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3   The Reform of Catholic Political Doctrine

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In the previous chapter, I outlined the different models of civil society which developed in the late medieval and early modern periods – the *communicatio politica* of the Medieval church and the *societas civilis* of Renaissance humanism. In this chapter, I will discuss the centuries-long development and reform of Catholic political doctrine in early and middle modernity,[1] focussing particularly on the church's conception of authority. It is of interest not just because this history informs the priest-leadership of the Antigonish Movement, but because it is the single most sustained intellectual debate we have about the nature and sources of authority in civil society.

Unitary conceptions of sovereignty, whether of kingship or democracy, homogenize all political questions in terms of a single principle. Pluralist conceptions, on the other hand, provide for alternative answers built on different principles. The Augustinian theology of the heavenly and earthly cities is pluralist in this sense. In Catholic political thought, various unitary and pluralist conceptions of authority were developed, often in contention with one another. The

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[1] 'Middle modernity' is sometimes defined as the period between 1700 and 1900. While there is an argument for the *fin-de-siècle* anomie in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century as being the ground of a pivotal turn, I think there are stronger grounds for seeing the transition of World War Two as being the decisive crystallisation. In terms of the Catholic Church, we might date middle modernity from the papal Encyclical *Unigenitus* in 1713 to the convening of the Second Vatican Council in 1962.

structure of the narrative I will be telling is the movement from a pluralist, if still weakly developed, conception of authority in late medieval theory, to a unitary conception related to the confessionalization of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, and the subsequent recovery and resolution of a pluralist conception in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[2]

The development of these conceptions, thus, has a long intellectual history, which we will trace forward, beginning from the early fifteenth century. As one would expect, the theory and practices of the church have influenced secular conceptions of authority within the social order. Indeed, Brian Tierney has argued that "it is impossible really to understand the growth of Western constitutional thought unless we consider constantly, side by side, ecclesiology and political theory, ideas about the church and ideas about the state" (Tierney, 1982: 1). If the Church is understood as an *ideal* organization, the incarnation of divine intention, then we would expect the Church to be a model for constitutional order. Just so, Nicole Oresme, writing in the fourteenth century, held that the governance of the church should be an exemplar for other polities:

> The community of those whom we call the 'people of the Church' can be called a city. And they have a polity which is universal and general in many countries and kingdoms. And it should be a mirror and exemplar for other polities, and it should direct them (Oresme, quoted in Blythe, 1992: 235).[3]

As Brian Tierney comments, though, "it is a dream that we have lost" (Tierney, 2008: 325).

In this chapter, then, I will begin with an exposition of the conciliar movement at the Councils of Constance and Basel in the fifteenth century. I proceed to discuss Catholic confessionalization and the instabilities it generated. I then outline the Jansenist efforts at reform with case studies of biblical translation in the Low Countries and devotional renewal in Spain, both representing initiatives which helped lay foundations for a future political resolution.

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[2]   One of the strands in this theoretical development is the juridical concept of "the freedom of the church", which has a long and significant history and a very rich literature. I will not be addressing this theoretical strand here, but see Richard Garnett (2007, 2013), Steven D. Smith (2009, 2012), and Patrick Brennan (2013).

[3]   Quoted in part by Tierney, 2008: 325.

The Conciliar Demand for Reform

The Catholic Church holds that the Church was divinely instituted by Christ for proclaiming the Gospel and guiding the faithful, and that "Christ's promises to his church are fulfilled by its indefectibility, its continuity with truth" (McDonagh, 1971: 800). This guidance is necessary because the truth of revelation is obscured by disordered appetites, and limited by weaknesses of imagination:

> Though human reason is, strictly speaking, truly capable by its own natural power and light of attaining to a true and certain knowledge of the one personal God, who watches over and controls the world by his providence, and of the natural law written in our hearts by the Creator; yet there are many obstacles which prevent reason from the effective and fruitful use of this inborn faculty. For the truths that concern the relations between God and man wholly transcend the visible order of things, and, if they are translated into human action and influence it, they call for self-surrender and abnegation. The human mind, in its turn, is hampered in the attaining of such truths, not only by the impact of the senses and the imagination, but also by disordered appetites which are the consequences of original sin. So it happens that men in such matters easily persuade themselves that what they would not like to be true is false or at least doubtful.[4]

As a result, the "Church, Mother and Teacher", exists to nourish and sustain the sanctification of the faithful.[5] The Church's teaching mission is guaranteed by Christ's promise:

> For the Church, and the apostolic succession in the Church, God's link with its activity is no more than a covenant relation, but it is enough to secure the unerring character of the Church (Mt 16.18), its indefectibility in that which bears specifically upon the substance of the covenant, and hence, the decisive acts which touch upon the preservation and interpretation of the deposit (Congar, 1967: 312).

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[4] *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, Second Edition (Libreria Editrice Vaticana), 2000: Statement No. 37.
[5] *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, Second Edition (Libreria Editrice Vaticana), 2000: Statement Nos. 3, 168-169, 748-750, and 2030-2046.

The concept of indefectibility outlined by the Dominican theologian, Yves Congar (1905-1995),[6] is distinctive to the Catholic conception of the church, and is universally accepted there. The question about the conditions which are necessary to establish the unerring character of the teaching mission, however, do not receive the same universal assent. The very idea of a corporate teaching mission to a fallen humanity assumes the obstacles indicated in the Catechetical quotation above. In any resolution of this question, the role of the pope becomes the central issue. The "keys to the kingdom" text in Scripture is widely accepted in Catholic theology as establishing papal primacy, the pope as *primus inter pares*:

> And I will give unto thee [Peter] the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven. (Matthew 16:19)

The question that is debated, however, is whether this is as juridical administrator for the Church as a whole, or as the divinely appointed, and therefore infallible, teacher of the Church. Christ's promise to Peter in Luke is the "most commonly cited in favour of papal infallibility" (Tierney, 1972: 11):

> And the Lord said, Simon, Simon … I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren. (Luke 22:31-32)

Tierney comments, though, that while "there is no lack of patristic commentary on the text", "none of the Fathers interpreted it as meaning that Peter's successors were infallible" (1972: 11). This means that it is necessary to develop a theology of doctrinal evolution. Charles Taylor suggests just this in his recent article on magisterial authority:

> There is widespread acceptance of the idea that we are on a journey, over the centuries, in which we hope that, guided by the Holy Spirit, we can better discern the path that our faith opens to us. But 'we' here refers to the whole church … And thus a crucial component of our understanding comes from tradition. But what is at any given time understood as tradition may need completion and correction to take account of realities hitherto underappreciated (2011: 267).

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6   See also Congar, 1970 and 1971.

"Realities hitherto underappreciated" stands as the key term, and in writing this, Taylor stands within a long line of theologians. The Catholic Church has, of course, frequently elaborated doctrine to be held by the faithful, but theologians, including those Doctors of the Church like Bonaventure and Aquinas, made it clear that such elaboration was not "attempting to supplement a revelation that was, in fact, immutable" (Oakley, 2011: 29). Francis Oakley, perhaps the greatest historian of the Council of Constance and the Catholic conciliar tradition, suggests, though, that the theory of doctrinal development itself needs further development:

> Constance and what it taught and did has been reinjected once more into the Catholic ecclesial consciousness in such a way as to suggest that traditional theories of essentially continuous doctrinal development will have to be rethought – and rethought in such a way as to render them capable of accounting for radically discontinuous change in doctrinal matters central to the church's very self-understanding (Oakley, 2011: 49).

In these initial remarks, one can see the tension between *immutable reality*, on the one hand, and a *better appreciation*, on the other, a tension that is, specifically, modern. In terms of governance within the Church, the tension is between *infallibility*, as the commitment to immutable reality, and *conciliarism*, as the commitment to a better appreciation.

The Call for Reform at Constance

Most of the interpretative literature about the conciliar movement of the fifteenth century has been centrally concerned with the reform of governance,[7] which, of course, was, indeed, a pivotal concern, as we shall see, given the practical exigency which prompted the Council of

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[7] Antony Black writes, for instance, "The conciliar movement of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was an attempt to modify and limit papal control over the Church by means of general councils" (1988: 573). Giuseppe Alberigo departed from the 'reform of governance' interpretation with his 1981 study, advancing an argument that the papalist interpretation of conciliarism "began with [Pope] Eugenius IV and his supporters after the breach with the Council of Basel" (Stump, 1994: 15). He went on to indicate that the most important decree at Constance concerned with governance, *Haec sancta*, was uncontroversial among the delegates, and he rather insisted on "the demand for reform as the unifying theme in the thought of the whole generation of Europeans which flourished during the Councils of Pisa and Constance" (p. 16).

Constance. The larger agenda of reform issues at Constance concerned (a) fiscal reforms concerned with taxation and indulgences, (b) the provisions for filling church offices and benefices, (c) reforms of the Roman 'Head', including the curia, the sacred college, the papal oath of office, the transfers of prelates, and deposition, and (d) reform of the 'Members' related to clerical mores and privileges, qualifications, pastoral care, and monastic orders (Stump, 1994).

Referred to as the 'Great Schism', the precipitating event for the conciliar movement started as a dispute over the election of Urban VI as Pope in 1378. It is clear that the Cardinals in conclave were "subject to what any impartial observer might call 'inordinate pressures'" (Morrissey, 1979: 495), including the claim that the Cardinals "were in fear for their very lives" (Oakley, 2003: 33). The Pope's subsequent behaviour, including judicial torture and the suggestion of insanity, led, in the rather understated description of Frances Oakley, "to something of a breakdown in relations" (2003: 33). After escaping from Rome, the Cardinals repudiated Urban VI, and elected one of their own number, who took the name, Clement VII. Without any procedure for deposing a Pope, and unable to win the support of all Christian nations for either appointment, it meant that there were now two popes, each of which established their own lines, and had successors, one at Avignon, and the other at Rome. In order to fix this, a General Council of the Church met at Pisa in 1409. The Council took the step of deposing both of the then existing Popes as "notorious schismatics and obdurate heretics" (Oakley, 2003: 37), and elected Alexander V, who was himself succeeded a year later by John XXIII. [8]

While there was wide support within the church for the decisions at Pisa, John XXIII's own weaknesses were such as to undermine the authority of Pisa, and the Roman and Avignonese popes survived. There were now three papal lines of claimants. This situation was finally resolved with the convening of the Council of Constance (1414-1418). Given the nature and duration of the scandal, the Council resolved not just to settle the problem of who was Pope, but to advance a "much-needed regeneration in the whole life of the Church" (Tierney, 1955: 247).

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[8] No other Popes subsequently chose the papal name 'John' until Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli was elected in 1958. The decision that he would be known as John XXIII affirmed the anti-papal status of the Council of Pisa appointment of 1409, and that person is now referred to as Antipope John XXIII.

In a celebrated address by Jean Gerson in the spring of 1415, a noted theologian and chancellor of the University of Paris, he argued that "the Church, or a general council representing it" can regulate papal authority "by known rules and laws for the edification of the Church" (Gerson, quoted in Oakley, 2003: 39). It was an argument for the priority of a conciliar constitutionalism and the rule of law. This led to the decree, *Haec sancta synodus*, declaring that the Council derived its authority directly from Christ and that all Christians, including the Pope, were bound by it and all future general councils, in matters of faith and governance. The decree was adopted in Session 5, of the Council on 06 April, 1415:

> It declares that, legitimately assembled in the Holy Spirit, constituting a general council and representing the catholic church militant, it has power immediately from Christ; and that everyone of whatever state or dignity, even papal, is bound to obey it in those matters which pertain to the faith, the eradication of the said schism and *the general reform* of the said church of God in head and members (Tanner, 1990: 409; italics added).

What Stump suggests is that "the general reform" of the Church was not incidental to the decree, but was paired with the practical need to eradicate the schism. He focusses attention on the omission of the phrase about reform in the Decree by Cardinal Zabarella at the fourth session:

> The uproar that ensued makes clear that the majority of the Council believed that these words were essential to the decree, and it was for this reason that the decree was enacted again in fifth session, 8 April, with the missing words restored. Again and again the Council fathers had stressed that effective reunion of the Church was impossible without reform (Stump, 2009: 412).

In the end, though, while some practical reforms were initiated, the difficulties of instituting a major reform agenda had to be weighed against the urgency of restoring the unity of the church and the papal office. This led the Council, in Session 39 of 09 October, 1417, to adopt a supplementary decree, *Frequens*, which provided for the assembly of General Council at frequent and regular intervals (Tanner, 1990: 438-439). A month later, a new Pope was elected, taking the name of Martin V, and "the church had at last a pope whose claim to office was universally recognized to be legitimate and the Great Schism was at an end" (Oakley, 2003: 41-42).

Failure at the Council of Basel

Under the terms of *Frequens*, the then Pope, Eugenius IV, called the Council of Basel (1431-1449) into being.[9] There were high expectations within the conciliar movement that Basel would begin the needed task of general reformation that had been anticipated at Constance. Resistance by the Pope and his supporters, notably by the Dominican theologian Juan de Torquemada (1388-1468),[10] led to an escalating struggle over papal versus conciliar authority. On the Council's part, there was an excessive demand and a failed attempt to depose Eugenius. On the Pope's part, he sought to undermine the Council by attracting the support of the monarchs and was eventually successful by offering "exceedingly generous practical concessions" (Oakley, 2003: 50). Thomas Morrissey comments on the pragmatic role of self-interest in deciding the outcome:

> The reform movement met entrenched interests at all levels; papal rights of provision, prevalency of nepotism, and the desire for local control of the churches and of patronage are some examples. In the subsequent decades, in the quarrels between the Council of Basel and Pope Eugenius IV, the desire of Basel to implement reform and to gain support from varying sectors of the Church revealed the contradiction. To win support required the use of patronage, which was precisely what the reform system was trying to curb. In part the victory of the papacy over the council in the fifteenth century was due to its realistic and pragmatic approach to this question and its shrewd use of patronage (Morrissey, 1979: 499-500).

This was a Pyrrhic victory for the papacy, however, for it radically undercut Vatican revenues, and accelerated the disintegration of the international church, *de facto if not de jure*, into national establishments (Oakley, 2003: 52-53).

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[9] There was an interim Council at Pavia in 1423, dissolved quickly the next year without accomplishing much.

[10] While Juan de Torquemada was the leading defender of papal authority at Basel (Izbicki, 1986), he also defended the rights of the marginalized. His *Tracatus contra Madianitas et Ismaelitas* was a forthright defence of the Spanish conversos, the Jews who had converted to Christianity, against the Toledo attacks in the mid-fifteenth century (Izbicki, 1999). His nephew, Tomàs de Torquemada (1420-1498), the first Grand Inquisitor of the Spanish Inquisition, however, was not of the same irenic disposition, but was a principal figure in the heresy trials in Spain, and the leading instigator of the mass Jewish expulsion(s) under Queen Isabella (Roth, [1995] 2002: 293).

Dénouement at the Fifth Lateran Council

The conciliar movement made one last attempt to reassert itself from its weakened position. In early 1511, a group of five dissident cardinals convened what is now known as the *Conciliabulum* of Pisa to once again attempt reform. Primarily supported by the French, it was sparsely attended and was not able to develop anything of consequence, dissolving a year later. It did trigger, however, the Pope's convocation of the Fifth Lateran Council, announced in the summer of 1511 to meet in 1512. It also led, at the Pope's urging, to the publication that autumn of a major critique of conciliarism by Thomas Cajetan, *De comparatione auctoritatis papae et concilii*. Cajetan, an Italian philosopher and theologian, "perhaps the greatest theologian of his time" (Oakley, 2003: 120), argued for a distinction between inherent and delegated power:

> What Peter had, what his papal successors have – and have uniquely in the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy – is, Cajetan says, essentially different from, and superior to, the authority of the other Apostles and of their successors in the episcopate. The bishops, in their apostolic capacity, have a kind of executive power (velut potestas exequitiva). This is certainly a power to govern: Aquinas, indeed (whom Cajetan invokes repeatedly throughout the tract), calls it *auctoritas gubernandi*. Peter's, however, was a 'preceptive power', and Aquinas's term for it is *auctoritas regiminis* … [W]e are to conclude the pope's power is his *ex propria auctoritate*, while the bishops' 'executive powers' are theirs only by delegation (Burns, 1991: 418).

Cajetan went on to denounce both the general concilarist position against the "innovative fantasy of Jean Gerson" (Burns, 1991: 420), who had played such a crucial role at the Council of Constance, and "the more modest claim that, in times of emergency, the cardinals, acting independently of the pope, had the right to convoke a general council" (Oakley, 1965: 674). In relatively short order, there were strong and able replies from Jacques Almain, a young theologian at the University of Paris and from John Mair (Major), the great Scottish theologian.[11] Too late, however, as the Fifth Lateran Council quickly renounced the practical means to hold the Papacy accountable, by declaring that "it is clearly established that only the contemporary Roman pontiff, as holding authority over all councils, has the full right

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[11] See Burns (1981, 1991) and Oakley (1965, 1977).

and power to summon, transfer and dissolve councils" (Tanner, 1990: 642), and with that decree, the Conciliar Movement was dead.

It can be seen as a matter of some irony, then, that Martin Luther's profession of his 95 theses occurred in 1517, a scant seven months after the dissolution of the Lateran Council.

Catholic Confessionalization

The Catholic Church responded to the first campaigns of the Protestant Reformation with the Council of Trent (1545-1563). "What had been, and probably would have remained, a matter of renewal and reform within the confines of religious and ecclesiastical tradition became also a defence of that tradition and a struggle to maintain and restore it" (Olin, 1974: 306). [12]

Trent was the most visible symbol of the Catholic 'Counter-Reformation'. [13] The term 'Counter-Reformation', however, is not a particularly apt term, as it implies a defensive Catholic reaction countering a capacious Protestant reform, and the Council of Trent did, in fact, initiate a programme of considerable reform. As Reinhard describes it, "the relation between 'Reformation' and 'Counter-Reformation' was not just that of action and reaction, but much more that of slightly dislocated parallel processes" (Reinhard, 1989: 384).

The concept of 'confessionalization' provides a better tool to understand what is going on. The term was developed in German scholarship as an aid to analysis of the Lutheran and Calvinist reformation movement (Schilling, 2004). It was conceptualized initially as "an argument about the role of religious communities called 'confessions' in the post-Reformation passage of Europe from the Middle Ages to modernity" (Brady, 2004: 3). The initial work on confessionalization in the 1970s was focussed on the sixteenth century, with a hypothesis which had the causal arrow running from

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[12] In a formulation which stresses 'defence', rather than 'renewal', William Doyle comments on Trent that "there was never much doubt that its purpose was not reconciliation, but recovery … Above all, it reaffirmed the authority of the Pope: so much so that no pontiff felt the need to convene another general council for 306 years" (Doyle, 2000: 7).
[13] The term was established in German historiography by Leopold von Ranke (Lotz-Heumann, 2008: 137).

confessionalization to state formation, and confessions which were characterized by social practices rather than doctrine, all in aid of pushing back against the then prevalent economic and state-administration explanations of the post-Reformation passage. All three of these analytical elements – periodization, causal arrow, and creedal avoidance – have been criticized, resulting in the development of considerably more complex theories and a richer empirical literature. Above all, as the literature has developed, confessionalization has been accepted as a broader temporal process, and one which includes the Catholic Church. The concept is considerably more evocative of the actual historical evolution which occurred in Catholicism, than is the language of 'Counter-Reformation'.[14]

Catholic confessionalization in Europe emerged in its strongest form in France, where it is referred to as 'Gallicanism'. Gallicanism emerged as a movement within French Catholicism during the seventeenth century as a set of religious opinions which emphasized the authority of the national church. There was no formal Gallican organization, but guiding principles of the movement were already evident in the Assembly of the Clergy of 1625 (Becker, 1974), and were formalized in the *Declaration of the Clergy of France* in 1682. The Declaration tried to separate the spiritual jurisdiction of the papacy from the temporal jurisdiction of the national church. This was more than a matter of internal governance, though. It was related to the intimate relations between religion and politics which were characteristic of the confessionalization which was underway.

When medieval 'Christianity' broke down into different churches, national and territorial states, these new entities still maintained the traditional claim of total commitment. Society was still not split up into more or less autonomous subsystems as is the case today, such as 'politics', 'religion', 'economy', 'family life', etc., where members

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[14] Schilling is insistent that the concept of confessionalization is justified as "a qualitative modification of the traditional historical point of departure – the 'formation of confessions' – in the direction of [a] scientific, methodological-theoretical societal paradigm". In this view, "what are relevant primarily are the cultural, social, and political functions of the process of confessionalization within the emerging societal system of early modern Europe" (2004: 24). However, while a functionalism, such as this, which emphasizes the central historical role of religion, would have been a reasonable response to the socio-economic functionalism of the 1970s, in either its liberal or Marxist expressions, the philosophical critiques of functionalism since then have been such that paradigms of confessionalization which rely on intentionality are now viewed as legitimate, contrary to Schilling's insistence.

may be different, but membership is compatible. Quite the opposite: society remained unitarian; 'religion' included 'politics' as 'politics' included 'religion', and it was not possible to pursue economic purposes or to lead a family life outside of both. Under such conditions, the development of the early modern state could not take place without regard to 'Confession', but only based upon "fundamental consent on religion, church, and culture, shared by authorities and subjects" (Heinz Schilling)" (Reinhard, 1989: 398).

Gallican confessionalization can be distinguished by its Episcopal and Royal varieties.[15] As far as Episcopal Gallicanism, Kilcullen suggests that conciliarism was one of its sources (2010: 41), but, if so, it was a concern with practical abuses and their reform as much as with an abstract concern about governance. "The chief areas of contention were provisions to benefices and supervision of the regulars", matters which had for long been pressed. "Putting an end to circumvention of episcopal discipline was, then, the main thrust of the Gallicanism of seventeenth-century bishops" (Becker, 1974: 66). In this sense, the 'national church' was a *means* seen as necessary to implement the practical reforms about which the imperial papacy was both too remote and too little committed.

The Royal variety of Gallicanism is more complex, and is concerned more directly with the role of the Gallican movement in effecting state formation:

> The confessional state is what took the place of the medieval ideal of a seamless Catholic Christendom when, after both the Protestant and Catholic reformations and more than a century of intermittent religious conflict, the Treat of Westphalia in 1648 retroactively ratified the fact of religious diversity … Thereafter each state and dynasty sought to give itself legitimacy by replacing the universal Catholic Church with an established confessional church that, even if 'Catholic', acted as a state or dynastic church as well. The well-nigh unanimously accepted assumption that underlay this arrangement was that political unity presupposed religious unity and that obedience to secular law would be impossible to enforce without the concurrent moral suasion of the inner conscience. The

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[15] Berlis and Schoon (2009) propose a typology with four forms of *Jansenism*: (a) dogmatic and theological Jansenism, (b) spiritual and pious practice Jansenism, (c) episcopal and canon law Jansenism, and (d) parliamentary Jansenism. The last two categories, episcopal and parliamentary Jansenism, are better understood, in my view, as forms of *Gallicanism* – in its "Episcopal and Royal varieties" – with which the dogmatic and spiritual Jansenists became increasingly allied.

consequence was that confessional conformity to these ecclesiastical establishments was everywhere the equivalent of today's 'citizenship'. (Van Kley, 2011: 109).

What made France different, and made both its Catholicism and its Gallican instantiation unique, was the early weakness of the Capetian monarchy (987-1328), the difficulty of defending French borders, and the resulting need to form a particularly strong bond with the religious citizenry (Van Kley, 2011: 110). Gallicanism, therefore, developed in France out of a long and complicated history. As the confessional French state grew in strength and stability, it was assisted by the emoluments proffered by the Papacy in its own efforts to maintain a unitary sovereignty – emoluments which were part of the Gallican demand for practical reform. What emerged was a triangular set of relations among the Papacy, the Monarchy, and the Gallican *Parlement*, where clashes oscillated between innovation and disciplinization.[16,17] The combined effort to advance royal and papal absolutism constituted a condition with considerable destabilizing potential. This destabilizing potential was realized, and became activated, through the particular reform solutions which the Vatican, with its unitary conception of authority under the Kingship of Christ, adopted.

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[16] Both Foucault and Elias have notably written on social disciplinization. More recently, Philip Gorski has challenged these theorizations with an hypothesis that "the formation of national states in early modern Europe (1517-1789) was not solely the product of an administrative revolution … [but] equally the result of a disciplinary revolution sparked by ascetic religious movements" (1993: 266); compare Gorski (2001). With a more modest theoretical position, Reinhard has commented on the role of education, censorship, and parish visitations in confessionalization, that while leading to the success of the churches, also had unintended results which "contributed to the further development of rationality" and "trained their members in discipline and made them accustomed to being objects of bureaucratic administration – both essential preconditions of modern industrial societies" (1989: 397).

[17] A complicating matter is the role of the Jesuits, who, with their special vow of obedience to the Pope, repeatedly acted as the agent of papal disciplinization. "Their devotion to the church, however, made the Jesuits its staunch defenders. With Ignatius they believed that the church was the mystical 'spouse of Christ,' and they saw it as the measure of spiritual authenticity and Christian truth. Such a concept is basic to the spirituality and theology of Ignatius and the early Jesuits, and in this sense Ignatius is the great Counter-Luther, just as the early Jesuits appear as Counter-Protestants (Olin, 1974: 283).

The Failure of Trent

The Council of Trent did reply to the Protestant challenge with careful doctrinal development,[18] most importantly concerning (a) a *Decree Concerning the Canonical Scriptures*, and an expansive concept of the gifts of the Holy Spirit which included both scripture and the apostolic tradition (Congar, 1967: 156-169); (b) a *Decree Concerning Justification* which affirmed "a trust in saving grace apprehended in faith" (Mullett, 1999: 44), significant for eliminating the word 'alone' in Luther's formula, 'by faith alone', and, therefore, a denial of predestination; and (c) a *Decree Concerning the Sacraments* which upheld the seven sacraments[19] as "the Church's channels of divine grace" (Mullett, 1999: 46), and insisted that they were all instituted by Christ and had been transmitted in an unbroken and undeviating tradition (O'Malley, 2002: 212).

However, the greater part of the work of the Council concerned its systematic work on pastoral reform. It seems clear that the legitimacy which Luther was able to acquire was significantly underpinned by the deep failures of the church in terms of pastoral care throughout Europe. Scribner, discussing this grievance in Germany in the early sixteenth century, makes the point:

> Of the numerous criticisms and expressions of grievance directed at the Church in Germany on the eve of the Reformation, the most devastating was the charge of inadequate pastoral care. Reformers of all complexions bewailed the poor state of the parish clergy and the inadequate manner in which they provided for the spiritual needs of their flocks. At the very least, the parish clergy were ill-educated and ill-prepared for their pastoral tasks; at the very worst, they exploited those to whom they should have ministered, charging for their services, treating layfolk as merely a means of increasing their incomes, and, above all, resorting to the tyranny of the spiritual ban to uphold their position (Scribner, 1991: 77).

But, of course, the Catholic Church was also aware of this, and the turbulent movements flowing from Luther and Calvin drove the point

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[18] The term 'development' is anachronistic as it implies an historical movement which was not then recognized. The self-understanding at Trent would have been closer to a 'fulfilment' or 'completion' of already existing doctrine.
[19] The Council of Trent affirmed ecclesial practice and theology which identified seven sacraments of baptism, confirmation, Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, and marriage.

home. The initiatives for pastoral reform at Trent were not invented *de novo*. Indeed, the fathers advanced many of those aspirations which the reformers at the Council of Constance had tried to fulfill, with decrees concerning the selection, theological formation, morals, and demeanour of parish priests; the duties of bishops in terms of disciplinary functions and appointments, and a requirement that they maintain episcopal residence; the institution of seminaries, additional fiscal powers for their financing, and the requirement for theological training before ordination; regulations concerning the conferment of benefices, the elimination of provisions for inheritance, and restrictions on patronage; and improved regulation of religious orders (Mullett, 1999: 29-68). It was "a code of reform that provided the essential inspiration for the Catholic renewal in early modern Europe" (p. 68).

The Council of Trent, therefore, accomplished much, both in terms of doctrine and in terms of reform, but it was, nevertheless, restrictive in its scope. John O'Malley comments on this limited character of the Council's work:

> 'Doctrine and reform.' Put in such terms the agenda sounds global, without delimitation, as if comprehending every aspect of Catholic belief and life … Under 'doctrine' the Council meant to treat only Protestant teachings that were seen to conflict with Catholic teaching. Thus Trent made no pronouncements about the Trinity, the Incarnation, and other Christian truths that Protestants accepted … 'Reform' had a similarly precise focus. For the bishops at Trent, 'reform of the clergy and the Christian people' – or, as it was more commonly expressed, 'the reform of the church' – meant essentially reform of three offices in the church: the papacy, the episcopacy, and the pastorate (O'Malley, 2002: 209).

O'Malley is pointing to a disconnect in the understanding of reform. There is a gap between the needed spiritual regeneration of the Church as the people of God and the ecclesiastical reform accomplished at Trent. John Ohlin argues that the reform movement, working over the previous two centuries, influenced by Erasmus and the Christian humanists, expressed itself in the desire for both personal and pastoral reform:

> As we see it, two characteristics run like a double rhythm through the Catholic Reformation: the preoccupation of the Catholic reformers with individual or personal reformation, and their concern for the restoration and renewal of the Church's pastoral mission (Olin, 1974: 307).

In the following section about Jansenist experiments with reform during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we will try to portray the everyday struggle which occurred between those Catholics who aimed at a personal reform and spiritual regeneration of the Church in a movement from below and those Catholics who aimed at the ecclesiastical reform of the Church in a movement from above. While there was a precise doctrinal sense to the Augustinian theology which Cornelius Jansen espoused, Jansenism evolved into a label which denoted this movement from below. More important than the particular theological positions that were initially espoused was the view that Trent was not adequate as a reform solution.

Jansenist Experiments with Reform

Jansenism was the central reform movement within Catholicism during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It, therefore, contributes to the destabilization of a unitary papacy, but it is also part of the search for "a better understanding".

It is into this mix that Jansenism was injected. Jansenism derived its name from the Louvain theologian, Cornelius Jansen, given as an epithet by Jesuits reacting to the post-humous 1640 publication of his three-volume monograph, *Augustinus*. Quickly spreading from the Low Countries to France through the agency of Saint-Cyran and the Abbey Port-Royal in Paris, the 'austere' Augustinian theology of unearned grace and its demand for personal reform constituted a powerful alternative to the 'lax' theology of free will of the Jesuits and their alliance with the papacy[20] on ecclesiastical reform.[21]

Doyle comments that "Jansenism may have originated at Louvain, but what enabled it to spread so effectively was the unique protection it would receive from the anti-papal traditions of French law and the French Church" (Doyle, 2000: 23). It is certainly true that the Gallican movement remained something autonomous from Jansenism, but it is also the case that Jansenism provided a theoretical and dogmatic justification for the national church which went beyond what

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[20] Indeed, Van Kley indicates that the Jesuit order "was defined by its loyalty to the papacy" (2015: 19).

[21] For an overview of the respective theological positions, see Flint ([1988] 2009; 1998).

Gallicanism itself could provide. There was, therefore, an overlap between the two movements. Jansenism gained shelter within the Gallican movement and provided a substantive theoretical core for the Gallican resistance to papal authority. Both of these intellectual movements became international exports.[22]

As the movement spread and deepened, both geographically and into other occupational classes beyond the clerics and theologians, the call for personal reform deepened as well, with an emphasis on the development of devotional disciplines, vernacular translation of the Bible and its regular reading, and greater piety in ritualistic practice and ceremony. Indeed, the concern with liturgical and spiritual practices was present from early days. Antoine Arnaud, "the major Jansenist theologian" (Weaver, 1985: 513), published *De la fréquente communion* in 1643, a "kind of founding manifesto of the Jansenist party" (Kolakowski, 1995: 68), in which he argued that the prerequisite for communion was repentance, and that 'frequent communion' required perseverance in piety and virtue. Ellen Weaver, a Jansenist scholar, notes that "Arnauld is credited with setting off the controversy over Jansenist practice which paralleled the debate on grace" (Weaver, 1982: 43).

Now that the theoretical stage has been set, we will turn to this culture of pious practice. Two case studies will be used to explore the tensions between the reform movement from below and the reform movement from above. The first case examined concerns bible translation in the Netherlands during the early Jansenism of the seventeenth century. The second case examined concerns devotional renewal in Spain during the late Jansenism of the eighteenth century. This juxtaposition will also help us see how much Jansenism itself evolved these the two periods.

Bible Translation in the Netherlands

The Council of Trent made pastoral renewal the centre-piece of their reformation strategy, but it was, nevertheless, a renewal centred on the priest's duties and a commitment to the sacraments. While there was

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[22] Expressions of Gallicanism can be found in Spain (Smidt, 2010a), in Germany (Printy, 2010), and in England (Lunn, 1972). See Van Kley (2006) and Berlis and Schoon (2009) for some discussion of Jansenism in the international context, and my discussion below.

attention to the education of the faithful, it was mediated by the episcopacy, with the related goals of improving the training of parish priests and instituting better discipline concerning regular preaching and catechetical instruction. Given these aims, the Council had difficulties coming to terms with vernacular translations of the bible for the faithful. This was, perhaps, to be expected. Late scholasticism had been more attuned to propositional and doctrinal issues – to *ratio theologica* – than to liturgical and pastoral issues. As a result, "biblical theology waned in the Schools and the direct influence of the Bible on Catholic life grew less" (McNally, 1966: 206). Despite the calls from Dutch humanists like Erasmus to place "Holy Scripture in the hands of the Christian community" and thus to open "a new chapter in the history of Catholic spirituality" (p. 205), the Fathers at the Council of Trent "neglected to provide a vernacular Bible for the use both of the clergy and of the laity" (p. 206).[23] Indeed, the difficulties of interpretation were such that some argued at the Council of Trent that Scripture could be seen as "a dangerous source of religious error for the faithful, for the simple laity and the ill-instructed" (p. 209). The most striking rebuttal at Trent, though, was from Cardinal Madruzzo who argued that "the vernacular language itself is a gift of the Holy Spirit and Jesus Christ … and every good heart that loves Christ can be the receptacle (*bibliotheca*) where the book of Christ rests" (p. 221). Given this division of opinion, the Council remained silent on the issue of vernacular translation, just maintaining that the Latin Vulgate be recognized as the authorized version of the Bible (and therefore the base for any vernacular translation), "that no one dare to presume under any pretext whatsoever to reject it" (quoted in Cheely, 2013: 579). Upon the assumption of office of the conservative Pope Paul IV, though, this lacuna was filled in 1559, by decree of the Roman Inquisition: "No Bible translation into the vernacular, German, French, Spanish, Italian, English, or Flemish, may in any manner be printed or read or possessed without permission in writing from the Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition" (quoted in McNally, 1966: 226).

With their devotion to lay participation and spiritual renewal, the Jansenists became committed very early to a vernacular of the mass and scripture, including the translation of the bible. Vernacular

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[23] This can be sharply contrasted with the Protestant communities. "Between 1534 and 1620 about one hundred editions of the Bible came from Wittenburg – a total production of perhaps 200,000 copies (not counting issues of single Testaments and books; if they are included with the product of other towns the number of editions rises to 430)" (M. H. Black, quoted in McNally, 1966: 207).

translation itself wasn't controversial, at least in principle, as the Council of Trent had highlighted the importance of the education of the faithful and the strengthening of parish life, and this required, at a minimum, that the priests be able to interpret and communicate the content of Scripture. But, as Antoine Arnaud commented, "how many pastors are capable of translating directly from Latin into French?" (Weaver, 1985: 514). In the early 1640s, the *Messieurs de Port-Royal* commenced a new scholarly translation of the bible using both the Vulgate and Greek versions, with the publication of their *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons* in 1667. The publication was condemned immediately by the Archbishop of Paris, and a year later in 1668 by Pope Clement IX. Translation work continued by the *Messieurs*, however, on the Old Testament and the complete *Bible de Port-Royal* was published in 1693, becoming the most important and widely used French translation for over a century.[24]

With this background, we turn now to the Netherlands to examine the progress of the vernacular translation project there. The Netherlands is of interest for its location at the geographical interface between the Romance and Germanic cultures, and, in religion, between Catholics and the Calvinists. In 1581 the seven provinces of the Northern part of the Netherlands declared their independence from the rule of the Spanish monarchy, confirmed at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and "became a predominantly Protestant nation" (Agten, 2016: 129). The southern part, however, remained under the control of the Spanish monarch as a Catholic state.[25] Of some historical importance to the narrative here was the economic position of the Netherlands. "The central position of Antwerp in the sixteenth century, not only in the world market but also in cultural life, is comparable to that of Venice" (Huizinga, [1933] 1968: 149), although this dynamism was increasingly concentrated in the northern part of the Lowlands – the Dutch Republic – during the seventeenth century. From the late sixteenth, through the seventeenth century, the Dutch became the leading European trading nation, including trade in ideas and information. "During the last quarter of the seventeenth century, indeed, the Dutch republic made itself the unquestioned intellectual

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[24] "From the end of the seventeenth century until the nineteenth century for instance, the so-called *Bible de Port-Royal* was the most widespread French translation of the Bible" (Agten, 2011: 9).

[25] "The division was not the result of religion. It was, as Pieter Geyl has described it, the outcome of military operations determined by geographical factors: the Spaniards were able to reconquer the southern land areas but were prevented from taking the water provinces" (Brechka, 1970: 13).

entrepôt of Europe" (Gibbs, 1971: 323). In particular it had become the most important centre for book publishing in Europe "especially bibles, atlases, devotional, and professional books" (p. 323). It is not an accident, then, that vernacular bible translation should have become a centrepiece of conflict between the Jansenists and the Papacy in the Lowlands, often closely connected with the University of Louvain where Cornelius Jansen had had an appointment as Regius Chair of Sacred Scripture and later as Rector of the University. In the discussion which follows, I take up the cases of Aegidius de Witte and Johannes van Neercassel in order to examine the translation conflict. The cases of De Witte and Neercassel are emblematic of the disciplinization of the confessional church by the papacy.

While the Port-Royal translation stands out for the quality of its scholarship, some of its greatest value was as a base document for further vernacular translations. It spurred work, particularly, in the Low Countries with a number of vernacular translations into Dutch, in which "the New Testament portion of these translations was based more or less on *Le Nouveau Testament de Mons*" (Agten, 2015: 273). One such translation of the New Testament was accomplished by Aegidius de Witte in 1696. De Witte had studied philosophy and theology at Louvain University, and subsequently went to Paris to learn from 'the religious' of Port-Royal. While there, he became friends with Arnauld (Agten, 2014: 336) and "an ardent defender of the Jansenist cause and of vernacular Bible reading" (Agten, 2015: 272). De Witte returned to Mechelen and was ordained a priest in 1684. Holding to the value of Bible reading, he resolved to make a Dutch translation, which was completed about 1690. The Archbishop of Mechelen refused him permission to publish and condemned the translation. The following year, the Archbishop issued a decree forbidding private Bible reading (Agten, 2015: 274). De Witte resigned his position and moved into northern exile in the Dutch Republic, where he published his translation. This led to a withering series of critiques of his work, and bitter exchanges with the anti-Jansenist corps, and finally to the condemnation of the translation by Pope Clement XI in 1712.

It was not an accident that vernacular translation would have been a priority in the liminal Catholic-Calvinist environment of the Lowlands. For Johannes van Neercassel, the Vicar Apostolic to the Holland Mission in the north of the Netherlands, "Catholic priests had to be well educated and acquainted with the bible in order to face the competition from Protestant preachers" (Agten, 2014: 328). Indeed, Ackermans suggests that in this space, "where the position of

Catholic worship was insecure", "'competition' was its most striking feature: competition between denominations as well as between pastoral strategies" (Ackermans, 2003: 261-262). Neercassel's friendship with Antoine Arnauld, Pasquier Quesnel, and Pierre Nicole may, therefore, have been based more on the Jansenist approach to the liturgy, and the vernacular which suited the evangelical space in which he worked than to any theological commitment he had to their doctrine of grace. But this is just to say that the Jansenist focus on personal spiritual renewal went well beyond the ecclesiastical reforms of Trent and had a warm reception at the parish level, a reception not necessarily tied to the Jansenist theology of grace. Nevertheless, Neercassel was accused of Jansenism and "had to defend himself against the various allegations that were pronounced against him, in particular his Jansenist sympathies and his aversion to the Jesuits" (Agten, 2014: 327):

> In 1669 he was accused of Jansenism by the Regular orders, in particular by the Franciscans. The latter sent seven propositions taken from his sermons to the Holy Office in Rome in order to have him condemned. When Van Neercassel went to Rome in 1670-71 for his visit *ad limina*, to report on the state of his missionary area, he had to accept the papal bull *Ad sacram* and to sign the *Formulary* of Pope Alexander VII, thus subscribing to the condemnation of the five famous Jansenist propositions (Agten, 2014: 327).

Be that as it may, Van Neercassel counted Antoine Arnaud, Pasquier Quesnel, and Pierre Nicole – the French Jansenist intellectual leadership – as friends, and provided accommodation to Arnaud in his home in Utrecht in 1680 (Agten, 2014, 326-327).

The theological faculty at Louvain shared Neercassel's concerns about the "study of the Bible and the controversy with Protestantism" (Ackermans, 2003: 266), and this led Neercassel to concentrate seminary training in the Netherlands at Louvain. Given that the Protestants "considered all kinds of deplorable abuses and superstitions as essentials of the Catholic faith" (p. 268), Neercassel was particularly motivated to set high standards for the intellectual and moral foundation of seminary students, and exercised tight discipline on the priests under his care. Above all, the sermon was "a crucial instrument" in the education of the faithful: "The protestant minister, the *predikant*, was above all a preacher. As the Reformation tradition claimed the Bible for its own purposes, Neercassel insisted on a thorough preparation of sermons, which should include the study of

Scripture" (p. 265). Having readily available translations of the Bible in the Dutch vernacular was, therefore, a central priority.

Neercassel's pastoral strategy was supported by the 300 'secular priests' in the Mission, but resisted by the 150 'regular priests', most of them Jesuits. An attack on vernacular translation was mounted by a Jesuit, Cornelius Hazart, in 1675, to which Neercassel responded with his own tract, launching a lengthy series of exchanges of attack and defence without resolution. The last work of Neercassel's life was a publication, *Amor Poenitens*, about the practice of confession and the need for "a strict penitential regime", constituting a critique of Jesuit laxism. It aroused once again the charge that he was a Jansenist. "When he in his last years referred to his enemies, it was not to those Christians who refused to accept the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, but mostly to the Jesuits" (Ackermans, 2003: 269). Four years after his death, Neercassel's work, *Amor Poenitens*, was officially suspended *donec corrigatur* (forbidden until corrected).

The kind of impulses which motivated De Witte and Neercassel to promote the value of Bible reading for the education of the laity and the formation of seminary students, and the commitment to the sermon as a crucial instrument in the education of the faithful were consistent with the decrees of the Council of Trent. The great objection was that, in trying to meet the challenge of the Protestants, they had elevated spiritual renewal, rather than episcopal reform, as the central mission goal, and did so while operating outside of the unitary authority of Rome.

The campaign against the Jansenists culminated with the condemnation of Pasquier Quesnel's *Le Nouveau testament en françois avec des réflexions morales sur chaque verset* (1692) in the papal bull, *Unigenitus*, promulgated in 1713. Quesnel was widely regarded as having succeeded to the moral leadership of the Jansenist community following the death of Antoine Arnaud. He had written *Réflexions Morales* as a devotional aid and commentary on the Port-Royal "*de Mons*" translation of the New Testament, and this was widely circulated in Europe (Cheely, 2013). To avoid persecution, Quesnel found it necessary to flee from Paris to Brussels, and later to Amsterdam. Not surprisingly, the opposition to Quesnel's work was led by a French Jesuit, Michel Le Tellier, who became royal confessor to Louis XIV in France (Gres-Gayer, 1988). Disciplinary action taken before and after *Unigenitus* was strongest in France, "the epicentre of anti-Jesuit rhetoric and action in Catholic Europe" (Van Kley, 2015: 14): the nuns of Port-Royal were expelled and their buildings razed to

the ground; there was a purging of sympathizers within the episcopacy, university faculties, and religious orders; the Eucharist and extreme unction were denied to suspects; and the Bastille became filled with Jansenists (Gres-Gayer, 1988; Van Kley, 2015). In the Catholic Netherlands, the University of Louvain was the prime target with a series of inquiries into the orthodoxy of the theological faculty members (Quaghebeur, 2007a, 2007b). The repression was effective in the short-term.

Devotional Renewal in Bourbon Spain

In contrast to the Netherlands, Spain is of interest because of its status in illustrating the development of Jansenist culture within one of the southern Latin states.[26] The weak Habsburg dynasty of the seventeenth century was succeeded by the reformist Bourbon dynasty of the eighteenth. The reign of Felipe V (1700-1746), the grandson of Louis XIV of France, was followed by the reign of each of his sons, Fernando VI (1746-1759) and Carlos III (1759-1788), and then that of his grandson, Carlos IV (1788-1808).[27] Spain had remained relatively aloof from the social tensions which developed in France and the Netherlands during the seventeenth century, but Richard Herr suggests a change with the Bourbon kings of the eighteenth century, who "were moved by a sincere desire to improve their country" (Herr, 1958: 11). Certainly, there was a progression of reforms which strengthened the state and advanced trade and economic development, climaxing with the enlightened leadership of Charles III (Spanish – Carlos III). The crown was aided by some very able administrators – people such as Melchor de Macanaz (1670-1760), "the first great reformer and the most prolific political writer of Bourbon Spain" (Kamen, 1965: 699), Ricardo Wall (1694-1777), "the main political representative of the second half of the reign of Fernando VI and the hinge between Fernando VI and Carlos III" (Alarcia, 2003: 132), Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1810), "together, [Jovellanos' ideas and beliefs] are the *summa* of the Enlightened Spain of the late eighteenth century" (Polt, 1971: 29), and Pedro Campomanes (1723-

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[26] It is also of interest here because of the establishment of the Royal Scots College in Valladolid in 1771, something which will be discussed in the next chapter.
[27] Philip's son, Louis, ruled for seven months in 1724 before dieing from smallpox, and Philip's great-grandson, Ferdinand VII, only ruled for two months in 1808 until being overthrown by Napoleon. The Bourbon line was later restored to power.

1802), "the soul of Bourbon reformism, especially in the field of economic policy" (Guasti, 2013: 233).

While the Jansenist disputes in the Netherlands and France had become something of a cause célèbre in Europe by the time that *Unigenitus* was proclaimed, it had not become a political matter in other European countries. This changed, though, as "ideological cleansing" was pressed in other countries – in Scotland, for instance (McMillan, 1981, 1982, 1988, 1993) – and as Gallicanism spread to other regimes. The Gallican-Jansenist alliance, which had developed in France, then began to emerge in other states, including Spain:

> The circumstances under which this controversial bull [*Unigenitus*] was received in the 18th-century Europe, and particularly in France, contributed to disagreement and discord that occasioned the construction of factions in many dynastic states – factions either pro-*Unigenitus* or pro-Augustinian (including but not limited to Jansenists) (Burson, 2014: 672).

The decree of *Unigenitus*, thus, marks the inflection point of a transition from a movement where theological and doctrinal concerns were dominant, to a cultural Jansenism that spread throughout Catholic Europe.

What distinguished the situation in Spain from that of France was the absence of a parliament. The alliance of the French Jansenists with the Gallican tradition worked because the French *Parlement* acted as a buffer between the Papacy on one side and the Crown on the other, providing the French church with a political voice of its own. In Spain, there was no third party, and the governance of the Spanish Church was much more of a two-way contest between the Papacy and the Crown. "With no *parlements* in Spain, Spanish regalists employed Gallicanism to work toward a church structure similar to Henry VIII's of England, with the king replacing the pope as the head" (Smidt, 2014: 331). This situation was recognized by some in the Spanish Church. In a letter of October, 1768, Bishop Climent of Barcelona wrote:

> The ills … are exposed; it is apparent that the undermining of the Discipline, mentioned in the letter of the 6th, comes as much from Regalism as it does from Ultramontanism, the secular authority claiming and acquiring the powers that the Pontiff is losing, leaving the bishops as badly off as, or worse off than, they were before (Climent, quoted in Smidt, 2014: 332).

All that said, the Jansenist devotion to piety and spiritual renewal attracted many clerics and they united in a larger movement with the regalists and enlightenment intellectuals in their desire for reform and their anti-Jesuit sentiment:

> Jansenism found most of its outstanding supporters among the clergy, however, especially from mid-century onwards. Beginning in the 1760s a number were promoted into the church hierarchy in a deliberate ministerial attempt to shore up Jansenist reform and undermine Jesuit and ultramontane influences. Bishops José Climent of Barcelona, Anotonio Tavira y Almazán of Salamanca and Felipe Bertrán, one of several enlightened Jansenist Inquisitor Generals, were among them (Noel, 2001: 127).

The location of the Spanish Church "between two fires that beat us down and humiliate us" (Climent, quoted in Smidt, 2014: 332) was one of the factors leading reformers to draw more from their own intellectual traditions, rather than from French Gallican and Enlightenment ideas. The result was a cultural Jansenism that had an irenic quality.

This becomes evident through an examination of devotional practices in Spain in the second-half of the eighteenth century. By then, state administration had advanced considerably, new academies, scientific associations, and cultural institutions had been founded (Sanchez-Blanco, 2014), and the release of innovation at the community and parish level had become a priority for the monarchy. A culture of practical cooperation had developed, necessary in part because the Spanish Church may have controlled as much as one-quarter of national income, albeit with part of that being captured by the State, and, in some cases, "by the claims of secular patrons of parish churches" (Callahan, 1984: 41).[28] The Spanish Minister of State, Marquis D'Argenson, observed in 1752 that "Jansenism has become the universal religion and dominates the Kingdom", but Brian Strayer indicates that it was "not because everyone had fallen into heresy, but because nearly everyone had become allies of the Jansenists against the Jesuits" (D'Argenson, quoted in Strayer, 2008: 206).

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[28] In the 1970 study of Gonzalo Anes, he estimated the church in the twenty-two provinces of Castile "may have reached the substantial proportion of nearly 28 percent of the gross income of all economic sectors (Callahan, 1984: 41). "Castile consisted of mainland Spain except Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia" (Noel, 2001: 152, fn 40).

At the start of the eighteenth century, the devotional culture of Spain can only be described as extravagant. The Council of Trent had sought renewal with a pastoral focus on the parish, leading in early modern Spain to "religiosity intertwined with sociability" (Noel, 2001: 124). The baroque religion which developed was expressed through the development of pious associations and confraternities, often focussed on specific shrines, saints, or devotions. "Members cared for their altar or image, carried it proudly in street processions, or otherwise advertised and praised it" (p. 125). Callahan notes that the principal events of life – birth, marriage, death – were all celebrated around church ceremonies. Apart from that, "social life in town and country centred on the festivals of the liturgical calendar. Religious ceremonies took extravagant forms whether in the great processions of Holy Week or the sombre flagellation rites of Lent" (Callahan, 1979: 46).

> For in the late sixteenth century Catholic worship still preserved that highly clerical complexion which it had received in the Middle Ages. Its character was festival, dramatic and artistic more than corporate, Biblical and interior. The Council of Trent stimulated neither a liturgical reform nor a liturgical renaissance (McNally, 1965: 37).

In common with other countries in the southern religious crescent – "the Catholic Germanies in the southeast through the north-central Italies, including Rome in the center, and on through the Iberian peninsula in the West" (Bradley and Van Kley, 2001: 15) – the culture of Spain had been less affected by the Calvinist demands for reform and the theological disputes of the seventeenth century. Indeed, "Spain had witnessed a closing off from European culture at the same time that the rest of Europe was opening up to new worlds, both geographically and intellectually" (Smidt, 2010a: 27). The turn under the Bourbon monarchy in the early eighteenth century, therefore, was toward a new openness. "Opposed though it was to the excesses of 'baroque' Catholicism and open to the newer sciences, it bears everywhere the marks of a revival of Christian humanism" (Bradley and Van Kley, 2001: 15).

> Only loosely associated with the better-known phenomenon of French Jansenism, Spanish Jansenism did not share the same theological heritage as its French counterpart and was based instead on the humanist and Erasmian traditions of 16th century Spain which promoted individual spirituality and reading of Scripture (Smidt, 2010b: 407).

What was common in the cultural Jansenism that spread throughout the Spanish Catholic world in the eighteenth century was an attention to the personal reform and spiritual renewal of this tradition. Bishop Climent, for instance, embodied just this kind of piety. "His sermons and pastoral instructions make clear his desire to bolster interior spirituality in each parishioner's devotional life in contrast to Baroque rituals. His pushes for seminary reform and increased lay literacy in Barcelona make him an exceptional figure of Catholic Enlightenment" (Smidt, 2014: 330).

The shift in emphasis from an Augustinian theological core to a renewed devotional practice was a natural result of a broad enculturation process in which the initiative shifted from intellectual elites to everyday parish life. It was also the result of the devasting repression of Jansenist theologians with their progressive removal from universities, episcopacies and the curia throughout Europe. At the level where the papal authority could have direct effect, the disciplinization of the Jansenist insurgency had been very effective. At the level of the parish, however, the Catholic states had become strong enough that both greater independence from the papacy and the greater individuation of its citizens was possible.

As noted, the Jansenist and Gallican reform in Spain was closely related to the aspirations of the monarchy which pursued regalism with a competent administrative cadre, to great effect. Indeed, Smidt suggests that during the eighteenth century, "Spain and her empire underwent a dramatic restructuring process of governmental infrastructure, leading to one of the most impressive renovations of political authority in the early modern world" (Smidt, 2012: 33). In Spain, the Jansenist Enlightenment was particularly strong during the reign of Charles III with the restoration of Patristic theology, the cleansing of superstition, and a Gallican emphasis on the national church (Smidt, 2010b: 404). Jansenism in Spain, therefore, while not without a theological dimension, had become embedded in a deeper cultural turn from the baroque Catholicism which it overturned.

> For Jansenists, extravagance in art and sacred objects had externalized religion to the point of excess. Spanish Jansenism was therefore centered on the renovation of Spanish religiosity through a reform of pastoral work and conceptions of spirituality … In general, Jansenism is correctly associated with Enlightenment because of its tendency to appeal directly to the critical common sense of the individual in his own internal spiritual devotion rather than give primacy to the larger external expressions of group or social religiosity (Smidt, 2010b: 407-408).

As was the case in other countries, the Jansenist reformers "favoured the communication of religious knowledge through editions of the scriptures in the vernacular" and "preach[ed] simply to their congregations instead of relying on obscure and bombastic rhetoric" (Callahan, 1979: 48). The focus was on the education of the faithful toward a greater interior piety and devotion. In this work of "interior conversion", however, there were communal and liturgical dimensions.

> The Catholic Church today would applaud the recovery of Scripture, the focus on the Eucharist as the sacrament of the unity of the people, the development of a liturgy in which the people participated and could hear the prayers at the altar, and in which the readings were in the vernacular, and the development of an ecclesiology of the Mystical Body of Christ, the assembly of the faithful, in which the laity held responsible positions and the priest was truly the president of his particular Eucharistic assembly (Weaver, 1982: 69).

> The late Spanish Jansenism of the eighteenth century was not embroiled in the theological controversies which bedevilled the French and Lowland churches in the sixteenth century. More importantly, though, the aims of individual spiritual renewal and community revitalization had become uncontroversial as parts of a reform movement from below.

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Jansenism was critical to the confessionalization of the Catholic Church. It provided sufficient theological legitimacy to push back against the papacy, something which went beyond the Gallicanism of tradition, and Gallicanism provided sufficient political grounds to defend Jansenism. Jansenism and Gallicanism, therefore, spread together.

I have suggested that Jansenism should be understood as a call for personal reform and individual spiritual renewal, something with a substantially different focus than the corporate reform and pastoral renewal of Tridentine papalism. The Jansenist stream shared a similar impulse to that of the Protestant reformers. Both had roots in the conciliar movement's calls for the reform of abuses and governance. The basic difference in the understanding of the call for reform

between the Jansenists and the Jesuits formed the ground of an enduring religious conflict over the two centuries following Trent.

The early Jansenism of the seventeenth century, located chiefly in the theological colleges and religious communities, had a strong and austere theological core which supported the claims of individual conscience. The efforts for vernacular Bible translation were aimed at supporting that renewal of individual conscience. Relentlessly, the Jesuits used established mechanisms of influence and appointment to enforce papal disciplinization against what they saw as Jansenist insurgents. These efforts culminated in the papal bull, *Unigenitus*,[29] in 1713, which ultimately brought the theological debate to an end within Catholicism.

Rather than accomplishing its aims of mopping up resistance, however, it led to a deepening intransigence and resentment of the papacy and had the effect, of transforming the opposition, in an important sense, of pushing it underground. In his work on the religious origins of the French Revolution, Van Kley has focussed attention on what can be called political Jansenism in France, the role of *Unigenitus* in fusing "the originally distinct elements of Jansenism, the several strains of Gallicanism, and parlementary constitutionalism" (Van Kley, 1979: 637-638). He has recently summarized the implications of this fusion:

> Yet another symbol of Bourbon absolutism, that bull was in turn to result in a religious and political conflict that would result in the undoing of sacral absolutism, making the French eighteenth century a century of *Unigenitus* as much as of 'lights'" (Van Kley, 2011: 120).

I have focussed attention on the later Jansenism of the eighteenth century in terms of its expression as a cultural movement in Spain, more broadly centred on a rebuilding of devotional life at the parish level. "Not until the 1780s and above all in the mid- and late 1790s did they achieve the predominance they hoped for, and then for a mere few years" (Noel, 2001: 126).

These common international resonances showed up half a century after *Unigenitus* in the expulsion of the Jesuit order, in a wave running from one country to another. The wave of actions which physically

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[29] The literature about *Unigenitus* is very large. See Gres-Gayer, 1988; Burson, 2014; and Van Kley, 1979 for introductions to the literature.

expelled the Jesuit order and seized their property, began in Portugal in 1759, moved to France in 1764, and then to Spain in 1767. In an action even more extraordinary, the Society of Jesus was suppressed altogether by papal decree in 1773.

> Hundreds of schools closed or passed into the hands of secular clergy, other religious orders, or the state; far-flung mission fields were abandoned; libraries were dispersed; and thousands of men (both priests and brothers) found themselves in a new, discomfiting category: that of the ex-Jesuit (Wright and Burson, 2015: 2).

The dissolution of the Jesuit Society is widely taken as Jansenist payback for *Unigenitus*, the 'Revenge of Port-Royal'.

For the purposes of our narrative, though, more important than the common resonances in the different expressions of Jansenist confessionalization are the differences in outcome between France and Spain. In France, the expulsion of the Jesuits was a way-stop on the road to the crushing of the church in the French Revolution. In Spain, it was a way-stop to an irenic renewal, brief as it turned out to be. As we will see, a Catholic seminary was established in Valladolid, Spain, and became the late eighteenth century base for the training of Scottish priests, particularly for the 'Celtic Catholics' of Highland Scotland. As a result, the cultural Jansenism present in Spain at that time is salient for the social imaginary of nineteenth century Antigonish Catholicism.

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