

Wim François / Violet Soen (eds.)

The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545-1700)

Vol. 1: Between Trent, Rome and Wittenberg



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Wim François/Violet Soen

450 Years Later. Louvain's Contribution to the Ongoing Historiography on the Council of Trent

On 4 December, 1563, a solemn Mass at the Cathedral, and a subsequent jubilant procession, marked the closure of the Council of Trent. According to contemporary observers, attendees uttered cries of joy and shed tears of relief. Two days later, ambassadors signed all protocols and put an end to eighteen years of deliberations, spread over three separate assembly periods that began in 1545. This Council would prove to have an enormous impact on early modern developments in religion, politics and culture, both in Europe and beyond. The last major conference devoted to the Council dates back to its quadricentenary in 1963, when a symposium was organized in Trent and presided over by the distinguished Church historian Hubert Jedin (1900–80), who had made the study of this famous Church gathering his lifelong scholarly passion.¹ Since then, the Council of Trent has repeatedly appeared on the research agenda in a variety of academic disciplines that include history, Church history, theology, art history and musicology.² Thus, Trent's 450 year anniversary caused the Council to once again attract an impressive share of scholarly attention, as several academic conferences were organized, not only in Trent and Louvain (Leuven), but also in Freiburg im Breisgau, Lille and Braga.³

1 *Il Concilio di Trento e la riforma tridentina: Atti del Convegno storico internazionale, Trento, 2–6 Settembre 1963* (2 vol.; Rome: Herder, 1965), a volume to read combined with *La Sacra Congregazione del Concilio: Quarto Centenario dalla Fondazione (1564–1964)* (Vatican City: Ed. Vaticana, 1964).

2 H. Jedin/P. Prodi (ed.), *Il Concilio di Trento come crocevia della politica europea* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1979); P. Prodi/W. Reinhard (ed.), *Il Concilio di Trento e il moderno* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996); C. Mozzarelli/D. Zardin (ed.), *I tempi del concilio. Religione, cultura e società nell'Europa tridentina* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1997); A. Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente (1518–1563)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997); M. Viallon (ed.), *Autour du Concile de Trente: actes de la table ronde de Lyon, 28 février 2003* (Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 2006).

3 M. Catto/A. Prosperi (ed.), *Trent and Beyond. The Council, Other Powers, Other Cultures* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018); P. Walter/G. Wassilowsky (ed.), *Das Konzil von Trient und die katholische Konfessionskultur (1563–2013)* (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 163; Münster: Aschendorff, 2016), see conference report by V. Soen, “Das Konzil von Trient

In Louvain, more than one hundred fifty scholars, from nearly twenty countries, convened from 4 to 6 December, 2013, exactly 450 years after its closing ceremonies, to study the Council of Trent from an interdisciplinary, interconfessional and multilingual perspective. Located at the crossroads of several European cultures and linguistic areas, as well as scholarly traditions, the University of Leuven provided an excellent forum in which researchers from Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Latin-Romanic, and East-European backgrounds joined together to concentrate on the Council's stimuli for reform, as well as the controversy it provoked within the early modern world on a local, regional, and global level. Certainly, the scholarly meeting was not meant as a (re-)affirmation of the rightness of confessional viewpoints, be it Catholic or Protestant, and did not constitute a moment for either the glorification of a particular faith or the settlement of old scores, positions to which references to the Council of Trent have been subject to in the past few decades. Rather, the conference aspired to boost a historical interpretation that held the Council as a sixteenth-century Catholic solution to the challenges raised by the necessities of its own time. Thus, both the conference and its subsequent volumes represent a scholarly attempt to offer a contemporary examination of the topic and to set a research agenda that might inspire new interpretations for the ongoing and future historiography on religion in the Early Modern Era.

For a long time, the historiography on the Council of Trent was limited by Pope Paul V's closure of the major repository of archives. The Council's documents remained sealed away in the Vatican for almost three centuries, until Leo XIII finally reopened the Council archives, which gave an important stimulus to the Görres-Gesellschaft to engage in the publication of the long-secret documents. Afterwards, the historiography became almost dependent on the work of one man, the aforementioned Hubert Jedin, who pointed to the aspects of *Selbstbesinnung* and *Selbstbehauptung* within the Council, better-known today as the intertwined developments of Catholic Reform and Counter-Reform[ation].⁴ Later on, in the 1970s and 1980s, as the theory of confessionalisation (*Konfessionalisierung*) forced scholars to reconsider and compare the Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic Churches, the Council of Trent became

und die katholische Konfessionskultur (1563–2013)', Freiburg, 18–21 September 2013", *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 108 (2013) 1431–34. Symposium international, *La dramatique conciliaire, coups de théâtre, tactique et sincérité des convictions dans les débats conciliaires de l'Antiquité à Vatican II*, 15–17 May 2013 in Lille 3, to be published by Charles Mériaux et al. (ed.), *Dramatiques conciliaires* (Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, forthcoming). Also: J.E. Franco et al. (ed.), *Concilio de Trento: Innovar en la tradición: Historia, teología y proyección* (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, 2017).

⁴ H. Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* (4 vol. in 5; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1949–75); H. Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, E. Graf (trans.) (2 vol.; London et al.: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1961) 2.52–98.

the moment in which the Catholic Church tried to outline its *confession*, just as the Protestant churches had done before and would do afterwards.⁵ The late Paolo Prodi (1936–2016), *compagnon de route* de Jedin, repeatedly asked attention for the wide-reaching implications of the Council of Trent.⁶ At the turning of the millennium, John O'Malley attempted to put an end to the never-ending debate over whether mid-sixteenth century Catholicism leaned more towards 'Reform' or 'Counter-Reform[ation]'. His new idea was simple, but far-reaching, as he proposed to describe Catholicism in this era as 'Early Modern Catholicism' and to research it within its historical context.⁷

Building upon three generations of scholarship, the Louvain conference volumes have the ambition to be included amongst the reference works regarding the Council of Trent. They contextualize the Council within the political and social events of the time, and consider it as an open-ended and ambiguous process, even after the conciliar decrees were put into effect. Three lines of investigation structure the conference proceedings. The first volume situates the Council within the triangle *Between Trent, Rome and Wittenberg* and looks at how the decisions taken in Trent regarding biblical, theological, and pastoral care were further elaborated and implemented by the Pope and the Curia, while remaining liable to contestation by all strands of Protestantism and inner-Catholic struggles. The second volume, *Between Bishops and Princes*, analyzes the changes in local ecclesiastical and religious life, as initiated by bishops, orders and congregations, while also paying due attention to their inter-woven nature within politics and the confessionalisation that accompanied the reform process. The third and final volume, entitled *Between Artists and Adventurers*, deals with the cultural and missionary entrepreneurs who felt challenged to translate the conciliar decrees within the fascinating worlds of art and music, and in the Church's overseas missions to America, Asia and Africa. Each volume opens with widely framed contributions from the keynote speakers, while concrete case studies are subsequently offered. Most interestingly, the source material in-

5 H. Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft – Profil, Leistung, Defizite und Perspektiven eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigmas", in W. Reinhard/H. Schilling (ed.), *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung. Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1993* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1995) 1–49 and W. Reinhard, "Was ist katholische Konfessionalisierung?", in *Ibidem*, 419–52. Also: W. Reinhard, "Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters", *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 10 (1983) 257–77.

6 Alongside the earlier mentioned publications, we refer to P. Prodi, *Il paradigma tridentino: un'epoca della storia della chiesa* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2010).

7 J.W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), and now his *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013).

forming these chapters stems not only from the Vatican Archives, but also from collections preserved in archives that range from Japan and Ethiopia to Latin America and Europe.

I. Between Trent, Rome and Wittenberg

Setting the stage for a historical-theological analysis of the Council of Trent, the first volume begins by positioning it as a response to the profound societal and religious alterations that occurred during the Early Modern Era. Robert Bireley – who sadly passed away in the final stage of the completion of this volume – identifies these primary changes as a desire for a deeper religious life among the self-confident urban laity, the concomitant birth of individualism and the interest in education, new political developments, such as state building, the discovery of the ‘New World’, and the long-standing desire to rectify abuses within the Church.

Subsequently, John O’Malley gives a critical assessment about what did, and did not, happen at the Council of Trent, clarifying and correcting some misperceptions and misunderstandings that have since either become academic orthodoxy or have been retained in collective memories. O’Malley emphasizes that Trent succeeded in reforming the office of the bishop, bringing him back to his essential duties of preaching to and living amongst the flock. In addition, the establishment of seminaries helped to improve comparable educational and pastoral standards for the parish clergy. As regards the sacraments, O’Malley explains that the decree *Tametsi*, which required a marriage to be conducted before the parish priest and a number of witnesses in order to be declared valid, proved to be an especially successful instrument at a pastoral level. However, the Council failed in its attempts to reform the Roman Curia, paying no attention to the missions and new developments of the religious orders, and it put forward a statement on justification that proved to be a bone of contention in post-Tridentine Catholicism, despite the Council’s best efforts. O’Malley maintains a sharp distinction between the Council itself, and what happened in its wake: the now generally accepted distinction between ‘Trent’ and ‘Tridentinism’.

The complex relationship between the ‘openness’ of Trent and the attempts for centralization in post-Tridentine papal Rome is also one of the leading themes of Günther Wassilowsky’s contribution. Roman centralizing policies met with resistance from the peripheries, resulting in an internal plurality of Catholicisms. Thus, Wassilowsky proposes that future historiography must refer rather to a “Catholic confessional culture”, taking for granted that Trent was an important marker in the identity-formation of Catholics in the Early Modern Era, but that it enabled a variety of confessional ways of life.

The subsequent chapters deal with more concrete aspects regarding the Bible and liturgy. This begins by considering Bible reading in the vernacular. In the late medieval and early modern Church, there were only regionally diversified positions on the matter, as no uniform legislation regarding Bible reading in the vernacular yet existed. This variety of interpretations was reflected in the long and often hot-tempered debates that proponents (represented by Cardinal Cristoforo Madruzzo) and adversaries (such as Cardinal Pedro Pacheco) of vernacular Bible reading held in the build-up to Session 4. Since both factions held each other in balance, the Council was not able to arrive at a common conciliar standpoint, leaving any decision to the local (civil and religious) authorities. The implication is that Trent did not promulgate a prohibition on Bible reading in the vernacular, although this is one of the myths regarding the Council that still regularly emerges, even in scholarly milieus (Agten & François).

In a second contribution regarding Trent's Session 4, it is argued that the Council's Vulgate decree was largely a Louvain project. The work *De ecclesiasticis scripturis et dogmatibus*, by the Louvain theologian John Driedo, demonstrably (co-)inspired the discussion leading to the elaboration of the Vulgate decree. Moreover, Trent's request for the publication of an emended version of the Vulgate was immediately executed in Louvain, where John Henten (1547) and, later, Francis Lucas 'of Bruges' (1574) edited the *Vulgata Lovaniensis*, which was one of – if not the – most important Vulgate edition until the publication of the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate (1592) (François & Gerace).

Three additional contributions focus on the liturgical reforms in the wake of Trent. Joris Geldhof's work looks at the production of liturgical books after Trent, the most important of which were the *Breviarium Romanum* (1568), the *Missale Romanum* (1570), and the *Rituale Romanum* (1614). Studying the pre-faces of these liturgical books, Geldhof argues that, notwithstanding the manifold references to the Council, there is a difference between what Trent promulgated in regard to the sacraments and how future Popes conceived the liturgical books published in the last part of the sixteenth and the beginnings of the seventeenth century. Moreover, thanks to the printing press, the 'Roman' liturgy became widespread within the Catholic world. Geldhof also questions categorizations such as 'Tridentine liturgy' or 'Tridentine Mass'.

A second case study, by Vasył Popelyastyy, specifically considers the theology of the sacrament of penance as it is exposed within the *Rituale Romanum* of 1614. He identifies the main sources of the *Rituale*, viz. the *Sacerdotales* of Albert Castellano and Francesco Samarino, as well as the *Rituale* of Cardinal Julius Santori. More importantly, he highlights the doctrine of the sacrament of penance as contained in the *Rituale Romanum*, which represents the official doctrinal position of the Latin Church, as elaborated by the Fourth Lateran Council, the Councils of Florence and Trent, and which also includes post-Tridentine

developments as expressed in the *Catechismus Romanus* and the *réveil* of Thomist studies. Popelyastyy also argues that emphasis was placed on private sacramental confession, on the value of the absolution, as well as on the judicial function of the priest (at the expense of the therapeutic function).

Antoine Mazurek, for his part, reminds his readers that the liturgical books promulgated by the Holy See in the wake of Trent represented one example of Rome's centralization policy, but that the Roman 'center' also continued to recognize local liturgical traditions. Importantly for Spain, Pope Gregory XIII issued a privilege in 1573 that gave papal consecration to the "natural saints" of Spain and that also allowed for the establishment of a *proprium sanctorum* in these lands. The Spanish King, Philip II, although a defender of Rome's claim as the center of Catholic Europe, evidently promoted this 'national' cult, since the monarchy based its legitimacy and sacred mission upon these ancient Spanish patron saints. Mazurek's essay is a perfect illustration of these dynamics, further in our volumes described by Simon Ditchfield as a post-Tridentine Catholicism with universal or even global aspirations, whereas, at the same time, several local, regional and national 'Catholicisms' – in this case a Hispanic Catholicism – developed, collaborated, and interacted.

Just as important are a third cluster of contributions that discuss Trent in the context of Evangelism and Protestantism. Camilla Russell, in her essay, considers the epistolary exchange between several members of the *spirituali* movement in Italy, which strove for a reform of the Church based upon the Bible, a doctrine of justification emphasizing faith above works, and residency of all bishops, amongst others. Notwithstanding the imputations of error and heresy, sympathizers of the movement, such as Giulia Gonzaga and Girolamo Seripando, continued to exchange letters, especially during the Council of Trent, where Seripando was a papal legate since 1562. Russell's essay shows how, through this letter exchange, the convent-based Gonzaga was influential in keeping the aspirations of the *spirituali* movement on the agenda of the college of cardinals. Seripando consciously maintained the epistolary contacts with Gonzaga, not only to keep the *spirituali* within the fold of the Church, but also to use them as a leverage to facilitate reform.

Evidently, much attention was given to the reactions that the Council aroused among the Protestant Christians, who neither accepted its decrees and the theological choices they contained, nor recognized the authority of those who promulgated them. Emidio Campi highlights the position of the magisterial reformers, viz. the 'two Martins' of Lutheranism, Martin Luther and Martin Chemnitz, as well as the two Fathers of Reformed Protestantism, Heinrich Bullinger – Huldrych Zwingli's successor – and John Calvin. They had striven for a "free, general, and Christian Council" and, as most Protestant reformers, they remained absent from the meetings of the Church gathering in

Trent, which they viewed as being overly dominated by the Pope and the Emperor. Only representatives of some German Lutheran princes showed up at Trent for the last sessions of the second period (1551–52), but found that they were unable to exert any real influence on the Council's proceedings. The magisterial reformers disagreed with the doctrinal choices that the Council fathers had made, especially those that dealt with issues between Rome and the Reformation, viz. Scripture and tradition(s), Justification, and the sacraments.

This overview of the magisterial reformers' positions is supplemented with two shorter essays, both of which offer more detail on the position of two other reformers. First, Günter Frank addresses the position of Philipp Melancthon, including his juridical and canonical reservations regarding the Church gathering in Trent, and his remarks concerning Trent's Justification decree, which was his most fundamental observation. Secondly, Gerald MacDonald offers a short analysis of Martin Chemnitz' *Examen Decretorum Concilii Tridentini* that focuses on its significance within the Protestant world, and the reactions it evoked among Catholics. His essay strongly recommends a thorough investigation of Chemnitz' very rich and important work.

Although the 'Roman' post-Tridentine perspective is included throughout all of the contributions, two additional essays address the papacy's specific attempts to get a grip on the implementation and interpretation of the Council of Trent. Paolo Sachet describes how the papacy attempted to control the printed legacy of the Council by granting the printing rights of the Tridentine decrees to its official printer, Paolo Manuzio, in 1564. This meant that all other editions had to offer a text that conformed to Manuzio's edition. Furthermore, the text had to be produced without interpolations or marginal (or other) commentaries. At the end of the day, this privilege quickly proved to be unworkable. The Pope and the Roman Curia took care to reserve the official interpretation to an organ specifically established for that aim, viz. the Congregation of the Council.

Federica Meloni's essay, which builds on her doctoral work on the topic, examines the role of this congregation in interpreting the Council's reformatory decrees. The congregation had to approve the decisions of the provincial councils and deal with the important question of residency of bishops – until Pope Urban VIII established a separate body to pronounce upon the latter question. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, it also took upon itself the controversies regarding the validity of marriages that laypeople submitted to its discretion (marriage also being one of the Council's important issues), and supplications to annul religious vows. Through this, the congregation ventured into canon law, even establishing an alternative circuit of norm-making. In short, it is well-known by all Church historians that the authority of the Pope and the Curia increased remarkably after the Council, especially through the rights they reserved for themselves to interpret Trent's events and decrees. John O'Malley, in

an essay that serves as the epilogue to this first volume and was pronounced as the concluding address of the conference, compares the Council of Trent and the most recent ecumenical council, Vatican II.

II. Between Bishops and Princes

The second volume analyzes the profound modifications in ecclesiastical and religious life after 1563, as well as the accompanying political strife that these changes caused. Moreover, this volume aims to contextualize the ‘Tridentine era’ from the actor-perspective of both bishops and princes. It is generally accepted that the Council of Trent, along with its disciplinary decrees, took great pains in bringing the bishops back to their pastoral role, especially in regard to the duties of preaching, teaching and administering the sacraments to their flock, as John O’Malley emphasizes in his essays. Yet, even if this Tridentine reconfiguration of episcopal and pastoral duties had been the main achievement of the Council, Nicole Lemaitre shows that these changes originated among reformed-minded prelates in the (late) Middle Ages, and were already being implemented by an array of bishops, some of whom also convoked local provincial councils and diocesan synods in regions throughout Europe. Despite the fact that not all attempts at reform were equally successful at this initial stage, Lemaitre’s long-term perspective on Catholic Reform helps to identify the Council as just another step in an already active process of reform instead of a (late) reaction to Protestantism: the vocation of the pastor as a *Good Shepherd* haunted Church debates since at least the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The discussions during the first and last period of the Council regarding the duties of prelates, as well as the decrees that issued from these fierce debates, took into account earlier experiences in Europe (without taking into consideration overseas missionary experiences). More importantly, a significant portion of post-Tridentine European bishops could build upon the work that some of their predecessors had already carried out.

The crucial debate on episcopal residency, prescribed since the fourth century, almost led to a deadlock at the Council, but was finally imposed upon both bishops and priests through decrees promulgated at Session 6 (1–2) and especially Session 23 (1). As Christian Wiesner and Federica Meloni both argue, residency remained prone to negotiation in the post-Tridentine Church through the mediation of the Sacred Congregation of the Council. In 1635, Pope Urban VIII even installed a kind of sub-congregation for settling the requests for the dispensation of a bishop’s residency, thus implementing stricter control of this rule and superimposing itself on the decision-making of local bishops and

metropolitans. In fact, bishops and priests often claimed study, illness and local disputes (*inimicitia*) as reasons for seeking dispensation.

Heinz Finger shows that within episcopal reform the establishment of the diocesan seminaries became a powerful instrument through the famous seminar decree promulgated at Session 23 (18) of 15 July, 1563. Rather than trying to keep clerics away from universities, this decree represented a pragmatic and practical solution for enabling a better education for future priests. In this sense, it was a Tridentine 'invention', though it relied upon earlier plans from the circles of Cardinal Reginald Pole and others. The implementation of this decree was likely most successful in Latin American territories, where old sensibilities were not able to delay the establishment of these seminaries in the spirit of Trent. In continental Europe, the spread and implementation of diocesan seminaries depended on either the financial means of the bishoprics concerned or on the availability of training alternatives. By the eighteenth century, however, Tridentine seminaries under strict episcopal control underwent an existential crisis due to the increasing impetus for *Staatskirchentum*.

Following this introductory overview, case studies from different regions of continental Europe – largely the result of recent research presented here for the first time – analyze the concrete shape that Tridentine diocesan reform took when implemented at the local level. These studies cover the diocese of Carthage in Spain (García Hourcade), Namur in the Habsburg Netherlands (Belin), Ragusa on the Dalmatian Coast in present-day Croatia (Trška), and Olomouc in Moravia in the Kingdom of Bohemia (Parma). Each of these case studies highlights the interaction of the conciliar decrees with given local circumstances, stressing Lemaître's point that the pre-1563 period mattered, sometimes for the better, but, as is the case for most of the studies presented in this volume, often for the worst. Simon Ditchfield underlines in the third volume that also the experiences of bishops overseas, especially of those in Latin America, played a crucial role in appropriating Trent.

As José García Hourcade demonstrates, reform-minded bishops in the Spanish diocese of Carthage seemed eager to successfully implement Trent, at least before 1600, frequently convoking synods and prescribing that visitations be organized once every three years. Yet, it seems that the Carthaginian bishops often continued to delegate this intensive work to one or more of their representatives, only showing up in the parishes to administer the sacrament of confirmation. Bishops in the Spanish Habsburg Low Countries equally seized upon the Tridentine moment to implement reform. Morgane Belin documents their willingness to reform through the numerous diocesan synods, prescriptions, and episcopal visitations that occurred within the diocese of Namur, part of the ecclesiastical province of Cambrai, though the implementation of Trent ended up being a century-long project in this region.

The subsequent case studies reporting on Ragusa and Olomouc, however, shed a different light on the impact of Trent in local dioceses. Tanja Trška, for example, neatly illustrates how Lodovico Beccadelli, who arrived as appointed Archbishop in Ragusa (present-day Dubrovnik) in 1555, had to deal with the fact that his predecessors in the archiepiscopal see had been mostly absent. He tried to implement the decrees of the Council of Trent, in which he had been an important secretary in its preparatory phase, by reforming parish structures and instituting regular episcopal visitations; yet, his successors and the town authorities did not share his Tridentine élan and did not attempt to counter the obstructions posed by the local clergy. Furthermore, as Tomáš Parma argues, the Council of Trent came at the exact moment when religious co-existence seemed to have been generally accepted in the Margrave of Moravia, which formed a part of the Bohemian lands, and when the relation between Church and State was at its most troublesome. These conflicts lasted until 1621, when Franz von Dietrichstein, the Cardinal and Archbishop of Olomouc, took over as Governor-General of Moravian lands and promptly implemented the Tridentine decrees.

The next section deals with the interactions between the bishops and some of the religious congregations in regard to Catholic Reform before and after Trent, especially in the ever-fragmented early modern Italian Peninsula. The order of the Theatines, for example, is contextualized here, as it refashioned itself from an inquisitorial group to one that worked towards episcopal reform. This refashioning, as Andrea Vanni argues, seemed to represent a counter response to the ideological shifts in the career and thinking of its founder, Gian Pietro Carafa, who later became Paul IV. Of particular interest is the moment in which two subsequent bishops of Piacenza were recruited from the Theatine Order and came to slowly subscribe to the Tridentine Church model of their Milanese Archbishop, Carlo Borromeo.

Finally, Querciolo Mazzonis stresses that bishops also played a significant role in fostering and controlling active women's congregations. The Italian example presented here highlights the fact that the Church was not seeking to repress female devotion, but instead tried to channel it through active congregations, leading to a myriad of forms, rules, and prescriptions within even neighboring regions.

Importantly, this second volume considers the intense controversies between bishops and princes, and the heightened political strife that surrounded the legal reception and the implementation of these conciliar decrees. These decrees not only had to be proclaimed by the Pope, but they had to be endorsed by the various princes in Catholic territories, as well. Ignasi Fernández Terricabras demonstrates how the promulgation and implementation of Trent became a tug-of-war in the relationship between the Church and State. Monarchs who aimed at consolidating their rule in the first half of the sixteenth century

had managed to avoid the much-feared “reform of the princes” intended by the Council, while not achieving the “reform of the Curia” that they had actually wanted. Kings feared that the decrees’ implementation might establish the superiority of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over civil rule within their borders, or might permit the Holy See to interfere with internal political matters. Though many monarchs shared these anxieties, they still adopted various measures proposed by Trent in the decades after 1564, although these were often modelled along the specific legal traditions of each of their territories. Yet, there was a distinct difference between the regions where implementation might ignite controversies, such as in the Holy Roman Empire, the emerging Dutch Republic, France, Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia on the one hand, and countries with an exclusive Catholic regime on the other. Even in the latter regions, though, much juridical contention still occurred between ecclesiastical and royal institutions. Fernández Terricabras shows that the Tridentine bishops remained the weakest link within this triangle of power that existed between the Pope, princes, and bishops, despite the fact that the Council had significantly empowered them.

This volume also situates several aspects of the growing conflict between the ecclesiastical and political realm within their regional and local contexts. First, attention is directed to the Spanish Habsburg territories, where Tridentine reform did not occur as easily or as straightforward as scholars often depict. This was especially true in the Low Countries, where the Council of Trent sparked immediate contestation by local elites who feared the exclusive implementation of Catholicism in a moment when Protestantism was quickly spreading throughout their territories. For dissidents and insurgents striving for cohabitation between the confessions, the Council of Trent was easily discredited as just another form of inquisition. Thus, the promulgation of the Council’s decrees, stirring fear and unrest, quickly became one of the preconditions of the Dutch Revolt (Soen). Gustaaf Janssens further demonstrates that the Duke of Alba, as the new Governor-General of the Low Countries since 1567, implemented a variety of measures from and inspired by Trent – ranging from razzias in search of forbidden books to the resolute installation of new bishops in the wake of the reorganization of the dioceses in 1559 – that added additional support to the reasons for revolt.

D’Avenia’s work highlights the contemporary situation in the diocese of Palermo in Spanish Habsburg Sicily, where the Cardinal Archbishop Gianettino Doria, although the product of an outspoken and politically-inspired appointment, showed himself to be one of the most zealous propagators of the Tridentine decrees, while also attempting to increase his jurisdiction through a specially established *Tribunale della Visita*. These examples should guard us against over-simplified conclusions that assume that bishops who were either

appointed by the political authorities or taken from the highest ranks of the nobility would inevitably become bad pastors or obstructers of Tridentine reform. Rather, one should pay attention to the sensibilities of Church-State collaboration and confessionalisation in the Early Modern Era.

The second set of examples, which Fernández Terricabras labelled as the “extreme case”, stems from France, where the monarchy openly rejected the disciplinary conciliar decrees regarding Church reform, while some of its closely related prelates accepted the doctrinal decrees already during the Assembly of Melun in 1579, and the first Estate unilaterally did the same in its Assembly of the Clergy in 1615. Irène Plasman-Labrunne analyzes the long struggle for Trent’s acceptance in France and points out that the demand for excluding ‘foreign’ clerics from pastoral care in France became an important point of discussion, merging Gallican claims with Tridentine prescriptions of residence.

Moreover, the reception of the Council of Trent was multifaceted and ambiguous throughout the early seventeenth century. On the one hand, as Philippe Denis shows, Gallican authors, like Edmond Richer in 1605, vigilantly defended conciliarism – including its concomitant chauvinist reflexes – that were still vivid at the Faculty of Theology of Paris, in the spirit of its fifteenth-century foreman Jean Gerson. Remarkably, Richer remained silent about the Council of Trent, not wanting to offer reasons to refute the importance of the Council. On the other hand, Thomas Hamilton observes that two years later Jacques Gillot, a Gallican thinker, used the Council of Trent to combat ‘Tridentinism’ and its tendency towards papal centralization, which he considered to be harmful to the much-cherished liberties of the French Church. Gillot corresponded with Paolo Sarpi throughout the controversy of the Interdict and was skillfully able to circumvent censorship, despite the initiatives of the nuncio. Still, he saw the final unilateral acceptance of the Tridentine decrees by the Assembly of the Clergy as a defeat. This should remind us that the controversy sparked by Trent was not only a confessional one between the Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist (and other Protestant) churches, but also an intra-Catholic one, leading to politico-religious polarization throughout Europe in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

III. Between Artists and Adventurers

The third volume, with the somewhat prickly title *Between Artists and Adventurers*, deals with the outcomes of the Council of Trent within the cultural spheres of both art and music, as well as in the missionary enterprises occurring throughout the New World. In this volume, the afterlife of Trent and the new sensibilities that it created are studied through an examination of Europe’s visual

and musical culture. Moreover, this volume focusses on the global impact of Trent through missions in the Americas, Africa, and Asia.

The Council of Trent had a clear, though concise, view about the use of the arts in Catholic religious life. Pierre-Antoine Fabre investigates Diego Lainez, the second Superior General of the Jesuits, and his series of preparatory notes written in Paris in 1561–62 for his appearance at the conference of Saint-Germain-en-Laye. There, he had to defend the veneration of the sacred image in the Catholic tradition, rebuke any abuses in this regard, and search for a common ground with Theodore Beza and the French Reformed party. Thus, Lainez's position, as described by his preparatory notes, should always be viewed within the religious-political context of sixteenth-century France, which was very different from the situation in Trent.

Soetkin Vanhauwaert examines the impact of Trent on the existing sculptural tradition of the so-called *Johannesschüssel* – a traditional sculpture that depicts the decapitated head of Saint John the Baptist on a platter – in the Low Countries. Although she does not find an immediate impact on the production of these sculpted Saint John's Heads – as has been suggested in earlier research –, she accepts that stricter supervision of the bishop and his staff members in local parishes, as imposed by the Council, indirectly led to restrictions on more questionable practices. In the case of the sculpted *Johannesschüssel*, it may have been required that a genuine relic be inserted into the head in order to more closely connect the sculpture with Saint John the Baptist, whereas before Trent the sculpted head was often considered a relic by itself – a practice that may have become increasingly problematic.

Ellénita de Mol investigates the degree to which the image of the Virgin Mary, as it appears in three Flemish triptychs of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, was in accordance with the spirit of Trent. The triptych in Saint-Martin's church in Wezemaal (by Frans I Pourbus), which at first sight appears to be fully concentrated upon Mary, actually points to the reaffirmed Eucharistic doctrines of transubstantiation and the sacrifice of Mass. The triptych in the Saint-Peter's church in Lo (by Jeremias Mittendorf), however, sees Mary as an 'cooperator' in Christ's redemptory work. Whereas both triptychs fit within Trent's Christocentrism, the triptych in the church of Our Lady in Aarschot (by Pieter van Avont) is old-fashioned in the sense that it strongly focuses on Mary, without paying much attention to the major work of redemption that Christ also did in her.

Walter S. Melion examines Jerónimo Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (1595). He specifically focuses upon key changes made by Antoon Wierix, Maarten de Vos, and Bernardino Passeri to three of the original *modelli*: images 3 (*Night Nativity of the Lord*), 4 (*Dawn of the Lord's Nativity, with Adoration of the Shepherds*) and 39 (*The Parable of the Tares*). Melion argues that

these emendations offer an insight into the mechanics of scriptural image-making as sponsored by the Jesuits and other proponents for the reform of sacred art in the wake of Trent. Sanja Cvetnić adds that at the time of Trent, as well as for a century and a half afterwards, the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia was divided between the Habsburg Monarchy (as a part of its multinational mosaic), the Republic of Venice, and the Ottoman Empire (the Sanjak of Bosnia), with Catholic Croats living in both the Habsburg Kingdom and the Sanjak. Cvetnić further shows how this particular politico-ecclesiastical situation left an imprint on post-conciliar sacred imagery, which she illustrates with several examples, ranging from a triumphalist *Saint Michael the Archangel Intervening on the Side of the Imperial Troops for the Victory over the Ottomans in Osijek* (1770) and the Prophet Muhammed's contribution to the *Dispute on the Immaculate Conception* (Split, 1518, 1727) to several masterpieces from Franciscan monasteries in the Sanjak of Bosnia. All of these essays demonstrate how Catholicism became the most 'sensuous' religious culture of the time.

Two subsequent contributions deal with the musical prescriptions of the Council and the Post-Tridentine Church. Xavier Bisaro argues that Trent actually had not that much to say about music, as it resulted in no declaration concerning the (required) intelligibility of the texts in polyphonic music (let alone prohibiting polyphony in its entirety). The Council only forbade music in which anything "impure" or "lascivious" is mixed, while requiring that the holders of benefices sing their psalms with respect, clarity and devotion. Furthermore, Bisaro traces even these prescriptions back to earlier councils, especially the Council of Basel. Marianne C.E. Gillion argues that while polyphony has received the most attention in the scholarly debates on church music after Trent, plain chant also underwent transformations. She compares graduals that had been printed in Italy both before and after Trent, and specifically focuses on chants that had been added as a consequence of the liturgical reforms (such as two eighth-mode tracts, *Veni sponsa* and *Adoramus*). Gillion demonstrates how composers and editors of chant books were inspired by changes in the liturgy, but that they were also influenced by ongoing revision techniques, as well as the Post-Tridentine predilection for brevity and comprehensibility. Significantly, Gillion's contribution also relates to the articles from our first volume regarding the liturgy after Trent.

The third volume concludes by scrutinizing the impact of the Council of Trent on a global level, although – as has been stressed in much recent scholarship – the Council itself was remarkably silent on the missionary enterprise of the Church. Simon Ditchfield not only underlines how Tridentine reforms made their way from Trent, via Rome and Catholic Europe, to overseas territories, but also how reforms in these territories made 'their way back'. With overlapping centers of

power and influence, this process was never unidirectional and was always confusing, which makes it difficult to properly identify as Tridentine Catholicism or even Roman Catholicism. Whatever the ideal phrase might be, Ditchfield examines how Catholicism developed after Trent into the major global religion, where Lusitan, Hispanic and Borromean Catholicisms encountered local 'micro-Catholicisms' and flourished.

As such, the Council of Trent can no longer be identified as an authoritarian and monolithic Church Council that was able to impose uniform procedures upon local churches. Instead, as this volume's case studies demonstrate, the developments of post-Tridentine Catholicism, in varied countries that ranged from Japan (Vu Thanh, Nawata Ward) to Ethiopia (Cohen) and Peru (Penry), were quite different. Each of these cases supports the European examples from the second volume and suggests that the implementation and impact of Trent largely depended upon local circumstances, the broader context, and the specific and ever-contingent agency of bishops and religious orders. All contributions within this section highlight how the seven sacraments – especially the Eucharist, confession, and marriage – became pivotal in these reform schemes, as well as how missionaries engaged in prudent pragmatism and local accommodation in instituting Tridentine reform. The role of the Jesuits is predominant in all of these case studies, yet each also underlines the fact that great debates and conflicts occurred within the Order during the implementation of conciliar decrees in America, Asia and Africa.

There are some remarkable conclusions to be obtained from the case studies included at the end of this third volume. During the early modern Japanese mission, which was, in many ways, a *terre d'exception*, the Jesuits sincerely doubted whether a bishop was needed in the land of the Rising Sun; instead, they preferred to maintain their monopoly rather than introducing this key figure of Tridentine Catholicism. In this regard Hélène Vu Thanh introduces the mediating figure of Luís Cerqueira, who was a Jesuit as well as the first (and last) Bishop of Japan in the early seventeenth century. The author describes Cerqueira's enthusiastic program that proposed the appropriate observance of the sacraments of the Eucharist and confession. He was also challenged to refashion the sacrament of marriage among the small minority of Catholic converts along Tridentine lines. Yet, in accordance with the Jesuit acculturation politics in South-East Asia, especially those set by the founder of the Japanese mission, Alessandro Valignano, Cerqueira was willing to concede on some points in order to accommodate for local Buddhist practices. Regardless, neither his, nor Catholicism's, influence extended much beyond Nagasaki, which, as the only Catholic city, became the episcopal residence. Valignano died in 1613, shortly before the persecution of Christians began and the practice of Catholicism forbidden. Haruko Nawata Ward further shows that within this short period of the Japanese Catholic mission, the Jesuits displayed a remarkable will-

ingness to translate saint and martyr stories into Japanese and to adapt them to local narrative tastes. The hagiography of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, for example, was rewritten in Kirishitanban, influencing women's and lay apostolate in general, in a way that extended well-beyond the end of Japan's Christian century.

In opposition to Ignatius of Loyola's initial goals, the seventeenth-century Jesuit mission to Ethiopia failed. During the decade after Emperor Susānyos' conversion in 1622, Catholicism became Ethiopia's official religion, though it still competed against the previously established Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Three Jesuits amply commented on this troublesome ten-year period, which ended with the Emperor granting a return to a freedom of religion. Remarkably, the reports of the short-lived Jesuit mission, which Leonardo Cohen discusses in his contribution, placed most of the blame on the local population and their moral and sexual behavior, especially in their alleged tendency towards idolatry and polygamy. These reports consequently provide us with much information on Jesuit views of Ethiopian Africans, as well as of their own self-perception.

Finally, in those locations where Catholic missions had their greatest impact, the outcome could have unanticipated effects. S. Elizabeth Penry, for example, unravels how the inhabitants of the Andes in seventeenth-century Peru took an active role in appropriating the Tridentine prescriptions on the veneration of saints and images, especially within the context of local *confradías*. The example of two brothers using Tridentine discourse and vocabulary to pursue a local veneration of Saint Barbara against the will of their bishops and inquisitors – pointing at the need for sacramental practice in local communities, as prescribed by their locally adapted catechisms – shows that the inhabitants of the Andes and indigenous people in general were to some extent co-creators of Early Modern Catholicism. Moreover, it demonstrates the tangibility of a globalizing/localizing Early Modern Catholicism, and the multiplicity of Catholicisms as advanced by Simon Ditchfield.

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8 S. Ditchfield, "Trent Revisited", in G. Dall'Olio/A. Malena/P. Scaramella (ed.), *Per Adriano Prosperi*, vol. 1: *La fede degli Italiani* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2011) 357–70.











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