa Larsdotter's bright intellect and good memory. By singing and reading at home, her older sister had set an example and made Elsa yearn for school in order to improve her Christian knowledge. Accepted as a pupil,

Elsa turned out to be a virtuous and pious child and a very diligent student, reading almost constantly. Well prepared from home, her Christian knowledge improved steadily, especially in the Catechism. Confined to bed by tuberculosis, her fervent prayers intensified, and Elsa happily awaited her final redemption through death. Still a child, she was admitted to the Holy Communion by her pastor, who justified his decision by referring to her remarkable knowledge as well as spiritual maturity and experience. Elsa was more concerned about her relatives than her own sufferings, and urged her pastor to tell her family not to mourn over her death. After having prepared her departure from this life by singing and praying, she comforted the attendants, bade farewell and fell calmly asleep in death.

Consequently, the deathbed story of Elsa Larsdotter was clearly patterned on the pious children's story, but also the rest of Gran's manuscript contains several stories that exhibit characteristic features of the Puritan and Pietist exemplary narrative. The scholar can easily find examples of several sub-genres, such as conversion stories, children's stories, deathbed stories as well as edifying conversations.

In previous research, the manuscript has been disregarded as being too biased to serve as an historical account. The tendency makes the manuscript quite unique in comparison with other contemporary accounts of the state of religion among the Saami.[7] According to Gran, the parishioners of Jokkmokk were both pious and virtuous. The Saami were praised for their thorough Christian knowledge, their faithful church attendance, their strict Sabbath observance, their high moral standards, their sensitive conscience, and so forth. Every characteristic was followed by examples serving as evidence. Regardless of length, the examples followed the same pattern: The acts of authentic persons, identified by name, age, sex, ethnicity and place of residence, were described and their utterances were quoted with claimed literal accuracy. Participating in the conversations, Gran played the role of an astonished listener to the wise, pious and zealous attitudes of his parishioners. Gran concluded by remarking on the genuine character of the Christianity of the Saami.

Even though Theophilus Gran's manuscript resulted in one printed tract only, it was part of the foundation of a tract production featuring exemplary Christian lives from Sweden. From its very beginning in 1771, the society Pro Fide et Christianismo had called for "domestic" and "extraordinary" examples of Christian lives, and Gran's manuscript responded to this call. However, Pro Fide et Christianismo never engaged in mass production of religious tracts. The Evangelical Society, which was founded

7 At the same time, Gran presented a positive view of the Christianity among the Saami also in other types of writing, thus, the tendency of his stories was not entirely a matter of genre rules. Still, he depicted the situation in brighter colours than did other observers. See for instance his report from his Dean's Visitation to Jokkmokk Parish in 1776. *Jockmock 1749–1775: Ämbetsberättelser, visitationsprotokoll och andra berättelser med anknytning till skolmästaren och kyrkoherden Jonas Hollsten*, ed. Sölve Anderzén, Umeå 1998, pp. 169–175, esp. § 3.

in 1808 by men of Moravian inclinations, was the first tract society in Sweden that produced religious tracts en masse, with financial support from British counterparts.

In 1811, the Evangelical Society issued three tracts printed in the Saami language, including a translation of the Elsa Larsdotter deathbed story, though without the preface.[8] In 1815, the tract appeared in a Finnish translation, and the Evangelical Society also issued several editions in the original Swedish language. Between 1811 and 1820 five editions are known. The last known edition appeared in 1904.[9] There is very scarce information about circulation figures, but we know for a fact that the tract was used in Saami missions.[10]

The religious tract as a new transnational mass medium

By the turn of the 18th century, religious organisations identified the tract as the new mass medium. Soon enough the tract turned into a transnational mass medium supported by interconnected organisations.

In 1799, the Religious Tract Society was founded in London as an inter-confessional Evangelical enterprise.[11] In *Address to Christians on the distribution of religious tracts*, the society presented its views of the advantages of using tracts in Christian missions:

> This is the age of ingenuity. [...] Whatever may be said as to past negligence, let it now appear that we are busied in discovering every way of access for divine truth into the human heart; and that we are resolved to employ every mean we can think of as conducive to that end.[12]

Of course, the distribution of religious tracts was regarded as a means of eminent and extensive benefit to immediately be employed. In addition to preaching, the written

8 Tuuli Forsgren, *Samisk kyrko- och undervisningslitteratur i Sverige 1619–1850*, Umeå 1988, pp. 52–54.

9 The 1904 edition is not registered in the national Swedish library system Libris (http://libris.kb.se/), but it is referred to in Olle Josephson, *Vad läsarna läste: 18-talets religiösa traktater*, Lund 2001, https://www.studentlitteratur.se/files/sites/svensksakprosa/Josephson_rapp10.pdf (a printed version was issued in 1997), p. 27, as the 14th and last edition printed in Örnsköldsvik. According to Josephsson, the Elsa Larsdotter deathbed story appeared as a serial story in the magazine *Stockholms dageligt godt* (nos 114–117), a magazine issued in 1775–1776. See also John Holmgren, *Norrlandsläseriet: Studier till dess förhistoria och historia fram till år 1830*, Stockholm 1948, p. 147; Torvald Ribbner, *De svenska traktatsällskapen 1808–1856: Verksamhet och litteratur*, Lund 1957, p. 48.

10 The three tracts that the Evangelical Society published in 1811 were printed in 15,000 copies, most of which were freely distributed among the Saami population. Edvard Rodhe, 'De svenska bibelsällskapens uppkomst', *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 9, 1908, p. 20.

11 *Proceedings of the first twenty years of the Religious Tract Society; being a compendium of its reports, and extracts from the appendices*, London 1820.

12 *Proceedings* supra n. 11, p. 6.

word had always been God's way of promulgating his grace. Handing out tracts was an easy and cheap way of doing good. Instead of being taught from above, which created resentment, the reader of a tract would rather teach himself. The tract was more extensive in its use, as it could be re-perused in a way incomparable to oral teaching.

The Religious Tract Society also set up a number of characteristics of good tracts.[13] The desired qualities included *pure truth*, i.e. central Evangelical teaching without any sectarian soul-mongering, and *perspicuity*, which meant that a tract should be so plain that it could be easily understood. The tract should also be *striking* and *entertaining* in order to catch and keep the interest of the reader. "When *narrative* can be made the medium of conveying truth, it is eagerly to be embraced."[14] Dialogue was another recommended way of presenting the message. Furthermore, the tract should be *full of ideas*, providing "an *abundant meal* of the bread of life".[15] At the same time, the tracts should be "adapted *to various situations and conditions*".[16] However, the golden rule was that every tract should contain "*some account of the way of a sinner's salvation*". Even though the tracts could address various themes, "there should be interwoven the method of a sinner's recovery, from guilt and misery, by the atonement and grace of the Redeemer".[17]

In the proceedings of the society, lots of letters can be found, from British and foreign colporteurs of tracts. The letters bear witness to close transnational contacts between individuals and societies, including financial support and translations of tracts. The Religious Tract Society initiated sister societies in many parts of the world, and through financial support it could exercise strong influence on the contents of the tracts published in other languages and geographical areas.[18] In the Annual Report of 1808, the Religious Tract Society informed about its missionary John Paterson, who had stopped in Denmark on his way to India, and then travelled to Sweden instead, where he initiated the foundation of the Evangelical Society "for the purpose of printing and distributing Religious Tracts in Swedish, Finnish, and, if possible, in the Laponese languages", as he reported to London.[19] In connection to this information the Annual Report makes the following statement:

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13 *Proceedings* supra n. 11, pp. 14–17.

14 *Proceedings* supra n. 11, p. 16.

15 *Proceedings* supra n. 11, pp. 16–17.

16 *Proceedings* supra n. 11, p. 17.

17 *Proceedings* supra n. 11, p. 15.

18 See for instance John T.P. Lai, 'Institutional patronage: The Religious Tract Society and the translation of Christian tracts in nineteenth-century China', *The Translator* 13:1, 2007, pp. 39–61.

19 Letter from John Paterson to the Religious Tract Society, dated Stockholm, 3 March, 1808, in *Proceedings* supra n. 11, p. 114. For more details, see Edvard Rodhe, 'De svenska bibelsällskapens uppkomst', *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 7, 1906, pp. 135–170.

> The Committee propose to continue their attention to the formation of Tract Societies in Foreign Parts, and to promote, as far as circumstances will admit, such Institutions in the principal cities on the Continent of Europe. They perceive, with great satisfaction, that their Brethren in North America increasingly feel the importance of Religious Tract Societies.[20]

Consequently, the Religious Tract Society served as a driving force and a clearing house for the transnational movement of production and distribution of religious tracts. The tract societies represent an interesting example of border-crossing transfer and cooperation that should be made subject to more research from transnational and transcultural perspectives.

Tract societies and the authenticity of the tracts

The Religious Tract Society in London as well as the American Tract Society, which was founded in 1825 in New York, were highly concerned about the veracity of the contents of the tracts. The tract societies held very negative views towards fictional literature.[21] Fiction was considered as bad literature, both in terms of promoting inferior moral standards and fostering cursory reading habits. While the tract societies utilized the modern printing technology to mass-produce tracts for a growing market, and even employed the narrative patterns of the contemporary sentimental literature of Romanticism, the preferred reading style was traditional: slow, intensive, contemplative, and repetitive.[22] As a matter of fact, the tracts were not the ideal reading material, but rather the Bible and other full-length books written by authoritative theologians. The tracts were intended to serve as a means of conversion, soon enough being replaced with more substantial reading contents.

Since the tracts displayed many similarities with contemporary popular fiction, the tract societies were eager to maintain their unique features: the authenticity of the characters and the veracity of the occurrences. The tracts were constantly accused of being fictional, and the tract societies fiercely defended the factual nature of the narratives. In their defence, they developed various strategies, including the withdrawal from the market of tracts of doubtful authenticity.[23] Another strategy was to demon-

20 *Proceedings* supra n. 11, p. 105.

21 David Paul Nord, 'Religious reading and readers in Antebellum America', *Journal of the Early Republic* 15:2, 1995, pp. 241–272, esp. pp. 248–253. This view was held by most evangelicals. See Mary Kelley, '"Pen and Ink Communion": Evangelical reading and writing in Antebellum America', *The New England Quarterly* 84:4, 2011, pp. 555–587, esp. pp. 574–575.

22 Nord supra n. 21, pp. 254–256; Cynthia S. Hamilton, 'Spreading the word: The American Tract Society, *The Dairyman's Daughter*, and mass publishing', *Book History* 14, 2011, pp. 25–57, esp. p. 37. This "traditional literacy" view was widely spread among evangelicals. See Kelley supra n. 21, pp. 571–574.

23 See Hamilton supra n. 22, p. 40.

strate the positive influence that the tracts exerted in terms of religious awakening. Some of the rhetorical strategies bear close resemblance with the argumentation put forward by Olof Rönigk in the preface to *The edifying deathbed and blissful death of the Saami girl Elsa Larsdotter* of 1775.

The most popular tract in England as well as the United States was *The dairyman's daughter.*[24] Authored by Leigh Richmond in 1809 and first appearing as a serial narrative in 1810–1811, it was issued in several versions and editions by the Religious Tract Society and the American Tract Society throughout the 19th century.[25] Just like the Elsa Larsdotter narrative, the successful tract on *The dairyman's daughter* was about a young woman's edifying deathbed and blissful death related by her pastor, who often visited her and engaged in spiritual conversations.

The authenticity of *The dairyman's daughter* was questioned, and since it was a popular and efficacious tract, its veracity was consistently defended. Just like Olof Rönigk did in his preface to *The edifying deathbed*, the American Tract Society developed arguments for the authenticity of the leading character and the reliability of the author. But while Rönigk restricted himself to an evaluation of information available in the text, the American Tract Society provided extra information: letters from the dairyman's daughter herself, Elizabeth Wallbridge, written statements by her relatives and neighbours, biographical data about the author, etc. The popularity of the tract even caused something akin to literary tourism to the parish of Arreton, Isle of Wight, where Wallbridge had led her life. The plain wooden chair in which she had been sitting during her conversations with her pastor, was sent to the American Tract Society as an authenticated relic.[26]

Viewed in perspective of the great importance that the American Tract Society attached to the authenticity of its tracts in the 19th century, Pro Fide et Christianismo's handling of Theophilus Gran's manuscript appears even more interesting. When in December 1775 Samuel Gagnerus delivered his review of Gran's manuscript to the board of the society, he found it hard to convince a skeptical reader of the authenticity of religious visions: "Our time is not satisfied by a single testimony from an author of narratives. It takes more to make a complete historical truth. Everything must be proved to the full, confirmed to the full, and documented to the full."[27] Obviously, in light of the growing significance of a clear distinction between fact and fiction in re-

24 [Leigh Richmond], *The dairyman's daughter; An authentic and interesting narrative in five parts communicated by a clergyman of the Church of England*, London. The first chapbook versions of the story were published in 1814, in USA by the New England Tract Society.

25 On versions and editions, especially in the United States, see Hamilton supra n. 22.

26 Hamilton supra n. 22, pp. 43–44.

27 Minutes, 29 December, 1775. Archives of Pro Fide et Christianismo, 1:1. National Library of Sweden, Stockholm.

ligious print culture, the utter caution with which Pro Fide et Christianismo handled Gran's manuscript was well motivated.

Tract societies and reading experience

The letters sent to the tract societies contain much evidence of reading experience.[28] In the research field of print culture, reading experience is a theme that only recently has attracted a growing interest, manifested for instance in the English Reading Experience Database (RED).[29] Yet, historians of reading still claim that there is quite a limited knowledge of the common readers' response to the tracts that were distributed.[30] A systematic use of extant correspondence in the archives and publications of the tract societies can bring new light to the history of religious reading, including the biographical exemplary narrative. Furthermore, the reader response can also serve as a source of popular religious practice.[31]

In John Paterson's letter from Sweden to the Religious Tract Society, dated November 20, 1807, there is interesting evidence of both transnational cooperation and reading experience:

> There is a very great desire for religious books here, and especially small religious Tracts. In my journies in this country, since I left Denmark, I have had some pleasing proofs of this. Some time ago, a pious clergyman near this place published a Tract at our expense in the Swedish language.[32] I had a number of these with me, which I gave away as opportunity served. On returning to the same place in a few days after, I was welcomed as the stranger gentleman

28 Colporteur reports are quite rare to be found in manuscript, but many were published in religious newspapers and annual reports. See for instance Nord supra n. 21, pp. 244–245. Tract societies also encouraged readers to send them accounts of their reading experience. Such testimonials of the efficacy of the tracts were published in order to provide evidence of the authenticity of the literary genre. See Kyle B. Roberts, 'Locating popular religion in the evangelical tract: The roots and routes of *The Dairyman's Daughter*', *Early American Studies* 4:1, 2006, pp. 233–270, esp. p. 261; Hamilton supra n. 22.

29 http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED/.

30 See for instance Helen Rogers, '"Oh, what beautiful books!" Captivated reading in an Early Victorian prison', *Victorian Studies* 55:1, 2012, pp. 57–84, esp. pp. 57–58. Studies on reader response often make use of diaries, which mainly reflect the reading habits of the more literate classes. See for instance Shelby M. Balik, '"Scattered as Christians are in this part of our country": Layfolk's reading, writing, and religious community in New England's northern frontier, 1780–1830', *The New England Quarterly* 83:4, 2010, pp. 607–640. Colporteur reports often give accounts of common people's encounter with books, but for obvious reasons they are usually restricted to the immediate reception. Nord supra n. 21.

31 "Evangelical tracts provide one of the most promising sources for exploring popular religion", Roberts supra n. 28, p. 236.

32 This "pious clergyman" was Dean Lorentz Christopher Retzius (1745–1818), vicar of Tådene Parish, Skara Diocese. Rodhe supra n. 19, pp. 154–156, 160.

> who had given them the books. They thanked me most heartily for them, and told me that many had read them; in some instances the priests had also borrowed them; and in short, a single Tract had excited almost universal attention over a parish. In some places where I fell in with a number together, they took them most thankfully, and were so eager after them, that I could not supply their demands, so that some were in danger of being torn to pieces. They immediately commenced reading them; and after reading a few pages, they came running to me, and with tears in their eyes took me by the hand, and thanked me for such a book. Although we caused 4 or 5000 to be printed, they are all gone, and the demand for more is very great. Indeed, I am convinced that immense good may be done in this country in this way. Nothing is wanting but money; and I hope to be able to raise a considerable sum for this purpose among our friends in this country; but it is to our friends in England that we chiefly look for assistance.[33]

Since Paterson's accounts of his activities took the form of letters to the organization he was serving, it is not surprising to find detailed information about translation, funding, printing and distribution of tracts. The concluding remarks of the quoted passage are clearly aimed at keeping the Religious Tract Society supportive of the Swedish project. Also, the readers' response to the tracts is recorded for the purpose of keeping the spirits high. Positive accounts of readers' reception of books may be selective and exaggerated, but they can still provide the historian with useful information. Colporteur reports to the American Tract Society contain similar descriptions, and since they occur alongside with more discouraging accounts, there is no reason to question their veracity.[34] Paterson's report may not tell the entire truth, but we have reason to believe that he had encounters with Swedes who were eager to receive his books. Usually, the colporteur did not stay in a place long enough to register the effects of reading, but in Paterson's case his return to the place where he had distributed tracts gave him a first-hand insight into the readers' response to the contents. Obviously, the tract had been well received, and many readers were reported to be moved by its contents. Actually, Paterson's account corresponds in detail with the positive response reported by American colporteurs: (1) the eagerness to receive the tract; (2) the tumultuous distribution when in public; (3) the immediate reading after receiving a tract; (4) the emotional engagement manifested in tears; (5) the gratitude shown.[35] While the American colporteurs seldom stayed long enough to witness the outcome of the reading, by returning to the same place Paterson was able to register the efficacy of the tract. This single tract had reportedly made an impact on the entire population of the parish. When returning Paterson was also told that the vicar had borrowed a tract. Even if this might have been an exceptional case of borrowing, the lending of books

33 Letter from John Paterson to the Religious Tract Society, dated Gothenburg, November 20, 1807, in *Proceedings* supra n. 11, p. 113.

34 See Nord supra n. 21.

35 See Nord supra n. 21.

was a widespread strategy to meet the demand for literature when books were scarce.[36]

Paterson's long-standing companion Ebenezer Henderson also reported to the Religious Tract Society from their visit to Sweden in 1808. He gave an account of their journey to Finland, which was still the eastern half of the Kingdom of Sweden. According to Henderson, it was "truly gratifying to perceive the avidity with which [the tracts] were received, and the attention with which they were read".[37] When arriving in the province of Hälsingland, Sweden, after traveling through the province of Dalecarlia, Henderson and Paterson had visited a clergyman supportive of their cause who had told them about a man from Dalecarlia seeking employment. This man "could repeat 'The One Thing Needful' by heart, and was seemingly impressed with its contents. He had seen a copy of that Tract, which we had given to some person in the village where he lived; and previous to his leaving home, he had committed it to memory."[38] If borrowing tracts was one strategy of coping with scarcity, another one was to memorize its wordings. Learning a tract by heart tells a great deal about the appreciation of its contents.

When visiting Sweden in 1814 after being stationed in Russia for some years, Paterson waited on the Bishop of Härnösand Diocese, where a Bible society was about to be founded. Paterson reported to the British and Foreign Bible Society about his meeting with Bishop Erik Abraham Almquist:

> In travelling through his diocese, I had observed that those who had Bibles, set so high a value on them, that they kept them constantly locked up, and seldom read them themselves, and never allowed their children or servants to touch them. This led me to suggest the propriety of putting the New Testament into the hands of all youths, to be read by them when around the fire-side. The idea pleased the Bishop, and he immediately resolved to have it executed.[39]

This account provides evidence of an interesting attitude to spiritual literature. Not only the contents of the book were held in reverence, but also the entire book as a physical artefact was given a sacrosanct status.[40] According to Paterson, this example of "magical materiality" created a regrettable obstacle to people's access to the contents

36 Balik supra n. 30, pp. 622–628, provides various examples of sharing of religious literature.

37 Between 6,000 and 7,000 tracts had been distributed, out of which 700 were printed in Finnish. Consequently, most of the tracts were distributed to the Swedish-speaking population in Finland. Letter from Ebenezer Henderson to the Religious Tract Society, dated Gothenburg, November 4, 1808, in *Proceedings* supra n. 11, pp. 126–127.

38 Letter from Ebenezer Henderson to the Religious Tract Society, dated Gothenburg, November 4, 1808, in *Proceedings* supra n. 11, p. 127. The tract in question was no. 2 of the Evangelical Society's series of tracts, with the Swedish title *Det ena nödwändiga*, Stockholm, 1808.

39 John Paterson & Ebenezer Henderson, *Extracts of letters* [...] *during their respective tours through the East Sea provinces of Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Jutland, Holstein, Swedish Pomerania, &c. to promote the object of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, London 1817, p. 29.

40 See Nord supra n. 21, p. 260 for an example of making books into "totems".

of the Holy Scripture, but he was happy to have convinced Bishop Almquist about spreading the New Testament to the youth of Härnösand Diocese.[41]

The power of exemplarity

In the last example of Swedes' reading experience, as mirrored in the printed reports to the Religious Tract Society, I would like to return to the issue of exemplarity. The evidence of the exemplary power of tracts emanates "From a Minister at a Naval Station" in England.[42] One day the minister was visited by a man whose outward form reminded him of James Covey, a sailor whose conversion story was published in a widespread tract entitled *An account of the bravery and happy death of James Covey, a British seaman*:[43]

> I was one morning called from my study to a person who wished to see me; when I entered the room, his appearance reminded me of Covey, being a sailor with a wooden leg, who, with tears in his eyes, said, "Here's another Covey come to see you, Sir". I replied, I am glad to see you, Covey; sit down. He then informed me that he was a Swede, had been some years in the British service, had lost his limb in the action of the first of June, under Lord Howe, and was now cook of one of his Majesty's ships in ordinary; it was with reluctance he came into this port, from some report he had heard unfavourable to the place. He had been for some years married to an English woman, who, when on shore, having seen for sale a Tract with a picture of a Sailor in the act of having his legs cut off, was induced to purchase it, supposing that it might contain something that would please her husband. It was the Tract of Covey the Sailor, which he read with uncommon interest, as he had known him, and had heard of him as having been a brave seaman.
>
> After some months trial of the sentiments, disposition, and character of this Swedish Sailor, he was admitted to the Lord's table. His wife, who, at the time she purchased the Tract, was a total stranger to every thing serious, by reading the Tract, conversing with her husband, and hearing the word, is become a decidedly pious woman, and has for some time been admitted also a member of the church. It is now more than two years since the conversion of this sailor and his wife; but, though the minister and members of the church are well satisfied with their conduct, yet knowing their Bibles and their own hearts, they rejoice with trembling. In conversation with me a few days since, he observed – "I am a wonder of mercy! How astonishing it appears to me that I should come from my poor country, serve in the British

41 The "magical materiality" of books represents an interesting intersectional field of research between book history and religious studies. See for instance Kristina Myrvold, 'Pocketbiblar som räddade soldaters liv i skyttegravar', http://religionsvetenskapligakommentarer.blogspot.se/2014/08/pocketbiblar-som-raddade-soldaters-liv_27.html (2014).

42 'From a minister at a naval station', in *Proceedings* supra n. 11, pp. 166–167.

43 Concerning the many tracts featuring seamen, see Mark S. Schantz, 'Evangelical reform, and the market revolution in Antebellum America', *Journal of the Early Republic* 17:3, 1997, pp. 425–466, esp. pp. 446–453.

> navy, there lose my leg, come against my will to this port I so much disliked; that my wife, by seeing the picture of Covey, should have been induced to buy the Tract by which I have had my sins so clearly pointed out, and that I and my wife should both be made to love and serve my gracious Saviour. I now earnestly pray for the salvation of sinners for that of sailors, but especially for my poor countrymen the Swedes."

This extraordinary story is of course inserted in the proceedings of the Religious Tract Society to serve as proof of the tracts' power to initiate awakening and conversion. In this respect, the report represents a conversion story in itself. From this point of view, it is interesting to note that the report contains a reference to the authenticity of James Covey and his life story, by maintaining that Covey had been known to the Swedish sailor as a brave seaman. The outward resemblance between James Covey and the Swedish sailor might have sparked off the religious change, but from the reporting minister's point of view, the long-term influence on the inward development that the tract exerted appears to have been more important. The tract served as a means of awakening, but the conversion was a longer process that involved the minister and his congregation. Only after two years, the minister found it safe to tell the story about the two "Coveys". Furthermore, the report ends with a testimony that the Swedish sailor had given a couple of days before the delivery of the report, in which he underlines the spiritual aspects of his encounter with the tract. Through the tract his sins had been pointed out and he was brought to love his gracious Saviour.

Notwithstanding the report's character of conversion narrative, the account of the Swedish sailor's conversion demonstrates the exemplary power of the biographical religious narratives. The Swedish sailor practically identified with the literary character of James Covey. The tract was so well-known that the reporting minister immediately was reminded of its principal character when meeting the Swedish sailor, who in turn could trust the minister to be so familiar with the story that he opened the conversation with a direct reference to the tract: "Here's another Covey come to see you, Sir." Of course, there was a striking resemblance between the life stories of the two "Coveys", including their mutilation, which seems to have been the motivation for the wife of the Swedish sailor to buy the tract and the initial ground for her husband's identification with its leading character, but the most important part of the exemplary function of the James Covey tract relates to the inward process.

Concluding remarks

The exemplary narratives written by Theophilus Gran in 1773 represented the beginnings of the Swedish production of religious tracts featuring Swedish individuals. Even though the stories were based upon authentic persons' lives and actual facts, their nar-

rative structure adjusted to Puritan and Pietist exemplary narratives, including James Janeway's children's stories in *A token for children*. The thorough examination of Gran's manuscript that the tract and missionary society Pro Fide et Christianismo conducted, especially concerning its authenticity and credibility and the subsequent exemplarity, focused on issues that would be of the utmost importance for tract societies in the 19th century, including Religious Tract Society in London and the American Tract Society in New York. Being skeptical towards fictional literature, the tract societies consistently defended the authenticity and veracity of their tracts, not least the most popular ones, such as *The dairyman's daughter*.

The mass production and distribution of religious tracts in Sweden started with the foundation of the Evangelical Society in 1808. Initiated and supported by the Religious Tract Society, the Evangelical Society included several translations of English tracts in its series. The border-crossing transfer and cooperation between the Religious Tract Society and its sister organizations in other parts of the world should be made subject to more systematic research from transnational and transcultural perspectives.

Reports sent to tract societies by commissioners and colporteurs provide evidence not only of transnational networks, but also of reading experience. This is true for John Paterson's and Ebenezer Henderson's accounts of their work in early 19th-century Sweden, where examples can be found of various approaches to books and reading, all of which can be identified in reports from other regions of the world. A tentative conclusion might be that evangelical reading experience in the first half of the 19th century was a transnational phenomenon just like the tracts that were read. However, more systematic and refined research is needed to cover all the details and variations of religious reading experience, including the identification with exemplary lives featured in tracts, such as the life story of sailor James Covey, with which a Swedish sailor identified.

The Clergy – The most Biographed Profession in Sweden

On the Reference Books *Herdaminne* as a more than 200-year-old Field of Research

Oloph Bexell

The title above does not translate the Swedish word *herdaminne* which shows that it deals with a phenomenon that is unique to Sweden and its former Province of Finland. There is no corresponding English term.

In these countries, *herdaminne* is the established term used to denote an academically based reference book of personal history that includes all priests within a particular diocese, organized first according to the parishes and then chronologically, usually from the Middle Ages (though sometimes from the Reformation period) to the present day, i.e. to the publication year of the book. The biography of each priest is entered for the parish where he served his final assignment and there are cross references in each parish in which he formerly served. In this way, there is a *series pastorum*-list for every priestly incumbency in Sweden. Today there are modern and academically relevant *herdaminnen* for more or less all the Church of Sweden's dioceses, and they run to several volumes.[1]

The verbatim translation of *herdaminne* is "memories of the shepherds". The Swedish word *kyrkoherde* (in English "vicar" or "rector") literally means "the shepherd of the parish church", and it has lost some of its somewhat sentimental ring and become an entirely acceptable technical bibliographical term, so it is the memories of these shepherds that are recounted in these volumes.

The detailed information in each *herdaminne* includes for the priest's full name, date and place of birth, the names of his parents, date and place of death, an extensive

1 It should be mentioned that a couple of dioceses, Strängnäs and Västerås, work in a different way. There, the work has been divided into chronological volumes for the entire diocese, on the Middle Ages, the Reformation Period etc. Magnus Collmar, Ann-Marie Fellström & Lennart Löthner, *Strängnäs stifts herdaminne* 1–4, Strängnäs 1964–1995; Gunnar Ekström m.fl., *Västerås stifts herdaminne* I:1–III:1, Västerås 1939–1990. In these dioceses work is currently in progress to a very minor extent, but it is hoped that publication of these sequences will continue.

list of qualifications, including education, and all benefices and positions held, as well as information about his wife and children, including his sons-in-law with their dates of birth and death and their professional titles. Some editions also include portraits of the priests, sometimes also of their wives. For past periods oil portraits found in churches or in private homes have been photographed and photographs have been collected for more recent periods. Besides this – and this is what distinguishes a *herdaminne* from a biographical register of priests in general – for each priest (although with an exception for those who were still alive when the book was printed) there is a scholarly essay, based on various sources, that describes the life and work of the priest and paints a picture of his personal character. A *herdaminne* thus describes the priests from a broad perspective, including their religious, cultural and social achievements, and places them within the context in which they were living. A *herdaminne* would also include a list of the printed writings of the priest and provide information about the sources on which it is based in the usual way. Many of them include footnotes. Thus, it is not only the priest's career and family that are described, but also his personality.[2] The purpose is therefore to provide as reliable a foundation as possible for further research into church history from the perspective of the biographies of its priests. I usually say that although the history of the church is not merely the history of its priests, it would be unthinkable without them. That is where these *herdaminnen* find their function.

The literary format of these extensive biographies of Swedish priests differ from those available elsewhere. In other countries, for example in Denmark, where they publish *Præstehistorier*, or in Germany, where we find *Pfarrergeschichten*, or in the UK, where there are *Fasti ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, *Scoticanæ* or *Hibernicæ*, usually only brief information about each priest and some register details are provided,[3] whereas in a *herdaminne* the presentation of each priest normally covers several pages.

A *herdaminne* also differs from the national and diocesan registers of clergy (*prästmatriklar)* that have been published at regular intervals in all dioceses of the Church of Sweden in that they do not, like these registers, deal only with the present time – they are not fixed to a situation at a particular point of time. Nor does the *herdaminne* nor-

2 For a discussion of principles and programmes, as well as of theory and method for the work on *herdaminne*, see Gunnar Carlquist, 'Lunds stifts herdaminne. Historik och program', *Personhistorisk tidskrift* 42, 1943, pp. 76–98; Bror Olsson, 'Kalmar stifts herdaminne', *Växjö stifts hembygdskalender* 36, 1945, pp. 83–95; Ragnar Norrman, 'Prästen i prästgård och församling. Prästbiografisk forskning i Sverige', *Arkiv fakultet kyrka. Festskrift till Ingmar Brohed* (Bibliotheca historico-ecclesiastica Lundensis, 48), Lund 2004.

3 *Danmarkes Præstehistorie 1884–1911*, 1–2, publ. by Dansk genealogisk Institut ved Max Grohshenning & Th. Hausch-Fausbøll, København 1914–1932; Hew Scott, *Fasti ecclesiæ Scotianæ. The succession of ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation. New edition, revised and continued to the present time*, 1–9, Edinburgh 1915–1950.

mally (although it does occasionally) describe, as do the diocesan registers, the details and circumstances of the parishes, i.e. the church, the vicarage, the villages, the distances, the stipend/salary arrangements and other details that a contemporary priest who might want to apply for a post would want to know.[4]

This kind of reference volume of the biographies of priests has its background in the tradition observed, by former Swedish canon law, at the diocesan synods (*prästmöte*) arranged every sixth year of delivering an oration (*minnesteckning*) over the priests who had died since the previous synod. This is a tradition whose history goes back to the medieval diocesan synods, at which an oration was given about the most recently departed priests.[5] During the Age of Liberty and the Romantic Period with its new-found interest in individual and personal characteristics, the tradition of holding an oration developed in various contexts, not least within cultural and scholarly academies and societies, but also within various professional associations. In the 19th century the custom emerged in the various dioceses of providing a biographical commemoration of "more outstanding" priests as part of these synods. This tradition still continues in most dioceses, although today there is no grading and all departed priests are commemorated, except those who have specifically asked not to be included.[6] At the commemoration service during the synod itself, often only a few details will be read out, lasting perhaps two or three minutes for each priest and these commemorative notes summarize the life and work of the most recently deceased priests. Extensive commemorative biographies are printed in the official records of the diocesan synod, and they are also normally published separately to be sold through the bookshops and gladly read by both priests and laity in the parishes. Ideally these volumes would be ready for sale at the diocesan synods. I was assigned by the bishop to provide the memorial biographies for the Diocese of Växjö for 18 years and therefore wrote about the lives of 228 priests. These were published every sixth year in three volumes, comprising in all just over one thousand pages.[7] This material thus provides the basis for the biographical details that depict a priest in a *herdaminne.*

During the 18th century, a new interest in topography and local history emerged. Before the establishment of the Swedish Regional Archives (*landsarkiv*) during the first decade of the 20th century – there are about 10 archives of this kind in Sweden

4 Ragnar Norrman, 'Prästmatriklar och prästbiografier', *Studier tillägnade Sven Håkan Ohlsson på 65-årsdagen*, Lund 1985.

5 Sigurd Kroon, *Det svenska prästmötet under medeltiden. Dess uppkomst och ställning i samhälle och kyrka* (Samlingar och studier till Svenska Kyrkans Historia, 13), Stockholm 1948, p. 136; Sigurd Kroon, 'Det svenska prästmötet', *Svenska kyrkans årsbok* 1950, p. 100.

6 Karl-Erik Johansson, *Prästmötet – en fungerande institution? Prästmötesavhandling i Visby stift 1973*, Uppsala 1973, p. 90.

7 Oloph Bexell, *Präster i S:t Sigfrids stift Minnesteckningar till prästmötet i Växjö* 1–3, Göteborg & Lund 1990, 1996, 2002.

– each parish had its parochial archives with material from ancient times onwards. Up until 1991 Swedish priests were responsible for keeping Sweden's civil registration records and therefore the local church archives include almost inexhaustible material about the personal history of the entire population. These archives have gradually been transferred and centralised to the Regional Archives where, following the change in the relationship between the church and the state in 2000, they can now be found in their entirety. This centralization of the archives has made research into *herdaminnen* significantly easier, since there is no longer any need to rely on the readiness and willingness of individual priests to provide information.

In the past, it was easy for an interested priest to organize a *series pastorum* list of all priests who had served in his parish before him. As early as in 1729, the Lund professor Jacob Benzelius (1683–1747) sent out a request to all the priests in the Diocese of Lund encouraging them to provide such lists. Beautifully made lists of this kind are displayed in many Swedish churches.

The archives of the diocesan chapters (*domkapitlen*) are of course also a very important source for research into priests' biographies (presbyteriology). Up until the first part of the 20th century, every priest had a life-long bond to the diocese in which he had been ordained. However, we must remember that, by and large, it is only the troublesome priests, or those who, in one way or another, were difficult and awkward, who appear in the diocesan records – and some of them quite frequently. Here unfortunately the adage "No news is good news" is the rule with regard to the availability of source material.

In the 18th century, students at the universities were encouraged to undertake investigations of circumstances in their home districts from the perspective of personal and local history for their academic dissertations. We have almost innumerable printed works of this kind and they sometimes provide biographical information.

The oldest Swedish *herdaminne* was published in 1771, when the Provost Hans Jonæ Tunæus (1704–1778) published *Herdaminne eller Hernösands stifts präst-krönika* (*Herdaminne* or the Clerical Chronicle of the Diocese of Hernösand) as part of a topographical description of Norrland, the northern Swedish province.[8] The Bishop of Strängnäs Jacob Serenius (1700–1776) had been the Rector of the Swedish expatriate congregation in London 1723–1735 and he had probably picked up the idea of publishing extensive clerical biographies there.[9] He had introduced the idea of a "Diocesan History". At the diocesan synod in 1768, with the encouragement of the Strängnäs Diocesan Chapter but probably unaware of the work of Tunæus, Nils Aurelius (1760–

8 H.J. Tunæus, 'Herdaminne eller Hernösands stifts präst-krönika', in A.A. Hülphers, *Samlingar till en beskrifning öfwer Norrland*, 1–5:3, Västerås 1771–1922.

9 See Oloph Bexell, 'Serenius och Ullman – två biskopar med internationell inspiration', in *Öppna gränser. Ekumeniskt och europeiskt i Strängnäs stift genom tiderna* (Skrifter utg. av Samfundet Pro Fide et Christianismo, 14), ed. Samuel Rubenson, Stockholm 1992, pp. 132–138.

1810) was already working on a *herdaminne* that was published in that diocese in 1785 in the form of a book, and which thus set the trend for the book-format. His work was available as early as in 1783 in a diocesan circular.[10] In the preamble to this 800-page volume, Aurelius himself says that he has devoted a great deal of work to this and is happy that "the ice has now been broken" and others might be inspired to follow suit.

The model was a corresponding book on government officials, published in 1745 by Anders Anton von Stiernman (1695–1765) entitled *Swea och Götha höfdingaminne*, i.e. memories of County Governors and other public officers.[11] This book contains extensive details about careers and families.

Similar biographies of priests were published in book form in the mid-19th century in a number of the Church of Sweden's dioceses. They were, however, compiled on the basis of the principles of source criticism applied at that time and so hardly stand up to the sharp-eyed scrutiny of present-day scholars. Many interested priests had collected information for the biographical histories of their dioceses and these collections could now be elaborated or extended. Quite often, unverified details from hearsay had been recorded and details about families and children were sometimes somewhat scanty in these 19th-century editions.

When modern source criticism was established in the 20th century, it seemed natural for the dioceses to want new editions of their *herdaminne* with more trustworthy information. This began in the Diocese of Växjö, where a collection in 8 volumes was published in 1921–34.[12] At about the same time, 1923–1926, and with a supplement in 2004, a *herdaminne* of the then northernmost Diocese of Härnösand was published in four volumes, edited by Leonard Bygdén (1844–1929) who was then director at Uppsala University Library.[13] This publication replaced the previous work from the 1870s.

10 Nils Aurelius, *Strengnäs stifts Herda-minne eller kort Beskrifning om Pastores och Comministri Så väl uti Södermanland som Neriket ifrån något öfver 200 år tillbaka in til närvarande tid utur Trovärdiga Handlingar Samlade*, Stockholm 1785; *Strengnäs dom-capitels cirkulärer* 1783, no. 5 § 4.

11 Anders Anton von Stiernman, *Swea och Götha höfdinga-minne eller En chronologisk längd och förtekning uppå öfwer-ståthållare, general gouverneurer, gouverneurer, landshöfdingar, lagmän, ståthållare och commendanter i konungariket Swerige och desz underliggande land och herrskaper tilhopa dragen så af tryckta som handskrefna bref och handlingar, ifrån de äldsta tider in til närwarande, och med korta underrättelser angående desze herrars och mäns ätter, föräldrar, tid efter annan beklädda embeten, sköldemärcken, giften, födelse- och döds-år*, Stockholm 1745. About this work, see Hans Sallander, 'Några anteckningar om Anders Anton von Stiernmans biografiska och genealogiska arbeten', *Personhistorisk tidskrift* 43, 1944–1945, p. 36f.

12 Gotthard Virdestam, *Växjö stifts herdaminne*, 2–8, Växjö 1927–1934. The first, unfortunately inferior volume 1 was published by C.O. Arcadius *et al*., Växjö 1921.

13 Leonard Bygdén, *Hernösands stifts herdaminne. Bidrag till kännedomen om prästerskap och kyrkliga förhållanden till tiden omkring Luleå stifts utbrytning*, 1–4, Uppsala 1923–1926. Supplement 2004 publ. by Carl Szabad.

Another major work was the compilation of a new *herdaminne* for the Diocese of Lund (founded in 1060), written by the University Library Director in Lund, Gunnar Carlquist (1889–1963), and completed by others after his death. This was published in 16 volumes in 1948–2006. The *herdaminne* of the Diocese of Lund with its more than 400 parishes covering the southernmost province of Sweden, which until 1658 was part of Denmark, comprises almost 9,000 printed pages. Another work was done by the University Librarian Bror Olsson (1894–1973) on behalf of the rather small Diocese of Kalmar, published in 1947–1980, and consisting of four volumes together with a separate index volume.[14] There is unfortunately only one *herdaminne* in one volume from the 1860s for the small Diocese of Visby on the island of Gotland.[15] Work on its medieval past is currently in the process of publication.

Herdaminnen written in Swedish have also been published in Finland, which was part of Sweden until 1809, and the Finnish dioceses were until then part of the Swedish Lutheran church. In the 1860s, a book about the Dioceses of Viborg and Porvoo was published and in 1832–1834 a *herdaminne* on the Diocese of Turku was published in two volumes.[16] For the independent Lutheran church in the former Swedish Trans-Baltic Province of Ingria, of which St Petersburg is the central municipality, there is a *herdaminne* in two volumes for the period up until 1940, published in Finland and written in Swedish. [17] These volumes are very significant, sometimes distressing, contributions to the history of this mangled church province.

Publication projects are currently under way in several of the Church of Sweden's dioceses. The large Archdiocese of Uppsala saw its first *herdaminne* in the 1840s.[18] After

14 Gunnar Carlquist, *Lunds stifts herdaminne från reformationen till nyaste tid. Serie II. Biografier*, 1–14, Lund 1948–2006. Following the death of Carlquist, volume 10 was published by Professor Ingmar Brohed and volumes 11–14 by Dr Theol. Owe Samuelsson; Bror Olsson, *Kalmar stifts herdaminne. Det gamla kalmarstiftets klerus från äldsta tider till våra dagar*, 1–4, Kalmar 1947–1951. Volume 5 with Index and Supplement was published in 1980 by Oloph Bexell.

15 O.W. Lemke, *Wisby stifts herdaminne efter mestadels otryckta källor utarbetadt*, Örebro 1868. Supplement, Visby 1892.

16 Matthias Akiander, *Herdaminne för fordna Wiborgs och nuvarande Borgå stift* (Bidrag till kännedom af Finlands natur och folk utg. av Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten, 13–14), 1–2, Helsinki 1868–1869; C.H. Strandberg, *Åbo stifts herdaminne från reformationens början till närvarande tid*, 1–2, Turku 1832–1834; K.G. Leinberg, *Det odelade finska stiftets herdaminne* (Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets handlingar, 1), Porvoo 1894–1895; K.G. Leinberg, *Åbo stifts herdaminne 1554–1640* (Finska kyrkohistoriska samfundets handlingar, 5), Helsinki 1903.

17 Kyösti Väänänen, *Herdaminne för Ingermanland*, 1. *Lutherska stiftsstyrelsen, församlingarnas prästerskap och skollärare i Ingermanland under svenska tiden* (Skrifter utg. av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 538), Helsinki 1987; Georg Luther, *Herdaminne för Ingermanland* 2. *De finska och svenska församlingarna och deras prästerskap 1704–1940* (Skrifter utg. av Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 620), Helsinki 2000.

18 J.E. Fant & A. Th. Låstbom, *Upsala stifts herdaminne*, 1–3, Uppsala 1842–1845. Supplement: L. Nyström, *Uppsala ärkestifts herdaminne*, ny följd 4, Uppsala 1893.

that, seven modern volumes have been published since 1997, and there is still much that remains to be done.[19] The task has been widened to include the history of the parishes at the same time. It is based on a major work of making excerpts within what is known as the "History of the Diocese Project". The Diocese of Gothenburg has also lacked a modern *herdaminne* for a long time. The first one was published in the 1830s and a couple of more volumes in the 1870s. A modern publication was begun in 2010 under the leadership of Professor Anders Jarlert. Two more volumes have rapidly followed.[20]

Let us conclude this overall survey with the question of what the purpose of a *herdaminne* is. Rev. Severin Cavallin (1820–1886), who published the first *herdaminne* for the Diocese of Lund in 1854–1858, says quite significantly in the Preamble that:

> "its purpose concerns the history of persons and of local history as well as church history and, if you like, general cultural history. Each purpose makes its own demands, which has made it impossible to omit many biographical details, which from a more general historical perspective lack importance, and much has been included because it is characteristic of the time, although it is not strictly biographical [...]."[21]

A *herdaminne* thus occupies a central position in the writing of the history of a particular diocese. Taken together, these publications are indispensable for research into church history at the national level and are needed to understand pastoral-historical developments. There is very great interest in diocesan history in Sweden today and there are special associations in each diocese, any of them with thousands of members. Another major group of consumers are local historians, who can find in the *herdaminnen* detailed knowledge that illuminates the leading personalities from the past of a particular area. Genealogists are also diligent users of *herdaminnen.* These books function as genealogical reference books. Very many of the priests described therein were of course related to one another and they have innumerable descendants today. Genealogy is a popular movement in Sweden and modern versions of *herdaminnen*

19 *Uppsala stifts herdaminne. Stiftshistoriskt uppslagsverk från reformationen till nyaste tid*, Serie II. *Pastorat och präster*, Ser II:7– and forthcoming, Uppsala 1997–; Ass. Prof. Ragnar Norrman is responsible for this project.

20 Sven Peter Bexell & Justus Gabriel Bexell, *Götheborgs Stifts Historia och Herdaminne* 1–2, Göteborg 1835; Sven Pettersson & A.R. Litzén, *Göteborgs stifts herdaminne samt geografisk, statistisk och historisk beskrifning öfver pastoraten jemte Stiftets stadfästade Löne-Konventioner, Klockare- och Orgelnistlöner, Historiska anteckningar öfver de Allmänna Läroverken med deras Donationer, Folkskoleväsendet m.m. Sammandrag*, Göteborg 1872; Carl Wilhelm Skarstedt, *Göteborgs stifts herdaminne ur kyrkan och skolan. Efter mestadels otryckta källor sammanfördt*, Göteborg 1878–1886, new edition 1948; Anders Jarlert, *Göteborgs stifts herdaminne 1620–1999*, 1–2 and forthcoming, *Göteborg 2010–*.

21 Severin Cavallin, *Lunds stifts herdaminne efter mestadels otryckta källor utarbetadt*, 1, Lund 1854, p. I.

are goldmines of relevant information with great scholarly exactitude.

The Swedish clergy are without doubt the profession about whose biographies there are most details in Sweden. Anyone who enters a Swedish academic library will find six or seven metres of literature of this kind to browse through and become absorbed in. Basically, it is possible to find information about every person ordained to the priesthood about whom anything at all is known, ever since the Middle Ages and at least since the Reformation in the 16th century. For more than 200 years, the Swedish *herdaminnen* have proved an indispensable reference work for research into Swedish history from a broad, interdisciplinary perspective, and they will continue to do so in the future.[22]

22 This essay is published with contribute from The Royal Society of Arts and Sciences in Uppsala.

The "Absence" of Family in 19th-Century Irish Presbyterian Clerical Biographies

Janice Holmes

In April 1847, the Revd Josias Wilson became seriously ill. He was confined to his bedroom in the house he shared with his wife Mary and their only daughter in Gibson Terrace, Islington, in London. Only recently moved from Belfast, where he had been the successful minister of Townsend Street Presbyterian Church, he had been recruited in 1844 to take charge of the Scottish Presbyterian community in London, which worshipped in the River Terrace Presbyterian Church. As the days passed it became clear that Wilson would not recover. Wilson's behaviour, as recorded by his rather adulatory biographer, reflected what society expected at that time from the ideal evangelical death: he offered advice and guidance to his congregational leaders and, in his unswerving faith in a future heaven, he provided a model of the lived Christian life.[1] Of course, Wilson's wife and daughter were a constant presence in these final days. At one point, recovered enough to sit up in a chair, with his wife holding his head and his daughter his hand, he spoke many words of advice and consolation to them. Together they prayed, read the Bible and made necessary, if difficult, plans for where Wilson might be buried. One day they had a visit from two of Wilson's nieces whom he had not seen for some time. Soon thereafter, with two friends supporting him and with doctors about to enter the room to discuss his prognosis, he died. "The loving husband, the esteemed and affectionate father, and the faithful minister" had breathed his last.[2]

Wilson's location within this highly domestic scene sits at odds with much of the rest of his biography. It is a relentlessly public account which situates Wilson almost exclusively within the contexts and locations associated with his professional life as a

1 Pat Jalland, *Death in the Victorian family*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

2 H. Hastings, *Memoir of the life and labours of the late Rev. Josias Wilson, London*, London: James Nisbet and Co., 1850, pp. 169–195.

Presbyterian minister. Wilson's family, except for occasional and fragmentary references, is largely absent from this account. His daughter's first name, for instance, is never mentioned.

Studies of Victorian life writing point out that the biographical format emphasizes the individual and places a structure onto a life which stresses personal achievement and ability.[3] In addition, evangelical biographies have been shown to have a didactic purpose.[4] The biographies of 19th-century Irish Presbyterian clergymen like Wilson largely conform to this model. Taken together they portray the achievements of individuals, largely divorced from personal and social attachments, who lived idealised lives of faith and service that were meant to be models for the wider community. Many of these biographies present their subject as a remote and awe-inspiring figure, as a "hero" whose behaviour and actions were meant to inspire both congregation and community alike.[5] There was much about the ministerial role which promoted these perceptions, not least the minister's greater educational attainments and his religious authority conveyed through the process of ordination. As John Barkley points out in reference to the Irish Presbyterian clergyman in the 18th century, he was "a man apart". Barkley's account also demonstrates how he was, through marriage and the complexities of church finance and governance, part of the wider spheres of family, congregation and locality.[6] The biographies of 19th-century Irish Presbyterian clergymen, however, routinely neglect this communal and familial aspect of the clerical life.

This "absence" is more complicated than would at first appear. Yes, wives and children are rarely portrayed in any sustained way, but the fragmented references which can be found are enough for the beginnings of a social history of 19th-century Irish Presbyterian clerical family life to be constructed. This paper will explore the representations of family within the biographical accounts of the Presbyterian clergy who served in Belfast between 1800 and 1900. It will show that families make only stylised appearances at "appropriate" points in the biographical narrative but that this limited picture can be offset by other sources and alternative approaches.

3 David Amigoni (ed.), *Life writing and Victorian culture*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.

4 David Roberts, 'The Paterfamilias of the Victorian governing classes', in Anthony S. Wohl (ed.), *The Victorian family: Structure and stresses*, London: Croom Helm, 1978, pp. 59–81.

5 Tine Van Osselaer & Alexander Maurits, 'Heroic men and Christian ideals', in Yvonne Maria Werner (ed.), *Christian masculinity: Men and religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011, pp. 63–94.

6 John M. Barkley, 'The Presbyterian minister in the eighteenth century', in *Challenge and conflict: Essays in Irish Presbyterian history and doctrine*, Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1981, pp. 50–51.

Background and context

In the 19th century, Presbyterians were the third largest religious group on the island of Ireland. They consistently represented between 9–10% of the total population. But unlike Catholics and Anglicans, who were spread out across the island, and represented approximately 75 and 12% of the population respectively, the Presbyterian population was highly regional in its distribution patterns. 96% of Presbyterians lived in the northern province of Ulster. In counties Antrim and Down, and in the towns of Belfast and Carrickfergus, Presbyterians made up a majority of the population.[7] Presbyterianism was brought to Ireland by Scottish settlers in the 17th-century taking up land which had been confiscated from local Irish lords. Clergy, congregations and presbyteries soon followed, although as religious "voluntaries" they had a precarious existence, operating as they did outside of the established church, which made them vulnerable to persecution. It was not until 1719 that they were granted a measure of official toleration.[8]

By the late 18th century, Irish Presbyterianism was well organised but also highly divided over theological matters and the practice of requiring ministers to "subscribe" to the Westminster Confession of Faith at ordination. Although the latter was the policy of the Synod of Ulster, the largest body of Presbyterians at the time, it was not widely enforced within its ranks. The Synod was dominated by a liberal, "New Light" faction which rejected subscription. This led more orthodox, or "Old Light", elements to break away and form new denominations, such as the Reformed, or Covenanting, Presbyterians and several groups which were collectively known as "Seceders". In the 1820s, under the growing influence of evangelical ideas, Old Lights within the Synod of Ulster sought to impose subscription onto all its clergy. They were eventually successful and in 1829 those who objected to subscription left, forming the nucleus of a liberal Presbyterian movement known for its non-subscription. With the divisive issue of subscription now resolved, and an agreed theological programme, the Synod and the Secession united in 1840 to form the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI).[9]

Over the course of the 19th century, the centre of gravity within Irish Presbyterianism shifted away from its traditional rural base towards the urban centre of Belfast. In 1800, with a population of approximately 20,000 there were only two congregations

7 Sean Connolly, *Religion and society in nineteenth-century Ireland*, Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1985, pp. 3–4.

8 R.F.G. Holmes, 'Presbyterians', in S.J. Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 459.

9 John M. Barkley, *A short history of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, Belfast: Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1959, p. 118.

in the city associated with the Synod of Ulster and a further two with the Seceders. By 1901, with a population of over 350,000 and a collective Presbyterian population of over 120,000, Belfast had come to represent a significant proportion of the Presbyterian community. Of the over 500 congregations associated with the GA in 1910, 52 were based in Belfast. A further 10 were associated with the Presbyterian breakaways. Although meetings of the General Assembly were originally held on a rotational basis at locations across Ireland, from the 1850s they were held exclusively in Belfast and in 1905 the imposing Church House was built as a permanent headquarters.[10]

Belfast's rapid growth presented considerable challenges for the Presbyterian church. In order to form a new congregation, interested parties had to petition the Presbytery and persuade it of their ability to pay the annual running costs, in particular the minister's stipend. Initially, Belfast clergymen were reluctant to allow new congregations to be formed, fearing the loss of members and the potential reduction of their own salaries[11] but over time more expansion-minded colleagues were able to persuade the Presbytery to establish congregations in needy areas. This process of "church extension" progressed rapidly. As many as ten new congregations were established in Belfast in each of the 1830s, 1860s and 1890s. While this looked impressive, Presbyterians were really only keeping pace with Belfast's population growth. Throughout the 19th century the Presbyterian share of Belfast's population remained steady at 34–35%. If that share were to be divided amongst the total number of Presbyterian congregations, the results would suggest that average congregational size in Belfast increased as the 19th century progressed. In 1861, when the first census of Irish religion was carried out and statistics on the religious make-up of Belfast became available for the first time, average congregational size for Presbyterian churches was 2,130. By 1901 that figure had risen to 2,559, suggesting that Presbyterians were not entirely able to keep up with the growth of the city in the closing decades of the 19th century.[12]

This study, therefore, is based on an analysis of clergy in Belfast who were affiliated to the Synod of Ulster or the Seceders between 1800–1840 and with the General Assembly between 1840–1900. It has included both clergy ordained to a congregational charge (of which there were 108 appointed to 47 different congregations) and clergy who were appointed to a professorship under the denomination's control, from 1817–1843 based in the collegiate department at the independent Royal Belfast Academical Institution and from 1843 based in what eventually became the denomi-

10 David Stewart, *The history and principles of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, Belfast: Sabbath School Society for Ireland, 1908, p. 177.

11 Revd James Seaton Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, III, 3 vols, new edition with additional notes by W.D. Killen, Belfast: William Mullan, 1867, p. 372–373.

12 Data compiled from tables of religious professions (Ulster), *Census of Ireland 1861–1901*, Histpop: Online Historic Population Reports www.histpop.org, accessed 10 February 2016.

nation's own theological college, Assembly's College.[13] Twenty-three professors were appointed during this time. One was a layman (Edward Masson) and one never lived in Belfast (Samuel Edgar). Six were appointed while they were already serving in a Belfast congregation, leaving 15 who moved to Belfast and took up residence in the city in order to carry out their teaching duties. The study also includes one minister who worked as a "town missionary" and one who ran a charitable institution.[14] There were no doubt other Presbyterian clergy living in Belfast. Those associated with the Presbyterian breakaways, for instance, or licentiates (clerical students who had graduated but were not yet ordained to a charge), but these have been excluded. Also excluded are the "agents" of the Belfast Town Mission. Although there is some evidence that students studying for the ministry and licentiates often did mission work, either on behalf of the Town Mission or the Presbytery, most of the Town Mission's paid agents were laymen.[15] Approximately 125 Presbyterian clergymen, then, served in Belfast between 1800 and 1900.

But how should Belfast be defined? Presbyterians organized themselves around congregations, clustering them into "presbyteries". The Presbytery of Belfast, created in 1774, however, was not contiguous with the city, and throughout the 19th century included congregations well outside the municipal boundary, such as Dunmurry, Carryduff, Carnmoney and Whiteabbey.[16] Using the municipal boundary is also problematic, because it expanded in 1853 and again in 1896 when Belfast was granted city status. This study, therefore, has included all Presbyterian clergymen who worked within the Belfast municipal boundary of 1896 between 1800 and 1900.

The source base for this study has turned out to be smaller than expected. If fasti entries and obituary notices are excluded, on the grounds that every Belfast minister had one, then approximately one-third (42) of the clergy in this study have been the subject of a biographical treatment. These vary widely in terms of quality, authorship, audience and depth. About half of these (19) are a standard contemporary biography, delivered as a funeral sermon or written up as a book by a friend or family member soon after the subject's death. Of these four were written by wives or daughters and five by sons or sons-in-law. Five are autobiographies, some with additional edited material at the end. Others are collective biographies, like Thomas Hamilton's *Irish Worthies*,[17]

13 Robert Allen, *The Presbyterian College Belfast, 1853–1953*, Belfast: William Mullan, 1954, p. 53.

14 These were the Revd William Fleming Stevenson, who assisted the Revd David McKee (Argyle Place, 1857–1859) and the Revd John Kinghan, who founded and led the Kinghan Mission for the Deaf between 1853 and 1895.

15 S.W. Murray, *The City Mission story*, Belfast: Belfast City Mission, 1977, p. 13.

16 Reid supra n. 11, p. 338; The Presbyterian Church in Ireland, *Parish Boundaries*, n.p., after 1930?, pp. 23–33.

17 Thomas Hamilton (ed.), *Irish worthies: A series of original biographical sketches of eminent ministers and members of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, Belfast: William Mullan, 1875.

W.D. Killen's sketches[18] or occasional articles in the Presbyterian press. About 28 have a modern biography. A majority of these (20) are *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (1885–1900, revised in 2004) or *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (2009) entries, mostly of clergy who already had a biography. The remainder are "modern" biographies, published after 1950 as books or articles; of these only two – Henry Cooke and Isaac Nelson – have received a sustained scholarly treatment.[19]

Surprisingly little has been written about Irish Presbyterian clergy as a distinct professional group and about Belfast's Presbyterian clergy more narrowly. David Hempton and Myrtle Hill's account of the rise of evangelicalism in Ulster is more interested in charting broad movements of religious ideas.[20] Andrew Holmes' study of Presbyterian belief and practice between 1770 and 1840 is largely focused on lay attitudes and behaviours as is Charles Cashdollar's collective history of congregational life within the 19th-century reformed tradition in Britain and America.[21] Ian Dickson's account of Irish evangelical sermons is more interested in their content and less on the characters and contexts of those who delivered them.[22] Robbie Gray's study of the English Nonconformist clergyman Newman Hall and John Tosh's work on Edward Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury (1883–1896) are fascinating case studies in the domestic world of English clergymen,[23] but Irish Presbyterian clergy still await the investigation of masculinity, domesticity and family life that is being pioneered in Europe by Tine van Osselaer and Yvonne Maria Werner.[24]

There have been two substantial prosopographical surveys of Irish Presbyterian

18 W.D. Killen, *History of congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland and biographical notices of eminent Presbyterian ministers and laymen*, Belfast: James Cleeland, 1886.

19 Finlay Holmes, *Henry Cooke*, Belfast: Christian Journals, 1981; Daniel Ritchie, *Evangelicalism, Abolitionism and Parnellism: The public career of the Revd Isaac Nelson*, unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Queen's University Belfast, 2014.

20 David Hempton & Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740–1890*, London & New York: Routledge, 1992.

21 Andrew R. Holmes, *The shaping of Ulster Presbyterian belief and practice 1770–1840*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006; Charles Cashdollar, *A spiritual home: Life in British and American Reformed congregations, 1830–1915*, University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

22 J.N. Ian Dickson, *Beyond religious discourse: Sermons, preaching and evangelical Protestants in nineteenth-century Irish society*, Bletchley: Paternoster, 2007.

23 Robbie Gray, 'Pulpit and Witness Box: the case of Hall v. Hall & Richardson', in Martin Hewitt (ed.), *Platform, Pulpit, Rhetoric*, Leeds: Leeds Centre for Victorian Studies, 2000, pp. 62–73; John Tosh, 'Domesticity and Manliness in the Victorian Middle Class: The family of Edward White Benson', in Michael Roper & John Tosh (eds), *Manful assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800,* London and New York: Routledge, 1991, pp. 44–73.

24 Tine Van Osselaer & Patrick Pasture (eds), *Christian homes: Religion, family and domesticity in the 19th and 20th centuries*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014; Yvonne Maria Werner (ed.), *Christian masculinity: Men and religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011.

clergy, one by Brown, which includes clergy from the whole of Ireland between 1840–1910 and one by Conway, which includes clergy from Ulster in the 18th and 19th centuries.[25] While neither study separates out Belfast's clergy in any way, they do provide a useful background against which they can be compared. Their analyses, based on upwards of 1500 clergy, reinforce the conclusion that the majority of 19th-century Irish Presbyterian clergymen came from rural Ulster farming backgrounds, although a growing number towards the end of the century came from Belfast and Londonderry. Of the 60% who married, most did so in their early thirties, likely when they were appointed to their first ministerial position. The research confirms that the Irish Presbyterian ministry was very settled. Ministers moved infrequently and, as a result, tended to have lengthy pastorates. In the decade 1840–1850 74% of clergy had only a single pastorate and 60% had pastorates that lasted for more than 25 years. These figures had fallen considerably by the 1890s (to 41 and 28% respectively), but they still vastly outstripped those for Nonconformist clergy in England and Wales, suggesting that Irish clergy enjoyed better conditions of service and shared a similar social and cultural outlook with their congregations which reduced conflict and promoted harmonious working relationships.[26]

The "absence" of family?

The biographical accounts that have been examined here demonstrate an "absence" of family. Absence in this context means that key details relating to the minister's family are missing, such as the name of his mother or wife, the birthdates and number of his children, the location of his home, descriptions of his friends and details of his wider interests. It also means that references to his family are disjointed or fragmentary and a full sense of a family narrative must be collected in different places across the account. Biographers almost exclusively chose a professional chronology for their subjects and in moving from early life to education, career and then death, families are mentioned only in passing, or when they obtrude onto the professional stage, making the reconstruction of an accurate picture of family life difficult. This "absence" also refers to the portrayal of the clergymen themselves. Ministers are routinely described only in professional terms, and are rarely depicted as fathers or husbands, or for that matter as consumers or walk takers or sports players or animal lovers. As John Tosh points out, Victorian clergymen frequently worked from home, preparing sermons, holding meetings and receiving visitors, so they would have been regular features of their domestic

25 Kenneth D. Brown, 'Life after death? A preliminary survey of the Irish Presbyterian Ministry in the nineteenth century', *Irish Economic and Social History* 22, 1995, pp. 49–63; Kevin P. Conway, 'The Presbyterian Ministry of Ulster in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: A prosopographical study', unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Queen's University Belfast, 1996.

26 Brown supra n. 25, pp. 59–61.

environment.[27] Irish Presbyterian biographies, however, rarely conveyed this domestic context, favouring instead the depiction of sermons, meetings and events that showed their subject in the public domain. When an evangelical context is added to this mix, the imperative to edify often trumped the need to present the life in its daily reality. Family, with its "secular" preoccupations and its daily banality, was regularly sidelined.

The Irish Presbyterian Church's definitive biographical source – the fasti – demonstrates this absence of family most strongly. Fasti entries, available for every minister, are short, highly abbreviated, factual lists of basic biographical information. They detail, in no more than 75 words, family background, education, licensing and ordination, ministerial appointments, honours, publications, marriage and death. The Belfast-based scholar and historian the Revd James McConnell carried out this original biographical research in the 1890s. His work was later extended by his son and others, most significantly by the Revd John Barkley in the 1950s.[28]

Taken together, the fasti entries show a distinct lack of family details. Fathers are most commonly recorded, but still only 62% of fasti entries record their names, and only 27% list their occupations (see Table 1). Marriage entries are even more attenuated. Out of a possible 111 marriages in the Belfast fastis, 85% record wives only in relation to their male relatives (as in "daughter of … "). Only 32% list a first name. Only seven marriages in the whole set record a first and last name (see Table 2). Children are not recorded in any systematic way, so there is no data on the number of children a clergyman had. Only children who became clergymen themselves are listed. While much of this absence no doubt can be attributed to the lack of space, or sources, it also says a great deal about the priorities of the compilers and the conservative ethos of early 20th-century Irish Presbyterian scholarship.

Description	**Number**
Father named, with occupation	34
Father named, no occupation	44
No father mentioned	45
Not known	2
Total clergy	125

Table 1. Fathers of Belfast Presbyterian clergymen, 1800–1900 from official sources.

27 Tosh supra n. 23, pp. 48–49.

28 James McConnell, *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church*, revised by the late Rev. S.G. McConnell; arranged and edited by Rev. F.J. Paul and Rev. David Stewart, Belfast: n.p., 1936–1937; John M. Barkley, *Fasti of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1840–1910*, Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1986–1987.

Description	Number
First and last name	7
First name, daughter/sister of	28
Daughter/sister of	66
Miss, last name	7
Mrs, last name	1
No name listed	2
Not married	4
Not indicated	23
No data	2
Total marriages	111

Table 2. Description of women married to Belfast Presbyterian clergymen, 1800–1900, from official Presbyterian sources.

For the biographical accounts that form the bulk of this study, the absence of family cannot be explained because of a lack of space. Biographers had clear priorities about what they wanted to include and which aspects of their subjects' lives that they felt were acceptable to make public. For example, the Revd Josias Porter, Henry Cooke's biographer, was at pains to present his father-in-law's career in public, political terms. Cooke had been one of the most influential Presbyterians of his generation, responsible for securing subscription within the Synod of Ulster and laying the groundwork for the union with the Seceders. The first edition of his biography, published in 1871, contained very little about his family and personal life. Due to popular demand, however, a "people's edition" was published in 1875 which included material "calculated to throw a clearer light on his private life".[29] Popular interest, then, not authorial intent prompted Porter to reveal more than he had originally been willing to do. The Revd James Morgan, the hugely popular minister at Fisherwick Place Church, had wanted to set aside an entire chapter in his autobiography for the stories of families, including his own, which he believed would be most instructive to his readers. His son and editor, however, anxious about the propriety of putting such details into print, and "out of consideration to private feelings" suppressed a number of these accounts, along with an entire section on Morgan's own family circumstances. Such a "chequered story" of "light and shade as in every household", declared his son, might have been "all most

29 J.L. Porter, *Life and times of Henry Cooke, D.D., L.L.D.*, People's edition, Belfast: William Mullan, 1875, p. v.

interesting to [Morgan], but not equally so to the public".[30] Porter and Morgan, like other biographers, shared a natural instinct to protect their subjects and their congregations by restricting access to the private sphere and by keeping potentially embarrassing information private. They, like others, felt that no matter their intentions they would be unable to do this private world justice. As the Revd J. Ernest Davey remarked in his 1921 biography of his father Charles, "what he was at home, the place where one is absolutely oneself, cannot be set down in cold print".[31]

Despite the desire that the intimacy of the home should not be revealed in public, the "absence" of family in Irish Presbyterian clerical biographies is strangely counter-intuitive. Most accounts were written either by family members or by people who were closely acquainted with their subjects. Both would have had first-hand knowledge of their family life. The decision to exclude the family could not have been from a lack of information or knowledge but from the sense, widely held, that such material was not the stuff of biography. This is despite the fact that Irish Presbyterians clearly placed great store on marriage and family life. According to Samuel Prenter, the Revd William Johnston's biographer, "family is, alongside the Church, one of the two great institutions God has appointed for promoting the health, the happiness, the religious, moral, and social culture of the human race".[32] The Church was often described as a family and the clergy as "Fathers" and "Brethren". When the Revd John Macnaughton, minister of Rosemary Street Church, died, the Revd Robert Watts, speaking at his funeral, declared that the Presbytery of Belfast, indeed, the whole of the General Assembly "may well feel as a family from which the head has been taken away".[33] Presbyterians and their clergy exhibited a great interest in family connections, family history and genealogy. The Revd James Morgan's son records how on Sundays during his sermon Morgan would often leave the pulpit and walk amongst his congregation, contemplating out loud their history and circumstances. The Revd William Killen, professor of church history at Assembly's College, peppered his own autobiography with detailed descriptions of his relations and their wider connections.[34] The Revd Henry Cooke in an 1829 letter to a young colleague, advised him if at all possible to purchase land for

30 James Morgan, *Recollections of my life and times: An autobiography; with selections from his journal edited by his son*, Belfast: William Mullan, 1874, p. 187.

31 J. Ernest Davey, *A memoir of the Reverend Charles Davey of Belfast, D.D.*, Belfast: M'Caw, Stevenson & Orr, 1921, p. 132.

32 Samuel Prenter, *Life and labours of the Rev. William Johnston, D.D.*, London: James Nisbet, 1895, p. 139.

33 Rev. William Park, *The unchanging friend and the heavenly home: Two sermons preached in Rosemary Street Presbyterian Church Belfast, on the 1st June, 1884, the Sabbath after the death of the Rev. John Macnaughton, A.M.*, Belfast: Robert Carswell and Son, 1884, p. 52.

34 W.D. Killen, *Reminiscences of a long life*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901, pp. 1–7, 280–286.

a dedicated graveyard. As an explanation he wrote, "I like to have the dead sleeping around me where I preach. They are a kind of witnesses for us. They attach the people to the house around which are their fathers' graves".[35] These examples convey the intimacy and interconnectedness of Belfast's Presbyterian community and reflect the deep sense of belonging, and *knowing,* which existed within it. Belfast's clergy were not isolated figures. They were firmly embedded within a congregational family which knew them, and which they intimately knew.

This picture of the Belfast clergyman as an integral part of his denominational family is a fleeting one and one that has been pieced together using small fragments of evidence. Although Presbyterians clearly valued the family, it does not outweigh the fact that, in their biographical accounts, they chose to marginalize references to family life. A close inspection of these partial references, however, shows that families did appear, but only in highly stylised and formalised ways. At four key stages in the minister's life – childhood, marriage, the recognition of achievement and death – families were "expected" to be part of the narrative and were "given" stylised roles to play.

The inclusion of an account of the clergyman's early life was the stock in trade of every biography. Most of these men, according to their biographers, were raised in a loving home with strong mothers who maintained family worship and kept a godly household. Henry Cooke's mother was described as "a woman of great force and strength of character, indefatigable, almost masculine energy, and a deep thirst for knowledge". W.D. Killen's mother was "gifted with strong common sense". David Hamilton's mother was "a woman of great affection, and at the same time of admirable strength of mind".[36] But once the clergyman went off to school, or embarked on their careers, these connections were seemingly left behind.

Marriage was another point where references to family once again came to the fore. Even though marriages were almost always mentioned, most biographies had little to say beyond the bare essentials. A courtship might be mentioned, the wife's own family background occasionally described but after that wives once again retreated into the background. They were often mentioned in the biographies, but largely as foils for their husband's actions and ambitions. Wives appeared as the recipients of letters, the companions on preaching tours, the providers of comfort, the maintainers of the home – not as individuals in their own right. When marriage was discussed, it was often in highly idealised, near impossible, terms of domestic bliss. William Johnston's biographer described his marriage as "thirty-nine years of unclouded domestic sunshine". Jane Toye, the Revd Thomas Toye's third wife, waxed lyrical about her rela-

35 J.L. Porter, *Life and times of Henry Cooke, D.D., L.L.D.*, Ambassador Publications reprint, 1999 of 1st ed., Belfast: William Mullan, 1871, p. 138.

36 Porter supra n. 29, p. 2; Killen supra n. 34, p. 3; Thomas Hamilton, *A biographical sketch of the Rev. David Hamilton, Belfast*, Belfast: William Millan, 1875, p. 5.

tionship with her husband. It was her "privilege", she recounted, "to spend seventeen years of happiest days in the closest and most endearing of all human relationships, with one of the tenderest, best and most affectionate of husbands".[37] Such idealised language makes it hard to gauge the real status of clerical marriages. David Hamilton's relationship with his wife sounds formal and unemotional.[38] Hugh Hanna's wife Fanny is barely mentioned in his biography.[39] Other relationships appear more loving and mutually supportive. Henry Cooke's letters to his wife Ellen Mann show an affectionate and intimate relationship, albeit a largely one-sided one.[40]

Families were also given a place in the ministerial biography when there were significant achievements or milestones to be celebrated. Congregational anniversaries, notable or lengthy pastorates or appointments to new, more senior positions were all occasions for the minister's family and his congregation to share his success and families were often included in the festivities that were organised to honour the occasion. When the Elmwood congregation in south Belfast celebrated its 20th anniversary in 1882, it commissioned two portraits of its then minister, the Revd John Moore. One was for the Session room and the other was for his family.[41] The York Street congregation marked the death in 1854 of their long-serving minister the Revd David Hamilton by presenting his widow with a portrait of her husband.[42] When the Revd Hugh Hanna was awarded a D.D. by the Theology Faculty of the Irish Presbyterian Church in 1885, his congregation organised a social evening at which he was presented with a dining room clock and some household ornaments. The ladies of the congregation then gave Mrs Hanna a "valuable" silver service and two of their daughters a gold locket and chain and a pair of gold bangles.[43] Families were expected to share in the minister's good fortune. The congregation's gifts were a way of acknowledging the contribution which the family had made to this success and their desire to give the family a permanent record of that achievement. In 1846, the Alfred Place congregation presented their minister's wife with a portrait of her husband, the Revd John Edgar. In their address they stated:

37 Prenter supra n. 32, p. 85; [Jane Toye], *Brief memorials of the Late Rev. Thomas Toye, Belfast*, Belfast: A. McCormick, 1873, p. 16.

38 Hamilton supra n. 36, p. 40.

39 Nemo, *St. Enoch's Church and Rev. Dr. Hanna*, Belfast: n.p., 1890, p. 65.

40 Porter (1875), p. 390-2.

41 James Dewar (ed.), *A History of Elmwood Presbyterian Church with Biographical Sketches of its Pastors and Founders, 1859–1899*, Belfast: M'Caw, Stevenson and Orr, 1900, p. 83.

42 Hamilton, p. 116.

43 'Nemo', p. 63.

> "We believe we cannot more suitably express our esteem for yourself than by presenting you with this painting, to be handed down to his posterity as a simple and affecting memorial that ... [Edgar] ... ministered to a congregation collected by his own efforts, and lived in the hearts of a grateful, united, and happy people."[44]

Family members made their most significant and sustained appearances in clerical biographies at times of illness and death. The sudden and unexpected death, particularly of a child, was often enough to interrupt the flow of a narrative, presenting as they did the opportunity for the clerical life to demonstrate a suitable forbearance and a hope in heaven. There is no doubt that Belfast's Presbyterian clergymen experienced considerable loss. Of James Morgan's eight children, only four survived him. John Edgar also lost four of his children as did David Hamilton. Seven of Henry Cooke's 13 children died before he did. While some accounts of these deaths are not recorded, or recorded only briefly, others are described in more emotional terms. When, in 1863, Henry Cooke's adult daughter Elizabeth died after a long illness, Cooke was distraught. Two years later, at a public meeting held to honour his ministry, his congregation made reference to his bereavement "which we know has pressed so heavily upon you". In his reply Cooke was so overcome by emotion that he burst into tears, although he was still able to call on his faith for comfort. "As a father", he said, "my heart has been wounded; but the hand of the great Healer can bind up the wound it has inflicted".[45]

When the clergyman himself fell ill, the biographer naturally placed him in his domestic environment surrounded by his family. Although distanced from them in the rest of the biography, now that the end was near, it was expected that he would return to be with those who loved him most. In 1866, for instance, John Edgar was staying with his friend Hugh Moore in Dublin when he became too ill to travel. Realising he was approaching the end of his life, Edgar put his affairs in order, wrote letters of farewell to his professional colleagues and was able to gather nearly all of his family around him. "To his wife he addressed many sweet words of consolation; and to all his family he gave suitable advice ... To the last he took an interest in the well-being of all his friends. He prayed earnestly for his children ..."[46] He spent his last hours praying and repeating portions of Scripture. Like Josias Wilson on his deathbed in London, Edgar demonstrated the "good" Presbyterian death.[47] It was orderly and dignified, calm and controlled. Edgar was surrounded by his family and sought to instruct them, like a good Christian father and husband should. Their roles, however central, were essentially passive ones. His family observed his death, they received the many letters of condolence but their own responses remain largely hidden. For Belfast's Presbyterian

44 W.D. Killen, *Memoir of John Edgar, D.D., L.L.D.*, Belfast: William Mullan, 1869, p. 177.
45 Porter supra n. 29, p. 446–447.
46 Killen, *Memoir of John Edgar*, p. 301.
47 A. Holmes supra n. 21, pp. 248–251.

ministers, the biographical format pushed the intimacy and the distinctiveness of their family life into an acceptable form that would serve as an example to others.

Alternative approaches

Clerical biographies, it has been shown, portray a fairly limited view of the domestic environment of Belfast's 19th-century clergymen. Without more detailed research it is difficult to know what domestic life was like for them and how they operated as fathers, husbands and friends. There are, however, other ways to examine the clerical life. One way is through the lens of the clergyman's wife. In 1915 the Revd Robert Barron, minister at Whitehouse Presbyterian Church on the north-eastern outskirts of Belfast, published a biography of his wife Mary.[48] It is the only biography considered here in which the subject is a woman. Mary was the daughter of the Revd Robert Watts, a professor at Assembly's College, and for much of her life was at the heart of Belfast's Presbyterian elite. Her first husband, also a professor, died suddenly in 1890. A few years later in 1893, after renewing their acquaintance, Mary and Robert married. Mary never had any children, but as Robert's account makes clear, she was an active contributor to his congregational work. She carried out an extensive range of visiting, she trained Sunday School teachers, she helped out at the local school and ran a friendly and hospitable home. She was also active within the Zenana Mission, a newly emerging Presbyterian women's missionary organisation, and served as its Home Secretary for many years. By focusing on his wife, Barron portrays a very different picture of the ministerial life. He demonstrates the important contribution that wives made to their husband's career and in so doing presents his own role within his congregation not so much in terms of the isolated "hero", but as part of a team, working together with his wife to deliver a range of services to the spiritual community for which he was responsible. Glimpses of this kind of team-based approach can be seen in other biographies. William Johnston's wife, for instance, appears to have taken a very active role in supporting her husband.[49] As a biographical sketch of Johnston in the Presbyterian newspaper *The Witness* declared in 1904, Mrs Johnston was "much more than a second in the work". "[S]he was a helpmeet indeed; assisted him in all his labours, encouraged him in all his enterprises, stimulated him in all his efforts." She was, this account concluded, his "co-worker, co-helper and ... co-minister".[50]

New perspectives on the family life of Belfast's Presbyterian clergy can also be gained by using different methods and approaches. Genealogical and local history

48 Revd Robert Barron, *Mary Barron: a biography*, Belfast: Sabbath School Society for Ireland, 1915.

49 Prenter supra n. 32, pp. 102, 160–161.

50 A. McMonagle, 'Ministers I have known', *The Witness*, 1904, located in Scrap Book 1, Presbyterian Historical Society, Belfast.

sources can be painstaking to use, but they can provide a much richer picture of domestic life. For example, the Revd Hugh Hanna was minister at St Enoch's Presbyterian Church from his ordination in 1852 until his death in 1892. St Enoch's was one of the largest congregations in Belfast, and Hanna played a prominent role in the educational and political life of the city, establishing and running numerous primary schools and campaigning for a range of conservative, and later Unionist, causes. The sources which chart his career make very little reference to his family, even though they overlapped and intersected with his public ministerial life. Before he became a minister, Hanna worked as a teacher in the Townsend Street schools run by the Revd Josias Wilson. When he became the head teacher, he appointed his brother William as an assistant, and later employed him in the schools attached to his own congregation.[51] When William died of fever in his late 20s Hanna erected a memorial plaque to his memory in St Enoch's. Evidence suggests that he erected a plaque to his mother's memory in the church as well.[52] He certainly sought to commemorate her memory elsewhere, naming one of the many primary schools he founded after her. Although Hanna's wife seems not to have been a very public figure, Hanna worked closely with his eldest, unmarried daughter Frances Helena ("Lena"). Lena took an active part in the work of St Enoch's but she also assisted in her father's wider charitable work. Throughout the 1880s, when Lena was in her 30s, the *Belfast News-Letter* carried reports of the two of them attending fundraising concerts and visiting their sponsored charities. Every Christmas, for instance, they distributed hot meals to the residents of the Belfast Charitable Society, a home for the poor which was located around the corner from St Enoch's.[53] In his will, Hanna bequeathed his entire (very modest) estate to Lena, saying "I feel that Helena preferring to abide with her parents is specially entitled to consideration, she has been most helpful to me in my Church work and is entitled to my special regard".[54]

Conclusion

Why have the biographies of 19th-century Belfast Presbyterian clergy marginalised the treatment of family and domestic life? Some of the explanations have already been suggested. Most biographers approached their subjects in formulaic ways which tended to highlight the individuality of their careers and public lives. A natural desire to protect their subjects and present them in a positive light made them unwilling to reveal too

51 Register of correspondence with Townsend Street National School, 1845–1853, ED/6/1/1/3, f. 136, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), Belfast.

52 Correspondence with Robert McClung, Clerk of St Enoch's Church, 1987–1991, 10 January 2016.

53 *Belfast News-Letter*, 26 December 1889.

54 Hugh Hanna, will, probate 4 April 1892, will calendar database, PRONI, www.proni.gov.uk, accessed online 3 November 2015.

much of their private lives. The evangelical imperative to present a story that would edify and instruct meant the biographies concentrated on the spiritual world of the clergyman and neglected, in consequence, the secular world of the everyday. Gender attitudes also played a part. Presbyterian biographers, both male and female, have consistently sidelined women (and their children) and the work they did as clergy wives and families. Traditional views of the minister as a man "set apart" for a special religious work meant women's contributions were overlooked if not actively discounted. One of the most obvious reasons for this neglect is because, so far, historians have not noticed it was there. If a work of reclamation is to be started, as this chapter has tried to do, a much richer and more sophisticated picture of the domestic lives of Presbyterian clergy in 19th-century Belfast, and Ireland more broadly, will begin to emerge.

Different Lessons: Carl Hinrichs and Jochen Klepper as Biographers of the Prussian King Frederick William I

Hartmut Lehmann

On 20 January, 1938, two men met in the Prussian Public Records Office in Berlin, the *Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv.* Both had a strong interest in the life of the Prussian King Frederick William I, Frederick the Great's father. One was the poet and journalist Jochen Klepper who had just published a biography of this Prussian king in the form of a novel with the titel *Der Vater*, the father.[1] The other was the historian and archivist Carl Hinrichs who had been collecting material for a comprehensive biography of Frederick William I ever since he had published a study of the wool industry in Prussia under Frederick William I.[2] Both were almost the same age. Hinrichs was born in 1900, Klepper in 1903. Hinrichs had been working in the Berlin archive since 1933, that is the same year that he had joined the National Socialist Party. Klepper had lost his position at the German Radio in 1933 and had been thrown out of the *Reichsschrifttumskammer*, the professional organization of writers in Germany, in 1937. Hinrichs was hoping for a career as a historian. In 1938 he was transferred to the Königsberg archive. In 1939 he passed the Habilitation at the University of Königsberg, granting him the *venia legendi* which opened up the path to a university career.[3] Klepper, by

1 *Der Vater. Der Roman des Soldatenkönigs*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt 1937. Published in February 1937. With a *Geleitwort* by the poet Reinhold Schneider. Within a few months, Klepper's book became a bestseller and remains the most widely available book about Frederick William I.

2 *Die Wollindustrie in Preußen unter Friedrich Wilhelm I. Mit einem Vorwort von Otto Hintze*, Berlin: Parey 1933.

3 On Hinrichs see Hartmut Lehmann, 'Die Geschichte der Erforschung des Pietismus als Aufgabe', *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 32, 2006, pp. 26–35; Benjamin Marschke, 'Preußenhistoriker und Pietismusforscher between Nazism and Stalinism. The career and works of Carl Hinrichs (1900–1962) in the Third Reich, the Soviet Zone, and West Germany', in *Francke und seine Könige. Hallischer Pietismus und Preußen (1690–1750)*, eds Britta Klosterberg, Benjamin Marschke, Christian Soboth & Holger Zaunstöck, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2016; Wolfgang

contrast, had been forced to give up almost all of his professional plans since the Nazis came to power, as he had been married to a Jewish wife with two daughters since 1931. By the late 1930s he and his family felt the ever-growing pressure of Nazi racial policies and were fearing the worst.[4]

On 20 January, 1938, Klepper noted in his diary: "Public Records Office. The same chaos here as in the Prussian Private Archives (the *Hausarchiv*), and the same complete disrespect with regard to the letters of Frederick William I even though here works the archivist Dr Hinrichs, the man who has invested even more years than I have in the king's life and who is writing his biography. He immediately asked me to come see him and we had a long conversation during which we reached an understanding with regard to our respective approach".[5] After he had published his novel about Frederick William I in 1937, Klepper decided to publish more on the same topic. In particular, he planned to edit pictures and letters of the Prussian king. This may be the reason why Klepper saw Hinrichs again on 7 February, 1938. I quote from his diary: "With the photocopies of the two completely unreadable letters of Frederick William I went to Dr Hinrichs in the Public Records Office in Dahlem" ... "After less than an hour everything had been deciphered. These are beautiful pieces."[6] Several weeks later, on 16 March, 1938, Klepper mentions in his diary that he had corresponded and phoned with Hinrichs.[7] He does not tell why, but one can assume that he asked Hinrichs for help in specific questions.[8]

What do these remarks in Klepper's diary tell us? First, that Hinrichs did not hesitate to help Klepper in deciphering the handwriting of the Prussian king Frederick William I. Perhaps he was not aware of the personal situation of Klepper; perhaps he saw no reason to refuse help to someone who had similar scholarly interests as he had. Unfortunately, it is not possible to interpret Klepper's remark that they had reached an understanding with regard to their respective approach ("*verständigten uns im Wissen*

Neugebauer, 'Wissenschaft und polititische Konjunktur bei Carl Hinrichs. Die früheren Jahre', *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte* 21:2, 2011, pp. 141–190; Peter Baumgart, 'Carl Hinrichs und die preußische Geschichte', in *Das Thema 'Preußen' in Wissenschaft und Wissenschaftspolitik vor und nach 1945*, ed. Hans-Joachim Kraus, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 2013, pp. 387–402.

4 The most recent account of Klepper's life is Markus Baum, *Jochen Klepper*, Schwarzenfeld: Neufeld Verlag 2011. See also Rita Thalmann, *Jochen Klepper. Ein Leben zwischen Idyllen und Katastrophen*, München: Chr. Kaiser 1977.

5 Jochen Klepper, *Unter dem Schatten deiner Flügel. Aus den Tagebüchern der Jahre 1932 bis 1942*, ed. Hildegard Klepper, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt 1956, p. 548.

6 Klepper supra n. 5, p. 553.

7 Klepper also had contact with the archivist Dr Wolfgang A. Mommsen, a grandson of famous Theodor Mommsen, who was working as an assistant in the Brandenburgische Hausarchiv der Hohenzollern.

8 Klepper supra n. 5, p. 566.

um unsere Bezirke gut"). By looking at their books one can assume that Hinrichs respected the religious aspects in Frederick William's story as Klepper's property, while Klepper, in turn, acknowledged that Hinrichs would concentrate on presenting a comprehensive treatment of the political, social and economic aspects. At any rate, Klepper's remark about Hinrichs does not sound unfriendly and one can assume that Hinrichs treated Klepper in a fair manner and not as an opponent of the regime which the ambitious archivist was serving.[9] Klepper mentioned Hinrichs a last time in his diary two years later, in 1940. At that time, his personal situation had become quite critical. He simply noted that Hinrichs and he had been the first to decipher certain letters of King Frederick William.[10]

What is Klepper's view of Frederick William I, who by most historians and also by Klepper is labelled the soldier king (*Soldatenkönig*)? In answering this question experts in the field of German literature are not much of a help. They believe that Klepper, by studying Frederick William I, attempted to understand that a harsh treatment by a father could have not only negative results, and that severity in the upbringing of a child should be judged carefully before condemning the father. In contrast to most historians who portray Frederick William as a strict and at times cruel ruler, Klepper in *Der Vater* describes him as benevolent, even as someone with artistic qualities.[11] Klepper tries to understand even the most outrageous episode of Frederick William's reign, the period when his son Frederick, later Frederick II or Frederick the Great, tried to escape together with his friend Katte. Both were caught and Frederick William forced his son to witness the execution of his friend.

According to Klepper, the outstanding characteristic of the Prussian King Frederick William I was that he cared for the people in his realm. He had an interest in the well-being of all of his subjects, and in particular he cared for the soldiers in his army. One can follow Klepper when he argues that there was no irreconcilable tension between the king's strict rule and the fact that he was a caring sovereign. As Prussia was a poor country, he had to make sure that the state had enough income and he therefore enforced tax laws. But he also took measures against overspending. For example, he abolished almost all of the festivities which his father, King Frederick I, had introduced at the Berlin court in order to make his residence a centre of baroque culture and splendour. Frederick William's exclusive interest in his army is a special matter. In order to guarantee the rank of Prussia as a respectable power within the Holy Roman Empire, he strengthened the role of the military. At the same time, however, he was

9 Hinrichs' willingness to overlook Klepper's political problems parallels his continued friendship with Ernst Posner, a Jewish archivist.

10 Klepper supra n. 5, p. 942.

11 Best shown in a book of pictures and letters by Frederick William I: *In Tormentis Pinxit. Bilder und Briefe des Soldatenkönigs*, ed. Jochen Klepper, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt 1938, 2nd ed. 1959.

extremely careful not to get involved in any military adventures. Therefore, according to Klepper, his foreign policy was strictly defensive.

The other element which characterizes Klepper's *Der Vater* is the king's religiosity. If we follow Klepper's interpretation, this Prussian king believed that he had been granted his power by God and that he was responsible to God for whatever he did.[12] For Klepper, who was close to the Confessing Church, Frederick William I was one of those rare Christian sovereigns who deserved the trust of their subjects because they knew that their rule was sanctioned by God. Furthermore, again in Klepper's view, Frederick William I had a close relationship with the pious among his subjects. He understood the wishes of Pietists like August Hermann Francke in Halle, and he supported the social and charitable activities of these Pietists as best as he could. In other words: Klepper's *Der Vater* is a God-fearing ruler who knows the limits of his powers and who is well aware that his authority is limited by his responsibility vis-à-vis God. Klepper's views about the religious foundation of Frederick William's rule are best expressed in another book which he published in 1938 and which had the title: *Der Soldatenkönig und die Stillen im Lande. Begegnungen Friedrich Wilhelms I. mit August Hermann Francke, Gotthilf August Francke, Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen, Ludwig Graf von Zinzendorf.*[13] Since the late 18th century the term "*die Stillen im Lande*", that is the silent ones or those leading a secret life in a country, is a synonym for "Pietists".[14] Therefore, one can translate the title of Klepper's book as "The soldier king and the Pietists in his realm".

In the political context of the 1930s it is not enough, however, to read Klepper's book about Frederick William I as a historical novel for a Christian audience. Rather, during the Nazi regime publications like Klepper's book carried a distinct political message.[15] In his biography of Klepper,[16] Markus Baum points to the fact that in his book Klepper discussed the question what a good ruler should be like. According to Baum, Klepper projected on this Prussian king everything that an ideal father had to represent: love, the ability to protect, strictness and fairness. Klepper had no problem with the fact that Frederick William I was an authoritarian ruler and certainly not a democrat. However, by stressing his role as a caring and believing ruler he told his readers that this is what good rulers should be like, in the early 18th century as well as in his own time, in the time of Mussolini in Italy, Franco in Spain, and also Hitler in Germany. In other words: Klepper insinuated that Hitler's foreign policy should be

12 It is interesting to observe that Klepper took phrases from the Bible as motto for every single chapter in his book.

13 Berlin-Steglitz: Eckart-Verlag 1938, 2nd ed. also in 1938.

14 The term is taken from Psalm 35 and is being used by the Pietist Gerhard Tersteegen and his friends as a self-description.

15 *Der Vater* (1937); *In Tormentis Pinxit* (1938); *Der Soldatenkönig und die Stillen im Lande* (1938).

16 Baum supra n. 4, pp. 143–150.

defensive, he deplored that Hitler's regime did not feel obliged to follow God's commands, and he regretted that the Nazi regime did not value the role of devout Christians in Germany. If Klepper's *Der Vater* became a bestseller within just a few months, it is because his readers understood that his Frederick William was a kind of moral and political counterpoint to the actions of the Führer. As it seems, the Nazi censors also understood Klepper's message. Within less than a year, the printing and distribution of Klepper's book about Frederick William I was forbidden and discontinued.

Let us now take a look at the texts which Hinrichs wrote about the same subject. In 1937 he published a short biographical sketch of Frederick William I in which he praised his achievements as a strong politician. Specifically, he pointed out that by combining the best elements of the German tradition with the best traits of Protestantism this Prussian king had been successful in shaping the Prussian character, that is the character of those who paved the way to Germany's greatness in the 18th century and thereafter.[17] A year later, 1938, in a somewhat longer essay, Hinrichs attempted to interpret the specific contribution which Frederick William I made to forming what many historians praised as the "Prussian character". For Hinrichs, true Prussians fulfilled their duties in a most conscientious way, even if they had to make sacrifices. True Prussians hated the corrupt practices of their time and followed the orders which they were given. In other words: the Prussian character to which Frederick William I made such an outstanding contribution, according to Hinrichs, was a combination of several virtues: political loyalty to the point of denying personal interests, obedience to the point of submissiveness, and thriftiness to the point of frugality. According to Hinrichs, Frederick William I owed all of this in equal measure to the tradition of the Hohenzollerns as well as to the Pietists of Halle and their version of a renewed Protestantism.[18] Hinrichs' view of Frederick William was conventional and not a Nazi version of German history. Most conservative German historians of the time would have agreed.

In 1941, when he had already been transferred from the Berlin to the Königsberg Public Records Office, Hinrichs published the results of his long-time research in the first volume of the biography: *Friedrich Wilhelm I. König in Preußen. Eine Biographie. Jugend und Aufstieg*,[19] a book of more than 700 pages and with hundreds of footnotes

17 Carl Hinrichs, 'Friedrich Wilhelm I.', in *Gestalter Deutscher Vergangenheit*, ed. Peter Richard Rohden, Potsdam, Berlin: Sanssouci-Verlag 1937, pp. 337–352. The editor of this volume, Peter Richard Rohden, did not fail to mention in his preface "daß das Deutsche Reich wieder unter der Leitung einer genialen Führerpersönlichkeit steht, die aus ihrer tiefen Volksverbundenheit die Kraft schöpfte, die drückendsten Fesseln des Versailler Diktats abzuschütteln" (p. 26).

18 Carl Hinrichs, 'Friedrich Wilhelm I. König von Preußen', *Die Welt als Geschichte* 4, 1938, pp. 1–31.

19 Hamburg: Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt 1941. No second edition.

covering the time until 1713, that is the time until he assumed power as king. It is worth mentioning that Hinrichs published his book with the Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, a press closely connected with the Nazi regime. He never produced the additional volumes that would have covered the time of Frederick William as king.[20] Three matters characterize what the hardworking archivist Hinrichs achieved in his biography: First, details abound. Hinrichs seems not to be able to distinguish between what is important and what is less important. Second, his tone is thoroughly positivistic. The historian Hinrichs lets the sources speak, he presents the findings of the diligent archivist Hinrichs. Third, with few exceptions, he makes no explicit concessions to Nazi ideology. However, as Wolfgang Neugebauer has noted, he interpreted the change of regime in 1713 as an "upheaval" (*Umsturz*) and as a "revolution", which Neugebauer thinks is comparable to the Nazi takeover of power in Germany in 1933.[21]

According to Hinrichs, experience in the field of foreign policy shaped much of the youth of Frederick William. In Hinrichs' book we meet a talented and self-confident young man who is eager to further the fortune of the House of Hohenzollern. In this sense, he is a prototypical Prussian. For a long time, religious matters did not touch him. Shortly before his father passed away, Frederick William came in contact with the Pietists in Halle. He respected them, but in Hinrichs' opinion they were not able to influence him a great deal. It is interesting to observe that in Hinrichs' book the long chapter about Pietism appears like a foreign matter (like a *Fremdkörper*).[22] Perhaps, this is the most telling difference between Hinrichs' interpretation and Klepper's.

What is the political message of Hinrichs' biography of Frederick William I? Is it also, like Klepper's *Der Vater*, a comment about politics in general, and Hitler's leadership in particular? In my opinion, two points should be considered: first, Hinrichs did not portray Frederick William I as a forerunner of the Nazis from beginning to end. Racial categories are not part of his tool-box as a historian. Second, however, Hinrichs tells the story of a strong leader for whom questions of power in foreign relations and military matters are of first-rate importance. In this sense, in my opinion, Hinrichs too implicitly makes a distinct comment about contemporary politics: leaders, whether they are historical figures like Frederick William or politicians in his own time like Hitler, should defend the interests of their people, whatever the cost. Therefore, even

20 Hinrichs later published a couple of articles that continued where the 1941 book left off: 'Der Regierungsantritt Friedrich Wilhelms I', *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 5, 1956, pp. 183–225; reprinted in Carl Hinrichs, *Preußen als historisches Problem. Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ed. Gerhard Oestreich, Berlin: de Gruyter 1964, pp. 91–137; 'Die preußische Zentralverwaltung in den Anfängen Friedrich Wilhelms I.', in *Forschungen zu Staat und Verfassung*, eds Richard Dietrich & Gerhard Oestreich, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot 1958, pp. 247–267; reprinted in Hinrichs, *Preußen als historisches Problem*, pp. 138–160.

21 Wolfgang Neugebauer, 'Wissenschaft und politische Konjunktur bei Carl Hinrichs', p. 162.

22 Carl Hinrichs, *Friedrich Wilhelm I.*, Hamburg 1941, pp. 559–599.

though Hinrichs shied away from explicit Nazi propaganda, his biography of the Prussian King Frederick William I fitted very well in the political atmosphere of Germany in the early 1940s. Perhaps it is not wrong to attribute political opportunism to the interpretation given by Hinrichs.

With regard to the question of responsible political leadership the biographies of Jochen Klepper and of Carl Hinrichs, the two men who met early in 1938 in the Prussian Public Records Office in Berlin, carry distinctly different messages. As we now know in retrospect, also the future of our two protagonists could not have been more different. Hinrichs became *Dozent* in the field of modern history at the University of Königsberg in 1942, a *Stellvertretender* (substitute) *Professor* at Königsberg in 1944,[23] and was transferred to a professorship at the University of Halle in the same year. From Halle, he went to the Freie Universität in Berlin in 1951, assuming the chair of Friedrich Meinecke. After a long illness Hinrichs died in 1962. Klepper's story ended on 11 December, 1942. When his wife and their daughter[24] were threatened by immediate deportation to Auschwitz, Jochen Klepper and his loved-ones decided to commit suicide. But while the historical studies of Hinrichs are only known to some experts in Prussian history and in the history of Pietism today, Klepper is remembered widely as one of the courageous voices that refused to join the chorus of Nazi supporters, and he is present in today's Protestant and Catholic churches as the writer of some of the most moving hymns of his time and for all times.[25]

23 Filling in for Theodor Schieder.

24 The Kleppers were able to rescue their older daughter Brigitte in 1939, not so, however, despite desperate efforts, their younger daughter Renate.

25 Klepper's *Der Vater* was reprinted several times after 1945, also as a paperback by the publisher Rohwolt in 1960, although with a slight change of the title: *Der Vater. Der Roman eines Königs.*

Storytelling and Evangelical Identities

Joel Halldorf

In this chapter, I discuss autobiography in the Evangelical tradition, and how this genre can help us understand Evangelical identity. Conversion – the experience of "new birth", or being born again – was the center of these stories. The emphasis on personal storytelling (witnessing) united Evangelicals, but the way they told their stories divided them. As the movement grew more fragmented over the centuries, this pattern becomes more evident. Personal storytelling was part of what made this a modern movement, but the way they told their stories set it apart as a distinct modernity.

Mapping conversion: The Puritan background

At the age of nine Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) was, in the words of his biographer George M. Marsden, "a model of sanctity": he prayed five times a day and even organized prayer meetings with other boys.[1] But his fervor waned, which, according to the Puritan tradition to which he belonged, was a sign that he had not experienced true conversion. Eventually he would have what he felt was a more permanent breakthrough, but doubt still lingered in his mind, since "my not having experienced conversion in those particular steps, wherein the people of New England, and anciently the Dissenters of Old England, used to experience it".[2] Marsden suggests that even Edward's father, who was a congregational minister, was skeptical that young Jonathan had experienced a true conversion and thus was really saved.

Jonathan Edwards belonged to a context shaped by the Puritan heritage – geographically as well as ecclesially.[3] The Puritan tradition also provides the background

1 Marsden 2003, p. 25.
2 Marsden 2003, p. 57.
3 Marsden 2003, p. 3.

for the Evangelical conversion narrative in general. Writing autobiography first became a widespread practice among the Puritans, and this was no coincidence. It was perceived as a spiritual practice, and reflected the theological doctrine of predestination. This doctrine might have liberated the faithful from trusting their "works" but it still caused some anxiety, for how could a person know if he or she belonged to the elect? The spiritual biography sought to answer this. It was, as described by Shea, an attempt by the writer to "assemble the evidence for divine favorism towards him".[4] Through self-examination a person would, hopefully, be able to discern the hand of God in one's life and soul, and thus be assured, or at least find indications, that one was saved and did indeed belong to the elect.

But what signs should one look for? The great Puritan divines knew. Known as doctors of the soul, they provided road maps for the way to salvation – the *ordo salutis*.[5] People were invited to compare their experience with these models in order to understand their spiritual state. In New England, the practice of public witnessing emerged among Congregationalists.[6] Here an individual testified before the congregation who then decided if his or her personal story fitted their map. Only true converts were admitted into the congregation, but it was not enough to claim that you had been converted, since a person, it was thought, could easily be deceived. All paths did not lead to Rome – some cases might look like conversions, but were in fact roads of perdition. To be certain that your conversion was true, you had to check if the development you had undergone fitted the established road maps. I will call the act of comparing experience and map an act of *mirroring*.[7] Historian Patricia Caldwell describes the process as an attempt to locate your own life among the scriptural figures.[8] This is a reminder that the Bible was the touchstone for this process – the particular road maps provide the hermeneutical "filter" through which the Biblical stories are read.

There is a somewhat counter-intuitive relationship between the personal and the objective in the Puritan ideal of autobiography. The story is personal, but the individuals experience is expected to conform to a rather strict script. Accordingly, the person shrinks to the background and it becomes a story about God's dealing with the individual. The idea of a common road map for personal experiences rests on the idea that God, as formulated by the Puritan minister Richard Baxter (1615–1691), deals much

4 Shea 1988 (1968), p. xxv.

5 Hindmarsh 2005, pp. 36–37. Hindmarsh writes about the works of William Perkins: "Here then was a map for the spiritual geography of the soul. Perkins provided the detailed religious terms for an individual to describe his or her own sense of spiritual inwardness, and to understand how this interiority changed though time and in the midst of crisis."

6 Caldwell 1983, pp. 48f.

7 I have borrowed the concept from literary historian Greger Andersson, see Andersson 2014.

8 Caldwell 1983, p. 107; Shea 1988 (1968), p. xv.

the same with every man.[9] Spiritual autobiography is, as Shea has described it, "creation myth written in the first person". But even though the story is personal, the individual *mythos* must mirror the grand narrative – the road map – of the community.

Evangelical conversion narratives

Jonathan Edwards stands on the threshold between Puritanism and international Evangelicalism. With his report of the revival in his congregation in Northampton, *A Faithful narrative of the surprising work of God in the conversion of many hundred souls in Northampton* (1737), he wrote a book that would define "the standard expectations for Evangelical conversion".[10] Edwards had once been uncertain regarding the match between his own experience and the road map of his tradition, but now he created a map of his own, one that other individuals could and would use as a mirror. And he was himself acutely aware of the power of storytelling: "There is no one thing that I know of, that God has made such a means of promoting his work amongst us, as the news of others' conversion."[11]

Conversion – to be born again – became the hallmark of Evangelicalism as it spread worldwide from the 1730s. It was more dramatic, a shorter process and perhaps also more widespread than among the earlier Puritans, but the continuity was still clear, and some things remained the same.[12] Historian Mark Noll writes:

> "Also growing in number were instances of life-changing conversion. At the heart of the more formal evangelical movement that emerged in the 1740s was the experience of conversion, but also anguished turmoil over how to be sure that one was converted as well as intense theological controversy over the respective roles of God and humans in the process. [...] Although mostly unknown to each other, the converts were undergoing experiences that became paradigmatic for later evangelicalism – both for what they expected to happen and for how they then "preached up'" the grace they themselves had experienced."[13]

Evangelicals wondered, as the Puritans had done before them, about assurance and how to know if one's experience was the real thing, and not some glimmering counterfeit. For discernment, they, too, provided road maps for spiritual guidance, maps

9 Shea 1988 (1968), p. 89.

10 Noll 2003, p. 80.

11 Noll 2003, p. 101.

12 See Hindmarsh 2005, p. 80: "It remains the case, however, despite all these predisposing conditions, that the international Protestant awakening of the eighteenth century was constituted chiefly by the repeated experience of evangelical conversion, and that there was an irreducibly religious element in this experience that was in continuity with seventeenth-century Puritanism and related traditions."

13 Noll 2003, p. 74.

that in turn inspired more conversions – especially when they were presented in the form of witnessing. Storytelling thus became a feature that united the movement. To the many attempts to define Evangelicalism one could add this one: An Evangelical is a protestant who can give an account of his conversion, and who understands this as the moment when he or she became a child of God.[14] But the different stories and the different maps are also what divided the movement.

This is evident already from the start, even before the movement reached England and America. In Germany, Pietist leader August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) underwent his conversion influenced by Puritan writings.[15] His spiritual breakthrough (*Durchbruch*) was slow and painful, and came only after a period of inner darkness, during which he felt despair over his own sinfulness. He called this experience *Busskampf* (the struggle to repent). This, then, became his map: True faith is born in the midst of darkness, as the individual comes to full realization of his own shortcomings and his dependence on God's grace.[16]

His partner in Pietism, the Moravian Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760) had a quite different experience, however: no darkness, no *Busskampf*, but a straight road to salvation. There was no need for an obligatory struggle, Zinzendorf concluded, since Christ had done this for mankind in Gethsemane. He acknowledged willingly that according to Francke and the Halle Pietists he was no true convert – his experience did not match their map. However, instead of backing down, he presented his own road map to salvation. With regards to the followers of Francke, he was not as strict to them as they had been to him. They ended up in the same place, he claimed, it just took them a bit longer to get there: "Pietism is not a mistake, only another method; we ride and the Pietists go on foot."[17] But the Moravian road map did not go unchallenged. In England, John Wesley (1703–1789) experienced conversion at a Moravian gathering, but was later deeply skeptical about the movement's map. Particularly the idea that the unconverted should wait in "stillness" for the Lord, without using means of grace or doing works of piety. This sort of quietism was nothing short of antinomianism according to the practically minded Wesley, whose Methodist movement broke with Zinzendorf and the Moravians.[18]

A century later two prominent Swedish Evangelicals endeavored to match their stories with Francke's map, which seems to have been the established model in Swedish Pietism. The young Carl Olof Rosenius (1816–1868) feared that he had come to

14 For an overview of definitions of Evangelicalism and the discussions surrounding this, see Sweeney 2005, pp. 17–26; Halldorf 2012, pp. 32–36.

15 Ward 2006, p. 41.

16 Ward 1992, p. 61; Ward 2006, p. 41 f.; Hindmarsh 2005, p. 58f.; Matthias 2005, p. 103, 107f.

17 Quoted in Ward 1992, p. 137. For the conflict between Francke and Zinzendorf, see Weinlick 1956, p. 113; Ward 1992, p. 61; Ward 2006, pp. 100, 103f.; Hindmarsh 2005, p. 164.

18 See Heitzenrater 1995, p. 106; Rack 1989, pp. 202–205.

faith too soon, without enough penitential remorse.[19] In other words, his *Busskampf* was insufficient, and this made him uncertain of his state of grace. Paul Peter Waldenström (1838–1917), one of the founders of the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden, also battled with his lack of struggle, and wrote in 1859:

> "I wanted to add some work of my own, I first wanted to regret my sins fully, feel the pain of sin, and know the fear of the law even better, before I was willing to accept the grace. And so I fell into working out my own righteousness."[20]

Francke claimed inspiration from Martin Luther (1483–1546), specifically the latter's emphasis that man was unable to fulfill the demands of the law. But by turning his experience into a set pattern, Francke created what some perceived to be a legalistic type of Christianity. Grace was not free according to this *ordo*, the critics claimed, since you had to pay for it by tears and agony in the *Busskampf*.

Rosenius and Waldenström experienced the great remorse as something they had to achieve, but in the end their autobiographies did not mirror this map. Eventually they abandoned Francke's map, and accepted the one provided by the Moravians instead; there they found a model of conversion which better fitted their experience. The slogan of the movement they lead – *nyevangelismen* – became "Come as you are!". To come "as you are" was not possible according to Francke's road map, since you had to acknowledge your sinfulness before coming to Christ – "Come after you have been crushed by the realization of your own sinfulness" would have been his much less catchy slogan. The Pietists preached the law to the unconverted, and the gospel only to the contrite.

In 19th century popular Evangelicalism, however, Zinzendorf largely prevailed over Francke. Moody, for instance, followed this model.[21] Unconverted sinners were invited to experience instantaneous conversion; this model made mass-evangelism possible.[22]

More chapters in the story: The emergence of the Holiness movement and Pentecostalism

Evangelicals were united by storytelling, but divided by the ways they told their stories. So far, this division has been illustrated by the different ways they told their conversion

19 Johansson 1936, p. 238 n. 51.

20 Bredberg 1938, p. 59. The original reads: "*jag vill nödvändigt lägga något eget arbete till, jag vill först ångra mina synder riktigt, jag vill först känna syndens sveda, lagens förskräckande litet bättre, innan jag vill annamma [*sic*] sådan nåd, och så faller jag in i ett egenrättfärdighets-arbete, och blir så den sista villan värre än den första.*"

21 Gundry 1999, pp. 129–133.

22 Cf. Evensen 2003, pp. 46f.

stories. But with the emergence of the Holiness movement in the late 19th century and Pentecostalism in the early 20th, a new kind of fragmentation occurred. These movements changed the storytelling by adding new chapters to it.

The Holiness movement began in the USA in the middle of the 19th century with Asa Mahan (1799–1889) and Phoebe Palmer (1807–1874) as early and prominent proponents.[23] The movement drew on the writings of Wesley and stressed holiness as a second work of grace, subsequent to conversion. Central to the movement was the experience of entire sanctification understood as a spiritual breakthrough. When Mahan told his story, he began by describing his conversion:

> "My conversion, in the judgment of all who knew me, was very marked and decisive. None doubted its genuineness. It was characterized by very clear conviction of sin, undivided consecration to Christ, and during several subsequent years, by deep and abiding joy in God."[24]

Mahan wanted to make sure that no one got the idea that his second, subsequent experience of entire sanctification was really a conversion experience – i.e. that his first experience was only counterfeit. Therefore, he emphasized that his conversion story followed the script: it included penitential remorse and was confirmed by the spiritual gift of joy – "None doubted its genuineness".

After making clear that this was indeed a conversion experience, a true work of grace, Mahan was able to argue that his next experience, later in life, was something different. It was a distinct second work of grace. He described it as an experience that took him even further: his "whole moral and spiritual nature seemed to be transformed".[25] This was, according to Mahan, the "doctrine of sanctification, by faith in Christ, and of the mission of the Spirit".[26] In other words, he added another chapter to his spiritual autobiography. The conversion story was not the whole story, but was followed by a story about another, subsequent work of grace. This second work of grace was presented as available to anyone who sought it.

Not everyone within the Evangelical movement accepted this second work of grace, the added chapter to the spiritual biography. The Holiness movement had a strong ecumenical impulse, but at the same time it introduced a qualitative split within Evangelicalism. Before, Evangelicals had made a distinction between themselves – the born again – and the outsiders, those who might confess Christianity but did not live it in their hearts. Now a similar distinction arose within the movement, between those who had experienced sanctification and those who had not – the mere converts.[27]

23 See Dieter 1996 for an overview.
24 Mahan 1870, p. 133.
25 Mahan 1870, p. 135.
26 Mahan 1870, p. 135.
27 Halldorf 2012, p. 175.

This pattern was repeated when the Pentecostal movement appeared in the early 20th century. The movement introduced a third work of grace: the baptism of the Holy Spirit. This was not conversion nor holiness, but an endowment of power that enabled bold witnessing and/or the gifts of the Spirit.[28]

Again, some within the wider Evangelical movement accepted this added chapter, while others rejected it. As had been the case when the Evangelical movement first appeared, testimonies about the experience became a central vehicle to spread the movement, and also established a pattern for receiving it.[29] Maps were developed which helped the faithful to answer the central question: how do I know that I have received the Holy Spirit? To this question, Pentecostalism was able to give a clear answer: speaking in tongues.[30] In some parts of the Pentecostal movement speaking in tongues was seen as the decisive sign that settled the question of whether a person was Spirit baptized or not. According to others, tongues was *a* sign, but not necessarily *the* sign of the experience. In other words, the maps differed within the Pentecostal movement. The fragmentation within the movement was furthered by the fact that one branch of Pentecostalism saw Spirit baptism as a third work of grace, while others – rejecting the entire sanctification of the Holiness movement – saw it as a second work.

The pattern is in other words the same as I have identified before: Pentecostals, as part of the wider Evangelical movement, are united by the fact that they tell stories, but divided by how they tell them.

Evangelicalism and modernity

The more or less mandatory conversion story is part of what makes Evangelicalism a modern movement. A modern understanding of the self is, as Hindmarsh has noted, in dialogue with Charles Taylor, one of the conditions of this kind of autobiography:

> "The modern identity or sense of the self goes hand in hand then with societies in which self-determination is given significant scope, for it is in these situations that the individual may construe his or her life not in terms of a traditional role handed down, but rather of a goal-directed narrative, where past and present choices of certain courses of action, among many possibilities, are projected into an open-ended future."[31]

28 Wacker 2003 (2001), pp. 59, 62.

29 Wacker 2003 (2001), pp. 58–69. Cf. Gerger Andersson: "I hold that all these [Pentecostal] writers have, in this interpretative process, consciously or not, contributed to the formation of the narrative pattern [of the movement]."

30 Wacker 2003 (2001), pp. 35–57.

31 Hindmarsh 2005, p. 337.

This sense of the self as something that needs to be created also reflects a pluralistic society where there is more than one possible identity. In other words, the Evangelical conversion narrative indicates the movement's dependence on secularization, or at least the breakup of a unified Christian culture. There would be no drama in the story if it was not possible to choose something else – i.e. the possibility of not being a Christian.[32]

The Evangelical autobiography is a modern storytelling, but was different from other kinds of modern narrations. The rise of the Evangelical conversion narrative is parallel to secular storytelling – the story of the modern, self-made man who goes from rags to riches, which is one of the most familiar narratives in the 19th century.[33] There are, however, some fundamental differences between the Evangelical conversion narrative and the secular story. To begin with, Evangelical stories have a much stronger sense of the role of the community, i.e. the congregation. The individual is not "self-made", but guided and fostered by other Christians.[34] Furthermore, there is a strong stress on divine agency in the Evangelical autobiography: the individual tells her story, but does not claim to be self-made. As we have seen, the story has little originality to it, but is rather supposed to repeat a well-known script. It is not so much a story about the individual, as of God's dealings with the individual: God is the author, the one who writes the story of the individual's life.[35] Personal storytelling was part of what made Evangelicalism a modern movement, but the way the Evangelicals told their stories set them apart as a distinct modernity.

Postmodern Evangelicalism and the loss of the metanarrative

David Bebbington has argued that Evangelicalism can be best understood as a combination of firmness and flexibility. It has a few distinctives (conversion, Bible, cross, activism) but is at the same time able to adapt to its context.[36] Thus it changes over the centuries, as it adapts to, in turn, Enlightenment, Romanticism, and Modernism.

The process of mirroring, of understanding your life in light of a clearly defined, larger story, fits well with the general modern acceptance of metanarratives. The established maps of the different Evangelical movements function as the metanarratives of these contexts. But what happens in postmodernity, defined by Lyotard as the death of the metanarratives? Can Evangelicalism adapt to this new context? More research is needed on this topic, but there are indications that the road maps in general have a

32 Sanders 1995; Gelfgren 2003, pp. 202–204.
33 Sidenvall 2009, pp. 10–12; Tjeder 2003, pp. 220–225; Hindmarsh 2005, pp. 341f.
34 Hindmarsh 2005, pp. 343–346.
35 Halldorf 2012, pp. 88f.
36 Bebbington 2000 (1989), pp. 2–17.

weaker status in postmodern Evangelicalism. They tend to have been relativized. And this includes not just particular maps, such as Francke's or Zinzendorf's etc., but the idea itself: the idea that your story has to fit an established pattern.

Karl Inge Tangen has investigated what he calls the "commitment script" of some Pentecostal congregations, that is what it means for an individual to identify with a particular congregation. The traditional expectations within this tradition have been that members "believe and behave in accordance with the church's interpretation of the Bible".[37] Now, however, it is possible to become a member without adhering to the doctrinal or ethical teaching of the congregation, or following the traditional road map to salvation. One example is that people can be admitted as members without undergoing baptism by immersion if this conflicts with their conscience.[38] There is, in other words, a reluctance from the community to impose a specific pattern on what is more and more seen as the individual's unique story. This in turn indicates that the metanarrative has a weaker status. Even if the individual story does not match the road map of the congregation, he or she will not be turned away.

A similar pattern can be found in the teachings on Spirit baptism produced by the Swedish Pentecostal Movement. While encouraging a life in the Spirit, these Pentecostals warn of too strictly defined narratives: "At times, the models for how the filling of the Spirit shall occur has been too narrow."[39] Instead of a distinct and punctual experience, the life in the Spirit is described in more open terms, as an ongoing process.

The relativization of metanarratives makes different kinds of experiences and models possible within the same branch of Evangelicalism. The other side of this increased flexibility is that the individual to a lesser degree can be guided by a clearly defined road map of the community. The opportunity to understand your life in light of a clearly defined, larger story, is undermined. This might result in challenges with regards to spiritual guidance within Evangelicalism: how can you guide someone if you do not have a map?

Concluding reflections

Evangelicals have been united in a common emphasis on personal storytelling, but divided by the ways they have told their stories. In the 18th and 19th centuries, different branches of the movement – Halle Pietism, Moravianism, Methodism – presented different road maps of the way to conversion. The Holiness movement and the Pentecostal movement added chapters to the personal story by including stories of

37 Tangen 2012, p. 47.
38 Tangen 2012, p. 48.
39 Teologiska nätverket i Pingst 2007, p. 52.

entire sanctification or baptism in the Holy Spirit. Personal storytelling was part of what made Evangelicalism a modern movement, although the way the stories were told – with a strong sense of divine agency – set it apart as a distinct kind of modernity. In postmodern Evangelicalism individualism seems to be stronger, and there are indications that the road maps have lost their central place. Evangelical congregations seem increasingly willing to accept people whose stories do not fit their established salvation guides.

Evangelicals of today are thus not likely to be tormented like Jonathan Edwards, who worried that his experience did not mirror "those particular steps, wherein the people of New England, and anciently the Dissenters of Old England, used to experience it". The growing openness to a variation of stories is welcomed by many, but at the same time it is a signal of a fundamental shift within the movement. Evangelicalism is, as has been shown, a movement that contains a large diversity. The stress on personal storytelling is a common trait, and also the idea that your story is not your own only but relates to a metanarrative which is shared by a community. However, the aspect of this shared metanarrative now seems to have receded or become relativized.

How much can a movement change and still remain the same movement? David Bebbington has argued that the strength of Evangelicalism lies in its ability to adapt to different cultural moods or movements.[40] But the movements he discusses – Enlightenment, Romanticism, Modernism – all belong to modernity. Could it be that Evangelicalism, that emerged on the eve of modernity with Philipp Jakop Spener (1635–1705) and the German Pietists in the 1670s, disintegrated or became transformed into something else with the rise of postmodernism in the 1970s?

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The Biography of a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church:

G. Sinopoli di Giunta's Book *Il cardinale Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro*

Jean-Marc Ticchi

Giuseppe Sinopoli di Giunta's biography of Cardinal Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro[1] (1843–1913) remains "the" unique biography of this Sicilian prelate who, after his embassy in Madrid as nuncio of Pope Leo XIII (1882–1887), was the Pope's Secretary of State from 1887 to 1903. In September 1903, after Pope Leo's death, Cardinal Jan Puszyna communicated to the Holy College gathered in conclave the *ius exclusivae* (the veto) against Rampolla, pronounced by Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria. Rampolla, a well-known and distinguished figure of the diplomatic world, remained in seclusion in the Palazzina di Santa Marta, the residence of the archpriests of St Peter's Basilica, from the election of Pope Pius X to his death on 16 December 1913.

Some years ago, I decided to write a biography of Cardinal Rampolla, who seemed to have been the master of Giacomo Della Chiesa.[2] When I learned that the subject of this conference was "ecclesiastical biography", I thought it would be interesting to read and examine the book that Giuseppe Sinopoli di Giunta published on Rampolla in 1923. This opus is quoted as a cornerstone on the life and works of Rampolla in almost all main biographical dictionaries.[3] Let us challenge this view and make some observations on the biography. First of all, I will present the way Sinopoli's project was completed. Then I will focus on the book itself and on how this kind of "biography" was actually written. Finally, I will examine what it does tell us and what it does not, when it comes to some information on the 1903 conclave that Sinopoli knew about but chose not to include in his book.

1 Pietro Sinopoli di Giunta, *Il Cardinale Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro*, Rome: Tipografia poliglotta Vaticana, 1923.

2 Giacomo Della Chiesa, who was to become Pope Benedict XV in September 1914, was Rampolla's secretary for many years.

3 Sinopoli is the main source of Vercesi who quotes it almost literally, cf. Ernesto Vercesi, *Tre Segretari di Stato, Consalvi, Rampolla Gasparri*, Venice: Emiliana, 1932.

Sinopoli's project and the way it was carried out

Sinopoli says in his introduction that the book was commissioned by Pope Benedict XV[4] who considered Rampolla to be his father and master.[5] The biography belongs to the literary genre of the *laudatio funebris* that appeared in antiquity,[6] and mainly presents the *cursus honorum* of the cardinal in a schematic way. This was only one of several filial initiatives by the Pope: Benedict XV also decided to build a funeral monument in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere's church to house Rampolla's mortal remains.

Before looking at how Rampolla is portrayed in the book, and before discussing whether the biography is ecclesiastical or not, we will examine the curriculum vitae of the biographer himself: who was the man chosen by Benedict XV to write this opus?

Like Rampolla, Giuseppe Sinopoli was also a Sicilian, born on 15 January 1871 in a noble family of Agira in the eastern part of Sicily about 65 kilometres west of Catania, in the "bread basket" of the island. At the end of his studies at the Nicosia seminary in Sicily, he became a priest on 17 February 1894. After starting a school for poor people in his own town in 1898, he went to Rome. In Rome, he met Cardinal Rampolla, who "appreciated him a lot", and who suggested that Sinopoli participate in Mgr Scalabrini's action for the spiritual assistance given to the Italian immigrants in the United States of America. Between April 1902 and April 1903, Sinopoli was responsible for the mission of Iron Mountain, Michigan. Thereafter he went to Boston and then to New York where he for a short period was in charge of San Gioacchino's Church in Roosevelt Street. After Scalabrini's death in April 1903, Sinopoli went back to Sicily. Nominated *cameriere d'onore in abito pavonazzo* in 1912, he became in 1914 *preposito parrocco* of Santa Margherita, the main church of Agira.[7]

When Sinopoli wrote his biography of Rampolla in the beginning of the 1920s he was 49 years old, and had already published some articles and books on his native town and on spiritual issues.[8] The fact that he was chosen to write the biography should be

4 "I nostri collaboratori. Pietro Sinopoli", in *La Siciliana*, August 1925, p. 155, kindly communicated by Mr Pedro Sinopoli, Rosario, Argentina, for which I am very grateful.

5 Antonio Scottà, *Giacomo Della Chiesa arcivescovo di Bologna (1908–1914)*, Soveria Mannelli: Rubettino, 2002, p. 174.

6 Werner Eck, 'Auf der Suche nach Personen und Persönlichkeiten. *Cursus honorum* und Biographie', in Konrad Vössing (ed.), *Biographie une Prosopographie. Internationales Kolloquium zum 65. Geburtstag von Antony R. Birley. 28. September 2002*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005, pp. 53–72, esp. p. 55.

7 "I nostri collaboratori. Pietro Sinopoli", see n. 4 above, pp. 154–155, kindly communicated by Mr Pedro Sinopoli.

8 According to *La Siciliana*, "I nostri collaboratori. Pietro Sinopolis", see n. 4, p. 155. When the biography was published Sinopoli had already written *Riccordo del pellegrinaggio di Malta alla venerata tomba di S. Filippo in Agira* (1897), *San Filippo d'Agira e il suo tempo* (1897), *Instaurare omnia in Cristo* and *Civiltà e missioni cattoliche* (1906), *Nosce te ipsum* (1907), *Panegirici vari*

seen against the background of the cultural as well as personal links that existed between Sinopoli, Rampolla, and the commissioner of the book, Pope Benedict XV.

How the biography was written

Sinopoli's private archive, kept in Agira's public library, gives some information on how he worked. The book begins with a letter of approval signed by Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, the Secretary of State of Pope Pius XI – i.e. Rampolla's successor – on 19 November 1922. A first "sketch" of Sinopoli's book (*il primo abbozzo*) was sent to Gasparri before its publication, as mentioned in an unpublished letter from Gasparri to Sinopoli dated 31 July 1923.[9] Sinopoli's archive in Agira library further gives us some information about the making of the book, in particular about the way Sinopoli found information on Rampolla's childhood and on his education in Rome where he arrived at the age of 12. Sinopoli used information given by very few correspondents. First of all, Sinopoli obtained information from Cardinal Alessandro Lualdi, the Archbishop of Palermo, who in turn had received information from Tommaso Lanza, the curate of Polizzi (Rampolla's birthplace). Lanza gave information about Rampolla's birth certificate, his baptism and confirmation, his family, and the origin of the title "del Tindaro".[10]

The other information given by Sinopoli about Rampolla comes from seven individuals who had known him personally: Pope Benedict XV (who is quoted six times), Rampolla's personal secretary Mgr Filippo Rocchi, Lady Vera Belin, a Russian woman who converted to the Roman Catholic Church, and four of Rampolla's schoolfriends who met him in the Seminario Romano, Collegio Capranica and Accademia Ecclesi-

presso la "Poliantea Oratoria" (1908–1911), *Filius Dei* (1909), *Verbum Dei* (1909), *A che serve il frate* (1909), *Ruit hora* (1911), *La Badia Regia di S. Maria Latina in Agira* (1911), *La Maniera di catechizzare i semplici di S. Aurelio Agostino* (1915), *Su l'enciclica Humani generis redemptionem* (1917), *Il Pastore di Hermos e la Divina Commedia* (1912), *Le Sette parole di Gesù in croce* (1914), *Storia universale della letteratura ecclesiastica dalle origini alla rivoluzione francese* (1917), and *Sinopsi del codice di diritto canonico* (1920). When he published Rampolla's biography some other works were still unpublished, such as *Agyrium – Memorie storiche*, *Sursum corda*, *piccole meditazioni*, and *Prontuario biblico per gli oratori sacri*.

9 Gasparri to Sinopoli, 31 July,1923, protocollo 21059. Benedict XV had died on 22 January 1922.

10 Biblioteca Comunale di Agira, Mons. Pietro Sinopoli di Giunta, Documenti per la biografia del cardinal Rampolla, Cardinal Lualdo to Sinopoli, 6 January 1922, letter of Tommaso Lanza to Cardinal Lualdi, 28 December 1921, "certificato di battesimo, di nascita, di cresima, qualche notizia sulla famiglia Rampolla, suoi titoli e possessi, discorsi stampati in occasione dei funerali [...] cenni storici sulla città di Polizzi Generosa". He also asked if there were any photographs of the town or of Rampolla's house, and if there were notes from the seminar in Cefalù, "qualche fotografia della città o della casa Rampolla, Se esistono notizie nel seminario di Cefalù e se vi si commemorò la morte".

astica: Cardinal Nicolò Marini, Mgr Stanislao Canori, and the two priests Benedetto Melata and Rosario Rampolla. The testimonies of these seven individuals, Rampolla's "family", quoted by Sinopoli, account for ca 5% of the book of which half consists of a long letter by Vera Belin. These are the only first-hand sources to be found in the book.

The rest of the opus consists of two types of material. First some general observations extolling the cardinal's personality similar to a *positio* – the report leading to the beatification;[11] these observations account for 18% of the book. The other type of material is something of a "*laudatio funebris*",[12] a presentation of the main facts of the *cursus honorum* of the deceased and a presentation of Pope Leo's and of Rampolla's diplomatic policy vis-à-vis various countries of the world. This part amounts to 60% of the book and was surely not written by Sinopoli alone but probably with the assistance of the Vatican Secretariat of State. It follows the order of the letter of 1887 from the Pope to the cardinal, in which the Pope exposed his views about the relations between the Vatican and each state in Europe.

I should also mention that, among the material that remained after Rampolla's death, there are documents that Sinopoli did *not* include in his book. Sinopoli himself says that the publication of the deceased's papers (homilies, discourses) are highly relevant. But if Rampolla kept personal and official papers in the Palazzina di Santa Marta, there are relatively few of his personal papers preserved in the Vatican archives. We also know that Rampolla received letters from various correspondents among whom, at the end of his life, many were very critical of Pius X. After the death of the cardinal, the letters of Mons. G. Bonomelli were returned to their author. Some other letters such as the letters of Sabina Parravicini di Parravicino seem to have disappeared.[13]

According to one testimony, Rampolla was writing his memoirs while he was a cardinal archivist and Librarian of the Roman Church.[14] Ludwig Pastor mentions this project that the cardinal considered to be "sensitive" ("è cosa delicate").[15] There is no doubt that writing memoirs was nothing unusual for an ex-Secretary of State, and Rampolla's memoirs would have followed the series of diplomatic memoirs written or published during the 19th century by Della Genga, Lambruschini, and Consalvi. But

11 See René Pillorget, 'La biographie comme genre historique: sa situation actuelle en France', *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, 96 (1982), pp. 5–42, see pp. 27, 29, 33.

12 See Werner Eck, 'Auf der Suche nach Personen und Persönlichkeiten. *Cursus honorum* und Biographie', art. cit., p. 55.

13 Ludwig Pastor, *Tagebücher*, Wilhelm Wühr (ed.), Heidelberg: Kerle, 1950, p. 598, 30 May 1914 and Paul Christophe (ed.) *Les Carnets du cardinal Baudrillart (1914–1918)*, Paris: Cerf, 1994, p. 72.

14 J. Fraikin mentions the memoirs he was writing, see *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 1914 (XV-I), p. 224.

15 Ludwig Pastor, *Tagebücher*, Wilhelm Wühr (ed.), Heidelberg, Kerle, 1950, p. 419, 10 October 1903.

Rampolla's memoirs, whether partly written or completed, are among those papers that have disappeared.

Sinopoli's book has a commemorative scope, and was not written as an historical essay. It is a mixture of Sicilian patriotism, papal willingness, and clerical reverence. The book is structured the same way as the first part of a canonization process. It presents the life and virtues of the "candidate" to sanctity. As André Vauchez said, in the Middle Ages, the concept of sanctity changed, and the Church recognized the "grandeur" of the lives of the saints and not only their miracles.[16] Rampolla may not have carried out miracles, but he led an unusual life. Sinopoli may have tried to demonstrate Rampolla's virtues as a saint, but from this perspective Rampolla's life does not have anything special to tell. His taste, as a child, for celebrating mass, for example, was shared with many other future priests. Therefore, we assume that the book was the answer to the papal request, but that it also became the object of a refusal by the Vatican.

Some additional observations on the conclave of August 1903

A letter from Sinopoli enables us to understand that this book is actually less than a commissioned hagiographical work. On 19 October 1923, some months after the publication of the book, Sinopoli wrote to a bishop who was supposed to go to Rome. In this letter, Sinopoli explained that four months earlier he had met with Cardinal Agostino Richelmy, the Archbishop of Torino who was ill and died shortly after they met. Richelmy had read Sinopoli's book and told Sinopoli that during the conclave of 1903, following the veto and Rampolla's protest against it, Cardinals Vannutelli, Mathieu, Ferrata, Richelmy, and Gennari went to Rampolla's cell "to persuade him not to refuse the tiara that the Holy College was determined [*risoluto*] to put on his head". This testimony is of crucial importance, since this episode was ignored in all reports by the other participants in the conclave[17] published since 1903. It sheds new light on the process that led to the election of Pope Pius X. According to Richelmy's testimony

16 "Avant 1200, [le culte des saints] avait surtout été en honneur chez les clercs et les religieux pour lesquels méditer sur la vie des serviteurs de Dieu était l'occasion de prendre conscience de leurs propres insuffisances [...]. Sous l'influence des cisterciens et surtout des ordres mendiants, l'aspect pastoral du culte des saints devint prépondérant. Dans toute la chrétienté, surtout à partir des années 1230, des prédicateurs répandirent l'idée que c'était dans la vie des saints et non dans leurs miracles que résidait leur vraie grandeur [...] les plus grands miracles des saints, sinon les seuls, étaient leurs œuvres [...]", André Vauchez, "L'influence des modèles hagiographiques sur les représentations de la sainteté dans les procès de canonisation (XIIIe–XVe siècle)", in *Hagiographie culture et sociétés IVe–XIIe siècles. Actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2–5 mai 1979)*, Paris: Editions augustiniennes, 1981, pp. 585–590, quotation p. 588.

17 On the conclave, see Luciano Trincia, *Conclave e potere politico. Il veto a Rampolla nel sistema delle potenze europee (1887–1904)*, Rome, 2004.

transcribed by Sinopoli, "Rampolla resisted their sweet violence [*dolci violenze*] and, at the end, to stop the conversation that had unfolded for some time, he said: 'For charity's sake, take this chalice away from me ... I foresee a severe outcome for the Church ... My election would cause a schism in Austria ... I know its diffidence, its Josephism always latent. Let us avoid a great evil to the Church of Jesus Christ.' Those words convinced the voters to desist from their purpose".[18]

Later, Sinopoli wrote to Cardinal Nava di Bontifè, the Archbishop of Catania, saying that he wanted to add what Richelmy told him in a new edition of the book that was to be translated by Georges Goyau, the French historian. Nava answered telling him not to do so, not because it was not true, but because it was not fair toward Cardinal Richelmy to reveal this information, because Pius X had told the cardinals not to reveal anything about the conclaves, and also because "it would not be welcome to say things that would not be to the honour of poor Austria that suffered terrible ills, maybe due also to the attitude of the Government vis-à-vis the Holy See, and it would be cruel to add this fresh pain to the poor nation".[19] This information is important because it shows that Rampolla was not a total stranger to the election of Pius X.

Reading the letter from the Archbishop of Catania, Sinopoli remained puzzled (*perplesso*) and asked for the advice of the Secretary of State. He wrote again to another correspondent to whom he explained that in Rome he had asked Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli who did not deny that it was true, but who answered that: "some important and very interesting reasons persuaded [his] brother and the other voters to drop their proposal". But Sinopoli noted "The fact is [...] why [dis]simulate a glorious act of the cardinal, for being too sentimental towards Austria? The people who will come after us could, knowing the truth, better write the story with a positive appraisal, but then, if we do so, what philosophy of the story can be drawn from this event?".[20]

What conclusions can be drawn considering the biographical genre in the light of the previous remarks, based on the examples given? The first observation is that Benedict XV's project was not finalized. As the author of a book on biography and chivalry puts it, "the actuality" of an exemplary character has to do with the will to modify the

18 "Per carità, si allontani da me questo calice ... Io prevedo gravi danni per la Chiesa... La mia elezione ci porterebbe lo scisma nell'Austria ... Io ne conosco le diffidenze, il giuseppinismo sempre latante. Evitiamo un male, un grande male alla Chiesa di G. C. Queste parole convinsero gli elettori a desistere dal loro proposito."

19 "... non sarebbe neppure delicate dir cose che non torni ad onore della povera Austria, che ha subito tremende sciagure, forse anche per la condotta del governo verso la Santa Sede, e sarebbe crudele aggiungere quest'altro dolore alla povera nazione".

20 "... motivi gravi ed interessantissimi persuasero mio fratello e gli elettori a recedere della proposta." "Il fatto è vero [...] perchè simulare (sic) un atto di Gloria del Rampolla per essere troppo sentimentali verso l'Austria? Ma i posteri potrebbero meglio, conoscendo la verità, scrivere con apprezzativo giudizio la Storia, e poi, dove va, se cosi facciamo, la filosofia della storia che si puo trarre da questo avvenimento?"

future.[21] What was Benedict's project asking for this book? Obviously, the exaltation of Rampolla's person was also a speechless criticism of some orientations assumed by the Vatican under Pope Pius X's pontificate. No wonder that a year after Benedict's death (22 January, 1922), in February 1923, 28 cardinals asked for the opening of a process for beatification of Pius X. That happened four months before Richelmy revealed his conversation to Sinopoli.

Sinopoli's work was likely a process "*super non cultu*", or a first stage of a process of beatification of Pope Leo's Secretary of State. But the project failed, at least partially, as Pope Benedict died before the publication of the book in 1923. The French edition of this biography, to which Sinopoli often refers, was never published. But Sinopoli sent the proposed modifications to the Vatican to be added in a second edition, and thereby kept the memory of the incident for other biographers or historians: biography is a work in progress. Rampolla is a significant example of the disappearance of a person, of a man behind his social – here religious and ecclesiastical – position. Did Sinopoli write a biography? Or did he describe a classical *cursus honorum*, gathering some information from various areas, no matter who the man was who lived it? This project was far from considering Rampolla as the product of a time, of a society, as one example of a series of prelates of this period. As Pierre Bourdieu says in *L'Illusion biographique*,[22] an actual biography of the cardinal should take those "contextual elements" into account: every biography has to consider the period when the life it describes was lived, as well as the time when it is written. Suggesting to what kind of speech Sinopoli's work belongs, I would like to quote Michel de Certeau who, in the "fable mystique" writes that this specific kind of discourse is endowed with a specific rhetoric that he calls "mystical enunciation". By analogy we can say that Sinopoli's work belongs to a special kind of "biographical enunciation" based on a specific "documental operation". Without prejudice to the figure of speech it uses, this literary attempt is also a poetical

21 Elizabeth Gaucher, *La biographie chevaleresque. Typologie d'un genre (XIIe–XVe siècle)*, Paris, 1994, p. 106: "La biographie affiche des intentions apologétiques. Les prologues montrent clairement cette superposition de deux finalités: informer sur la réalité mais aussi informer la réalité [...] la rétrospective se combine avec la prospective: l'actualité d'un personnage exemplaire n'est reproduite par l'écriture qu'avec l'intention de modifier l'avenir [...]".

22 Pierre Bourdieu, 'L'Illusion biographique', in *Raison pratiques. Sur la théorie de l'action*, Paris, 1994, p. 88: "Essayer de comprendre une vie comme une série unique et à soi suffisante d'événements successifs sans autre lien que l'association à un 'sujet' dont la constance n'est sans doute que celle d'un nom propre, est à peu près aussi absurde que d'essayer de rendre raison d'un trajet dans le métro sans prendre en compte la structure du réseau [...]. Les événements biographiques se définissent comme autant de placements et de déplacements dans l'espace social."; p. 89: "C'est dire qu'on ne peut comprendre une trajectoire [...] qu'à condition d'avoir préalablement construit les états successifs du champ dans lequel elle s'est déroulée [...]".

one, another intermediary between reality and fiction, like the "fable mystique" that brings the two literary genres closer together.[23]

23 In a book review of Michel de Certeau's *Fable mystique* G. Cuchet states that "La 'fable mystique' est un type de discours confronté [...] aux mille et une ruses d'une rhétorique spécifique que Certeau appelle l' 'énonciation mystique'" which is characterized by the use of oxymorons: "de sorte que l'opération mystique est avant tout une opération littéraire et poétique, pour des raisons documentaires (parce que l'historien ne sait rien des mystiques qui n'ont pas laissé de traces écrites) et méthodologique (parce que du référent lui-même on ne peut rien dire de certain)", Guillaume Cuchet, 'Réflexions autour d'une publication postume. La fable mystique (1982–2013) de Michel de Certeau', *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France*, 100 (2014), pp. 403–416, esp. 406.

Fig. 1. Patriarch Tikhon. Picture taken after the enthronement in 1917. Mikhail Vostryšev, Žizn' zamečatel'nych ljudej: 2005.

From Biography to Hymnography

On the Canonization of Patriarch Tikhon

Per-Arne Bodin

Canonizations have never been a more important issue in the Russian Orthodox Church than in the last decades. A substantial share of the post-Soviet Orthodox discourse concerns the new martyrs; that is, an extremely large group of saints who have been canonized for their suffering and death for their faith during the Soviet era.[1]

Although he himself is not labelled a martyr, perhaps the most important character included in this mass canonization is Patriarch Tikhon. He is one of the most conspicuous figures in Russian 20th-century ecclesiastical life. Born in 1865, after finishing school he studied at the Theological Seminary in Pskov and then at the Saint Petersburg Theological Academy, where he graduated in 1888. In 1897 he was consecrated Bishop of Lublin, and was sent as a bishop the following year to America. For that reason, he is sometimes called the Enlightener of North America. In 1907 he returned to Russia, first to the diocese of Yaroslavl and then to Vilnius, and in 1917 he became Metropolitan of Moscow. After the February Revolution in 1917 a church council convened for the first time since the 17th century elected him Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia. The council members chose three candidates and then an old monk drew lots among them. The lot fell on Tikhon, a fact that is viewed in the hagiographic rendering of his life as a token of God's will.

The Bolsheviks began harassing the church immediately after the October takeover, and Tikhon was arrested in 1922 and held in custody for more than a year. After submitting a much-disputed loyalty declaration to the Soviet government he was released. He died in 1925 and was canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church in 1989.

A few months after the Bolshevik takeover in October 1917 a decree was issued

1 I have devoted a chapter in my book *Eternity and time* to this topic; Per-Arne Bodin, *Eternity and time: Studies in Russian literature and the Orthodox tradition*, Stockholm: Stockholm University 2007, pp. 231–250.

separating church and state, and at the same time the church was stripped of its responsibility for the school system. Its properties were confiscated, although it was temporarily allowed to use churches and monasteries. Priests, bishops, monks and nuns were deprived of their civic rights. For example, they were not allowed to vote in general elections until 1936. On its part, the church excommunicated the new rulers.

During the 1921 famine, the state demanded that the church hand over its objects of value for the purchase of food for the starving. The church promised to help in any way it could, but maintained that it could not relinquish things that were needed in the divine service. Documentation that became available during glasnost reveals that the state deliberately made the demand in order to create conflict with the church. Riots broke out when believers attempted to defend church property from confiscation. In a secret letter to his colleague Molotov Lenin wrote:

> The more representatives of the reactionary priesthood and bourgeoisie we manage to shoot on these grounds the better. We must teach these individuals such a lesson that they won't dare to think of any sort of resistance for several decades.[2]

The Party and the state apparatus initiated a wave of arrests, and thousands of priests and bishops were executed as counterrevolutionaries.

Yet another threat to the patriarch came from among a group that had been dissatisfied with the decisions of the 1917–1918 council. Dating from the discussions around 1905 on the future of the Russian church, these reformers, *obnovlency*, renovationists, demanded that it cast off its medieval cloak. They called for a much more democratic administration and wanted to modernize the church far beyond what the majority had been willing to accept. The group developed a new theology that declared capitalism to be a demonic ideology and viewed the Soviet regime as the kingdom of God on earth. Unlike the rest of the Orthodox Church, they maintained that not only priests but also bishops should be allowed to marry, and they began using Russian rather than Church Slavic as the liturgical language. For a time in the 1920s the renovationists were a very influential group with as many followers as the patriarch, and they were recognized as the true representatives of Russian Orthodoxy by the other Orthodox churches in the world. Even Metropolitan Sergej, who would succeed Tikhon, briefly supported the group, although he later apologized to the patriarch.

Led by Aleksandr Vvedenskij, the renovationists broke with Tikhon in connection with the famine of 1921 and promised the state more support than the official church leadership had been willing to offer. The movement had been founded in close cooperation with state agencies and the security services. In the trial of Patriarch Tikhon and his bishops, they participated as prosecution witnesses, which made them suspi-

2 Antologija samizdata, http://antology.igrunov.ru/authors/Lenin/1084383832.html, accessed 28 August 2015.

cious in the eyes of groups that had initially supported them. Later, when it became apparent that they were losing their support among believers, they were deprived of their state backing.

The reformers were genuinely and sincerely interested in ridding the church of its reactionary past in order to modernize it and adapt it to the demands of the 20th century, but they failed to realize that continuity and responsibility for tradition were two of the church's most essential features. What brought them to complete disaster and doomed their movement was their inability to preserve their independence vis-à-vis the secular power. Unlike the patriarch's church, which was forced to depend on the state, the renovationists sought out this contact themselves, and they were demoralized and corrupted by their proximity to power. For Russian Orthodoxy, the encounter between the totalitarian state and the church was both a trauma and a great temptation. The dilemma and tragedy of the renovationists strongly resembles that of the Russian modernists, who wanted to radically reform art and at first viewed the Party and state apparatus as their allies.

Tikhon: biography, literature, and art

The situation in 1917 was precarious and ambiguous. The old Russia had fallen. The fact that the council could be summoned, however, was to a great extent due to the abdication of the tsar. The new Bolshevik rulers who seized power late in the year were openly hostile to the church and wanted to annihilate it. Street battles were going on in Moscow during both the council and Tikhon's enthronement.

The situation can be illustrated through three quotations from Tikhon himself that are repeated in almost all his biographies. When he learned that he had been appointed, the newly elected patriarch made a short speech which not only contained the usual formulas of humility but also expressed serious concern for the Church of Russia and his own destiny:

> Ваша весть об избрании меня в Патриархи является для меня тем свитком, на котором было написано: Плач, и стон, и горе, и каковой свиток должен был съесть пророк Иезекииль.
>
> Your news of my election as patriarch is to me the scroll on which it was written: 'Weeping and gnashing of teeth and grief' which the prophet Ezekiel was forced to swallow / ... / [3]

The second quotation is the anathema spoken by Tikhon on the new rulers, accusing them of committing satanic deeds:

3 Lev Regel'son, *Tragedija russkoj cerkvi 1917–1945*, Paris 1977, p. 33.

> Опомнитесь, безумцы, прекратите ваши кровавые расправы. Ведь то, что творите вы, не только жестокое дело, это поистине дело сатанинское, за которое подлежите вы огню геенскому в жизни будущей — загробной и страшному проклятию потомства в жизни настоящей земной.[4]
>
> Come to your sense, madmen. Cease your bloody violence, for what you are doing is not only cruel, it is indeed satanic, and for it you will be subject to the fires of hell in the life to come beyond the grave, and to a terrible curse from posterity in this earthly life.

The third quotation is allegedly some of his last words:

> А теперь я усну... крепко и надолго... Ночь будет длинная ... [5]
>
> Now I will fall fast asleep and for long – the night will be long ...

These words can pertain both to the feeling of his own approaching death and the situation of the church and Russia.

This sense of the end of the church is also expressed very clearly by his secular contemporaries. Referring to Tikhon and his difficult situation in a 1918 poem, Osip Mandel'štam, one of the best-known poets of the time, compares his own precarious position as a poet with that of the patriarch:

> Кто знает? Может быть, не хватит мне свечи —
> И среди бела дня останусь я в ночи;
> И, зернами дыша рассыпанного мака,
> На голову мою надену митру мрака;
>
> Как поздний патриарх в разрушенной Москве,
> Неосвященный мир неся на голове —
> Чреватый слепотой и муками раздора;
> Как Тихон, ставленник последнего собора ... [6]
>
> Who knows, maybe my candle won't last,
> and right in broad daylight I'll drop into night,
> and breathe scattered poppy seeds
> and wear a black mitre on my head:
>
> Like the dilatory patriarch, in ruined Moscow,
> unconsecrated world on my head,

4 *Akty*, p. 83.

5 *Akty*, p. 369.

6 Osip Mandel'štam, *Sobranie sočinenij v trech tomach*, tom 1, Inter-language Literary Associates, Washington 1967, p. 143.

racked with argument, blind, blind
like Tikhon—the elected of the last church-council.[7]

The connection in the poem between Tikhon's enthronement and an awareness of the crushing burden of the task ahead has a direct counterpart in the speech that the patriarch held when he was informed he had been elected.

For his part, in words reminiscent of Pussy Riot's critique of Patriarch Kirill some years ago, the futurist Vladimir Majakovskij wrote a propagandistic poem directed against the patriarch for allegedly refusing to donate money to the victims of the famine:

Тихон патриарх,
прикрывши пузо рясой,
звонил в колокола по сытым городам,
ростовщиком над золотыми трясся:
«Пускай, мол, мрут,
а злата —
не отдам!»[8]

Patriarch Tikhon
covering his paunch with his robe,
trembling like a moneylender over his riches,
let all the well-fed cities know:
"So what if they die", he said,
"I won't give up my gold!"

The poem ends with a wish that the patriarch will be convicted by the Soviets.

In a way, after having been elected by the council, Tikhon was the only remaining legitimate ruler in the country, which gave him a certain political importance. Thus, the hostility towards him was not only rooted in the Bolsheviks' antipathy toward religion in general and the Orthodox Church in particular, but also reflects the fact that the patriarch was regarded as a political force.

Besides the patriarch's speech and Mandelstam's poem, the sense of an ending can also be noticed in another case: two of the best-known artists of the time, Michail Nesterov and Pavel Korin, attended the burial of the patriarch in the Donskoj Cathedral. In a remark on the event he made to Nesterov, Korin also stressed this feeling that something was coming to an end:

7 *Complete poetry of Osip Emilevich Mandelstam*, translated by Burton Raffel & Alla Burago, Albany, N.Y. 1973, p. 172.

8 V.V. Majakovskij, 'Kogda my pobeždali golodnoe licho, čto delal patriarch Tikhon? ('Tikhon patriarch, prikryvši puzo rjasoj ...'), *Polnoe sobranie sočinenij: V 13 t.*, Moskva: Gos. izd-v chudož. lit., 1955–1961, *T. 5. Stichotvorenija 1923 goda*, podgot. teksta i primeč P.I. Ageeva & F.N. Pickel', 1957, p. 13.

> Это же картина из Данте! Это «Страшный суд» Микеланджело! Написать все это, не дать уйти. Это реквием![9]
>
> This is a picture out of Dante! This is Michaelangelo's *Last Judgment*. I must paint all this, not let it get away. It is a requiem!

Korin began to paint a canvas that he later called *Requiem* to express this feeling of finality. In a letter he explains that the theme of his picture was connected to the Trisaghion Hymns sung at the burial ceremony: "My painting is on the burial motif 'Holy God'" ("Картина моя на похоронный мотив 'Святый Боже'") and in another context associates it with the "Dies irae" of the Catholic Requiem.[10] This unfinished enormous canvas shows many of the church leaders of the time (including Patriarch Tikhon himself) in the Uspenskij Cathedral (which at the time of the patriarch's death was closed, and no divine services could be held there). All of them are standing gazing at the western wall, where the Last Judgement is traditionally depicted in Orthodox churches.

In the Soviet Union, the name of the patriarch was then silenced. The official church mentioned him, but had very little possibility to act or publish anything. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union 25 years ago a few biographies of the patriarch have appeared. One deserving special mention is Michail Vostryšev's in the series *Lives of outstanding persons*. In addition to biographical facts about the patriarch, it also contains the minutes from the interrogations of Tikhon in the Soviet court.

As is usual for saints, the vita of St Tikhon have been published in two versions: a short one and a one that is more elaborate. They focus on the patriarch's ability to develop the dioceses under his responsibility, which is a traditional way of writing about a saint as a church leader – *svjatitel'* or "sanctifier", as the title is sometimes translated. There are almost no miracles recorded, which in other cases are a prerequisite for canonization. Nor is he mentioned as a martyr, although the tribulations he suffered at the hands of the Bolsheviks are described. His ecumenical interests and his good relations to representatives of other faiths are stressed. This is unique among Russian vitae.

After Tikhon's canonization in 1989 liturgical texts and a few Akathist hymns have been written to celebrate him. These hymns are a very popular poetical-liturgical genre in the Russian Orthodox Church and use the same poetical pattern as the well-known early Byzantine Akathist Hymn venerating the Theotokos. Noticeable here is the fact that the texts of these hymns are almost totally free of any sense of an end. On the contrary, as can be seen in the refrains of the Akathistos devoted to Tikhon, they express confidence in the victory of the church.

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9 P.D. Korin, *Pis'ma iz Italii*, Moskva: Izobrazitel'noe Iskusstvo, 1981, p. 42.

10 Varvara Šuvalikova, 'Otpevanie èpochi', trok-ua.ru/ru/sections/art/show/otpevanie ehpokhi.html?type=98&cHash=f43d9d6dec<, accessed 29 August 2015.

> Радуйся, святителю Тихоне, Церкве Православныя похвало и утверждение.[11]
>
> Rejoice, O sanctifier Tikhon, glory and affirmation of the Orthodox Church.
>
> Радуйся, святителю Тихоне, всея Российския земли добрый пастырю и дивный предстоятелю.
>
> Rejoice O sanctifier Tikhon, good shepherd of all the Russian Land and wondrous Primate.

Much can be inferred from the hymn about the political situation of the time: the church council, the election of the patriarch by lot, the battle against the renovationists and his firm protest against the Bolsheviks. For example:

> Радуйся, яко обретатели злочестивых ересей посрамлены показал еси; радуйся, яко нрав дерзкаго безбожия всенародно обличал еси.[12]
>
> Rejoice, for you have shown the shame of the inventors of wicked heresies and for you have unmasked to all the people the impudent nature of godlessness.

He is often depicted in this context as a victor, as in these lines from the Akathistos:

> Радуйся, страданием исповедание совершивый; радуйся, на Бога Промыслителя все упование возложивый. Радуйся, яко обличаеши прелести сокровения; радуйся, яко ужасаеши нечестивых помышления. Радуйся, правую веру чрез многи подвиги непреложно утвердивый; радуйся, благочестивую отрасль труды твоими возрастивый. Радуйся, святителю Тихоне, Церкве Православныя похвало и утверждение.[13]
>
> Rejoice, thou who hast shown thy faith through suffering; rejoice, having all thy trust invested in Divine Providence, rejoice, thou who has exposed the temptation of conspiracy; rejoice, thou who hast shunned godless thought; rejoice, thou who has confirmed thy inviolable faith through many great deeds; rejoice, thou who through thy labours hast increased shoots of piety; rejoice, O sanctifier Tikhon, glory and affirmation of the Orthodox Church.

The spreading of Tikhon's influence from his different episcopal seats up to his appointment as patriarch is depicted in the service texts. He had a formidable resume that spanned not only America, but also some Russian sees, as well as two dioceses – Lublin and Vilnius – with a mainly Catholic population. In other words, he was often bishop in a diocese where the majority were not Orthodox Christians.

There are, however, some hymns which strike a more solemn note; for example, this lamentation for the Russian land:

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11 *Služba iže vo svjatych otcu našemu svjatitelju Tichonu, Patriarchu Vserossijskomu*, Izdanie Donskogo monastyrja, p. 18.

12 *Služba* supra n. 11, Akafist, ikos 10, p. 33.

13 *Služba* supra n. 11, ikos 10, pp. 33–34.

> Плачем и рыданием земля Российская огласися, кровь святых мученик и исповедник Христовых потоки по ней излиясяи, храмы Божии осквернишася и попранию предашася. Увы мне, земле моя! взывал еси, святителю. Кое врачевание прилежит ти, да всех сих избавишися?[14]
>
> The Russian land cries and weeps for the rivers of blood of holy martyrs and confessors of Christ, for the temples of God desecrated and trampled. Alas for me, my land! hast thou called, o sanctifier. What a healing task you must take upon yourself to save them all?

There is a feeling of common guilt for the sins committed in and after the revolution:

> Ты же, святителю, людей враждующих к покаянию и примирению призывал еси, научая превозносити Христа во веки.[15]
>
> Thou, sanctifier, called the enemies to repentance and atonement, learning them to praize Christ in eternity.

In rare cases the imitation Christi motif is used:

> Радуйся, яко и сам принимал еси за Христа заточение. Радуйся, вольным Христовым страданием подражавый; радуйся, страдания за Христа и Церковь Его радостию почитавый.[16]
>
> Rejoice, for you took upon yourself confinement for Christ, rejoice, for you imitated Christ's voluntary suffering; rejoice, for you reckoned suffering for Christ as a joy.

Many depictions of Patriarch Tikhon are like the icons of every hierarch: his birth, different consecrations, and his presence at the church council, and a meeting with the earthly ruler, in this case the tsar's family. His mission in America is depicted in one hymn:

> Радуйтеся и веселитеся верныя чада Церкве Российския, иже в Пенсильвании, Калифорнии, Флориде и иных землех Американских сущии, / святитель бо Тихон ныне престолу Божию предстоит и молится о спасении душ наших.[17]
>
> Rejoice and be of good cheer, true son of the Russian Church who has been in Pennsylvania, California, Florida, and other American lands, sanctifier Tikhon will today before the throne of God pray for the salvation of our souls.

14 *Služba* supra n. 11, kanon, pesn' 9, p. 42.
15 *Služba* supra n. 11, kanon, pesn' 8, p. 42.
16 *Služba* supra n. 11, Akafist, ikos 10, p. 33.
17 *Služba* supra n. 11, kanon, pesn' 4, p. 14.

Fig. 2. Saint Tikhon Contemporary Russian icon, http://www.k-istine.ru/images/ikons/tihon_moskowskiy-03.jpg, accessed 9 April 2017.

The same triumphant note can be noticed in his biographical icon, with miniatures from different events in his life. I will in this paper especially mention two examples: his travel to United States and his chairing of the church council in 1917.

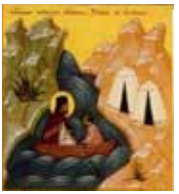

Fig. 3a. Tikhon on his way to aleutes; 3b. Patriach Tikhon at the council 1917; 3c. Patriarch Tikhon in confinement, Miniatures from the icon.

Thus, in the United States he was the pastor of the Aleuts, and the miniature shows him approaching an Aleutian settlement over a river or perhaps to an inlet. The scene may also recall his journey across the Atlantic. The village he is going to is represented by two Aleutian tents. In the icon dedicated to the life of the patriarch, his precarious situation during the Soviet period is shown in only two *klejma*, or miniature marginal scenes depicting his confinement.

The miniature on the right is also included in the large icon *Gathering of new martyrs* painted in 2000, which attempts to assemble various events in the lives of the Soviet martyrs into a whole. The explanation of the miniature provided by the church mentions the victory of the church:

> Преобладающий розовый цвет напоминает о реальном цвете стен Донского монастыря. Но в системе больших обобщений иконописного искусства он становится символом. В античности и затем в искусстве Византии розовый цвет ассоциировался с цветом зари. Здесь он может рассматриваться как обозначение духовной зари, никогда не гаснущей, невзирая на мрак гонений.[18]
>
> The pink color is reminiscent of the real color of the walls in the Donskoj Monastery. But in the broad generalization typical of iconography it becomes a symbol. During classical antiquity and later in Byzantine art pink was associated with the dawn. Here it can be seen as a symbol of spiritual dawn that never fades despite the darkness of persecution.

The details of Patriarch Tikhon's life blur as his biography becomes hagiography. The miracles that are traditionally a constituent part of vitae are almost entirely absent from these texts about him.

18 Klejmo 7 – Svjatejšij Patriarch Tichon v zatočenii v Donskom monastyre, http://www.svelizaveta.ru/ikona/ikona-08.htm, accessed 29 August 2015.

Fig. 4. The reliquary of patriarch Tikhon. From Donskoj stavropigial'nyj monastyr', *Moskva 2014.*

Something approaching the hagiographic tradition of miracles, however, can be seen in the narrative about the discovery of Tikhon's relics in 1992. These remains were said to have disappeared, removed either by the Bolsheviks in order to prevent them from becoming a shrine or by the church to prevent the Bolsheviks from destroying them. The body was found almost intact in the coffin in connection with a fire in the church where he was buried. The incorruptibility of the dead body is one of the most important signs of sanctity in the Russian Orthodox tradition. The finding of Tikhon's relics also has a political background. Because one of the first things the Bolsheviks did after the revolution was to confiscate and destroy relics as tokens of superstition, veneration of them is especially stressed in the church of today. February 22, the day the body was found, is celebrated as a feast day.

The cloak (*mantija*) in which he was buried was said to have been stolen by the renovationist, but this story also proved to be untrue. Today Tikhon's relics are in a gold coffin with a glass lid in the main cathedral of the Donskoj Monastery (previous page). The original coffin is in an otherwise empty glass display case covered with the patriarch's green cloak. Both objects are intended to show that the church has vanquished the godless Soviet regime.

There are some "difficult questions" in the biography of the patriarch. One of them is his support for continuing the unpopular war after the February Revolution. This is documented, for example, in a photo from the summer of 1917 showing him blessing a women's battalion standing on guard on Red Square. Furthermore, he protested against the separate peace treaty with Germany concluded by the Bolsheviks in 1918 in Brest-Litovsk. In an open letter to his flock he proposed a revision of the treaty, calling it "a shameful peace." He also protested against the independent status given to Ukraine, praying for brave men to return "what has been torn away and collect that which has been scattered." [19] Many of his sermons concern the need for the Russian people and the political leaders to repent, but nothing is said of the responsibility of the church for failing to protest against the atrocities committed by the tsar and his government before 1917.

Another such issue has to do with the authenticity of his will, which called for loyalty to the regime, and then there is the question of his death. Was it from natural causes, or was he poisoned? These questions are avoided in the vitae and are understandably absent from the hymns as well.

19 M.E. Gubonin, *Akty Svjatejšego Tichona, Patriarcha Moskovskogo i Vseja Rossii*, Moskva: Bratstvo Vo Imia Vsemilostivogo Spasa, 1994, p. 108.

Fig. 5. The metropolitan Tikhon blessing a women batallion at the Red square 1917. From the journal Iskry *1917, Internet*: http://cyrillitsa.ru/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Tikhon_mitropolit_and_russian_soldiers_1917_in_Moskow_Krasnaja_square1.jpg, April 21 2016.

Fig. 6. Patriarch Tikhon welcomed in the Don monastery. Fresco in the monastery painted by Natal'ja Ermakova. With the permission of the photograph Aleksandr Chebotar'. From the site Chramy Rossii, http://www.temples.ru/tree.

The life of the patriarch is depicted not only in icons but also in frescos. A unique, newly made wall-painting by Natal'ja Ermakova showing parts of his life can be seen in one of the churches in the Donskoj Monastery. One example will be discussed here. In this fresco the patriarch is depicted as he arrives at the Monastery soon after his enthronement and is greeted with great veneration by the brothers and laymen. Even the horse pulling his coach turns its head towards him in a reverent gesture. He was confined by the Bolsheviks in that monastery, and after his release from prison he lived there the last years of his life. Revolution, the precarious situation in Moscow and street fighting are also included in the painting, but in the background and only implied, as in the image of the marchers up to the left holding a red banner in the style of Socialist Realism. They look quite insignificant in comparison with the patriarch, as do the two fires that are implied by the image of flames. Semantic proportions are important in icon painting, and they are here as well. He looks enormous if we compare him with the church he enters seen in the background.

There is thus an ambiguity between the role of Tikhon as a *sviatitel'*, or sanctifier, and as a *mučenik*, or martyr. In the vita as well as in the icons and the hymn the focus is more on his role as a church leader, then on his suffering and tribulations. In some cases, however, he is called a sanctifier-martyr (святитель-мученик Тихон).[20] The history of the Russian Church is full of conflicts, and it is rare to find anyone who is venerated by almost all parties and groups, but that seems to be the case with Patriarch Tikhon. At the same time, it must be said that Tikhon does not enjoy any great popularity among Russian believers in his capacity of a saint: he is too modern, and the same can be said about the new martyrs. The Russians continue to pray to traditional saints such as Nicholas or Sergij of Radonež.[21]

In his seminal work on Russian hagiography *Visions of glory*, the Norwegian scholar Jostein Børtnes differentiates between two kinds of vitae: a metaphoric one focused on the *imago Christi*-theme and a metonymical one that focuses on contiguity and the gradual rise in the saint's status in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[22] The texts and the images depicting Patriarch Tikhon pertain to the second group. He is called a shepherd, but comparisons with Christ and Christ's suffering are rare. What we encounter is a church hierarch, and he is depicted as such; his suffering and trials are secondary. In the eyes of contemporary Russia, a very dark part of its religious history is perceived to be a new beginning for the triumphant Orthodox Church. The sense of an end in Tikhon's

20 Slovo v den' pamjati Ioanna Bogoslova i svjatitelja Tikhona, http://www.pravoslavie.ru/put/48 978.htm, accessed 10 January 2016.

21 For a discussion of the popularity of different Russians saints, see Karin Hyldal Christensen, *The making of the new martyrs of Russia Soviet repression in Orthodox memory*, Copenhagen: Copenhagen University, 2015.

22 Jostein Børtnes, *Visions of glory: Studies in Early Russian hagiography*, Oslo: Solum, 1988, p. 158.

Fig. 7. Albert Engström, Moskoviter, Skrifter av Albert Engström*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1946, p. 155. Projekt Runeberg, fil* http://runeberg.org/moskovit/0155.html*, accessed 21 April, 2016.*

own utterances and the understanding of his contemporaries has become a much more optimistic note in the texts and paintings connected with his recent canonization.

The Swedish author and artist Albert Engström, who visited Moscow in 1923 and attended a service celebrated by the patriarch in the Donskoj Monastery cathedral, had an opportunity to experience Tikhon first hand.[23] He was even allowed to enter the altar room. Engström understood little of the liturgical celebration but he reports that Tikhon seemed weary after his imprisonment and that it was terribly cold in the cathedral. He lamented his ignorance of foreign languages, which prevented any sort of personal contact. Actually, Tikhon spoke fluent English after a decade in the United States, and in his youth he had taught French. Engström, however, had the impression that the patriarch did not dare to speak with any foreign writers. His visit resulted in a sketch of the preparations for the Mass in the altar room:

23 Albert Engström, *Samlade berättelser*, 18: *Moskoviter*, Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1929, pp. 150–155.

> The patriarch was dressed in a simple skirt-like white garment and was bareheaded. He reached out his hand to the bishop, who bowed deeply, kissed his superior on the cheeks, mouth and hand, bowed and curtsied and whispered something in the old man's ear between kisses. Then the bishop waved, and several other equally splendid priests came and began dressing the patriarch for the holy ceremony, all of which took place with many signs and wonders.
>
> And then I recalled that my knowledgeable companion had told me a few days previously that today the patriarch would wear the white tiara with a cross of diamonds on the crown that was worth so and so many millions!
>
> And then the great moment arrived. Several priests – more of them now opened a cabinet and took out a lot of pear-shaped, bejeweled mitres and tried them on themselves and on each other. They crowded around me, and I felt like a poor lost little boy from Småland straight out of the forest. I felt superfluous, in the way, at the wrong place.[24]

Engström is a sympathetic observer with considerable but benevolent humor who does not understand or is really even interested in what is going on around him. He knows nothing about the Orthodox Church and seems completely secularized, and wants to remind his readers of the fact. He also includes a detail on the supposed enormous wealth of the church that was the background to the arrest of the patriarch.

On August 23 1925 at the World Conference of Life and Work in Stockholm, a requiem or *panikhida* in Church Slavonic was held to commemorate Tikhon in the Gustav Vasa Church in central Stockholm. Swedish Church Archbishop Nathan Söderblom commented that the event was a testimony to spiritual fellowship with Russian Christians. As seems evident from the archbishop's account in his book on the conference, this requiem was perhaps the strongest manifestation of Christian unity during the gathering. As the Swedish archbishop noted, the memorial service became a real handshake between East and West.[25]

24 Engström 1929, p. 157.

25 Nathan Söderblom, *Kristenhetens möte i Stockholm. Augusti nittonhundratjugufem: historik, aktstycken, grundtankar, personligheter, eftermäle*, Stockholm: SKD, 1926, p. 202.

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Recent Biographies of 20th-Century Popes

Some Comments

Antón M. Pazos

Biographies of popes, a long-standing tradition, naturally present the same problems as any biography, but they also have a specific component not found in other biographies of clerics: the political and diplomatic dimension. The latter dimension is perhaps one of the most distinctive features, inseparably linked to universality, which is another typical element of papal biographies.

In this text, I am going to concentrate on certain problems posed by the biographies of 20th-century popes published since 2000, with the opening of the Vatican Secret Archives. The popes in question are Pius X (1903–1914), Benedict XV (1914–1922) and Pius XI (1922–1939).

The period from 1903 to 1939 is an age when the centrality and universality of the papacy expanded, both doctrinally and diplomatically, and became increasingly present in the ordinary lives of millions of people. Moreover, also from an anecdotal point of view, modernity is present in these biographies, from the first to the last one. One example of this is the cardinals meeting for the conclave in 1903, when they had to decide on a procedure to prevent leaks occurring by telephone, that had recently installed in the Vatican.[1]

The papal biographies of the first third of the last century belong, then, to the bru-

1 "Un nouveau moyen de communication, le téléphone, avait fait son apparition au Vatican depuis le précédent conclave (1878). Les cardinaux, lors de leur deuxième congrégation générale, durent donc statuer sur son usage. Il fut décidé que tous les appareils existants dans les pièces où se tiendrait le conclave et où logeraient les cardinaux seraient retirés. Sauf un appareil à l'usage exclusif de Mgr Merry del Val qui pourrait, en cas de nécessité, joindre le substitut de la Secrétairerie d'État, c'est-à-dire Mgr Della Chiesa. Mais pendant les cinq jours qu'allait durer le conclave, il ne fut pas nécessaire d'utiliser l'appareil" (Marcel Launay, *Benoît XV*, Paris: Cerf, 2014, p. 71).

tal history of "the short 20th century":[2] the two world wars, the Spanish Civil War, The Cristero War, Zionism, colonialism and globalization are part of any biography of those pontificates written today.

The problem of documents and their use

An important factor in any biography is the documentation available. Since September 2006, as Hubert Wolf reminds us, "more than a hundred thousand archive items, including boxes, bundles and files, comprising almost a thousand folios each, just for the period from 1922 to 1939",[3] have been made available to researchers in the Vatican Secret Archives alone. Whether it is an exaggeration or not to speak of a hundred million pages, it gives us an idea of the complexity of the documentation, which very often sits uneasily with the speed at which it is being published. The abundance of source material and the eagerness to publish immediately – historians raced each other to be first after the opening of the archives – have led Emma Fattorini to alert us to "forms of naive fetishism, as if the source spoke for itself".[4]

The canonization process of Pius X, also available, is a kind of oral history survey *avant la lettre*, with hundreds of interviews of every shade of opinion, for and against.[5]

Merry del Val's diary of the 1903 conclave has been published.[6] The vast correspondence of Giuseppe Sarto – the most voluminous of any pope in history – is either published[7] or available.[8]

The diary kept by Baron Monti, Benedict XV's liaison with the Italian government on his daily dealings, was bought from his widow by Pius XI and lodged in the Vati-

2 Eric Hobsbawm, *The age of extremes: The short twentieth century, 1914–1991*, London 1994.

3 Hubert Wolf, *Il papa e il diavolo: Il Vaticano e il Terzo Reich*, Roma: Donzelli, 2008, p. 389.

4 Emma Fattorini, 'Introduzione', in *Diplomazia senza eserciti: Le relazioni internazionali della chiesa di Pio XI*, eds Emma Fattorini & Giulia D'Alessio, Roma: Carocci editore, 2013, p. 11.

5 "[...] fra i circa cinquanta testimoni che deposero relativamente al periodo veneziano, pochissimi dissero di aver notato in lui i segni della santità. Tutti ne riconoscono le capacità, il vigore, l'intuito, la forza del comando, l'ascendente che esercitava sulla città e sul clero, non però la personale santità" (Gianpaolo Romanato, *Pio X. Alle origini del cattolicesimo contemporáneo*, Torino: Lindau, 2014, p. 337).

6 Luciano Trincia, *Conclave e potere politico: Il veto a Rampolla nel sistema delle potenze europee, 1887–1904*, Roma: Studium, 2004, pp. 248–280.

7 A revision in Gianpaolo Romanato, 'Pio X: Studi e interpretazioni', *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 23, 2014, pp. 153–167, esp. 157.

8 About the papal private documentation of the "Segretariola" see Sergio Pagano, 'L'Archivio particolare di Pio X all'Archivio Segreto Vaticano', in *Pio X e il suo tempo*, ed. Gianni La Bella, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003, pp. 153–182.

can archives. Chiron considers it "an essential source".[9] Antonio Scottà has published it in two dense volumes, significantly titled *La conciliazione ufficiosa*[10] (The unofficial conciliation). Della Chiesa's correspondence is also available.[11]

Pacelli's *tacuini*, the summaries he made of every interview with Pius XI, are another invaluable source of the Pope's ideas on the most important issues, from the war in Spain to the tensions with Mussolini.[12]

This river of documents is divided, moreover, into smaller channels, both thematic and geographic, which makes writing a comprehensive papal biography a highly complex task. What are the solutions? Some highlight doctrinal issues, as Oscar Sanguinetti openly declares;[13] others are biographies written from the perspective of a particular country, giving priority to relations with that nation – Italy, France, Germany, Spain, Austria or Mexico. As Philippe Levillain has pointed out, "the greatest difficulty for contemporary historiography on the papacy lies in the universal mission pursued by the Holy See, that is, the Church and the Roman pontiff, as compared with national historical points of view".[14]

An issue connected with what I shall say later about the ideological uses of biographies is the credibility of some of these new sources, especially those that are not government documents. Biographers make great use of diaries, reminiscences and impressions, both of cardinals and of ambassadors. Monti's diary on the negotiations between Benedict XV and the Italian government is paradigmatic, but there are many others. Those sources that we might describe as opinionated, which provide the anecdotes that bring any biography to life, tend to be contradictory. This is particularly noticeable in the biographies of Benedict XV and Pius X, and also leads to conflicting conclusions. The appointment of Della Chiesa as Archbishop of Bologna is seen by Pollard – opposed to Pius X – as an estrangement from Rome due to the animadver-

9 Yves Chiron, *Benoit XV: Le pape de la paix*, Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 2014, p. 12.

10 Antonio Scottà, *La conciliazione ufficiosa. Diario del barone Carlo Monti «Incaricato d'affari» del governo italiano presso la Santa Sede*, Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1997, 2 vols; 'Introduzione', vol. I, pp. 1–110.

11 Giorgio Rumi, 'Benedetto XV. Un epistolario inedito', *Civitas*, 1991, pp. 3–83.

12 *I «Fogli di Udienza» del cardinale Eugenio Pacelli Segretario di Stato*, vol. I: *1930*, eds Sergio Pagano, Marcel Chapin & Giovanni Coco, Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2010.

13 Oscar Sanguinetti, *Pio X. Un pontefice santo alle soglie del «secolo breve»*, Milano: SugarCo, 2014.

14 Philippe Levillain, 'Le pontificat de Pie XI. Une historiographie singulière', in *La sollecitudine ecclesiale di Pio XI alla luce delle nuove fonti archivistiche. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio, Città del Vaticano, 26–28 febbraio 2009*, Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2010, p. 19.

sion of Merry del Val.[15] Scottà, based on Monti and Della Chiesa himself, sees it, on the other hand, as evidence of the esteem of Pius X, rewarding him with the "most active, lively and enterprising see in Italy",[16] as he puts it. An obvious problem is that ideologically-driven biography leads to pre-selection of sources, taking negative opinions as reliable and dismissing positive ones as hagiography. Benedict XV is treated with contempt by sources of the time marked by bellicose nationalism. The Italian press regarded him as utterly forgettable.[17] Dom Chautard, the famous Cistercian abbot, author of one of the most influential spiritual works of the 20th century, considered him a man of mediocre intelligence.[18] Cardinal Agliardi saw him as a mediocrity and a mere bureaucrat.[19]

Others saw Benedict XV as a great pope: the best of the century, in the opinion of John XXIII.[20] Pollard, who takes a favourable view, while pointing out that "what makes a Pope 'great' is, in any case, very hard to say", sees that greatness in the way he "rose to meet the tremendous challenges posed by the state of the secular world, and especially the horrors of the First World War".[21] Natalie Renoton-Beine, whose verdict is also very favourable, proposes that we should distinguish between absolute failure and relative failure, and leans towards the latter. His greatness, by this argument, lies in going from being diplomatically irrelevant at the start of the War to becoming a necessary interlocutor for the victors. And in having denounced not only the war but also

15 John Pollard, *Unknown Pope: Benedict XV (1914–1922) and the pursuit of peace*, London: Continuum International Publishing, 2000, pp. 26–27.

16 Antonio Scottà, *Papa Benedetto XV. La chiesa, la grande guerra, la pace*, Roma: Storia e Letteratura, 2009, pp. 10–11.

17 "Alla morte di Benedetto XV, la stampa italiana espresse un giudizio non eccessivamente entusiasta sul suo operato e preannunciò che il suo pontificato sarebbe stato ben presto dimenticato. Una profezia, questa, che si è in gran parte averata. Ne è prova il fatto che spesso papa Giacomo Della Chiesa viene ricordato quasi solo come colui che ha definito la Prima guerra mondiale una «inutile strage»" (Dionigi Tettamanzi, archivescovo di Genova, 'Prefazione', in John F. Pollard. *Il papa sconosciuto. Benedetto XV*, Cinisello Balsamo: San Paolo Edizioni, 2001, p. 5).

18 "En 1915, Dom Chautard, l'abbé cistercien de Sept-Fonts, parlera quant à lui « d'une intelligence médiocre et trop hanté du désir de jouer un rôle [...] il aurait hérité des petits côtés de Léon XIII, mais non de son génie »" (Launay supra n. 1, p. 23).

19 "La carrière du nouveau pontife pouvait en effet susciter de multiples interrogations. N'était-il pas, selon la formule du cardinal Agliardi à la veille du conclave, qu'un « médiocre homme », un « pur bureaucrate » ?" (Launay supra n. 1, pp. 15–16).

20 According cardinal Mario Nasalli: "Mi diceva Giovanni XXIII che dei Papi da lui conosciuti, cominciando da Leone XIII, Benedetto XV era il Pontefice che gli aveva fatto maggiore impressione" (A. Scottà, *Papa Benedetto XV*, p. 21).

21 Pollard supra n. 15, p. 215.

the political consequences of the peace.[22] Marcel Launay, taking the same line, highlights his universalizing value, rising above national Catholicisms.[23]

The historical problem of papal canonizations

The canonization of Pius X, the first of a pope in three centuries, introduced a new biographical variant. In the introduction to Sanguinetti's biography of Pius X, Roberto Spadaro states that saintliness is a theological category which offers a criterion for interpreting history.[24] Rusconi emphasizes the connection Pius XII established in canonizing him between the "personal virtues of a pope and the government of the Church".[25] So what is a papal biography, a life or a reign? However, Pius X's contemporaries saw him as a saintly pope, not a papal saint. Baudrillart, normally very critical, says so in his

22 "Dresser un bilan de la politique de paix du Vatican pendant la Première Guerre mondiale exige de faire la part entre l'échec absolu et l'échec relatif, entre la paix de victoire de 1918 et la consolidation de la place du Saint-Siège dans les relations internationales. Car c'est bien une série d'échecs que l'historiographie retiendra des conversations de paix du Vatican couvrant la période 1914–1918. Échec de n'avoir pas trouvé le ton juste pour être entendu, de n'avoir pas su ramener la paix en Europe, échec de n'avoir pu résoudre la question romaine, de ne pas avoir imposé sa participation à la conférence de Versailles. Pour Benoît XV, le bilan fut amer, non pas uniquement pour ces motifs, mais aussi pour avoir assisté, impuissant, à la victoire totale de l'Entente, au démantèlement de la monarchie austrohongroise et à la capitulation sans condition de l'Allemagne. La paix qui ressortirait d'une victoire, le pape en avait très tôt ressenti les conséquences : une paix imposée, le règne de l'arbitraire, une paix non chrétienne, en somme le drame qui allait se jouer à la conférence de Versailles de janvier à juin 1919" (Nathalie Renoton-Beine, *La colombe et les tranchées: Les tentatives de paix de Benoît XV pendant la Grande Guerre*, Paris: Cerf, 2004, p. 373).

23 "[...] l'appel du 1er août 1917 a souvent été considéré comme l'acte le plus important du pontificat, au risque d'occulter bien d'autres initiatives, sonnant le rappel de la mission traditionnelle de la papauté : transcender les intérêts nationaux" (Launay supra n. 1, p. 7).

24 Roberto Spadaro S.D.B, 'Prefazione', in Sanguinetti supra n. 13, p. 11.

25 "Alcuni toni particolari caratterizzarono il nuovo discorso di Pio XII. All'inizio egli volle sottolineare con estrema forza il legame che lo aveva unito, e lo univa, al proprio predecessore: «forse per la prima volta nella storia della Chiesa la formale santificazione di un Papa è proclamata da chi ebbe già il privilegio di essere al servigio di lui nella Curia Romana». Assai interessante era poi il nesso che egli volle instaurare tra virtù personali di un pontefice e il governo della Chiesa: «La scaturigine profonda dell'opera legislativa di Pio X è da ricercarsi soprattutto nella sua personale santità». Ancor più importante era la sottolineatura del ruolo del proprio predecessore nella condanna del modernismo, dal momento che proprio gli appunti mossi al comportamento di papa Sarto nella repressione di quei fermenti, avanzati nel corso della causa di beatificazione, avevano rallentato il riconoscimento ecclesiastico della sua santità" (Roberto Rusconi, *Santo Padre. La santità del papa da San Pietro a Giovanni Paolo II*, Roma: Viella, 2010, pp. 480–481).

"Carnets", sensing the saintliness in him.[26] Benedict XV, says Pollard, lacked "'heroic virtues' of the sort which Merry del Val quickly noticed in [...] Pius X".[27]

The problem that saintliness poses for those with responsibility for government was thrown into relief when Cardinal Ferrari, who had opposed the Pope in key issues of government, began to be reassessed after Pius X's canonization.[28] "These are two figures who held the highest responsibilities of government, whose saintliness cannot depend solely on their obvious personal virtues, but also on their conduct in the exercise of those responsibilities. The raising of both of them to the glory of the altars presents problems that are difficult to resolve, both for believers and for historians",[29] as Romanato puts it. Another problem with papal saints, which arose in the case of Pius X, was the predominance of hagiography over history, which proved damaging in the long term. In Romanato's view, canonization also obscured the effort and distress the pope suffered by placing him "outside time",[30] preventing us from understanding the tensions of his years as pope in historical terms. In other words, preventing us from writing an authentic biography.

The problem of the purposes of papal biography

A question connected with the ideologically motivated pre-selection of sources, of which I have just spoken, is that of the real purposes of papal biographies. Almost all of them take a strong line, either for or against. Recent ones have been relatively favourable, even revealing new positive approaches to each pontiff.

But the opposite also occurs. It has quite rightly been pointed out that the boom

26 "Sa mort m'émeut moins que celle de Pie X, bien que sa politique et sa conduite aient été pour nous moins fertiles en embarras et difficultés ; mais il ne donnait pas cette impression de surnaturel qu'on éprouvait auprès de Pie X ; on sentait trop le diplomate et le politique" (*Les carnets du cardinal Alfred Baudrillart*, vol. III: *1er janvier 1922–12 avril* 1925, ed. Paul Christophe, Paris: Editions du Cerf, 2001, pp. 65–66; Launay supra n. 1, p. 266).

27 Pollard supra n. 15, p. 213.

28 Specially after the biographie of Carlo Snider, *L'episcopato del cardinale Andrea C. Ferrari*, 2 vols, Milano: Neri Pozza, 1981–1982.

29 "Si tratta di due personaggi che hanno rivestito entrambi altissimi ruoli di governo ecclesiastico, la cui santità perciò non può dipendere solo dalle comprovate virtù personali, ma anche dai comportamenti tenuti nell'esercizio di tali funzioni. L'elevazione di entrambi alla gloria degli altari pone perciò, al credente tanto quanto allo storico, problemi di non facile soluzione" (Romanato supra n. 5, p. 395 n. 680).

30 "La santificazione di Pio X ha steso molti veli sulle opposizioni e i rifiuti che egli incontrò, ne ha esaltato le virtù e nascosto le angosce, collocandolo quasi in una nicchia fuori del tempo. Sicché oggi il biografo trova non poche difficoltà a ricostruire il clima vero del pontificato, le tensioni che lo attraversarono, che non furono soltanto, dobbiamo ripeterlo, quelle dovute al modernismo. Ma sottovalutando o ignorando tali tensioni si capirebbe ben poco del decennio piano" (Romanato supra n. 5, p. 407).

in studies on Pius XI in recent years has largely been conducted with an eye on his successor, by way of an aperitif or proxy (*ersatz*, as it has been called) for the coming conflict over Pius XII. The potential for polemic is evident even in the titles. The devil appears in books such as Kertzer's *Il patto col diavolo*[31] (*The Pope and Mussolini*), applied to Mussolini, and Wolf's *Il papa e il diavolo*[32] (*Pope and Devil: The Vatican's Archives and the Third Reich*), attributed in this case to Hitler. And it is explicitly recognized that there will be a historiographical battle: "As shown here," says Kertzer, "the Vatican made a secret deal with Mussolini to refrain from any criticism of Italy's infamous anti-Semitic 'racial laws' in exchange for better treatment of Catholic organizations. This fact is largely unknown in Italy, and despite all the evidence presented in this book, I have no doubt many will deny it".[33] This author therefore assumes that there is an ideological undercurrent, real or imaginary, in biographies of Pius XI, and logically this is also true of his own work.

Romanato sums up very well the need to keep an open mind towards sources and evidence of every hue. He points out, for example, that positive statements on the canonization process of Pius X "tend to be understood as an attempt by the pope's collaborators to defend his memory and are therefore given little credence. Nevertheless, without denying that they are intended defensively, I think the same value needs to be ascribed to such judgements as to other less favourable ones".[34] What is more, compared with the generally negative image presented by so many authors, "an unprejudiced reading of his documents [...] shows him in a different light, not only richer in human terms, but susceptible of less dogmatic and presumptive assessments".[35]

Emma Fattorini also alerts us to the ideologically motivated suppression of certain sources and defends the use of some that are normally disregarded because they are considered hagiographic. She points out, for example, that the pious memoirs of Pacelli's female collaborators, the best known being Sister Pascalina, contain a great

31 David I Kertzer, *Il patto col diavolo. Mussolini e papa Pio XI. Le relazioni segrete fra il Vaticano e l'Italia fascista*, Milano: Rizzoli, 2014.

32 Hubert supra n. 3.

33 Kertzer supra n. 31, p. 387 ('Nota dell'autore').

34 "Affermazioni come questa sono state generalmente intese come tentativi di difendere la memoria di Pio X da parte di coloro i quali furono suoi diretti collaboratori, e hanno ottenuto perciò poco credito. Ora, senza negare l'esistenza di intenzioni difensive, ritengo necessario attribuire a questi giudizi almeno lo stesso valore di altri meno benevoli nei suoi confronti" (Romanato supra n. 5, p. 394 n. 679).

35 "Non sto cercando di forzare l'interpretazione di Pio X, ma l'immagine prevalentemente negativa che ne ha fornito molta pubblicistica è parziale e insufficiente. Una lettura senza pregiudizi dei suoi documenti e del suo operato lo rivela diverso, non solo più ricco umanamente, ma suscettibile di valutazioni meno scontate e aprioristiche" (Romanato supra n. 5, p. 489).

wealth of information "which is usually neglected by specialists in Vatican diplomatic relations".[36]

On the other hand, certain highly original sources, such as secret police reports, should perhaps be treated with more scepticism. Infiltrating spies into the Vatican has been a favourite pastime of intelligence services, especially Italian ones. Those in the First World War gave Annibale Paloscia's book its title: *Benedetto fra le spie*[37] ("Benedict among the spies"), but the pontificate of Pius XI was the most spied-upon by the fascist police, and there are numerous files in the Italian state archives containing communications from anonymous informants.[38] In many cases it is impossible to tell who they are, since only their code names are recorded. Kertzer has made great use of them, and they do provide very juicy information, but how reliable are they? The fetish for documents can lead to unquestioning acceptance of information that may be invented or exaggerated, quite a widespread habit in intelligence circles.

The problem of popes' private lives

Finally, a few brief comments on two issues that are normally taken for granted or barely mentioned but are central to any biography, spiritual or otherwise: one is the private life of the subject, the other is the influence of biological time on government decisions.

Penetrating the private life of a pope is not easy. Election involves accepting a new role which some see as "a real biological boundary". Pius X, who was always reserved, despite his thousands of letters, became quite impenetrable on reaching the papacy, as Romanato says.[39]

In asking herself why Pacelli agreed to be Pius XI's Secretary of State, Emma Fattorini acknowledges that it is risky for biographers to inquire into subjective reasons. But it is also an inescapable requirement; they must read their subjects' texts in search of their underlying intentions.[40]

36 "O ancora, come interpretare le tante, ovviamente edificanti, dichiarazioni di suor Pascalina o di suor Maria Gonzaga, suor Maria Paula Zileri dal Verme, le suore svizzere presso le quali soggiornava in vacanza? E non certo per concludere che le loro testimonianze non vadano prese sul serio. Al contrario, credo andrebbe riconsiderata la memorialistica, specie delle religiose, generalmente trascurata dagli storici delle relazioni diplomatiche vaticane. Emma Fattorini, 'Eugenio Pacelli, Segretario di stato di Pio XI', in Laura Pettinaroli, *Le gouvernement pontifical sous Pie XI: Pratiques romaines et gestion de l'universel*, Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 2014, pp. 505–506.

37 Annibale Paloscia, *Benedetto fra le spie 1914. L'anno fatale della grande guerra*, Milano: Ugo Mursia Editore, 2013.

38 Rome, Archivio Centrale dell Stato, Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione Generale della Pubblica Sicureza.

39 "Se Sarto fu sempre – l'abbiamo visto – persona riservata, ora, divenuto Pio X, appare quasi impenetrabile" (Romanato supra n. 5, p. 396).

40 "Certo, indagare le ragioni soggettive è sempre arduo. Terreno scivoloso per uno storico, de-

The difficulty is compounded by the fact that, despite occupying the same position, every pope is different. Bouthillon, in his original analysis of Pius XI's political theology,[41] remarks that each pope is the last of his species, reinventing himself like a phoenix, as if he were living a second life: an added difficulty for a biographer who wishes to enter into his private self, which is different from what is was before he became pope.

The problem of biology in the government of the Church

The influence of age and illness – seen as positive elements – have in general received little attention. Kertzer is one author who reassesses them when analysing the anti-totalitarian decisions of Pius XI at the end of his life. "For years", he says, "the pope had enjoyed good health, astounding observers with his prodigious work-rate. [...]. Now [around 1936] every day was a challenge, every step a torment. At night he could not sleep, he lay awake [...] panting with asthma and, worse still, with the anguished sense that something had gone terribly wrong."[42]

More explicit, even crude, as is typical of his style, is Bouthillon: "Pius XI collapsed in December 1936 and took to his bed. His hiccups began one of those Roman *fin-de-régime* periods in which the only meaningful question is the colour of the Pope's spit. He held out for two more years. As he did not begin to recover until February, those three terrible months, surrounded by doctors and successors, served to turn him in on himself. 'What have I done?' And when his recovery was obvious, 'what have I been granted this for?' The answer came around Easter, with *Mit brennender Sorge* and *Divini Redemptoris*".[43]

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cisamente rischioso, eppure credo andrebbe tematizzato esplicitamente: non si può eludere o comunque introdurre surrettiziamente la valenza soggettiva nel percorso delle scelte decisionali, come se ricorrere al carattere, al temperamento, alla biografia sia un'indebita concessione all'agiografia o a qualche genere minore. Si tratta di chiedersi, in altri termini, come leggere gli epistolari privati, nella fattispecie le frequenti lettere che Eugenio si scambiava con il fratello Francesco" (Fattorini supra n. 36, p. 505).

41 Fabrice Bouthillon, *La naissance de la Mardité. Une théologie politique à l'âge totalitaire: Pie XI*, Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2002.

42 "Per anni il papa aveva goduto di buona salute, lasciando gli osservatori stupefatti per i suoi proibitivi ritmi di lavoro. Aveva insistito per conoscere ogni dettaglio degli affari vaticani e prendere in prima persona tutte le decisioni di qualche rilevanza. Adesso ogni giorno era una sfida, ogni passo doloroso. Di notte non riusciva a dormire, giaceva sveglio con le gambe che pulsavano per le vene varicose, l'asma che rendeva il respiro una lotta e, cosa ancor peggiore, era tormentato dalla sensazione che qualcosa fosse andato terribilmente storto" (Kertzer supra n. 31, p. 9).

43 "Le temps avait rendu Pie XI plus solide du corollaire que des coronaires, et l'artériosclérose le minait. Il s'effondra au début de décembre 1936; on le mit au lit. Ses hoquets ouvraient l'une de ces fins de règne romaines où la seule interrogation qui1 poigne est de savoir de quelle couleur

Recent biographies raise many other problems, but on the other side of the scale are the results, which I am not going to go into here. They are substantial and have advanced our knowledge of the first three popes of the 20th century. A further indication, perhaps, that here too papal biographies are benefiting from the success of a genre which is "currently enjoying another boom on both sides of the Atlantic".[44]

le pape crache. Il tint encore deux ans. Comme la réchappée ne fut certaine qu'en février, ces terribles trois mois entre médecins et successeurs lui furent l'occasion d'un retour sur soi. Qu'ai-je fait ? Et quand le sursis fut patent, pourquoi m'est-il donné ? La réponse vint vers Pâques, avec *Mit brennender Sorge* et *Divini Redemptoris*" (Bouthillon supra n. 41, p. 269).

44 Volker Depcat, 'The challenges of biography. European-American reflections', *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 55, 2014, p. 39.

Between Objectivity and Hagiography

To Write the Lives of Gustaf Aulén and Nathan Söderblom

Jonas Jonson

Introduction

In the 20th century, Archbishop Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931) shaped church history by placing the Church of Sweden on the world map and creating the ecumenical Life & Work movement. His student, professor Gustaf Aulén (1879–1977), became internationally renowned primarily for his study of the atonement, in English published as *Christus Victor*.[1] Through his commitment to liturgy and music, he exercised considerable influence on Swedish spirituality. As bishops, both of them played prominent roles in church and society. In two biographies, I have introduced them to a later generation.[2] My purpose has explicitly been to present their lives, thinking and achievements in a comprehensive manner and an accessible literary form to a wider audience, rather than pursuing yet another academic study of their theology and spirituality.

In Sweden, there is no established tradition to write spiritual and ecclesiastical biographies. In recent years, a number of biographical dissertations and anthologies have been published, but few biographies of the kind that are reviewed in public media and find a wider circle of readers. In the aftermath of the 1960s, there was little interest in the role of individual personalities and the market for biographies was limited. Today, this has changed, but the interest in spiritual and ecclesiastical biographies remains fairly low, though it is increasing.[3]

1 Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor. A historical study of the three main types of atonement*, London 1933.

2 Jonas Jonson, *Gustaf Aulén. Biskop och motståndsman*, Skellefteå: Artos, 2011; Jonas Jonson, *"Jag är bara Nathan Söderblom satt till tjänst"*, Stockholm: Verbum, 2014; idem, *Nathan Söderblom. Called to serve*, transl. by Norman A. Hjelm, Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016.

3 My biographies of Aulén and Söderblom have been reviewed in a number of theological journals and in major daily newspapers; both books have been reprinted.

For me, the writing of these books had a personal background: Gustaf Aulén had been the bishop of my diocese for 19 years, I had served in the same cathedral, lived in the same house and travelled the same roads, but never met him; I wanted to know more about him, and there was no biography available. I also had an interest in Nathan Söderblom after my lifelong involvement in the ecumenical movement. Encouraged to write a modern biography as the 100th anniversary of his consecration as Archbishop was approaching, I could not resist the challenge. Much had been written on Söderblom, but no full biography in Swedish since 1931.[4] Naturally, my narratives were affected by my own life as a bishop sharing both experience and priorities with the two men, and by being theologically influenced particularly by Aulén.

Nathan Söderblom

Nathan Söderblom was born at the time of evangelical revivalism, industrialisation and emigration. His father was a rural Pietistic pastor, and his mother of Danish descent. As a student in Uppsala, Söderblom encountered modern theology, historical criticism and empirical science as well as emerging socialism. An intellectual and spiritual conversion experience and a three-month visit to the USA in 1890 made a deep impact on him. Seven years as the Swedish pastor in Paris proved decisive for his academic career as a scholar of religion, for his integration of church and culture, and for him truly becoming a European. He received his doctorate in comparative religion at Sorbonne before returning to Uppsala as a professor in 1901. For two years, he also taught at the Universität Leipzig. Söderblom was elected Archbishop of Uppsala in 1914 with the narrowest margin possible. He was determined to make optimal use of his office to promote peace by uniting the churches for practical cooperation. As there was no organizational platform for his ecumenical project, its success was all depending on him personally. He was captured by his vision to gather church leaders in a consorted effort to stop the devastating war and to establish an ecumenical council to speak to the world on behalf of the churches. Initially he met with little response. It took him ten years of exceptionally hard work before the first Life & Work conference could be held in Stockholm in 1925 with more than 600 delegates. The conference was a considerable achievement at the time, organized, funded and promoted through his own effort. In one sense "Söderblom was the Stockholm Conference, and the Conference an expression, almost an extension, of his personality".[5] Before he unexpectedly died at the age of 65 in the summer of 1931, Söderblom was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. His liberal theology was developed in the optimistic pre-war context, and his ecumenical programme in response to the disaster of a world war. He enjoyed

4 Tor Andræ, *Nathan Söderblom*, Uppsala 1931.

5 Bengt Sundkler, *Nathan Söderblom. His life and work*, Lund 1968, p. 366.

a wide reputation for his study of religion and he fulfilled his duties as Archbishop exceptionally well, but made his lasting impact as an ecumenist.

Gustaf Aulén

Gustaf Aulén first met with Söderblom in Uppsala in 1901, and became his doctoral student. He was profoundly influenced by Söderblom, but as a professor of systematic theology at Lund University in a different historical context, he distanced himself not only from Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism, but from liberal theology and various forms of *Kulturprotestantismus*. By establishing a new method of systematic theology along with Anders Nygren, and uncovering what he regarded to be authentic Christianity, he aimed at guarding Christian faith against influences of Nazi ideology. Aulén advanced the re-orientation of the Church of Sweden from German towards British ecclesiastical relations, and he very actively supported the Norwegian resistance during the German occupation. He participated in the revision of the officially established liturgy and hymnal of the church, and not least in the renewal of church music. Until his death in 1977 at the age of 98, he remained one of the most respected and widely read theologians in the Western world.

Gustaf Aulén had an outstanding capability of organizing and systematizing volumes of theological work, generalizing and drawing conclusions. His ideal was "pure objectivity". As consistently as possible, he refrained from any reference to his own convictions. His texts therefore often seem impersonal, abstract and theoretical, almost void of ordinary human life. His own experience had little relevance to the material he presented. The "objectivity" of his research and writing (which in no way corresponded to his humorous and easy going social life) created a problem for me when writing a fairly conventional "life and letters" biography rather than an intellectual analysis of his works. His memoirs, published when he was 96, were heavily edited and dealt mainly with his academic and public life.[6] He had himself assorted his extensive archive of papers, sermons and correspondence now found in the University Library in Lund. Reconstructing his life was possible as the family archives were made available to me, and as elderly relatives, friends and colleagues shared vivid memories of him. As there was so little written about him before, I had to trust my own intuition selecting the main themes and shaping the biography. I paid special attention to his 17 years as the bishop of Strängnäs.

6 Gustaf Aulén, *Från mina 96 år. Hänt och tänkt*, Stockholm 1975.

Objectivity and hagiography

If the objectivity and positivism claimed by Aulén created a barrier when approaching his personality, another problem was predominant when working on Söderblom.[7] Already during Söderblom's life time, he enjoyed a wide popularity and admiration, not least among journalists and in the world of culture which coloured most of the writing about him and certainly also his own self-esteem. After his death, he was counted as a genius, and eventually even among the "saints", who according to his own definition were people who by their lives, speech and actions revealed God. An endless number of admiring and uncritical obituaries were published around the world, and the early biographies all had a hagiographic tendency. Söderblom was a complex and contradictory person, both disciplined and impulsive. He was a charismatic person with extraordinary gifts of intellect, musicality, communication and ability to create social relations. His seemingly unlimited capacity for work was always referred to by people who had met with him. Söderblom has been the object of many studies dealing with particular aspects of his life, but there have been few full biographies and far between them. The two most recent ones by Bengt Sundkler and Dietz Lange were published in 1968 and 2011.[8]

Guiding principles

A number of principles have guided my work as a biographer. To me it has been crucial to write with the potential reader in mind, aiming at a wider audience than professional theologians. Therefore, I chose to write with an undergraduate with limited knowledge of systematic theology and modern church history in mind. Moreover, no life is lived in a vacuum, and every person mirrors his or her own time. Thus, I have given much space to the different historical, social and theological contexts in which Aulén and Söderblom lived, also in order to strengthen the genre of biography as part of church history.

Writing biography means not only restricting oneself, limiting one's scope, excluding even significant material, selecting themes, and accepting the conditions of the publisher. It also demands a distinction between the public and the private person, and applying ethical responsibility for the dead as well as for the living. This is a controversial matter at a time when invasion of privacy explains much of biography's status as a popular genre. I certainly could have said much more about Söderblom's rather troubled family situation and private life. It was, however, my deliberate choice to fo-

7 Cf. Hermione Lee, *Biography. A very short introduction*, Oxford 2009, p. 101.

8 Sundkler supra n. 5; Dietz Lange, *Nathan Söderblom und seine Zeit*, Göttingen 2011 (Swedish translation, 2014).

cus on his public role, not only because the family archives were not available to me, but because of his own expressed wish that family members should be spared the scrutiny of journalists and biographers. Therefore, I have not written as much about his personal contradictions, peculiarities and secrets (which go with every life) as some readers would ask for.

Writing biography also means being able to document whatever is being published, and avoiding speculation like "he probably thought" or "she may have said". It means exercising strict source criticism, evaluating and comparing, and avoiding to fill empty space with guesswork. A biographer need not take responsibility for a person's political conviction, theological position, lack of gender awareness, or moral standard. A biography should make honest use of sources available, interpreted on their own terms for the readers of the present time, and serve as an invitation to dialogue across time borders. This dialogue should in my opinion to a great extent be left with the reader.

A spiritual and ecclesiastical biography should provide perspectives on both church and society and demonstrate the significance of an individual's contributions to the shaping of history.

Results

My work on Söderblom and Aulén has helped me and possibly the readers to put their theology and practical ecumenism in perspective. Söderblom's field of study was phenomenology of religion. Systematic theology was not his particular interest, rather church history. His theological formation happened towards the end of the 19th century, in a world of optimistic evolutionism and leavened with cultural and ethnic nationalism. Söderblom's liberal theology provided space for the practical and pragmatic ecumenism of the Life and Work movement. Matters of ecclesiology and doctrine were left for Faith and Order.

World War I and the treaty of Versailles in 1919 provoked Söderblom's pioneering ecumenical venture. It can only be understood against the background of the massive destruction of European values and Christian universalism. His ecumenism aimed at promoting peace by strengthening international law. In my research, three aspects of Söderblom have become particularly clear: his rootedness in Swedish history, his universalism and his perseverance when facing severe problems and objections. Not much of his scholarly work has stood the test of time and he did not change church structures; what remains are fading memories of his charismatic leadership and ecumenical organizations like the World Council of Churches. But more important: not only did he transform the national Church of Sweden and lead it into modernity. He was instrumental in changing the self-understanding of Protestant and Orthodox Christianity and made it move from confrontation towards cooperation and convergence.

Aulén was Söderblom's successor in many ways, but times had changed. Aulén's most significant theological work was carried out after World War I, provoked by creeping fascism and an extreme and oppressive nationalism. The "Lund theology" should be understood as an appropriate alternative to a disintegrating and corrupted liberal theology and as an attempt to save and restore authentic Christendom faced by the ideological threats of Nazism. Like Söderblom, Aulén translated his convictions into practical action; his support for the anti-Nazi movement especially in Norway was substantial. His systematic and principal discourse on the unchangeable and binding law of God laid down in creation, and his emphasis on the victory of God through Christ over all evil powers, laid a foundation for Christian resistance before and during World War II. Aulén's ecumenical commitment was inspired by Söderblom but channelled through Faith and Order. Compared with his teacher he held a less idealistic view of the potential of churches to influence world politics.

As much as Söderblom got the Church of Sweden deeply involved in the emerging ecumenical movement, defining herself in terms of evangelical catholicity, Aulén contributed to her sacramental ecclesiology and liturgical renewal with a theological stringency which shaped generations of church workers. Nobody who studies the Church of Sweden in the 20th century, could possibly leave Söderblom and Aulén out of the picture.

The Holocaust Theme in the Memoirs and Biographies of the Hierarchs of the Catholic Church of Lithuania

Regina Laukaitytė

This paper addresses the theme that until now has been approached ambiguously in Lithuanian historiography: the reaction of the hierarchs of the Catholic Church of Lithuania to the Holocaust. The Germans occupied Lithuania in a few days in June 1941 when the country was already the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, that is it had already endured one year as part of the Soviet Union and was being rapidly sovietized. During the Soviet occupation, the people lost their property, political and public figures of former "bourgeois Lithuania" were arrested, and the deportations to Siberia had begun. Frightened by repression, for these reasons the majority of the Lithuanians were looking forward to the outbreak of the war between Nazi Germany and the USSR. Moreover, the idea that the local Jewish community openly sympathized with the Bolshevik regime was rather strong among Lithuanians, which led to the "revenge" on Jews during the early months of the Nazi occupation.

From the first days of the Nazi occupation, the mass murder of the Jews began in the cities and towns. The Jewish community, comprising over 7% of the country's population, was soon completely exterminated: about 200,000 Jews were killed. Only a few thousand people, hidden from the Nazis and their collaborators, survived the occupation. Unlike in the Vatican, where news from Eastern Europe about Nazi atrocities, the Holocaust, was evaluated cautiously for a very long time (as unreliable or exaggerated), the clergy of Lithuania did not lack information about the killings and the scale of it. The killings were carried out in the open: adults and children were shot on the outskirts of towns, the possessions of the victims were split up and sold, homes and synagogues were looted. Most of the Nazi politicians and the murderers were Lithuanian local officials, and the Catholic parishioners claimed the property of the

murdered.[1] By October 1941, many Jewish communities were exterminated, while surviving Jews were isolated in a number of ghettoes.

In 1940, there were six dioceses in Lithuania and ten active Catholic bishops. Three of them were young and had only very recently been appointed auxiliary bishops as the Vatican sought to strengthen the Catholic Church of Lithuania and to ensure a stable leadership after the outbreak of the Second World War.

The bishops said nothing about the killings of the Jews in their public wartime documents or in their letters to the Pope, which were usually transmitted through reliable persons. However, three bishops left memoirs and diaries,[2] and one of them discussed the topic of the Holocaust more fully in his book published in Chicago in 1977 and in his memoirs.[3] It is, thus, in these sources that one can look for answers to the questions that concern us: (1) how the bishops responded to the Holocaust in Lithuania: whether they made any efforts to influence public opinion, and how the Church hierarchs judged the events during the years of the Nazi occupation and later, and (2) what the attitude of the Lithuanian bishops was towards the baptism of Jews, judging from archival sources.

Historiography

A more objective investigation of the Holocaust in Lithuania started only after the re-establishment of independence in 1990. Even so, historians find themselves in some sort of vicious circle even now: the sources are scarce because in the Soviet Union the Jews were not identified as victims of the Holocaust for quite a long time and even the rescue of Jews was hardly addressed until the early 1960s. Moreover, people massacred by the Nazis were officially referred to as "Soviet people" or "people who sacrificed their lives for Soviet Lithuania": their ethnicity or religion used to be concealed.

Lithuanian historiography still lacks an objective and neutral approach towards activities of the Church during the Second World War. During the Soviet period, the role of the Church was used in propaganda as an illustration of the "reactionary as-

1 Bubnys, A., *Vokiečių okupuota Lietuva (1941–1944)*, Vilnius 1998, pp. 190–192, 202, 207; Sužiedėlis, S., 'Avrahamo Torio Kauno getas', in Tory, A., *Kauno getas: diena po dienos*, Vilnius 2000, p. XXXIV; Brandišauskas, V., 'Žydų nuosavybės bei turto konfiskavimas ir naikinimas Lietuvoje Antrojo pasaulinio karo metais', *Genocidas ir rezistencija*, 2, 2002, pp. 104, 113.

2 'Arkivyskupo Juozapo Skvirecko atsiminimai ir traukimosi iš Lietuvos dienoraštis', A. Katilius (ed.), *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, vol. 15, Vilnius 1999, pp. 637–673; 'Arkivyskupo Juozapo Skvirecko dienoraštis', *1941 m. birželio sukilimas. Dokumentų rinkinys*, V. Brandišauskas (comp.), Vilnius 2000; Staugaitis, J., *Mano atsiminimai*, R. Laukaitytė (ed.), Vilnius 1995, 2nd revised edition, Vilnius, 2006; Paltarokas, K., *Gyvenimo bruožai*, B. Antanaitis, E. Neniškytė (eds), Vilnius 2005.

3 Brizgys, V., *Katalikų Bažnyčia Lietuvoje 1940–1944 metais*, Chicago 1977; Brizgys, V., *Gyvenimo keliai*, Vilnius 1993.

pect" of the Church: historians fulminated against the Pope and bishops and blamed them for collaboration with the Nazis. For example, in 1964, a 16-page pamphlet by an anonymous author was published in English about the activities of Bishop Vincentas Brizgys during the war. It has the very illuminating title: *He kissed the swastika* (Vilnius 1964). The 3,000 copies of this pamphlet were sent to the USA in order to compromise Bishop Brizgys, who lived in Chicago. The fact that historical scholarship was involved in political propaganda explains why even academic works did not eschew the use of a journalistic style or the falsification of facts.[4]

Émigré Lithuanian historians only fleetingly mentioned the period from 1941 to 1944, giving obvious preference to the persecution of the Church during the Soviet period. The most representative works devoted to the 20th-century history of the Catholic Church of Lithuania turn a blind eye to the years of the German occupation, although considerable attention is given to the first (1940–1941) and the second (from 1944) Soviet occupations.[5] Naturally, émigré scholars were short of sources; moreover, they could not muster enough resolve to undertake a critical analysis of the activities of the Catholic Church, because, as has already been mentioned, it was already a victim of ruthless Soviet historiographical and propaganda attacks.

When Lithuania re-established its independence in 1990, research into the history of the Second World War expanded markedly: numerous new papers on the position of the Church during the Holocaust[6] and biographies of the bishops who were in charge of the Church during that particular period appeared.[7] Nevertheless, the latest

4 Aničas, J., *Katalikiškasis klerikalizmas Lietuvoje 1940–1944 metais*, Vilnius 1972.

5 Vardys, V., *The Catholic Church, Dissent and Nationality in Soviet Lithuania*, New York 1978; *Krikščionybė Lietuvoje*, Chicago 1997.

6 Streikus, A., 'Lietuvos Katalikų Bažnyčia 1940–1990 m.', *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, vol. 12, Vilnius 1998, pp. 42–44; Bubnys, A., 'Vokiečių politika Lietuvoje Bažnyčios ir religijos atžvilgiu (1941–1944)', ibid., vol. 14, 1999, pp. 209–219; Sužiedėlis, S., 'Lietuvos Katalikų Bažnyčia ir holokaustas kaip istorinių tyrimų objektas', ibid., pp. 121–133; Brandišauskas, V., 'Holokaustas Lietuvoje: istoriografinė situacija ir pagrindinės problemos', ibid., pp. 135–152; Jakubčionis, A., 'Žydų autorių požiūris į Lietuvos Katalikų Bažnyčią (1939–1945)', ibid., pp. 153–163; Streikus, A., 'Krikščionybė okupuotoje Lietuvoje', *Krikščionybės Lietuvoje istorija*, Vilnius 2006, pp. 447–462; Bubnys, A., 'Panevėžio vyskupijos dvasininkų visuomeninė veikla nacių okupacijos metais (1941–1944)', *Iš Panevėžio praeities. Penki bažnyčios* šimtmečiai, Konferencijos pranešimai, Panevėžys 2008, pp. 89–108.

7 Vasiliauskienė, A., 'Arkivyskupo Mečislovo Reinio gyvenimo bruožai', *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, vol. 9, Vilnius 1995, pp. 456–461; Magdėnaitė, R., 'Arkivyskupo Mečislovo Reinio veikla vokiečių okupacijos metais (1941–1944)', ibid., vol. 15, 1999, pp. 133–160; Žemaitis, K., 'Vyskupas Vincentas Brizgys ir jo likimas', ibid., vol. 22, 2003, pp. 169–176; Jegelevičius, S., 'Dialogai ir konfliktai: Arkivyskupas Mečislovas Reinys Vilniuje (1939–1944)', ibid., vol. 24, 2004, pp. 521–535; Vėlavičius, R., 'Vyskupo Vincento Borisevičiaus martyrologija', *Tiltai*, 2003, No. 15, pp. 101–114; Vaitekūnas, S., *Justinas Staugaitis: vyskupas, politikas, tautos dvasios ir valstybės puoselėtojas*, Vilnius 2011, and others.

research frequently takes a hagiographic approach and uncomfortable questions are either not raised or are bypassed. Since the bishops who were in charge of their dioceses during the war suffered greatly under the Soviet regime, until now historians have devoted particular attention to their persecution during the Soviet years.[8]

The attitude of the bishops during the German occupation

Hardly any documents exist that show the response to the Holocaust of the hierarchs of the Catholic Church of Lithuania. Only Metropolitan Archbishop Juozas Skvireckas and Bishop Vincentas Brizgys published their reflections on the events. Both lived close to the authorities, in Kaunas, the former temporary capital of Lithuania in the interwar period, where the centre of the occupying administration (general headquarters) was operating.

In his diary Skvireckas recorded the first developments of the war, the atrocious killing of Jews in Kaunas in which Lithuanians took part. In June and August, the archbishop was urged to take some kind of action: to appeal to the representatives of the authorities and to sign, together with other prominent public figures, a protest against the massacre of Jews. However, he refused to respond, his justification being his unwillingness to provoke "the Germans' hatred against the curia as such".[9] It is very likely that the stance of Metropolitan Skvireckas resulted in passivity of other ordinaries: no memoirs or other sources contain any hint of bishops discussing a joint position or a declaration against the atrocities. The elderly metropolitan archbishop always avoided conflicts with the country's authorities; he also had to bear in mind the necessity of maintaining sound uncomplicated relations during the years of the occupation, when priority was given to the restoration of the ecclesiastical structures destroyed by the Soviets. Undoubtedly, everyone was intimidated by the threats of the occupational authorities and by the news of brutal disregard of any justice or humanism.

At this time, Brizgys was serving as assistant to Metropolitan Skvireckas, and was the second person in the curia of the Kaunas Archdiocese. He lived for another 51 years and even witnessed the re-establishment of Lithuania's independence in 1990. It

8 After the war, the Soviet regime demonstrated absolute mistrust in the corps of Lithuanian bishops. For almost ten years, only Kazimieras Paltarokas was allowed to conduct pastoral care. All other bishops were suppressed, except three who lived in Western Europe and the USA. At present the process of beatification and canonization of three bishops suppressed by the Soviet regime is under way.

9 'Arkivyskupo Juozapo Skvirecko dienoraštis', *1941 m. birželio sukilimas*, p. 272; Brandišauskas, V., 'Holokaustas Lietuvoje: istoriografinė situacija ir pagrindinės problemos', *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, vol. 14, p. 143; Streikus, A., 'Krikščionybė okupuotoje Lietuvoje', *Krikščionybės Lietuvoje istorija*, p. 458. Notes of Archbishop Skvireckas from the archives of the Kaunas curia are cited.

is Brizgys who was best able to shed light on the Church's position during the Holocaust because he was at the centre of events, maintaining close contacts with German government officials. At the beginning of the occupation these officials offered him a chance to occupy high positions – they intended to create a puppet governing body, of which they suggested Brizgys to be a member and even the chairman.[10] The Germans were apparently impressed by his career which was linked with influential connections in church circles: he was consecrated a bishop at the age of 36. In the years of the first Soviet occupation, he had connections that enabled the transfer of information to the Vatican nuncio in Munich, and these channels were not only connected with the Church. According to a statement by the German security police and the chief of the German intelligence service (SD, or *Sicherheitsdienst*), "During the Bolshevik years he successfully collaborated with various German services and deserved well".[11] What services were these? Did the Germans expect collaboration under new circumstances?

Although Brizgys declined offers of official positions, he was the bishop who was most actively involved in political life. In all likelihood, Archbishop Skvireckas authorized him to supervise the curia's relationship with the authorities because Brizgys' position was recognized, and both German officials and Lithuanian politicians maintained contact with him. It was not to the metropolitan but to Bishop Brizgys that the leaders of the Jewish community sent their representatives at the beginning of the German occupation and later.[12]

As a result of Brizgys' relations with German officials, his surname is the most commonly occurring in historical works on the Holocaust in Lithuania as well as on the Internet. In Internet forums, it is discussed whether he is to be considered a war criminal or not.[13] These discussions are triggered by the fact that an operational report by German security agencies in August 1941 on the situation in Lithuania was included

10 Brizgys, V., *Katalikų Bažnyčia Lietuvoje 1940–1944 metais*, p. 121; Raštikis, S., *Kovose dėl Lietuvos*, Part 2, pp. 167, 298.

11 Report of the Lithuanian security police and the chief of the SD on the situation in Lithuania in April 1943, Lithuanian Central State Archives (LCSA), fund R 1399, inventory 1, file 26, leaf 53.

12 Protocol of the Conference of the bishops of the Lithuanian ecclesiastical province, 7–8 October 1941, Lithuanian State Historical Archives (LSHA), fund 1671, inventory 5, file 62, leaf 13; Tory, A., *Kauno getas: diena po dienos*, p. 313.

13 'Vincentas Brizgys – a war criminal or not?', available at: http://forum.axishistory.com/viewtopic.php?t=130595 (last accessed on 7 December 2015); Shachae, J., 'The Lithuanian Catholic Church during the German occupation', available at: http://www.lithuanianjews.org.il/HTMLs/article_list4.aspx?C2014=14065&BSP=14055&BSS6=1391 (last accessed on 7 December 2015; the author of this article distorted the names of Lithuanians beyond recognition and included individuals described as clergy who had never been such). 'Que sont-ils devenus? Le sort de 1.421 criminels nazis, complices et collaborateurs', available at: http://d-d.natanson.pagesperso-range.fr/devenus.htm (last accessed on 7 December 2015).

in the Nazi documents submitted to the Nuremberg trial. In the report the chief of the Reich Main Security Office was informed that an appeal by Bishop Brizgys was being read in all the churches in Kaunas and published in the press. In the appeal, Brizgys urged people to act loyally and to be disciplined; he forbade all priests to intercede for the Jews and to receive their delegations.[14] The document was cited in the Nuremberg process, but in his book published in 1977 Bishop Brizgys denied the existence of such an appeal and stated that he had had no real ecclesiastical authority. In refutation, he claimed that he co-operated with the representatives of the Jewish Council of the Kaunas ghetto and personally consulted with rectories and monasteries about Jews who had escaped from the ghetto and who were hiding their children etc.[15] Jewish sources also confirm contacts with Bishop Brizgys.[16]

Brizgys was not a war criminal, he did not have pro-Nazi views; he hoped, like many Lithuanian politicians, that Nazi propaganda was telling the truth and having won the war the Germans would take into account the loyal position of the Lithuanians and be able to restore their statehood. Such expectations characterized the political position of the Catholic Church of Lithuania: it tried to avoid any conflicts with the German occupational authorities. The latter, meanwhile, were concerned with engaging the Church in their propaganda, which was done in several stages. In the beginning, anti-Soviet declarations were issued which meant that all the churches felt that they had been liberated from the Bolshevik regime, which was radically hostile to them. However, shortly thereafter – in early 1942 – the declarations of "gratitude" (gratitude to the "liberators from the Bolshevik yoke") were replaced by the statements about "struggle". The Germans were exerting strong pressure on the hierarchs of the Church to use their influence on believers and encourage them to take part in campaigns to collect clothes or metal, to urge them to fulfil their duties, and, finally, to join the units of the German army and labour corps to avert the dangers of the second Bolshevik invasion. It goes without saying that this role as a mediator was alien to the Church. Because of their concern, however, for the German "crusade" against Bolshevism, its leaders did not resist being drawn into the scripts of political propaganda and publicized pastoral letters in which they denounced the Bolshevik regime.[17]

14 Brizgys, V., *Katalikų Bažnyčia Lietuvoje 1940–1944 metais*, p. 327; Hilberg, R., *Nusikaltėliai. Aukos. Stebėtojai. Žydų tragedija 1933–1945*, Vilnius 1999, p. 276.

15 Brizgys, V., *Katalikų Bažnyčia Lietuvoje 1940–1944 metais*, pp. 324–325.

16 Tory, A., *Kauno getas: diena po dienos*, p. 313; *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, R. Rozett & S. Spector (eds), p. 156, available at: http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%206084.pdf (last accessed on 7 December 2015).

17 During the occupation years, Lithuanian bishops issued around 40 pastoral letters. Most of them did not lack anti-communist rhetoric. Unable to address the believers during the years of the Soviet occupation, Lithuanian ordinaries analysed the disastrous influence of the Bolshevik regime on the nation's morals, criticized the Bolshevik world outlook, economic and political

In their public texts in 1941–1944 – circulars to the deans, pastoral letters to the priests and the faithful, and finally in correspondence with the Vatican – Lithuanian bishops nowhere mentioned the tragedy that befell the Jews. The majority of the Catholic bishops in the German-occupied countries behaved similarly, although not all. For instance, the Archbishop of Riga, Antons Springovičs, wrote to Pope Pius XII: "The inhumanity of the nationalist doctrine in Latvia appeared in all its brutality and horrors: almost all the Jews have already been killed"; he also reported on the brutal murder of mental patients and Roma.[18] The Uniate Metropolitan of the Ukraine, Andrey Szeptycki, also informed the Pope about the murders and political events.[19]

Lithuania's Church, on the other hand, has no documents that would demonstrate its unambiguous position. Effective actions had been possible in the first weeks of the war, when the pogroms began. When the Provisional Government[20] was still operating, Lithuanian politicians could have had influence at least on the purposeful formation of public opinion. Could the Church itself have had a real influence? Of course, it would not have been able to change the genocidal policies carried out by the Nazis in Lithuania and throughout the occupied territory of the USSR. However, a well-timed announcement rejecting it might have had an effect on "domestic policy", influenced the extent to which local anti-Semites and self-defence units were involved in the killings, and, not least, clarified the moral position of the Church itself. After all, in the pre-war period by opposing the unfavourable decisions of the government the bishops had mastered many instruments of influence: believers inspired by the pastors protested against the authorities, the bishops submitted memoranda and wrote pastoral letters. While failing to achieve changes in policy, such protests anyhow clearly showed the Church's position and aspirations.

In his book published in 1977 Brizgys denied the allegations against him and tried to justify the actions of the small group of priests who interacted closely with the occupying German authorities, most likely Gestapo officials, as well as his own actions. According to him, through these close relationships, these priests helped many people that had fallen into the hands of the Gestapo.[21]

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attitudes, and wrote a great deal about the Bolsheviks' plans to destroy faith and to Russify the Lithuanians.

18 Letter of Archbishop Antons Springovičs to Pope Pius XII of 12 December 1942, *Le Saint Siège et la situation religieuse en Pologne et dans les pays Baltes, 1939–1945*, vol. 2, pp. 694–696.

19 Stehle, H., *Tajna dyplomacja Watykanu*, Warsaw 1993, p. 182 (the letter of 29 August 1942 to Pope Pius XII).

20 The Lithuanians formed the provisional government after the occupation had begun. This government existed from 23 June to 5 August 1941, when it was dissolved by the German occupational authorities. It was replaced by the Council of Assessors, which was fully subordinated to the Germans.

21 Brizgys, V., *Katalikų Bažnyčia Lietuvoje 1940–1944 metais*, pp. 104, 107.

After investigating the data published by Brizgys and comparing it with other sources, one can notice that in his book he embellished or abbreviated the facts. For instance, he mentions three protest letters from Lithuania's bishops to the German occupation authorities associated with the killings of Jews,[22] but none of these important documents has been discovered so far. One of these documents is supposed to be a testimony that the bishops presented to the government, a memorandum that "protested against the establishment of any kind of ghettoes for Lithuania's Jews".[23] However, after investigating the documents of the war period it is clear that for the bishops the relevant issue was not Jews, but "Jewish-Catholics". Moreover, they decided to apply not to a German institution but to the Lithuanian government – the Interim Government – to request that Jews baptized before the day of the German entry into Lithuania should not be isolated in the ghetto.[24] These efforts had little impact on the Holocaust since there were very few baptized Jews (including those who hastened to get false retroactive documents) in Lithuania.

On the other hand, it can be noted that the ordinaries did not add fuel to the fire but avoided rhetoric on the Jews' "treacherous" role in the events of 1940–1941 in Lithuania, a view that was widespread at that time and almost mandatory. Condemning Bolshevism in their pastoral letters, they did not identify Bolsheviks with people of Jewish nationality. Parish priests were horrified by the tragedy that had befallen the Jews: historiography and memoirs contain a wealth of information about their efforts to rescue Jews and influence the local authorities.

The attitude to the baptism of Jews from 1941 to 1944

As the killings of Jews began and they were imprisoned in ghettoes, the number of appeals by Jews who wanted to convert to Catholicism rose markedly. Unlike other European countries where tens of thousands of baptized Jews had lived for centuries (for instance, 40,000 in Germany in 1933, and around 62,000 in Hungary in 1942)[25], there were very few converts in Lithuania before the summer of 1941. During the 1923 general census, only 36 Jews out of 153,743 did not confess to Judaism, and seven of them were Catholics (for comparison, there were 53 Lithuanian converts to Judaism[26]). Not one single baptized Jew became an influential politician or a state or public figure in Lithuania.

With a lack of sources, it is difficult to estimate how many Jews wished to become

22 Ibid., p. 323.

23 Ibid.

24 Protocol of the council of the bishops of the Lithuanian ecclesiastical province, 6–8 August, 1941, LSHA, fund 1671, inventory 5, file 63, leaf 3.

25 Hilberg, R., *Nusikaltėliai. Aukos. Stebėtojai. Žydų tragedija 1933–1945*, p. 163.

26 *Lietuvos gyventojai. 1923 m. rugsėjo 17 d. surašymo duomenys*, Kaunas 1924, pp. XL, 27–30.

Christians and how many of them converted from 1941 to 1944. Undoubtedly, these were only a few isolated cases. It is likely that conversion was a path chosen by those Jews who were best integrated into Lithuanian society: members of mixed families, or intellectuals who had many Lithuanian friends. There was no guarantee whatsoever that the Nazis would spare Christian Jews or those born in mixed families. Lists of such individuals were being compiled in Lithuanian towns until the end of the occupation. In 1944, children with only one Jewish grandparent were also included in these lists.[27]

The Jews' appeals for baptism were approached with caution by parish priests who had to conduct a certain procedure foreseen by the Roman Rite. This laid down that they had to request the bishop to accept the convert into the Catholic Church in each individual case. Future Christians had to embrace the truths of the Catholic faith, to know the rituals and prayers. They had to sign an act of renunciation of their own religion witnessed by signatures of two people, confess Catholicism publicly in a church, and could only then receive the baptism. Therefore, the circumstances and statistics of baptism were doubtlessly affected by the priests' resolve to bypass the Roman Rite and issue baptism certificates retroactively.

The data surviving in archives show that the ordinaries did not delay their responses and complied with the Jews' appeals for baptism. Some of the permissions were granted *post factum*, after the baptism rite had taken place. At the request of the rector of one of the churches, in September 1941 the Bishop of Panevėžys, Kazimieras Paltarokas, granted the rector "a general permission to accept anyone who expresses a serious wish to our faith, when the communication with the Ordinariate is impossible or inconvenienced".[28] There is every likelihood that such a permission was also granted to other parish priests. Still, the small number of the converts might reflect the Jews' rather reserved attitude to baptism.

According to isolated archival data, twelve baptisms of Jews took place in the Kaunas archdiocese in August and September 1941.[29] At the same time, 24 Jews (five families with children among them) were accepted into the Catholic Church in the Panevėžys diocese.[30] The statistics are not exhaustive: the majority of the priests probably did not communicate individual data on the converts to the curia. There must have been instances of mass baptism, too. Memoirs record that in 1941 the priests of

27 Report of the Lithuanian security police and of the chief of the SD to the German security police and the chief of the SD of 15 March 1944, LCSA, fund R 1399, inventory 1, file 41, leaf 11–13.

28 K. Paltarokas' letter to the rector of Degučiai church of 6 September 1941, LSHA, fund 1650, inventory 1, file 252, leaf 100.

29 See: ibid., fund 1671, inventory 5, file 517, leaves 1–25.

30 Correspondence of parish priests with curia with regard to the baptism of Jews from July to September 1941, ibid., fund 1650, inventory 1, file 252, leaves 95, 105, 106, 110, 118, 121, 122, 125.

Vabalninkas catechized and baptized 70 men, women, and children from the town's ghetto, issued them with the certificates of baptism with new names and chosen Lithuanian surnames, and included their names in the lists of ecclesiastical fraternities. Shortly afterwards all the inmates of this ghetto were shot.[31]

The documents surviving in the archives show that the above-mentioned prohibition, which is attributed to Bishop Brizgys and which forbade the priests to interact with Jews, and, most importantly, to issue them with Christian papers, was linked with the baptism of Jews. There were more prohibitions of this kind. For example, in March and April of 1942, Kazimieras Šaulys, the vicar-general of the Kaunas archdiocese, sent letters to the deans and priests. In the first letter, which comprised only two paragraphs, the vicar-general reminded the deans of their duty to inform the Ordinariate about baptisms of adults, and that "there exist decrees of the civil authorities forbidding the population, and thus the clergy, from interaction with the Jews".[32] The second letter was sent a month later and referred to identical matters, but in a much more exhaustive manner. The Germans were probably not satisfied with the brief admonition of the vicar-general and told him to set out specific prohibitions.

The vicar-general wrote: "It is not a secret that in the near past and at present there have appeared quite a few individuals of the Jewish nationality who, for motives understandable to all, appeal to parish priests for baptism, being completely unprepared for it, without a pure intent, and at times even with an evil purpose (provocation); bearing the percentage of the Jews in our country in mind, this hardly ever happened in the past".[33] He once more stressed that the baptism of such individuals was only possible with a permission of the Ordinariate and following a comprehensive examination of each case: "For well-known reasons, individuals of the Jewish nationality are restricted by the norms applied to the prisoners of war. Civilian population is forbidden any interaction with them. The clergy of the archdiocese is warned that this prohibition should be strictly observed".[34] It is worth noting that the vicar-general did not in these letters compel the clergy to address the Catholics, in one way or another, about the prohibition to interact with the Jews. Besides, the existence of the documents does not indicate by any means that they were in fact complied with – priests and the bishops themselves interacted with the Jews, hid them, issued false baptismal documents, and baptized them. A list of priests who rescued Jews during the war, compiled in Lith-

31 *Vyskupas Kazimieras Paltarokas: biografija, amžininkų atsiminimai*, p. 122.

32 Letter of Kazimieras Šaulys to the deans of the archdiocese of 20 March 1942, ibid., fund 1671, inventory 5, file 134, leaf 2.

33 Šaulys' letter to the parish priests and rectors of the archdiocese of 8 April 1942, ibid., leaf 11.

34 Ibid.

uania, contains the names of 159 priests from the archdioceses of Vilnius and Kaunas[35] (in 1942, there were around 1,500 priests in these two archdioceses).

The German security police regularly returned to the ban on the baptism of Jews. The last circular of the Ordinariate on the baptism of Jews was probably demanded by the chief of the security police in February 1944. The circumstances under which it was dispatched can be reconstructed from the letter of a witness to these events – the rector of Kaunas spiritual seminary: "Recently, priests and monks have been interrogated, searched and even arrested for the baptism of Jews and the documents issued to them. To address this matter, the curia distributed a letter to the deans and parish priests [...]".[36] Responding to the letter from the security police (concerning the fact that Catholic parish priests disregarded provisions of the law and carried on baptizing Jews, frequently issuing them with baptism certificates with fake Lithuanian names), the curia of the Kaunas archdiocese was forced yet again to warn the priests. In a circular of 17 February 1944, the curia informed them of the punitive aspect of such behaviour and reiterated the law according to which all Jews who wished to receive baptism had to be reported to the Ordinariate.[37]

The Germans tolerated the baptism of Jews in the case of inevitable execution. It is hard to say whether it was a frequent practice or not, and who used to initiate it. There exist data on some isolated cases in the dioceses of Vilnius, Kaunas, and Telšiai, for example, the chaplain of Lukiškės prison in Vilnius baptized several Jews who were sentenced to death, and three Roma children.[38] According to the testimony of the vicar of Plungė, in July and August 1941 the bishop of Telšiai, Justinas Staugaitis, authorized the vicar to baptize about 60 Jews on an execution site; they were shot immediately after baptism.[39] Similarly, 74 Jewish schoolgirls were baptized before their imminent execution in Plungė.[40] Jakovas Bunka, who recorded this episode, maintained that the priest "had assured" the girls that they would be spared after the baptism; Bunka presumed that the priest was himself deceived.[41] About 20 women and children were

35 Sakaitė, V., 'Lietuvos dvasininkai – žydų gelbėtojai', *Genocidas ir rezistencija*, 2, 2002, pp. 222–232; Sakaitė, V., 'Lietuvos dvasininkai – žydų gelbėtojai', available at: http://www.genocid.lt/Leidyba/12/sakaite.htm (last accessed on 7 December 2015).

36 Letter of P. Petraitis, the rector of Kaunas seminary, to Bishop Paltarokas of 19 February 1944, LSHA, fund 1650, inventory 1, file 337, leaf 62.

37 Letter of the commandant of security police to the curia of the Kaišiadorys diocese of 22 February 1944, *Arkivyskupas Teofilius Matulionis laiškuose ir dokumentuose*, Vilnius, 2002, p. 44.

38 Baltramonaitis, J., 'Dienoraštis (1942–1944). Vilniaus S.D.K. kronika', *Lietuvių katalikų mokslo akademijos metraštis*, vol. 22, Vilnius 2003, pp. 538, 550, 561, 590.

39 Records of the interrogation by the KGB of Petras Lygnugaris of 24 October 1950, Lithuanian Special Archives, fund K 1, inventory 58, file P 12039 LI, leaves 20–21.

40 Bunka, J., 'Plungės žydų istorija', available at: http://jbfund.lt/history/plunges-zydu-istorija/ (last accessed on 14 December 2015).

41 Ibid.

baptized prior to their execution in Viduklė.[42] It seems that no information about conferral of the Sacrament of Baptism to Jews at the edge of their graves can be found from other places of Lithuania. For this reason, such radical proselytism should be considered a rare phenomenon, and a theological explanation could facilitate the understanding of its causes.

Summary

Quite a few Lithuanian priests, bishops, and monasteries individually rescued and hid Jews during the period of 1941 to 1944. Although from the very outbreak of the war the hierarchs of the Catholic Church of Lithuania sympathized with the Jews and were horrified by their persecution and murder, they did not take any public or secret measures to denounce Nazi policy or the actions of the officials of the local administration. They obeyed the orders, not to become involved. It should be noted that the bishops appealed in a letter to the representatives of the occupational authorities on the situation of the Jews: in August 1941, they demanded that Jews who had received baptism before the beginning of the war should not be imprisoned in ghettoes (including those Jews who received fake baptism certificates, and whose number was very low in Lithuania).

After the war, the bishops living in Lithuania or abroad did not return to the history of the Holocaust. They did not explain their positions and did not provide any data about the events in 1941, except Bishop Brizgys who kept the "defensive line" when he – remaining silent on some things, embellishing others – tried to dispel the implication of his collaboration with the Nazis and turned it into merely co-operating from "necessity". His book takes a unique place in historiography: until now, most historians have treated it as the most reliable testimony of the events in the life of the Church during the war. However, it is a story of a well-informed yet highly involved individual – it is his version of events. It is quite likely that the silence of other bishops is as eloquent as the voice of Bishop Brizgys.

42 Pocius, A., 'Viduklės kraštas karų ir okupacijų audrose', *Viduklė*, Kaunas 2002, p. 263; 'Žydų holokausto istorija Viduklėje', *Raseinių krašto* žydai. *Dokumentų ir straipsnių rinkinys*, Vilnius 2004, p. 232.

The Cold War and Ecclesiastical Biography in Finland

Aila Lauha

Finnish historiography and historical biographies before WWII

After the national awakening of the 19th century, there was a strong tendency within Finnish historical writing to help create a national narrative of the Finnish nation. Consequently, in the historical biographies the importance of the individual was seen and evaluated against a national and romanticized background. Ideologically, this kind of writing of history often reflected a conservative worldview.[1]

After Finland gained independence in 1917, an emphasis on a strong nation and state was added to this national narrative because of the political situation. During these decades, everything that threatened Finnish independence was perceived negatively. Mistrust and fear towards Russia had their origins in the Russification policy of the final years of Finnish autonomy.[2] They were strengthened by the fact that Russia had now become communistic and atheistic. To a Finnish patriot there was nothing positive in this new development.[3]All of this strongly influenced Finnish historical and biographical writing.[4]

During the whole 19th century most Finns – more than 98% of the population – belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. At least from the 1860s on, the church took a stand in favour of the national awakening and started to participate in building the national self-esteem of the people. The clergy taught that national identity and culture were gifts given by God. In domestic policy the clergy was often

1 Tommila 1998, pp. 159–164; Lavery 2006, pp. 56–59, 64–66. About the early origins of Finnish historical writing in the Middle Ages, see Heininen 1989. On conservatism as an ideology, see Suvanto 1994, pp. 16–17, 325.

2 Jutikkala & Pirinen 1996, pp. 350–381; Lavery 2006, pp. 71–78, 82–88.

3 Jutikkala & Pirinen 1996, pp. 407–411, 427–430; Lavery 2006, pp. 106–109.

4 The following researchers in particular have written about Finnish historiographical and biographical writing: Tommila (1998), Ahtiainen & Tervonen (1996).

eager to speak for social reforms. Nevertheless, they did not support socialism. After the Russian Communist revolution and the Civil War in 1918, anti-socialistic and anti-revolutionary attitudes strengthened. In the 1920s and 1930s morals, democracy and order, welfare, and the external position of the state became important themes in the political teaching and activity of the clergy.[5] This kind of political discourse closely corresponds with Professor Pekka Suvanto's definition of conservatism.[6]

In ecclesiastic history writing a romantic, nationalistic, patriotic, and conservative understanding of Finnish history was dominant. The Lutheran church was described as the Church for the nation, a "folk church",[7] while the ecclesiastical biographies reflected the national story and promoted the national programme. The biographies of Mauno Rosendal (1848–1914) and Wilhelmi Malmivaara (1854–1922) serve as good examples of this. These questions have been explored in depth by Ilkka Huhta.[8]

The "Finnish Cold War"

The Cold War started in Finland immediately after the Second World War, in 1945. The country was one of the losers of the war, but it had kept its independence. The main foreign political issue for Finland became the relationship with its eastern neighbour. In April 1948 Finland signed the Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union, which was valid until 1992.[9]

In spite of the so-called Finnish War Crimes Trials from November 1945 to February 1946, where eight war-time political leaders were sentenced to imprisonment, no political purifications took place. Although many political and cultural leaders of the 1930s continued in positions of power, in internal politics the political left became stronger during the 1950s and 1960s, and from 1966, the main conservative party, Kansallinen Kokoomus (National Coalition Party), did not participate in the government for 21 years.[10]

During the Cold War, Finnish political life was coloured by caution and silence.

5 Heininen & Heikkilä 2002, pp. 173–174, 192; 2003; Lauha 2007, pp. 171–192.

6 Pekka Suvanto in his book on conservatism from the French Revolution to the 1990s has also given an interesting analysis of Finnish conservatism, in which he sees that early Finnish conservatism was unique in comparison with many other countries. It did not support social classes with political or economic power. On the contrary, Finnish conservatism has been a rather agrarian, strongly Lutheran, and national ideology. Suvanto also claims that until present, it has been in the nature of conservatism to oppose any revolution; Suvanto 1994, 324–327.

7 Heininen & Heikkilä 2002, pp. 173–174, 184–186; Lauha 1998, pp. 415–421; Lauha 2001, pp. 53–54; Lauha 2005, p. 27; Lavery 2006, pp. 64–65.

8 See Oravala 1922 and 1929; Huhta 2001. On the national, and politically conservative approach of the clergy at the beginning of the 20th century, see Mustakallio 1983, pp. 469–475, 596–600.

9 Jutikkala & Pirinen 1996, pp. 463–474; Lavery 2006, pp. 129–130, 136–138, 157.

10 Suvanto 1994, pp. 299–321; Lavery 2006, pp. 133–142.

In times of international conflicts especially, Finns became wary and anxious. The political leaders avoided comments or actions that could have hurt Finland's national interests. In this way, Finland managed to retain its independence as well as a delicate balance between East and West during the years of the Cold War. The phenomenon has often been called "Finnlandisierung", and one has to admit that during the Cold War some politicians took advantage of the "Soviet card" to promote their own careers and influence. Most Finns, however, were confident that they belonged to the western side of the Iron Curtain. A certain mistrust towards the Soviet Union lay beneath the surface.[11]

The atmosphere and position of the Lutheran Church during the Cold War

The patriotic and conservative Lutheran Church of Finland had to face the political and spiritual changes caused by the Cold War. After World War II, the outward position of the church did not change. More than 95% of the Finnish population still belonged to the Church and were within the reach of its moral teaching. Nevertheless, the direct impact of the Church on societal values diminished and the Church started to distance itself from daily politics. Some kind of critical self-reflection concerning extreme nationalism among the clergy was manifested. A certain patriotism, however, remained a typical – although subdued – feature in the church.[12]

Already during the war years many young pastors had started to formulate a new kind of strategy to better reach ordinary Finnish people and to meet their spiritual and social needs After the war this development continued and new forms of social work were started to correspond to the spiritual and diaconal challenges of the post-war situation. The Church also endeavoured and partly succeeded in creating an open discussion and cooperation with the labour movement and the Social Democratic Party. It also became more active in Ecumenical cooperation.[13]

Since the late 1950s, the Church has held theological dialogues with the Russian Orthodox Church. These discussions have sometimes been seen as proof of the "Finnlandisierung" of the Lutheran Church of Finland during the Cold War era; this view has been put forward especially by the Estonian researcher Riho Saard.[14]

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11 On discussions of Finnish historians on WWII and the early Cold War period, see Herlin 1998 and Meinander 1998; Tommila 1998, pp. 164–166. See also Lavery 2006, pp. 129–130, 136–142.

12 Lauha 2005, pp. 27–29.

13 Lauha 1999, pp. 418–425; Lauha 2004, pp. 200–202, Lauha 2005, p. 29; McLeod & Saarinen 2006, pp. 55–56; Jalovaara 2007, pp. 37–40.

14 McLeod & Saarinen 2006, pp. 54–56; Kääriäinen 2006; Saard 2006. In his two-part biography on the influential Archbishop Martti Simojoki, Juha Seppo gives a detailed analysis of the early phase of these dialogues; see especially Seppo 2015, pp. 331–370.

The impact of the Cold War on historical and biographical research

The mentality of the Cold War spread to cultural life, the schools and the universities, extending also to the writing of history. In education and textbooks, the former patriotic pathos, often combined with an anti-Soviet tendency, was erased or subdued.

Historical research saw a turn to positivistic source work and the aspiration for methodological purity. Research topics were often safely chosen from ancient history – not the recent past – or from economic history, as well as from the history of different groupings and classes. The national narrative no longer dominated. Instead, academic researchers avoided anything that looked like a sentimental quest for the roots of true Finnishness.[15]

Nevertheless, when writing about the war years, the Finnish version of the truth was stubbornly maintained by Finnish researchers. More than a few Finnish researchers have until this day asserted that Finland was forced to join the so-called Continuation War in 1941, and to enter into a military alliance with Germany. In addition, the War Trials in 1945–1946 have generally been considered illegal, as they were based on an ex post facto law.[16] Such an interpretation of history was naturally never accepted on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Actually, it is apparent that even in today's Russia this part of the recent past is understood in very much the same way as during the Cold War.

It was typical of the new era that Finnish historians preferred to withdraw from all contacts with former Finnish right wing movements and tendencies. When writing about them and their leaders, the historians' tone was often critical and condemning. The earlier conservative patriotic heritage was not "in". Some post-war historians in Finland started to flatter the new political elite and especially the long-term president Urho Kekkonen – President of Finland from 1956 to 1981 – in their interpretations of the past.[17]

The Cold War also marked a significant turning point in the writing of historical biographies. One new trend was to pay more attention to the interaction between the individual and society. Later on, the psycho-historical approach made its breakthrough. Researchers often picked their subjects from among personalities who had – safely – died before WWII and, moreover, who had not belonged to the most extreme movements or been too anti-Russian or anti-Soviet, and absolutely not too pro-German. The war-time President Risto Ryti, President from 1940 to 1944, did not become the subject of high level academic biographical study until the 1980s. At the same time, several biographical books were published on president Urho Kekkonen;

15 Ahtiainen & Tervonen 1996, pp. 166–167; Tommila 1998, pp. 164–166.

16 Jutikkala & Pirinen 1996, pp. 455–456; Lavery 2006, pp. 134–136.

17 Ahtiainen & Tervonen 1996, pp. 164–168; Meinander 1998, pp. 239–242, 256–260.

his "court historian" Juhani Suomi has, thus far, written approximately 12 books entirely on Kekkonen.

The new political culture also affected the way the authors analysed their subjects. Some features were taken more profoundly into consideration while other aspects were ignored.

There might be other reasons, too, that hindered the biographical research of certain personalities. It is possible that some influential people or their family members or friends destroyed private archival material such as diaries and letters in the fear that there could be something politically or personally delicate among them. In some cases, the decision to not write a biography was made to protect the subject or his or her family. As an example, immediately after WWII, a communist coup d'état was feared in Finland. Today we know that this was really true and that there were already lists of people to be eliminated if this happened.

Similar trends can be seen in the ecclesiastical biographies. Many books on prominent church leaders, mostly bishops, were written during the Cold War, among them several solid doctoral theses from the Theological faculties.[18]

A typical feature of these works was that they did not always tell the whole life story of the subject but concentrated instead on one or a few sectors of his activity: the content of his sermons, his scientific or literary production, or his understanding of pastoral counselling. In cases where a complete biography was written, it concerned a person who had died in the early 20th century at the latest – exactly the same feature as in the secular biographies.

The reasons for this may also be similar: the lack of sources. Some Finnish bishops burned their archival material during or after the war. In many cases the families were not willing to allow free access to the private letters of the leadings pastors, feeling that the letters or diaries might contain delicate private material, not necessary political. The Cold War was, of course, never the only reason for secrecy.

18 Simo Heininen has written several works on prominent Finnish bishops and theologians mainly from the 16th and 17th centuries. For a bibliography of the works of Heininen, see Hintikka & Ketola & Salmesvuori (eds) 2003, pp. 475–490; see also Heininen 2007, pp. 385–386. Kauko Pirinen has written several works on Archbishop Frans Ludvig Schauman (1810–1877); see Pirinen 1985. In addition, the following influential church leaders were subjects of good biographies during the Cold War: Torsten Thure Renvall (1817–1898) by Eira Paunu 1952, Herman Råbergh (1838–1920) by Max von Bonsdorff 1957 and 1962, Isaacus Rothovius (1572–1652) by Martti Parvio 1959, Johannes Gezelius senior (1615–1690) by Pentti Laasonen 1977, Edvard Bergenheim (1798–1884) by Kyllikki Tiensuu 1985, Mikael Agricola (about 1510–1557) by Kari & Viljo Tarkiainen 1985, and Magnus Jacob Alopaeus (1743–1818) by Kari Tarkiainen 1985.

The Cold War and the remembrance of two archbishops: Meditations on the portraits of Gustaf Johansson and Lauri Ingman

Gustaf Johansson (1844–1930), the Archbishop of Finland 1899–1930

I have stated that during the Cold War the subjects of many ecclesiastical biographies were selected safely from church leaders from previous centuries. It is highly interesting, therefore, that a complete biography of Archbishop of Finland Gustaf Johansson was published as early as in October 1947, only 17 years after his death. The author was Professor Yrjö J.E. Alanen. The subject of the study, Gustaf Johansson (1844–1930), was an exceptionally long-term church leader. After some years as professor of dogmatics and ethics at the University of Helsinki (1877–1885), he worked as bishop for a total of 53 years, first in the dioceses of Kuopio (Oulu) and Savonlinna, and in 1899–1930, as the Archbishop of Turku. Johansson was respected in his time, although he was considered to be ultra conservative in some topical societal matters: to mention just one, he opposed the right of women to study at the university.[19]

In his biography, Alanen draws an accurate picture of Johansson, his background, studies, his theology and interests. The personal admiration towards Johansson is evident. Even so, the book is a thorough work with many details and an interesting zeitgeist, combined with often profound ethical discussion.

Regarding the theme of this essay, the most interesting parts in this biography are the extensive chapters, altogether about 90 pages, discussing the political orientation and actions of Johansson.[20] Alanen draws a detailed picture of a man whose fate was to lead the Lutheran Church of Finland in difficult times, the last years of autonomy under the rule of the Russian tsar, when the position of Finland was threatened because of the Russification policies.

The author offers abundant quotations from the 1890s and early 1900s where Johansson – in the presence of Russian authorities or as a member and the chair of the clerical estate of the Diet of Finland – defended the right of the Finnish people to autonomy, including their own laws. Alanen succeeds well in showing that Johansson was given recognition for this at the time, and considered to be a real Finnish patriot.[21]

In the early 20th century, the political climate in Finland became increasingly tense, and opinions were divided concerning strategies to use with the Russian authorities. Resistance grew. Yet, many political leaders continued with a kind of compliance

19 On Johansson, see Murtorinne 1988, pp. 129–136; Heininen & Heikkilä 2002, p. 176.

20 Alanen 1947, pp. 261–349.

21 Alanen 1947, pp. 284–285, 291–292, 317–323, 341. Also, Finnish Historian Lauri Hyvämäki has in an essay analysed positively the patriotism of Johansson and praised his performance in front of the Russian authorities in the late 19th century; Hyvämäki 1960, pp. 161–190. See also Murtorinne 1964, pp. 32–34, 42–52, 88–92.

or obedience policy. This was the political option that many pastors and bishops, including Archbishop Johansson, favoured. He remembered how in the so-called Eastern provinces of Russia some decades earlier, the protests of Lutheran pastors against pan-Slavism and Russification policies had led to a weakening of the position of the Lutheran Church. As a church leader, Johansson did not want to take this kind of risk even if many other pastors and professors of Theology now accepted the policy of passive or even active resistance. Johansson was bitterly criticized and disparaged publicly for a perceived lack of patriotism. He was mortified by this and, actually, never got over his bitterness.[22]

During the First World War, the resistance of the Finns proved to be a fruitful choice. Finland gained its independence in December 1917. The heroes in the newly born democracy were, naturally, those who had favoured resistance against Russia.[23]

Surely one of the main purposes of Alanen's book was to "rehabilitate" Johansson. He endeavours to prove the legitimacy and even a kind of ethical supremacy of Johansson's Russian policy. He succeeds without a doubt in proving that Johansson never was unpatriotic.

Nevertheless, one can ask whether this biography of Johansson was also written for other, more political motives. The story of Johansson somehow matched too conveniently the new political conditions of post-war Finland and the need for balancing relations with the Soviet Union. Was this Alanen's secret message? If not absolutely, he might at least have perceived that the time was ripe for a positive evaluation of Johansson's life. One could expect to find more understanding, even within the Church, for compliance or an obedience policy towards the eastern neighbour in 1947 than in the highly nationalistic 1920s and 1930s.

It is possible that Alanen also thought it important to suggest that the Lutheran Church, which before the war had been seen as a nationalistic, conservative, and more or less anti-Soviet institution, now needed to better understand the political realities. This is how Alanen defends the readiness of Johansson to obey:

> "He had learned to understand, that they in Russia looked at things totally differently than we do here."[24]
> "He saw now that the most important task was to create confidence and goodwill towards our nation among the Russian authorities."[25]

22 Heininen & Heikkilä 2002, pp. 187–188. See also Murtorinne 1964, pp. 165–169, 356–363; Mustakallio 1983, pp. 65, 156, 469–475; Mustakallio 1990, pp. 417–418. On the bitterness and loneliness of Johansson, see Alanen 1947, pp. 351, 356–358.

23 Jutikkala & Pirinen 1996, pp. 381–392; Lavery 2006, pp. 82–85.

24 Alanen 1947, p. 322.

25 Alanen 1947, p. 336.

These two sentences fit conditions in Finland in 1947 and the whole Cold War era very well.

A few details about Yrjö Alanen (1890–1960) himself are needed in this context. He was a Professor of Theology, and from 1948 Professor of Theological Ethics and Philosophy of Religion at the University of Helsinki. He was also editor-in-chief of the Church newspaper *Kotimaa* in 1944–1947. Already in the 1930s he expressed his support for social democracy, which was rather exceptional among pastors at the time. From 1946 on he was a member of the Social Democratic Party, and the chair of the Christian Social Democratic Association of Finland in 1947–1960. He was also one of the few pastors who was tolerated by groups of far-left politics.[26]

The well-known political orientation of Alanen may have helped him getting his book published soon after the war. A major Finnish publisher, Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, WSOY, not only accepted the biography into its publishing programme but also granted a scholarship and "supported the publication of the book in many ways", as the author expresses in his foreword. This corresponds well to the analysis of Päiviö Tommila on the course of WSOY's policies in the post-war era. Tommila observes how WSOY tried consciously to remove fervent national tendencies when publishing historical books, even if the publisher cannot be described as "progressive" or pro-Soviet minded.[27]

Alanen's biography of Johansson can be seen to represent the general atmosphere in Finland. Even in many conservative circles, there was a kind of understanding that it was for the good of the nation and state to begin building mutual trust with the Soviet Union. The life of Archbishop Johansson was very well suited for showing an example of a moderate, conservative, and truly patriotic person, who at the same time understood the needs and wishes of the Russians, and who did not support resistance and rebellion but rather compliance or an obedience policy.

Alanen's work contains another aspect that points to a topical political relevance of the book: the so-called working class issue. Alanen describes the "warm and lively passion" Johansson had toward the working class and "all poor people". He admits that Johansson, at the time, may not quite have understood "the extent of the societal grievances", and that he never promoted democracy.[28] The author, however, forgets to stress the fact that Johansson was very much against socialism and communism, and that he expressed his anti-socialistic attitudes in his writings and especially in his diary most vehemently. Alanen was aware of these anti-socialistic meditations, as he himself had typed Johansson's diaries, presumably during the biographical writing process; the original version is unfortunately lost. Nevertheless, after the war not only the old social

26 Helin 1996, pp. 49–51; Pikkusaari 1998, pp. 379–380; Numminen 2011, pp. 566–568.

27 Alanen 1947, 'Introduction'; Tommila 1998, pp. 164–165.

28 Alanen 1947, pp. 272–275, 353.

democrat Alanen but also many other pastors were eager to find ways to refashion the image of the church as a conservative and right wing institution by creating an active social programme and by engaging in a dialogue with the political left. In this situation is was better to forget or polish some comments by former archbishop Johansson on the topic.

In regard to the feedback of Alanen's contemporaries on this book, I would like to mention the rather indifferent and unenthusiastic review written by Professor of Church History Ilmari Salomies in the main theological periodical, *Teologinen Aikakauskirja*. Salomies did not pay attention to Johansson's political attitudes and activities. He argued that Johansson's theological orientation and spirituality were emphasized in the new biography, and that the author obviously greatly respected his subject. According to Salomies, something was lacking in the historical background.[29] The review indicates that Professor Salomies himself did not particularly admire either the book or its subject.

All in all, the biography of Johansson corresponds well to the time of its publication. A patriotic and conservative church leader appears as a moderate and politically neutral person with no anti-Russian attitudes. For the Lutheran Church, such a person was valuable in the critical period of the late 1940s, the very beginning of the Cold War era.

Lauri Ingman (1868–1934), Archbishop of Finland 1930–1934

It is as easy to understand why Johansson's literary "portrait" was painted so soon after his death as it is to see why Lauri Ingman's, the next Archbishop of Finland, was *not*: either in the 1940s, or in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. This is true, even if Ingman was one of the most influential Finnish politicians of his time, and was undoubtedly a more significant person both for the society and Church – despite the fact that his time as Archbishop remained short due to his early death.

Ingman, who died in 1934, was related to Johansson, and 24 years younger. They also had very similar backgrounds: both were sons of parish pastors. Ingman, like Johansson, shared a moderate Biblical-Pietistic inclination and became a Lutheran clergyman. Like Johansson, he had a career at the University. His fields of Theology were Biblical studies, Pedagogy of religion, and Church legislation, and he was Professor of Practical Theology in 1916–1930. Finally, like Johansson, Ingman was elected Archbishop of Finland.[30]

Ingman was one of the leading academic theologians. He was patriotic and he cherished a rather conservative world view. At the same time, he was practical and realistic,

29 Salomies 1948, pp. 153–155.

30 Välimäki 1994, pp. 338–345, 402–409; Vares 2004, pp. 327–332.

and he also adopted theological impulses from abroad: he studied for one year in Germany in 1895. He is considered to have been part of the "Helsinki-group" of prominent Finnish theologians promoting the renewal of parish work, which included activities that often irritated Archbishop Johansson.[31] Nevertheless, Johansson respected Ingman's commitment to the Church and to religion. As an ecclesiastical politician, Ingman both guarded the position of the Church and promoted reasonable reforms, such as the Freedom of Religion Act, which came into force in 1923. Ingman's character has been described as versatile, efficient, and steadfast, but he has also been described as able and willing to mediate and compromise.[32]

His most important field of activity was daily political life as a member of both the Diet of Finland, in 1905–1906, and the Parliament, in 1907–1919 and 1922–1929. Throughout his life, he was one of the most influential persons within the so-called Finnish Party, after 1918 the Coalition Party. He served once as Chairman of the Parliament, twice as Minister for Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs, and twice as Prime Minister.[33] Thus, his achievements were extraordinary not only politically but also from the Church's point of view. Yet he is one of those prominent Finns who during the Cold War era did not become subjects of serious academic biographical study. Why this delay?

The reason cannot be Ingman's patriotic views, nor his conservative worldview as such. Many clergymen, among them Archbishop Johansson, had similar qualifications. The only explanation for me remains that something in Lauri Ingman's role in daily politics must have been a problem in the new situation of Finland and the beginning of the Cold War. For the Church, it was wiser not to associate with the anti-socialist and anti-Russian heritage of Archbishop Ingman.

Namely, the truth is, that Ingman's political career had been coloured with anti-socialist and anti-communist attitudes and activities. His mistrust of Soviet-Russia had been deep, and his eagerness to promote the national defence forces in the 1920s had been vehement. His reputation could not be polished, either in the field of political history or in the field of Church history. It was better to be silent, or at least not to lift him onto the stage. He would not have been an ideal model for Finland or for the Lutheran Church in the new political situation of the Cold War.

For a taste of his views and expressions on communism and Russia (which, in fact, already was the Soviet Union), I add two quotes from the late 1920s:

> "Who could ever have guessed that in this country a movement would be born wishing to unify our county to Russia! And today this is the case. Communism is an ideology that wishes to abolish the religious and moral grounding which our fathers built on: our social

31 Heininen & Heikkilä 2002, pp. 197–199.

32 Välimäki 1994, pp. 186–196, 402–409; Vares 2004, pp. 327–332.

33 Mustakallio 1990, 474; Murtorinne 1988, 226–230; Vares 2004, 327–332.

> order, our independence, and our freedom. This is all guided and financed from Russia. It means death to everything we esteem as precious."[34]

> "The Communist party is a hereditary enemy of legality. Its essence is violence. It is destroying the body and soul of our nation."[35]

Naturally, Ingman was not totally ignored by merited researchers. During the Cold War, Professor of History, Yrjö Blomstedt, in his biography on President K.J. Ståhlberg analysed Ingman in a positive way. In addition, a couple of master's theses on Ingman were written, and at the Faculty of Theology Hannu Välimäki finished his unpublished Licentiate thesis titled "Lauri Ingman as an ecclesiastical politician" in 1974.

When I was young, I started to write a master's thesis on Ingman at the Faculty of Humanities under the supervision of Yrjö Blomstedt in 1980. My aim was to concentrate on his attitude towards Communism and extreme right-wing radicalism from 1920 onwards. I did a great deal of archival work and wrote seminar papers and presentations, although I wrote my final thesis on a different topic. In any case, this study process gave me considerable knowledge about Ingman. I became familiar with his strong anti-communist views but also with his strong sense of legality. He not only opposed extreme leftist policies but also the violent expressions of right-wing groups in Finland in the early 1930s. In his speeches Ingman really tried to dampen their radical anti-Soviet, anti-communist or anti-socialist activities. Ingman remained an important political advisor for President Svinhufvud in the difficult years of the Mäntsälä right-wing tumult in 1931–1932. He wrote some of the main speeches for the President, even though he was already the Archbishop.[36] He was indeed a man of importance and influence. But: no biography was written.

Today, there are many books and articles written on Lauri Ingman. For example, Vesa Vares, Professor of Political History at the University of Turku, has written two books on Ingman.[37] He places and analyses Ingman against his political background, the Finnish conservative tradition, evaluates his role and influence, and presents a balanced and reliable analysis of the most influential clergyman in Finland in the 20th century. Hannu Välimäki's research work reflects a stronger church historical view. He started his research on Lauri Ingman as an ecclesiastical politician already during the Cold War, but it took him 20 years to finish his dissertation in 1994. Soon after, in 1998, he published a second book on Ingman, an analysis of Ingman's role in the field

34 A speech at Seinäjoki 20 February 1927, Lauri Ingman collection in the National Archives. Aila Lauha, 1980, p. 2.

35 Draft of a speech from 1929, Lauri Ingman collection in the National Archives. Aila Lauha, 1980, p. 7.

36 Lauha 1980, p. 19; Heininen & Heikkilä 1996, p. 203.

37 Vares 1993 and 1996.

of religious education and educational politics.[38] These four books give a comprehensive picture of this conservative grand old man, and his role and importance in Finnish political and ecclesiastical history.

Conservative indeed: Lauri Ingman's patriotism, his keen interest in building the nation and the state and promoting the conditions of all classes, his strongly Pietistic-Lutheran worldview and anti-revolutionary attitudes, and his deep antipathy against Communism and the Soviet Union are among the features that Pekka Suvanto describes in his analysis of conservatism.[39] Nevertheless, at least in a small country neighbouring the Soviet Union, the Cold War was not a Golden Age for this kind of conservatism. This might be the reason why it took around 50 years – and the whole period of the Cold War – until a picture of the political influential Archbishop Ingman was drawn. After the Soviet Union had ceased to exist, and the threat of Communism and aggressive Soviet – or Russian – politics appeared to have disappeared from European politics, then, and only then could everything about Ingman and his role in the Church and society be analysed with no explanations needed for the political elite or the eastern neighbour.

When writing this article, I was amazed to realize how many features characteristic of Finnish secular history writing that one finds in the field of church history, e.g. features of patriotic and conservative political heritage, and the endeavour to write a national narrative. This extended to Finnish biographical writing – including ecclesiastical biographies. Furthermore, it is evident, that major political changes – especially the Cold War – seriously challenged Finnish history writing. At least some modification of the "national narrative" was needed. To a certain extent this actually happened, although mostly outwardly. Some parts of the Finnish "truth" did not vanish, either in secular or ecclesiastic history writing.

Through these two portraits I have tried to illustrate how historical and biographical writing within the Church faced the early challenges of the Cold War. It was obvious that some kind of transformation of the "national narrative" was needed. Until World War II the Lutheran Church had a conservative, patriotic, and rather anti-socialist heritage. After 1945 Finland needed a new orientation. It was no longer wise to base too much on this heritage, even in ecclesiastic history. Anti-Russian and anti-socialist traditions were outdated. Even the Church needed more understanding and respect for the eastern neighbour. Maybe we can call this Finlandization? In any case, more study is needed about Cold War church historical writing to test this hypothesis. Thus far I dare to presume that in the field of Church history, and specifically in ecclesiastic biographies, the tendency to write in a politically correct way hardly became predominant. The truth, it seems to me, was not intentionally falsified – only that sometimes it was better to be silent, as in the case of Lauri Ingman.

38 Välimäki 1998, 1994 and 1998.

39 Suvanto 1994, pp. 324–327.

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Episcopal Biographies and Religious Historiography of the French Contemporary Period

Christian Sorrel

Pierre Bourdieu's phrase "The biographical illusion" shows that contemporary history is marked by the questioning of a genre that is much appreciated by readers.[1] Having undergone a transformation from the 1960s, religious history has not evaded the questioning that first affected episcopal biography, even though the discipline was being renewed.[2] In the context of conciliar reforms, historians of Catholicism gave priority to the study of the Christian people and highlighted laymen or simple priests. Still, the episcopate as a body returned to the forefront with the success of the prosopography of élites,[3] and in its wake new biographical projects were born to extend beyond the thanklessness of statistical investigation and to analyse decisive moments. Episcopal biography has thus become fully legitimate again in its search for the individual behind the group and by articulating two times: a life and a society.[4]

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1 Pierre Bourdieu, 'L'illusion biographique', in *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 62–63, 1986, pp. 69–72; François Dosse, *Le Pari biographique. Ecrire une vie*, Paris 2005.

2 Claude Langlois & Jean-Marie Mayeur, 'Sur l'histoire religieuse contemporaine', *Revue Historique* 512, 1974, pp. 433–444; Claude Langlois, 'Trente ans d'histoire religieuse. Suggestions pour une future enquête', *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 63, 1987, pp. 85–114; René Rémond, 'L'histoire religieuse de la France au XXe siècle', *Vingtième siècle. Revue d'histoire* 17, 1988, pp. 93–107.

3 *Prosopographie des élites françaises (XVIe–XXe siècles). Guide de recherche*, Paris 1980.

4 Michel Lagrée, 'Biographies d'évêques et histoire religieuse en France', in *La Création biographique*, ed. Marta Dvorak, Rennes 1997, pp. 253–260; Jacques-Olivier Boudon, 'De la biographie à la prosopographie dans l'historiographie religieuse contemporaine', in *L'Histoire religieuse en France et en Espagne* (Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, 87), ed. Benoît Pellistrandi, Madrid 2004, pp. 121–135.

Born in the 4th century, ecclesiastical history long was the mere story of episcopal successions, and 19th-century France confirmed this orientation by formalizing the genre of episcopal biography. Usually written by someone close to the bishop, either a collaborator or a relative, and published with the approval of his successor, it follows the "hero" from childhood to death in a rather hagiographical tone – with some nuances. From the early 20th century though, the formula fell out of use as a result of the crises of Catholicism, the reshuffle of the episcopal body wanted by the papacy, the decline of ecclesiastical scholarship, and the lack of money for publishing.[5] But the biographical approach did not disappear and Catholic historians adopted it during the interwar period in order to develop a history of the Church subject to new scientific criteria. Most of them were priests who presented their research within a state doctoral thesis and were integrated into the community of historians (Jean Leflon, Ernest Sevrin, Charles Ledré, and Paul Droulers). Some were laymen, university professors, or high school teachers (André Latreille and Roger Limouzin-Lamothe). All of them turned towards the study of the first half of the 19th century, allowing them to avoid recent issues (law of separation, modernism), but also to analyse their roots (Concordat, gallicanism, ultramontanism, and social question) by cross-referencing both public and diocesan archives. Sometimes diversifying by abandoning the global story for a more specific approach – diplomacy for Cardinal Fesch, enforcement of the Concordat for Cardinal Cambacérès, and the social question for Cardinal d'Astros – biography therefore appears central in the methodological convergence between ecclesiastical and university history.[6] However, in the 1960s and 1970s, it could not avoid criticism by researchers who were keen to develop a non-denominational religious history in dialogue with other fields of history and other humanities or social sciences.

"Religious biography", according to the authors of the 1975 reference book, is "deeply conservative, less by the historian's treatment of the sources than by the fact that they reinforce the prejudices of an immediate reading of history, and more specifically the idea that most bishops or laymen were generally selected because of non-religious and often political activities".[7] Everything converged to reduce the place of

5 Christian Sorrel, 'La biographie impossible: Mgr Lacroix et la *Vie de Mgr Landriot*', in *Histoires antiromaines* II. *L'antiromanisme dans l'historiographie ecclésiastique catholique (XVIe–XXe siècles)*, eds Franz Xaver Bischof & Sylvio De Franceschi, Lyon 2014, pp. 239–253.

6 Major scientific biographies: Parisis (Charles Guillemand, 1916–1924), Boisgelin de Cucé (Eugène Lavacquery, 1921), Champion de Cicé (Léon Lévy-Schneider, 1921), Freppel (Eugène Terrien, 1931–1932), Fesch (André Latreille, 1935), Bernier (Jean Leflon, 1938), Cambacérès (Charles Ledré, 1943), d'Astros (Droulers, 1954), Clausel de Montals (Ernest Sevrin, 1955), de Quélen (Roger Limouzin-Lamothe, 1955–1957), de Mazenod (Jean Leflon, 1957–1965), Affre (Roger Limouzin-Lamothe, Jean Leflon, 1971).

7 Jean Baubérot & Claude Langlois, 'Problèmes et propositions', in *L'Histoire religieuse de la France – 19e–20e siècle. Problèmes et méthodes*, ed. Jean-Marie Mayeur, Paris 1975, p. 205.

episcopal biography: a criticism of institutional and political history in line with the École des Annales, an interest in the Christian people related to Fernand Boulard's pastoral sociology and the promotion of laymen by the Second Vatican Council,[8] an affirmation of the history of mentalities, and a project of serial analysis in the long term. And those who specialize in Catholicism are by no means indifferent to the criticism of historians and sociologists who see biography as "an anachronistic and limited model of rationality" marked by the "excess of sense and coherence", the "illusion of the all-out relevance of a particular experience", and the "utopic quest for an integral knowledge of the individual".[9] When referring to Michel de Certeau, the authors of the 1975 reference book subsequently conclude to the necessity of changing "the very place of biography": "The choice [of the figures] must be the result [...] of a pre-existent problematic linked to a serial study. In return, the biographical approach, by introducing a necessary distance, somehow sets the qualitative boundaries of the field of investigation and also reveals, as a counterpoint to explicative schemes, the *irreducible* part of history".[10]

During its rehabilitation at universities, biography as a genre therefore acquired a previously unattained relevance in connection with the "rediscovery" of political history and the renewal of less class-centred social history studies. As early as 1968, Jean-Marie Mayeur had demonstrated just that with his "Lemire", a portrait of the leading figure of the "abbés democrats" of the "Leo XIII generation". In it, he focused on the study of an intellectual career to understand the relationship between "intransigent" thought and Christian democracy, while avoiding the trap of reducing the biography to a pretext describing an era. Indeed, he assigned his character with "the central and dominant place in a network of connections with his environment and his time":[11] "the knowledge of an era is essential to understanding a man. Conversely, the troubles of a time are reflected in the mirror of an existence".[12] After Jean-Marie Mayeur, some historians turned towards the study of priests and notables (Maret, future bishop *in partibus*, Michon, Portal, and de Mun). This allowed a re-evaluation of intellectual and political stakes in the 19th century (neo-gallicanism, liberal Catholicism, the Vatican Council, the *Ralliement*[13]). However, the historians ignored the active bishops in of-

8 *Des chiffres et des cartes ... Approches sérielles et spatiales en histoire religieuse. Les « Matériaux Boulard » trente ans après*, ed. Christian Sorrel, Lyon 2013.

9 Giovanni Levi, 'Les usages de la biographie', *Annales économies, sociétés, civilisations* 6, 1989, p. 1326 and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Le raisonnement sociologique. L'espace non-poppérien du raisonnement naturel*, Paris 1991, pp. 185–192.

10 Jean Baubérot & Claude Langlois, supra n. 7, pp. 205–206.

11 Jacques Le Goff, 'Comment écrire une biographie historique aujourd'hui ?', *Le Débat* 54, 1989, p. 50.

12 Jean-Marie Mayeur, *Un prêtre démocrate. L'abbé Lemire (1853–1928)*, Paris 1968, p. 9.

13 Jean-Hippolyte Michon (Claude Savart, 1971), Henri Maret (Andrea Riccardi, 1976; Claude

fice in dioceses, with two exceptions: Xavier de Montclos, whose thesis on Lavigerie benefited from a congregation's mobilization in favour of its founder and announced the mutations of the biographical genre, and Marc Agostino, who retraced the career of Lecot, archbishop of Bordeaux, who rallied to the Republic.[14]

Bishops did not disappear from the historiography of Catholicism, but they were mainly included through diocesan monographs, which were triumphing and which valued the study of the simple clergy and the congregation.[15] While contemporary biographies elaborated on intellectual careers, monographs focused more on pastoral action by presenting humble characters, without always respecting the chronology of episcopacies. They also drew attention to the episcopal body as a whole – even though it had no legal existence before the mid-20th century – and facilitated the reception of the prosopographical method, borrowed from the study of previous centuries: "it presupposes a serial analysis, and highlights the individual and the exceptional only to bring out the collective and the norm by contrast".[16]

This approach, which cannot always be properly used because collecting homogenous data is time-consuming, triumphs in Jacques-Olivier Boudon's exemplary investigation on the recruitment of Concordat bishops, and is continued in Séverine Blenner's reflection on the extent to which the bishops' way of life and action matched the Roman model.[17] Moreover, it inspired the presentation of bishops in the early Third Republic and the analysis of their political discourse by Jacques Gadille.[18] The approach also guided works on the 20th-century episcopate, without being completely implemented: the study of the episcopal body between 1905 and 1962 (limited by the fact that only printed sources were studied), the sociological survey of the bishops in office in the 1970s and 1980s based on their answers to an anonymous questionnaire,

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Bressolette, 1977 and 1984), Fernand Portal (Régis Ladous, 1973 and 1985), Albert de Mun (Philippe Levillain, 1983).

14 Xavier de Montclos, *Lavigerie, le Saint-Siège et l'Eglise, de l'avènement de Pie IX à l'avènement de Léon XIII, 1846–1878*, Paris 1965; Marc Agostino, *Le Cardinal Lecot (1831–1908). Un évêque face au monde moderne*, PhD diss., Université de Bordeaux III, 1974.

15 Michel Lagrée, 'La monographie diocésaine et les acquis de l'historiographie religieuse française', in *Etudes d'histoire religieuse* 61, 1995, pp. 9–41; Christian Sorrel, 'Échelles et espaces : le diocèse. Réflexions sur l'historiographie française contemporaine', in *L'Histoire religieuse en France et en Espagne* (Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, 87), ed. Benoît Pellistrandi, Madrid 2004, pp. 225–247.

16 Claude Nicolet, 'Prosopographie et histoire sociale : Rome et l'Italie à l'époque républicaine', *Annales économies, sociétés, civilisations* 25, 1970, p. 1226.

17 Jacques-Olivier Boudon, *L'épiscopat français à l'époque concordataire 1802–1905. Origine, formation, nomination*, Paris 1996; Séverine Blenner, *Une élite dans la France du XIXe siècle. Les évêques concordataires face au modèle romain (1802–1906)*, PhD diss., Université Paris IV, 2006.

18 Jacques Gadille, *La pensée et l'action politiques des évêques français au début de la IIIe République, 1870–1883*, 2 vols, Paris 1967.

the identification of a Great War generation who governed dioceses from 1930 to 1960, and the analysis of the episcopal discourse at the beginning of John Paul II's papacy.[19] At the same time, dictionaries prepared or continued the prosopographical approach by gathering source material and ordering it into brief portraits that brought life to the bishops, acknowledging their singularities, despite how disparate the documentation and the writing of notices were.[20]

It is in the context of this renewed interest for episcopal staff – seen as a Church and society élite – that from 1990 university researchers rediscovered episcopal biography, without abandoning the other actors (secular priests, men and women religious, and notables)[21]. "Writing the biography of a bishop is no longer anachronistic", wrote Gérard Cholvy in 2007, one of the advocates of the new religious history, with its recent production centred on two major moments: the crises of the early 20th century and the Second World War.[22]

The first group of new episcopal biographies consists of four works, published between 2002 and 2007. Three of them are about prelates named at the end of the Concordat era and who remained at the margins of the French episcopate because of their position on the Separation of Church and State and on modernism.[23] Mgr Mignot, bishop of Fréjus then archbishop of Albi, won recognition for his intellectual stature that allowed him to master the theological issues of exegesis and to rethink the relationship between the Church and modernity. Mgr Lacroix, bishop of Tarentaise,

19 Marc Minier, *L'épiscopat français du Ralliement à Vatican II*, Padova 1982; Catherine Grémion & Philippe Levillain, *Les lieutenants de Dieu. Les évêques de France et la République*, Paris 1985; Frédéric Le Moigne, *Les évêques français de Verdun à Vatican II*, Rennes 2005; Martial Busuttil, *Episcopat français. La fin d'un modèle (1978–1990). De la collégialité à l' « individuation »*, PhD diss., Université Lyon 2, 2005.

20 Jacques-Olivier Boudon, *Les élites religieuses à l'époque de Napoléon. Dictionnaire des évêques et vicaires généraux du Premier Empire*, Paris 2002; *Dictionnaire des évêques français au XXe siècle*, eds Dominique-Marie Dauzet & Frédéric Le Moigne, Paris 2010; *Les évêques français de la Séparation au pontificat de Jean-Paul II*, eds Frédéric Le Moigne & Christian Sorrel, Paris 2013.

21 Louis Duchesne (Brigitte Waché, 1992), Emile Anizan (Jean-Yves Moy, 1997), Augustin de Lestrange (Augustin-Hervé Laffay, 1998), Paul Doncœur (Dominique Avon, 2001), Marie Odiot de La Paillone (Dominique-Marie Dauzet, 2001), Hélène de Chappotin (Marcel Launay, 2001), Frédéric Ozanam (Gérard Cholvy, 2003 and 2012), Marie-Joseph Lagrange (Bernard Montagnes, 2004), Georges Goyau (Jérôme Grondeux, 2007), Frère Exupérien (Gérard Cholvy, 2008), Marie-Benoît de Bourg d'Iré (Gérard Cholvy, 2010), Jean Guiraud (Aurore Deglaire, 2013).

22 Gérard Cholvy, *Le cardinal de Cabrières (1830–1921). Un siècle d'histoire de la France*, Paris 2007, p. 13.

23 Yves Blomme, *Emile Le Camus (1839–1906). Son rôle au début de la crise moderniste et lors de la séparation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat*, Paris 2002; Christian Sorrel, *Libéralisme et modernisme. Mgr Lacroix (1855–1922). Enquête sur un suspect*, Paris 2003; Louis-Pierre Sardella, *Mgr Eudoxe-Irénée Mignot (1842–1918). Un évêque français au temps du modernisme*, Paris 2004.

a historian rather than a theologian, a journalist and a political intermediary, shared the same concern of reconciling Catholicism and society – so much that he presented himself as "the bishop of modernists". Mgr Le Camus, bishop of La Rochelle, trod more carefully in the field of exegesis that he knew well, but did not lack boldness on a political level. The three of them soon became suspect for the Roman curia, and Lacroix had to resign in 1907 to avoid being deposed. Therefore, the biographies of these figures allow the renewal of knowledge of political and intellectual issues in Catholicism around 1900, by cross-referencing dossiers that were long treated separately and by creating a reflection on the deviation from standard. The same goes for the more central figure of the Concordat episcopate, Cardinal de Cabrières, whose longevity – he was bishop of Montpellier from 1873 to 1921 – allows Gérard Cholvy to read contemporary religious history differently, while still granting the religious life of the diocese a more prominent place than had previous works.[24]

The contrast between the bishop's personal path and the experience of his diocesans also varies widely in the second group of recent biographies that study prelates promoted by Pius XI, who wished to re-orientate the Church of France after the condemnation of the Action française.[25] Whether the subjects of the biographies were major figures (Liénart, Gerlier, Suhard, Saliège) or lesser-known ones (Rémond, Théas) whose careers sometimes stretched as long as after the Second Vatican Council, they all played a major role during the Second World War. The latter largely justifies the authors' choice to sometimes isolate the chronological sequence, and explains why the books were debated. There are many controversial questions – support of the Vichy government, attitude towards the Jews, the résistants and the workers sent to Germany – and the analysis is sometimes stained by ideological presuppositions (Suhard).

Although the episcopal biography is being renewed, it does have limits. It has only partially covered the 19th century,[26] and figures of the Concordat era such as Mgr

24 Cholvy supra n. 22, p. 519.

25 Ralph Schor, *Un évêque dans le siècle: Monseigneur Paul Rémond (1873–1963)*, Nice 1984; Sylvaine Guinle-Lorinet, *Pierre-Marie Théas. Un évêque à la rencontre du XXe siècle*, Tarbes-Toulouse 1993; Jean-Louis Clément, *Mgr Saliège, archevêque de Toulouse 1929–1956*, Paris 1994; Catherine Masson, *Le cardinal Liénart, évêque de Lille, 1928–1968*, Paris 2001; Jean-Pierre Guérend, *Cardinal Emmanuel Suhard, archevêque de Paris, 1940–1949*, Paris 2011; Olivier Georges, *Pierre-Marie Gerlier, le cardinal militant (1880–1965)*, Paris 2014.

26 Marie-Claude Pierre, *Les idées politiques de Mgr Turinaz, évêque de Tarentaise (1873–1882), évêque de Nancy (1882–1918)*, PhD diss., Université de Nancy, 1982; Jean Manceau, *Monseigneur Marie-Dominique-Auguste Sibour, archevêque de Paris (1848–1857)*, Paris 1987; François Renault, *Le cardinal Lavigerie, 1825–1892. L'Eglise, l'Afrique et la France*, Paris 1992; Gabriel Mas, *Le cardinal de Bonald et la question du travail (1840–1870)*, PhD diss., Université Lyon 2, 2007; Charles Chauvin, *Mgr Darboy, archevêque de Paris, otage de la Commune*, Paris 2011; Jacques-Olivier Boudon, *Monseigneur Darboy (1813–1871), archevêque de Paris entre Pie IX et Napoléon III*, Paris 2011.

Dupanloup, bishop of Orléans, or Mgr Freppel, bishop of Angers, have only been the subject of very brief studies. The second half of the 20th century is no better studied, except for the portrait of an auxiliary.[27] Yet, this period is marked by the evolutions spurred by the Second Vatican Council, described by actors in their memoirs.[28] But public archives have been of little use since the "administration des cultes" disappeared (formerly under the Minister of Worship), and there is variable access to ecclesiastical archives, which do not always hold a wealth of information. This is particularly the case for bishops who ended their career within the Roman curia and whose papers are protected by the strict rules of the *Archivio segreto vaticano* (Villot, Garrone). In contrast, Etienne Fouilloux's remarkable biography of Cardinal Tisserant, in office in Rome from 1908 to 1972, was only possible because the prelate had chosen to transfer his private papers to France.[29]

Obviously, the quantity and nature of available sources (printed sources, letters, diaries) have an impact on the orientation of episcopal biographies. But many historians apparently still hesitate to explore the prelates' spiritual life and favour the study of their pastoral or political action. Is it from a lack of competence on delicate matters? A difficulty to comprehend implicit choices? A will to legitimate the historical investigation by centring it on the Church and society? A mediocre reputation of the episcopate, from which only one member – Eugène de Mazenod, bishop of Marseille and founder of the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate – was canonized in two centuries?[30] The explanations may be many. But the question of the internal life and its link with public action, tackled by hagiographers in the 19th century, cannot be ignored any longer by 21st-century historians.[31] The same goes for the episcopal style, rarely described despite the changes associated with the Second Vatican Council, or for the construction of the prelates' memory.[32] By following these paths and without

27 Odile Broucqsault, *Mgr Jules Harlé, un pasteur du monde rural (1916–1999)*, PhD diss., Université du Littoral, 2009.

28 François Marty, *Chronique vécue de l'Eglise de France*, Paris 1980; Armand Le Bourgeois, *Un évêque français*, Paris 1986; Gabriel Matagrin, *Le chêne et la futaie. Une Eglise avec les hommes de ce temps*, Paris 2000.

29 Etienne Fouilloux, *Eugène, cardinal Tisserant (1884–1972). Une biographie*, Paris 2011.

30 The procedures concerning three archbishops of Paris (Affre, Darboy, Richard) are suspended. See Christian Sorrel, 'La sainteté entre hagiographie et histoire', in *La Sainteté*, ed. Gérard Cholvy, Montpellier 1999, pp. 5–30.

31 Sorrel supra n. 23, pp. 441–448 ("La foi en question") ; Cholvy supra n. 22, pp. 453–494 ("Culture, piété, spiritualité"); Dominique-Marie Dauzet, 'La vie spirituelle des évêques de France au XXe siècle', in Le Moigne & Sorrel, eds, supra n. 20, pp. 172–184.

32 Yvon Tranvouez, 'Le charme discret de l'épiscopat français', in *Catholicisme et société dans la France du XXe siècle. Apostolat, progressisme et tradition*, Paris 2011, pp. 259–299.

claiming any dominant position, the episcopal biography may contribute to the permanence and renewal of a history of Catholicism, at a time when authors increasingly turn to the study of spirituality, liturgy, and prayer.[33]

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The biographical genre, once discredited, regained a significant place in French historiography. Religious history followed, first by turning to priests and laymen, before returning to the long-favoured bishops. The parallel affirmation of prosopography and of a renewed biographical approach reveals the tension and complementarity existing in the religious field (as in other sectors) between collective social facts and individual paths, in their irreducible singularity or representativeness. In this sense, the episcopal biography, free from the "obstacles behind which fake problems blocked it", confronts the historian "in a particularly acute and complex way" with the main requirements of his profession: "a real biography", writes Jacques Le Goff, "is primarily the life of an individual, and the legitimacy of the historical genre is achieved through respect of this goal – presenting and explaining an individual life within history, but a history that new historiographical conceptions shed light on.[34]"

33 *Le Catholicisme en chantiers. France, XIXe–XXe siècles*, eds Bruno Dumons & Christian Sorrel, Rennes 2013.

34 Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, Paris 1996, p. 15 and *idem* supra n. 11, p. 50.

The Contributions of Bishop Dr Manas Buthelezi as a Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Leader from 1969–2012

Rev. Enock Bongani Zulu

This presentation looks at the life and times of an African, called and ordained as a Minister in the Lutheran Church, a scholarly theologian, a Church leader, and a socio-political activist. Bishop Dr Manas Buthelezi played an unusually vital role both in the context of South African society and in the Lutheran Church locally and internationally. It is this unusual and unrecognized role that this paper seeks to unpack. It will follow his early years as a student, teacher, theological student, scholar, and socio-political activist and his later years as a Church and ecumenical leader.[1]

Introduction

The conference where this paper was presented took place amidst a sombre and somehow meditative atmosphere, as the week before in South Africa we had received the sad news that our beloved soldier of Jesus Christ the Rev. Dr Axel-Ivar Berglund had died. This in a way epitomizes what the Church of Sweden missionaries did when they left Sweden and embarked on a journey to South East Africa to proclaim the Gospel. The parents of Axel-Ivar Berglund and later Axel-Ivar himself were part of this

1 A word of appreciation goes to Prof Dr Anders Jarlert and his team who have organized this conference, and who were so kind to invite me to be part of the conference. I express my gratitude to Ms Helene Carson who tirelessly worked through the correspondence and did the ground work of organizing the conference. My appreciation is expressed in the following words taken from the Holy Scriptures (NIV) 2 Timothy 2:1-3. "You then my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. And the things you have heard me say in the presence of many witnesses entrust to reliable men who will also who will also be qualified to teach others. Endure hardship with us like a good soldier of Christ Jesus." Since this manuscript was written Bishop Dr Manas Buthelezi passed away, on 20 April 2016.

programmatic undertaking. They imparted the Christian faith to the people of South Africa, including the parents of Manas Buthelezi and also Manas Buthelezi himself. I will expatiate more on this in the subsequent paragraphs.

The historical and socio-political settings of the Lutheran mission societies that arrived and established themselves in the southern part of the African continent differed remarkably. Their home backgrounds were full not only of geopolitical and historical divisions, but also theological divisions. These divisions were exported to the African continent with dire and long-lasting consequences: the Lutheran divisions continue to the present day in South Africa. The area of focus as my starting point is the south-eastern part of South Africa within the Zulu Kingdom under King Cetshwayo kaMpande.

The Church of Sweden mission 1874–1912

The Church of Sweden Mission was established as a project of both the awakening/Revival movements within Sweden which were mission-oriented and part of the then state Church. The Swedish Christian Mission arrived in South Africa in the Zulu Kingdom in 1876, assisted by the legendary Norwegian Mission Bishop Hans Paludan Smith Schreuder, who was positioned within the Zulu Kingdom 30 years before. He was of great assistance to the Swedish Missionaries Otto Witt and Carl Flygare who had first to learn the Isizulu language and culture under the tutelage of Bishop Schreuder at eNtumeni and KwaNtunjambili mission stations. Later, in 1878, they moved into the interior part of the Zulu Kingdom and settled at the banks of uMzinyathi River at a place called eShiyane, also known as Rorke's Drift. Here they founded a mission station and named it Oscarsberg, named after the Swedish King Oscar II. Between 1878 and 1879 not much happened pertaining to mission activities in the area, due mainly to the unstable diplomatic relationship between British colonial rule and the Zulu Kingdom, and the environment that was hostile to mission activities.

Rev. Prince Josef Zulu (1862–1927)

Here I wish to mention one of the first converts in the Church of Sweden Mission, namely Rev. Prince Mkhwelantaba Josef kaMathaka kaMpasi kaMnomo kaNdaba kaMageba Zulu waseGazini. Born ca 1862 at Ngwibi along the White Umfolozi River, a son of Chief Prince Mathaka Zulu waseGazini, Josef came into contact with Christianity via Schroeder, a Hermannsburg missionary who was stationed at iThaka mission station. After elementary lessons in Christianity, Josef showed some inclinations towards the Christian faith. In the then Zulu Kingdom this was taboo, for young men were forbidden to be baptized and become Christians. This meant that death was lingering around him. Under cover of the night he crossed into the then British

border at UMzinyathi River and came to Missionary Witt. At the outbreak of the Anglo-Zulu War in January 1879, Witt was forced to vacate his mission station and to leave Zululand. He travelled to Durban via Pietermaritzburg with his family, together with the young Prince Josef Zulu. He sailed with them to Sweden where Josef Zulu was taught the Swedish language and received catechetical lessons such that he was ready for baptism in December 1879 and received the name of his choice, Josef. He subsequently entered the Johanneslund Mission School to train as a missionary until the end of 1884. In 1885 he sailed to South Africa, where he served in various mission stations in Zululand for 15 years. In 1900 Josef Zulu decided to return to Sweden and upgrade his theological training from evangelist to that of the ordained Priest Missionary. He successfully completed the supplementary training, was ordained by the Archbishop in Uppsala and then returned to South Africa. Rev. Prince Mkhwelantaba Josef kaMathaka Zulu waseGazini died in 1927. He was buried in Dundee in the cemetery of the missionaries from the Church of Sweden. Next I will look at the life and times of Bishop Manas Buthelezi, who in many ways is the product of the Church of Sweden Mission.

Antecedents in the history of the Buthelezi tribe

The Buthelezi tribe and its historical development to which Manas Buthelezi belongs dates back to pre-Shakan times (before 1800).[2] It forms part of the Northern Nguni-Ntungwa tribes that occupied south-eastern Africa during the second millennium. For many years, it shared borders with the Zulu tribe and was also at war with the Zulu tribe.[3] In the 18th century, when King Shaka had ascended to the Zulu throne and had begun the wars of conquest, Ngqengelele kaMvulana Buthelezi, together with his nephew, sought refuge under King Shaka Zulu on the grounds that his brother/cousin Phungashe was maltreating him and misusing the property of the Left Hand House within the Buthelezi Royal House.[4]

As time went by, King Shaka invaded the Buthelezi tribal lands and defeated King Phungashe, and henceforth the Buthelezi tribe had to pay tribute to the Zulu tribe, like many other tribes which by then had come under the rule of King Shaka.

Within the Zulu Kingdom, Ngqengelele rose to prominence and became the advisor to King Shaka. Following him, several heirs of the Buthelezi tribe continued to be advisors to the Zulu kings. One of his heirs, Absalom Buthelezi, son of Mkhandumba

2 Bryant 1929, pp. 131–135.

3 Fuze 1979, p. 18.

4 iNkosana yaseKhohlwa uPhungashe uma kunemicimbi noma imisebenzi ethize emndenini KwaButhelezi wayehlaba izinkomo zase Khohlwa eziyifa nesabelo seNkosana yeseKhohlwa uKhoboyela owazala uKlwana. Lokho kwenza ukuba uNgqengelele alishiye elaKwaButhelezi ayo khonza KwaZulu; see Buthelezi 1978, pp. 1–35.

kaMnyamana Buthelezi, was converted to Christianity under the Church of Sweden Mission and later in life became an evangelist. This evangelist Absalom is the father of the renowned clergy, scholar, and Church leader Bishop Manas Buthelezi.

The early years in the career of Manas Buthelezi under the region of the evangelical Lutheran church to 1968

Manas Buthelezi was the fifth child out of eight in this religious family. He was born at KwaCeza in the Mahlabathini district on 10 February 1935, and received his primary education in this area. The family, especially his older brother, recognized that he was a very bright young man and that he was dedicated to the work of the Church. Manas wanted to become a health inspector, but his older brother insisted that he should become a teacher or he would not finance his studies. Manas had no choice but to comply. During that time and in the rural environment in which Manas was born and grew up there were not many choices as regards education. The colonial and apartheid regimes had decided and prescribed where Black people belonged and what was good for them. Their career choices were limited to jobs such as health inspectors, teachers, clerks, policemen, and ministers of religion serving only Black people in the Black areas.

Upon completing his primary and secondary education at KwaCeza, Manas proceeded to St Francis' College, a Roman Catholic educational institution in Mariannhill, north of Durban. Here he studied for his Teacher Training Certificate between 1953 and 1956.[5] During his student days both at KwaCeza and Mariannhill, Manas committed himself to counselling his fellow students and to religious activities in the context of the School Christian Movement (SCM) activities which usually took place once a week in the school premises. After completing his teacher training he returned to the rural KwaCeza area and taught there for a few years. The retired Lutheran, Dean J.J. Mbatha is one of many students taught by Manas at KwaCeza High School. On top of his teaching responsibilities, Manas had the time and energy to register for some courses with the University of South Africa (UNISA). Those courses were Systematic Philosophy I, Systematic Theology I, and Ecclesiastical History I.

During the course of his teaching at KwaCeza Manas responded to the call to the holy Ministry. When he disclosed this to his family members, they were shocked: "From a health inspector now to becoming a clergyman. Are you out of your mind?" – Buthelezi recalls how he was repeatedly asked by his siblings and parents how he was going to survive in the Ministry on such a meagre income. Why was he leaving the teaching profession where he was earning far better than he would in the Church? Despite all the discouraging words, Manas was determined to attend the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Oscarsberg, where he devoted most of his time to helping

5 The African-American Institute 1978, p. 1.

other student colleagues with their studies, especially those with lower qualifications. His first year contemporaries were Andreas Fortuin, Siegfried Abrahams, Christopher Gcinumthetho Hlongwane, Lucas Bodibe, Jacob Dlamini, Emmanuel A. Cebekhulu, James T. Dube, Bongumusa Buthelezi, and Samuel Buthelezi. The first two were from the Cape Orange Region.[6] Abrahams later became a lecturer in Practical Theology at uMphumulo Theological Seminary and Fortuin a Bishop of the Cape Orange Diocese and ELCSA Presiding Bishop. Both are now retired. At Oscarsberg, Manas registered concurrently for a Diploma in Theology and for a Bachelor of Theology with the University of South Africa from 1958 to 1960 and successfully graduated in both of them.

When he completed his theological studies at Oscarsberg, Manas Buthelezi was placed in Appelsbosch Parish to undertake his Vicariate. There was no room for him at Appelsbosch and therefore the missionary let him stay in the garage. Those experiences are early glimpses of the difficult situation in which the Church he was entering to serve found itself.[7] Manas was later ordained in 1961 by a Swedish missionary priest, Bishop Helge Fosseus and placed in Lamontville Parish, where he served from 1961 to 1963. In 1962 he married Grace Mhlungu, with whom he had four children. Grace is a daughter of Bishop Mhlungu who was a successor to Bishop Fosseus as Bishop of the Lutheran Church of the South Eastern Region from 1971 to 1978.[8] Bishop Mhlungu was also Presiding Bishop of the newly constituted Lutheran Church from 1976 to 1978. The Church was constituted on 18 December 1975 from regional churches into the Evangelical Lutheran Church of South Africa (ELCSA).

In 1963 Manas Buthelezi obtained a scholarship from the Church of Sweden to further his studies in the United States of America. He was admitted at Yale University from 1963 to 1964 for a master's degree in Sacred Theology. From there he proceeded to Drew University, Madison, New Jersey for his doctorate in Theology. While he was there, between 1965 and 1967, he travelled to Sweden for research purposes at Lund University for a period of 18 months, after which he returned to Drew University to complete his doctorate, which he obtained in 1968. When he returned from the United States he was placed by the Church at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in uMphumulo as a lecturer from 1968 to 1969. Socio-politically, this was a volatile time in both South Africa and the United States. The civil rights leader Dr Martin Luther King was assassinated in April 1968. In South Africa, Black Consciousness was gaining ground and becoming a popular movement among university students. Steve Biko, a medical student based in Durban, was in the forefront as the leader of Black Consciousness and played a major role within the South African Student Organization (SASO).

6 Information from the intake register for first year students at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Oscarsberg, for 1958.

7 Buthelezi 2007, p. 5; pers. comm. with Manas Buthelezi at Dobsonville, Soweto and at the Lutheran Theological Institute in Pietermaritzburg 2012.

8 *Isithunywa* 1978, p. 3.

Buthelezi left the Lutheran Theological Seminary at uMphumulo at the end of 1969 and was placed at the Sobantu congregation from 1970 to 1972. Buthelezi's placement in a suburban context, i.e. in the township of Sobantu near Pietermaritzburg, came at an opportune time for his involvement in many civic organizations in the vicinity of Durban-Pietermaritzburg, where he received many invitations to speak. According to Buthelezi, in his addresses he challenged the injustices of the apartheid system. "There was a symbiotic relationship between me and these organizations, since at every turn and in every speaking invitation I received, I felt challenged to demonstrate in a convincing manner the relevance of the Christian Gospel to the Black person who was daily oppressed, simply because of his/her Blackness."[9]

The complementarity between Black Consciousness and Black Theology from 1970 to 1976

From their student days, the late Stanley Sabelo Ntwasa and Basil Moore were involved in the activities of the University Christian Movement. While at university they decided to establish a project called Black Theology. For some time they had been following Manas Buthelezi's sermons and addresses on the meaning and relevance of the Christian message to the inhumane and oppressive situation of the Black people in the South African context, a context which was full of socio-political contradictions. When Moore and Ntwasa approached Buthelezi and requested that he be part of the Black Theology Project, Buthelezi agreed to join in this undertaking to confront the unjust laws of apartheid South Africa. For Buthelezi this new development came at an opportune historical moment, and placed him at the centre stage of the unfolding socio-political events that swept through South Africa in the 1970s. He interpreted these socio-political events theologically, and asked the question to all South Africans as to how one would proclaim the Gospel and continue with evangelism in a South African context within a divided society. Manas Buthelezi's Black theological hermeneutics made him the forerunner of South African Black Theology:[10] he should be regarded as the main figure who formally and publicly introduced Black Theology in South Africa in that, more so than any theologian before him, he was able to articulate the socio-political and economic aspirations of Black people coded in the words of the Gospel. This ability to prophetically interpret and translate the meaning and relevance of the Gospel to the daily lives of the oppressed Black majority in South Africa, together with the fact that he then was a highly qualified Lutheran theologian, made Buthelezi exceptional. He was exceptional in that, rightly or wrongly, it has been observed that Lutherans generally tend to be apolitical, acquiescent, and aloof instead

9 Buthelezi 2010, p. 1.

10 Buthelezi 1973a, 55–56.

of consciously engaging the evil forces that oppress and exploit the people in any given situation.

The second significant encounter for Manas Buthelezi was with the Black Consciousness Movement led by Bantu Stephen Biko. There is a sense in which Black Consciousness and Black Theology were two political sides of the same coin, for both had the same objective of liberating the oppressed South African Black masses. Through formal and personal contacts, Buthelezi developed a working relationship with these organizations or their leaders such as Steve Biko, Barney Pitjana, and Sath Cooper. Buthelezi wrote of this time, "I found this level of expectation on the part of the young Black intellectuals, very thrilling. It spurred me to think deeper and deeper along the same lines as theirs. For me, theology and Black political reflection had mutually discovered a common meaning and destiny".[11] In the course of those interactions they came to the conclusion that a Black Theology Seminar should be convened at which papers dealing with the socio-political conditions in the country and with the suffering of the Black majority should be presented. Consequently, two major Black Theology Seminars were held. The first took place in 1971 at the Methodist Lay-Ecumenical Centre at Edendale, Pietermaritzburg. In this seminar, Buthelezi made a distinction between African and Black Theology.[12] The second seminar was held in 1972 at St Ansgars in Roodeport, west of Johannesburg, which was established by the Church of Sweden. In this seminar, Buthelezi asked a hermeneutical question as to which theology (African or Black Theology) should come first within the South African context. He was convinced that Black Theology was more relevant for this particular context.[13] He also asked the theological meaning of true humanity amidst the racial divisions in South Africa.[14] Organizing such seminars had a dual purpose: on the one hand to encourage South Africans to work shoulder to shoulder to combat oppression, and on the other hand to fill the political vacuum created by the banning of Black political organizations since 1960. The political role was taken over by Black Consciousness and Black Theology.

The leader of Black Consciousness, Steve Biko, had on several occasions approached Manas Buthelezi and asked the following question: What is the Church saying about the socio-political situation in South Africa and how is the Bible and Christian faith to be understood and interpreted in the light of the injustices that are inherent in the apartheid system? According to Buthelezi, this question made him think deeply about the Gospel's imperative.

His addresses to various organizations, including SASO, provided an opportu-

11 Buthelezi 2010, p. 1.
12 Buthelezi 1973a, 1ff.
13 Buthelezi 1973c, 4ff.
14 Buthelezi 1973d, 1ff.

nity to articulate the response of the Gospel in the context of South African societal issues. "It took almost a decade before the apartheid regime realized that these movements were new political dynamite that had to be banned and legally prohibited, as happened later in 1977. Hitherto the Apartheid regime seemingly thought that it was good and harmless for these Black people to be fascinated with their Blackness since hopefully they will forget about White people and White things. After all that was what separate development was about!".[15]

Buthelezi as Natal Regional Director of the Christian Institute

In this section I will present another role of Manas Buthelezi in his engagement with and fight against the oppressive regime.

The Sharpeville events of 21 March 1960, in which 69 Blacks were shot dead by the South African Police had shaken one of the Afrikaner Broederbond leaders in the person of Beyers Naudé. He subsequently resigned as a member of the Dutch Reformed Church. He began his lonely and arduous road to political baptism. He was ostracized and lost his privileges as a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church. He then established an organization and named it the Christian Institute in 1963. The founding of this institute was to a certain extent a reaction to the evil deeds of the apartheid regime, but it was also a follow-up on the Cottesloe Consultation which had been convened by the World Council of Churches in Johannesburg and out of which a declaration emerged in reaction to the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. Around this time, the young Manas Buthelezi had been completing his theological studies at Oscarsberg Theological Seminary, and thereafter had left South Africa in 1963 for his further studies in the United States.

Almost ten years later, when Buthelezi was serving as parish pastor in Sobantu Township outside Pietermaritzburg in Natal, he was approached by Dr Christian Beyers Naudé, who was then the National Chairperson of the Christian Institute, with the request that he, Buthelezi, should become the Regional Director of the Christian Institute in Natal. Buthelezi agreed with the proviso that his Lutheran Regional Church would release him from his parish duties, to which the Church agreed. According to Buthelezi, the Christian Institute was therefore, at the time, the first Christian anti-apartheid organization to emerge from within the ranks of the Afrikaner circles. In retrospect, Buthelezi wrote: "This position gave me a platform for national visibility, partly since I was a colleague of the then famous Dr Beyers Naudé ... Of all of the people that I met in my life, it is Beyers Naudé who gave me what I would call a political baptism and formal political platform. I was invited all over South Africa, especially in Natal, addressing political community, teachers, church, university and simple

15 Buthelezi 2010, p. 1.

school audiences".[16] This organization (the Christian Institute) had a bulletin called *Pro Veritate* (standing for the truth). A number of articles were written and submitted by Buthelezi. Again, this exposure placed him at the forefront of social events as a Black theologian who could articulate the suffering of the Black majority in South Africa. As Regional Director, Buthelezi had to write reports for annual conferences. This enabled him to express his political views to the audience in a Christian manner. At one stage Buthelezi was invited to address students at the University of Stellenbosch of which John Vorster was a chancellor at the time. The meeting could not be held within the premises of the University but had to take place outside the University campus.

The banning order

The apartheid regime slowly began to realize that Buthelezi was becoming a formidable force with which to be reckoned. In 1973, while serving as the Natal Regional Director of the Christian Institute, Buthelezi was banned for five years. This is also the time in which SASO and Steve Biko were banned. The banning order alleged that Buthelezi was promoting the aims of communism and prohibited him from attending political, social, and students' gatherings. The banning order essentially meant that he was prohibited from being in the presence of more than one person at any given time.[17] There were local and international reactions to the banning of this black theologian. He was the first Lutheran in South Africa to be banned. Others followed in later years.

After reading the text of the banning order, Buthelezi was asked by the Security Police whether he had any questions to ask. In his recounting of this event, Buthelezi said that "I felt I should first ask God in prayer what His will is for me from now on. I closed my eyes and prayed. I also prayed for them. After finishing the prayer, I simply burst out and proclaimed to them, 'God is going to reveal himself.'" The police were surprised by that statement and asked him: "What is going to happen?" Buthelezi responded with Matthew 28:20, in which Jesus said: "Surely I shall be with you until the end of age."

Shortly before the ban, Buthelezi had been invited to preach at Michaelhouse, a White boys' high school outside Pietermaritzburg. He immediately realized that simply by going there he would be violating one of the terms of his banning order, because he would then be attending a students' gathering. He went nevertheless and preached, but surprisingly there was no response from the authorities. The Security Police had not taken his passport, as they habitually did after serving a person with a banning order. On a subsequent election day Buthelezi quietly left the country for Geneva, to attend a meeting of the Lutheran World Federation Commission on Studies, of which

16 Buthelezi 2010, p. 1.

17 Buthelezi 2010, p. 2.

he was a member. After the meeting the Geneva staff arranged for him to travel to certain countries in Europe and also to Washington DC in the United States. When he was in Washington, possibly due to the petitioning of some of his American friends, an officer of the State Department informed him that the US government had decided to offer Buthelezi political asylum, should he chose not to return to South Africa. His response was simply that he was returning to South Africa in spite of the political circumstances. Later he was offered a professorship in Theology both in England and in the USA. One American institution offered, in addition, to ship all his belongings to the USA and grant scholarships to all his children. Buthelezi turned down all those offers: during those days, the level of commitment to a cause was high and unconditionally total. Looking back, Buthelezi wrote: "These days I sometimes get tempted by imagining what would have happened to the life of my children if I had decided to make use of all those offers. That thought never occurred to me then. Every major decision in life has ripples of effects to those nearest to you, either positively and negatively. There is a line in a hymn which says: 'Once in every man and nation comes a moment to decide'. That was my vital moment to decide".[18] As a result of worldwide protests the banning order against Buthelezi was lifted after six months instead of after five years. The apartheid regime was taken by surprise by those protests. To them Buthelezi was a small enough fish to be snatched out of the water without any disturbing ripples arising. The fact of the matter, however, is that he was more widely known in the outside world of the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation circles than he was in local White South Africa. Moreover, the government had not yet developed a thick skin towards world criticism, as happened in later years.

The uprising of 16 June 1976 in Soweto and its aftermath

Prior to becoming ELCSA General Secretary, Buthelezi had been appointed to the position of General Secretary of the Federation of the Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa. This task meant that he had to move from Natal to Johannesburg at the end of 1975, so the tumultuous events of 1976 occurred when he was newly there.

On 21 June, Aubrey Mokoena invited Manas Buthelezi to a meeting at the Methodist Youth Centre in which clergymen, social workers, medical doctors, and leading sports organizers were present. The purpose of the meeting was to determine what to do about the events and aftermath of the 16 June student uprising against apartheid school education.

The meeting decided to constitute itself into the Black Parents' Association (BPA) with the following aims:

18 Buthelezi 2010, p. 3.

- To explore and implement constructive ways of standing in solidarity with the Black protesting students,
- To help in identifying hundreds of dead students who were shot by the police, and also to identify and support the respective bereaved families,
- To establish a fund with the following purpose:
  i. to provide funeral subsidies to the bereaved families,
  ii. to provide legal assistance in the course of any related action that might be taken against or by any person involved in the student march on 16 June.

A committee to oversee and implement these aims was elected. It was composed of Mrs Winnie Mandela, Dr Ntatho Motlana, Dr Matlhare, Aubrey Mokoena, Benjamin Nteso, and Rev. Dr Manas Buthelezi. Buthelezi was elected chairperson of the Black Parents' Association.

A few days after this event, two important events took place. First, the Soweto Student Representative Council announced that it was appointing the Black Parents' Association to submit the students' grievances to the government; and secondly, "[m]oney started pouring in from Europe and the United States to our account in floods".[19]

According to Buthelezi, the main achievements of the BPA were the following:

> "We applied to the Johannesburg Magistrate for a permit to stage one mass funeral for all the hundreds of victims. The Riotous Assemblies Act which had then been invoked prohibited any form of gathering during this time. Our application was refused."[20]

> "We decided to conduct instead a symbolic funeral of Hector Pieterson who was the first student to be shot and killed by the police. After making arrangements with the family I preached and conducted the funeral of Hector Pieterson. We received press support mainly from the *Rand Daily Mail* and the world".[21] [Most Lutherans in South Africa do not know that Hector Pieterson was buried by one of their own clergy.]

> "In August 1976 when we learned that the students were marching to John Vorster Square to demand the release of their detained leaders, we rushed to the Soweto Protea Police Headquarters to warn the police about the danger of a repeat of June 16th on the part of their behavior. From there we drove to New Canada where the police were already assembled and seemingly poised to block and shoot the students if they dared to continue with the march beyond where they were. The two groups were not far from each other; they faced each other like two angry and determined bulls. I went to the police and asked them not to aim their guns at the students in a provocative manner. From the police I went to the students and asked them not to move from the point where they were. I went back and forth between the two groups not without a little cold shiver down my spine. All of a sudden and without

19 Buthelezi 2010, pp. 3–4.
20 Buthelezi 2010, p. 4f.
21 Buthelezi 2010, p. 4f.

> warning, the police dashed forward and charged at the students with teargas canisters. There was burning smoke of teargas everywhere. The students ran and dispersed towards the only direction open: towards Soweto. At least a repeat of June 16th was avoided. The students had nevertheless demonstrated that the massacre of June 16th had failed to quench the liberation fires from within."[22]

This second incident during which Buthelezi risked his life by mediating between the heavily armed South African Police and unarmed high school pupils is hardly known in many political circles within South Africa. It is against this background that this study is made to bring light hitherto unknown parts of our history as Lutherans in South Africa.

In the BPA Buthelezi and his team employed a fulltime secretary who was to keep the necessary records, visit the bereaved families, and identify beneficiaries of the grants given to them.

> "Throughout the country the Security Police arrested and charged many people or groups of people for various offences. To ensure the provision to these people of legal assistance the following procedures were followed:
> i. The respective defense lawyers would make a write-up of the case: the accused, the charges, what was involved in terms of defense, e.g. briefing an advocate, budget estimate, etc.
> ii. The team would study the case and make an undertaking for financial sponsorship. Many cases from almost all the provinces were brought by lawyers. Two of the well-known lawyers involved in these cases who approached us were the late Mr Mxenge and the former Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court, Mr Pius Langa, before he became a judge in post-Apartheid South Africa. These cases were purposely dragged out by the government for years even until after the Black Parents' Association was banned in 1977. When the Black Parents' Association was banned, the State confiscated all its property including its funds in the bank, its furniture, and all its books and finance records."[23]

It was difficult for the BPA to have student leaders assembled together in a formal meeting place for consultation regarding student grievances. Some leaders were already in detention, and those still outside were on the run, moving from place to place since the Security Police were in hot pursuit after them. Nevertheless, the list of grievances was long in the air. Anyone who cared and had his ear on the ground for long in 1976, knew what they were in the main, even though they could not be formally presented by the students to the BPA.[24]

Buthelezi related this following encounter: "By phone I got in touch with Mr Jimmy Kruger, Minister of Justice, Prisons and Police and told him that a delegation of the BPA requested to meet him on behalf of the protesting students. He stumbled over

22 Buthelezi 2010, p. 4f.
23 Buthelezi 2010, p. 4f.
24 Buthelezi 2010, p. 4f.

the name Winnie Mandela in the list of those who were to see him. He said he is not prepared to see the whole group and can only meet me as Chairperson. I told him that it would be impossible for me to meet him alone without other members. The matter ended there. The deadlock marked the end of the BPA formally representing the students to the government. Moreover, the police subsequently detained three quarters of the BPA Committee members and the BPA itself was later banned.[25]

Buthelezi was asked by the community to pursue the matter of meeting the government because there was a deadlock as regards the education system. "After a number of attempts I was able to arrange a meeting with the Deputy Minister of Police in the name of a different constituted delegation. We discussed the matter of detained students and the matter of the general behavior of the police. We also met with the Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Mr de Beer, with whom we discussed education matters, including what sparked off the 1976 students' uprising. The initial opening of communication lines between the government and the Soweto community led to the creation of the Soweto Education Crisis Committee. This body subsequently continued discussions with the Education Department under its own name without my further direct involvement. Mr Isaac Mogase was one of the leading figures in this committee. The other offshoot of the initial opening of the communication lines with the government was the evolution of self-help efforts and self-management structures in the form of the creation of the Committee of Ten under the leadership of my colleague, Dr Nthato Motlana. The Committee of Ten further gave rise to the national phenomenon of what is called civic associations".[26]

In concluding this section, already in 1976 there was a significant amount of pressure, particularly in sections of the press that we should take the bull by the horns and become political, because there was a political vacuum in Soweto. The government-created Urban Bantu Council had collapsed by default in Soweto; in short Soweto was without a functional government structure. I did not personally have a taste and inner calling for being a professional politician. As a clergyman, I believed that my role in the community was what we call in the church prophetic ministry. A prophetic ministry includes identifying problems and needs in the community, challenging governmental bodies to attend to those needs; and facilitating a process which will harness and employ the leadership gifts of local people regarding self-help and self-management towards the goal of meeting those needs. Our duty as a church or official church functionaries is to help in building and developing the leadership potential of people in the community and not to replace by intent the people with ourselves. Within, among other things, what happened and was achieved in the context of the Soweto uprising, as described in the above paragraphs, is found one example of the practical workings

25 Buthelezi 2010, p. 4f.
26 Buthelezi 2010, p. 4f.

of what is called the prophetic ministry of the church. There may be other but related scenarios dictated by the nature and complexities of a given situation.

Lutheran Bishop of Elcsa – Central Diocese (1977–2000)

Manas Buthelezi had already been elected Bishop of Johannesburg Diocese by the Evangelical Lutheran church in December 1976 in the midst of the political crisis. He was resident in Soweto, and ELCSA was the only mainline church that had its headquarters in Soweto. Buthelezi gave his consecration sermon, delivered on 12 December 1976, the title "Serving the oppressed".[27]

President of The South African Council of Churches (1983–1992)

After the banning of the BPA and the Christian Institute in 1977, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) became the only organization still allowed to operate and not directly attacked by the government.

In the beginning the apartheid regime did not regard the SACC as a serious political threat like the banned BPA and the Christian Institute. The overseas donors adjusted their mode of intervention and shifted their financial support to the SACC.

The SACC then built and expanded its support to the victims of apartheid in various ways. It rapidly grew in organizational size and political stature particularly when John Rees was its General Secretary.

When Bishop Desmond Tutu became the new General Secretary and administrative spokesperson, the prophetic voice of the SACC against apartheid rapidly gained momentum.

In passing, Buthelezi mentioned that in his two terms as SACC President, he had the privilege of working with four General Secretaries: Bishop Desmond Tutu, Rev. Frank Chikane, Dr Beyers Naudé, and Brigalia Bam. "In the Presidium I had also the privilege of being assisted by Vice Presidents who included Rev. Dr Allan Boesak, Rev. Dr Simon Gqubule, and Mrs Sally Motlana." Each of the above listed had unique gifts that served the interests of the SACC and resulted in enriching the role he played as President.[28]

In conclusion, I would like to point out that the ministry of Bishop Manas Buthelezi stretched over a period of 40 years. One cannot, therefore, exhaustively cover everything in 20 minutes. More is still to be written as research continues in the form of theses and conference papers. He was indeed a theologian, a prophet, and a church

27 In her doctoral thesis, Elina Hankela from Helsinki University made an allusion to the same sermon text; Hankela 2006, p. 5.

28 Buthelezi 2010.

leader. He belonged to the historic episcopacy and therefore he has taken his rightful place not only as a church father but also as a person from whom many Lutherans and Christians at large, in the one holy and apostolic Church, could draw their inspiration.

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Writing Existential Biographies as Ecclesiastical History

Anders Jarlert

Existential and theological dimensions

Is existential biography a theological genre? In an article on the theory, means, and targets of the literary biography, Swedish literary historian Johan Svedjedal starts by reading the Second part of the Apostle's Creed, on Jesus Christ. He characterizes the Creed not as an existential biography, but as promoting the Christian faith of its readers,[1] and thus with enormous existential consequences. This rather implies that theological biography might become an existential genre through reading.

The aim of ecclesiastical history is theological to the historians, and historical to the theologians. This implies that historians who try to eliminate the existential dimension from biography affect the theological dimension as well. Danish historian Brigitte Possing has pointed out three crucial factors in biographical writing: the life direction of the personality, his or her work, and the present time. She especially expresses a warning for historians with a fear of touching upon the inner life of a person.[2]

In writing biography, the author is always in danger of applying his or her own qualities on the biographed person. Swedish historian Curt Weibull communicated his own acuity to Queen Christina, and reduced her ecclesiastical history to a rational acting out of theological interests. Thus, Alf W. Johansson sums up that Weibull's book on Christina is a portrait of Professor Weibull himself as a Swedish queen.[3] The author

1 Johan Svedjedal, 'Skrivna ord, skrivna liv. Om den litterära biografins teori, medel och mål', in *Med livet som insats. Biografin som humanistisk genre*, eds Henrik Rosengren & Johan Östling, Lund 2007, p. 63.

2 Brigitte Possing, 'Biografien ud fra et kvinde- og et historievidenskabeligt synspunkt', in *Att skriva människan. Essäer om biografin som livshistoria och vetenskaplig genre*, eds Ronny Ambjörnsson, Per Ringby & Sune Åkerman, Stockholm 1997, p. 71.

3 Alf W. Johansson, 'Biografin och den svenska historievetenskapen', in *Med livet som insats. Biografin som humanistisk genre*, eds Henrik Rosengren & Johan Östling, Lund 2007, p. 24.

has to apply hermeneutical suspicions on himself as much as on his subject, and must question his own judgment as much as the portrayed person's judgments in history.

Another challenge when trying to write existential biography as ecclesiastical history is of course Post-modernism. Existential biography cannot be written without a dialogic relation to the portrayed subject: as a dialogue between the author and the different sources. In Post-modernism, this is being questioned, asserting that no meaning is contained in the texts, but that meaning has to be added by the historian.[4] This is particularly hazardous when the subject has been biographed several times before. Then there is an obvious need for deconstruction, but also a risk for a kind of reconstruction where meaning is not being drawn out of the sources and carried by them, but added from the biographer's own world. In German, this is called *Empirieresistenz*,[5] i.e. a resistance towards empirical facts and work. Brigitte Possing has criticized this tendency as it appears in some studies of women by women, which aim at uncovering the most intimate sides of the biographed person, as well as of the subjective sides of the author. According to Possing, this leads to a pedagogical play with historical destinies, or, in the worst case, to a projection of the self and the time of the author on a historical person.[6]

There is no use in trying to look for a hidden meaning *behind* the texts. The different personal fragments have to be structured to be understood, but this does not imply the existence of a deeper meaning behind those fragments. Neither are texts that are supposed to show the so-called backside of a human person's life more authentic than the ones that show the front: the person behind the mask also carries a mask.[7]

Some modern theories on biography are very useful to ecclesiastical history, for example, *compartmentalization*, launched by David Macey. In his biography on Michel Foucault (1993), he showed that "Foucault lived many lives". He was challenged by "the multiplicity of Foucault's lives [because it] makes it difficult to arrive at any satisfactory periodisation of his work". In using the term compartmentalization, Macey stated that the modern human being has one identity at her job, another one in a minority culture, another one in a sports culture or a political culture, etc.[8] It would be an interesting task to study the different ways of compartmentalization in different times and cultures. Sometimes we may encounter more than one identity, but perhaps not so many lives in the same person. However, the claim that religious faith covers the whole human life, not to be reduced to a religious interest among many different interests, has to be taken seriously.

4 Johansson 2007, p. 27.

5 Jarlert 2009, pp. 71f.

6 Possing 1997, pp. 66f.

7 Ingemar Nilsson, 'Att skriva biografi: Biografins hermeneutik', in Ambjörnsson, Ringby & Åkerman (eds), 1997, p. 209.

8 Possing 2007, pp. 44f. and there mentioned sources.

If we try to make people understand that ecclesiastical history is not only dealing with a small section of history, but that it has to do with both the basics and the totality of historical human encounters with the Christian faith, we cannot reduce a term such as *spirituality* to practised theology only.

Spirituality as a widened concept

In limiting spirituality to lived theology only, important parts of the existential expressions of an inner life will be excluded. By monopolizing such a common word, theology does itself a disservice. I believe it necessary rather to widen our understanding of a person's spirituality. Of course, we may speak of someone's spirituality in theological terms only, but in most Christian individuals in history, spirituality is something very complex, where influences from theology, liturgy, and devotional literature do not stand alone, but spirituality has been formed, together with influences from music, art, literature, and so on. In focusing on spirituality as it is being practised, experienced, and expressed by ordinary people in the context of their daily life, sociologist of religion Meredith McGuire has found that the sacred and the profane are continuously intertwined in human spirituality.[9] In fact, I would even like to include "the fighting spirit" in both war and sports into the spirituality of human beings. If we try to make the so-called profane historians and others to understand the importance of Christian teaching and experience in a historical person's life, we have to be open to the obvious fact that these experiences often were combined with experiences from other fields in the very same person.

In my own biography of Queen Victoria of Sweden (2012), I have concluded that the elements that carried her identity were partly a strong conviction of divine providence, in her own words "to hold His hand firmly and not let go", partly a strong tension between duty and grace, identified as the Lutheran principles of law and gospel, but also as two sides in the divine essence, when she writes: "His meaning is love, even if it for the moment and perhaps for a long time looks like sheer hardness."[10]

Around these elements are grouped her theologically motivated opinions on the monarchy, on society, and not the least on her own task. Another important tension was the one between duty and passion, as developed in her emotional life, either in everyday life or in her passionate interpretations of Wagnerian music drama. Other basic existential factors were the culture of loss she belonged to, as well as her long-time illness, diagnosed as neurasthenia.

9 Meredith B. McGuire, *Lived religion. Faith and practice in everyday life*, Oxford 2008, pp. 342, 381.

10 Anders Jarlert, *Drottning Victoria. Ur ett inre liv. En existentiell biografi*, Stockholm 2012, pp. 340–342 ("hålla fast Hans hand och ej släppa den", "Hans mening är kärlek, om den ock för ögonblicket och kanske en lång tid framåt ser ut att vara idel hårdhet.").

Her attitude to life, as expressed in her reading of Charles Kingsley and Marc Aurelian, together with the Swedish Lutheran Bishop Gottfrid Billing, in her personal encounters in Rome with her relative, Cardinal Hohenlohe, and in her letters to the latter two, may be described as an active resignation.

Beside her Christian spirituality, Queen Victoria also cherished an aesthetical spirituality. It did not replace the Christian one, but developed in parallel, and partly in tension with her religious spirituality. This combination of a Christian and an aesthetic spirituality was present already in her parental home, but she developed it in a very personal way, thus forming her cultural landscape. It was no consciously modelled cultural synthesis, but two areas of life, touching upon each other, and entwined in her person.

Writing an existential biography

As hazardous as it would be to start writing an existential biography as a personal improvisation, without being in close contact with various historical sources and without a critical mind, as devastating would be the result if the biography would never rise from the critical examination of the sources only. However, in this very process that separates the existential biography from the strictly political, theological or chronological one, critical craftsmanship is never to be left behind. The existential understanding and interpretation is not founded on any other grounds than a most critical analysis of the sources, but uses them always in dialogue, in a sort of artistic manner, as Johan Svedjedal says, "in the intersection between historical empathy and scholarly distance".[11] The style demands that facts are interpreted based on their existential importance to the object, in such a way that facts get at least an existential touch, both to the author and to the reader.

The existential biography cannot be narrowed as a mere alternative to the psychobiography or the professional biography.[12] The existential dimension is always there. It might be more or less useful, more or less possible to realize in the biographical work, but it is important to be aware of the existential dimension even in the most "dry" lifework that we may encounter. Thus, existential biography is more of a dimension than a genre, and this dimension could be real and relevant in almost any biography.

The case is of course dependent on whether the person concerned was a public person or not. When writing, preaching or publicly speaking in other contexts, a person presented himself or herself differently from a person who lived a more private life,

11 Johan Svedjedal, 'Biografin mellan historia och roman', *Axess* 5, 2006, p. 24: "i skärningspunkten mellan historisk inlevelse och vetenskaplig distans".

12 Cf. Gunnar Eriksson, 'Att inte skilja på sak och person. Ett utkast till ett utkast till en biografisk metod', in Ambjörnsson, Ringby & Åkerman (eds), 1997, pp. 106f.

thereby leaving only private sources behind; these persons had different relations to their texts. Public persons such as royalties or famous artists, who created big headlines but left only private texts of their own, are extra difficult. The biographer has to be both loyal and suspicious towards letters and other personal texts. Cold, objective letters are not "truer" than the subjectively explosive ones. It is easier to be manipulated by a strict letter than by a highly emotional one.[13] Another difficulty is formed by the writers and scientists who – in the footsteps of new criticism – believed their lives to be of no interest to the interpretation of their work.[14]

However, this does not imply that personal sources automatically should be regarded as purely personal in a qualitative sense. Working on my biography on Queen Victoria, I found her personal confession, delivered at her confirmation and handwritten on 13 pages, in the Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe. When compared to other confessions of its kind, like those of her cousin the future emperor William II, or the one of her younger brother Prince Ludwig of Baden, Victoria's confession stands out as much more mature. She does not follow the disposition of the catechism, and often uses other words, though the contents are in accordance with the catechism. Still, one must keep in mind that in these confessions we hear not only two, but three voices: the one of the young boy or girl, the voice of the catechism, and the voice of the teacher. In Victoria's case, the situation is still more complex, since there was a change of teacher during her preparation time. This was due to an event of extreme, existential importance to her, an experience that breaks the traditional limits of the confession. She writes:

> „Ja, ich habe dieses Jahr ganz besonders erfahren dürfen, wie deine schützende Hand über einem theuren Haupt in unseren Kreise gewaltet hat, und wo du dieses, uns so kostbare Leben, sichtlich behütet und gesegnet hast. Ich habe hierbei in diesem Maße empfinden dürfen, daß du uns hörst, wenn wir in Angst und Noth zu dir rufen, ich habe aber auch lernen können, dir zu danken, wenn du uns nach Zeiten der Sorge, wieder freudiger Tage geschenkt hast."[15]

What had happened? Victoria's grandfather, Emperor William I, had been exposed to two violent attacks, and in the second one he was severely wounded. The young Victoria travelled with her mother to stay with him in his convalescence for three months, and her preparation for confirmation was continued with the popular Court preacher Emil Frommel (1828–1896), described as Orthodox without bigotry. In Princess Victoria's confession, we encounter a personal document of a 16-year-old girl, affected by political matters, caused by deep divergences and revolutionary tendencies in society,

13 Jarlert 2012, p. 339.

14 Thomas Söderqvist, 'Det vetenskapliga livet mellan misstänksamhetens och uppbyggelsens hermeneutik', in Ambjörnsson, Ringby & Åkerman (eds), 1997, p. 245.

15 Jarlert 2012, p. 24f.

set in a theological perspective with a strong, existential and personal meaning. Her words about God's protection of her grandfather during the attack became a confession within the confession. While the voices of the catechism, the teacher and the pupil often are totally intertwined, we hear an expression of the young princess' experienced belief in God's providence, something that would follow her through her life.

Existential perspectives on pre-modern subjects

When speaking on existential biography we use a modern genre and a modern form of writing. May it be used also on pre-modern subjects, as in the Early modern period? We have to understand that conditions and contexts of that period are different. But the central part of the existential reading, the human being, its religion and culture, are very much the same.

Karin Johannisson, Swedish historian of ideas, has reflected on the different codes of conduct in earlier periods, where spontaneity was not yet identified with authenticity. She writes that a man cries only when the emotional code allows him to do so. And then he does it sincerely. This theme worries us, since it challenges our picture of the authentic self. "Is this what I really feel or what I *should* feel? What is mask and what is authenticity? Can the mask create the feeling it aims to represent?"[16]

Johannisson further states, that the strong feelings cultivated by the aristocratic and intellectual elites of the 18th century challenge the modern understanding, and have been dismissed as shallow sentimental cult. But how do we know? How can we state that they did not feel what they said they felt? In a perfunctory way, feelings have been regarded as genuine only in relation to a psychologically defined basic repertory. But feelings are real also when produced by culture – by the time, the norm, or the group, and this is true of the sensible culture of the 18th century as well as of the control culture of the 19th century or the desire culture of today: they all point to a certain code of feelings as the "natural" one.[17]

In the Early modern period, we encounter an individuality without subjectivism. Time has passed since Philippe Ariès in *Centuries of childhood* (1963) stated that parents did not mourn their young children until the late 18th century. It is obvious that they did not mourn in a sentimental way before the sentimental cult. But did they not mourn? Of course they did. The many funeral sermons and grave poems for children indicate that they were mourned sincerely, and the repeated references to their better fate in heaven do not reduce the existential loss of their parents and relatives. In a funeral sermon in Gothenburg in 1639, the deathbed of a two-and-a-half-year-old

16 Karin Johannisson, *Melankoliska rum. Om ångest, leda och sårbarhet i förfluten tid och nutid*, Stockholm 2009, p. 20f.

17 Johannisson 2009, p. 95.

girl is described like this: "On January 29 in the evening, she sang, according to her ability, the hymn 'In dich hab' ich gehoffet, Herr', together with her mother and other women attending, and towards the end of the hymn she exclaimed: I am not able to sing any more, if not you, my dear mother will help me. This was in the evening before she passed away." It is obvious that the child is portrayed as an individual, with great respect, and in principle in the same way a grown-up person would have been spoken of. Even in her short biography she is regarded as a person of her own, with her own value and her own relations to human beings and to God.[18]

If this was true in the upper strata of the society, the sources sometimes give us glimpses also of the lower strata. In 1722–1723 a Swedish soldier, who had returned from Russian captivity, was found to have been married three times. The second wife was dead, but the first one was still alive in Sweden. The verdict of the Chapter in Växjö was that the first marriage should be restored, which also meant that the third wife should leave her two children to her husband and his first wife. She was asked if she was content with the verdict, and according to the minutes she said: "No, after I followed him such a long way from Russia with the little child, I find it hard to be left abandoned and alone in a strange place."[19]

After writing about a typical 19th-century-person such as Queen Victoria, it has been a welcome challenge for me to work on the Dowager Queen Hedwig Eleonora (1636–1715). She left almost no letters of existential character, but a powerful reaction against the catechism of Bishop Emporagrius, in which the bishop stated that the woman was the most precious personal property of man. This statement led to the retraction of the book on Hedwig Eleonora's initiative. Her combination of strict adherence to daily prayers and an active interest for theatre and playing cards gives a vivid framework of her biography.[20]

An important difference between a modern, existential biography and the earlier life-and-work biography is the modern realism. In the older genre, combinations such as the above-mentioned often caused problems,[21] since they did not fit in the author's own moral codes or prerequisites about the ecclesiastical tradition. Here, the combination of a deeper theological understanding of times and traditions and the application of a critical hermeneutics of suspicion might be very fruitful. The latter is needed, as

18 Barbro Bergner, 'Dygden som levnadskonst. Kvinnliga dygdeideal under stormaktstiden', in *Jämmerdal och fröjdesal*, ed. Eva Österberg, Stockholm 1997, p. 111f.

19 Anders Jarlert, 'Kvinnor och karoliner inför konsistorierna 1720–1722', in *Karolinska förbundets årsbok 2000*, p. 87f.

20 Anders Jarlert, 'Hedwig Eleonora, Lund University , and the learned', in *Queen Hedwig Eleonora and the arts. Court culture in seventeenth-century northern Europe*, London 2017, p. 150f.

21 Söderqvist 1997, p. 247.

Paul Ricoeur explains, because discourse both reveals and conceals something about the nature of being.[22]

The two most crucial existential factors in the life of the Dowager Queen are clear: first, she was married only for six years and then a dowager for 55 years, some of these years also as a guardian regent, second that she was raised in a Lutheran female reading culture, in which she took an active part from her childhood at Schloss Gottorf until her death in Stockholm.

However, we cannot get "behind" conventional expressions of personal existence. Such expressions are limited and carried by conventions even in our present time. If we do not follow a convention when we are calling for help from the bottom of our hearts, we will risk that no one will hear and understand it as a call for help. The author must be extremely careful never to dismiss conventional phrases as convention *only*, especially in those times when convention effectively formed expression. In *Biography between Structure and Agency*, Volker R. Berghahn concludes that "where the sources are poor and cover only an individual's public life, it may be safer to resort to another solution, i.e., to use him or her as a 'window' to the age and larger environment and to arrive, by this indirect method, not only at a better understanding of the outside world, but also of the individual."[23] To ecclesiastical history this method could be a gain. I have often used it in my work with pastoral biographies, sometimes, when the sources allow this, reaching both existential and theological depths, sometimes, simply opening windows to the Church and age of their time.

This leads to my conclusion that writing existential biography as ecclesiastical history could add important features to both biography and ecclesiastical history. Still, not all ecclesiastical biographies may be written as existential ones. Some must be confined to being windows towards the Church and age of their time – and as such blinding or revealing, but always fascinating.

22 Kim Atkins, 'Paul Ricoeur (1913–2005)', in *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy. A Peer-Reviewed Academic Resource*, http://www.iep.utm.edu/ricoeur/ 2015-06-07.

23 Volker R. Berghahn, 'Structuralism and biography. Some concluding thoughts on the uncertainties of a historiographical genre', in *Biography between structure and agency. Central european lives in international historiography*, eds Volker R. Berghahn & Simone Lässig, New York 2008, p. 247.

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