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A TRACT OF SAINT ALPHONSUS ON THE COMPATIBILITY OF RELIGIOUS PERFECTION WITH HAVING GOODS IN COMMON

SUMMARIUM

Ultimis hisce annis nonnulli textus S. Alfonsi inediti, in archivo generali CSSR, Romae (AGR), conservati, vulgati sunt in his foliis (an. 1979, pp. 52-63; an. 1980, pp. 457-468; an. 1981, pp. 247-248). Quibus nunc additur brevis tractatus ab Alfonso inscriptus: *Povertà*, quo demonstrat possessionem bonorum in communi minime derogare perfectioni religiosae. Fontes immediati huius tractatus sunt, praeter Scripturam Sacram, liber Ludolphi de Saxonia *Vita Christi*, Cornelii a Lapide *Commentaria in Evangelia* et S. Thomae Aquinatis *Summa theologica*. Ex quibus Alfonsus multa deprompsit ad sententiam suam corroborandam.

Manuscriptum diem compositionis non habet appositum. Videtur tamen exaratum esse an. 1732-33, quando agebatur de indole novae Congregationis ab ipso Alfonso fundatae et de modo religiosae vitae sociorum instituendae pressius definiendis. Haec nostra sententia roboratur opinione tabularii generalis praepositi Friderici Kuntz, qui circiter an. 1890 copiae manuscripti addidit notam id esse scriptum probabiliter an. 1733.

Vulgationis breviorum Alfonsi tractatum ineditorum continuationem in animo habemus, ita ut omnia scripta Sancti an. 1987, i.e. in biscentenaria commemoratione eius gloriosi transitus facilis sint accessus.

INTRODUCTION

Among the unpublished texts of Saint Alphonsus, kept in the general archives of the Redemptorists in Rome (hereinafter: AGR), there is one that has noted on the back (p. 4) by Alphonsus himself as the topic treated: « Povertà », to which an unknown hand¹ later added the following specification: « Se sia lecito possedere in comune, e se di poca perfezione »².

The manuscript consists of one single large sheet of watermarked paper, which being folded in the middle results in four pages of 27.5 x 19.5 cm. The first two pages are fully covered with writing (25 x 15.5 cm), page 3 is covered nearly half, page 4 is blank except for the above mentioned note of the argument of the treatise.

The text is written entirely by Alphonsus and has only one minor correction made by himself. It is certainly a very neatly written fair copy, not a draft or a first outline. From all we know about Alphonsus' way of composing his papers, it is clear that fair copies were made for reading by others, not for mere personal use, to fix his thoughts for himself as a memo, eventually to be elaborated or used in a later stage. There is no indication whatsoever that he ever intended printing this text, neither on the manuscript itself, nor among the many data in our possession about his activity as an author.

The paper teems with abbreviations which are, as a rule, easily understandable at least for those who are somewhat familiar with the Saint's handwriting³. To make the text more readable, in the edition given below the abbreviated words are written out in full. This and a slight modernization of the punctuation are the only changes introduced in editing the text. The antiquated spelling of several words has been retained⁴.

The only problem we met with was to ascertain the time, when the tract was composed. No date given in the manuscript, we had to proceed on internal criteria: at what time, on which occasion in his long

¹ The writer of this note could not be identified. The writing seems to be of the eighteenth century. Perhaps the note was added when Alphonsus' manuscripts were listed in view of the examination they had to be submitted to in the process of his beatification. The decree that his writings in print and in manuscript contain nothing deserving of censure (*nihil censura dignum*) is dated Rome, May 18, 1803. In the printed decree is given a list of the printed works, not of the manuscripts. In AGR XXXIII 20 is kept a manuscript list of all the submitted works and documents. The tract on poverty is mentioned on p. 176, n. 84.

² The document is kept in AGR, SAM (Sancti Alfonsi Manuscripta), vol. III, pp. 429-432.

³ The abbreviations are mostly those of common use at the time. Somewhat typical Alphonsian are the following: Giesuc^o, Giesuch^o = Giesuchristo (Alphonsus changed this spelling before 1750); Alap = A Lapide; Cal = Cornelio a Lapide.

⁴ For instance: à = ha, all'ora = allora, anco = anche, anno = hanno, aveva = aveva, Christo (with an *h*), co'l = con il, commune and comunità (with two *m*), dovea = doveva, dubio (with one *b*), eglino = essi, esercitij = esercizi, l'Apostoli = gli Apostoli, li quali = i quali, lo tempo = il tempo, ò = ho, perfezione (with two *z*), provvedere (with one *v*), socera = suocera, volea = voleva.

life Alphonsus — and others with him — can have been particularly interested in the at first sight rather trifling question, whether for a religious society it is against perfection to possess goods in common.

Sr. Mary Celeste Crostarosa, as she contends in her autobiography, on October 3, 1731, had a vision of Our Lord accompanied by Saint Francis of Assisi. The next day — feast of St. Francis — by divine inspiration she saw that the way of life in the new missionary institute, of which Alphonsus had to be the superior, was to be formed according to the newly adopted rule in the nuns' convent at Scala, « but that the members should live in apostolic poverty », just as St. Francis, i.e. from alms⁵.

In Alphonsus' oldest autograph notes made in view of the elaboration of the rules for his Congregation⁶ the idea of Franciscan apostolic poverty has been adopted: « never possession of capitals, nor fixed income; but money or yearly alms like the Franciscans »⁷. It seems, however, that Alphonsus soon realized that such an idealistic conception of complete poverty did not constitute a sound base for his institute. So he dropped the idea, if he ever had made it his own⁸.

We are of opinion that the tract in question originated in this context: Alphonsus wanted to point out that Franciscan poverty is not the only form of apostolic poverty, but rather an exceptional one, and that possession in common is by no means contrary to religious perfection. This means that the treatise has to be dated as from 1732-1733, when the question of the nature and the way of life of the new institute was under discussion⁹.

⁵ Sr. Crostarosa's autobiography has never been published, but some extracts have appeared in print. See S. MAJORANO, *L'imitazione per la memoria del Salvatore. Il messaggio spirituale di Suor Maria Celeste Crostarosa, 1696-1755* (Bibliotheca Historica CSSR VII), Roma 1978, 34-35. The narrative about the vision of Our Lord accompanied by Saint Francis and the divine inspiration on the way of life to be followed in the new institute is found in the autobiography, book II, chapter 2, entitled: « Come il Signore rivelò alla consaputa religiosa che egli volea si fondasse la Congregazione degli uomini dell'istessa regola ». This chapter is published with a Latin translation in *Analecta CSSR* 5 (1926) 41-43.

The Italian original runs as follows: « Gli esercitij giornali e spirituali erano i medesimi notati nelle regole già scritte [per le monache]; così il vestire similmente. In tutto come era prescritto nelle consapute regole. Ma che i congregati tutti dovessero vivere in povertà apostolica, siccome quel amato suo servo [di] che quel giorno si celebrava la festa ».

⁶ These notes are edited in *Spic. hist.* 16 (1968) 436-438.

⁷ *Art. cit.* 438: « Mai capitali, né rendite. Ma denari o limosine annuali come i francescani ». See also for the question about Franciscan poverty M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Origines de la Congrégation du Très Saint Rédempteur*, vol. I, Louvain 1953, 37-38.

⁸ Alphonsus' attitude on Franciscan poverty has also to be considered in the more general frame of the founding of a religious Order with solemn vows, which he seems to have discarded from the very beginning.

⁹ In the so-called *Acta Doctoratus* of Saint Alphonsus, Romae 1870, *Summarium* 81-90 is given a list of Alphonsus' dogmatic, moral and ascetical works. In the chronologically arranged list of moral works the treatise about poverty is listed (p. 83) under the year 1760. No reason is given for inserting the tract exactly here.

Besides the Alphonsian autograph of the tract, there are in the AGR two nineteenth century copies of it. One, written by an unknown hand, has the *imprimatur*, dated July 11, 1842, of the Magister Sacri Palatii Apostolici, Fr. Domenico Buttaoni OP¹⁰. It is bound together with copies of other unpublished treatises and letters of Alphonsus¹¹, which somebody in agreement with Fr. Giuseppe Mautone CSSR intended to publish¹².

The other copy is made by Fr. Edward Douglas CSSR, probably at the request of Fr. Friedrich Kuntz CSSR, who seems to have been thinking about publishing this and other shorter Alphonsian texts, presumably at the time when he attended to the edition of Alphonsus' letters, which appeared in the years 1887-1890¹³. Kuntz added a title to the manuscript: « Dissertazione sulla povertà », and a footnote in which he dates the text in the year 1733¹⁴. But he does not give the reason for this dating. Anyhow, there is agreement between Kuntz's opinion on the date of the composition of the text and ours.

— The *Acta Doctoratus* is a collection of documents and studies published in view of having Alphonsus declared Doctor of the Church. About this work see *Spic. hist.* 8 (1960) 154 and 19 (1971) 25.

The tract on poverty is mentioned in M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Bibliographie générale des écrivains rédemptoristes*, vol. I, La Haye-Louvain 1933, 181 in the list of Saint Alphonsus' unpublished works. Here no date of composition is given.

¹⁰ Fr. Buttaoni was Magister S.P.A. during the years 1832-1859. I. TAURISANO, *Hierarchia Ordinis Praedicatorum*², Romae 1916, 62, n. 80.

¹¹ AGR, SAM III^a 369-372. On the last page somebody added a note in which he erroneously remarked that the text is incomplete.

¹² In the beginning of the volume is written the title: « Scritti finora inediti del S. Vescovo Alfonso de' Liguori » (p. 1), and a presentation of the work: « L'editore a chi legge » (pp. 2-3). Every treatise has some note of Fr. Buttaoni to whose judgment everything to be printed in Rome had previously to be submitted. Buttaoni's notes vary from « imprimatur » with date (July-August 1842) to « scritto informe » (occurs often), « incompleto », « testi staccati », « appunti incompleti » and some longer critical remarks. The work was not published.

¹³ A short time ago we found this manuscript together with copies of other Alphonsian tracts among the papers left by Fr. Kuntz when he died (8 VIII 1905). AGR, Personalia, Kuntz.

¹⁴ In the footnote Kuntz corrected the date from « circa l'anno 1738 » into « l'anno 1733 ».

DOCUMENT

G. G. M. T.¹

In S. Matteo a c. 10 il Signore diede precetto agli Apostoli, mandando loro a missionare: « Nolite possidere neque aurum, neque argentum, neque pecuniam cet., neque sacculum, neque peram, neque panem, neque calciamenta, neque virgam »² cet.

In quanto a questo precetto risponde per 1^a Ludolphus Sax.³, *Vita Christi*, c. 51, p. 237, l. 7⁴, e dice così: « Liberat eos ab omni sollicitudine, dicens: "Nihil tuleritis in via, neque aurum" » cet.⁵, et p. 238 in fine⁶: « Et quia quodammodo nudos miserat, severitatem praecepti temperavit, dicens: "Dignus est operarius cibo suo" »⁷. Id est: provideatur necessarijs ad vitam, quasi dicens: tantum accipite quantum in victu et vestitu vobis necessarium est, iuxta Apostolum: "Habentes victum et vestitum, his contenti simus" »⁸.

« Ecce quare praecepit [eis] nihil ferre, quia omnia debentur eis pro labore; de iure enim naturali est, ut illis qui serviunt communitati a communitate provideatur. Non ergo prohibuit eis ferre necessaria ad sustentationem, sed ut demonstraret haec eis deberi ab illis quibus praedicarent. Nec omnino enim praecepit eis illa, sed magis

¹ Giesù, Giuseppe, Maria, Teresa. Invocation-dedication usually written by Alphonsus at the top of his manuscripts, often repeated at the end, sometimes at the top of every page. The form of the invocation varies: G. M. e G. = Giesù (Gesù), Maria e Giuseppe; sometimes the holy names are preceded by a V = Viva.

² Mt X 9-10.

³ Ludolphus a (de) Saxonia (c. 1300-1378), first Dominican, later Carthusian. His book *Vita Christi* (editio princeps c. 1470) was widely read in the Latin original and in translations from the fourteenth through the eighteenth century.

⁴ Alphonsus quotes the work indicating the pages and once even the line, a thing he hardly ever does. From this it is quite clear that he had an edition in hand. Which one we could not identify. Ludolphus has therefore to be considered as a direct source of Alphonsus, at least in this case. He is not listed among Alphonsus' direct sources in G. CACCIATORE, *Le fonti e i modi di documentazione*, in *Introduzione generale [alle] Opere ascetiche di S. Alfonso M. de Liguori*, Roma 1960, 181-237: Distribuzione delle fonti dirette.

⁵ Ludolphus de Saxonia, *Vita Jesu Christi*, Parisiis-Romae (Vict. Palmé) 1865, 223, col. 2: « Deinde ab omni eos liberat sollicitudine [...] dicens: Nihil tuleritis in via » cet.

⁶ *Ibid.* 224, col. 1: « Et quia quodammodo nudos et expeditos ad praedicandum discipulos Dominus miserat, severitatem praecepti in sequenti sententia temperavit, dicens » cet.

⁷ Mt X 10.

⁸ 1 Tim VI 8. Wording a little different.

ad revocandum eorum affectum ab amore temporalium, ut non quaerent superflua, sed eis sufficerent necessaria »⁹.

Per 2° si risponde esser chiaro che quello fu precetto particolare per quella sola missione a' Giudei, acciocché co'l disprezzo de' beni terreni persuadessero loro essere eglino Apostoli del vero Messia. E costa dall'istesso Evangelo versetto 5¹⁰: « In viam gentium ne abieritis » cet., e perciò dice Alapide¹¹ che poi in S. Luca 23, 35¹², parlando di questa missione, ricordò loro Giesuchristo: « Quando misi vos sine sacculo et pera cet., numquid aliquid vobis defuit »? E poi¹³ li disse che avessero preso sacculo, pera e gladio, intendendo per lo tempo dopo la sua morte, come S. Crisostomo, S. Ambrogio ecc. appresso Alapide¹⁴, con S. Tommaso 1-2, q. 108, a. 2, ad 3¹⁵, dove dice espressamente che con questo passo di S. Luca tolse li precetti particolari dati agli Apostoli, quando li mandò a predicare a' Giudei. E ciò così dovea essere, dice Alapide, che andando li Apostoli alle Genti, per all'ora nemiche, che l'avrebbero al principio discacciati, era necessario che andassero provveduti¹⁶.

Circa poi il possesso de' beni temporali, dice l'Alapide¹⁷ che se Giesuchristo non ebbe dominio in particolare, l'ebbe in commune co'l

⁹ Ludolphus de Saxonia, *op. cit.* 224, col. 1: « Ecce quare praecepit eis nihil ferre » cet.

¹⁰ Mt X 5.

¹¹ Cornelius a Lapide (Cornelis Cornelisz van den Steen; 1567-1637), *Commentaria in Scripturam Sacram*, accurate recognovit ac notis illustravit Augustinus Crampon, tomus XVI, complectens expositionem in SS. Lucam et Joannem, Parisiis (Lud. Vivès) 1860, 264, col. 1.

¹² *Recte* 22, 35.

¹³ Lk 22, 36.

¹⁴ Cornelius a Lapide, *op. cit.* XVI 264, col. 1, quotes S. Chrysostom and S. Ambrose but also some recent authors such as Jansenius and Maldonatus, not mentioned by Alphonsus.

¹⁵ This place of the *Summa Theologica* is not quoted by Cornelius a Lapide.

¹⁶ Cornelius a Lapide, *op. cit.* XVI 264, col. 1. [Dixit Dominus]: « At iam mihi et vobis tanta instat persecutio, tantum vitae periculum, ut secundum humanam prudentiam videatur necessarium sibi et suae vitae consulere, ac per sacculum et peram de annonae, per gladium de tuenda vita cuique prospicere, ideoque vendere tunicam, ut gladium compararet quo vitam tueatur ».

¹⁷ Cornelius a Lapide, *op. cit.* XVI 505, col. 2 (comment on Jn XII 6): « Recte colligunt Jansenius et alii, Christum cum suo Apostolorum collegio habentem loculos, ipso facto suoque exemplo ostendisse Ecclesiam licite habere loculos et opes, nec derogare perfectioni, habere commune marsupium pro sumptu opportuno et moderato ».

Ibid. 356, col. 1 (comment on Jn IV 8): « Hic etiam nota, Christum tunc non mendicato vixisse sed pretio quod sibi a Magdalena aliisque feminis oblatum, ipse non ut proprium sed ut commune cum Apostolis possidebat ».

collegio degli Apostoli, come dicesi in S. Gio. 12, 6 di Giuda: « Loculos habens », e c. 4, 8 andando in città, « ut cibos emerent ».

« Igitur — conclude Alapide¹⁸ detto c. 12 [di] S. Gio. — ex hoc exemplo Christi sequitur perfectioni nihil derogare, habere bona in communi uti habent Ordines religiosi, uti definit Jo. 22, Extr., Ad conditorem, t. 14, c. 3 »¹⁹.

O' trovato²⁰ di più che detto Gio. 22 nel c. seg. 4 dichiarò eretico chi dicesse: « Redemptorem et Apostolos non habuisse aliquid in speciali nec in communi, cum contradicat Scripturae Sacrae, quae in plerisque locis ipsos nonnulla habuisse *asserit* »²¹.

Sulla quale parola *asserit* la glossa²² viene a distinguere in quali luoghi la Scrittura dice che Giesuchristo e l'Apostoli possedevano beni. E dice così la glossa: « Assertio ista reperitur [in] Matt. c. 2, ubi Magi obtulerunt Christo aurum cet²³. Item reperitur Petrum domum habuisse, Matt. c. 8 (n. 14). Item in Evangelio Matt. legitur c. 9²⁴, quod Matthaeus domum habebat in qua cum Christo multi discumbebant »²⁵. E questa è l'opinione che asserisce il P. Suarez appresso Calin.²⁶ super l'Evangelo l. 6, c. 12²⁷ in fine²⁸, esser senten-

¹⁸ Cornelius a Lapide, *op. cit.* XVI 506, col. 1: « Igitur ex hoc Christi exemplo sequitur perfectioni nihil derogare, habere bona in communi, ut habent passim Ordines religiosi, uti definit Joannes XXII, Extravag., *Ad conditorem* ».

¹⁹ *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, Pars II, *Decretalium collectiones*, ed. Lipsiensis 2a, [quam] instruxit Aemilius Friedberg, Lipsiae (B. Tauchnitz) 1881, 1201-1236, *Extravagantes* Ioannis Papae XXII, coll. 1220-1236: Tit. XIV. De verborum significatione, coll. 1225-1229: Cap. III. « *Ad conditorem* ». This chapter is quoted by Cornelius a Lapide, *op. cit.* XVI 506, col. 1.

²⁰ Chapter 4 « *Cum inter nonnullos* » is not quoted by Cornelius a Lapide, *loc. cit.*

²¹ *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. cit., II 1229-1230. The text is also found in Denzinger-Schönmetzer nn. 930-931. The word *asserit* is underlined by Alphonsus.

²² La glossa, that is the commentary which in old copies of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici* is printed around the text.

²³ Mt II 11.

²⁴ Mt IX 10.

²⁵ *Extravagantes* tum viginti D. Ioannis Papae XXII tum communes suae integritati una cum glossis restituae, Venetiis (apud Iuntas) 1595, 102. The comment at the word *asserit* is very long. Alphonsus gives only the beginning of it in a condensed form.

²⁶ *Calin.* must be a slip of the pen for *Cal.*, which abbreviation occurs several times later on in the manuscript. Fr. Douglas took *Calin.* in his transcription for Calmet (Augustin; the famous French commentator of Holy Scripture). But the places referred to are not found in Calmet's commentaries on the gospels of St. Matthew and St. John.

²⁷ Jn XII 6.

²⁸ Cornelius a Lapide, *op. cit.* XVI 506, col. 2 quotes the Spanish Jesuit Francisco Suarez.

za probabile e sana, ciò è che S. Pietro anco dopo il voto di povertà possedesse la sua casa nominata in S. Matt. detto c. 8 e in S. M. c. 1, quando vi entrò Giesuchristo a sanargli la socera²⁹. Come anche si sa, dice Cal., che prima e dopo la risurrezione di Giesuchristo l'Apostoli si valsero delle loro barche, contuttocché avessero detto: « Ecce nos reliquimus omnia »³⁰. Consistendo, dice Cal., la perfezione della loro povertà con avere affatto abbandonato tutti i loro beni coll'affetto. — Che che sia però di questo.

S. Tommaso 2-2, q. 188, a. 7 propone questo dubio: « Utrum habere aliquid in communi diminuat perfectionem Religionis? », e risponde che no con S. Prospero³¹, il quale dice: « Satis ostenditur, et propria debere propter perfectionem contemni et sine impedimento perfectionis posse facultates communes possideri ».

E poi discorre così S. Tommaso che la perfezione non consiste nella povertà, ma nell'imitazione di Giesuchristo, mentre la povertà altro non è che un mezzo per la perfezione, perché libera l'uomo dalla sollecitudine.

Ma quando si possiedono facultà per quanto bastino al vitto, benché tal possesso porti qualche sollecitudine, nulladimeno dice il Santo che tale sollecitudine — perché non molto impedisce — non ripugna alla perfezione della vita cristiana: « Non enim omnis sollicitudo a Domino interdicitur, sed superflua et nociva. Unde dicit Augustinus in S. Matt. c. 6³², " Ne solliciti sitis ": " Non hoc dicit ut ista non procurentur, quantum necessitatis est, sed ut non ista intueantur et propter ista faciant quod in Evangelij praedicatione facere iubentur " ³³ ».

Oltrecché poi, soggiunge S. Tommaso, altra è la sollecitudine circa i beni particolari, altra circa i beni comuni: « Nam quae circa proprias divitias adhibetur, pertinet ad amorem privatum quo quis se temporaliter amat. Sed sollicitudo quae adhibetur circa res communes pertinet ad amorem charitatis, quae non quaerit quae sua sunt, sed communibus intendit. Et quia Religio ad perfectionem charitatis ordinatur, quam perficit amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui, habere

²⁹ Mt VIII 14-15 and Mk I 29-31.

³⁰ Mt XIX 27. Cornelius a Lapide, *op. cit.* XV 432, col. 2.

³¹ Iulianus Pomerius (ps. Prosper), *De vita contemplativa*, lib. II, cap. 9. PL (Migne) 59 (1847) 453.

³² Mt VI 25.

³³ Aurelius Augustinus, *De opere monachorum*, cap. 26. PL 40 (1845) 573; CSEL 41 (1900) 581, 7-10.

aliquid *proprium*³⁴ repugnat perfectioni, sed sollicitudo circa bona communia pertinere potest ad charitatem ».

« Ex quo patet, conclude il Santo, quod habere superabundantes divitias est impedimentum perfectionis, licet totaliter non excludat eam; habere autem de rebus exterioribus, sive mobilibus sive immobilibus, quantum sufficit ad simplicem victum, perfectionem Religionis non impedit ».

Così parla il Santo generalmente per tutte le Religioni. Parlando poi per le Religioni particolari, quale povertà loro convenga, dice così: « Si paupertas consideretur ad speciales fines Religiosorum, tanto erat³⁵ perfectior Religio quanto habet paupertatem magis proportionatam suo fini ».

E parlando per quelle Religioni a cui si conviene la maggior povertà, come sono le Religioni istituite a bene dell'anime, dice: « Talem Religionem decet paupertas talis quae minimam sollicitudinem ingerat. Manifestum est autem quod minimam sollicitudinem ingerit conservare res usui hominum necessarias tempore congruo procuratas »³⁶. Nota ' tempore congruo procuratas '. E soggiungendo il passo di S. Giovanni: « ut cibos emerent », conchiude: « Ex quo patet quod conservare pecuniam et *quascunque alias res communes*³⁷ ad sustentationem est conforme perfectioni quam Christus docuit suo exemplo ». Nota ' quascunque alias res '. Il che si riferisce a ciò che disse di sopra: ' de rebus sive mobilibus sive immobilibus '. Et nota ' perfectioni quam Christus docuit '.

E perciò, dice Alapide³⁸, ciò è per l'esempio di Giesuchristo e perché non ripugna alla perfezione il possedere in comune: « Veteres fundatores (li quali certamente non anno avuto avanti gli occhi per giungere ad una [vita] perfetta che l'esemplare della vita di Giesuchristo) sanxerunt ut Religiosi possideant bona in communi, ut sine cura vacarent orationi, studio, praedicationi, ut [patet] ex constitutionibus S. Basilii, Augustini, Bernardi, Dominici cet ». E perciò dice Alapide³⁹, eccetto la Religione Francescana che à per scopo la somma

³⁴ The word *proprium* is underlined by Alphonsus.

³⁵ *Recte*: erit, as in St. Thomas' text.

³⁶ This quote from St. Thomas is also found in Cornelius a Lapide, *op. cit.* XVI 506, col. 1.

³⁷ These words are underlined by Alphonsus.

³⁸ Cornelius a Lapide, *op. cit.* XVI 506, col. 1.

³⁹ Cornelius a Lapide, *op. cit.* XVI 506, col. 2: « At vero aliae Religiones alios habent fines pios et sanctos, ad quos convenientius est habere bona in communi, quare hoc in iis congruentius et perfectius est ».

povertà, all'altre Religioni per detti fini « convenientius et perfectius est habere bona in communi ». Così, dice ⁴⁰, che i solitarij attendono meglio alla solitudine, e quelli che attendono alla predicazione « austeritatem cum charitate in proximum compensant ».

Aggiungo che S. Gaetano ⁴¹, che è stato l'unico istitutore della regola di vivere di provvidenza, non solo ebbe avanti gli occhi l'imitazione della vita di Giesuchristo, quanto la glorificazione dell'attributo divino della Provvidenza, secondo apparisce dall'Evangelo che ci propone la Chiesa nel giorno della sua festa ⁴². E con ciò ebbe ancora fine il Santo di abbattere la bestemmia di Lutero che negava la Provvidenza ⁴³; e perciò nella chiesa di S. Maria della Vittoria a Chiaia ⁴⁴ sopra la porta picciola sta dipinto S. Gaetano, e sotto Lutero che dice: Non est Priondientia Dei.

Viva Giesù e Maria

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* « Qui vero praedicationi et missionibus ad infedele vacat, inter homines versentur et magnis viribus sint oportet, ut magnos instituti sui labores sustinere valeant, quare austeritatem vitae charitate in proximum compensant ».

⁴¹ St. Cajetan (Gaetano da Thiene; 1480-1547), founder of the Order of the Theatines (Rome 1524). « Dalla devozione dei fedeli egli è invocato quale 'Santo della provvidenza' »; *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione IV* (1977) 1013.

⁴² The feast of St. Cajetan is celebrated on the 7th of August, the day of his death. The gospel in the proper Mass is Matthew VI 24-33. The Roman martyrology mentions on August 7 St. Cajetan as the one who « singulari in Deum fiducia, pristinam apostolicam vivendi formam suis colendam tradidit ».

⁴³ It is difficult to understand this assertion correctly and to determine its source: anyhow, so much is certain that Luther did not deny Divine Providence. In his work *Trionfo della Chiesa ossia Istoria delle eresie colle loro confutazioni*, Naples 1772 — also several later editions and translations in various languages — Alphonsus has a long chapter on Luther (history, doctrine, refutation) in which the alleged 'denial of Divine Providence' is not mentioned.

⁴⁴ This church was built in the seventeenth century in Naples to commemorate the victory of Lepanto (1571). St. Cajetan labored in Naples for about ten years and is buried there in the basilica of S. Paolo Maggiore, next to the monastery of the Theatines.

STUDIA

GIUSEPPE ORLANDI

LA DIFFUSIONE DEL PENSIERO DI S. ALFONSO IN INDIA

Il contributo del p. Giuseppe Maffei CM (1739-1815)

Summary

On February 17, 1782 there disembarked at Goa, an Italian Vincentian, Fr. Giuseppe Maffei (1739-1815). He had previously been a Redemptorist (1757-1767) and having known personally the Most Zealous Doctor, he pioneered the spread of St Alphonsus' thought in far away places. In grateful remembrance of Fr. Maffei, the following pages are offered in tribute on the occasion of the second centenary of his arrival in India.

1. - *Testimonianza del can. P. A. Dias da Conceição*

Il primo Redentorista giunse in India soltanto verso la metà del sec. XIX. Si trattava del p. Francisco de Menezes (1806-1863), che sbarcò a Bombay il 13 maggio 1843¹. Quel giorno si realizzava un sogno che S. Alfonso aveva invano vagheggiato durante tutta la

Abbreviazioni e sigle usate:

- ACMPN = Archivio della Congregazione della Missione, Provincia Napoletana, Napoli
ACMPR = Archivio della Congregazione della Missione, Provincia Romana, Roma
AGR = Archivio Generale dei Redentoristi, Roma
APF = Archivio della S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide (ora della Evangelizzazione dei Popoli)
ASV, SS, P = Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Portogallo
Spic. Hist. = *Spicilegium Historicum Congregationis SS. Redemptoris*

L'a. ringrazia vivamente dell'aiuto prestatogli i PP. Lazzaristi Raymond Châlumeau, Giacomo Conte, Giuseppe Guerra e Luigi Vagaggini.

¹ A. SAMPERS, *Father Francisco de Menezes the first Asian Redemptorist, 1830-1863*, in *Spic. Hist.*, 23 (1975) 200-220.

vita: quello di vedere i suoi figli impegnati nelle missioni d'Oriente².

Il p. Menezes dovette provare una sensazione di grande gioia, mista a stupore, allorché constatò di essere stato preceduto — in quelle che allora erano chiamate le Indie Orientali — dalla fama di santità e dalla diffusione della dottrina del Santo Fondatore della sua Congregazione. Il 20 gennaio 1847 scriveva da Galle (nell'attuale Sri Lanka) al superiore generale dei Redentoristi: « la Morale del nostro S. Fondatore è osservata nel ministero apostolico da tutti i missionari venuti dalla S. Propaganda, ed il popolo l'ama in pratica »³. Di S. Alfonso e delle sue opere si parla anche nella biografia del fondatore dei Carmelitani di Maria Immacolata, il sacerdote indiano Ciriaco Elia Chavara (1805-1871)⁴.

Chi era l'ignoto pioniere che aveva fatto conoscere S. Alfonso, la sua spiritualità e i suoi scritti in quelle terre lontane? Tale domanda sembrava destinata a restare senza risposta, allorché ci imbattiamo — nel corso di una ricerca presso l'Archivio di Propaganda Fide su tutt'altro argomento — in un documento che forniva una luce inaspettata.

Si trattava di una lettera del 5 giugno 1843, con la quale il canonico Paulo Antonio Dias da Conceição — che negli anni 1835-1836 era stato vicario capitolare di Goa, ed aveva avuto un ruolo importante nelle tempestose vicende attraversate dall'archidiocesi in quegli anni⁵ — trasmetteva alcune informazioni al p. Menezes, che egli riteneva ancora a Roma. Il Dias concludeva così il suo scritto:

² R. TELLERIA, *San Alfonso Maria de Liguorio*, I, Madrid 1950, 128-130, 238, 320, 447, 479, 617-620.

³ SAMPERS, *art. cit.*, 216. Scorrendo le carte dell'APF, non è infrequente imbattersi in documenti relativi all'invio di opere di S. Alfonso nelle missioni. Nel 1844, ad esempio, Propaganda Fide spedì 200 copie delle *Massime eterne* in lingua araba: 100 al patriarca caldeo; 25 al p. Carlo da Loreto, missionario in Siria; e 75 a missionari della Mesopotamia. APF, Missioni, vol. 20 (1844-1846) f. 426. Il 4 XI 1847 d. Celestino Willim, missionario apostolico a Vienna, chiedeva alla S. Congregazione una copia del compendio di teologia morale del Busembaum, e « Historiam et Confutationem Haeresiarum S.ti Alphonsi ». APF, Missioni, vol. 22 (1847-1849) f. 345. A Propaganda capitava anche di ricevere in dono copie di opere di S. Alfonso. Il 17 III 1845 il console pontificio a Venezia informava il cardinal prefetto che — per disposizione del suo defunto padre — gli aveva inviato « copie trecento *Massime Eterne*, perché ne disponga come meglio crede ». APF, Missioni, vol. 20, f. 536.

⁴ *Changarracherren. seu Verapolitana Beatificationis et Canonizationis Servi Dei Ciriaci Eliae Chavara Sacerdotis Confundatoris Congregationis Fratrum Carmelitarum Mariae Immaculatae († 1871). Positio super introductione Causae et super virtutibus ex officio concinnata* (Sacra Congregatio pro Causis Sanctorum, Officium Historicum, 57), Città del Vaticano 1977, pp. 130, 336, 499.

⁵ J. METZLER, *Die Missionen der Kongregation in Indien mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Patronatsfrage*, in AA.VV., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum*, III/1, Rom-Freiburg-Wien 1975, 389.

« He grande o meu contentamento ter nessa Sancta Cidade hum meu Patrício, qual V. R.ma, professando a vida religiosa na Congregação do Sanctíssimo Redemptor, instituida por Senhor D. Affonço Ligorio, cujo conhecimento, ha annos tive pellos R.mos Senhores Padres Italianos da Congregação de S. Vicente de Paullo, meus digníssimos Mestres, e em particular pello R.mo Padre Mestre José Mafei, que entrou primeiro na ditta Congregação do Redemptor, e depois passou, não sei por que motivo, para a ditta de S. Vicente de Paullo. Todos elles perfeitamente o conhecerão de vista esse Sancto Instituidor já hoje canonizado come me segurão »⁶. Dove era stato discepolo dei Lazaristi il Dias, in Europa od in India? E chi aveva avuto per maestro, oltre al Maffei? Alla prima domanda, e in parte anche alla seconda, risponde il nostro canonico stesso, nella lettera scritta al cardinal prefetto di Propaganda Fide il 19 febbraio 1845: « Hoc unum dicere mihi liceat, quam in juventute mea didici ab Italis, doctissimis Magistris meis, Congregationis Missionis, a S. Vincentio a Paulo institutae, Praesbiteris, qui per decem annos hic [= a Goa] extiterunt, quorum Superior fuit R. Romualdus Ansaloni⁷, S. P. ac E. V. bene notus, credant ergo, quod in hac senectute mea non aliam doctrinam a Cathedra Petri alienam profitebor »⁸. Le parole del Dias hanno naturalmente fatto nascere in noi il desiderio di saperne di più sui missionari menzionati, e specialmente sul p. Maffei e sulle vicende della sua vita. Quelli che ci apprestiamo ad esporre sono appunto i risultati della nostra ricerca.

2. - Il p. Giuseppe Maffei

Nato il 12 febbraio 1739 a Torrecuso, nell'archidiocesi di Benevento, Giuseppe Maffei venne accolto tra i Redentoristi il 1° mag-

⁶ APF, Missioni, vol. 20 (1841-1843) f. 659'.

⁷ Nato a Nonantola il 9 I 1743, Romualdo Ansaloni venne accolto tra i Lazaristi di Roma il 6 VII 1761, e fece la professione il 19 VII 1763. Fu superiore della casa di Montecitorio in Roma, e visitatore della provincia romana. Morì a Roma il 13 V 1814. *Catalogue du personnel de la Congrégation de la Mission (Lazaristes) depuis l'origine (1625) jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle (Notices sur les Prêtres, Clercs et Frères défunts de la Congrégation de la Mission. Première série: depuis la fondation de la Congrégation jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, t. V, fasc. II)*, Paris 1911, 209, 447; [P. SILVA], *Cenni storici su la Congregazione della Missione in Italia (1642-1925)*, Piacenza 1925, 24, 27, 248, 332, 338, 395, 397. Romualdo era fratello del p. Giovanni Carlo (cfr. § 3, nota 8; § 5, nota 14), e probabilmente anche di d. Andrea Placido Ansaloni (1719-1791), vicario generale di Nonantola e collaboratore di Girolamo Tiraboschi. Cfr. A. PETRUCCI, A.P.A., in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, III, Roma 1961, 371-372.

⁸ APF, Scritture Riferite nei Congressi, Indie Orientali, vol. 10 (anno 1845) f. 66'.

gio 1757, e lasciò la Congregazione nel luglio del 1767¹. Quello che alcune fonti lazzariste tendono a minimizzare — definendolo un periodo di appena « qualche anno »² — in realtà era durato un intero decennio, nel corso del quale il Maffei aveva compiuto la sua preparazione spirituale e culturale al sacerdozio. Anche se ignoriamo quando venne ammesso agli ordini sacri, al momento dell'uscita dall'Istituto redentorista era certamente già sacerdote, dato che il 7 luglio 1767 S. Alfonso dichiarava di concedere la dispensa dei voti « al P. Maffei »³.

Nel catalogo generale della Congregazione del SS. Redentore le tappe principali della vita del Maffei sono così registrate: « Nello stesso anno, mese e giorno [= 1756, maggio, 1°] fu anche accettato in Noviziato D. Giuseppe Maffei della Terra di Terracusa nell'Archidiocesi di Benevento avendo di età anni 17, mesi 2, e giorni 19. Fece l'oblazione come sopra [= « in mano del P. Cimini », cfr. f. 17'], in Nocera a' 25 marzo 1757, e dopo essere stato nel secolo per qualche tempo lungo fu ricevuto tra li PP. della Missione di S. Vincenzo de Paola, e poi fu mandato in Goa »⁴.

Ignoriamo i motivi che indussero il Maffei a lasciare i Redentoristi, ma dovettero apparire plausibili ai superiori, dal momento che non risulta che S. Alfonso — contrariamente al solito — abbia cercato di distogliere il giovane confratello dal grave passo. E neppure sappiamo quali impieghi il Maffei abbia avuto in seguito. Ci risulta invece che il 4 novembre 1776 venne ammesso nel noviziato romano dei Lazzaristi, e che il 5 novembre 1778 emise la professione religiosa⁵. Dopo un breve soggiorno nella casa di Tivoli fu richiamato a Roma, ed assegnato in qualità di predicatore alla casa di Mon-

¹ F. MINERVINO, *Catalogo dei Redentoristi d'Italia (1732-1841) e dei Redentoristi delle Provincie Meridionali d'Italia (1841-1869)*, (Bibliotheca Historica CSSR, 8), Roma 1978, 106. Circa la data di nascita di Maffei, le fonti redentoriste discordano da quelle lazzariste, che tendono a ringiovanirlo di vari mesi o addirittura di anni. Abbiamo preferito la data proposta dalle prime, partendo dal presupposto che all'inizio della sua prima esperienza di vita religiosa, e soprattutto in occasione dell'ammissione agli ordini, Maffei abbia dovuto esibire la fede di battesimo. Il che probabilmente non avvenne al momento dell'ingresso tra i Lazzaristi. Che allora egli cercasse di sfozzire i suoi anni, poteva dipendere semplicemente dal desiderio di superare l'ostacolo costituito dalla sua non più verde età.

² Cfr. ACMPR, 14, 3, 24, parte II, p. 2; *Notices bibliographiques sur les écrivains-de la Congrégation de la Mission*, Première série, Angoulême 1878, 174.

³ Il 7 VII 1767 S. Alfonso scriveva da Sant'Agata dei Goti al p. Andrea Vilani: « Ho detto a voce al P. Giovenale, che accordo la dispensa de' voti al P. Maffei, e lo stesso dico a V. Riverenza ». S. ALFONSO, *Lettere*, II, Roma 1887, 25.

⁴ AGR, *Catalogo I*, f. 18.

⁵ *Catalogue cit.*, 400.

tecitorio⁶. Vi rimase fino al 1780, cioè fino a quando venne incluso nella lista dei Lazzaristi — otto sacerdoti e un fratello italiani, oltre a un fratello olandese — destinati a sostituire i Gesuiti di Goa.

⁶ ACMPR, 14, 3, 24, parte II, p. 2. Sulla spiritualità dei Lazzaristi napoletani al tempo di Maffei, cfr. C. DI GIUSEPPE, *La tradizione spirituale vincenziana a Napoli, 1668-1768*, in *Annali della Missione*, 87 (1980) 395-428.

3. - Partenza per l'India

La soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù aveva causato danni gravissimi alle missioni. I primi a risentirne erano stati i territori portoghesi d'Oltremare, dove nel 1759 operavano 909 Gesuiti, cioè più della metà di quelli che componevano l'Assistenza di Portogallo¹. Per quelle missioni, l'espulsione improvvisa di centinaia di Gesuiti costituì un colpo mortale². Per quanto si riferisce in particolare alle missioni dell'India portoghese — « che nel 1759 potevano venire considerate tra le più fiorenti del mondo »³ — esse furono in gran parte distrutte dopo che il governo portoghese « nel 1760, dei 227 missionari gesuiti ne fece stipare 123, con sette compagni dell'Africa Orientale, nel terzo piano del collegio gesuitico di Goa e di lì trasportare in Portogallo, ove giunsero vivi soltanto 104. Poco importava al governo di trovare delle forze che sostituissero i partenti. Nemmeno in Goa, scrive un missionario nel 1765, si è provveduto per i cinque ex collegi dei gesuiti, benché colà risieda il vicerè e sussistano annuali comunicazioni con Lisbona »⁴. Soltanto dopo la caduta del primo ministro Pombal⁵ — che aveva sempre frapposto ostacoli all'invio di

¹ L. VON PASTOR, *Storia dei papi*, XVI/1, Roma 604; M. DE OLIVEIRA, *História eclesiástica de Portugal*, Lisboa 1964², 300-304.

² PASTOR, *op. cit.*, 606.

³ *Ibid.*, 1046.

⁴ *Ibid.* Non mancarono casi di Gesuiti che continuarono ad operare nelle missioni anche dopo la soppressione della Compagnia. Il 19 III 1782, ad esempio, l'incaricato d'affari pontificio a Lisbona, abate Gaudenzio Antonini (cfr § 4, nota 2), così scriveva alla Segreteria di Stato: « Nella nave Enrichetta, che fece ieri vela per Genova, si è imbarcato un vecchio Ex-Gesuita italiano per nome Onofrio Valiani, venuto ultimamente dalle Indie Orientali, il quale deve poi rendersi costì, e seco conduce due giovani di quelle parti ad oggetto di farli instruire nel Collegio di Propaganda Fide; di detto Ex-Gesuita, col quale ho inutilmente procurato di abboccarmi, ho inteso parlare con vantaggio ». ASV-NP, vol. 122/A.

⁵ Sebastiano José De Carvalho e Melo, marchese di Pombal (1699-1782), fu ministro di Giuseppe I di Portogallo (1750-1777). Sulla politica ecclesiastica da lui attuata, cfr. DE OLIVEIRA, *op. cit.*, 297-298.

missionari in India, per timore che tra loro si infiltrassero degli ex-Gesuiti⁶ — fu possibile colmare almeno parzialmente i vuoti lasciati dai figli di S. Ignazio. Un appello in tal senso venne rivolto anche ai Lazzaristi portoghesi, che — impossibilitati a fornire per Goa il numero di missionari richiesto — estesero l'invito ai confratelli italiani.

Chi erano questi generosi che, sull'esempio di tanti altri figli di S. Vincenzo de Paoli⁷, avevano risposto all'appello della Chiesa, accettando tutti i rischi che il loro gesto comportava? Nell'elenco dei « Missionari Italiani spediti alle Indie » con la « Prima spedizione nell'anno 1780 »⁸, figurano nell'ordine i nomi dei seguenti sacerdoti: Romualdo Ansaloni (1743-1814) di Nonantola⁹; Agostino Villa (1752-1803) di Alessandria¹⁰; Raffaele Cicala (n. 1756) di Piacenza¹¹; Pie-

⁶ PASTOR, *op. cit.*, 313. Anche in seguito non mancarono difficoltà per l'invio di missionari nelle colonie portoghesi. Il 9 XI 1781 l'incaricato d'affari pontificio a Lisbona scriveva alla Segreteria di Stato: « Il Ministro della Marina è da tutti, e persino dagli stessi Sovrani, conosciuto per spirito forte, e dal di lui umore nasce la freddezza, con la quale si provvede ai bisogni delle missioni purtroppo in decadenza ». Nello stesso dispaccio si parlava anche del giuramento imposto dalle autorità politiche ai missionari: « Mi è riuscito di avere in mano la formula del giuramento che qui esigono da tutti i Missionarj, che si portano ai Dominj o siano conquiste del Portogallo in Asia, Affrica e America, sieno Italiani, o Francesi, o di qualunque altra Nazione. Ne annetto due copie, una per V. E. stessa, e l'altra avrà l'E. V. la bontà di farla pervenire al Signor Cardinale Prefetto di Propaganda, o a Monsignor Segretario, che da molto tempo ne faceva la richiesta al fu Monsignor Nunzio ». ASV, SS, P, vol. 122/A.

⁷ I Lazzaristi erano allora impegnati nell'evangelizzazione del Madagascar. Cfr. J. METZLER, *Missionsbemühungen der Kongregation in Schwarzafrika*, in AA. VV., *Sacrae Congregationis cit.*, 925-930. Nel 1782 accettarono di subentrare ai Gesuiti anche nelle missioni del Levante (Salonico, Chio, Nasso, Santorino, Costantinopoli, Smirne, Aleppo). PASTOR, *op. cit.*, XVI/III, Roma 1934, 302. Scrive ancora lo stesso autore: « Pochi anni dopo gli atti di Propaganda segnalano che i lazzaristi hanno assunto dappertutto in Levante le stazioni dei gesuiti. La loro congregazione non poteva naturalmente soddisfare a tutte le esigenze, sicché ancora nel 1817 viene segnalato a Propaganda come necessario il ritorno dei gesuiti nelle isole dell'Egeo ». E inoltre: « Come nel Continente antico i lazzaristi si presentano come la miglior congregazione missionaria, così i francescani dell'America centrale e meridionale », dove erano subentrati ai Gesuiti. *Ibid.*, 303, 305.

⁸ ACMPR, 14, 3, 25, p. 315. Come apprendiamo da una nota posta a p. 320, il documento è di mano del p. Giovanni Carlo Ansaloni, che allora era procuratore della provincia romana (cfr. § 1, nota 7; § 5, note 5 e 14).

⁹ Cfr § 1, nota 7.

¹⁰ Nel 1784, Villa passò con un confratello portoghese a Canton, a dirigerne il seminario per il clero indigeno. Cfr § 8, nota 1; *La Congrégation de la Mission en Chine*, II/II, Paris 1912, 152-153. Nel 1795 si trovava a Macao. *Ibid.*, 200-206. Morì nel 1803 in Cina. *Catalogue cit.*, 620.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 137. Nel 1795 Cicala si trovava nel Malabar, ma era atteso a Macao. *La Congrégation cit.*, 204, 207-208, 213. Cfr. § 8, nota 1.

tro Paolo Blasini (n. 1755) di Nebbio in Corsica¹²; Francesco Carapelli (1755-1817) di Roma¹³; Francesco Curti (1753-1834) di Roma¹⁴; Pietro Paolo Zazzera (1750-1839) di Monopoli¹⁵; e il nostro Giuseppe Maffei. A tali nomi si aggiungevano quelli di due fratelli coadiutori: Giuseppe Urbano (n. 1747) di Roma¹⁶; e Arnould Verwurt (n. 1739) olandese¹⁷. Come si vede, il nome del Maffei veniva alla fine della lista dei sacerdoti, che — pur essendo tutti più giovani di lui — vantavano una maggiore *anzianità* nei ruoli della Congregazione, cioè lo precedevano nel cosiddetto *ordine di vocazione*. Si ha quasi l'impressione che egli fosse incluso all'ultimo momento nella lista dei partenti, per coprire un posto rimasto vacante, o per sostituire un confratello venuto improvvisamente meno. Come del resto era capitato al p. Ansaloni, che — destinato in un primo tempo ad Avignone¹⁸ — venne posto a capo della spedizione diretta a Goa in luogo del p. Marsano¹⁹, costretto a fermarsi a Genova dalle cattive condizioni di salute.

Il gruppo era partito da Roma il 3 dicembre 1780, festa di S. Francesco Saverio, e per la via di Piacenza aveva raggiunto la capitale ligure²⁰. Vi restò fino al 1° febbraio 1781, allorché poté finalmente prendere il mare su un legno svedese — il « Federico » — diretto a Lisbona. Di questo viaggio, durato fino al 14 marzo, possediamo un *Giornale* scritto dall'Ansaloni²¹. Oltre ai disagi della lunga traversata,

¹² Blasini non figura nel *Catalogue* cit.

¹³ *Catalogue* cit., 112.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 161.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 638.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 606.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 616.

¹⁸ SILVA, *op. cit.*, 332.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Giuseppe Marsano era nato a Mombello di Torino il 1° XI 1738. Ricevuto tra i Lazzaristi a Roma nel 1757, aveva professato nel 1759. *Catalogue* cit., 413.

²⁰ ACMPR, 14, 3, 25, p. 315.

²¹ *Giornale del Viaggio Marittimo da Genova a Lisbona...*, *ibid.*, pp. 321-332. SILVA (*op. cit.*, 332-333) descrive il viaggio dei nostri missionari, senza neppure accennare alla sosta di Lisbona, e alla loro partenza dalla capitale portoghese in due gruppi separati. Ecco le sue parole: « Il giorno della partenza [da Genova] fu il 1° Febbraio 1781. Durante il tragitto — ad eccezione di soli cinque giorni — ebbero pressochè tutti la suprema consolazione di celebrare la Santa Messa. Nel dì della festa di S. Vincenzo poi poterono dare ad essa un'impronta di relativa solennità. Infatti vi furono i Vespri e Messa cantata non solo, ma poiché viaggiavano in compagnia di Padri Domenicani, ad uno di questi venne affidato l'incarico di tessere le lodi del Santo Fondatore. Ma se ebbero delle gioie, ebbero pur anche delle ore tristi, ché una febbre maligna intaccò centocinquanta persone dell'equipaggio, alle quali, e Missionari e

ai nostri missionari non mancò neppure l'emozione di venir fermati da un brigantino corsaro inglese — a quanto pare armato dal console britannico di Livorno, con equipaggio in gran parte italiano, a cominciare dal capitano — che tuttavia si limitò a verificare se la nave era veramente di un Paese amico dell'Inghilterra²².

Domenicani prestarono ogni delicata cura; cionullameno si ebbero venti morti. Finalmente, dopo quasi un anno da che erano salpati da Genova, gli operai evangelici approdarono a Goa, la vigilia di S. Francesco Saverio, ed ebbero la consolazione di celebrare la festa nel luogo stesso ove riposava il suo corpo. L'accoglienza fatta a loro da parte del Vicerè, dei Ministri Reali, degli ecclesiastici, e sopra tutti del Vescovo improntata a segni di gioia e di benevolenza, fu per essi quali un indizio di buone speranze, che effettivamente si convertirono in realtà ». Più sobrio, ma non meno vago, il racconto del viaggio dei Lazzaristi italiani contenuto in *Memoires* cit. (p. 153): « Ils partirent de Gênes le 1^{er} février 1781, passèrent par le Portugal et par le Brésil, et arrivèrent à Goa le 30 novembre 1781. Ce fut là que l'année suivante ils furent témoins de la reconnaissance du corps de saint François de Xavier ».

²² *Ibid.*, p. 320. Gli incontri di questo genere erano tutt'altro che rari, come si apprende dalla stampa del tempo. Per esempio, dalle *Notizie del Mondo* che nel n. 31 del 1780 (22 aprile) riportavano quanto segue: « Livorno 14 Aprile [...]. Il Corsaro Inglese, che ebbe l'incontro con la Fregata Svezzeze l'*Illerim* [...] è qui approdato. Dal di lui Capitano che è Danese da molto tempo stabilitosi in Londra, e dall'Equipaggio sentiamo, che succedesse un tale accidente, perché, avendo domandato esso Capitano ai Comandanti della Fregata d'onde venissero, questi gli risposero in Francese, *dal Mare*; e perché non avevano voluto inalberare bandiera di loro nazione » (p. 252). Nel n. 7 (22 I 1780) delle stesse *Notizie* si legge: « Genova 15 Gennaio. Sabato scorso il Sig. Ancarloo Major Comandante dell'indicata Nave Svedese fu presentato dal Console Gio. Batista Lautier di sua Nazione qui residente al nostro Serenissimo Doge che l'accolse con tutta la distinzione » (p. 54); « Livorno 19 Gennaio [...] Si attende di giorno in giorno la Fregata da guerra Svedese, la quale sentiamo essere arrivata a Genova dovendo scortare delle Navi mercantili sotto la sua Bandiera dirette per questo Porto » (p. 56).

4. - Sosta a Lisbona

L'indomani dell'arrivo nel porto di Lisbona, i missionari vennero prelevati da certo don Faria, un sacerdote di Goa che probabilmente era tra i patrocinatori della loro partenza per l'India. Ecco quanto si legge in proposito nel *Giornale* dell'Ansaloni: « Verso le ore dieci venne a trovarci il Signor D. Gaetano Faria colla licenza di poter subito sbarcare e portare in terra tutto il nostro bagaglio senza visita di Dogana, come in fatti si fece dopo il nostro pranzo, allorché quattro dei nostri Missionarj di Lisbona con una barca di Corte condotta da quattordici bravi Rematori Regj vennero a prenderci »¹. I

¹ ANSALONI, *Giornale cit.*, p. 332. Il Faria (o Fario) si adoperò per inviare a Goa altri religiosi. Lo apprendiamo da un dispaccio del 14 XI 1782 dell'incaricato d'affari

missionari italiani vennero accolti cordialmente dal nunzio mgr Muti², che con ogni probabilità era stato preavvertito del loro arrivo dalle autorità romane. Egli ottenne loro un'udienza da parte dei sovrani, e forse anche l'imbarco gratuito³. Il 20 marzo mgr Muti scriveva alla Segreteria di Stato: « Mercordì scorso 14 corrente giunsero qua i dieci Signori della Missione destinati a Goa, e sono stati ben accolti da questi Sovrani e Ministro: due di essi credo partiranno, essendovi nave pronta per là, in questa settimana; gli altri poi, per non esservi luogo in detta nave, non partiranno che a settembre o ottobre futuro »⁴.

In realtà i Lazzaristi che partirono da Lisbona il 19 aprile — dopo aver fino allora atteso il vento favorevole — erano tre, e non due⁵. Tra loro vi era anche l'Ansaloni, che tenne un interessantissimo

pontificio a Lisbona, in cui si legge: « Un certo Prete di Goa per nome D. Gaetano Vittorino di Faria invogliò il Re di fare una fondazione in quella Città dei PP. di S. Camillo. Il Marchese di Lourical domandò al Generale in seguito 12 Soggetti, i quali vennero con intiera subordinazione ad uno della comitiva. Aegre ferens questo Superiore Portoghese l'indipendenza degli Italiani si adoperò per mettere la maggior parte di essi in cattiva vista presso il Re; dall'altra parte il Sacerdote Goano disgustato delle difficoltà che i nostri Padri promovevano [?] sulla poca certezza e sicurezza del loro stabilimento e sussistenza in Asia, appoggiò il rapporto del riferito Prelato, onde a sette di essi fu intimato il sollecito ritorno in Italia. Gli altri quattro [h]anno detto francamente che volevano seguire la sorte dei loro compagni, ed uno solo si è contentato di restare in Portogallo per Lettore. En petra scandali et offensionis ». ASV, SS, P, vol. 122/A. Fra le carte del p. Giovanni Carlo Ansaloni si trova l'« Estratto di una lettera del S.r D. Gaetano Faria segnata in Lisboa 26 Giugno 1782 », in cui si legge: « Mi sovviene di dire a V. S. Ill.ma che i PP. Camilli[ni] non sono venuti con quello spirito ecclesiastico col quale si presentò il S.r Ansaloni e suoi Compagni, che lasciarono di loro una grata memoria in questa Corte, e mi servono di gloria, anzi obbligano i Sovrani ad una particolare attenzione e cura di quella Congregazione ». ACMPR, 14, 3, 25, p. 319.

² Mgr Bernardino Muti, arcivescovo di Petra i.p.i. e nunzio in Portogallo dal 1773, morì a Cintra il 31 VIII 1781. R. RITZLER-P. SEFRIN, *Hierarchia catholica*, VI, Patavii 1958, 335. Fu destinato a succedergli mgr Vincenzo Ranuzzi (1727-1800) - arcivescovo di Tiro i.p.i. e nunzio a Venezia (dal 1775), e futuro arcivescovo di Ancona e cardinale (1785) — che giunse a Lisbona solo il 28 X 1782. *Ibid.*, 34, 82, 424; ASV, SS, P, vol. 123, ff. 243-244, 328; vol. 122/A, dispaccio del 29 X 1782. Nel frattempo la rappresentanza diplomatica pontificia fu retta interinalmente dall'abate Gaudenzio Antonini, con la qualifica di « Amministratore della Nunziatura ed Incaricato degli Affari della Corte di Roma ». Cfr i suoi dispacci *ibid.* Cfr anche § 3, nota 4; L. KARTTUNEN, *Les nonciatures apostoliques permanentes de 1650 à 1800*, Genève 1912, 204.

³ L'anno precedente il nunzio aveva ottenuto dalla regina — tramite il confessore, Inácio de S. Caetano OCD (1718-1788), arcivescovo di Tessalonica (1778-1788) — l'imbarco gratuito « in qualità di cappellani » per il p. Francesco della Torre e per un confratello. I due missionari, appartenenti alla Congregazione di S. Giovanni Battista, erano diretti a Macao. ASV, SS, P, vol. 123, ff. 40, 42-43, 70-70'; vol. 190 (dispaccio del 14 III 1780). Sull'appoggio accordato dalla Regina Maria I alle missioni delle Indie Orientali, cfr DE OLIVEIRA, *História* cit., 314-315.

⁴ ASV-NP, vol. 122/A.

⁵ Evidentemente la decisione di imbarcare un terzo missionario era posteriore a questo dispaccio del nunzio.

giornale di bordo, intitolato: *Viaggio dei tre Missionarj Villa, Ansaloni e Cicala da Lisbona sino a Bahia o S. Salvatore*⁶. La loro nave, un'unità della marina reale portoghese, non andava direttamente a Goa, ma prima doveva toccare i territori portoghesi del Brasile e dell'Africa, tra l'altro per sbarcarvi gruppi di « esiliati, degradati, o prigionieri »⁷.

Da Bahia, dove era giunta il 24 giugno⁸, la nave ripartì il 10 luglio. Ansaloni continuò a tenere il suo diario (*Viaggio da S. Salvatore, o sia Bahia, a Goa*), nel quale descrisse le peripezie di quell'interminabile viaggio⁹. Un'epidemia di « febbre maligna » mieté vittime sia tra l'equipaggio che tra i passeggeri. A complicare ulteriormente la situazione contribuirono non poco le condizioni mentali del comandante, divenuto nel corso della navigazione « pazzo furioso »¹⁰. Dopo aver toccato anche il porto di Galle, allora sotto la sovranità olandese, — dove la nave si era fermata per imbarcare provviste, e dove l'Ansaloni il 12 novembre poté celebrare la messa alla presenza della locale comunità cattolica¹¹ — i tre Lazzaristi raggiunsero finalmente Goa. Era il 30 novembre 1781¹².

⁶ ACMPR, 14, 3, 25, pp. 333-341.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 333. Nel n. 31 delle *Notizie del Mondo* del 1780 (22 aprile) si legge sotto la data di Lisbona, 29 febbraio: « Giovedì prossimo parte una Nave per l'India, e porta più di 100 malviventi condannati a quei lavori, e sentesi che vi siano anche delle persone di qualche distinzione » (p. 247).

⁸ ACMPR, 14, 3, 25, p. 341.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 343-360.

¹⁰ Cfr § 5, nota 10.

¹¹ ACMPR, 14, 3, 25, pp. 356-357.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 359.

5. - Arrivo a Goa

Vennero accolti calorosamente dal governatore generale¹ e dall'amministratore apostolico², che la sera di quel giorno volle ospi-

¹ Impensierito per il ritardo della nave su cui viaggiavano i Lazzaristi, il governatore generale le aveva inviato incontro la fregata « S. Francesco Saverio ». Questa però era rientrata il 29 novembre, dopo vari giorni di inutile perlustrazione. ANSALONI, *Viaggio cit.*, p. 359.

² Era Manuel Soares da S. Catarina OCD (1727-1812), vescovo di Cochín (1778-1783) e amministratore apostolico di Goa, poi arcivescovo di Goa (1783-1812). RITZLER-

tarli nell'arcivescovado. Riteniamo di far cosa utile al lettore, proponendogli la parte conclusiva della narrazione dell'Ansaloni:

Alla mattina per tempissimo [del] 1° di dicembre i nostri Missionarj, che alle 9 della notte avevano avuto certa notizia del nostro arrivo, furono a teneramente abbracciarci, uno corse alla nave a levar parte delle cose nostre, e l'altro ci condusse tutti tre dal Signor Governatore a farli visita, il quale ci accolse con segni di particolar stima, come già avea fatto jeri alla nave. Dopo d'aver pransato tutti dal detto Monsignor Vescovo, con una competente imbarcazione di nostra casa, chiamata ballone, partimmo per l'Isola di Surton, dove sta la detta casa, [ex] Noviziato dei Gesuiti ed ora Real Collegio o Seminario. Dopo di ben due leghe di cammino per acqua arrivassimo colà all'Ave Maria. Incontrati da 22 Seminaristi ivi dimoranti, entrammo nella chiesa i di cui tre altari avevano le candele accese, indi passammo alla grande e bella cappella interiore dove sta la statua di S. Vincenzo de Paoli nostro Padre, e poi alle camere assegnateci. Te Deum laudamus³.

Da quell'attento osservatore che era, l'Ansaloni non omise di rilevare e di prendere nota degli aspetti più caratteristici della terra in cui era giunto e dei suoi abitanti. Anzi, quasi a prevenirè le domande di eventuali lettori della sua relazione, scrisse:

Rispetto a Goa due cose si possono desiderare di sapere: 1. La sua situazione, staggioni, prodotti, commercio; 2. Numero di abitanti, e sue qualità.

In quanto ad ambidue viene ottimamente descritto del tutto dal Gemelli nei suoi viaggi⁴, essendo le cose quasi sul medesimo piede d'allora, tuttavia risguardando alla prima [domanda] dico che Goa sta per latitudine nel grado incirca 15, e 91 1/2 di longitudine. Tutto il dominio Portoghese Goano consiste in varie isole piccole d'intorno a quella di Goa, ed in varie penisole chiamate Provincie, congiunte con i gentili de Maratà e de Sonda. Tutto questo stato è diviso da molti canali larghi, e nei quali entra l'acqua del mare in quasi tutto l'anno, e ci forma ottimamente, esattamente, e con forza il flusso e riflusso; per questo sono necessarie imbarcazioni per andare quà e là. Vi ha un'altra isola distante un grado

SEFRIN, *Hier. cath.* cit., 330, 404. Dal 1773 al 1783 fu arcivescovo di Goa Francisco Brito da Anunciação OCSAug. (1726-1808), già vescovo di Olinda in Brasile (1772-1773). *Ibid.*, 227, 317. J. WICKI, *Schwierige Missionsprobleme in Indien*, in AA. VV., *Sacrae Congregationis* cit. II, 945, 950.

³ ANSALONI, *Viaggio* cit., pp. 359-360.

⁴ G. F. GEMELLI CARERI (1651-1725), *Giro del mondo*, t. III (*Indostan*), Venezia 1728. Dell'opera di Gemelli Careri i capitoli che maggiormente lumeggiano la narrazione di Ansaloni sono i seguenti: I (pp. 1-9): « In cui si ragiona del traffico, che può farsi nell'Indostan, e delle mercatanzie, che quindi, con grand'utile, ponno portarsi in Europa, ed altrove »; VI (pp. 50-54): « Viaggio sino a Goa »; VII (pp. 54-67): « Descrizione della Città di Goa, e del suo delizioso Canale »; VIII (pp. 67-75): « Dell'Imperio antico, e moderno de' Portoghesi nell'Indie Orientali »; IX (pp. 75-86): « Delle frutte, e de' fiori dell'Indostan ».

dalla parte Sud chiamata Angediva, ben popolata e non tanto piccola; così pure al Nord ai gradi 19 di latitudine tengono Damão, e più poco al Nord Diu, piazza e città di commercio.

Le stagioni in realtà e sotto l'astronomia sono le medesime d'Europa, ma senza freddo; il colmo d'inverno che è al presente fa caldo come in Roma alla fine di agosto, o al principio di giugno; dal principio di dicembre sino alla metà di febbrajo vero inverno astronomico si chiama quà primavera, perché mai o quasi mai piove; in fatti sempre il tempo è sereno, e in più di un mese non si è veduta una nuvola⁵. Li 4 mesi poi [di] vera estate, siccome piove dirottamente quasi di continuo, chiamano quà inverno, ed in questo tempo tutta la costa di Concan, Canar e Malabar è impraticabile per tempeste e venti impetuosi di mare, i quali traggono tanta arena colle aque al principio del porto di Goa che rimane serrato, non permettendo che a sole barchette il passaggio al principio d'agosto colla mutazione dei venti, coll'impeto delle aque, che venute sono dai monti che all'intorno rinserrano Goa e coste, e che aveano mantenuti sani i canali tra le isole, dileguasi la detta arena e apresi al porto l'ingresso, e le aque del mare vi fanno nuovamente con forza il flusso e riflusso. Notandum che tutto il contrario succede nella costa del Coramandel, cioè ivi pure vengono venti forti, ed impraticabile è la costa nei mesi di novembre, dicembre; ed in giugno, agosto, etc., è primavera, etc.

I prodotti ed il commercio è molto poco, ed il più si fa dai gentili. Quello de' naturali, mestizi e Portoghesi il principale sono i cocchi, dal quale arbore e frutto si fa quasi tutto il necessario alla vita. Si raccoglie ancora molto riso, che è il cibo usuale d'India, così pure ci sono buoni frutti, etc.

Seconda [domanda]. Gl' abitanti in tutto questo dominio Portoghesse, non compreso Diu [e] Damão, faranno quasi 200 mila, fuori dei gentili che saranno sicuramente più di 18 mila. Quali stanno ad abitare tra li cattolici, col solo distintivo dell'abito che è bianco⁶, tenendo il corpo involto come in un lenzuolo cinto alle lombi, ed una specie di turbante pure bianco nella testa; sono di diverse caste o siano ordini: nobili, civili, etc., ma tutti travagliano, eccettuate le donne, che stanno sempre oziose. Si ajutano gl'uni gl'altri, onde tra essi non ci è vero povero. I cattolici poi sono pure divisi in caste: nobili, [etc.], ed infine non ci è pericolo, né si dà esempio che uno di una casta s'imparenti con uno di altra casta; né che faccia il mestiere o l'arte di altra casta⁷. Quasi tutti

⁵ Da questa affermazione di Ansaloni, si può dedurre che il documento da noi riprodotto sia stato scritto verso il gennaio del 1782. Il nostro missionario era attento ai fenomeni climatologici. Nella lettera del 21 III 1782 a suo fratello Giovanni Carlo scriveva, ad esempio: « Io venni co' primi Compagni sul fine di novembre dello scorso 1781. Dal qual giorno al presente abbiamo avuto sempre un limpidissimo sereno, e così proseguiremo ad essere privi d'una stilla d'acqua sino alla metà di maggio, in cui principia il così detto inverno per le dirotte e continue piogge che sogliono cadere, e per i venti impetuosi che soffiano. Ora che siamo in marzo, soffriamo quel caldo che sperimentasi in Roma per S. Giovanni Battista e per S. Pietro », ACMPR, 14, 3, 25, p. 364.

⁶ GEMELLI CARERI, *op. cit.*, 17.

⁷ « I Canarini sono Cristiani, neri come Etiopi, però con capelli lunghi, e volto

sono poveri. Quei delle infime [caste] vanno col solo langoté, che assai bene descrive il Gemelli⁸, e gl'altri vestiti all'europea, però senza calzette, e colle scarpe quasi come i sandali dei Francescani. Questo è dei naturali, perché li Portoghesi vanno in tutto all'europea⁹, tutti però sono pochissimo travagliosi, sì della terra, la quale è atta a produrre molte cose come canne di zucchero, bombace, etc., sì in tutte le arti, delle quali sono tanto poche che nulla più. Le donne poi sono, massime [le] naturali e mestizie, all'estremo oziose, ma però assaissimo ritirate, e sufficientemente coperte¹⁰. Le case¹¹ sono, come mi vien detto, piuttosto pulite, e le chiese belle, particolarmente la cattedrale, S. Domenico, S. Agostino, etc. Finis, Finis¹².

E degli altri missionari rimasti a Lisbona, che ne era stato? In un dispaccio di mgr Muti del 3 luglio 1781 leggiamo che, trovato finalmente un imbarco per Goa, avrebbero preso il mare l'indomani¹³. I sette Lazzaristi giunsero a destinazione dopo la metà di marzo del-

ben fatto. Così in Goa, come nell'Isole, molti ne sono Sacerdoti, Avvocati, Procuratori, Scrivani, e Solleccitatori di cause, diligentissimi nel servizio de' lor Signori. Essi traggono loro origine da differenti schiatte di Gentili; secondo la nobiltà, o bassezza delle quali han continuato i costumi. La maggior parte discendono da Bramani, Baniani, e *Ciarados*; e questi sono d'ottimo intendimento, docili nello apprendere le scienze, perspicaci, accorti, e pronti; e perciò non v'ha persona, che non procuri di averne in casa per servidori ». *Ibid.*, 56-57.

⁸ « Per lo contrario quelli, che sono di stirpe bassa, come quelli di Langoté, sono il rovescio della medaglia. Non si truovano in tutt'Asia i maggiori ladroni, e scherani, né i più menzionieri, e mal Cristiani. Vanno nudi, coprendo solamente le parti vergognose con un pezzo di tela (detto Langoté) che per mezzo le coscie passando dietro, vien legato alla cordella, che serve di cintura. S'esercitano a lavorare il terreno, a pescare, a remare, a portar l'Andora, e in altri vili mestieri; però, come dissi, sono così inchinati al furto, e rubano con tal destrezza, ch'è impossibile, che alcun se ne avvegga, come fecero a me a vista. Se la miserabil vita, che menano, fusse per amor di Dio, sarebbero in vita annoverati tra' Santi. Eglino dormono ignudi, giorno e notte, sulla terra; si nutriscono di un poco di riso, che va a nuoto nel piatto; giammai gustano pane a' lor dì, fuor che in qualche grave infermità. Tutto ciò vien cagionato dalla loro pigrizia; perché appena avranno un poco di riso, per sostentarsi una settimana, che lasciano la fatica: vivono da poltroni fin che dura ». *Ibid.*

⁹ In fatto di moda, gli usi dei residenti portoghesi erano mutati dai tempi di Gemelli Careri, come apprendiamo dal seguente brano della sua opera: « Il vestire de' Portoghesi che nell'Indie hanno stabilito lor domicilio; e de' loro figliuoli, è ben goffo; portando sotto la sciamberga una spezie di braghe appellate *Candale*, che io non ho giammai vedute simili in tutta Europa; imperocché, dapoi che sono ligate, lasciano sopra la gamba come una tromba di stivale. Altri sotto un giubbone corto usano braghe larghe di tela; e taluno alla marinaresca, sino al collo del piede, sicché servono insieme da calze ». *Ibid.* 17.

¹⁰ « Le donne non hanno altra veste, che una lunga tela, colla quale cuoprono tutto il corpo, fuorché le gambe e parte della pancia ». *Ibid.*, 17.

¹¹ « Le abitazioni [di Goa] sono le meglio fabbricate d'India ». *Ibid.*, 56.

¹² ANSALONI, *Viaggio cit.*, pp. 359-360.

¹³ ASV, SS, P, vol. 123, f. 222'.

l'anno successivo, come apprendiamo dalla lettera scritta il 21 marzo 1782 da Romualdo Ansaloni al fratello p. Giovanni Carlo, anch'egli Lazzarista: ¹⁴

questi nostri Compagni Italiani, che lasciai in Lisbona [...] sabbato scorso 16 del corrente alle ore quattro della sera arrivarono felicemente a dar fondo in questo porto, cioè i Signori Maffei, Villa ¹⁵, Blasini, Carapelli, Curti, Zazzera, e i due Fratelli Urbano e Verouert. Nella seguente Domenica di Passione 17 febbraio ¹⁶ di buon mattino, in imbarcazione di casa e con scalero di Monsignore Amministratore m'incamminai in compagnia di questo nostro Superiore alla nave dei nuovamente arrivati, quali con estremo giubilo trovammo sani e prosperi, per non aver molto patito nel viaggio compito felicemente, e fuori di quelle pericolose circostanze nelle quali ci trovammo noi, e specialmente del nostro Comandante della Nave divenuto nel corso della navigazione pazzo furioso. Levati dalla Nave i suddetti nostri compagni si condussero a pranzo in questo nostro Seminario di Chorão (Seioron), e nel dì seguente furono da Monsignore Vescovo, dal Governatore generale, etc., per tutto accolti con singolari dimostrazioni di affetto, stima e venerazione ¹⁷.

Val la pena di notare che nell'elenco dell'Ansaloni il Maffei figurava al primo posto. Il che probabilmente stava ad indicare il ruolo di capo che questi aveva svolto dopo la partenza dei primi tre confratelli da Lisbona. Il Maffei e gli altri Lazzaristi del secondo scaglione non avevano potuto assistere alla ricognizione — la terza in ordine di tempo — delle reliquie di S. Francesco Saverio, che aveva avuto luogo l'11 febbraio. Romualdo Ansaloni, che invece era stato presente, dell'avvenimento aveva redatto un'accurata relazione ¹⁸.

¹⁴ Nato a Nonantola il 30 XI 1735, Giovanni Carlo Ansaloni entrò fra i Lazzaristi a Roma il 17 XI 1751. Emise la professione il 1° XII 1753. Nel 1775 venne nominato procuratore della provincia romana (cfr § 3, nota 8), carica che tenne per undici anni. Scrisse una *Storia della Città e Diocesi di Tivoli* in voll. 4, ms conservato in ACMPR, 14, 3, 22. Era fratello del p. Romualdo (§ 1, nota 7), e probabilmente anche di Andrea Placido Ansaloni. Cfr. § 1, nota 7.

¹⁵ La presenza del nome del p. Villa in questo elenco è dovuta a un lapsus di Ansaloni. Cfr. § 4, note 6 e 12.

¹⁶ Si trattava del mese di marzo, e non del mese di febbraio.

¹⁷ ACMPR, 14, 3, 25, p. 361. Si tratta di una copia di mano del p. Bartolomeo Colucci (1753-1830).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 361-364. A detta di Ansaloni, le autorità di Goa avevano voluto la ricognizione delle reliquie di S. Francesco Saverio per « distruggere la ciarla sparsa, che era stato involato detto Sacro Corpo ». *Ibid.*, p. 361.

6. - Nuova spedizione a Goa

Alla fine del 1781 venne organizzata un'altra spedizione di Lazzaristi italiani a Goa, composta di dodici sacerdoti e due fratelli¹. I sacerdoti erano: Francesco Saverio Convertini (n. 1756) di Locorotondo (diocesi di Ostuni)²; Gian Lorenzo Cesarj (1758-1830) di Galatina (archidiocesi di Otranto)³; Vito Angelo Laterza (n. 1758) di Santeramo (archidiocesi di Bari)⁴; Vito Nicola Riccardi (1760-1831) di Fasano⁵; Giovanni Francesco Bertoldi (1742-1804) di Maglione (diocesi di Ivrea)⁶; Giuseppe Donato Damilano (n. ca 1756) di Trinità (diocesi di Mondovì)⁷; Giuseppe Belisio (n. 1758) di Fossano⁸; Francesco Maria Orsi (n. 1756) di Ossilia (diocesi di Savona)⁹; Pietro Francesco Luigi Pachiandi (1757-1791) di Pigna (diocesi di Ventimiglia)¹⁰; Domenico Agostino Maria Da Pozzi (n. 1759) di Sarzana¹¹; Giovanni Maria Perosio (n. 1751) di Genova¹². I fratelli coadiutori erano: Bernardo Martini (n. 1755) della diocesi di Aquì¹³, e Giannantonio Celli (n. 1753) di Valenza di Lombardia (diocesi di Pavia)¹⁴.

¹ *Seconda Spedizione nell'anno 1781*, in ACMPR, 14, 3, 25, p. 317. Non risulta che i dispacci della nunziatura di Lisbona giunti fino a noi trattino di questa nuova spedizione di Lazzaristi. Riferiscono invece sul movimento di navi portoghesi con le colonie delle Indie Orientali. Il 15 I 1782, ad esempio, l'incaricato d'affari scriveva alla Segreteria di Stato: « Brevemente partiranno per Goa varj Officiali con ottocento uomini in circa di soldatesca, richiesti da quel Governatore più per maggior cautela, che per fondato timore di qualche prossima irruzione di quel Principe indiano detto Maratà ». ASV, SS, P, vol. 123, ff. 307-307'. E il 12 marzo l'incaricato d'affari scriveva ancora: « Nella settimana corrente sono, oltre di varie navi mercantili, partite per le Indie Orientali due di guerra, cioè un vascello ed una fregata con 800 uomini di truppa per tenere al coperto la città di Goa e gli Stabilimenti Portoghesi da ogni insulto di quel Principe Maratam ». *Ibid.*, p. 324.

² *Catalogue cit.*, 149.

³ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 352.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 526.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 58-59.

⁷ Questo nome non risulta nel *Catalogue cit.*

⁸ *Catalogue cit.*, 50.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 463.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 466.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 506.

¹² *Ibid.*, 479. In un primo momento al posto di Perosio era stato prescelto il p. Colombano Tavarelli (n. 1752) di Alba, che però aveva rinunciato: « Non avendo avuto coraggio il S.r Tavarelli di proseguire il viaggio a motivo di vari incomodi sofferti, gli è stato surrogato il Sig.r Gio. Maria Perosio ». ACMPR, 14, 3, 25, p. 318.

¹³ *Catalogue cit.*, 416.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 122.

7. - *La vita a Goa*

A proposito dell'attività dei Lazzaristi italiani a Goa, il Silva scrive:

I Missionari si posero tosto all'opera. Una delle principali occupazioni era di attendere ad Cleri disciplinam, e a questo riguardo fu ad essi affidata la direzione del Seminario, alla cui apertura — con discorso inaugurale in lingua latina — presenziarono — oltre l'Arcivescovo — il Governatore, i Magistrati e i vari Ordini della Città. Mentre i Confratelli avevano la direzione del Seminario, erano pure incaricati delle Conferenze ecclesiastiche che tenevansi nel Palazzo Arcivescovile. Aumentato in seguito il numero degli operai — ché agli otto della Provincia Romana, altrettanti se ne aggiunsero in seguito — poterono con maggiore slancio dirigere i tre stabilimenti esistenti in Goa e dare Missioni. La loro permanenza però in quella terra non fu di lunga durata, ché ne partirono nel 1790 »¹.

Era in questo contesto che il giovane Dias aveva incontrato il p. Maffei. Il missionario aveva parlato con tale entusiasmo di mgr Alfonso Maria de Liguori — allora ancora in vita — agli alunni del seminario di Goa, da imprimerne indelebilmente nelle loro menti il ricordo. Non sappiamo se oltre agli altri elementi del pensiero alfonciano, il p. Maffei diffuse a Goa anche la teologia morale del Santo Dottore². In tal caso la formazione ricevuta in gioventù tra i Redentoristi avrà forse dovuto contrastare con l'orientamento allora propugnato in campo teologico-morale da qualche settore della sua nuova famiglia religiosa³. Inclini a secondare la diffusione del pensiero al-

¹ SILVA, *op. cit.*, 333.

² Alla domanda rivolta dal vicario apostolico del Malabar se si dovesse « applicare l'animo a pubblicare un Compendio di Teologia morale per quella missione », il 18 II 1788 Propaganda Fide rispose: « Providebitur suis loco et tempore ». APF, Acta, vol. 158, ff. 54', 57.

³ Come è noto, la *Theologia moralis* di S. Alfonso era nata quale commento alla *Medulla theologiae moralis* di Hermann Busembaum SI (1609-1668), autore che godeva scarse simpatie tra i Lazzaristi del Settecento. Il prefetto apostolico Pierre François Viguier (1745-1821), ad esempio, così scriveva a Propaganda Fide il 19 II 1781, a proposito dei Lazzaristi che operavano nelle isole dell'Egeo: « s'incontra la difficoltà di vivere coi Gesuiti, poiché i nostri e loro principj di dottrina e morale differenti sono. Insegnano in Tine il Busembaum, dove s'incontrano delle massime contrarie alle istruzioni o decisioni delle Sagre Congregazioni di Propaganda e del Santo Ufficio. Generalmente tollerano e praticano l'interesse del mutuo semplice ad otto, dieci e dodici per cento, secondo il costume de' luoghi ». APF, Missioni, vol. 6, ff.137-138. Nel 1785 il manuale del Busembaum venne sostituito « con l'Antoine dell'edizione all'uso de' propagandisti ». *Ibid.*, 454. Cfr anche APF, Acta, vol. 155, ff. 11, 17; vol. 158, f. 89. Negli anni 1757-1758 S. Alfonso aveva personalmente polemizzato con un anonimo « sacerdote della Missione » di Napoli, che disapprovava la sua teoria circa la

fonsiano dovevano essere anche gli altri Lazzaristi italiani di Goa, oltre all'amministratore apostolico. Ne abbiamo una prova indiretta nel seguente brano di una lettera al fratello, in cui Romualdo Ansaloni tesseva l'elogio di mgr Soares: « Egli è un santo Prelato, dotto, disinteressato, di eccellenti massime, e sommamente attaccato alla Santa Sede e sue decisioni. Valga un fatto solo recentissimo in comprova di quanto scrivo. Avendo saputo che nella Nave Regia in cui io venni, eranvi due copie del Febbronio ⁴, siccome il libro scritto contro l'Antifebbronio del P. Zaccaria ⁵, le fece subito sequestrare privatamente perché non si divulgassero » ⁶.

Alcuni anni dopo un Redentorista della comunità di Roma ricevette una visita inattesa, come apprendiamo dal Tannoia ⁷: « Essendo capitato dall'Indie in Roma circa il 1788 un P. Maestro Agostiniano per il Capitolo Generale affamato si vide non per una, ma per tutte le Opere di Monsignore [de Liguori]. Portandosi nella nostra Casa di S. Giuliano ai Monti a ritrovare il nostro P. Lacerra ⁸, volle sapere, dove potevansi avere tutte le Opere. Disse, che nell'Indie era troppo nota la di lui santità e dottrina; e che desiderava provvedersene di molti corpi, per voltarli in quel linguaggio, venendo ivi desiderati. Non trovando tutte le Opere in Roma, portandosi in Napoli se ne provide in gran numero ».

Trattando in particolare della diffusione della *Theologia moralis* di S. Alfonso, lo stesso autore scrive ancora ⁹: « Varj Sacerdoti della

connotazione morale della maledizione dei morti. Cfr. G. CONTE, *Bibliografia dei Missionari di S. Vincenzo de' Paoli del Mezzogiorno d'Italia (1668-1968)*, Roma 1971, 120.

⁴ Giustino Febbronio era lo pseudonimo di Johann Nikolaus von Hontheim (1701-1790), autore dell'opera intitolata: *Iustini Febronii iurisconsulti de statu Ecclesiae deque legitima potestate Romani pontificis liber singularis ad reuniendos dissidentes in religione constitutus*, Frankfurt 1763.

⁵ Si trattava dell'opera di Francesco Antonio Zaccaria SI (1714-1795), intitolata: *Anti-Febbronio di Francesco A. Zaccaria, della Compagnia di Gesù, Bibliotecario di S.A.S. il Signor Duca di Modena, o sia Apologia polemico-storica del primato del Papa consecrata alla Santità di N. S. Papa Clemente XIII. Contro la dannata opera di Giustino Febbronio, dello stato della Chiesa, e della legittima podestà del Romano Pontefice*, voll. 2, Pesaro 1767. Anche S. Alfonso intervenne nella disputa con le sue *Vindiciae pro suprema Romani pontificis potestate adversus I. Febronium*, [Napoli ?] 1768.

⁶ Goa, 2 III 1782. Copia in ACMPR, 14, 3, 25, p. 364.

⁷ A. TANNIOIA, *Della vita ed Istituto del Venerabile Servo di Dio Alfonso Maria Liguori...*, III, Napoli 1802, 87.

⁸ Sul p. Pasquale Lacerra (1742-1807), cfr. MINERVINO, *Catalogo cit.*, 96-97.

⁹ TANNIOIA, *op. cit.*, III, 80.

Missione di S. Vincenzo de Paoli pervenuti dalle Indie in Napoli, ed in Roma, attestano che ivi è familiare tra quei Ecclesiastici, e che specialmente in Goa va per le mani di tutti. Anche nell'America non vi è Morale che sia in maggior credito quanto questa del nostro Liguori. Il medesimo Remondini¹⁰ contesta non essere poco lo spaccio, che se ne fa in quelle parti. Un Padre Francese, Postulatore in Roma per la causa del Venerabile Margillo¹¹, sentendo magnificare Alfonso per santità, e dottrina, accertò il Padre D. Giuseppe Cardone¹², che nel Messico era in gran credito, ed egli in maggior credito per la sua santità; ed il Signor Maffei¹³ mi disse essere così comune presso tutti, che anche si legge al di sotto di noi, volendo dire, tra gli Americani ».

¹⁰ Sui tipografi-editori Giambattista (1713-1773) e Giuseppe Remondini (1743-1811), che tanto contribuirono alla diffusione delle opere di S. Alfonso, cfr. F. FERRERO, *S. Alfonso y los dos procesos de 1772-1773 contra Giambattista Remondini*, in *Spic. Hist.*, 19 (1971), 304-390.

¹¹ Si trattava del Ven. Antonio Margil di Gesù OFM (1657-1729). Cfr. *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, VIII, 810-811.

¹² Sul p. Giuseppe Gaetano Cardone (nato nel 1745, espulso dalla C.S.S.R. nel 1799), cfr. MINERVINO, *op. cit.*, 33-34.

¹³ Evidentemente si trattava del p. Giuseppe Maffei CM. Tannoia, a proposito della diffusione delle opere di S. Alfonso nell'Italia Centrale, riportava la seguente testimonianza del p. Romualdo Maria Roberti CM († 1831): « Il frutto, che ricavasi dalle sue Opere, è indicibile. Credo, non vi sia stato Autore alcuno Ascetico, che abbia avuto tanta fama, né di simili libri verun Libraro un tanto spaccio. Ritrovandomi in una publica libreria di Macerata, mi disse il Librajo, che cavava più quattrini colle sole Opere di Monsignor Liguori, che da tutti gli altri libri, che aveva. E debbo aggiungere esser questa una delle più famose librerie della Marca ». TANNIOIA, *op. cit.*, III, 87.

8. - *Rientro in Italia*

Come abbiamo appreso dal Silva, i Lazzaristi italiani rimasero a Goa fino al 1790¹. Detto autore scrive a proposito del loro rimpatrio: « Il motivo del loro ritorno fu determinato dai Ministri del Portogallo, i quali, dopo averli sfruttati ben bene, fecero intravedere essere inutile la loro permanenza, da che era aumentato il numero dei Missionari Portoghesi »².

¹ Ignoriamo la data precisa del ritorno dei Lazzaristi italiani da Goa. Il p. Zazera, uno dei compagni di Maffei, era già sicuramente a Roma il 29 V 1791. Cfr il Registro degli « Esercitantanti Sacerdoti e Secolari » (1732-1838), n. 38, in *ACMPR*, 3, 5, 6. Altri compagni si trattennero ancora in Oriente, come Cicala e Villa. Cfr. § 3, note 10-11.

² SILVA, *op. cit.*, 333. Non sappiamo se alla partenza dei Lazzaristi italiani

Rientrato in Italia, il Maffei venne destinato a Roma. Vi rimase fino al 1798, allorché fu allontanato dalle autorità francesi come « straniero »³. Si stabilì allora a Napoli, dove trascorse il resto della vita. In tale città nel 1801 dette alle stampe il suo *Tesoro celeste di meditazioni per tutti i giorni dell'anno*, alla cui composizione si era dedicato — vent'anni prima — durante la traversata da Lisbona a Goa. Venne a morte l'11 novembre 1815⁴. Il suo decesso è così registrato nell'apposito libro della casa della Missione di Napoli: « 1815. Die 11 Mensis Novembris. Dominus Ioseph Maffei Beneventanæ Dioecesis Congregationis Missionis Presbiter: Pietate, charitate, mansuetudine plane admirabilis, Regularum Observantia ad scrupulum ipsis Tironibus exemplarissimus, Missionum, Exercitiorum Curriculo per magnam Italiae partem, atque ad Indiarum usque Gentes peracto, bonam senectutem in animarum directione diuque noctuque usque ad extremum, quem clausit diem consumpsit. Sibi semper constans, placide ut vixerat, sic obdormivit in Domino. Neapoli, tertio Idibus Octobris anno 1815. Aetatis annorum 74, Vocationis 39. Sepultus die sequenti in nostro sepulcro »⁵.

Così concludeva la sua esistenza terrena il p. Giuseppe Maffei, cui i Redentoristi sono doppiamente grati: per aver diffuso il pensiero di S. Alfonso in India — dove egli giunse esattamente due secoli fa—, e per non avere rinnegato gli anni della giovinezza trascorsi in mezzo a loro.

contribuì la morte del superiore di Goa, p. Antonio Luis dos Sanctos (n. a Lisbona nel 1734), avvenuta il 5 III 1790. *Catalogue cit.*, 555.

³ [S. STELLA], *La Congregazione della Missione in Italia dal 1640 al 1835*, Parigi 1884, 594.

⁴ *Tesoro celeste di meditazioni per tutti i giorni dell'anno ricavate dagli Evangelii e dall'Epistole delle domeniche, per varie feste dei santi e per le novene del Santo Natale ed in onore di S. Francesco De Paoli Fondatore della Congregazione della Missione. Dedicato al Molto Reverendo Padre Vincenzo Caravita*. Diretto ad ogni stato di persone. Diviso per maggior comodità in quattro tomi. Napoli, presso Pietro Perger, 1801, in 16°; vol. I, pp. XXXV-420; vol. II, pp. 369; vol. III, pp. 392; vol. IV, pp. 381. L'opera — che ebbe edizioni anche nel 1820 e nel 1826, « presso Gaetano Raimondi » di Napoli, sempre in quattro volumi — « fu testo di meditazione per anni ed anni per sacerdoti e per religiosi e specialmente per le [...] Case della Missione della Provincia romana e napoletana ». CONTE, *op. cit.*, 79. Maffei aveva anche composto, e pubblicato a Napoli, un non meglio precisato opuscolo dal seguente titolo: *Dell'amministrazione del Sacramento della Penitenza*. Cfr. *Notices cit.*, 175.

⁵ « Registro dei confratelli morti in questa Casa », in ACPN. Nella casa dei Vergini di Napoli si conserva anche il ritratto del p. Maffei. Stranamente, invece del suo *Tesoro celeste*, il pittore gli ha posto in mano il *Combattimento* di Lorenzo Scupoli.



FABRICIANO FERRERO

LA CONGREGACION DEL SANTISIMO REDENTOR EN EL PRIMERO Y SEGUNDO CENTENARIO DE SU FUNDACION

1832 y 1932

SUMARIO

I. - *Las celebraciones jubilares de 1832*: 1) Designación de las celebraciones. 2) Significado general del jubileo. 3) Fechas para su celebración. 4) Modo práctico de celebrarlo. 5) Imagen del Instituto: a) Contexto histórico y misión propia; b) Observancia regular. 6) La Congregación del Santísimo Redentor en 1832.

II. - *En el Segundo Centenario de la Congregación (1932)*: 1) Designación de las celebraciones jubilares. 2) Fechas para su celebración. 3) Modo práctico de celebrarlo: a) A nivel de Congregación; b) A nivel de comunidad; c) A nivel personal. 4) Temas de reflexión para el centenario. 5) La Congregación del Santísimo Redentor en 1932: a) Difusión geográfica; b) Trabajos apostólicos; c) Vitalidad vocacional; d) Actividad literaria. 6) Significado general del centenario: a) Acción de gracias por el pasado, súplica para el futuro; b) Afirmación de la identidad redentorista; c) Insistencia en el origen carismático del Instituto; d) Reflexión teológica sobre la vocación; e) Mística del Fundador; f) Renovación en el Espíritu propio; g) Prestigio eclesial.

El 19 de julio de 1981 comunicaba el Consejo General de la Congregación a todos los Redentoristas:

Proclamar el año de gracia del Señor (Is. 61, 2), es lo que se propone esta carta, al acercarse ya el año del jubileo de la Congregación: el 250 aniversario de su fundación.

El Consejo General os invita a celebrar *un año entero jubilar*, deseando a cada uno de vosotros que se transforme en « año de gracia ». Célebrense, por lo tanto, desde el 9 de noviembre de 1981 hasta el 9 de noviembre de 1982: es la fecha de la fundación de la Congregación¹.

La finalidad del « año de gracia del Señor » es la de capacitarnos

¹ *Jubileo de la Congregación*, en *Communicanda* 59 (19 julio 1981) 3.

más para « seguir el ejemplo de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo en la predicación de la palabra de Dios a los pobres » (Const. 1). Por lo mismo, es preciso que el año jubilar se transforme en año de renovación en el espíritu de S. Alfonso.

Os proponemos con este objeto las siguientes sugerencias para el año jubilar: a) Se invita a *cada (Vice-) Provincia y Región* a conmemorar este acontecimiento a nivel (vice-) provincial o regional [...]. b) Se invita a *cada comunidad* a organizar durante el año del jubileo, para las personas confiadas a su responsabilidad pastoral, una celebración [...]. c) Siéntase *cada uno de nosotros* invitado a preocuparse por conocer mejor a nuestro Fundador y sus obras, y especialmente la finalidad pastoral original de nuestro Instituto religioso. Debería cada uno ahondar en el fundamento espiritual de su ser misionero en el mundo de hoy².

Así, el jubileo, « año de gracia del Señor » podrá ofrecer una ocasión importante para *reflexionar sobre nuestra vocación* y convertirse en *acción de gracias* a Jesucristo, Redentor del hombre³.

¿ Cómo se han celebrado otras veces estos jubileos ? ¿ Qué han significado para la Congregación ? Es la pregunta a la que intentamos responder en las páginas que siguen. En nuestro estudio nos limitamos a las celebraciones jubilares de 1832 y 1932. El motivo es sencillo: aunque en sentido tradicional podamos considerar como fechas jubilares todo período de veinticinco o cincuenta años, de hecho no hemos encontrado referencias a celebraciones semejantes más que con motivo del primero y segundo centenario de la fundación del Instituto⁴.

Esta falta de tradición propia en las celebraciones jubilares de la Congregación es la que ha motivado el esquema general de nuestro estudio en las dos partes de que consta. En el análisis de los documentos sobre ambos centenarios, hemos tratado de señalar: el nombre con que se designan, la fecha de su celebración, el modo concreto de hacerla, la situación del Instituto en ese momento, lo que se espera del Centenario, y lo que, de hecho, éste ha podido significar.

² *Ibid.*, 4-5.

³ *Ibid.*, 7. Sobre este mismo tema cfr. *El jubileo de 250 años de fundación de la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor*, en *Communicanda* 61 (9 noviembre 1981) 1-12; y *Carta de la Secretaría de Estado* al Rmo. P. General del 14 de junio de 1982.

⁴ Si es fácil encontrarlas a nivel eclesial (jubileos), personal (ordenación sacerdotal, profesión religiosa) o local (fundaciones de iglesias y casas). Entre todas destacan las que se refieren a S. Alfonso: 1887, *De festis occasione primi anniversarii saecularis post mortem Sancti Alphonsi*; 1896, *De festis occasione secundi Centenarii natiuitatis Sancti Alphonsi*; 1939, *De festis occasione primi Centenarii Canonizationis Sancti Alphonsi*, en AGR. SA, VII. Véase también M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Bibliographie générale des écrivains rédemptoristes*, III, Louvain 1939, 438 y 444.

I. - LAS CELEBRACIONES JUBILARES DE 1832

Noticias explícitas sobre el jubileo de 1832 las encontramos ya en la segunda carta circular del Rmo. P. General Juan Camilo Ripoli (1832-1849) del 24 de septiembre de 1832⁵. A partir de ella, el P. F. Kuntz alude al tema en sus *Commentaria* sobre la vida de S. Alfonso y sobre los acontecimientos más importantes relacionados con la Congregación⁶, transcribiendo dicha carta⁷ y añadiendo una breve noticia sobre las celebraciones que han tenido lugar en Viena y en Friburgo de Suiza⁸.

Sin descender por ahora a ulteriores investigaciones, damos por supuesto que las celebraciones del Primer Centenario de la Congregación del Smo. Redentor se ajustaron a lo propuesto por el P. Gene-

⁵ Cfr. *Documenta miscellanea ad Regulam et spiritum Congregationis nostrae illustrandum*, Romae 1904, 285-287. Esta obra en adelante la citaremos en la forma abreviada de *Doc. Misc.* El original italiano de la carta se conserva en AGR, XIV, D5. El P. Giancamillo Ripoli nació en Corato (Bari), diócesis de Trani, el 9 de octubre de 1780. Tomó el hábito el 15 de diciembre de 1798; profesó en Pagani el 21 de julio de 1799; fue ordenado sacerdote el 31 de marzo de 1804. Durante 27 años fue misionero en Calabria. Del 29 de mayo de 1832 al 14 de abril de 1849 desempeñó el cargo de Rector Mayor. Murió en Pagani el 16 de febrero de 1850. El 2 de enero de 1837 había sido nombrado obispo de Potenza. Renunció al cargo por cinco veces, siéndole finalmente aceptada la renuncia por el Rey de Náples el 13 de mayo de 1837. Cfr. S. M. SCHIAVONI, *Biografie dei Redentoristi Napoletani più ragguardevoli per Santità, Dottrina e Dignità*, Pagani 1938, 241-243, donde se hace resaltar: la presencia de cinco congregados transalpinos en el Capítulo General de 1832; la «prudencia» y «sagezza» del nuevo Rector Mayor; su renuncia al episcopado; y cómo «Il 9 Novembre del 1832 celebrò il 1° Centenario della Nascita della Congregazione, industriandosi a tutt'uomo, perché nuovo incremento prendesse l'Istituto» (p. 241); F. MINERVINO, *Catalogo dei Redentoristi d'Italia, 1732-1842, e dei Redentoristi delle Provincie Meridionali d'Italia, 1841-1869*, Roma 1978, 151. M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Bibliographie*, II 351; E. HOSP, *Erbe des hl. Klemens Maria Hofbauer. Erlösermissionäre (Redemptoristen) in Oesterreich, 1820-1951*, Wien 1953, 260; *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 269, n. 142. M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Histoire sommaire de la Congrégation du T. S. Rédempteur*, Louvain 1958, 116-138.

⁶ El p. Federico Kuntz nació en Weyersheim, diócesis de Strasbourg, Francia, el 26 de enero de 1832. Profesó como redentorista en 1850 y se ordenó de sacerdote en 1857. Desde 1879 fue archivero general de la Congregación. Murió en Roma el 8 agosto de 1905. Una de sus obras más importantes la constituyen los veinte volúmenes manuscritos conservados en la Biblioteca del Archivo General: *Commentaria de vita D. Alphonsi et de rebus C.SS.R., futuro eiusdem Congregationis Annalium scriptori diligenter praeparata*. A partir del vol. XII les da el título de: *Commentaria de hominibus et rebus C.SS.R.* El primer volumen fue rehecho en otros tres de formato más pequeño titulados: *Annales Congregationis SS. Redemptoris*. La obra se ocupa de la historia de la Congregación hasta el 26 de diciembre de 1834. Cfr. M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Bibliographie*, II 239; IDEM, *Origines de la Congrégation du Très Saint-Rédempteur. Etudes et Documents*, I, Louvain 1953, I, p. VIII. Nosotros aludiremos a la obra de Kuntz en la forma abreviada de *Commentaria*.

⁷ *Commentaria*, XX 292-293.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 294.

ral en la carta circular a que hemos aludido. En ella podemos descubrir el significado de las celebraciones jubilares y la situación de la Congregación vista desde Pagani después del Capítulo General de 1832. Los restantes documentos nos permitirán hacerlo sobre todo desde el mundo transalpino.

1) Designación de las celebraciones

El nombre que se usa para indicar las celebraciones de este primer centenario varía un poco. En el resumen de la carta que hace la edición de 1904 se dice sencillamente: « De primo saeculari anniversario foundationis C.SS.R. »⁹. El texto mismo, en cambio, usa las siguientes expresiones: « Congregatio, communis mater nostra, die IX Novembris huius anni centesimum explet annum, ex quo gloriosa orta est »¹⁰. Y en otro lugar, citando a Isaías (61, 2): « Annum placabilem Domino »¹¹. El P. Kuntz, por su parte, añade: « Consimilis etiam sollemnitas peracta est a nostris in Helvetia Patribus, non quidem publice, sed privatim. Die septima Novembris (ita nostra Friburgentia chronica) coepimus festum iubilare, vel potius saeculare Congregationis nostrae, sollemni triduo celebrare »¹².

Según esto, las expresiones principales para designar las celebraciones en el Primer Centenario de la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor serían dos: centenario y jubileo o fiestas jubilares.

2) Significado general del jubileo

Lo deducimos de los objetivos que se proponen conseguir los documentos que venimos citando. El centenario es « una ocasión propicia » para ello. Tratando, por parte nuestra, de explicitarlos, nos atreveríamos a hacer la siguiente agrupación de textos:

a) *Una adecuada acción de gracias por los beneficios con que Dios ha colmado a la Congregación.*

Suavis recordatio beneficiorum, quibus benignissimus Deus noster larga manu nos Congregationis alumnos cumulare dignatus est, iugiter

⁹ *Doc. Misc.*, 285.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 285.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 286.

¹² *Commentaria*, XX 294. Al margen de la p. 292 anota: « Litterae communes Rectoris Maioris quibus centesimum annum Congregationis nostrae celebrandum indicit ».

in cogitatione me detinuit, manifestandi omnibus studia quae nobis insunt, ut et vos omnes promere possitis grati animi sensus erga eximium benefactorem nostrum Deum. Propitia occasio, qua hoc maximi momenti tributum rite persolvere licet, proxima et vicinissima est nobis. Congregatio, communis mater nostra, die IX Novembris huius anni centesimum explet annum, ex quo gloriosa orta est¹³.

La finalidad de las celebraciones propuesta por el P. Ripoli la resumen perfectamente estas palabras de F. Kuntz, al preguntarse si la carta habría sido enviada también a Viena, donde estaba el P. Passerat:

An exemplar harum litterarum etiam Vindobonam ad Venerabilem Passeratam missum fuerit, non liquet. Nec vero opus fuit Congregationis amantissimo viro huiusmodi calcari ad agendum Deo sollemnissimas gratias pro eius ortu, pro eius inter tot tempestates conservatione ac mirabili propagatione¹⁴.

b) *Una acción de gracias por lo que el Instituto ha significado para la Iglesia.*

Idcirco, Patres et Fratres mei, iunctis manibus et inclinato capite ardentem adorare et glorificare debetis benignissimum Deum, quod Ecclesiae hoc forte praesidium dedit. Vos praecipue [...], vos filii eius praedilecti, primi esse debetis in offerendis hac occasione obsequiis. *Date Altissimo secundum datum eius (Eccl. 35, 12)*¹⁵.

c) *Un momento propicio para recuperar el fervor primitivo y caminar dignamente por el camino de la vocación a que ha sido llamado.*

La finalidad de este objetivo no se centra exclusivamente en la Congregación; se orienta a su misión eclesial: prestar el servicio que la Iglesia

¹³ *Doc. Misc.*, 285.

¹⁴ F. KUNTZ, *Commentaria*, XX 294. Hoy sabemos que sí. En carta del 16 de noviembre de 1832 el P. Passerat acusaba recibo de esta circular con las siguientes palabras: «Essendo stato favorito dalle circostanze ho già promulgato alle nostre case l'enciclica benignamente addirizataci». A lo que el P. A. Sampers anota: «Si tratta della lettera circolare del 24 settembre 1832 sul modo di celebrare il primo centenario della fondazione della Congregazione, edita in *Documenta miscellanea* 285-287». Cfr. A. SAMPERS, *La corrispondenza tra i Superiori Maggiori Ripoli e Passerat, giugno 1832-aprile 1833*, en *Spic. Hist.* 28 (1980) 254. En otra carta del 1º de enero de 1833 dice el mismo P. Passerat: «Suspisor Suam Paternitatem Rev.mam offensam esse quod Litteram Encyclicam non statim Viennae praelegerim. Talis sum Rev.me Pater; nimis timidus, metuebam enim ne odium recrudesceret in P. Held. Sed hunc, a quo magis timebam murmur et turbationem, misi Mauternam in solitudine, et ibi toto corde poenitet et optime se gerit». *Ibid.*, 255. En la misma carta propone al P. Held como sucesor suyo: «Unus ex senioribus Viennae. Zelo, prudentia et fortitudine praeditus, acceptus erit omnibus qui in suis negotiis ex omni parte ad eum suas epistolas dirigunt pro firma sua in eundem fiducia». *Ibid.*, 255. Véase nota 20.

¹⁵ *Doc. Misc.*, 286.

espera del Instituto en el momento concreto que están viviendo el mundo y ella misma¹⁶.

3) Fechas para su celebración

Tanto en la carta circular del P. Ripoli como en los Anales del P. Kuntz, las celebraciones se limitan al triduo correspondiente a los días 7, 8 y 9 de noviembre de 1832¹⁷. Del resto del año no se dice nada.

La idea que parece determinar la elección de estas fechas para la celebración del jubileo es la siguiente: el Instituto comenzó en Scala el 9 de noviembre de 1732; por lo mismo, en esa fecha de 1832 empieza el año cien de su historia, que va a durar hasta el 9 de noviembre 1833, en que comienza el ciento uno. De este modo, las celebraciones jubilares coinciden con el año del centenario: cien años de la fundación.

Las celebraciones de 1982 (iniciadas en 1981) parecen tener un sentido un poco diverso: se diría que son una preparación para el 250 aniversario de la fundación, y por eso se celebran a lo largo del 249. En 1932 seguirán el mismo criterio de 1832, según veremos más adelante¹⁸.

4) Modo práctico de celebrarlo

Los actos señalados para la celebración del jubileo en todo el Instituto se reducen a un solemne triduo de acción de gracias. Debía comenzar el 7 y terminar el 9 de noviembre de 1832. En cuanto al modo de celebrarlo se daban estos detalles: los dos primeros días, habría exposición con el Santísimo y sermón; el tercero, en cambio, « sollemnis cantetur Missa pro gratiarum actione, habeatur sermo et claudatur sollemnitas cum cantu: *Te Deum* »¹⁹. No se indica una temática concreta para los sermones.

Ante la escasez de documentos sobre las celebraciones jubilares de 1832 adquiere un significado especial el relato de la *Chronica Domus Friburgensis C.SS.R.* que transcribimos a continuación.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 287. F. Kuntz, al presentar los temas del triduo en Friburgo, formula así esta misma finalidad: « Vespere dein, persolutis Matutino et Laudibus, verba dederunt aliqui Patres ad id destinati, quibus confratres ad congruos sollemnitati sensus excitarentur et magis magisque in coeptis proficere studerent ». *Commentaria*, XX 294.

¹⁷ *Doc. Misc.*, 286; *Commentaria*, XX 294.

¹⁸ *Doc. Misc.*, 286.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 286-287.

1832. Novemb. 7^a

Hac die in sacello domestico festum iubilare foundationis Congregationis nostrae, vel potius saeculare, triduo celebrare coepimus. Quovis die hora 10^a matutina missa celebrabatur cum expositione Venerabilis et benedictione.

Vespere, persolutis Matutino et Laudibus, verba dederunt aliqui Patres ad id destinati, quibus Confratres ad congruos sollemnitati sensus excitarentur, et magis magisque in coeptis proficere studerent.

Prima tridui die R. P. Franciscus Hoffbaur longa oratione, qualis ab initio Congregatio fuerit ostendit.

Secunda die R. P. Schmitt exposuit, qualis nunc sit Congregationis status, tum externus, tum internus.

Tertia demum die, in Ecclesia per totam diem Venerabile expositum est, sollemni celebrata Missa, et Vespere, in sacello domestico Pl. R. P. Rector praemonstravit, qualis futura esset Congregatio, mediaque proposuit, quibus disciplina regularis conservari atque in dies florere magis possit. Sollemni denique benedictione tota festivitas conclusa est²⁰.

Sobre las celebraciones del jubileo en otras zonas de la Congregación solamente quisiéramos añadir la información que F. Kuntz nos da sobre las que tuvieron lugar en Viena.

Quatuor igitur ultimi dies huius anni [28-31 Dec. 1832] insumpti sunt in persolvendo huius gratiarum actionis tributo, cum tanto apparatu ac magnificentia, ut magnam piorum turbam in nostram ad Marianas Scalas ecclesiam attraherent, ad interveniendum Pontificali sacro quod ibi, intra sollemne quadriduum, quotidie factum est, sicut etiam cantus Visperarum, quae pariter, quotidie in pontificalibus, sicut dici assolet, celebratae sunt²¹.

²⁰ *Chronica Domus Friburgensis CSSR, 1785-1845*, fol. 96. *Commentaria*, XX 294. El *Collegium ad B. M. V. sub titulo Auxilii Christianorum Friburgi*, Domus Studium et Novitiatu, inceptis 15 Oct. 1828 ». En 1832-1833 contaba con 21 Padres, 2 Estudiantes y 2 Novicios Coristas, 6 Hermanos y 1 Novicio Coadjutor. Era Rector de la casa el P. Luis Czech; Ministro, el P. Antonio Egle; Admonitor y Consultor, el P. Francisco Hoffbauer; Profesor y Prefecto de Hermanos, el P. Martín Schmitt; Profesor y Prefecto de Estudiantes, el P. Miguel Neubert; Consultor, el P. Sebastián Henerle; encargado de la Parroquia de S. Nicolás, el P. Juan Schulski. Cfr. *Catalogus CSSR Transalpinae. II Catalogorum CSSR collectio in Collegiis Transalpinis ab anno 1820 usque ad annum 1848*, Ruraemundae 1884, 31-32. El significado de las personas que aparecen en el pasaje citado de la crónica puede quedar reflejado en este otro de la misma época: 1832, Febr. 8^a. — « Celebravimus Capitulum domesticum ad eligendum Vocalem pro Capitulo Generali. Patres aderant omnes numero decem. Primum electus est Secretarius R. P. Schmitt, novem suffragiis, uno discrepante. Dein tres Scrutatores: in secundo scrutinio R. P. Rector, in tertio R. P. Fr. Hoffbaur, in sexto demum R. P. Srna, Minister. Procedendo dein ad Vocalis electionem sex suffragiis electus est R. P. Hoffbaur. Hic vero, cum ob corporis gravitatem crebrasque infirmitates renunciaret iuri suo, septem suffragia, duobus discrepantibus, renunciationem acceptarunt. Hinc, si fieri potest, R. P. Sabelli Neapoli habitantem procuratorem constituit. Si vero hic sit impeditus, ipsi dat facultatem alium idoneum constituendi, vel ex Italia, vel potius ex Austria; si vero neque hoc possit fieri, Capitulo Generali sese remittendi, omnium erat sententia ». *Chronica Domus Friburgensis*, 93.

²¹ *Commentaria*, XX 294. El *Collegium ad Scalas B. M. V. sub tit. Immac. Concept. Vindobonae*, Residentia R. mi Patris Vicarii Generalis, Domus Novitiatu, inceptis

5) Imagen del Instituto

Quizá lo más significativo de la circular del P. Ripoli sea la imagen general del Instituto que nos ofrece. Y esto resulta más interesante si tenemos en cuenta dos hechos: la proximidad del VIII Capítulo General de la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor, celebrado en Pagani del 24 de mayo al 4 de junio de 1832 y en el que había sido elegido Rector Mayor²²; y el tono particularmente duro de su primera circular del 29 de mayo de 1832 sobre la situación del Instituto²³. Y que en esta última no se trataba de expresiones generales sino de una realidad, nos lo demuestra la carta del P. Passerat, según la cual las alusiones a casos concretos de las casas transalpinas hacían desaconsejable su publicación en ese momento²⁴.

Para reflejar la imagen del Instituto que aparece en estos docu-

25 Dec. 1820». Para 1832-1833 el catálogo le asigna: 23 Padres, 21 Hermanos, 8 Novicios Coristas, 3 Novicios Coadjutores y 1 Aspirante para Hermano. Entre los miembros de la comunidad figuran los Padres: José Passerat, Vic. Gen.; Francisco Kosmaczek, Rector; Martín Stark, Ministro y Cons. del Vic. Gen.; José Libozki, Cons. del Vic. Gen.; Bartolomé Pajalich, Adm. del P. Rect.; Juan Madlener, Cons. del Vic. Gen.; Federico Held; Antonio de P. Passy; Juan Nep. Fortner, Maestro de Nov. Cfr. *Catalogus CSSR Transalpinæ*, II 29-30. Un detalle sobre este momento en E. Hosp, *Erbe des hl. Klemens M. Hofbauer*, 220. Las fechas indicadas para la celebración del jubileo se explicarían teniendo en cuenta el retraso con que llegó la disposición del P. General. Nos lo dice el P. Federico Held en carta al P. Luis Czech, Rector de Friburgo, con fecha del 4 noviembre de 1832: « Conformément à ma promesse, je vous envoie, avec la présente, la Circulaire du R. P. R. M. J'ai également reçu, malheureusement il n'y a que quelques jours, une lettre du P. Sabelli, dans la quelle il fait connaître les dispositions prises par le P. Général au sujet de la fête séculaire. Le P. Général prescrit un triduum, commençant le 7 novembre, en actions de grâces pour la fondation de la Congrégation qu'eut lieu le 9 nov. 1732 à Scala. Il a été prescrit d'exposer pendant ces 3 jours le T. S. Sacrement, de prêcher chaque jour et en fin de chanter une messe solennelle d'actions de grâces et de terminer par le Te Deum. Comme cette nouvelle est arrivée trop tard d'Italie, ce n'est évidemment pas ma faute si votre Révérence n'a rien appris plus tôt. Comme le P. Vic. général ne savait rien de la deuxième Circulaire dont votre Révérence a parlé, il vous a envoyé la Circulaire de M. ge Cocle de l'an dernier, circulaire adressée à notre maison ». *Arch. Prov. Lugdunensis*, copia ms. de las *Lettres du P. Passerat*, fol. 405. Sobre las celebraciones jubilaires de Viena véase también la posible fuente de los *Commentaria*: C. MADER, *Die Congregation des Allerheiligsten Erloesers in Oesterreich*, Wien 1887, 109.

²² *Acta integra Capitulorum generalium C.SS.R. ab anno 1749 usque ad annum 1894 celebratorum*, Romæ 1899, 275-298. Cfr. *Spic. Hist.* 3 (1955) 310.

²³ *Doc. Misc.*, 279-285.

²⁴ « Hinc promulgare ultimam Encyclicam distuli, cuius loca quaedam videbantur scripta pro domo Viennensi, quaeque certe contra R. P. Held, quasi eorum auctorem, animos excitavissent, ab eoque alienavissent. Cum enim obtentus esset finis, censei me voluntati Suae Rev.mae Paternitatis obsequi, si dictam epistolam Consultoribus et mihi servarem in praxim deducendam ». *Lettera del p. Passerat al p. Ripoli*, Vienna, 11 ottobre 1832, en A. SAMPERS, *La corrispondenza tra i Superiori Maggiori*, I. c., 252. Véase también *Commentaria*, XX 290-291.

mentos en vísperas del primer centenario de su fundación, vamos a transcribir una serie de textos, agrupándolos y distribuyéndolos de acuerdo con la temática a que se refieren.

a) *Contexto histórico y misión propia*

Congregatio, communis mater nostra [...] gloriosa orta est

• in medio turbine illius mundi, in quo effrenis libertas, luxus, delicata mollities, praepotentia, inimicitia, ignorantia ubique terrarum et superbe sedebant in throno et horridam ediderunt stragem in universo mundo.

• Et quamvis illis diebus non deessent heroes et sollertes Ordines regulares ad emundandum regnum christianum a scandalis et evellendis errores,

• nihilominus benignissimus Deus suscitavit nostrum Beatum, praeclarum Fundatorem nostrum Alphonsum Mariam de Ligorio, qui toleratis molestiis, effusis lacrimis et exantlatis laboribus illud erexit Institutum, quod inter cetera astra obscurae noctis velut luminosa stella resplendet, simile candelabro aureo, a Moyse in tabernaculo reposito, illuminanti non solum mensam, sed etiam sanctuarium et altare,

• suscitavit inquam illud Institutum, cuius ope potenter prostravit gentium impietatem, et in cordibus hominum devotionem, fervorem et spiritum religionis christianae redintegravit,

• propter quod fides, pietas, templum, sacerdotium, Ecclesia levant cum dignitate frontem, excutiunt pulverem de capite et ornamenta resumunt antiquum splendorem²⁵.

• [...] Pro gloria Dei studeamus e populorum cordibus evellere contagia et errores ac peccatorum et vitiorum idola destruere²⁶,

• Atque aperta fronte acerrimis contradictoribus ostendere candorem et integritatem sancti nostri Instituti [...] calamitosis his temporibus, in quibus tota fere Europa venenosis obruta erroribus, perpetuis afflictis agitationibus et vehementissimis aggressibus, ludibrio habet sanctuarium, auctoritatem pontificiam, et publice ac impudenter sacramenta deridet²⁷.

b) *Observancia regular*

• Exhortamur omnes, ut Dei amore resumant antiquum illum fervorem, cuius iacturam ob praesentem mentis evagationem boni nostri Sodales amarum deflent lacrimis,

• et ut in recta semita incedamus ac ita proficiamus in ea sancta vocatione, qua honorati et digni facti sumus,

• et pari tempore intus ferveamus et foris succensi sacro ardore [...] ostendere possimus candorem et integritatem sancti nostri Instituti,

• ita operando, ut gloriosum eius nomen per universum mundum diffundatur calamitosis his temporibus [...]²⁸.

²⁵ Doc. Misc., 285-286.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 287.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 287.

¿ De qué se trata cuando los congregados « amaris deflent lacrimis »? ²⁹. No sería exagerado imaginar que el autor de la carta está pensando en cuanto explicita su primera circular con estas palabras:

Ecce inimicus homo multam zizaniam seminavit in agro suo, in agro videlicet Congregationis nostrae, omni exceptione foecundiore; nefas enim, arbitramur, esset, celare vel dissimulare vobis ea, quae in gemitus iteratos vosmetipsos nonnunquam prorumpere cogunt, quaeque angustiis cor nostrum opprimunt, nostramque sollicitudinem maxime acuunt paternam. Multa quidem sunt, sed pauca selegimus, ut plura reformemus. Nonnulli cernuntur individui

otio passim addicti,
sectatores libertatis,
proclivi ad excutiendam debitam a Superioribus dependentiam [...],
qui nitorem religiosae paupertatis negligunt,
tempus male impediunt,
distracti mundo virenti applaudentes,
qui sua agendi ratione,
vanitate,
murmurationibus,
ceterisque actis mundanis
Regularum nostrarum disciplinam corrumpunt
sacrasque earum leges evertunt [...] ³⁰.

A quienes así se comportan se les recomienda, bajo amenazas gravísimas, una serie de actitudes que nos completan la imagen negativa precedente:

[...] peculiari aedificatione sint conspicui,
caveantque, ne vel minimum de se malum praebeant exemplum,
ut in refectione mentis habituales sint,
ac proinde de cubiculis suis absque necessitate non exeant,
ut fidelissimos sese exhibeant in exacta observantia Regularum,
Constitutionum ac iussionum Superiorum suorum,
ut perfectae vitae communis sint studiosi,
et quoad paupertatem in omnibus sint uniformes,
ut omni diligentia custodiant castitatem sintque cautissimi erga
personas alterius sexus ³¹.

Para cerrar el paso a la inobservancia:

- declara nulas las facultades especiales concedidas por sus antecesores;

²⁹ *Ibid.*: Para el contexto de esta problemática en el conjunto de la Congregación cfr. M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Histoire sommaire*, 116-138; para el mundo transalpino, E. HOSP, *Erbe des hl. Klemens M. Hofbauer*, 204-229; para el mundo italiano, G. ORLANDI, *La Congregazione del SS. Redentore nel Ducato di Modena dal 1835 al 1848*, en *Spic. Hist.* 18 (1970) 371-430.

³⁰ *Doc. Misc.*, 282.

³¹ *Ibid.*

• manda que cada sacerdote lea frecuentemente las Reglas y Estatutos, « hasta llegar a tener un claro conocimiento de los mismos »; amenaza con su indignación a « quisquis ausus fuerit diffundere sinistras quasdam opiniones relaxationi observantiae regularis faventes seu tollentes antiquos Congregationis nostrae mores, declarando, falsum esse illos non amplius obligare, vel iam in desuetudinem abiisse »³²;

• declara qué se entiende por « pro minutis », y cómo el superior interino no tiene facultad « expendendi, disponendi vel dandi alias licentias » que las expresamente indicadas en las Constituciones o que no admiten dilación³³;

• inculca la observancia del silencio, dentro de nuestras casas, en los lugares y horas establecidos;

los actos comunes del día;

la acción de gracias después de la misa;

la visita al Santísimo;

el día de retiro mensual y los diez días de retiro anuales;

los casos ascéticos y morales;

la instrucción de los hermanos;

• prohíbe que, sin permiso previo, nadie

entre en las habitaciones de otro,

vaya al refectorio fuera del tiempo establecido,

salga al jardín de la casa fuera del tiempo de recreación menor, entre en la cocina,

pasee ocioso en la sacristía, en la sastrería o al lado de la portería.

• También insiste de un modo especial en que no anden ociosos por los corredores o por los lugares comunes de la casa, « sed tempus quod residuum fuerit a confessionibus et ab actibus communibus, impendant scrupulose in studia necessaria, praesertim theologiae moralis et apologeticae ad tuendam religionem nostram, quae non exigua hodie penuria zelantibus doctisque laborat defensoribus »³⁴. Y ataca a quienes se sienten satisfechos con lo que ya han estudiado, o creen que la concentración intelectual perjudica la salud;

finalmente, prohíbe a todos los congregados que, hablando con seglares, les confíen nada que pueda dañar la buena fama de los cohermanos en lo más mínimo³⁵.

La carta termina diciendo cómo todo esto se lo expone para cumplir con la voluntad de Dios y obedecer al Capítulo General, « quod sua erga nos fiducia, inoffensam regularis observantiae sedem ordinisque Instituti nostri rationem in nobis collocare existimavit »³⁶. Por eso tenemos derecho a suponer que refleja, de alguna manera, la mentalidad del Capítulo General de 1832 y una situación real del

³² *Ibid.*, 283.

³³ *Ibid.*, 283-284.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 284.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 285. Una problemática semejante puede verse en las cartas circulares posteriores, *ibid.*, 288-292.

Instituto. El P. Passerat, al menos, cree ver alusiones concretas a algunos congregados transalpinos ³⁷.

6) La Congregación del Santísimo Redentor en 1832

Efectivamente, los documentos analizados permiten pensar que, además de las limitaciones y de los abusos personales, propios de cada época, la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor está viviendo una « crisis interna » ³⁸. De ellos se deduce, es verdad, la imagen de comunidades en las que los sujetos no se ven apremiados por el trabajo pastoral ni por una inquietud personal de superación. Hasta se habla de la ociosidad, de las murmuraciones y de una serie de faltas contra la observancia regular. Sin embargo, si tenemos en cuenta la historia general de este período en la vida de la Congregación, es fácil llegar a encuadrar estos problemas en un marco más amplio: las tensiones propias de una búsqueda de la propia identidad en condiciones tan diversas como podían ser las de Nápoles, Estados Pontificios, Austria, Suiza o Estados Unidos de América a principios del siglo XIX. Esto quiere decir que para comprender plenamente la situación de la Congregación en 1832 tenemos que tener en cuenta el influjo que ejercían sobre los congregados: la situación política de los diversos países; la diversidad de posibilidades pastorales con que se encontraban en cada región; la herencia de la Iglesia y de la cultura meridional en la configuración inicial del Instituto (regla, estilo de vida, apostolado, espiritualidad); la herencia hofbaueriana, sobre todo fuera de Italia; y la provisionalidad impuesta en algunos casos por las revoluciones ³⁹. En este contexto es natural que algunos sufrieran una auténtica crisis de identidad, al mismo tiempo que sentían la urgencia de lograr una configuración más definida del Instituto en la diversas regiones.

Los problemas, en torno a los cuales se había ido localizando la crisis, podríamos resumirlos así, de acuerdo con la exposición que de ellos hace E. Hosp: aceptación o no de parroquias ⁴⁰; « el problema de los colegios » ⁴¹; la « crisis de la observancia regular » ⁴²; « la

³⁷ Cfr. *Spic. Hist.* 28 (1980) 252 y notas 14 y 20.

³⁸ H. Hosp, *Erbe des hl. Klemens M. Hofbauer*, 182-183.

³⁹ Cfr. *ibid.*, 182-183, las referencias que haremos al hablar de cada problema en particular y la bibliografía general de la nota 29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 184-188.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 189-203.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 204-229.

cuestión de la pobreza »⁴³; « los problemas constitucionales »⁴⁴. El Capítulo general de 1832 y las circulares del P. Ripoli parecen ocuparse preferentemente de la « observancia regular » y de la « cuestión de la pobreza ». Por la documentación contemporánea sabemos que ante el conjunto de los problemas había dos actitudes fundamentales: la de los congregados transalpinos, y la de los que vivían en Italia. Dentro del mundo transalpino parecen claros, por otra parte, dos grupos bien definidos: uno, formado por el P. Passerat y aquellos congregados (en la correspondencia con el P. Ripoli se alude a unos veinte) que lo estiman y veneran, al mismo tiempo que tienen miedo a que el nuevo superior general lo cambie como Vicario General⁴⁵; y otro, que gira en torno a los PP. Federico Held, Martín Stark, Francisco Kosmaček y Antonio Prigl⁴⁶. Geográficamente, el primero de estos grupos estaría centrado, sobre todo, en las casas de Friburgo (Suiza) y Mautern (Austria); y el segundo, en la de Viena (Austria)⁴⁷.

Aunque no siempre se tratara de actitudes que tendieran a excluirse mutuamente, sí nos permiten comprender y explicar las situaciones de conflicto que viven en este momento diversas regiones y algunas comunidades en particular.

El proceso de superación de estos problemas siguió una línea bastante definida, si no estamos equivocados: acentuación de la fidelidad a S. Alfonso, a las Constituciones pontificias y a la tradición (observancia regular); insistencia en el apostolado de las misiones; división de la Congregación en Provincias y Regiones; afianzamiento

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 230-242.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 243-264.

⁴⁵ Cfr. *Lettera del p. Ripoli ai padri di Friburgo (Svizzera) e di Mautern; Nocera de' Pagani*, 29 settembre 1832, en *Spic. Hist.* 28 (1980) 249-250.

⁴⁶ Si tenemos en cuenta lo dicho en la nota 21, veremos que no figura el P. Antonio Prigl. El *Catalogus CSSR*, II 34, lo asigna para 1832-1833 a la casa de Mautern. En 1828 (*ibid.*, 19) aparece como Rector de la casa de Viena y Cons. del Vic. Gen. En 1833 es confirmado como Lector de Pedagogía en Mautern. Cfr. *Chronica et labores apostolici Prov. Austriacae, I (1820-1865)*, 179. Para la problemática que plantean estas personalidades cfr. A. SAMPERS, *La corrispondenza tra i Superiori Maggiori Ripoli e Passerat, giugno 1832-aprile 1833*, en *Spic. Hist.* 28 (1980) 245-261, y más concretamente las páginas 252, 255, 257.

⁴⁷ Es la impresión que se desprende de los documentos citados en las notas precedentes. Se comprenderá mejor si se tienen en cuenta otros detalles. Por ejemplo: Viena parece definida por unas inquietudes pastorales más relacionadas con la ciudad y con el extranjero (fundación en Estados Unidos, Bélgica y Portugal) y por un estilo de vida con un influjo mayor de los discípulos de S. Clemente; Friburgo, en cambio, acentúa el apostolado de las misiones y un estilo de vida en el que pueden tener un significado las figuras del P. Passerat y del P. Sabelli; finalmente, Mautern es la casa de formación por excelencia: « Quum domus ad S. Barbaram V. et M. Mauternae in Styria, Studiis sit destinata, omnesque Sacerdotes, uno alteroque excepto,

del centralismo, de la autoridad de los superiores, de la virtud de la obediencia, de la disciplina y de la organización; salida de algunos congregados, etc.

También contribuyó positivamente a la superación de la problemática lo que en realidad había sido causa de la misma: la difusión geográfica de la Congregación. Los datos estadísticos para 1832 los resumiríamos así:

Casas de la Congregación

— en Italia:	
Reino de las dos Sicilias	11
Calabria	4
Sicilia	3
Estados Pontificios	4
— en Austria	5
— en Suiza, Bélgica, Francia y Portugal	1
— en Estados Unidos	1
	<hr/>
Total de casas	32

Congregados (comprendidos los novicios)

— Congregados italianos (1830):	
sacerdotes y clérigos	211
hermanos	61
	<hr/>
Total	272
— Congregados transalpinos:	
sacerdotes	91
clérigos	33
hermanos	69
	<hr/>
Total	193
— En Austria	150
— En América y resto de Europa	43
	<hr/>
Total de congregados	465 ⁴⁸ .

officio lectoris accipientur, iam patet, pauca esse, quae referantur in elencho laborum apostolicorum hucusque peractorum». *Chronica et labores apostolici*, 216. Se habla de los ejercicios al clero y de las confesiones. La comunidad cuenta con 13 Padres, 32 Estudiantes, 8 Hermanos, 2 Novicios Coadjutores, 1 Postulante para Hermano. Cfr. *Catalogus CSSR Transalpinae*, II 34-35. Para el estudio del apostolado de la Congregación en este momento cfr. G. ORLANDI, *La Congregazione del SS. Redentore nel Ducato di Modena dal 1835 al 1848*, l.c. 420-425.

⁴⁸ Datos tomados de: *Status Congregationis abhinc centum annis*, en *Analecta*, 11 (1932) 352-353; F. MINERVINO, *Catalogo dei Redentoristi d'Italia*, 340.

Esta presencia geográfica, hasta cierto punto estratégica, de la Congregación al cumplirse el primer centenario de su historia, hizo que la crisis interna que entonces estaba viviendo se fuera perfilando cada vez más como una auténtica crisis de crecimiento. Por eso, aunque resultara larga, iría acompañada de una gran vitalidad, que apreciaremos mejor en las celebraciones jubilares del Segundo Centenario⁴⁹.

Por todo ello, es natural que la recurrencia del Primer Centenario fuera vista como un momento propicio para recuperar el fervor de los orígenes. Y en este contexto nos parece significativa la temática escogida por la comunidad de Friburgo para el triduo del centenario. En ella se trata de volver a los orígenes de la Congregación, tomar conciencia de la situación (interna y externa) en que se encuentra, y entrever sus posibilidades de futuro. Los medios para asegurar el porvenir se van a identificar con los medios para « conservar y hacer que cada día vaya floreciendo más la disciplina regular ».

En realidad, una temática muy de acuerdo con el Capítulo General de 1832, con las circulares del P. Rípoli y con la orientación que va a ir tomando la superación de la crisis. Nada de extraño, por otra parte, si tenemos en cuenta que el superior de la comunidad asiste al Capítulo General, y que en Friburgo se forma el P. Nicolás Mauron, personalidad tan significativa para la superación de la problemática a que venimos aludiendo⁵⁰.

II. - EN EL SEGUNDO CENTENARIO DE LA CONGREGACIÓN (1932)

Los documentos para el estudio de las celebraciones jubilares que tuvieron lugar con ocasión del Segundo Centenario de la fundación del Instituto son muchos⁵¹. Entre todos tienen una importancia espe-

⁴⁹ E. HOSP, *Erbe des hl. Klemens M. Hofbauer*, 295-363; M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Histoire sommaire*, 116-138.

⁵⁰ Por la casa de Friburgo asisten como vocales al Capítulo General de 1832 los PP. Luis Czech y G. L. Sabelli. Además de lo dicho en la nota 20, cfr. *Acta integra Capitulum generalium CSSR (1749-1894)*, 286 (donde se confirma la decisión del capítulo doméstico), 288, 290, 293 y 298. — El P. Nicolás Mauron nació el 7 de enero de 1818 en Saint-Sylvestre, Suiza. Entró en el noviciado a los 18 años. Profesó el 18 de octubre de 1837. En 1838 figura como Estudiante en Friburgo. Se ordenó el 27 de marzo de 1841 y en 1842 aparece ya entre los Padres de la comunidad. Provincial de la Provincia Galo-Helvéctica desde 1851, es elegido Superior General en 1855. Murió el 17 de julio de 1893. Cfr. [J.-B. LORTHOIT], *Mémorial Alphonsien*, Tourcoing 1929, 349-350, y *Catalogus CSSR Transalpinæ*, II 55 y 89.

⁵¹ Ya el mismo P. Murray decía: « Fere innumerabiles mihi misistis libros aliaque scripta de festis nostris saecularibus tractantia, quae saepe imaginibus pul-

cial las cartas circulares del Rmo. P. Patricio Murray (1909-1947) escritas desde principios de 1931 a finales de 1933, por el influjo que entonces ejercían estas formas de comunicación del Gobierno General sobre las Provincias del Instituto⁵². Precisamente por eso, ante la imposibilidad de estudiar sistemáticamente toda la documentación que se conserva sobre el centenario, centramos nuestro análisis en las cartas circulares como punto de partida para posibles estudios posteriores.

Las primeras referencias del P. Murray a las celebraciones jubila- res del Segundo Centenario de la Congregación aparecen en las *Litterae Circulares*, n. 92, del 6 de enero de 1931. Tienen como punto de partida o motivación inmediata las felicitaciones que le han dirigido los congregados y las Madres Redentoristas con ocasión de la Navidad. En ellas han mostrado un ardiente celo por el Instituto,

quem [zelum] plures, tum ex Nostris, tum ex Monialibus SS. Redemptoris, demonstrarunt, praesertim loquentes de venturo ducesimo ab Instituto condito die anniversario. Nam ego quoque spero fore ut, et ipsum duplex Institutum et singuli utriusque Sodales, multum fructum ex eodem anniversario capiant⁵³.

En los dos años siguientes (1932-1933) escribirá otras siete circulares (n. 94 a 100) que también se ocupan del centenario de alguna manera. Es donde podemos encontrar el espíritu de las celebraciones, mientras tendremos que acudir a los restantes documentos a que hemos aludido antes si queremos ver su desarrollo real.

cherrimis ornata sunt». *Litt. circ.* 99, en *Analecta* 12 (1933) 3. Para un primer acercamiento a estas publicaciones cfr. E. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Bibliographie*, III 444, y *Libri, libelli, articuli sollemnia nostra bis saecularia vel S. P. N. Alfonsum spectantes*, en *Analecta* 11 (1932) 381-383; 12 (1933) 53-54, 115, 185-186, 250-251, 302-303, 380; 13 (1934) 45-46.

⁵² El P. Patricio Murray nació en Termon, Irlanda, el 24 de noviembre de 1865, profesó el 23 de octubre de 1889 y fue ordenado de sacerdote el 10 de septiembre de 1890. Elegido Rector Mayor el 1 de mayo de 1909, renunció al cargo el 26 de abril de 1947. Murió en Limerik el 4 de junio de 1959. Cfr. *Anal.* 31 (1959) 260-261. Las cartas publicadas por *Analecta* llevan el título de *Litterae circulares R.mi P. Generalis*. La edición original que se mandaba a las Provincias forma un volumen titulado: *Litterae Circulares R.mi Patris Patritii Murray, Sup. Gen. et Rect. Maj. CSSR*, II, nº 69-140, 1922-1947. Para su uso es conveniente tener en cuenta la siguiente correlación de ambas ediciones: *Litterae circulares*, n. 92, en *Analecta* 10 (1931) 5-12; n. 94, *Anal.* 11 (1932) 7-13; n. 95, *ibid.*, 78-79; n. 96, *ibid.*, 135-136; n. 97, *ibid.*, 264-269; n. 98, *ibid.*, 327-329; n. 99, *Anal.* 12 (1933) 3-9; n. 100, *ibid.*, 123-125. Para facilitar la localización de los textos en cualquiera de las ediciones usaremos la forma abreviada siguiente: *Litt. circ.*, con el número correspondiente, y la cita de *Analecta* (*Anal.*), como puede verse en la nota siguiente.

⁵³ *Litt. circ.* 92, *Anal.* 10 (1931) 5.

1) Designación de las celebraciones jubilares

Son varias las expresiones que se usan con este fin. Teniendo en cuenta la categoría fundamental en cada una de ellas, podríamos distinguir tres series:

La primera pone de relieve la recurrencia cronológica del acontecimiento que se celebra. Expresiones típicas con esta idea serían: *ducentesium* o *biscentesium anniversarium* y *sollemnitas saecularis*⁵⁴.

Otra alude más bien a la celebración festiva que con esta ocasión tendrá lugar: *festas, celebrationes, sollemnitas*⁵⁵.

La tercera serie acentúa la dimensión religiosa, haciendo referencia al jubileo y al año santo cristianos. De aquí expresiones como *iubilaeum, annus iubilaris, annus sanctus*⁵⁶. Esta expresión se debe, en gran parte, al ambiente eclesial que supuso el Jubileo Universal de 1925 y el Jubileo extraordinario de la Redención de 1933⁵⁷.

2) Fechas para su celebración

Nos las explicitan con toda claridad estas palabras de la *Circular* 92 del 6 de enero de 1931:

Quod ad ipsam sollemnitatem spectat, Moniales illam eo tempore et modo, quo ipsis et Ordinariis locorum visum fuerit, celebrabunt. Pleurumque talia festa intra annum ab ipso die anniversario incipientem habentur. Nostra igitur festa saecularia intra annum qui die 9 Novembris 1932 incipit et eodem die 1933 exit, locum habebunt⁵⁸.

El 9 de noviembre de 1932 se concretaban ya las fechas para las celebraciones que tendrían lugar en Roma como expresión de toda la Congregación:

⁵⁴ Los términos indicados se encuentran en frases como las siguientes: « De venturo ducentesimo ab Instituto condito anniversario »; « ducentesium natalis nostri anniversarium »; « festa nostra anniversaria »; « bis-centesimum anniversarium a memoratae Congregationis fundatione »; « saecularia sollemnia »; « bis-saeculare vitae cursum »; « sollemnitas nostra bis-saecularis »; « transeamus ad bis-saecularem duplicis Instituti SS. Redemptoris sollemnitatem ».

⁵⁵ Entre otras expresiones señalamos: « Talia festa »; « festa nostra anniversaria »; « in istis duplicis Instituti celebrationibus »; « sollemnis celebratio »; « festis nostris saecularibus ».

⁵⁶ Como expresiones de esta idea baste señalar las siguientes: « Iubilaeum ipsius operis Redemptionis atque Instituti Sanctissimi Redemptoris »; « valet de nostro quoque Anno Iubilari »; « diem celeberrimum atque sanctissimum »; « annum bis sanctum ».

⁵⁷ Cfr. *Litt. circ.* 92, *Anal.* 10 (1931) 7 y 12; *Litt. circ.* 100, *Anal.* 12 (1933) 123.

⁵⁸ *Litt. circ.* 92, *Anal.* 10 (1931) 11.

Sollemnis autem totius Congregationis celebratio locum habebit, sicut vobis iam dixi, mense Maio anni proximi, ad quam nunc per hanc Epistolam omnes Superiores Provinciales invito⁵⁹.

3) *Modo práctico de celebrarlas*

Está indicado taxativamente en la *Circular* 96 del 22 de mayo de 1932. En un primer momento se refiere a las celebraciones que el P. General pensaba organizar en nombre de toda la Congregación. Después indica las que han de celebrarse « in singulis ecclesiis nostris ». En otras circulares se alude a lo que han de significar para cada congregado. De este modo podemos distinguir tres niveles en la forma práctica de celebrar el centenario: el personal, el comunitario y el general o de Congregación. Para ver lo que en cada uno de ellos se pide, vamos a transcribir algunos pasajes significativos de las mismas circulares.

a) *A nivel de Congregación*

El proyecto inicial de celebración sufre un cambio, debido a las dificultades económicas de la época:

Primum quidem in animo habui, triplicem totius Congregationis sollemnitatem Romae, Nuceriae Paganorum, Scalae celebrare, quibus sollemnitatibus interessent, aut Patres Capitulares, aut, deficiente Capitulo; unusquisque Provincialium cum Socio suae Provinciae. Interim vero venit ac crevit et ubique terrarum percubuit gravissima rei pecuniariae calamitas, ob quam itinera Nostrorum difficillima redduntur. Quapropter verisimilius soli Superiores Provinciales huc venient ad triplicem supra memoratam sollemnitatem mense Aprili vel Maio celebrandam. Quod postea hac de re statuatur, id statim iisdem Provincialibus notum faciam⁶⁰.

Lo determina y notifica la *Circular* 98 del 9 de noviembre de 1932 escrita desde Scala:

Sollemnis autem totius Congregationis celebratio locum habebit, sicut vobis iam dixi, mense Maio anni proximi [1933], ad quam huc per hanc Epistolam omnes Superiores Provinciales invito. Verum ob difficultates pecuniarias, quae nunc ubique terrarum grassantur, Superiores Provinciales sine sociis suae Provinciae venient.

Secundum id quod in praesenti statutum est, Triduum Sollemne Romae in Ecclesia SS. Redemptoris et in honorem S. Alphonsi celebrabitur a die quinto ad diem septimum mensis Maii; deinde Missa Sollemnis litabitur die decimo quarto eiusdem mensis in Basilica S. Michaelis et S. Al-

⁵⁹ *Litt. circ. 98, Anal. 11 (1932) 327*. La alusión es a *Litt. circ. 96 del 22 de mayo de 1932, en Anal. 11 (1932) 136*.

⁶⁰ *Litt. circ. 96, Anal. 11 (1932) 135*.

fonsi Paganis, et tandem die decimo sexto Maii Scalae in Ecclesia Monialium SS. Redemptoris.

Ad quas celebrationes Curia generalis cum omnibus Superioribus Provincialibus assistent, ut universa Congregatio singulaeque Provinciae partem habeant in his sollemnibus grati animi nostri significationibus pro immensis beneficiis, quae ipsum Institutum et singuli Sodales ac Domus et Provinciae per haec duo saecula acceperunt.

Simul Universum Institutum velut una voce a SS. Nostro Redemptore omnia fausta ac salutaria pro ipso Instituto ac singulis Sodalibus et Domibus et Provinciis sollemniter efflagitabit, praesertim ut universi Congregati in *imitatione Christi Crucifixi Redemptoris* totis viribus progrediantur, ut scripsi in Circulari diei 6 Ianuarii huius anni, utque ipsum Institutum innumerabiles animas derelictas ad salutem ac sanctitatem perducat ⁶¹.

La realización concreta de estos actos nos la resume así el cronista de *Analecta*:

Hae dies, quas fecit Dominus, et quas nulla unquam oblitterabit oblivio: exultavimus et laetati sumus in eis! Intervenerunt tres confratres episcopali dignitate insignes [...], atque undeviginti Superiores Provinciales [...]. Ergo deerant duo Provinciales exteri, Pl. R. P. L. Wouters (Prov. Holl.), qui medio mense Maio mortem oppetiit, et Pl. R. P. A. Herold (Prov. Arg.), cui ob infirmam valetudinem medicus iter Romanum interdixerat ⁶².

A continuación habla de la inauguración de la fachada principal de la Casa generalicia ⁶³; de la audiencia pontificia del 10 de mayo de 1933 ⁶⁴; del triduo que tuvo lugar en Roma los días 12, 13 y 14, con una solemnidad verdaderamente extraordinaria: el último día tuvo el sermón de la tarde el « Emo. D. Eugenio Card. Pacelli » ⁶⁵ y « ultimo vespere omnes Patres ad hymnum Ambrosianum in presbyterio ecclesiae, cotta induti, assistebant, partim cereos gestantes » ⁶⁶; de las celebraciones de Scala: « Fer. IV d. 17 Maii R. mus P. Generalis eius-

⁶¹ *Litt. circ.* 98, *Anal.* 11 (1932) 327-328.

⁶² *Sollemnia Romae, Scalae Paganisque celebrata revolutis duobus a condita Congregatione nostra saeculis*, en *Anal.* 12 (1933) 126-146, el texto citado en p. 126.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 126-128.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 128-133, donde transcribe el saludo dirigido por el P. General al Papa Pío XI, y la alocución de éste a los Redentoristas admitidos a la audiencia. El Papa hace alusión a la coincidencia del Segundo Centenario de la Congregación con el XIX de la Redención, y agradece el apostolado de los Redentoristas en todo el mundo.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 133-135. Para el texto de los sermones predicados en esta ocasión cfr. *Triduo solenne celebrato nella Chiesa di S. Alfonso all'Esquilino nei giorni 12-13-14 maggio 1933*, Roma 1933. Nótese la diferencia de fechas en relación con las previstas en *Litt. circ.* 98.

⁶⁶ *Sollemnia Romae, Scalae Paganisque celebrata*, 135.

que comites Paganis, quo pridie advenerant, ut postea dicetur, mane Scalam profecti sunt septem vehiculis sua vi actis. Etiam praefectus civium Paganensium et praeses Facistarum huius civitatis gaudii nostri participes esse voluerunt. Natura nobiscum gaudere videbatur. Quam loculentus ille dies! »⁶⁷; y de las celebraciones que tuvieron lugar en Pagani, dándonos algunos detalles sumamente interesantes sobre la participación de la ciudad⁶⁸. Partieron de Pagani el día 22 de mayo⁶⁹.

b) *A nivel de comunidad*

La norma general sobre el modo práctico de celebrar el centenario en cada comunidad decía sencillamente:

Deinde *in singulis ecclesiis nostris*, vel in alienis ecclesiis, ubi Nostris propria ecclesia spoliati sunt, praevio Rev.mi Ordinarii consensu, sollemnia per tres saltem dies peragentur, quorum ultimo necessario erit dies 9 Novembris huius anni vel quilibet ex diebus sequentibus usque ad diem 9 Novembris anni 1933; qua occasione S. Sedes favores concedit, qui sequuntur⁷⁰.

Y habla de la *indulgencia plenaria* y de la *parcial de siete años* que pueden ganar los fieles, así como de las misas que en esa ocasión podrán celebrarse. A la carta van adjuntas copias de los rescriptos por los que se concedían estas gracias⁷¹.

c) *A nivel personal*

Se recuerda de un modo genérico al hablar de las celebraciones jubilares, insistiendo más explícitamente cuando se trata de la renovación en el espíritu propio del Instituto y de la imitación de Cristo, Redentor Crucificado⁷².

La realización práctica de estas disposiciones sin duda que fue muy diversa de un país a otro. *Analecta* la resume con estas palabras:

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 135-136, donde se dan muchos detalles sobre las celebraciones. La comida tuvo lugar en nuestra casa de Scala y asistieron 31 Redentoristas.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 136-146.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 146.

⁷⁰ *Litt. circ.* 96, *Anal.* 11 (1932) 135.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 135-136. Texto de los rescriptos, *ibid.*, 129 y 131.

⁷² Como ejemplos pueden verse las *Litt. circ.* 92, 94 y 96, aunque es posible descubrir el tema en las demás.

In multis ecclesiis iamiam sollemnia bis saecularia digno splendore et decora mentis iubilatione instituta sunt; verum *Analecta* huic soli argumento reservanda essent, si de singulis celebrationibus diffuse narrare vellemus. Praeterea eae inter se valde consimiles esse solent; v. g.

per triduum mane celebratur in templo lautissime decorato Missa sollemnis vel etiam pontificalis, forsán cum aliqua homilia;

vespere autem orator insignis contionatur, et sollemnes laudes eucharisticae cantantur.

Quod idem valet de festivitibus domesticis, passim in domibus iuvenatus et studentatus aliisve institutis.

Ergo hodie his paucis notulis contenti simus⁷³.

4) Temas de reflexión para el Centenario

El P. Murray aprovechó la oportunidad del centenario para ofrecer a la consideración de los congregados una serie de temas llamados a crear una mentalidad y una mística. Lo hizo por medio de las cartas circulares, un género literario que se prestaba a la reflexión personal y comunitaria. Precisamente por eso manda que se traduzcan a las diversas lenguas para que puedan ser usadas por los Hermanos del Instituto y por los miembros de la Orden del Santísimo Redentor.

Nunc autem finem dicendi facto, singulis Patribus et Studentibus mitto exemplar huius Epistolae, rogans Superiores Provinciales, ut eam Fratribus laicis, et etiam Sororibus SS. Redentoris in sua cuiusque Provincia habitantibus, in sermonem patrium convertendam curent⁷⁴.

A esto añade en otra circular:

Ad memoriam vero eiusdem epistolae nostrique ducentiesimi anniversarii conservandam, serius singulis Sodalibus Instituti mittam duas imagines cum duabus orationibus in *Analecta* 10 (1931) 222 et in *Circulare* n. 48 insertis, quas orationes in sermonem patrium uniuscuiusque, quantum fieri poterit, convertendas curabo⁷⁵.

Que estas cartas no se reducían a letra muerta, lo reconoce el mismo P. General:

Verum mihi potissimum placet, quod tanto studio vos paratis ad ducentiesimum Instituti anniversarium mox celebrandum, et quod tanta observantia ultimam meam hac de re epistolam Circularem accepistis. Tale

⁷³ *Nonnullae de bicentenario nostro notitiae undique collectae*, en *Anal.* 12 (1933) 27.

⁷⁴ *Litt. circ.* 92, *Anal.* 10 (1931) 12.

⁷⁵ *Litt. circ.* 94, *Anal.* 11 (1932) 13. Se trata de una acción de gracias y de un ofrecimiento de sí mismo al Smo. Redentor tomados de S. Alfonso. Vuelve a hacer alusión en *Litt. circ.* 96, *Anal.* 10 (1931) 136.

enim scriptum nullo modo genio et sensui nostro arridet, siquidem nobis abnegationem per exactam votorum ac Constitutionum observantiam praescribit ⁷⁶.

Demum impensissime ago gratias Congregatis, qui fere ubique terrarum diligentissime ea executioni mandant, quae in Circularibus huius anni annique praeteriti de digne celebrando ducentesimo Instituti anniversario proposui. Fere ubique enim ipsi enuntantur sanctitatem et doctrinam S. P. N. Alfonsi eiusque Institutum et ministerium nostrum proprium ita patefacere, ut optimae vocationes ad nos attrahantur, utque campus noster apostolicus magis magisque propagetur ⁷⁷.

El resultado final será el que celebra la *Circular 99*, que transcribiremos en otro lugar ⁷⁸: una mística y una cantidad inmensa de actividades.

Todo ello nos pone de relieve el influjo que estas exposiciones pudieron tener en la Congregación. Por eso nos ocupamos de ellas en este apartado. De su conjunto puede deducirse la imagen o modelo de Instituto que el autor trata de comunicar a los congregados, y la espiritualidad que les inculca. A pesar de todo, no vamos a hacer un estudio sistemático. Nos limitamos a presentar el argumento o los argumentos principales de que se ocupa cada una. Para ello seguiremos el orden de las mismas circulares, empleando, en lo posible, la formulación del tema que en ellas se hace.

Circular 92 (6 enero 1931). — El editor oficial la resume así: « De fundatione, Regula ac spiritu duplicis Instituti SS. Redemptoris et de celebrando eius sollemni bis saeculari » ⁷⁹. La citaremos repetidas veces.

Circular 94 (6 enero 1932). — Trata un tema fundamental: « De pretiosissima vocatione nostra ». De él dice: « Hac de re pluries vobis scripsi, et in praesenti, nactus occasionem ducentesimo ab Instituto nostro condito anniversario, brevem vobis tradere volo complexionem eorum omnium, quae vobis hac de re iam scripsi ». Comienza haciéndolo con estas palabras: « Vocatio enim nostra sic breviter exprimi potest: nos debemus vivae ac perfectae fieri imagines *Christi Crucifixi*, ut *Christi Redemptoris* vivae et efficientes imagines efficiamur ». Serán las dos partes de la carta: « Ac primum quidem, primaria nostri Instituti notio ex opere Redemptionis exorta est, sicut ipse titulus SS. Redemptoris indicat ». De aquí se deriva la necesidad de una « perfecta imitatio Christi Redemptoris », que llevará después a una « privatam exercitationem zeli animarum et formale ministerium apostolicum » [...]. « Zelus, qui ope sacrificii et orationis exercitatur, extendi potest et debet ad universum genus humanum, ministerium vero apostolicum intra limites Regulae circumscribi necesse est ». « Ex altera vero parte, ad Christum Redemptorem rite imitandum, omnino

⁷⁶ *Litt. circ. 95, Anal. 11 (1932) 78.*

⁷⁷ *Litt. circ. 96, Anal. 11 (1932) 136.*

⁷⁸ *Litt. circ. 99, Anal. 12 (1933) 3.*

⁷⁹ *Anal. 10 (1931) 5.*

requiritur *imitatio Christi Crucifixi* ». Desde esta segunda parte de la carta adquieren una impostación redentorista temas tan importantes como la pobreza, la vida común, la castidad, la mortificación externa, la modestia, la obediencia y la humildad. La conclusión es una síntesis del tema ⁸⁰.

Circular 95 (24 marzo 1932). — Se ocupa de temas prácticos diversos. En el contexto en que ahora la consideramos nos parece interesante por el ambiente que significa en orden a intensificar « *amorem ac devotionem vestram erga Institutum eiusque Auctorem SS. Redemptorem nostrum in SS. Sacramento latentem et Fundatorem S. P. N. Alphonsum, ac simul voluntatem vestram vosipsos totos eidem Iesu Christo eiusque Instituto consecrandi* » ⁸¹.

Circular 96 (22 mayo 1932). — El tema doctrinal propiamente dicho es muy breve. Se centra en la « *Imitatio Christi Redemptoris Crucifixi* » en forma de exhortación ⁸².

Circular 97 (8 septiembre 1932). — Está dedicada íntegramente a un argumento histórico: « *De obitu E.mi et R.mi P. D. Gulielmi Card. van Rossum* ». Un tema que nos permite apreciar el « prestigio » de los Redentoristas en Roma ⁸³.

Circular 98 (9 noviembre 1932). — Está escrita desde Scala y refleja los sentimientos de las celebraciones de ese día en los mismos lugares geográficos donde nació el Instituto. El tema de reflexión diríamos que viene dado por la Carta Apostólica de Pío XI, dedicada principalmente al ministerio propio de la Congregación en la Iglesia. Lo recogerá también el P. General en su « respuesta » al Papa ⁸⁴.

Circular 99 (6 enero 1933). — Agradece las felicitaciones navideñas y lo que han hecho los congregados con motivo del centenario. La doctrina y el espíritu de la carta nos lo resumen estas palabras: « *De his universis zeli vestri ac devotionis significationibus gratias ago, etiam nomine S. P. N. Alfonsi, vobis omnibus et singulis, exoptans nunc in principio tertii saeculi nostri eumdem spiritum, quo animati S. Fundator eiusque primi socii fundamenta Congregationis iecerunt, ac praesertim spiritum robustum observantiae regularis atque orationis. Quem in finem multum iuvat, occasione sollemnitatis nostrae data, scripta de Instituti exordiis, ac praesertim prima Circularia S. Fundatoris eiusque tractatum de Geniino Redemptorista, assidue meditari ac ponderari* » ⁸⁵. Los temas tratados en el resto de la carta son los siguientes: la observancia regular, la conformidad con la voluntad de Dios, el espíritu de oración y de súplica, la humildad y la confianza en Dios. « *Demum finem faciens enixe vobis commendo, dilecti Fratres, ut, ineunte tertio a carissima Congregatione condita saeculo, unusquisque vestrum, sequens praescripta et exempla S. Patris Legiferi, pro viribus voluntatem suam ad Dei voluntatem semper et in omnibus conformet, praecipue, sicut supra dixi, per exactam Regularum et Constitutionum observantiam* » ⁸⁶.

⁸⁰ *Anal.* 11 (1932) 7-13.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 78-79.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 135.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 264-269.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 327-329 y 321-323.

⁸⁵ *Anal.* 12 (1933) 3-4.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

Circular 100 (19 marzo 1933). — El P. General agradece las felicitaciones que le han dirigido los congregados para su honomástico, celebra el celo que han manifestado (sobre todo los formadores) durante el centenario, y hace una referencia al paralelismo que hay entre el jubileo de la Congregación y el Jubileo de la Redención. Como tema de reflexión se fija en una forma concreta de oración: la jaculatoria « Jesús, María, José »⁸⁷.

5) La Congregación del Santísimo Redentor en 1932

Para comprender plenamente el significado del centenario y de las celebraciones que en él tuvieron lugar es necesario tomar conciencia de la realidad de la Congregación en ese momento. El período de 1931-1933 pertenece a una época con síntomas de depresión, según los criterios que hemos adoptado en otro lugar al estudiar el tema⁸⁸. Por su parte, las celebraciones jubilares dan una impresión completamente distinta. Precisamente por eso nos parece necesario tener en cuenta la realidad global del Instituto si queremos lograr una visión adecuada de sus celebraciones jubilares en 1932-1933. De este modo quizá ya no parezca gratuito afirmar que son el resultado normal del florecimiento que había logrado la Congregación hasta ese momento, aunque junto con ellas aparezcan también síntomas de la crisis que va a sufrir a partir de 1931, con unas características cada vez más alarmantes a partir de la Segunda Guerra Mundial.

Para conseguir estos objetivos vamos a examinar algunos indicadores que, además, nos permitirán apreciar mejor lo que diremos sobre el significado del centenario para la Congregación.

a) *Difusión geográfica*

En 1932 la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor se halla establecida en Europa, América Septentrional, América Latina, Australia y algunos países de Extremo Oriente y África (Filipinas, China, Indochina y Congo Belga). « Lieta altresì per voi e per Noi questa visita, perché essa vuol dirci la celebrazione centenaria della Fondazione della vostra Famiglia religiosa che, sparsa per ogni parte del mondo, si prodiga per la spansione dell'opera della Chiesa e per la gloria di Dio [...]. Due secoli di gloria sono causa di grande gioia non solo per voi, ma anche per Noi e per tutta la Chiesa alla quale voi fate tanto bene lavorando in tutte le regioni del mondo, anche le più lontane [...]. Ci è noto dalle molteplici relazioni che Ci giun-

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 123-125.

⁸⁸ F. FERRERO, *Perspectivas históricas de la problemática actual sobre la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor*, en *Spic. Hist.* 21 (1973) 379-381.

gono da ogni parte, e Ci è noto altresì per nostra personale conoscenza, mentre personalmente, prima di essere assunti alla carica suprema della Chiesa, là ai confini dell'Europa Settentrionale, e particolarmente in Polonia, Ci siamo serviti della vostra opera, che anche per Noi fu di grande appoggio, e siamo stati testimoni del vostro zelo per la salvezza delle anime, che è lo scopo stesso della Redenzione »⁸⁹.

Esta difusión ciertamente supone una gran vitalidad. Pero, si no estamos equivocados, en este momento, aunque las fundaciones siguen siendo resultado de un diálogo con los obispos o la Santa Sede, sin embargo parece acentuarse una mayor iniciativa por parte de la Congregación. Esto se debe, fundamentalmente, a la abundancia de personal y a las revoluciones locales del período que, en más de un caso, obligan a buscar fundaciones nuevas en otras regiones⁹⁰. Por otra parte, nos encontramos con dos fenómenos, aparentemente contradictorios, que nos parecen significativos. El Capítulo General de 1921 propone que se introduzca en el texto de la Regla el privilegio de la exención⁹¹. Al mismo tiempo, se van acentuando las atribuciones de la jerarquía indígena en los países de misión, mientras tienden a desaparecer los privilegios de los misioneros apostólicos⁹². Si a todo esto añadimos la problemática económica, social y política que precede a la Segunda Guerra Mundial tendremos el marco en que va a surgir una nueva crisis de identidad para la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor.

Los interrogantes más importantes del momento los centraremos en torno a tres argumentos fundamentales: apostolado propio de los Redentoristas en los « países de misión »⁹³ y en las iglesias de América Latina⁹⁴; actitud a seguir ante la problemática social⁹⁵ y ante

⁸⁹ Alocución de Pío XI en la audiencia concedida a los Redentoristas el 10 de mayo de 1933. Cfr. *Anal.* 12 (1933) 131-132 y 11 (1932) 322.

⁹⁰ Como ejemplo véase L. NUÑEZ, *La CSSR en Venezuela: apuntes y reflexiones sobre una historia de 50 años*, Caracas 1978, 17-21.

⁹¹ *Acta integra Capituli generalis XII CSSR Romae celebrati anno 1921*, Romae 1922, n. 1516. Para su aplicación a la creación de las casas, de acuerdo con el CIC, n. 1556.

⁹² Cfr. R. NAZ, *Missionnaire Apostolique*, en *Dict. de droit canonique*, VI, Paris 1957, col. 896, y *Studia Dondersiana*, Roma 1982, 322-324.

⁹³ J. CAMPOS, *Luz de Cristo en Oriente. El R. P. Sagredo, Redentorista, Misionero de China (1908-1952). Notas para su vida*, Madrid 1954, 81-84.

⁹⁴ Un caso concreto es analizado por M. BARRON, *Apuntes de una crónica: el templo del Socorro cumple cincuenta años*, Torreón 1981, 1.

⁹⁵ Dos casos significativos de esta problemática, a pesar de las diferencias cronológicas, son el del P. Julio César de Moraes Carneiro (1850-1916), « abogado, periodista, parlamentario, hombre de letras y finalmente cura secular (1891) que se pasa

las nuevas formas de apostolado⁹⁶; renovación de las formas clásicas de dar misiones y ejercicios espirituales⁹⁷. Que esta problemática fuera acompañada de otra más directamente relacionada con la observancia regular y el espíritu propio, era algo normal. De hecho sorprende el paralelismo de los problemas que ahora se plantean con los que tuvo que superar la Congregación a finales del primer centenario. Son los grandes temas llamados a definir la identidad redentorista.

Nada, pues, de extraño que las celebraciones del Segundo Centenario traten de contribuir a una superación positiva de esta problemática de acuerdo con la mentalidad del momento. Lo veremos en el último apartado de este estudio.

b) Trabajos apostólicos

También los trabajos apostólicos reflejan, por una parte, gran vitalidad y, por otra, unas limitaciones evidentes. Su vitalidad se desprende del número; las limitaciones, en cambio, de

al clero religioso (1904) » redentorista. Cfr. J. O. BEOZZO, *Padre Julio María: Una teología liberal-republicana en una iglesia monárquica y conservadora*, en P. RICHARD, editor, *Materiales para una historia de la Teología en América Latina. VIII Encuentro Latinoamericano de CEHILA, Lima (1980)*, San José de Costa Rica 1981, 305-339; y el del P. Federico Grote (1853-1940), fundador del Círculo de Obreros y del diario « El Pueblo ». Cfr. *Los Redentoristas en el Segundo Centenario de su Instituto y en las Bodas de Oro de su establecimiento en los Países del Río de la Plata*, Buenos Aires 1932, 65-69 y 112-118; *Cincuentenario de los Círculos Católicos de Obreros de la República Argentina, 1892-1942*, Buenos Aires 1943; A. SANCHEZ DE GAMARRA, *Vida del Padre Grote, Redentorista, Apóstol social cristiano en Hispanoamérica*, Buenos Aires 1949. En este momento, los Redentoristas, a pesar de las restricciones oficiales sobre el apostolado social, están comprometidos con él por medio de asociaciones como las de la *Sagrada Familia*, *Ntra. Sra. del Perpetuo Socorro*, *Conferencias de S. Vicente de Paul*, etc., y de institutos religiosos o nuevas asociaciones fundadas ocasionalmente por algún congregado para completar el ministerio propio de la Congregación. Será el origen de lo que podríamos llamar nuevos miembros de la « Familia Redentorista ».

⁹⁶ A lo dicho en la nota anterior podríamos añadir la cuestión suscitada ya en el Capítulo General de 1909 sobre las « conferencias: « Sub finem Sessionis XX, mota est quaestio de Conferentiis, an scilicet huiusmodi sermones habere Nostris liceret. Facilis fuit responsio: Declaravit Capitulum a ministerio nostro alienas esse conferentias de rebus naturalibus, socialibus aliisque nihil ad salutem animarum facientibus, non vero eas, quae fidem ac religionem earumque fundamenta stabilienda ac vindicanda, hodie multis in regionibus hostiliter impetita, respiciant atque adstruant ». *Acta integra XI Capituli generalis anni 1909, Romae 1909, n° 1474, p. 30.*

⁹⁷ Para responder a este problema se publicaron obras como ésta: A. GIRÓN, *Sermones de Misión*, Madrid 1932, cuya intención se desprende de estas palabras del P. Provincial: « Pidamos a N. P. S. Alfonso en el glorioso bicentenario que estamos celebrando que conserve en su querida Congregación su espíritu de misionero, pero todo su espíritu, para que siga la trayectoria de ardoroso celo que le trazó el justamente llamado por la Iglesia universal, Doctor celosísimo » (p. 4). Su contenido consta de tres partes: « observaciones retóricas » (p. 257-273); « observaciones sobre la misión » (p. 273-308); « Sermones de Misión por el P. Antonio Girón » (p. 6-256) y « Sermones de Misión por el P. Ramón Sarabia » (p. 311-481). El porqué del mismo lo

lo restringido del campo pastoral a que se refieren: giran en torno al mundo de los sacramentos y de la piedad tradicional. El « apostolado moderno » apenas encuentra eco en las estadísticas oficiales bajo la expresión de « instrucciones y conferencias ». Las actividades casi exclusivas (si no excluyentes) serían las misiones, los ejercicios espirituales, el apostolado eucarístico y mariano, el ministerio del confesonario, y el propio de las asociaciones piadosas dirigidas por los nuestros. El interés del Papa Pío XI por la Acción Católica y su referencia al tema en la carta dirigida al P. General para las celebraciones del centenario hacen que los congregados tomen una conciencia explícita de él en este momento⁹⁸.

Una estadística sobre los trabajos apostólicos realizados en 1931 nos la resume así *Analecta*:

Misiones de 8 a 43 días	4.228	
Misiones breves	1.073	
Renovaciones	870	
Confesiones en estos trabajos	4.500.000	
Triduos, novenas, meses marianos	5.704	
Ejercicios espirituales a sacerdotes	356	con 10.159 part.
» » a seminaristas	74	con 7.012 part.
» » a religiosos/as	2.737	con 120.530 part.
» » a niños/as	1.305	con 146.105 part.
» » a seglares	1.502	con 100.947 part.
Total de ejercicios	5.974	con 384.753 part.
Sermones, instrucciones, conferencias	89.306	
Conversiones de adultos	4.234	
Comuniones en nuestras iglesias	15.805.350	⁹⁹ .

c) *Vitalidad vocacional*

En 1932 el P. Murray se alegraba de que el prestigio de S. Alfonso y de la Congregación hiciera que « optimaee vocationes ad nos

resume así la presentación antes citada: « Nuestro apostolado se encuentra en plena expansión. Predicamos mucho, y, si hemos de creer al testimonio de muchos señores Obispos, Párrocos y Sacerdotes muy dignos, nuestras predicaciones van siempre acompañadas de mucho fruto. Era necesario conjurar para el porvenir todo peligro de decadencia en nuestras tradiciones apostólicas. Este volumen de sermones de misión sale al paso de tal peligro » (p. 3). Para la problemática de la misión tradicional en este momento cfr. *Directorio de la acción misionera. Teoría y práctica*, Madrid 1968, 55-56.

⁹⁸ Para el texto de Pío XI cfr. *Acta Pontificia*, en *Anal.* 11 (1932) 322; la respuesta del P. General, *ibid.*, 329; el postulado aprobado por el Capítulo general de 1936, en *Acta integra Capituli generalis XIII (1936)*, nº 1590, p. 12-13; para el texto de 1947, que pasa a la Regla, *Acta integra Capituli generalis XIV (1947)*, nº 1644, p. 31, y nº 1651, p. 38.

⁹⁹ *Notae statisticae ad annum 1931 spectantes*, en *Anal.* 12 (1933) 25.

attrahantur, utque campus noster apostolicus magis magisque propagetur »¹⁰⁰. El resultado podemos verlo en los siguientes datos estadísticos, válidos para el 9 de noviembre de 1932:

Casas	483
Padres	3.230
Estudiantes	966
Novicios Cor.	265
Hermanos	1.629
Novicios Coad.	150
Total	6.240 ¹⁰¹ .

El hecho de contar con 265 novicios coristas y otros 150 que se preparan para profesar como Hermanos, indica una vitalidad vocacional. Pero en el contexto del Segundo Centenario adquieren una importancia especial las instituciones y encuentros destinados a potenciar la formación de los congregados en los diversos momentos de su vida religiosa. Entre otros muchos que quizá hubiera que mencionar en una investigación sistemática sobre el tema, nos han llamado la atención los siguientes:

— *El « Collegium Maius » de Roma.* Se le presta una atención creciente, como nos lo demuestra el número de estudiantes que hay en él: para el curso de 1932-1933 son 11; en el de 1933-1934 ascienden ya a 23, con cuatro Hermanos para su servicio¹⁰². Su fin no era otro que el marcado por los Capítulos Generales de 1894 y 1909: « A fin de que nuestra Congregación, que tan justamente se gloria de tener por fundador a un santo doctor de la Iglesia, florezca cada vez más en ciencia y doctrina y, con este fin, se cultiven cada vez más los estudios, el Capítulo General [de 1909] establece que se erija cuanto antes una Escuela Superior con el título de *Collegio Maggiore S. Alfonso* »¹⁰³.

— *Un Congreso de Moral.* Tuvo lugar en Witten los días 4, 5 y 6 de agosto de 1932. Su finalidad puede deducirse de estas palabras de la carta que el 20 de enero de 1932 escribía el P. L. Wouters, Provincial de Holanda, a los Provinciales de las provincias vecinas:

¹⁰⁰ *Litt. circ.* 96, *Anal.* 11 (1932) 136.

¹⁰¹ *Conspectus generalis Congregationis die 9 Novembris 1932*, en *Anal.* 12 (1933) 5. Para una síntesis comparada cfr. *Spic. Hist.* 21 (1973) 384.

¹⁰² *De nostro Collegio Maiore et de variis studiis superioribus, quae ibi perfici possunt*, en *Anal.* 11 (1932) 330-332; *De Collegio Maiore*, en *Anal.* 12 (1933) 307-308.

¹⁰³ *Academia Alfonsiana, 1957-1982*, Roma 1982, 70.

Plurimi, ni fallimur, diversarum Provinciarum confratres in votis habent, ut quae in Congregatione nostra praesertim in studentatibus adhibentur Manualia Theologiae Moralis, quoad 7m. Decalogi praeceptum, i. e. quoad iustitiam hodiernis reipublicae conditionibus magis adaptentur, quo securius Nostri de recentioribus quibusdam in materia iustitiae theoriis et modis agendi iudicare possint. Qui finis ut melius obtineatur, subortum est consilium ex Provinciis haud minus distantibus — utique de licentia Provincialium — invitandi ac convocandi initio mensis Augusti in domum nostram Wittemiensem Lectores Theologiae et Sociologiae, qui unitis viribus de illa materia delibarent iuxta schema quoddam agendum, postea singulis mittendum¹⁰⁴.

Los temas tratados estaban divididos en tres partes:

• Quaestiones praeparatoriae: in quibusnam et sub quonam respectu deficiunt moralistae in hac materia 7mi. praecepti?

• I, 1) Finis a natura propositus rei oeconomicae; 2) Ordo iustitiae tamquam principium directivum totius vitae oeconomicae; 3) Ius proprietatis; 4) Competentia potestatis publicae in hac materia iurium acquirendorum, transferendorum, etc. [...]; 5) Tributa [...].

• II, 1) Quaenam normae iusti pretii mercium et « valorum »; quid in casu monopolii [...]; 2) De labore, iure ad laborem, obligatione laborandi; 3) De contractu laboris, etc. 4) De societatibus industrialibus et commercialibus; reformatio iuris civilis¹⁰⁵.

Participaron representantes de los siguientes centros o provincias: Colegio Mayor de Roma, Provincia de París, Provincia de Strasburgo, Archivero General, Provincia de Alemania Inferior, Provincia Austríaca, Provincia Belga, Provincia Holandesa, Provincia de Alemania Superior. En total, unos 15 participantes¹⁰⁶.

— *Una Asociación Interprovincial para la Formación Redentorista*. Se formó con representantes de las Provincias redentoristas de Baltimore, San Luis y Toronto. La primera reunión informal tuvo lugar el 22 y 23 de abril de 1930. Su formación oficial se hizo en la reunión del 8 y 9 de abril de 1931. Con esta asociación se quería organizar de alguna manera a los responsables de la formación « en todas las Provincias de habla inglesa en América del Norte que estuvieran trabajando en las casas de formación (jovenados y estudiantados) »¹⁰⁷. De este modo trataban de « promover la actividad educa-

¹⁰⁴ *Acta Congressus Lectorum CSSR de Re Morali-oeconomica in Collegio Wittemiensi diebus 4, 5, 6 Augusti 1932, Wittemii 1933, 1.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 6. Entre los asistentes se encontraban los PP. L. Wouters, C. Damen, R. Kremer, L. Buijs, A. Meiberg, J. de St. Martin.

¹⁰⁷ *The Redemptorist Educational Conference*. Vol. I, February 22, 1933, No 1. Report of the First and Second Meetings. Oconomowoc, Wis. April 22 and 23, 1930.

tiva en las Provincias de América del Norte » y favorecer el intercambio de ayuda mutua entre los formadores. Para ello pensaban en cuatro departamentos: disciplinas clásicas, históricas, filosóficas y teológicas¹⁰⁸. Para la tercera reunión se indicaron temas de ascética, lenguas modernas, psicología experimental, historia, estudios superiores para los profesores, doctrina alfonsiana sobre la Mediación de María¹⁰⁹.

d) *Actividad literaria*

En 1933 la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor vio realizado un deseo del Capítulo general de 1921: « una bibliografía de todos los escritos compuestos por los miembros del Instituto, comenzando por S. Alfonso »¹¹⁰. Los autores que realizaron este deseo ven el estudio como un acercamiento « a la actividad y al espíritu misionero » de la Congregación, que lejos de « acusar una decadencia o una desviación » en este campo, « lleva la misma impronta » de su Fundador. Según ellos, en efecto, « la actividad literaria de un instituto religioso debe estar en relación con su fin ». Ahora bien, « la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor, fundada por S. Alfonso María de Ligorio en 1732, tiene por fin específico la evangelización de los fieles, sobre todo de las clases populares. Este fin ha de realizarlo mediante el apostolado de la palabra y también por medio del apostolado de la pluma » [...]. Por eso « se ha dicho justamente de S. Alfonso ' que su obra literaria es una misión que no termina ' ; lo mismo podríamos decir de la mayor parte de sus discípulos: sus escritos constituyen ' una misión permanente ', aunque esta divulgación ascética no haya agotado, ni tenga por qué agotar necesariamente, la actividad literaria de la Congregación », como puede verse en el mismo S. Alfonso¹¹¹. El ejemplo del Fundador, la difusión y defensa de su doctrina, las necesidades del apostolado y de la Iglesia, las exigencias de la forma-

North East, Pa. April 8 and 9, 1931. Published by the Conference, Oconomowoc, Wis. [1933]. Vol. II, February 22, 1933, N° 1. Report of the Third Meeting, Kirkwood, Mo., March 30 and 31, 1932. Oconomowoc, Wis. [1933]. Texto citado, en Vol. I 5.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, I 9-10.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, I 7.

¹¹⁰ M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Bibliographie*, I 15. « Valde optandum esse enuntiavit unus Capitularis ut conficeretur Bibliographia omnium scriptorum quae Nostri unquam prelo mandarunt, incipiendo a libris S. Alphonsi ». *Acta integra XII Capituli generalis an. 1921 celebratum*, Romae 1922, 60.

¹¹¹ M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Bibliographie*, I 9.

ción dentro del Instituto y las dotes de cada congregado van a ser las causas más importantes de la actividad literaria de los Redentoristas en los doscientos primeros años de su historia¹¹². Precisamente por eso nos parece significativa la dedicatoria del estudio realizado en este momento:

PARENTI OPTIMO
DOCTORI ECCLESIAE ZELANTISSIMO
D. ALPHONSO MARIAE DE LIGUORI
QUI IN LUCRANDIS ANIMIS
CUM LOQUENDI, TUM SCRIBENDI STUDIO
FILIIS SUI S STRENUAE PRAEIVIT
PRINCEPS CLARISSIMUS
HOC ANNO A CONGREGATIONE
SS. REDEMPTORIS AB IPSO CONDITA
DUCENTESIMO
EX ANIMO VOLENTI
AC
PIISSIMAE MENTIS AFFECTIBUS¹¹³

Una información periódica sobre esta actividad de la Congregación la venía ofreciendo desde sus orígenes la revista *Analecta*¹¹⁴ en la última sección de cada número titulada precisamente « Bibliographia ». En los años del centenario (1932-1934) añadió a los apartados ordinarios de « Alfonsiana » y « Alia », éste otro: « Libri, libelli, articuli sollemnia nostra bis saecularia vel S. P. N. Alfonso spectantes »¹¹⁵. Hasta informa dónde se venden esos libros o publicaciones y cuáles se pueden comprar en la Casa Generalicia¹¹⁶.

Pues bien, el estudio de la actividad literaria de los Redentoristas durante 1931-1933 puede permitirnos un acercamiento a la conciencia que la Congregación va tomando de sí misma en este momento. Lo conseguiremos si tenemos en cuenta los núcleos en torno a los cuales se van polarizando las obras más significativas. Tales consideramos aquéllas que destacan por el tema de que se ocupan, la presentación material con que aparecen o el valor científico que en sí mismas tienen.

A nuestro modo de ver, los núcleos a que aludimos serían los siguientes¹¹⁷:

¹¹² *Ibid.*, I 9-15.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, I 3.

¹¹⁴ *Analecta CSSR*, Roma 1921-1967.

¹¹⁵ Cfr. *Anal.* 11 (1932) 381-383; *Anal.* 12 (1932) 53-54, 115, 185-186, 250-251, 302-303, 380; *Anal.* 13 (1934) 45-46.

¹¹⁶ *Quaenam sint in domo generalitia nostris venalia*, en *Anal.* 11 (1932) 392.

¹¹⁷ Para el análisis únicamente tenemos en cuenta la información bibliográfica de *Analecta*.

— *actividad literaria de la Congregación*. En torno a este tema se realiza una investigación sistemática¹¹⁸, se intenta una información periódica (Analecta) y se trata de formar una biblioteca redentorista¹¹⁹.

— *celebraciones jubilares de 1932-1933*. Sobre este tipo de obras dice expresamente el P. Murray: « Praeterea, eodem amore ac devotione stimulati et excitati, fere innumerabiles mihi misistis libros aliaque scripta de festis nostris saecularibus tractantia, quae saepe imaginibus pulcherrimis ornata et semper conformia sunt consiliis in Epistola Circulari diei 6 Ianuarii 1931 per haec verba datis »¹²⁰.

— *historia general del Instituto e información sobre su situación contemporánea*. En este núcleo cabe distinguir los siguientes puntos de interés, dentro de la diversidad de las obras: S. Alfonso y Santos de la Congregación; Ntra. Sra. del Perpetuo Socorro; origen y desarrollo de la Congregación; Curia Generalicia; crónicas de las Provincias; estadísticas sobre la situación de la Congregación y los trabajos apostólicos; documentos históricos; necrologías, etc.¹²¹.

— *estudio y difusión de las obras y del espíritu de S. Alfonso*. Sin aludir ahora a las versiones que sin cesar se van haciendo a las diversas lenguas, creemos significativas del centenario: el comienzo de la edición crítica de las obras ascéticas¹²²; la publicación de sus

¹¹⁸ Nos referimos a la obra de M. De Meulemeester. Cfr. *Nova S. P. N. Alfonsi bibliographia*, en *Anal.* 12 (1933) 81-83.

¹¹⁹ « Votum simul prolatum est ut in Domo generalitia colligerentur omnia Opera typis impressa Congregatorum, qui proinde invitantur, ut saltem duo exemplaria operum editorum Romam transmittant ». *Acta integra XII Capituli generalis an. 1921 celebratum*, 60.

¹²⁰ *Litt. circ.* 99, *Anal.* 12 (1933) 3. Entre las iniciativas a que alude el P. Murray hacemos resaltar el intento de llevar la temática redentorista a los modernos medios audiovisuales. Dos ejemplos: H. ANDRIS, *Die Redemptoristen unter Heiden und Auslandschristen*. Film de 102 imágenes para proyecciones fijas. Cfr. *Anal.* 12 (1933) 250. J. B. LORTHOIT, *Action Evangélistrice des Rédemptoristes dans le monde entier après 200 ans d'existence* (*ibid.*, 303). También aquí se trata de cinco series de films con un total de 207 imágenes de 24 por 24 mm. La primera serie trata del Fundador y de los propagadores del Instituto; la segunda, de su difusión; la tercera y cuarta, del apostolado de los Redentoristas franceses en América del Sur; la quinta, de las casas francesas dedicadas a la formación, y de los frutos de toda la Congregación. — Para una información sobre el conjunto de estas publicaciones cfr. M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Bibliographie*, III 444.

¹²¹ En este período (si por tal entendemos los años comprendidos entre 1921 y 1939) cristalizan muchas de las obras que se han preocupado de la historia de la Congregación. Cfr. *Spic. Hist.* 21 (1973) 369-372.

¹²² Ya en las actas del Capítulo General de 1921 se lee: « Postulatum aliud de Operibus S. P. N. Alphonsi Capitulo placuit, scilicet ut editio critica omnium Operum originalium pro adiunctis temporum instauraretur, praesertim Operum Moralium et prae ceteris libri « Homo Apostolicus » inscripti, novo Codici accommo-

obras poéticas¹²³ y musicales¹²⁴; la difusión de antologías y obras inspiradas en su doctrina¹²⁵; el estudio sistemático de su doctrina espiritual¹²⁶. A estas obras podemos añadir las mismas cartas circulares que venimos analizando por cuanto suponen una difusión de la doctrina espiritual alfonsiana dentro de la misma Congregación.

— *puesta al día de los manuales de moral*. Representa la misma inquietud que exponíamos al hablar del congreso de Witten. La exigencia se debía a dos motivos fundamentales: el mundo nuevo que estaba surgiendo, y la publicación del Código de Derecho Canónico¹²⁷.

— *directorios y subsidios para el ministerio pastoral de la Congregación*. Se orientaban a facilitar el ministerio propio de los congregados. En esta sección comprenderíamos: los directorios y reglamentos propiamente dichos, los tratados de pastoral y los subsidios prácticos. Los campos principales a que se refieren son cuatro: misio-

dati ». *Acta integra XII Capituli generalis an. 1921 celebratum*, 60. La edición crítica de las obras ascéticas comenzó en 1933:

Opere Ascetiche di S. Alfonso M. de Liguori. Vol. I. *Pratica di amar Gesù Cristo e Opuscoli sull'amore divino*. Redentoristi — Roma (123), Sant'Alfonso — Via Merulana, 31. Soc. Tip. A. Macioce et Pisani, Isola del Liri. Copyright — 1933. El primer volumen (8 de septiembre de 1933) lleva esta dedicatoria: *Nel Centenario / XIX della Redenzione / II Dell'Istituto del SS. Redentore / Al Fondatore / Inclito Maestro di spirito / S. Alfonso M. De Liguori / Dottore di S. Chiesa / Questa edizione delle sue opere ascetiche / I Figli che l'hanno curata / aspettando dalla sua paterna benedizione / il frutto del loro lavoro / D.D.D.*

¹²³ O. GREGORIO, *Canzoniere Alfonsiano*. *Studio critico col testo*, Pagani 1932. Presentación de la obra en *Anal.* 12 (1933) 302-303.

¹²⁴ A. DA COSTE, *Le melodie di S. Alfonso M. de Liguori in alcuni suoi canti popolari e Duetto tra l'anima e Gesù Cristo*, Roma 1932. Versión española de A. SANCHEZ, *Melodias de San Alfonso María de Ligorio en algunos de sus cantos populares y Duetto entre el alma y Jesucristo*, Madrid 1933. Presentación de la obra en *Anal.* 11 (1932) 315.

¹²⁵ Nos referimos a obras como las de G. M. CRISTINI, *Corso di meditazioni estratte dalle opere di S. Alfonso Maria de' Liguori*. Ed. II, de G. Perrotta, Vol. I, Isola del Liri 1931; Vol. II, *ibid.*, 1932; y de E. HERBAUX, *Recueil de méditations à l'usage des Rédemptoristes*, Paris 1932, 3 vol., que a su vez sigue el ejemplo de Bronchain, Dosda, Bouchage, Castelain, Mouton, etc.

¹²⁶ Cfr. C. KEUSCH, *La dottrina spirituale di Sant'Alfonso Maria de' Liguori*. Prima versione italiana del Dott. Giacomo di Fabio, Milano 1931. Una edición abreviada de la misma obra en Pagani 1933. C. DILLENSCHNEIDER, *La Mariologie de S. Alphonsse de Liguori. Son influence sur le renouveau des doctrines mariales et de la piété catholique après la tourmente du Protestantisme et du Jansénisme*, Fribourg 1931.

¹²⁷ Cfr. J. B. RAUS, *Institutiones Canonicae, iuxta novum Codicem Iuris pro scholis vel ad usum privatum synthetice redactae*. Altera editio aucta emendata, Lugduni 1931. I. AERTNYS, *Theologia Moralis secundum doctrinam S. Alfonsi de Ligorio, Doctoris Ecclesiae*. Editio duodecima, quam ex integro recognovit, auxit atque ad Codicem Iuris Canonici accommodavit C. A. Damen, C.S.S.R. Taurinorum Augustae 1932, 2 vol. L. WOUTERS, *Manuale Theologiae Moralis*. T. I, Brugis 1932; T. II, Brugis 1933.

nes parroquiales, ejercicios espirituales (en sus diversas formas), asociaciones piadosas, predicación en general ¹²⁸.

— *libros de piedad popular*. En rigor podríamos considerarlos como una parte del núcleo anterior. Los separamos por la importancia numérica que tienen ¹²⁹.

— *obras científicas diversas*. « La multiplicación de las provincias hace que se multipliquen también los escolasticados o 'Studentatus' creando así una veintena de nuevos hogares intelectuales » [...]. Para ellos « se componen numerosos manuales que se van convirtiendo en obras importantes de teología, exégesis, derecho canónico y liturgia » [...]. « Junto con estas obras dedicadas a las ciencias sagradas aparecen otras consagradas a la literatura o a la filosofía, a la historia y a la arqueología, así como a las ciencias naturales: física, biología, botánica. El deseo de organizar sólidamente los estudios en el propio instituto hace que los Redentoristas tengan que ponerse en contacto con el mundo intelectual » ¹³⁰. Eso hizo que fueran creciendo las publicaciones científicas. Una manifestación de esta realidad la encontramos también en el año jubilar. Hemos aludido al mundo de la moral, pero no es difícil encontrar también ejemplos sobre las restantes materias enumeradas por M. De Meulemeester ¹³¹.

6) Significado general del centenario

Ya desde las primeras circulares que se ocupan de las celebraciones jubilares aparece clara la conciencia de lo que está llamado a significar el centenario para la Congregación. Es lo que ahora tratamos de analizar brevemente fijándonos en un doble aspecto: lo que se esperaba al principio del año jubilar, y lo que se fue consiguiendo a lo largo del mismo.

¹²⁸ F. PRALY, *La Mission. Manuel technique et pratique de nos missions de France, à l'usage des jeunes Confrères*, Saint-Etienne 1930. A. GIRON, *Sermones de Misión*, Madrid 1932.

¹²⁹ Para una indicación periódica véase *Analecta* en su sección bibliográfica.

¹³⁰ M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Bibliographie*, I 13.

¹³¹ Como ejemplos de 1931-1933 señalamos: J. PRADO, *Propaedeutica Biblica sive Introductio in universam Scripturam*, Taurini 1931. W. AHLBRINCK, *Encyclopaedia der Karäben, behelzend Taal, Zeden en Gewonen dezer Indianen*, Amsterdam 1931. A. STUBBE, *Naturalistisch of Mystiek? Het Probleem der Renaissance als Aanleiding tot het Probleem der Barock*, Leuven 1933.

a) *Acción de gracias por el pasado, súplica para el futuro*

Es el primer objetivo que señala la *Circular 92*¹³², aludiendo en particular al origen del Instituto que acaba de exponer en los apartados anteriores¹³³. La realización de esta idea culminará el 9 de noviembre de 1932 en Scala, a donde el P. General se había retirado con algunos otros miembros del Consejo General.

Ut in ipsis veluti Instituti incunabulis *hunc diem celeberrimum atque sanctissimum* nomine universorum Congregatorum celebraremus. Finis autem, quem nobismetipsis proposuimus, aliud non erat, nisi nomine totius Congregationis eiusque sodalium omnium, primum gratias agere Sanctissimo Redemptori nostro de omnibus beneficiis iam acceptis, deinde uberrima dona caelestia in posterum supplici oratione impetrare. Quem in finem quinque Missas celebravimus¹³⁴.

Esta acción de gracias se acentuaba también en la forma práctica de celebrar el jubileo a nivel de comunidad, y tuvo una solemnidad especial en las celebraciones de Roma, Pagani y Scala en nombre de toda la Congregación¹³⁵.

b) *Afianzamiento de la identidad redentorista*

Esta expresión no aparece en las cartas circulares. Sin embargo creemos que se desprende fácilmente de párrafos como el que vamos a transcribir. En efecto, la invitación que se hace a los congregados para que estimen, amen, agradezcan y se comprometan cada día más con su propia vocación, supone una identificación creciente con ella, que, a su vez, no será posible sin la correspondiente profundización en la propia identidad. Según el P. Murray, los congregados conseguirían esto si leían atentamente « Constitutiones de Missionibus et Tractatum S. P. N. Alphonsi de Genuino Redemptorista ». Con ello se esperaba, sin duda, una mayor clarificación en dos aspectos fundamentales: el ministerio apostólico y la espiritualidad propia o espíritu genuinamente redentorista.

Este afianzamiento de la propia identidad va a ser uno de los

¹³² *Litt. circ. 92, Anal. 10 (1931) 11.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 5-10.

¹³⁴ *Litt. circ. 98, Anal. 11 (1932) 327.* Las misas fueron celebradas en la catedral de Scala, en el *Hospitio Monialium*, en la gruta de Scala y en el monasterio de las Madres Redentoristas, como recuerdo de los acontecimientos históricos relacionados con los orígenes de la Congregación.

¹³⁵ *Sollemnia Romae, Scalae Paganisque celebrata*, en *Anal. 12 (1933) 126-146.*

objetivos y de los resultados más importantes del centenario. Que fuera algo importante y urgente, se desprende de cuanto hemos dicho ya en el apartado anterior. No es tan claro, sin embargo, que los contemporáneos fueran explícitamente conscientes de su necesidad. Quizá se debió a eso el que no tuvieran aquella fidelidad creadora al carisma fundacional que desde nuestros días estaríamos tentados a pedirles. Acentuaron más la fidelidad al pasado que la preparación de un futuro distinto.

Como expresión de esta mentalidad y de estas inquietudes al principio del centenario transcribimos un párrafo de la *Circular 94* (6 enero 1932):

Denique finem dicendi faciens, vos omnes et singulos, dilecti Fratres, enixe exhortor, ut inter festa nostra anniversaria iterum atque iterum pretiosissimam vocationem nostram meditemini, et hunc in finem Constitutiones de Missionibus et Tractatum S. P. N. Alphonsi de Genuino Redemptorista sedulo legatis. Ita enim agentes, concipiētis ardentissimum in Institutum eiusque apostolatum amorem, itemque tenerrima grati animi sensa erga amantissimum nostrum Redemptorem, qui nos miserabiles et indignos in illam sublimissimam sortem vocare dignatus sit, quam vel ipsi caelestes spiritus nobis invident. Quibus sensibus succensi, suaviter ac fortiter impellemur ad nos totos huic tam sancto Redemptionis operi consecrandos ope imitationis Christi qui « humiliavit semetipsum, factus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis » (*Phil. 2, 8*). En igitur unicum nostrum officium et unica via, quae ad felicem apostolatus nostri exitum conducit: humilis obedientia usque ad mortem crucis! Quare primum, ad delectum laborum apostolicorum quod attinet, Superiores, quantum fieri potest, procurent ut Nostri in sacris missionibus aliisque laboribus, qui proprii sunt nostri Instituti et a Constitutionibus praescripti, occupentur utque universum nostrum ministerium iuxta Constitutiones ceteraque a S. P. N. Alphonso praescripta peragatur. Deinde subditorum est caece et sine ulla disceptatione dispositionibus Superiorum obtemperare. Congregatus enim qui in ministerio parochiali ex obedientia laborat, multo uberiores fructus Redemptionis fert, quam ille, qui propria voluntate missiones praedicat. « Vir obediens loquetur victoriam » (*Prov. 21, 28*). Quod valet non modo de operariis nostris apostolicis, verum etiam de cunctis Congregatis, et etiam de ipsis Monialibus a SS. Redemptore. Unusquisque enim eorum, si recte in ea statione operatur, Superiores quam ipsi obedientia assignaverit, particeps est omnium fructuum, qui ex universo totius Instituti ministerio colliguntur. Insuper pro viribus enitatur, ope orationis ac sacrificii, participes fieri totius operis Redemptionis. Oremus pro universis ac singulis hominibus, sive in terris degunt, sive in Purgatorio patiuntur, et offeramus pro ipsis Aeterno Patri sacrificia nostra, sacrificia Crucis in Missa continuato unita, ac praesertim sacrificemus nostram fidelissimam votorum observantiam atque exercitium perquam diligens virtutum paupertatis et castitatis et obedientiae. Quod facientes, efficiemur genuini Redemptoristae et vere ac proprie alii Redemptores¹³⁶.

¹³⁶ *Litt. circ. 94, Anal. 11 (1932) 12-13.*

c) *Insistencia en el origen carismático del Instituto*

La estima e identificación con la vocación redentorista, de que hablábamos antes, supone una profundización en el ser y en el origen del Instituto. Las cartas circulares del P. General nos ofrecen como una síntesis de lo que en este sentido se hará después a nivel de Congregación aprovechando precisamente la oportunidad del centenario. En otro apartado hemos indicado ya los temas concretos de que se ocupan. Entre todos creemos que tiene un puesto destacado y significativo el de « los orígenes del doble Instituto del Santísimo Redentor ». Al tratarlo se pone de relieve su dimensión preternatural, en virtud de la cual el mismo Santísimo Redentor « dignatus est sibi reservare officium primi ac principalis Fundatoris duplicis nostri Instituti »¹³⁷, y su complementariedad mutua (Orden y Congregación del Santísimo Redentor)¹³⁸. Es el tema central de la primera circular sobre el centenario, y de alguna manera seguirá latente en las restantes¹³⁹.

Esta insistencia se debía, como insinúa la misma circular¹⁴⁰, a los documentos que se venían publicando sobre la época de los orígenes¹⁴¹. De ella se derivará un interés creciente por la V. María Celeste Crostarosa, por su espiritualidad y por cuanto se refiere a las Madres Redentoristas¹⁴².

d) *Reflexión teológica sobre la vocación*

La celebración del Segundo Centenario hizo que los Redentoristas trataran de encuadrar de un modo más explícito la propia vocación en la teología de la Redención, aunque fuera con la mentalidad de la época. La ocasión para hacerlo fue doble: el recuerdo de una temática tratada ya con ocasión del Año Santo de 1925 y la coin-

¹³⁷ *Litt. circ. 92, Anal. 10 (1931) 11.* Sobre la importancia del tema en la teología actual de la vida religiosa cfr. F. CIARDI, *I Fondatori uomini dello Spirito. Per una teologia del carisma di Fondatore*, Roma 1982, 49-79.

¹³⁸ *Litt. circ. 92, Anal. 10 (1931) 10.*

¹³⁹ Aunque no se expliciten los hechos históricos, lo creemos presente sobre todo cuando se habla de la imitación de Cristo, del Fundador y del espíritu propio de la Congregación.

¹⁴⁰ *Litt. circ. 92, Anal. 10 (1931) 12.*

¹⁴¹ Quizá pudiéramos ver el comienzo de este interés en el volumen *Documenta miscellanea ad Regulam et spiritum Congregationis nostrae illustrandum*, Romae 1904, y su continuación en la sección de *Analecta* titulada *Monumenta historica*.

¹⁴² Cfr. J. FAVRE, *Une grande Mystique au XVIII^e siècle. La V. Marie-Céleste Crostarosa*, Paris 1931.

cidencia del centenario de la Congregación con el Jubileo de la Redención (1933).

En la *Circular* 94 (6 enero 1932) aparece este párrafo representativo de la temática a que nos referimos.

Lucundissimae mihi erant iterum, dilecti Fratres, epistolae gratulatoriae, quas in festum Dominici Natalis novique ineuntis anni undique misistis, idque hac vice eo magis mihi gaudium attulit, quod vos omnes ardentissimo Instituti a duobus iam saeculis conditi amore succensos litterae vestrae demonstrant. Gratias igitur vobis maximas ago, nec ullam maioris pretii remunerationem vobis exoptare possum, quam ut in hoc amore Instituti maneatis semper, semperque in eo quam maxime crescatis. Quem in finem nunc vobis scribere volo de pretiosissima vocatione nostra, « quam », uti aiunt Constitutiones, « vel ipsi caelestes Spiritus nobis quodammodo invident » (n. 42). Hac de re pluries vobis scripsi, et in praesenti, nactus occasionem ducentesimi ab Instituto nostro condito anniversarii, brevem vobis tradere volo complexionem eorum omnium, quae vobis de hac re iam scripsi. Vocatio enim nostra sic breviter exprimi potest: nos debemus vivae ac perfectae fieri imagines *Christi Crucifici*, ut *Christi Redemptoris* vivae et efficientes imagines efficiamur. Quas duas res vobis assidue considerandas propono.

Ac primum quidem, primaria nostri Instituti notio ex opere Redemptionis exorta est, sicut ipse titulus SS. Redemptoris indicat. Qua de re S. P. N. Alphonsus scribit: « Qui vocatus est ad Congregationem SS. Redemptoris nunquam verus erit Iesu Christi discipulus, nec sanctus efficietur, nisi finem attigerit suae vocationis et imbuatur Instituti spiritu, qui in eo positus est, ut salvi fiant populi, qui ope spiritali maxime destituti sunt, quales sunt humiles ruricolae » (*De Statu Relig.*, Consid. XIII). Quam sublime autem sit hoc opus Redemptionis, mens nostra nequaquam comprehendere potest! Immo, unam solam animam salvare plus valet quam lucrari totum mundum, nam liberatur haec anima a poenis ac doloribus summis atque aeternis, et aeternam ipsius Dei beatitudinem et gloriam acquirit. Huc accedit, quod unaquaque anima redempta novo atque ineffabili est gaudio, non modo ipsi SS. Redemptori, qui in ea videt fructum Passionis suae, verum etiam omnibus Angelis et Sanctis in caelis, nam ipse Dominus nobis notum facit, « quod ita gaudium erit in caelo super uno peccatore poenitentiam agente, quam super nonaginta novem iustis, qui non indigent poenitentia » (*Luc.* 15, 7). Praeterea fere idem dicendum est de quolibet ulteriore gratiae et gloriae gradu, quo iustus ad montem Christianae perfectionis et ad summam caelestem gloriam continenter ascendit. Quibus consideratis de unaquaque anima redempta, haec omnia multiplicanda sunt in numerum indicibilem animarum, quae sic salvatae ac sanctificatae sunt, ut vel tenuem habere possimus notionem de sublimissimo et magnificentissimo opere a SS. Redemptore peracto¹⁴³.

Un párrafo paralelo lo encontramos en la última circular sobre el centenario:

Epistolas gratulatorias, dilecti Fratres, quas mihi iterum in festum nominale misistis, gaudens ac gratus erga vos accepi. Nam nihil me magis

¹⁴³ *Litt. circ.* 94, *Anal.* 11 (1932) 7. Véase también *Litt. circ.* 99, *Anal.* 12 (1933) 4.

delectat, quam eximia in Institutum eiusque Fundatorem devotio in iisdem Epistolis manifestata, ac praecipue in iis, quae ex domibus educationis provenerunt. Impensissimas igitur gratias ago vobis omnibus ac singulis, praesertim vero Sodalibus, qui hunc amorem ac devotionem erga S. P. N. Alfonsum et Institutum iuventuti nostrae cum exitu tam felici iniecerunt, eosdemque Sodales rogo, ut suis quisque iuvenibus gaudium meum gratosque animi mei sensus patefaciant.

Quibus breviter dictis de litteris vestris gratulatoriis, velim pauca tantum addere iis, quae in ultima Epistola Circulari scripsi. Primum quidem inter « hunc annum celeberrimum ac sanctissimum », de quo in eadem Epistola locutus sum, et Annum Sanctum mox incipiendum mirabilis exstat nexus, quia agitur de iubilaeis ipsius Operis Redemptionis atque Instituti SS. Redemptoris, vel, ut verbis utar unius ex epistolis gratulatoriis modo acceptis, de « tempore quo commemoramus nativitatem Ecclesiae ex latere Christi in cruce pendentis, et nativitatem Congregationis nostrae, quae est quasi continuatio illius Operis Redemptionis ». Itaque, quod Summus Pontifex Pius PP. XI in sua Allocutione diei 13 huius mensis de fructibus Anni Sancti dixit, ac potissimum de renovatione spiritus, de gratia erga SS. Redemptorem colenda, de precatione, id valet de nostro quoque Anno Iubilari. Quapropter, tamquam genuini filii Instituti SS. Redemptoris, pro viribus enitatur, ut per hunc Annum bis Sanctum, notum omnibus faciamus infinitum Redemptionis Opus a SS. Redemptore in Cruce peractum amoremque eius erga nos infinitum, qui causa fuit Redemptionis, atque ut omnes ad eundem SS. Redemptorem toto corde amandum eique cum ardenti amore ac sensibus grati animi fideliter serviendum attrahamus, idque maximi ope observantiae regularis ac precationis, sicut scripsi in ultima Circulari¹⁴⁴.

e) *Mística del Fundador*

La búsqueda y el afianzamiento de la propia identidad llevaba necesariamente a una especie de mística (zelus) por el Fundador de la Congregación. A eso se debe precisamente que las celebraciones del Segundo Centenario parezcan más un homenaje a S. Alfonso que al Instituto como tal. La razón nos la da este párrafo de la *Circular* 92 (6 enero 1931):

Deinde occasione hujus Sollemnitatis quam maxime exercitandus est zelus S. P. N. Alphonsi et Instituti. Nam primum nobis incumbit, ut verbis utar SS. Domini Pii Papae XI supra relatis, curas cogitationesque eo convertere, ut Patris legiferi honorem tueamur. Neque hic agitur de caducis hujus saeculi honoribus, a quibus humillimus S. P. N. Alphonsus juxta spiritum Instituti semper abhorrebat. Verum nitendum nobis est, sanctitatem ejus sublimem caelestemque doctrinam primum bene cognoscere ac deinde ceteris notam facere, ut omnes in suo quisque statu, ejus salutaribus monitis edocti et exemplis roborati, ad Deum toto corde amandum eique fideliter serviendum pervenire feliciter valeant. Similiter duplex Institutum ejusque proprium ministerium apostolicum ideo nobis cognoscendum et patefaciendum est, ut quam plurimae optimae vocationes ad

¹⁴⁴ *Litt. circ.* 100, *Anal.* 12 (1933) 123-124.

utrumque Institutum attrahantur, utque campus noster apostolicus magis magisque propagetur. Id autem facile redditur ope scriptorum, quae tum generatim de vita religiosa, tum singulatim de nostro Instituto et de Missionibus nostris S. P. N. Alphonsus nobis reliquit¹⁴⁵.

Esta mística del Fundador aparece en las circulares como celo por la persona, la doctrina y el honor de S. Alfonso. Durante el centenario los Redentoristas tratarán realmente de conocerlo mejor y darlo a conocer también a los demás. Nos lo demuestra la « bibliografía alfonsiana » que hemos recordado.

f) *Renovación en el espíritu propio*

En la primera circular sobre el centenario viene señalado como tercer gran objetivo de las celebraciones¹⁴⁶. Para una reflexión sistemática sobre el tema se remite a la *Circular* 76 (6 enero 1925)¹⁴⁷ escrita con ocasión del Año Santo de 1925:

Quia tamen nunc Annus Sanctus inceptit, magnumque Ecclesiae Iubilaeum, quid ego vobis faustius magisque salutare exoptare potero, quam quod praecipue intendit Iubilaeum, nempe ut Christianus quisque *renovetur spiritu mentis suae?* (*Ephes.*, 4, 23). Itaque studeamus et nos [...] renovare in nobis vocationis nostrae spiritum, quo imbuti vivae efficiamur imagines divini Redemptoris, eiusque idonei adiutores in magno Redemptionis opere. Ad hoc enim divinitus vocati sumus¹⁴⁸.

De este modo, el espíritu del Año Santo cristiano pasa al espíritu del centenario. Este influjo se acentuará dos años más tarde a partir del Jubileo de la Redención.

La circular de 1925 desarrolla tres puntos como síntesis del espíritu propio de la Congregación: espíritu de abnegación¹⁴⁹; celo por la salvación de las almas¹⁵⁰; espíritu de recogimiento y de oración (contemplación y súplica)¹⁵¹.

La *Circular* 92 se ocupa del tema cuando trata de la Regla y

¹⁴⁵ *Litt. circ.* 92, *Anal.* 10 (1931) 11. *Litt. circ.* 99, *Anal.* 12 (1933) 3 repite el texto, alabando lo que han hecho los congregados durante el centenario precisamente de acuerdo con este « consejo ».

¹⁴⁶ *Litt. circ.* 92, *Anal.* 10 (1931) 11.

¹⁴⁷ *Litt. circ.* 76, *Anal.* 4 (1925) 7-13.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 7. Cfr. también p. 13.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

del espíritu del nuevo Instituto del Santísimo Salvador¹⁵². En esta ocasión remite a S. Alfonso, que « primus seipsum eo spiritu imbuit, ut deinde Sodales utriusque Instituti eodem spiritu imbuerit »¹⁵³. Por eso hace alusión a la Carta Apostólica *Unigenitus Dei Filius* de Pío XI (19 marzo 1925) a los superiores generales de los institutos religiosos, transcribiendo esta frase: « Quare eo Sodales, optimorum instar filiorum, curas cogitationesque convertant, ut Patris legiferi honorem tueantur, eius cum praescriptis et monitis obsequendo, tum imbibendo spiritum; neque enim e statu suo decident usque dum Conditoris sui vestigiis institerint »¹⁵⁴. A continuación comenta algunos pasajes de la Regla, del Capítulo General de 1894 (nº 1414) y del Genuino Redentorista¹⁵⁵.

También la *Circular 94* está dedicada prácticamente a este tema del espíritu propio, tratando todos los aspectos de la espiritualidad redentorista¹⁵⁶. En la circular escrita desde Scala el 9 de noviembre de 1932 el P. Murray dice que va a pedir al Santísimo Redentor sobre todo que el Instituto entero trate con todas sus fuerzas de crecer en la *Imitatio Christi Redemptoris Crucifixi*¹⁵⁷. Finalmente, en la *Circular 99* se fija ya en lo que este espíritu supone desde una perspectiva más ascética: observancia regular¹⁵⁸, sumisión a la voluntad de Dios¹⁵⁹, espíritu de oración¹⁶⁰.

Según la doctrina del P. Murray, la espiritualidad redentorista consiste en la imitación y seguimiento de Cristo Redentor Crucificado a través de la observancia regular y de las virtudes específicamente alfonsianas. Será la base del celo apostólico, que ha de distinguir a todo redentorista, y del ministerio pastoral (interno y externo) de cuantos estén llamados a él. He aquí cómo lo expresa en el primer momento del centenario:

Denique universi ac singuli Sodales SS. Redemptoris, occasione ducentesimi ab Instituto condito anniversarii, totis viribus eniti debent, ut

¹⁵² *Litt. circ.* 92, *Anal.* 10 (1931) 8-10.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

¹⁵⁶ *Litt. circ.* 94, *Anal.* 11 (1932) 7-13.

¹⁵⁷ *Litt. circ.* 98, *Anal.* 11 (1932) 328.

¹⁵⁸ *Litt. circ.* 99, *Anal.* 12 (1933) 4-6.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 5-6 y 9.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 6-9.

genuino Instituti spiritu se penitus saturent, qui spiritus, ut supra dixi, nullus est alius quam imitatio Christi Redemptoris Crucifixi. Nam Institutum sine spiritu mortuum est, ideoque nec sibi nec aliis prodesse potest, immo et Postulantes et labores apostolicos a se longe repellit. Qua de re iam scripsi in Epistola diei 6 Ianuarii anni 1925, in qua illam imitationem in duo divisi capita, veram sui ipsius abnegationem ac genuinum animarum zelum, praesertim maxime derelictarum; quibus tamen tertium addidi de oratione, quia spiritus abnegationis et genuini zeli animarum naturali nostrae indoli adeo est contrarius, ut acquiri nequeat sine potentissimo Dei auxilio, quod obtineri tantum potest per fortem orationis ac precationis spiritum¹⁶¹.

g) *Prestigio eclesial*

Las celebraciones jubilares de 1932 supusieron para la Congregación un momento propicio para afirmarse como grupo en el mundo eclesial. A ello contribuyeron, además del entusiasmo de los congregados, la solemnidad y la grandiosidad de las celebraciones. « Sollemnitatis », precisamente, con su significado popular, va a ser una de las palabras más usadas para designarlas. Este doble aspecto de solemnidad y grandiosidad estará presente en las celebraciones religiosas, sobre todo de Roma, Pagani y Scala, en las publicaciones hechas con ocasión del centenario y en los monumentos conmemorativos (decoración marmórea de la Basílica de Pagani, construcción del ala principal de la Casa Generalicia de Roma)¹⁶².

El prestigio que de todo esto se derivaba para la Congregación trató de unirse a la figura de S. Alfonso, Doctor de la Iglesia, y se consideró como algo positivo para el aumento de vocaciones y para una demanda creciente de trabajos apostólicos.

La proximidad de las perturbaciones políticas y de la Segunda Guerra Mundial hicieron que desembocara en la crisis que iba a llegar hasta nuestros días. Es lo que hace que las celebraciones jubilares de 1932 pertenezcan a un período anterior al que estamos viviendo.

* * *

El estudio que precede lo hemos ido haciendo en Roma durante las celebraciones jubilares que han tenido lugar en la Congre-

¹⁶¹ *Litt. circ.* 92, *Anal.* 10 (1931) 11.

¹⁶² « Secretarius quintae Commissionis Postulatum protulit circa modum reficiendi Basilicam S. Alphonsi Nuceriae Paganorum, quod quidem Capitulo non displicuit, sed tempus immediate post bellum non videtur aptum nec opportunum et res relinquatur iudicio Rev.mi Patris Generalis. Eius pariter prudentiae remisit Capitulum curam acceptandi vel recusandi cathedram Theologiae Moralis in aliqua Universitate Romana, si forte nobis in posterum offeretur ». *Acta integra XII Cap. Gen. an. 1921 celebratum*, 60. Sobre lo realizado en Pagani de hecho y sobre la Casa Generalicia cfr. *Sollemnia Romae, Scalae Paganisque celebrata*, en *Anal.* 12 (1933) 126-146.

gación del Santísimo Redentor para conmemorar el 250 aniversario de su fundación. Lo terminamos prácticamente el mismo día (26 de noviembre de 1982) en que el Papa Juan Pablo II anuncia a la Iglesia un nuevo Año Santo extraordinario de la Redención para celebrar en 1983 el 1950 aniversario de la muerte de Cristo. Al contemplar desde esta perspectiva los momentos que de alguna manera hemos tenido presentes en la historia de la Congregación (1832, 1932, 1982) uno siente que se trata de realidades históricas completamente diferentes. El mundo, la Iglesia, la Congregación, las mismas celebraciones jubilares, todo es distinto.

A pesar de ello, tras esta primera constatación, uno también comienza a descubrir constantes históricas dentro de la diversidad de cada época.

Las celebraciones jubilares de 1982 coinciden con los veinte años de Concilio Vaticano II, con la aprobación de las *Constitutiones et Statuta CSSR* por la Sda. Congregación para los Religiosos y los Institutos Seculares (2 febrero 1982), fruto de la renovación conciliar en la Iglesia, y con la programación de las prioridades apostólicas en cada provincia del Instituto (1979-1982). En este ambiente parece predominar una inquietud básica: renovación auténtica y fidelidad radical al carisma del Fundador para reformular el quehacer de los Redentoristas en el mundo y en la Iglesia de nuestros días. En realidad, una búsqueda de la propia identidad que no pone el acento en la vuelta al pasado sino en una fidelidad que sea, al mismo tiempo, continuidad creadora para el presente y para el futuro. Lo común con los jubileos anteriores estaría en esa búsqueda de la propia identidad; la diferencia, en el conjunto de actitudes que supone la fidelidad a la misión eclesial en el mundo y en la Iglesia de hoy.

Es el interrogante de fondo que se viene repitiendo la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor en coincidencia con las celebraciones jubilares de su fundación. Con diferencias en la forma de plantearlo, se explicita en torno a cuatro preguntas fundamentales: ministerio específico, vida comunitaria (observancia regular), espiritualidad propia, formación de los congregados. Ante ellas, las celebraciones de 1832 y 1932 acentuaron una espiritualidad y unas opciones en las que se ponía de relieve la referencia al pasado, sin una conciencia tan viva ante las urgencias del presente y del futuro. En 1932 se exortaba insistentemente a leer y meditar las Constituciones sobre las Misiones, el

Genuino Redentorista y las primeras Cartas Circulares de la Congregación. En 1982, sin poner la menor duda sobre el valor de esos documentos venerables, se han entregado a los Redentoristas unas Constituciones y unos Estatutos generales nuevos que tendrán que estudiar e interiorizar tan intensamente como esos documentos del pasado si quieren ser fieles a su vocación en el presente y en el futuro del mundo y de la Iglesia. La fidelidad al pasado pasa por un compromiso serio y responsable con el futuro.

Quizá se deba a todo esto el que las celebraciones jubilares sean también un momento privilegiado para potenciar la memoria histórica del Instituto. En efecto, si prescindimos de las connotaciones bíblicas y religiosas de las celebraciones, se diría que están dominadas por manifestaciones de esta memoria histórica. Y al hablar de « memoria histórica » no aludimos únicamente a la oportunidad de las recurrencias jubilares para recordar nombres, publicar catálogos, estadísticas y gráficas de su desarrollo; conmemorar personajes ilustres o acontecimientos gloriosos con álbumes, ediciones de obras o relatos contemporáneos; fijar períodos y subperíodos; hacer síntesis históricas, restaurar monumentos o dar a conocer fuentes inéditas. Todo esto es necesario y de hecho tiene lugar en ese momento. Pero está al servicio de la memoria histórica y es resultado de la misma.

Y es que por memoria histórica de un grupo entendemos la conciencia que éste va tomando del papel que ha tenido y sigue teniendo en su propio devenir ese pasado que ya nunca podrá desconocer mientras subsista el grupo. El pasado del grupo es vivido entonces como una realidad objetiva, compleja, dinámica, susceptible de ser interpretada, comprendida y desarrollada. La memoria histórica hace que todos los miembros del grupo sean, de alguna manera, historiadores. Es decir, capaces de interpretar el sentido de la propia historia para asumirla o rechazarla.

De la memoria histórica brota la necesidad de la « celebración jubilar », como vivencia colectiva del propio pasado desde el presente del grupo. De los documentos analizados se desprende la importancia que en esto han tenido las iniciativas de los congregados y de las comunidades en particular, aún cuando el centralismo de la Congregación era más acentuado. Es verdad que cuando la vida del grupo parece depender totalmente del gobierno central las celebraciones jubilares culminan en las manifestaciones que éste ha organizado en Roma, Pagani y Scala en nombre de toda la Congregación. En cambio, cuando

la Congregación tiene una diversidad tan acentuada como la que suponían en 1832 las comunidades de Paganí, Viena, Mautern o Friburgo, o como la que supone la descentralización de nuestros días, las celebraciones tienden a ser prevalentemente locales o regionales, sin que por eso pierda su significado o su valor la animación central. De este modo, junto a una necesidad cada día más sentida de tener unas celebraciones jubilaires, se da también una gran diversidad en el modo concreto de realizarlas.

A todo esto se debe, en última instancia, la diferencia que es dado observar en la celebración misma de las fiestas jubilaires. Se remonta a la imagen que tienen del Instituto los responsables de organizarlas. Y desde este punto de vista nos parece que hay dos visiones fundamentales: la de aquéllos para quienes la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor es una realidad que nos viene del pasado y que hay que conservar con toda fidelidad; y la de quienes consideran la herencia alfonsiana como un patrimonio cuyo dinamismo histórico hay que continuar en el presente.

Las celebraciones jubilaires del pasado parecen constituir un acontecimiento para celebrar un hecho histórico y potenciar una fidelidad total al mismo. Hoy tienen un sentido diverso. Significan, ante todo, más que una vuelta al pasado, un punto de partida: un momento privilegiado para que el grupo como tal reformule la propia identidad en el momento histórico que está viviendo y se comprometa con todo lo que significa una auténtica renovación del carisma fundacional.

En este sentido diríamos que han sido privilegiadas las celebraciones de 1982. Las nuevas Constituciones y Estatutos, así como la programación de las prioridades pastorales de las provincias, no constituyen un número más de las fiestas jubilaires. Son un acontecimiento histórico que está viviendo el Instituto en ese mismo momento y que lo compromete cara al futuro. De este modo, lo más importante de estas celebraciones no es el recuerdo o la « simple conmemoración académica de un feliz acontecimiento histórico pasado » sino esta invitación histórica a asumir y renovar el compromiso eclesial con el carisma de los orígenes, que significan las nuevas Constituciones y la programación de actividades. La vuelta a los documentos y a las figuras del pasado adquieren un valor y un interés nuevos si se miran en función de esta perspectiva de futuro.

El estudio de las celebraciones jubilaires en la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor nos pone una vez más de relieve cómo los estudios históricos no son, en última instancia, para ayudarnos a repetir

el pasado, sino para ser capaces de asumir el dinamismo con que ha llegado hasta nosotros, tratando de evitar o de corregir las equivocaciones de los siglos precedentes. La vitalidad de la Congregación, como la de cualquier otro instituto religioso, dependerá, en gran parte, de la armonía que sea capaz de conseguir entre su fidelidad al pasado y su compromiso con las urgencias del momento histórico que está viviendo. La búsqueda de esta armonía, sin embargo, va a ser causa de los conflictos internos y externos que está llamada a sufrir si quiere ser fiel a su carisma fundacional.

SAMUEL J. BOLAND

ATTEMPTED FOUNDATION IN CHILE, 1860-1861.

Towards the end of 1860 Father Nicholas Mauron, Superior General of the Redemptorists, sent a small group to make a foundation in Chile. It was scarcely twelve months since a similar venture had been initiated in New Granada, the present Colombia, by Redemptorists from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies¹. Neither attempted foundation lasted long enough to encourage future interest in South America. The mission to New Granada ended in tragedy: that to Chile, on the other hand, proved from the beginning an unfortunate chapter of errors.

Of the second affair we offer here a brief account illustrated by a selection from the surprisingly abundant file of documentation that the Chilean venture managed in its short existence to accumulate. Correspondence concerning the short-lived foundation is available in the general archives of the Redemptorists in Rome². To European superiors, it appears, South America was not only the New World but an unknown one and a very strange world indeed. Communications were so slow by paddle-wheel steamer or by sailing ship that it was only at a late hour that the real conditions of the project could be grasped. And even then Father Mauron found occasion to have second thoughts about leaving Chile. By that time, however, one of the founders at least had lost heart to such an extent that the decision to discontinue the attempt was for him an undisguised relief.

¹ There is a brief notice of the Neapolitans in Casanare, New Granada, in Oreste Gregorio, *Ricordo del Servo di Dio, P. Vittorio Lojodice* in *Spic. hist.* 14 (1966) 430-433.

² The general archives are cited A.G.R. Most of the relevant material is in the section Provincia Belgica (P. B.), XVII 1. There are indications of the attempted foundation in Rengo in *Los Redentoristas en Chile*, Santiago del Chile, 1925, p. 10; E. Gautron C.S.S.R., *La Croix sur les Andes*, Paris, [1938] p. 21-22; Maurice de Meulemeester C.S.S.R., *Glans Alphonsiennes*, Louvain, 1946, p. 134; [J.-B. Lorthioit], *Mémorial Alphonsien*, Tourcoing, 1929, p. 137. In each of these cases the mention is merely in passing; and in the case of Fr. Lorthioit quite inaccurate, as he gives the date as 1868 and says the Belgians remained in Rengo fourteen months.

In May of 1860 Archbishop Rafael Valentin Valdivieso of Santiago³, in Rome for his *ad limina* visit, called on Father Mauron to request a foundation in a place called Rengo in his archdiocese⁴. He was most insistent in urging his case; and on the face of it he had an extremely attractive proposition to offer. There was in Rengo a church already built and furnished ready for occupation; and by it a religious house could be built, the archbishop bearing the cost, or so the consultants understood⁵. It was not quite like that, as the Superior General explained when he wrote to enlist the aid of Father Kockerols, superior of the Belgian province⁶. It was a relative of the archbishop who was to guarantee the accomodation and support of the community. As the archbishop explained it, the young lady in question was about to become a religious among the Ladies of the Sacred Heart and wished to devote part of her considerable private means towards a pious work for the good of the people of Chile.

The offer appeared all the more enticing when the Superior General was assured that what Chile needed was not so much priests as missionaries to preach to the people and instruct them⁷. He had long been thinking about South America, he confided to Father Kockerols, as particularly suitable to the Redemptorist apostolate. Chile seemed the right place to make a start, as it was a civilised country, where it would be possible to live in community « just as in Europe, without the quasi cure of souls as in the United States »⁸. Moreover, since Chile was a Catholic country, it would be possible to concentrate on the missions, which would make the foundation « entirely conformable to the rule and the intentions of St. Alphonsus »⁹.

³ In A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/a there is a copy of the *Catalogo de los ecclesiasticos*, Santiago, 1859, which gives biographical data concerning the archbishop. Mgr. Rafael Valentin Valdivieso y Zañartu was the second Archbishop of Santiago. He was born in the same city 2 XI 1804 and was consecrated 2 VII 1848. R. Ritzler O.F.M. Conv. & P. Sefrin O.F.M. Conv., *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, VIII, Padua, 1978, p. 313-314.

⁴ The offer was discussed by Father Mauron and his consultants on 28th May and 4th June. See A.G.R., *Liber Consultationum* (L. C.), 79.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ A copy of the letter is given in *Provincia Belgica. Chronica provinciae et collegiorum* (B.C.), V, 176-179. The chronicle is in manuscript, a copy of which is in A.G.R. Father John Kockerols was born in Antwerp 3 XI 1823. He was ordained priest for the archdiocese of Malines 19 XI 1846, making his profession as a Redemptorist 15 X 1851. Named provincial 19 III 1859, he was to remain in office for a total of twenty-eight years.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ *ibid.*

Father Mauron, predisposed as he so obviously was, gladly accepted the offer. The archbishop and he were completely in agreement, he informed Father Kockerols, and the house to be built in Rengo was to be sufficient for a community of about ten missionaries¹⁰. The immediate need was to find the men to send out to make a start before the end of the year; and that was why he had recourse to Belgium. He wanted two Fathers and a Brother.

The consultation in Rome had already settled on one of the pioneers, Father Louis Dold¹¹. In his letter to Father Kockerols the Superior General explained that Father Dold had been chosen because it was understood that he knew something about architecture and so could see to the new building¹². Father Dold, a Belgian by birth, had been one of the band of European Redemptorists brought to the United States in 1851 by Father Bernard Hafkenscheid, newly appointed first superior of the American province¹³. He had then been ordained only a few months.

Father Dold was certainly a very able man, and in the course of his life he showed himself on many an occasion a remarkably plausible character; but apart from these qualities it is hard to find in his career the grounds for Father Mauron's crediting him with knowledge of architecture. Of one thing, however, he had given ample evidence in the ten years since his ordination, and that was that he could be a considerable embarrassment to his immediate superiors. For a short time he had taught dogmatic theology in Cumberland, the house of studies of the young American province; and in the space of a few months he succeeded in thoroughly irritating his students by his refusal to let his opinions be challenged¹⁴. It was with a quite discernible relief that his provincial recommended him for the American foundation in the West Indies after less than a year of teaching¹⁵.

In the extremely difficult mission to which he was sent in 1858 Father Dold proved his mettle. The Catholics on the island of St.

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ A.G.R., L.C., 79. Father Dold was born in Mons, Belgium, 28 X 1821. He had taken his vows 6 XI 1843 and been ordained priest in Wittem 21 XII 1850.

¹² B.C., V, 178.

¹³ Cf. Michael J. Curley C.S.S.R., *The Provincial Story*, New York, 1963, p. 116.

¹⁴ Cf. Michael J. Curley C.S.S.R., *Cheerful Ascetic. The Life of Francis Xavier Seelos* C.S.S.R., New Orleans, 1969, p. 166-167.

¹⁵ Cf. Joseph G. Daly C.S.S.R., *Conflict in Paradise. Beginnings of the Redemptorist Mission to the Virgin Islands, 1855-1860*, s.l., s.d., p. 17.

Thomas were divided by a bitter schism occasioned by the noisy disputes of a popular but headstrong pastor with the Church authorities, even with the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide. In this situation of utmost delicacy Father Dold by hard work, ability and a considerable charm of manner succeeded within less than a year in winning over most of the rebels. However, he had gone about the task in his own way, and in the process he succeeded in thoroughly alienating his own superiors. The Bishop of Roseau, Michel Vesque, after an acquaintance of only one month described him as « a man so attached to his own will, so little filled with charity and humility that I have decided to make no further observations to him »¹⁶. And when Father Dold went to Europe early in 1860 the superior of the mission, Father Joseph Prost, wrote to Father Edward Douglas, Consultant General, begging him to do all he could to prevent his return to the West Indies, because among other « he speaks against the bishop and against me »¹⁷.

Father Dold, returning to Europe, arrived in Rome on 9th April 1860¹⁸. It was probably during this visit that the Superior General came to know him. The acquaintance gave rise to an extraordinarily frequent correspondence which was to continue right up to Father Dold's death. And the meeting so impressed Father Mauron, one gathers, that he was able to overlook the adverse comments in Father Prost's letters from the West Indies and make him the first choice for the new foundation in Chile.

As the second Father for Chile Father Mauron suggested Father L'Hoir¹⁹; but when the provincial proposed Father Philippe Noël, he readily agreed²⁰. Father Noël was a man who should have been well known to his Superior General. He had been Father Kockerol's immediate predecessor as provincial; and while he had been in that position he had expressed his desire to go on the foreign missions²¹.

¹⁶ *ibid.* 38.

¹⁷ *ibid.* 48.

¹⁸ A.G.R., *Cronaca della casa generalizia*, p. 44.

¹⁹ B.C., V, 178. Father Marcellin L'Hoir had been born 23 IV 1822 professed 15 X 1845 and ordained priest 29 V 1847. He was evidently much esteemed in his province, as he was frequently in positions of authority.

²⁰ B.C., V, 181. Father Noël had been born 29 IX 1815 and had been ordained for the diocese of Tournai 11 VIII 1839, taking his vows as a Redemptorist 24 V 1845. He had been Belgian provincial from 1856 to 1859.

²¹ *ibid.*

The chronicler of the Belgian province, in fact, had described him at the end of his term of office as being a missionary rather than an administrator²².

Father Noël was essentially a very simple man. He must have been so, in fact, in the extreme to have allowed himself to become involved in one of the most notorious of confidence tricks, a perpetual motion machine. When a Father of the Liège community fell a victim to the plausible stranger who promised vast wealth for the house, Father Noël as provincial not only authorised the use of Liège funds, but invested provincial capital to the extent that his successor found himself in acute financial embarrassment²³. When Father Kockerols explained his plight to the Superior General, Father Mauron ordered a thorough investigation²⁴. In the final summing up the decision declared that while a great deal of foolishness had been involved, « Father Noël was more at fault than any of the others »²⁵.

And yet it was Father Noël who was named superior of the new foundation, as he announced to Father Dold when the two pioneers met in Mons²⁶. The latter was so stung by the news that he wrote at once to Rome asking to be released from the expedition. He must have time, he pleaded, to attend to his interior life after his strenuous and distracting labours in America and the West Indies; and besides he was quite sure it would be impossible for him to live in peace with his companion²⁷. He requested that he be allowed to come and explain his reasons in a personal interview. Father Mauron remained firm in spite of a regular flurry of letters from the clearly disgruntled Father Dold, and he added to the party Brother Louis Douterlungne, who was to take his vows only late in September, almost on the very eve of embarking²⁸.

Father Dold, seasoned traveller that he was, had busied himself about arranging the passage for the party before he realised that he was not to be in sole charge of the expedition. His arrangements

²² *ibid.* 80.

²³ *ibid.* 94-97.

²⁴ A.G.R., L.C., 74.

²⁵ B.C., V, 100.

²⁶ Dold to Mauron, 4 IX 1860; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/d.

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ B.C., V, 243. Born Bartholomew Douterlungne 10 V 1833, Brother Louis made his profession 25 IX 1860. He was released from his vows a few years after the Rengo interlude.

were as efficient as were most things he undertook, so that on 17th October he was able to take ship with his companions²⁹. The voyage was not without its perils, which each of the Fathers narrated for the entertainment of their Belgian confrères³⁰. One of the great paddle-wheels broke its axle and was cut free barely in time to prevent its holing the ship. The result was that the disabled vessel limped into St. Thomas, the first port of call across the Atlantic, so long overdue that it had been presumed lost with all aboard. Poor Brother Louis had paid little heed to the general alarm: he had been so wretchedly seasick since leaving Europe that he scarcely stirred from his bunk until the party reached Chile.

The long journey over the Atlantic, across the isthmus of Panama and down the Pacific coast of South America took almost two months. The travellers arrived in Valparaiso on 14th December. After a brief stay in the port city the party went on to Santiago, where they met the vicar general, Dr. José Miguel Arístegui³¹. The vicar general was a courteous person, but they found him a somewhat puzzled one. Informed by his archbishop of the successful dealings with the Redemptorists, he had contacted the prospective benefactress and put in writing the terms she was prepared to offer for the foundation, very much as they must have been expressed by the archbishop, enclosing money to pay the passage of the community³². By the time this letter, written in August, reached Rome the three travellers had already embarked. Since writing as directed by his archbishop the vicar general had heard no word until the three members of the new community called on him in the middle of December. He received them hospitably, patiently answering their questions and introduced them to the Valdivieso family whose guests they were to be during the few days they remained in Santiago. It was a further day's journey to Rengo, where the party arrived on 22nd December. Within a few days Father Noël was writing for Father Mauron a long account of the first couple of weeks in Chile with his impressions of his new home. He made it plain that he did not like at all what he had seen in that short time³³.

²⁹ Noël to Mauron, 10 X 1860; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e.

³⁰ The letters are found in B.C., V, Father Noël's pp. 185-190 and Father Dold's pp. 190-242.

³¹ Noël to Mauron, 27, 28 XII 1860; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e.

³² Dr. Arístegui V. G. to Mauron, 16 VIII 1860; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/b.

³³ Noël to Mauron, 27, 28 XII 1860; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e.

Father Noël was at a disadvantage in that he had been much slower than his versatile companion in learning Spanish. Accordingly, after he had sent off his own unfavourable first impressions he had Father Dold return to Santiago in order to clarify the terms offered them, asking him to write his own independent report for the Superior General.

Father Dold, of course, proved most businesslike in the account, neatly set out point by point, of his further investigations³⁴. The good Sister, Carmen Teresa Valdivieso, gave him the distinct impression that she wanted the foundation less for the spiritual good of the people than for the advantage of her own family, whose property was in the Rengo district. She could offer little help towards a house for the community Father Mauron expected to establish; but she recommended that Father Dold approach her relative, the archbishop when he should arrive back in his diocese. There seemed to be little hope, however, in that direction owing to some tension between the archbishop and the Chilean government, which had refused to pay the return fare from an extended *ad limina* visit which had already lasted a year. The loyal but long-suffering vicar general had been compelled to make a public appeal for funds to pay the fare. It would be expecting too much altogether to count on the archbishop's being either willing or able to contribute towards a new home for the Redemptorists. To make things worse, his quarrel with the civil authorities was long standing enough to have occasioned a serious division among the clergy, with those of European origin and most of the religious supporting the government against their archbishop. The dispute had created such an unfavourable climate for vocations that the seminary was almost empty. This concise and orderly statement of Father Dold's very much reinforced the gloomy, rambling forebodings his superior continued to send on to Rome.

These first unfavourable reports reached Rome in two months' time and were considered on 4th March³⁵. A few days later the Superior General wrote to Father Noël the results of his consultors' deliberations, encouraging him to continue with the venture which had already cost so much effort³⁶. While he acknowledged the problems described by both of the pioneers, he still hoped for better

³⁴ Dold to Mauron, 12 I 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e.

³⁵ A.G.R., L.C., 81.

³⁶ Mauron to Noël, 8 III 1861 (copy); A.G.R., P.B. XVII 1/e.

things once the archbishop should have returned. With him and with the good Sister Father Noël was to act with firmness and *with much prudence*. The last phrase was underlined.

By the time this letter had been written further reports had begun to flow from both the Fathers in Rengo. They were diligent correspondents, whose letters were both frequent and extraordinarily lengthy. Continuing up to the time of their departure from Chile, and even beyond in the case of Father Dold, the two men expressed views that became increasingly divergent.

The picture presented in Father Noël's uniformly dismal colours offered no hope whatsoever. His interminable complaints amounted to three repeated over and over, lack of funds to support and house a community, the unsuitability of Rengo and the extreme unlikelihood of any useful mission work in Chile³⁷. These reasons were serious; and even Father Dold, who soon began to enjoy his life in Chile, was unable completely to refute any of them. They were arguments of a kind bound to influence Father Mauron.

The lack of funds of which Father Noël had become aware soon after his arrival remained very much on his mind; and his fears were by no means dispelled when the archbishop returned a couple of months later and confirmed what Sister Carmen had hinted about the state of his finances³⁸. The cost of living was high in Chile; and for support it would probably be necessary to depend on Mass stipends; and the Valdivieso family, including the archbishop and Sister Carmen, were proving less cooperative than had been expected³⁹. It is very likely that his letters contained a considerable measure of exaggeration; but even the more sanguine Father Dold, confident that his good friends, the Valdivieso family, would not let the Fathers starve, could hold out no more hope than for a community rather less than half the ten envisaged by the Superior General⁴⁰.

Rengo itself to Father Noël's clearly jaundiced view was most unsuitable. The area about the little town was crossed by so many

³⁷ Noël to Mauron, 26 I 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e. This letter, written after barely a month in Rengo, already made the three points which were to recur in almost every one of the letters that followed.

³⁸ Noël to Mauron, undated; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e. When filing the letter the archivist tentatively suggested 7 II 1861 as its date. This can hardly be correct, as it must have been at least after his letter of 15th of the same month, which does not mention the results of Father Dold's interviews in Santiago.

³⁹ Noël to Mauron, 15 II 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e.

⁴⁰ Dold to Mauron, 14 V 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/g.

creeks and even rivers that travel was impossible except on horse-back or by bullock cart. The neat sketch map he forwarded with one of his earliest reports gave some justification to his declaring: « We are surrounded by water on all sides »⁴¹. To make things worse, there were already two churches in the town, which in any case was little more than a small village. A community of Franciscans had recently built a house and church between the Valdivieso chapel served by the Redemptorists and the parish church⁴².

Father Noël never ceased to complain about his situation on the « island ». He himself was practically immobilised, since a hernia to which he coyly confessed made it impossible for him to ride a horse without severe pain. Then there was the fact that the wet season with heavy rains and the melting snows of the Cordilleras would keep the people away even from the Sunday Mass, though not, he remarked acidly, from the « cabarets ». The only ray of hope in this extremely dismal prospect was that the Fathers could be saved from months of boredom when they were isolated by the annual floods if they had a great love of study and prayer⁴³.

Once again Father Dold was inclined to discount his superior's timidity. He, experienced missionary as he was in the United States and the West Indies, saw no reason why anybody should worry about riding a horse. He loved it. By the exercise of that charm that had worked such wonders on St. Thomas he had gained ready access to the various households of the Valdivieso family, and he had every reason to hope that his good friends would not let him down, to the advantage even of his companions. As for the dreaded wet season, he had no doubt at all that it would turn out far less fearsome than Father Noël, poor fellow, had described it⁴⁴.

On the subject of the missions, however, the two were in agreement. Father Dold confessed that the kind of ministry offering to the Redemptorists in Chile was for him « a subject of grave fears »⁴⁵. With his usual efficiency he enumerated three faults. In the first place, missions in Chile were conducted solely for the sake of giving the people an opportunity of making their Easter Com-

⁴¹ Noël to Mauron, 26 I 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e.

⁴² Noël to Mauron, 27, 28 XII 1860; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e.

⁴³ Noël to Mauron, 26 I 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e.

⁴⁴ Dold to Mauron, 14 V 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/g.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

munion — at whatever time of the year they were held. November was the time for Rengo each year. They lasted a week or so, never more than nine days, and consisted of a course of sermons which probably very few could understand, some spectacular and entertaining ceremonies and the main business, namely the confessions and Communion of some ten thousand or more. Relays of confessors worked day and night to get through the huge numbers, who were despatched in such summary fashion as to appal even the sophisticated Father Dold. He was, however, rather more hopeful than Father Noël that given time the Redemptorist methods might possibly introduce a change for the better⁴⁶.

For the second defect he listed he could foresee no remedy. Long custom had made these « Easter Communion » missions regular annual events in Chile. Even if it should prove possible to introduce better conducted missions, he thought it would be beyond the Redemptorists or anybody else to break the tradition that marked for both clergy and laity one of the biggest events of the Church year⁴⁷.

Finally, there were so many missionaries in the archdiocese alone, Jesuits, Lazarists, Capuchins, Franciscans as well as a large number of secular priests who did nothing else, that the Redemptorists, newcomers as they were, were bound to find themselves « as useful as the fifth wheel of the carriage ». It would call for much more enterprise and courage than he could hope to find in the archbishop to remedy the hopeless state of the missions, and in particular to have the established missionaries share their very lucrative occupation with the new arrivals⁴⁸.

In the face of the « grave fears » he had to admit Father Dold was still prepared to argue that the foundation should be retained. At the same time he had his eye on a further possibility. If he himself had to choose, he told the Superior General, between the mission in Chile and the one in Australia of which he had heard when he passed through Rome, he would choose the latter. Consequently, should it be decided to leave Chile, he would be quite willing to go by sailing ship from Valparaiso to study the prospects of an Australian foundation⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ *ibid.* A request for a foundation proposed by the newly appointed Bishop of Brisbane was discussed by Father Mauron and his consultors 2 I 1860. See A.G.R., L.C., 76.

By the time these views had been formed the archbishop had at last returned from that extended *ad limina* visit that the irritated government preferred to consider an altogether unwarranted holiday tour of Europe. He reached Santiago at the beginning of February, when Father Dold, sent by his superior, called on him⁵⁰. Poor Father Noël was suffering from a bout of fever, and he was indignant when Father Dold reported to him that the archbishop had expressed his surprise and displeasure at not finding the superior on hand to greet him on his return to his diocese. In his eventual interview, which was early in April, he tried to be as firm as Father Mauron would have wished⁵¹, but in his struggling to express himself in Spanish he tended to shout, giving the impression of blustering⁵².

Father Noël's meeting with the archbishop was not such an occasion of unrelieved embarrassment as the reports would seem to indicate. It resulted in a second offer. It was now proposed that with some assistance from archdiocesan funds the Redemptorists establish themselves near the church of Santa Rosa de los Andes, which would be entrusted to their charge. Rather than accept the clearly biased word of the archbishop, Father Noël despatched his companion to examine what was offered. Father Dold promptly furnished his usual point by point report complete with a tastefully coloured diagram, all of which his superior sent off to Rome⁵³. It was certainly preferable to Rengo. For one thing, it was drier; and then there were no other religious in the district, which was moreover within fairly easy reach of the neighbouring towns of Argentina across the mountains. The big problem was that it would be necessary to retain the Valdivieso family church in Rengo. Since Santa Rosa was as far north of Santiago as Rengo was south — a day's journey — Father Noël could only see the offer as merely duplicating the present unsatisfactory situation, tiny and isolated with practically no prospect of any worth while mission work.

On its long two months' journey to Rome this letter crossed one from Father Mauron announcing the decision to end the experiment in Chile. On 18th May the consultors had agreed that Rengo should be abandoned⁵⁴. This decision was communicated by Father

⁵⁰ Noël to Mauron, undated, probably late February 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e.

⁵¹ Noël to Mauron, 14 IV 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/f.

⁵² Dold to Mauron, 14 V 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/g.

⁵³ Noël to Mauron, 14 IV 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/f.

⁵⁴ A.G.R., L.C., 8f.

Mauron in a letter to Father Noël dated 21 st May⁵⁵. The letter is not extant, but in a subsequent letter to Father Dold the Superior General explained that the decision was based principally on Father Noël's having described as absurd the idea of trying to make a foundation in the archdiocese of Santiago⁵⁶. Very likely he was referring to what Father Noël had written after Father Dold's first interview with the archbishop, namely that he had become convinced that to continue with the foundation could only be disastrous⁵⁷. Father Noël was instructed to go to St. Thomas with Brother Louis, while Father Dold was to return to the United States.

During the usual long two months that this decision took to reach Rengo the flood of letters from Chile continued unabated. Among those that reached Rome after the end of May was the one Father Noël had sent on 14th April with the account of his interview with the archbishop. He offered the first gleam of hope. While he could find no reason for recommending Santa Rosa, he did speak of a distinct possibility in Santiago itself, where there was a new church endowed by a devout elderly priest and with good prospects of an income sufficient for a community. It would even be possible to satisfy Sister Carmen, which really meant the archbishop and the rest of the Valdivieso family, by keeping Rengo as a rest house for the community in the city. Moreover, with a presence in the capital, Father Noël thought it would be more possible to influence mission practice than from the remote « island » of Rengo⁵⁸.

When this word reached Rome two months later it caused Father Mauron to have second thoughts. In a letter written on 11th June he expressed himself as firm in the decision to leave Rengo, and for similar reasons unwilling to accept Santa Rosa; but Santiago was a different prospect. He instructed Father Noël to propose to the archbishop a foundation in the city very much in the same terms as he had suggested in his own report of April⁵⁹.

As it turned out, the second thoughts were of no avail. It was in the middle of July that the letter of 21st May announcing the withdrawal from Chile reached Rengo; and Father Noël, making no at-

⁵⁵ A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/g. There is a note of the letter's contents.

⁵⁶ Mauron to Dold, 25 X 1861, (copy); A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/k.

⁵⁷ Noël to Mauron, undated, probably late February 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e.

⁵⁸ Noël to Mauron, 14 IV 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/f.

⁵⁹ Mauron to Noël, 11 VI 1861 (copy); A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/f.

tempt to conceal his vast relief, began at once to prepare for departure. He and Brother Louis were to go directly to Valparaiso without stopping in Santiago to take leave of the archbishop. Father Dold, who had other plans for himself, was entrusted with the task of saying the necessary farewells⁶⁰. This letter describing the end of the Rengo foundation was written only when Father Noël and his travelling companion were drawing near their new destination. It seems that Father Mauron's letter of 11th June could not have arrived before the group dispersed, as it was not mentioned by either of the Fathers in their accounts of the last days in Chile.

Father Noël wrote on 2nd August to the archbishop explaining carefully the reasons for the Superior General's decision⁶¹. In return he received a courteous reply in which the archbishop protested that for his part he had done all he could to make the project succeed⁶². A farewell letter Father Noël wrote to Sister Carmen had the effect of reducing all the Valdivieso ladies to floods of tears⁶³. Within a few days Father Noël and Brother Louis embarked for St. Thomas, not quite eight months after their arrival in Rengo. While the poor Brother steeled himself as best he could for the bout of seasickness he correctly predicted for himself, his companion, gloomy as ever, contemplated the prospect of « being grilled on the rock of St. Thomas »⁶⁴.

Father Dold was left behind in Rengo to prepare for his journey in his own fashion. For one making for the United States the route he proposed was puzzling to say the least. He was to cross the Andes once the snows were melted and travel across Argentina to Buenos Aires and from there by way of Rio de Janeiro to Cadiz⁶⁵. His long journey and the delay before its start made it possible, he explained, for the Superior General to change his mind and commission a fresh start in more competent hands, namely those of the writer. He gave an address in Rio de Janeiro where he could collect mail and easily turn back to Chile. In November he had not yet left, and he wrote

⁶⁰ Noël to Mauron, 6-11 IX 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/i.

⁶¹ Noël to Archbishop Valdivieso, (copy); A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/k. The date, 2nd August is mentioned in the archbishop's reply.

⁶² Archbishop Valdivieso to Noël, 8 VIII 1861 (translation); A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/k.

⁶³ Dold to Mauron, 11 VIII 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/k.

⁶⁴ Noël to Mauron, 6-11 IX 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/i.

⁶⁵ Dold to Mauron, 11 VIII 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/k.

from Valparaiso explaining that the change of plans had become necessary, since it was no longer safe to cross the plains of Argentina, where bands of revolutionaries, bandits and Indians were massacring wayfarers. He had now decided, he wrote, to travel by sailing ship around Cape Horn and make for Cadiz, from which port he could easily return either to the United States or to Chile. A new address was now provided for Cadiz; but to make sure of his getting it he asked Father Mauron to send a copy of the letter to another address in Malta⁶⁶.

When an extremely puzzled Superior General received this letter in the following January the first question that occurred to him was: why Malta? Nevertheless he sent off the two letters requested, sternly requiring the intrepid globe-trotter to make at once for Clapham, England, and provide without delay a more satisfactory explanation of his extraordinary conduct⁶⁷. It was the copy in Malta that eventually came to Father Dold's hands, but before then he had experienced further adventures. His ship from Cadiz to Malta had been blown off course, and he had been put ashore at his own request in Alexandria. While waiting for a ship to take him to Malta he took advantage of his convenient position to make a pious pilgrimage to the Holy Land, « the only journey I have made of my own will »⁶⁸. When news of this remarkable odyssey came to the ears of the horrified consultors in Rome they solemnly determined that the culprit be given a severe reprimand⁶⁹, which Father Mauron duly administered⁷⁰.

Father Dold eventually did reach his destination. In the American province he found further opportunities to demonstrate his prowess as a pioneer, in St. Louis and Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, Canada. Father Noël patiently « grilled on the rock of St. Thomas » for a few years until he died there on 18th February 1868.

It was not at all easy to discourage the redoubtable Father Dold. His letters suggesting that the decision be reversed drew from the Superior General a fatherly admonition not to waste any more time on the subject of Chile, as that interlude was definitely over and

⁶⁶ Dold to Mauron, 17 XI 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/m.

⁶⁷ Mauron to Dold, 10 I 1862 (copy); A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/m.

⁶⁸ Dold to Mauron, 23 III 1862; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/m.

⁶⁹ A.G.R., L.C., 87. The consultation was held on 25th June.

⁷⁰ Mauron to Dold, 28 VI 1862 (copy); A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/m.

« the documents are now in the archives *in perpetuum rei memoriam* »⁷¹. His indefatigable correspondent was soon sending further documents to swell the file. He kept up his correspondence with Sister Carmen and others of the Valdivieso family. Later in 1862 he forwarded a further plea from the Sister⁷². The consultors, no doubt heartily wearied by his persistence, declared that « this matter is finished and is not to be raised again »⁷³. Sister Carmen was not deterred, however, from sending on through her correspondent half a dozen years later a final plea for a community to be established in Rengo, offering a more generous endowment⁷⁴.

The last word rested, as one had to expect, with Father Dold. Hearing in 1876 that the South American foundations of the province of France and Switzerland were about to extend to Chile, he could not refrain from expressing his delight in a letter to Father Mauron⁷⁵. He was content, he declared, that the Redemptorists were going at last to his great friends in Chile. In spite of his age he generously offered the assistance of his experience with the country and its influential personages. But his roaming days were over, and he remained to end a singularly eventful career in Philadelphia on 29th December 1882.

Throughout the entire Rengo affair Father Dold had a great deal to say, and it was not wholly consistent; it must be said. One comment he made immediately after receiving word to withdraw stung Father Mauron to respond with some warmth. Father Dold argued that to leave Chile for the reasons given, namely uncertainty of funds, unsuitable accomodation and an unsatisfactory apostolate, would establish a precedent and a principle that would preclude all further attempts in the direction of the foreign missions⁷⁶. Even making allowance for the writer's usual interested motives, the Superior General had to see the shrewd point that had been made, and he hastened to answer.

In his reply Father Mauron protested that he had done all he

⁷¹ Mauron to Dold, 8 IV 1862 (copy); A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/m.

⁷² Sister Carmen Valdivieso to Dold, 29 V 1862; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/m.

⁷³ A.G.R., L.C., 87. The consultation was held on 4th August.

⁷⁴ Sister Carmen Valdivieso to Mauron, 23 VII 1868; A.G.R., Prov. Baltimorensis, Personalia, Ludovicus Dold.

⁷⁵ Dold to Mauron, 2 V 1876; A.G.R., Prov. Baltimorensis, Personalia, Ludovicus Dold.

⁷⁶ Dold to Mauron, 29 VII 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/k.

could « to offer to the poor people of Chile the spiritual help of our Congregation »⁷⁷. He had been most interested in the project from the start. When in the previous year he had sought Father Kockerols' help, he had explained himself. « For a long time there has been talk of South America as a land that would be especially suitable for the Congregation »⁷⁸. Apparently it was his aim to promote Redemptorist expansion outside Europe, and the Rengo expedition was important in its being an early experimental step in that direction.

Properly speaking this expansion into South America was not the first venture of the Redemptorists into the mission field. In St. Clement Hofbauer's time a foundation had been attempted in Bucharest; the introduction of the Congregation into America in 1832 had brought it into the territory of Propaganda; and so too had the attempt to establish a small community in Norway in 1849. But in the sixties there was some preoccupation with foreign missions, as Father Dold shrewdly perceived. Interest had been aroused when Mgr. George Talbot asked the Redemptorists to bring peace to the troubled island of St. Thomas. There must also have been some discussion and gossip about the opening offered in distant Australia when Father Dold passed through Rome early in 1860. Certainly, Father Mauron, as he more than once protested, most earnestly wished the foundation in Chile to succeed.

The brief Rengo experience did not help towards establishing a policy for future expansion outside Europe. If anything, it revealed a tendency to adhere rather too much to ways that were familiar and well proven. When Father Noël announced his departure to the Archbishop of Santiago and explained the reasons, he spoke about the community life and pastoral works of Redemptorists in other countries and the sort of thing prescribed for them by their rules⁷⁹. There is no doubt that during the short eight months of the experiment the group showed little ability to adapt to new circumstances. And one would have to suspect a similar inflexibility of attitude on the part of Father Mauron, who had chosen Chile, after all, because he saw it as « a civilised country where we should be able to live in community as in Europe »⁸⁰. A person who chose his words more

⁷⁷ Mauron to Dold, 25 X 1861 (copy); A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/k.

⁷⁸ B.C., V, 177.

⁷⁹ Noël to Archbishop Valdivieso, 2 VIII 1861 (copy); A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/k.

⁸⁰ B.C., V, 177.

prudently than did Father Dold might have made more gracefully his point about the wrong thinking and the unhappy precedent created by the community's withdrawal from Rengo.

Even with sounder policies of adaptability, however, it is doubtful if the Rengo foundation could have succeeded. From the start it was hampered by errors of judgement that prejudiced all subsequent developments. Even Father Dold, for all his later enthusiasm and ostentatious optimism, found on arrival that what good Sister Carmen and the archbishop were prepared to do was very much less than what Father Mauron had led him and his companions to expect⁸¹. Later he went to some pains to explain that it had all been due to a misunderstanding, and little wonder that the Superior General had mistaken the archbishop's meaning, since even Spaniards found it hard to understand the people of Chile⁸². Whether or not one is prepared to credit Father Dold with being such an expert on the speech and customs of the country on so short an acquaintance, it remains clear that the party came to Rengo fully expecting to have a house built for them and for the others who would soon come to join them. And this their benefactors were neither willing nor able to do. To be faced with such a disappointment after the long voyage from Europe should not have brought the venture to an end, provided the pioneers showed a willingness to negotiate a compromise. This neither Father Noël's pessimism nor Father Dold's high-handed egoism made possible.

It would not be unreasonable to see Father Mauron as chiefly responsible for the failure of Rengo. He was the one, after all, who put Fathers Noël and Dold in charge, and from the beginning he had kept the direction of the venture in his own hands, making all the decisions himself. When Father Dold attempted to argue against the withdrawal, the Superior General explained his reasons. On reading the reports that had come from Father Noël, he wrote, he could see little else to do. « God knows how much that letter cost me. But what was I to do? How could I leave you in a position where it was said you had not enough to live on »⁸³? The decision to abandon Chile had been discussed in a consultation before Father Mauron communicated it to Father Noël, but there is never any mention of the consultors. The correspondence concerning the business of Rengo

⁸¹ Dold to Mauron, 12 I 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e.

⁸² Dold to Mauron, 14 V 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/g.

⁸³ Mauron to Dold, 25 X 1861. (copy); A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/k.

gives the distinct impression that the Superior General had acted throughout in isolation.

Father Mauron, in fact, had been elected Superior General only five years earlier by a chapter which marked a new direction for Redemptorists. He found himself in a position of responsibility in a rapidly growing institute as yet little skilled in the techniques of governing and in particular with the need of delegating authority. He was as a consequence in 1860 still something of a pioneer himself, treading new paths of leadership and it was to be some years yet before his style of government matured.

Ten years later a further opportunity offered in South America. On this occasion Father Mauron had recourse to the energetic superior of the province of France and Switzerland, Father Achille Desurmont, asking him to choose men for the two foundations to be made in Ecuador. Father Desurmont was a strong character and an efficient administrator, and the man appointed to supervise the two foundations, Father Jean-Pierre Didier, was a competent leader. To Father Didier most credit is due for the eventual success in introducing the Redemptorists into South America; but his task had been much easier than the attempt in Rengo by reason of more orderly direction from the beginning⁸⁴.

When Father Noël reached Puerto Rico on his way from Chile to St. Thomas he heard of the failure of the other attempt to make a foundation in South America. Father Lojodice, the only survivor of the three Neapolitan Fathers who had gone to New Granada, had been forced to leave. « We have on board fourteen Jesuits expelled from New Granada after two and a half years there. The only survivor of our Neapolitan Fathers has left with the Apostolic Delegate »⁸⁵. His letters from Chile had frequently mentioned with foreboding the recurring revolutions in the new South America republics. He wrote on this occasion what must have seemed to him a fitting conclusion to his unhappy stay in Rengo, as with undiminished gloom he prepared himself to be « grilled on the rock of St. Thomas ».

⁸⁴ Cf. A. George C.S.S.R., *Le très révérend Père Achille Desurmont C.S.S.R., provincial de France*, Paris, 1924, p. 211-213; E. Gautron C.S.S.R., *La Croix sur les Andes*, Paris 1938, p. 30-45; *Los Redemptoristas en Chile*, Santiago del Chile, 1925.

⁸⁵ Noël to Mauron, 6-11 IX 1861; A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/i.

DOCUMENTS

1. - Letter of Father Mauron to Father Kockerols, Belgian provincial, 15 VI 1860. Copy in B. C., V, 176-179.

Durant le séjour qu'il vient de faire à Rome, l'archevêque de San Iago vint me voir pour me prier d'établir une maison de missionnaires de notre Congrégation dans son diocèse. Il m'offrit pour cela une église toute neuve dans une petite ville à une journée de San Iago. Cette église a été bâtie par les soins d'une jeune personne très riche (appartenante à la famille de l'archevêque) laquelle avant de se consacrer à Dieu dans une maison des Dames du Sacré Coeur veut en outre fonder pour le bien du diocèse une maison de missionnaires adjacente à l'église susmentionnée. En me faisant ces offres et en me donnant l'assurance que les ressources nécessaires ne feraient pas défaut, l'archevêque s'efforça de me faire comprendre le grand bien qu'il y avait à faire dans ce pays et combien surtout notre Congrégation serait propre à réaliser ce bien moyennant les Missions. Ce n'est pas que dans ce pays il y ait manque de Prêtres. Il y a même beaucoup d'Ordres religieux qui y possèdent des établissements. Mais la plupart d'entre eux, tels que les Jesuites et les Picputiens, s'occupent principalement de l'éducation de la jeunesse et de la direction des collèges. Les autres sont généralement trop peu nombreux pour pouvoir vaquer à l'oeuvre des Missions.

Les offres de l'évêque de San Iago comme V. R. comprendra sans peine, me mirent dans un embarras qui n'était pas petit. Depuis longtemps en effet on parle de l'Amérique méridionale comme d'un pays qui conviendrait plus spécialement à notre Congrégation. Et de fait le Chili est un pays civilisé, où nous pourrions vivre en communauté aussi bien qu'en Europe et sans avoir la quasi-charge d'âmes comme dans les Etats - Unis, parce qu'au Chili il y a des curés. C'est en outre un pays Catholique où les Protestants et autres sectes sont en nombre très restreint et comme notre principale besogne dans ce pays consisterait dans les missions, notre établissement serait en tout point conforme à la règle et aux intentions de S. Alphonse, et ne manquerait certes pas d'opérer de grands fruits de salut parmi des populations croyantes sans doute mais qui ont grandement besoin d'être remuées. De plus ce pays est riche, le climat tempéré et l'air sain et salubre puisqu'on n'y connaît absolument rien de la fièvre jaune. Tout semblait donc m'engager à souscrire aux généreuses offres de Monseigneur. Mais d'autre part je ne me dissimulais pas les difficultés de l'entreprise. Et tout d'abord l'isolement des Pères qui seraient destinés à cette mission du reste des maisons, la difficulté de les changer, la difficulté de trouver des Pères sachants parler la langue du pays, qui est l'espagnol, bien que le français, l'allemand et l'anglais soient aussi de grande utilité etc. etc.

Avant de prendre une décision je balançais et hésitais longtemps, et ce ne fut qu'après avoir bien réfléchi devant Dieu et après avoir prié beaucoup, que je me suis enfin décidé pour l'affirmatif. Ce qui a achevé de faire pencher la balance dans ce sens c'était 1° l'espoir de trouver dans le pays même des vocations, 2° l'espoir de pouvoir établir peu à peu d'autres maisons dans les diocèses voisins et dans les autres contrées de la vaste Amérique méridionale qui ne compte pas moins de 30 millions de Catholiques, 3° enfin c'était la liberté que je me suis réservée de retirer les Pères si les choses ne devaient pas marcher.

L'Evêque et moi nous sommes convenus de tout. La maison que l'on établirait serait destinée à recevoir une communauté religieuse. Il faudrait donc au moins une dizaine de Pères avec quelques frères. Mais ce nombre n'est pas exigé immédiatement, attendu que la maison n'existe pas encore, et qu'il s'agit d'abord de la bâtir. J'ai donc proposé à l'Evêque (ce que ce dernier a agréé) d'envoyer provisoirement l'un ou l'autre Père avec un Frère dès l'automne prochain, afin que les travaux de la maison puissent être immédiatement commencés et exécutés sous la direction de l'un d'eux, et afin que tout réponde à l'esprit de la Règle et aux besoins d'une communauté. Comme le P. Dold s'entend assez bien en fait d'architecture, j'ai cru arrêter à cet effet mon choix sur ce Père. Mais me voici à la recherche d'un second Père et d'un frère servant. Le P. L'Hoir ne conviendrait-il pas à cette mission ... ou bien y aura-t-il quelqu'autre Père de votre Province, qui pourrait être envoyé au Chili avec le Père Dold? N'y aurait-il aussi moyen de trouver en Belgique un frère servant bien sage et bien vertueux et tout à la fois au fait d'un métier utile, comme par ex. la menuiserie? Je vous serais bien reconnaissant si vous pouviez me répondre à toutes ces questions et si vous pouviez m'aider à trouver les hommes qu'il faut pour cette circonstance.

2. - Letter of Dr. José Miguel Arístegui, vicar general of Santiago to Father Mauron, 16 VIII 1860. Original in A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/b.

Reverendísimo Padre General de la Congregación del Smo. Redentor

Santiago de Chile, Agosto 16 de 1860

Reverendísimo Padre:

Los muchos años que he ejercido el cargo de Vicario General y actual Gobernador de este Arzobispado me han dado a conocer la suma necesidad de sacerdotes que hay en nuestra Arquidiócesis, principalmente para ayudar a los párrocos rurales en la administración de la dilatada extensión de territorio que abrazan sus feligresías. Como carecemos de los medios de poderlas subdividir, el arbitrio más prudente que se presenta es proporcionar a los dichos párrocos el auxilio de celosos misioneros que les faciliten el desempeño de su ministerio. He sabido por conducto de nuestro Rmo. Arzobispo, actualmente existente en París, que la

Congregación, que tan dignamente rige V. Reverendísima, goza de una bien merecida reputación, y que uno de sus principales institutos es el de misionar en los campos. Bajo de estos antecedentes tengo la honra de dirigirme a V. Reverendísima esperando acoja mi solicitud con interés e imparta las órdenes convenientes para preparar la fundación de la Congregación en nuestro suelo.

Existe entre nosotros una noble y piadosa Señora, Doña Carmen Valdivieso y Crusat, que posee un fundo de campo en una provincia muy poblada y en distancia de más de cien millas de esta Capital. Esta Señora ofrece al convento que se funde una donación de una buena y hermosa iglesia de más de treinta y cinco metros, con Sacristía provista de todos los útiles necesarios, de ornamentos y varios sagrados, y un edificio de más de cincuenta metros también, que con facilidad y poco costo puede proporcionarse a las necesidades de la comunidad, con total independencia de lo restante del fundo. Está dispuesta además a donar un terreno adyacente como de diez a doce cuabras para que los Padres vivan con desahogo y puedan utilizarlo en su provecho. Pero como siempre es necesario conocer las cosas de cerca, es conveniente que ante todo V. Reverendísima mande dos sacerdotes miembros de la Congregación que inspeccionen la donación por sí mismos y dispongan el edificio al fin propuesto subministrándoseles aquí los medios necesarios. Con este objeto la Señora donante remite al Reverendísimo Señor Arzobispo trecientos escudos para que los dos sacerdotes preparen su viaje a Valparaíso cubriéndoles aquí el precio de su trasporte marítimo.

Si mi solicitud fuere aceptada, como lo espero, por V. Reverendísima creo que contribuirá en gran parte a la gloria de Dios, a la salvación de las almas y a remediar las necesidades religiosas de nuestra extensa diócesis.

Dígnese V. Reverendísima recibir las consideraciones del mayor respecto y aprecio con que se subscribe su afmo. servidor y Capellán q.b.s.m.

José Miguel Arístegui

3. - Letter of Father Dold to Father Mauron, 12 I 1861. Original in A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/e.

Santiago le 12 janvier 1861

Réverendissime Père,

Le Rév. P. Noël m'a envoyé avant hier à Santiago pour tâcher d'éclaircir certaines doutes par rapport à notre fondation à Rengo. Comme je ne pourrais être de retour à Rengo avant le départ du prochain vapeur, le Rév. Père m'a donné la lettre ci-jointe pour y ajouter ce que j'apprendrais de nouveau et la faire parvenir à Votre Paternité. Voici le resultat de mes recherches.

1°. Par rapport à la construction des bâtiments nécessaires à l'établissement d'une communauté réglée, la religieuse fondatrice m'a appris

que « Quoiqu'elle ait écrit au Père Noël, que la difficulté par rapport à la construction de la maison a été prévue et qu'elle s'applanirait; *elle-même* n'avait pas l'intention et n'était pas à même d'y pourvoir, mais qu'elle comptait sur les secours et les promesses de l'Archevêque faites à votre Paternité pour la voir se réaliser ». Toutefois ces secours et ces promesses de Sa Grandeur pourraient bien être aussi douteux que ceux de la religieuse, car il paraîtrait que ses finances ne sont pas en fort bon état. Le gouvernement ayant *légalement* refusé de continuer le traitement de l'Archevêque pendant son absence parce qu'il a dépassé le temps de son congé et qu'il a négligé de demander une prolongation, *l'autorité ecclésiastique de Santiago a cru devoir ouvrir une souscription publique pour couvrir les frais du retour de Sa Grandeur*. Du reste le gouvernement chilien se mettant de plus en plus en opposition ouverte avec l'Archevêque, il ne nous serait guère avantageux d'être patronisés d'une manière spéciale par Sa Grandeur. Or on ne connaît pas que l'Archevêque ait jamais secouru pécuniairement aucune institution religieuse que son séminaire, qui reste inachevé.

Les capucins, les lazaristes, les picpuciens et une bonne partie du clergé séculier tiennent pour le gouvernement: les dominicains, les jésuites et le reste du clergé séculier tiennent pour l'Archevêque. Comme on le voit, tout le clergé étranger est d'un côté et le clergé indigène de l'autre. Il nous serait expédient de pouvoir rester neutre.

2°. Nous avons aussi demandé à la religieuse fondatrice la permission d'ouvrir à travers l'immense propriété qu'elle possède encore un chemin public qui nous amènerait à *pied sec* chaque dimanche trois à quatre mille personnes qui demeurent précisément derrière nous au pied des cordillères. Elle n'a pas cru devoir accéder à notre demande, parce que ce chemin pourrait diminuer la valeur de la propriété malgré l'offre que nous lui fimes aussi de reprendre sur nos six hectares l'étendue du chemin. Cet étrange refus pourrait faire croire que l'intérêt a eu plus de part dans la libéralité apparente de notre fondatrice que le salut des âmes. En effet les six hectares qu'elle nous offre outre l'église et les quelques mauvaises chambres contigues ne se louent que 240 piastres par an; ne pourrait certainement pas suffire à l'entretien d'un prêtre dans son *hacienda*. Et cependant en nous le donnant elle procure des prêtres non seulement pour ses propres gens mais encore pour les *haciendas* de ses trois frères qui demeurent tous autour de nous. Du reste elle est prête à faire pour nous quantité d'ornements d'autel et de fleurs, en un mot tout ce qui coûte peu et se fait facilement. Elle nous demande souvent de lui dire ce qui nous manque. J'avais pris la liberté de lui dire que nous aurions nécessairement besoin d'un cheval, mais elle n'a pas cru devoir acquiescer à notre demande quoique les chevaux ne coûtent ici qu'une trentaine de piastres et qu'ils n'exigent aucun soin.

3°. Quant aux vingt mille piastres dont parle le P. Noël, c'est un capital déposé par une personne pieuse pour l'oeuvre des missions. Il produit 1000 piastres par an que l'Archevêque applique à dix missions, donnant 100 piastres pour chaque mission. On m'a fait remarquer que 100 piastres pourraient à peine suffire pour payer les frais d'une mission

pauvre et d'accès difficile. L'intention de l'Archevêque d'après le vieux chanoine serait de nous donner à nous ces dix missions et les ôtant à ceux qui les donnent maintenant.

4°. La raison pour laquelle il y a actuellement si peu de vocations religieuses c'est que le gouvernement ne permet pas l'émission des voeux avant l'âge de 28 ans et que l'Archevêque ne veut ordonner que ceux qui embrassent la réforme. (La réforme est impraticable dit le P. Franciscain qui est venu de Rome il y a deux ans pour l'y établir).

Tels sont, Réverendissime Père, les renseignements que j'ai pu obtenir à Santiago sur notre nouvelle fondation. Je me recommande à vos bonnes prières et reste toujours de Votre Paternité

le très indigne enfant,
Louis Dold C.S.S.R.

4. - Letter of Father Mauron to Father Noël, 11 VI 1861. Copy in A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/f.

J'ai reçu votre lettre du 14 avril, et j'espère que vous aurez aussi reçu les miennes, et notamment celle du 21 mai dernier. Dans cette dernière je vous fis connaître ma décision concernant le projet de fondation à Rengo, en vous indiquant au même temps les motifs qui m'ont porté à donner une semblable décision. Pour ce qui est des offres qu'on nous fait à Sta Rosa de los Andes, après bien des réflexions je ne les crois pas acceptables:

Et 1° on nous pose pour condition de conserver en même temps Rengo. Or cela ne peut se faire, par la raison qu'on ne peut y établir une communauté régulière, et que je ne puis, moi, permettre qu'un ou deux Pères demeurent pour toujours isolés dans une petite station, ce qui serait en effet contraire à la Règle et à l'esprit de la Congrégation, et en même temps funeste aux religieux eux-mêmes. Une autre condition non acceptable qu'on nous impose ce sont les écoles⁸⁶. Nous ne pouvons nous en charger nous-mêmes, attendu que ce point nous est défendu par nos règles; et nous ne pourrions guère pouvoir pour un instituteur, parce que son entretien enlèverait une grande partie des ressources qui sont déjà si minimes qu'elles ne suffiraient pas à l'entretien d'une communauté régulière.

2°. Les offres qu'on nous fait à Sta Rosa sont en elles-mêmes loin de répondre aux exigences les plus essentielles d'une fondation régulière, ce qui est pourtant de stricte nécessité, si nous voulons être dans l'Amérique du sud, ce que nous sommes partout ailleurs. La maison est trop

⁸⁶ In his letter of 14th April Father Noël had mentioned that it would be required that the Fathers see to religious instruction in the village school. He did not see that small charge as causing as much of a problem as apparently did the Superior General.

petite, et elle exige des réparations. Il faudrait donc bâtir, à quoi les ressources disponibles ne suffiraient pas. Elles seraient même insuffisantes pour le seul entretien d'une communauté régulière; or pour ne pas exposer les Pères à faire naufrage je dois exiger de toute nécessité qu'il y ait espoir fondé de pouvoir avec le temps organiser une communauté régulière; mais je ne puis hasarder à l'incertain l'acceptation de la maison et de l'église qu'on nous offre à Sta Rosa.

Si les conditions mentionnées ci-dessus dans le n. 1 venaient à disparaître, et si l'on était disposé à satisfaire aux exigences que je me suis vu obligé de faire valoir dans le n. 2, alors Sta Rosa sous tous les rapports mais surtout pour une maison de la Congrégation me paraîtrait préférable à Rengo, et je serais prêt aussi à consentir à son acceptation.

Mais comme d'une part je ne sais pas si mes conditions seront acceptées je ne puis de mon côté non plus accepter Sta Rosa, et comme d'autre part Rengo n'est pas acceptable, je me vois obligé malgré moi de persister sur ce que je vous mandais dans ma lettre du 21 mai et de renoncer à la pensée d'implanter la Congrégation au Chili.

Je prie V. R. d'exposer à Mgneur l'Archevêque les motifs qui m'empêchent d'accepter Sta Rosa et Rengo. Nous aurions par là deux misérables hospices mais nulle part une communauté régulière. Quelles en seraient les suites? ... Nous serions sans observance et bientôt nous serions ce que sont tant d'autres. Semblables à les religieux dont l'Archevêque m'a entretenu ici, nous ne travaillerions pas à la gloire de Dieu: de peu d'utilité à l'église, nous ne pourrions être non plus d'une grande consolation à l'Archevêque.

Toutefois, avant de quitter le Chili il faut encore tenter un pas. Veuillez faire à Mgneur en mon nom une nouvelle proposition, qui consisterait en une communauté régulière à S. Jago même avec maison et église, ce qui (comme cela s'entend) nous ne pourrions pas faire sans l'appui et l'ordre de Mgneur: dans ce cas nous pourrions conserver Rengo, non pas pour y demeurer habituellement, mais pour donner la mission et pour y célébrer l'anniversaire⁸⁷. Comme le chemin de fer reliera bientôt Rengo à S. Jago, la distance à franchir serait peu considérable et les Pères pourraient encore en d'autres moments aller du temps en temps à Rengo. Cette proposition plaira sans doute à Mgneur, et je suis persuadé que Sa Grandeur trouvera les moyens de rendre la réalisation de cette proposition possible. Avec l'aide et la bénédiction de Dieu nous ferions ainsi un grand bien à S. Jago, non seulement parmi les indigènes, mais encore parmi les nombreux étrangers, qui y affluent, tels que français, allemands etc. De là on partirait pour les missions, et de cette manière, j'en suis convaincu, les Enfants de S. Alphonse, en déployant

⁸⁷ Sister Carmen had required as condition for the foundation at Rengo that there be the annual « Easter Communion » mission in November each year and that Masses be offered on the anniversaries of the deaths of her parents. These conditions are frequently mentioned in Father Noël's letters. It was he who suggested in his letter of 14th April the terms proposed by Father Mauron without reference to his own prior recommendation.

leur activité dans un vaste champ et travaillant selon la méthode de leur Saint Fondateur, ne manqueraient pas d'opérer un bien immense. *Sed fiat voluntas Dei in omnibus!*...

5. - Letter of Father Noël to Archbishop Valdivieso, [2 VIII 1861]. Copy⁸⁸ in A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/k.

J'ai reçu la lettre de V. G. qui dit sentir vivement la résolution prise par notre Sup. Gén. Toute cette affaire, Mgr., ne nous a pas moins causé de peine, d'inquiétude et de vives appréhensions. V. G. peut bien croire, car c'est la pure vérité, que nous venions de grand coeur au Chili, abandonnant tout ce que nous avons de plus cher ici bas et affrontant les dangers des mers; nous venions dans l'unique but de nous dévouer courageusement et nous consacrer au salut de Ses chers diocésains. V. G. nous expose tout ce dont Elle était convenu avec notre Sup. Gén. et nous assure que les moyens d'existence ne nous auraient pas manqué au Chili. Elle parle du produit d'une somme de 20 mille piastres dont Elle pouvait disposer en faveur des missions. Il est bien vrai qu'un vénérable chanoine en a parlé en notre présence chez M. le Vicaire Gén. qui nous dit n'en rien connaître, n'en avoir même rien entendu dire; c'est le seul mot qui ait été dit de cette somme en notre présence. Dans la 2me visite que nous fîmes à la fondatrice elle nous exprima fortement son regret de ne pouvoir offrir à la Cong. qu'une petite église, une maison très pauvre et 12 cuadras de terre à condition de célébrer chaque année deux anniversaires et de donner tous les ans au commencement de novembre une mission en usage et qui coûtait à la famille une somme considérable, attendu qu'il fallait à cet effet appeler un grand nombre de confesseurs et les retribuer. Un homme bien informé nous a dit le prix approximatif. Assumant sur nous l'obligation de continuer cette oeuvre chaque année, nous débarraissions la famille d'une dépense six à sept fois plus forte que le produit des 12 cuadras de terre qui nous étaient offerts.

Mais la plus grande difficulté n'était pas la crainte de ne pouvoir vivre au Chili. Ce que nous demandions; ce sur quoi comptait notre Sup. Gén. c'était un couvent, une maison suffisante. A Apaltos⁸⁹ comme à Santa Rosa il était absolument nécessaire de bâtir, et pour cela il fallait trouver des ressources extraordinaires. Je dis qu'il fallait bâtir, car ce n'est pas dans un pauvre corps de logis ayant six pièces qu'on peut trouver réfectoire, salle commune, bibliothèque et cellules (chaque religieux devant avoir la sienne). Il est évident, Mgr., qu'abandonnés à nos très modiques et bien précaires ressources ordinaires, nous eussions été très longtemps avant de pouvoir construire une maison régulière, à savoir même si nous l'eussions jamais pu.

⁸⁸ The copy is in Father Noël's hand. It appears to have been forwarded by Father Dold together with his own translation of the archbishop's reply.

⁸⁹ Apaltos was the name of the precise locality where the foundation was situated: it was only a mile or so from the village, so that the two names were used interchangeably.

Notre Sup. Gén. comptait que les moyens de réaliser ces constructions nécessaires étaient à la disposition de V. G. Voici ce qu'il m'écrivait en me demandant d'accepter la mission du Chili: « Mgr. de S. Jago (Chili) vient de nous offrir dans une petite ville de son diocèse une église toute neuve avec une maison y attenante. L'église subsiste déjà; la maison serait construite sous notre direction et sur les dimensions voulues pour une communauté assez nombreuse. Quant aux sommes nécessaires elles seraient fournies par une personne très riche (de la famille de l'Arch.) qui, avant de se consacrer à Dieu dans une maison religieuse, tient à pourvoir au bien du diocèse par la fondation d'une maison de missionnaires ». Ailleurs il dit: « Cette maison serait destinée à recevoir un bon nombre de pères qui, vaquants avant tout à l'oeuvre des missions, s'appliqueraient en même temps à exercer le s. ministère dans leur église ».

Bien qu'une maison convenable est indispensable pour vivre en communauté et observer la règle, ce n'était cependant pas encore là le plus grand des obstacles à notre établissement à Apaltos. Que Mgr. me permette de faire ici quelques réflexions dont il voudra bien apprécier la valeur, et qui, je ne doute pas, recevront son assentiment.

La position d'un couvent de missionnaires à Apaltos avec les grands inconvénients d'être dans une grande hacienda, était impossible au point de vue religieux. Je m'explique. Dans l'archidiocèse de Santiago on ne peut sortir pour les missions que pendant six mois à peine, et encore pendant ce temps l'époque de la mission est bien peu propre à cet effet; et les pères, établis à Apaltos, n'eussent jamais eu d'autre occupation que celle-là, de sorte qu'après avoir composé leurs sermons, et c'eût été bientôt fait, attendu que les missions sont si courtes et se donnent à des populations fort simples et ignorantes, les pères n'eussent plus eu de but véritablement utile à leur étude, plus rien qui stimulat leur zèle; ils eussent étudié la plus grande partie de l'année uniquement pour employer le temps; de là le grand danger, le danger inévitable de voir l'esprit apostolique diminuer, s'éteindre et finir peut-être par disparaître; et en peu d'années on aurait vu des hommes qui avaient arrosé de leurs sueurs des provinces entières s'ennuyer, gémir, se contenter de faire la stricte nécessaire, nécessaire ici insuffisant. Dans les autres pays où la Cong. du T. S. Rédempteur a des maisons le temps des missions est plus large: il dure la majeure partie de l'année. Après les missions viennent les exercices spirituelles dans les maisons religieuses, les collèges, les prisons, les congrégations. Outre cela les pères travaillent beaucoup dans leurs églises; on y prêche souvent; on y entretient des congrégations de toute espèce; on y confesse beaucoup. Tout cela entretient, alimente l'esprit apostolique, forme le missionnaire et le tient toujours en haleine. Rien de si dangereux pour l'ouvrier évangélique que de soupirer après l'ouvrage qui manque sans l'espoir de l'obtenir. L'inaction fut toujours une des principales causes du relâchement, et plutôt qu'exposer nos pères à ce malheur ne vaut-il pas mieux mille fois les transporter ailleurs? Ici je prierai Votre Grandeur de lui rapporter ce que généralement nous entendons des personnes qui sont à même d'apprécier les choses. Quoi! nous dit-on, On vous fait venir de trois à quatre mille lieues pour vous placer, vous missionnaires, en pleine campagne, environnés d'eau de tous côtés, pour occuper une position dont personne n'a voulu? Il y avait un moyen facile

de nous mettre en communication avec une petite population du côté de Chatyaoui. Nous demandions qu'on voulut nous permettre d'établir un sentier sur le parcours de 20 à 25 cuadras de terre, ce qui aurait permis à ce petit peuple de fréquenter notre église sans être obligé de traverser quatre ou cinq fois la même rivière. La fondatrice nous l'a refusé, et nous ôta par ce refus tout espoir de voir diminuer notre isolement.

En venant au Chili nous demandions du travail et beaucoup de travail et nous nous trouvions forcés à un repos inhabitué et plein de dangers! Nous désirions ardemment nous rendre utiles dans le champ de l'Eglise, et nous nous trouvions en position de ne pouvoir le faire, ni même d'acquiescer l'habitude de la langue; puisque à Apaltos les pères ne seraient jamais parvenus, faute de pratique, à parler correctement et facilement la langue du pays. V. G. se rappellera que lorsque j'eus l'honneur de recevoir une audience (4 avril) ce fut là la principale ou au moins une des principales objections que je lui signalais à cet établissement à Apaltos d'une maison de Rédemptoristes. Mgr aura de remarquer que je sentais vivement ce que difficilement le lui exprimais à ce sujet, je lui disais l'impossibilité physique et morale pour une communauté de missionnaires de demeurer la plus grande partie de l'année dans une absolue et entière inaction, occupés à étudier sans but vraiment utile, sans autre but que d'étudier et occuper leurs longs loisirs; et pourquoi disais-je cet état de choses impossible? Parceque, comme le dirent tous ceux qui savent ce que c'est qu'un missionnaire: Il est au Chili et surtout à Apaltos nuisible et dangereux pour des missionnaires à cause du manque de travail à l'intérieur et trop peu à l'extérieur. Aussi je le confesse sincèrement la perspective de voir une communauté des nôtres s'établir à Apaltos m'effrayait pour le tort immense que cette position aurait occasionné à l'esprit des pères, ou au moins auquel elle exposait prochainement, et pour ce motif encore je ne cessai pas de dire que cette position n'était pas tenable, et ceux qui peuvent en juger en conviennent avec moi. J'ajouterai que la petite expérience que nous en avons faite pendant un séjour de plus d'une demi année nous l'a fait mieux sentir.

Et si je me plaignais du voisinage d'un autre couvent de religieux, ce n'était pas tant par crainte de manquer de pain, mais parceque la trop modique besogne se trouvait divisée et réduite presque à rien. Comment en effet à Apaltos espérer jamais d'établir un office les samedis et dimanches soir comme le prescrivent nos règles? Comment jamais attendre du travail, je ne dirai pas pour une communauté de missionnaires, mais pour un seul père? L'obstacle que je signale est autant plus grave que les missionnaires que notre Sup. Gén. aurait envoyés au Chili eussent été généralement des hommes habitués à de continuel et abondants travaux et qui ne seraient venus au Chili que pour travailler encore davantage; et puis tout d'un coup se trouver réduits à l'inaction la plus grande partie de l'année.

Notre Sup. Gén. a bien senti tous les inconvenients d'une semblable fondation, et voilà pourquoi il ne peut en conscience nous autoriser à nous fixer où nous ne pourrions ici travailler dans nos églises au moins autant qu'en Europe et dans l'Amérique du nord. Je dis au moins autant, attendu que nous eussions eu beaucoup moins de travail extérieur et une seule espèce sans jamais en espérer d'autres.

Quant à la petite ville de Santa Rosa ayant une population de trois mille habitants, une grande et neuve église, elle offrait sans doute un peu plus de ressources pour le travail, mais en acceptant avec la condition toujours maintenue de conserver Apaltos, nous n'eussions pu d'établir de communauté régulière ni d'un côté ni de l'autre. Ici je dois dire que lorsque V. G. me proposa Santa Rosa je me la figurais un faubourg de Santiago ayant une population que Mgr disait aller audelà de quatre mille âmes et je pensais qu'il n'y avait point d'autre église. Ce ne fut que chez M. le Vicaire Général que je fus détrompé. Je la cherchais (sur une carte que j'avais vue chez lui) dans les environs de la capitale, lorsque M. Arístegui me l'indiqua sur la carte d'une autre province. Enfin, Mgr., V. G. me permettra encore de lui dire que je ne comprenais pas la persistance qu'elle mettait à nous maintenir à Apaltos. Cette persistance était une indice qu'on nous y voulait principalement pour un but particulier: c'est du reste ce que fut dit assez clairement en notre présence dans plusieurs circonstances.

Voilà, Mgr., les raisons qui ont déterminé notre Sup. Gén. à nous rappeler et à nous donner une autre destination. En venant au Chili nous ne demandions qu'une maison convenable pour vivre religieusement en communauté et du travail assez à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur pour remplir le but de notre vocation. Ne pouvant les obtenir ici, nous devons les chercher ailleurs. C'est tout naturel. Nous ne pouvons nous résigner à faire forcément ce que tant d'autres dont se plaint Mgr. font volontairement. Nous quittons le Chili, non par crainte de travail apostolique, mais pour fuir l'inaction trop prolongée, ou parceque nous n'y eussions pas eu assez à travailler, ou en d'autres termes pour ne pas devenir paresseux. Il va sans dire que nous le regrettons vivement surtout après avoir fait un voyage si long, si pénible et si dangereux: voyage que nous devons de nouveau commencer; et nous le regrettons encore plus pour la peine qu'en éprouve V. G., peine qu'il nous eut été agréable de lui épargner. Mgr. appréciera nos motifs. Ils sont légitimes; ils sont purs; ils sont saints. On ne peut condamner des religieux qui se retirent plutôt de courir les dangers prochains de perdre ce qu'ils ont de plus cher, ce qui vaut mille fois plus que tous les biens du monde, leur esprit apostolique. Le repos corporel est bon quand il est modéré: trop long, il engendre l'engourdissement, produit une abondance d'humeur, débilité, et finit par rendre impotent. Il en est de même de l'inaction trop prolongée chez le missionnaire.

Nous allons porter nos pas ailleurs. Je prie V. G. de les bénir, afin que le Seigneur nous accorde la grâce de faire d'heureuses conquêtes pour le royaume de J. C. Nous eussions travaillé avec courage et bonheur sous la houlette pastorale de Mgr. l'Archevêque. Il paraît que Dieu ne le veut pas. Il agréera, nous espérons, notre bonne volonté; mais en quelque lieu que l'obéissance nous dirige je supplie Mgr. de nous continuer le secours de ses prières: de notre part, nous ne manquerons pas de prier le Seigneur d'être toujours avec V. G. et de lui donner de voir toutes les entreprises de son zèle couronnées d'un plus heureux succès; et si dans les rapports qu'il nous fut donné d'avoir avec V. G., sentant vivement les dangers de notre position, nous avions pu, malgré nous, manquer au respect qui lui est dû et que nous nourrissons en nous pour ses éminentes

vertus comme pour son éminent caractère, nous la supplions humblement de nous le pardonner et de nous croire toujours de Sa Grandeur les très humbles etc.

6. - Letter of Archbishop Valdivieso to Father Noël, 8 VIII 1861. Translation ⁹⁰ in A.G.R., P.B., XVII 1/k.

Après avoir parlé ce matin avec le P. Dold j'ai reçu votre honorée en date du 2 courant, dans laquelle votre Révérence m'annonce que conformément à la disposition du Rme. Père Général vous avez abandonné notre diocèse et projet de la fondation pour laquelle vous étiez venus. Je regrette profondément qu'elle ne puisse s'accomplir, mais nous devons nous résigner à la décision de votre Rme. P. Général. Quant à moi je ne crois pas qu'il manque de secours pécuniaires pour la subsistance d'une communauté de 12 personnes, particulièrement et surtout si vous vous décidiez à vous établir à S. Rosa. Les rétributions assignées aux missionnaires qui s'occupent des missions rurales, en en déduisant les frais de voyage, jointes à la rente annuelle des 12.000 piastres du bénéfice vacant auraient été plus que suffisantes pour la subsistance de 12 personnes. De plus il restait encore le revenu des 20,000 piastres laissées pour les missions par le chanoine Iñiguez à la Congrégation destinée à les donner qui s'établirait à cette fin dans l'archidiocèse et dont vous a parlé M. Arístegui, mon vicaire général quand vous êtes venus à Santiago, de même que le casuel des Messes et tout ce que vous deviez attendre de la charité des fidèles que comme étranger vous ne pourriez aussi justement évaluer que nous, qui avons l'expérience des choses. Mais tout cela est de peu d'importance en comparaison de la très pénible impression que j'ai ressentie en apprenant par votre Révérence que le Rme. P. Général dit qu'il a vu avec peine que l'état des choses ne correspond pas à l'idée qu'il s'en était formée en vue des promesses que je lui avais faites. Il pourrait se faire que ne possédant pas la langue, dans laquelle nous parlions il y eût lieu à quelque malentendu; mais je croyais que m'étant réservé d'écrire à la fondatrice qu'elle envoyât ses propositions et ses offres par écrit, le Rme. Père Général n'aurait pu s'y tromper après les avoir reçues. En parlant de la localité je lui dis qu'Apaltos était à 1800 à 2000 pas d'un petit bourg et à 28 lieues de Santiago, qu'il y avait une église et du terrain pour y construire un couvent et que je présumais que la fondatrice donnerait quelque chose pour l'édifice, mais que le certain ne pourrait se savoir qu'après qu'elle aurait donné les détails de ce qu'elle offrait. Je lui ajoutai qu'on payait les missions rurales avec les fonds de la cruzada et je dis aussi quelle aumône on avait coutume de donner aux missionnaires, c'est à dire environ 400 piastres per personne. Le Rme. Père ne paraissait pas attacher beaucoup d'importance à tout ce qui concerne les ressources pécuniaires,

⁹⁰ The translation is written in Father Dold's hand. He apparently forwarded it with Father Noël's copy of his own letter to the archbishop and a letter he wrote himself to Father Mauron dated 17th August.

m'assurant que vous viviez pauvrement et c'est peut être pour cela que je ne m'étendis pas davantage sur les ressources éventuels qu'offre le pays. J'accomplis à la lettre ma promesse d'écrire au Chili et aussitôt que je reçus la réponse détaillée que me donnait mon vicaire général je l'envoyai à Rome au Rme. Père Général avec une lettre de change de 60 livres sterling qu'envoyait Madame Carmen pour les dépenses des préparatifs du voyage. Il me semble qu'elle offrait de payer ici les frais de votre passage, mais on ne s'attendait certainement pas à ce que vous choisiriez le vapeur pour voyager, chose qui augmente les dépenses du double.

Quand votre Révérence me signifia que l'emplacement d'Apaltos n'était pas convenable, je vous offris l'église, la maison et le bénéfice de S. Rosa, parce que votre Révérence me dit qu'elle préférerait un endroit hors de Santiago à celui de la ville. Je n'avais pas parlé à votre P. Général de l'offre de S. Rosa, et si je le mentionne c'est uniquement pour vous montrer combien j'étais éloigné de vouloir tromper le Rme. Père par des offres en l'air. Si sa Paternité eût consulté la réponse détaillée de Madame Carmen que j'offris de lui remettre et que je lui remis en effet en temps opportun le sens équivoque qu'il a donné à mes paroles n'aurait pas eu lieu. Si vous n'eussiez pas choisi la voie la plus coûteuse les sacrifices à faire eussent été différents, et si votre Révérence m'avait dit avant aujourd'hui que la fondatrice n'avait pas payé le passage je me serai assuré de ce qu'il en est à ce sujet. En attendant, comme la précipitation de votre résolution ne m'en laisse pas le temps, j'ai dit au P. Dold qu'il vienne chercher demain mille piastres, en attendant que je parle avec la Dame pour éclaircir ce qui a eut lieu à ce sujet.

Le P. Dold m'a dit que vous considérez comme un grave inconvénient la présence du couvent des Récolets qui se construit à Rengo; mais si je n'ai pas fait mention de cette circonstance au Rme. Père c'est que j'ignorais que le dit couvent fut en voie de construction, et quoique je susses que les Franciscains avaient reçu l'autorisation (du vicaire général en absence de l'évêque) de le fonder, la Sacrée Congrégation des Evêques et Réguliers déclara cette même autorisation nulle parce que le gardien des Récolets n'avait pas la faculté de fonder des couvents, résolution que je communiquai à mes vicaires généraux afin qu'ils la fissent passer au Père Gardien.

Malgré tout ce que je viens de dire et le soin que j'ai pris de ne pas aventurer une seule parole qui puisse sentir l'exagération de la vérité des faits, et malgré que ma conférence avec le Rme Père eut lieu en présence de deux témoins, je dois maintenant me résigner à la très amère humiliation de paraître à vous comme une personne qui par ses trompeuses paroles a porté votre Père Général à vous faire faire un voyage pénible et infructueux. Non, ni la perte du temps et de l'argent, ni la non-réussite de l'oeuvre projetée aurait pu réussir à produire dans mon coeur la profonde impression que j'ai ressentie de la qualification que fait le Rme. Père de mes offres. Il pourrait être qu'il y ait en ceci de l'excès et une véritable faiblesse, mais je voudrais le lever par la manifestation que j'en fais. Que le Seigneur donne à votre Révérence un heureux voyage et qu'il reçoive de vous et de moi le sacrifice que nous coûte cette affaire manquée.

7. - Letter of Sister Carmen Valdivieso to Father Mauron, 23 VII 1868.
Original in A.G.R., Prov. Baltimorensis, Personalía, Ludovicus Dold.

S.C.J.M.

Santiago, Julio 23 de 1868

Reverendísimo Padre,

El año de 1860 el Señor Arzobispo de esta arquidiócesis habló a V.P.R. para que tuviese a bien mandar algunos miembros de su congregación para hacer una fundación en Chile, aprovechando para ese fin la donación que hacía una Señora, y que se preguntaría de cuánto era.

En cumplimiento del encargo del Señor Arzobispo, el Señor Vicario General, Don José Miguel Aristegui, dió cuenta a V.P.R. en virtud de lo cual V.P.R. se sirvió mandar a los RR. Padres Noël y Dold con un hermano. Desde luego que llegaron vivieron en casa; se cuidó de que nada les faltase. Tan pronto como supe que venían mandé una letra de trecientos pesos para los preparativos de viaje.

El R. P. Noël, desde que llegó, según tuve noticia, estuvo descontento, deseaba volverse, informó a V. P. R. del modo más desfavorable. El R. P. Dold, al contrario, se manifestaba contento, avenible, comprendía mejor el modo de realizar la fundación: todos lo querían muy cordialmente; si el hubiera sido Superior estarían establecidos aquí haría ocho años.

El Señor Arzobispo dió al R. P. Noël mil pesos y yo dí al R. P. Dold lo que necesitó para su viaje.

Ocho años han pasado, pero no bastan para desalentarme. Acometo con nuevo ardor a la empresa de llevar a cabo mi proyecto. Para lograrlo he empezado por rogar a Dios que prepare el corazón de V. P. R. para que se decida a enriquecer a Chile con los abundantes frutos que producen los trabajos apostólicos de sus venerables hijos.

V. P. R. está bien instruido de lo que ofrecía en quel tiempo, pero se lo recordaré por si lo hubiese olvidado. Ofrecí iglesia, sacristía con todos sus paramentos, algunas habitaciones y doce cuadras de terreno. Ahora ofrezco lo mismo y, a más, seis mil pesos cuando estén aquí.

Si V. P. R. tiene a bien acoger favorablemente mi petición y mandar de Superior el R. P. Dold, que cuenta con las simpatías de cuantos lo conocieron, que lo recuerdan con interés y lo desean, hará un bien verdaderamente grande y llenará uno de nuestros más ardientos votos.

No conozco personalment a V. P. R. pero sí por noticias, que me bastan para dirigirme con plena confianza, y para suplicarle que se sirva contestarme lo más pronto possible, porque no querría morirme antes de ver verificada la fundación.

Sírvase V. P. R. aceptar las consideraciones de mi más alto y religioso aprecio con que soy de V. P. R. humilde S. en J. C.

Carmen T. Valdivieso
R.D.S.C.



SAMUEL J. BOLAND

THE MISSIONARY METHODS OF THE REDEMPTORISTS

The parish missions, or popular missions as they are also called, are a phenomenon of the dynamic renewal of pastoral life ushered in by the Council of Trent. During the four centuries since then they have become in all parts of the world familiar features of Catholic life. Their early impact on the people was sufficiently strong to arouse the hostility of the Enlightenment and the suspicions of Gallican and Josephist governments; and at all times since they began their influence on religious attitudes and practice has been such as to warrant more careful investigation than has been given them up to the present¹.

There is a certain basic pattern in the mission that is readily recognisable — a course of preaching and instructions with more than usual emphasis on approaching the Sacraments. While that very broad outline would be commonly admitted, yet there are sufficient variations to allow of there being different types or methods, the missions for example of the Jesuits, of the Passionists, of the Redemptorists and so on. It is a question of different emphases and practices which have been formulated in various pastoral writings and in the constitutions of some religious institutes particularly devoted to the missions.

Among the religious principally occupied in the missions the Redemptorists must be reckoned, and indeed as quite outstanding in that company. Their founder, St. Alphonsus, was himself an extraordinarily gifted preacher and a diligent student of the abundant literature on missionary practice that was to hand in his day². He was also able to claim that right from the beginning his institute had its own distinctive methods. Writing to a prospective candidate as early as July 1734, less than two years after the institute had been founded, he claimed that its missions were very much in demand and produced marvellous results, « because

¹ A comprehensive history of the popular missions is not generally available. In the present study we have used the excellent work of Antonius Meiberg C.S.S.R., *Historiae missionis paroecialis lineamenta*, completed in Holland 1953 and reproduced by cyclostyle.

² A bibliography of studies of the missionary principles and practice of St. Alphonsus may be seen in *Spic. Hist.* 8 (1960) 510-515.

we give them in a way different from that of any other Congregation »³.

In the course of the two and a half centuries since St. Alphonsus made that claim Redemptorist missionary practice has continued and spread to most countries of the world. From time to time the various provinces have produced *Directories* for their missions in order to preserve both their pastoral effectiveness and that specific character St. Alphonsus had claimed for them in the beginning. There is a collection of these *Directories* in their General Archives in Rome which, if perhaps not quite complete, is sufficiently ample to allow one to judge the course of development from the time of St. Alphonsus to the present⁴. And that is the purpose of the present article, to trace the changing course of missionary practice among the Redemptorists.

In order to keep this study of Redemptorist missions within the limits of a single article it has been found necessary to treat two centuries and a half of history in extremely summary fashion. The development has been brought into a few broad divisions of time, and within each division there has been an attempt to show the effectiveness of the mission *Directories* that were used in various countries in the course of the period. It is obvious that such treatment must be sketchy to the extent of being little more than schematic. But one may hope that even in such a form the study of Redemptorist missions will offer a small contribution to the long overdue investigation of the parish missions and their contribution to Catholic life since Trent⁵.

I. - ST. ALPHONSUS AND THE MISSIONS

Well before 1732 when he assembled the first members of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer St. Alphonsus had already been thoroughly schooled in the work of the parish missions. Since 1724 he had been associated with the Congregation of the Apostolic Missions, popularly known as the Propaganda⁶. Even while preparing for ordination he took part in missions in the city of Naples and the surrounding districts; and once ordained he soon became a popular

³ Maurice de Meulemeester C.S.S.R., *Origines de la Congrégation du Très Saint Rédempteur*, I, Louvain, 1953, p. 128-129.

⁴ A catalogue of these *Directories* found in the Redemptorist general archives was published in *Spic. Hist.* 15 (1967) 163-178.

⁵ There has appeared recently an excellent study of the popular missions in the United States during the last century. Jay P. Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism. The American Experience, 1830-1900*, University of Notre Dame, 1978.

⁶ For information concerning the Congregation *delle Apostoliche Missioni* cf. *Spic. Hist.* 8 (1960) 393-452.

and accomplished preacher⁷. If he was able to claim as early as 1734 that in the new institute the missions already had a distinctive method, it would not follow that the method was solely his. In the foundation years the Director, Mgr. Thomas Falcoia, exercised a constant supervision. He was himself a member of the missionary Congregation of the Pii Operarii and a distinguished preacher⁸.

Once the institute had been inaugurated it was seen as necessary that the prospective members be offered the means of learning its ways. At a very early stage an attempt was made to formulate the missionary methods. Falcoia wrote in August 1733 to ask how Alphonsus was progressing with a *Regolamento nelle missioni*⁹. As with so much other material that found its way to Falcoia's busy desk, it is not possible to say with any confidence what became of this particular project, seemingly the first formulation of Redemptorist mission practice. In any case, before long there did appear a clear regulation of how the missions were to be conducted.

The second General Congregation of the institute in 1747 read and approved a *Regolamento per le sante missioni*¹⁰. In addition to this more solemn promulgation there exist two other early texts which witness to Redemptorist practice in those first years. There is a manuscript of a *Regolamento per le sante missioni* annotated by the hand of St. Alphonsus¹¹. Among the comments jotted in the margin we find a couple of times the note *come sta dichiarato dal Padre*, which together with other indications seems to show that this was an earlier formulation prior to the Congregation of 1747 and possibly prepared for presentation to that body.

There is a third early text, written this time entirely in the hand of St. Alphonsus. It is entitled *Metodo per le missioni*¹². This

⁷ Cf. Maurice de Meulemeester C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, I, 19-21. There is a more extended account in Raimundo Telleria C.S.S.R., *San Alfonso Maria de Liguori, Fundador, Obispo y Doctor*, I, Madrid, 1950, p. 117-134. Cf. also Antonio Maria Tannoia, *Della vita ed istituto di S. Alfonso Maria de' Liguori*, Torino, 1857, L. I, p. 29-31.

⁸ Cf. Oreste Gregorio, *Mons. Tommaso Falcoia*, Rome, 1955.

⁹ The letter has been published in *Analecta Congregationis SS. Redemptoris*, Rome, 11 (1932) 238-239.

¹⁰ The text in Italian with a Latin translation may be seen in *Analecta* 1 (1922) 172-178, 206-212, 255-263.

¹¹ Published in *Analecta* 8 (1929) 242-249.

¹² The text of the *Metodo* has been published with the letters of St. Alphonsus. *Lettere di S. Alfonso de' Liguori*, III, Rome, 1890, 535-545. An English translation has been included in the *Centenary Edition* of the complete works of St. Alphonsus compiled by Eugene Grimm C.S.S.R., vol. XV, New York, 1890, p. 328-341.

Metodo, of St. Alphonsus' own composition it would appear, refers to the text of the *Regolamento* which he had annotated. In the text of the *Metodo* published with the Saint's letters its date is given as 1744. If that is to be accepted, then it would seem that the annotated text of the *Regolamento* must be of an earlier date. It is clear at least that quite early a formula of Redemptorist mission practice existed and that in 1747 it was formally imposed as legislation. It is evident that the claim of St. Alphonsus almost at the very beginning that missions were given in his institute in a manner different from that of other congregations was no exaggeration.

If we call this method, formulated in the legislation of the second General Congregation, Alphonsian that should not be interpreted as meaning that he alone was responsible for its elaboration. There is evidence enough that Falcoia for one was interested from the start in the *Regolamento*. A brief analysis of this « Alphonsian method » must, of course, be the starting point of our investigation of the Redemptorist missions.

1. - *The « Regolamento per le sante missioni »*

The *Regolamento* opens with a rather lengthy foreword in a style of exhortation¹³. The first sentence proclaims the glory of the holy missions as « one of the most evident works of Divine Charity for the salvation of souls in these times grown more corrupt than ever ». They have proved themselves as being capable of transforming even a Geneva into a sanctuary¹⁴. The members of the institute ought to be like Christ, the Supreme Missioner, « *al possibile nella sostanza e nel modo* »¹⁵. They should prepare themselves by silence, study and prayer until the age of thirty and then before joining the ranks of the missioners make a retreat of forty days and a general confession¹⁶.

The missioners of the institute were required to be single-minded, seeking only to bring to the people the grace of God for

¹³ The text annotated by St. Alphonsus as given in *Analecta* 8 (1929) has been used for citation. It is published more compactly without the parallel Latin translation.

¹⁴ *Analecta* 8 (1929) 242. It is, of course, a pious Italian mind that saw Protestant Geneva as the prototype of the evil in the world. A rather more sensitive judgement by the general chapter of 1764 substituted Babylon for the city of John Calvin.

¹⁵ *ibid.* 243.

¹⁶ *ibid.* 243.

the salvation of their souls and ready for any hardship or opposition that might come their way. They were to go out full of confidence, not in their own lengthy preparation, but in God alone, the Source of all good. They should trust in the Mother of God and in the Apostles, the heavenly patrons of the institute¹⁷.

Father de Meulemeester sees the mark of Falcoia's hand in this somewhat rhetorical introduction, notably in the expression *Sua Divina Maestà* and in the manner of proposing the ideal of the following of Christ. And he even argues with sound reasons that St. Alphonsus might well have considered withdrawing this section from the text submitted to the General Congregation¹⁸. Whatever may have been its authorship, this foreword was to serve as the model for introductions to future elaborations of Redemptorist missionary ideals, notably in the constitutions of 1764 and in the many provincial *Directories* that they inspired.

Following on this introduction there is a detailed exposition of the manner of giving the mission. The text approved in 1747 has the subheading « *Metodo per le missioni e de' loro esercizi* »¹⁹. For our analysis of the method we are justified in using the formulation of St. Alphonsus himself in the *Metodo per le missioni*, since it does not differ from the outline in the *Regolamento* and has the further advantage of being rather more succinct. One is also fortunate in being able to note the points he chose to emphasise²⁰.

There is a brief treatment of the preliminaries²¹, which in the *Regolamento* comprises nine paragraphs. The missionaries are to be chosen and sent by the superiors at the invitation of the bishop, priests or people of the place to be evangelised. Word should be sent in advance of the arrival of the missionaries in sufficient time to allow for adequate advertising and to make provision for their solemn reception and accomodation. After reciting together in the church the *Itinerarium clericorum* the missionaries are to set out on foot, since it was permitted to go on horseback only in case of necessity²².

¹⁷ *ibid.* 243.

¹⁸ Maurice de Meulemeester C.S.S.R. *op. cit.*, II (1957), 153. For the influence of the Pii Operarii cf. *Spic. Hist.* 8 (1960) 302-321.

¹⁹ *Analecta* 1 (1922) 175.

²⁰ In the present article the English version has been used as being more convenient for citation. Volume XV of the *Centenary Edition* in which it is contained is entitled *Preaching of God's Word*, which title will be retained for citations.

²¹ *Preaching of God's Word*, 128-129.

²² In the annotated text of the *Regolamento* St. Alphonsus has commented that

On arrival in the parish they should be met by the clergy of the place, who had been warned of their coming, and conducted in procession to the church to the singing or recitation of the *Benedictus*. At once a preacher should explain the purpose and procedure of the mission to the people and introduce his companions. If it should seem suitable the first sermon might be preached at once; but as a rule the formal exercises of the mission should not begin so soon. A note, however, adds: « It should be understood that in regard to the beginning of the missions, one should not be positively restricted to an inviolable rule: the circumstances of the places, persons etc. should be considered »²³.

Whether or not the mission began formally on the day of arrival, the *sentimenti di notte* or evening exhortations should commence right from the first night. The preacher of the *sentimenti* should leave the church accompanied by a little procession with lights and a crucifix and singing suitable hymns. Arriving at a piazza or other place where people could be assembled, the missionary should deliver a short *fevorino*, after which he should have the people join the procession back to the church, where they were to make an act of contrition and be dismissed after a blessing with the crucifix. This dramatic introduction of the mission « should not be omitted and it should continue during three or four evenings ». The *sentimenti* were to be concise, « should last a half or a quarter of an hour », and on each occasion should end with a sentence calculated to remain in the hearers' memories.

« The missionaries should attach great importance to these exhortations, which usually produce very great fruit in the holy missions; they should not on any account be omitted; they should not be improvised; and before going forth to deliver them one shall take care to prepare for them by fervent prayer »²⁴.

The opening sermon was particularly solemn²⁵. A procession of all the clergy made its way through the parish singing the litany of the Blessed Virgin; then, « the place most populated having been reached », a Father was to deliver a short exhortation, to urge the people to attend the exercises of the mission and to invite his hearers

on a long journey the missionaries should reckon their rate of travelling at sixteen miles a day. Cf. *Analecta* 8 (1929) 244.

²³ *Preaching of God's Word*, 330.

²⁴ *ibid.* 330-331.

²⁵ *ibid.* 331-332.

to come along at once to the church to hear the first sermon. The procession then returned to the church with pauses to allow the missionaries to encourage more and more to swell the ranks of those on the way to hear the solemn opening sermon. In the church five decades of the Rosary were recited; the sermon was delivered; and the function ended with a moving act of contrition inspired by the matter of the preaching.

For this opening function there was to be diligent preparation. In particular, care was to be taken to send two Fathers to call on and personally invite « the chief man of the place, the governor or any other distinguished person ». The clergy, of course, were exhorted to attend all the exercises « for the sake of good example ».

After that spectacular opening the mission was to proceed with careful attention to good order. « The exercises should take place punctually at the time fixed, namely the meditation at an early hour in the morning, Christian doctrine or catechism early after midday meal, and the evening sermon at an hour convenient for the close of the day »²⁶.

The meditation, early in the morning, « as soon as a suitable number of people have assembled », was preceded by five decades of the Rosary, after which a missionary on his knees in the pulpit made a short, familiar meditation. The theme of this exercise was to be « a subject pertaining to the purgative way ». It was concluded with an act of contrition without ceremony, the whole to take no more than three quarters of an hour²⁷.

The Christian doctrine or instruction was to be regarded as especially important, « one of the most precious and most important of the holy mission »²⁸. The meditation might be omitted if there was a shortage of manpower, « but never the instruction ». The subjects to be treated were « the precepts of the Decalogue and the manner of confessing ». The preacher was recommended to make « moral reflections and finish with acts of contrition etc ». Afterwards the prefect of the church should bring the children together and instruct them on confession and Communion.

Concerning the « principal or great sermon » there was little that needed to be said²⁹. It was to last, together with the act of con-

²⁶ *ibid.* 332.

²⁷ *ibid.* 333.

²⁸ *ibid.* 333-334.

²⁹ *ibid.* 334-335.

trition no more than an hour and a half; and the preacher should not conclude without urging the people to invoke the Blessed Virgin, for which purpose there was to be an image of her close by. To this very brief description there was added a warning to avoid excessively theatrical ceremonies or gestures. « It is forbidden to utter curses, to use the chain or other instrument to draw blood, to burn oneself with the torch and the like. But the superior may sometimes permit the use of the rope and of the skull, when this is done with zeal, prudence and discretion ».

Among the sermons of the mission or other spiritual exercises there ought always to be included one on the Blessed Virgin, as « it has been established by the General Chapter »³⁰.

After the treatment of the great sermon of the mission there came a longer paragraph dealing with the ceremonies or solemnities that might be associated with it³¹. Four or five times in the course of the mission the men might take the discipline (with cords) during the recitation of the *Miserere*, and on one evening there could be the « exercise of trailing the tongue », a formidable penitential act on a paved floor trampled by many dusty or muddy rustic feet. The penitential exercises were to be preceded by short exhortations after the style of the *sentimenti*.

On the last two or three evenings of the mission there took place the very moving ceremony of reconciliation. After the *sentimenti di pace*, called by the translators an exhortation of peace, two men known to have been at enmity and carefully schooled beforehand, were brought together to embrace publicly before the crucifix.

The last day of the mission was to be an occasion of particular solemnity³². There was to be in the morning a general Communion with public and solemn prayers of preparation and thanksgiving. The sermon in the evening was to be preceded as usual by the Rosary, during which a procession of the Blessed Sacrament was to go out of the church for the blessing of the fields. After the closing sermon there was Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, and this was the only time it was given in the course of the mission.

³⁰ If we may accept 1744 as the date of the *Metodo*, then this decision must have been made by the first General Congregation held in 1743. The *Regolamento* accepted in 1747, in fact, says that this decision « *sta determinato nella Congregazione generale prima* ». Cf. *Analecra* 1 (1922) 211.

³¹ *Preaching of God's Word*, 355-356.

³² *ibid.* 336-337.

On the last three days, or at least two in smaller places, there were to be the exercises of the Devout Life³³. These « should never be omitted, according to a decree of the chapter: one should try to introduce them permanently ». In the evening after brief preliminary prayers a preacher was to give a half hour's instruction on mental prayer with a word on preparation and thanksgiving for Holy Communion and an explanation of the Rule of Life for the devout Christian. Then on his knees he was to make a meditation on the Passion or on the sorrows of the Blessed Virgin³⁴.

A warning followed to the effect that « one should not fail to make the mission last at least ten or twelve days in small places ». Then a word on the prefect of the church and his duties offered practical directions for the smooth and orderly conduct of the mission³⁵.

A final section gave some admonitions for the behaviour of the missionaries³⁶, their travel, table, rest and recreation together with the order of the day they were to observe in their own little community. At the end there came a word on retreats to nuns, the point of which was to stress that the missionary was before all else a man for the people.

« In the missions or other exercises of devotion for the people, when the bishop asks for them or prescribes them, the spiritual exercises shall be given to the religious or nuns, and one may be extraordinary confessor; but outside of these occasions, such a thing is forbidden, except for the nuns of the Most Holy Saviour when they show a great veneration for these exercises »³⁷.

2. - The « Exercises of the Missions »

In 1760 St. Alphonsus published *The Exercises of the Missions*³⁸. This adaptation of an existing work gives a practical treatment

³³ *ibid.* 337.

³⁴ It seems both from the *Metodo* and the *Regolamento* that the exercises of the Devout Life took place after the final sermon. In the *Esercizi di missione*, however, appended to the *Selva* and dating from 1760, it is said plainly that they are to be given before the sermon of the final blessing. Cf. *Opere ascetiche di S. Alfonso Maria de' Liguori*, III, Torino, 1867, p. 254; English translation in *Preaching of God's Word*, 230.

³⁵ *Preaching of God's Word*, 338.

³⁶ *ibid.* 338-340.

³⁷ The *Regolamento* adds that if a bishop should request these retreats to nuns, the Fathers should ask to be excused. Cf. *Analecta* 1 (1922) 263.

³⁸ Cf. Maurice de Meulemeester C.S.S.R., *Bibliographie générale des écrivains*

of the various features named in the *Metodo* and the *Regolamento*. Clearly, the method claimed by St. Alphonsus as specific could not have been entirely different from what was done by other missionary institutes. Father Meiberg rightly considers that it was in the general structuring of the mission that St. Alphonsus showed his originality, in opposing the commonly accepted *missione centrale* popularised by Paolo Segneri S. J., insisting on a sufficient number of missionaries and time to hear the confessions of all³⁹. We may safely add the practice of including the exercises of the Devout Life in the programme. These points which may be considered as characteristic of the method of St. Alphonsus show above all how precise and comprehensive was his notion of the conversion which was the aim of the mission.

Father Meiberg includes in this Alphonsian structuring of the mission programme one feature which was surprisingly omitted from both the *Metodo* and the *Regolamento*, the renewal. It seems that the practice of returning to the localities missionised in order to confirm the people in their conversion had been observed at least since 1735⁴⁰. In an unsuccessful attempt to gain royal approbation in 1736 through the well disposed minister of the crown, Marchese Gioacchino Montallegre, St. Alphonsus and Falcoia had argued that the Fathers « *da tempo in tempo ritornano... per ascoltare le confessioni e per confermare le anime ne' santi propositi fatti, con istruzioni, prediche, indirizzi e consigli spirituali ed altro* ». The name *rinnovazione di spirito* is met for the first time in a letter of Father Cesare Sportelli to St. Alphonsus in March 1741, by which time it must have been a well established institution. In the text submitted to the Holy See for approval in 1748 the renewal was mentioned and summarily described⁴¹. Cardinal Besozzi, *ponente* of the cause in the Sacred Congregation of the Council, commented that the renewal « *sane singulare est huius instituti medium* »⁴². When legislation for the Redempto-

rédeemptoristes, I, Louvain, 1933, p. 110-111. It appeared as Part III of the *Selva*. It drew its material from the work of Filippo di Mura, *Il missionario instruito* published in 1750. The adaptation of this work was made « for the greater convenience of the young members of the Congregation ».

³⁹ Cf. Antonius Meiberg C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 257-258.

⁴⁰ Cf. Oreste Gregorio C.S.S.R., *Saggio storico intorno alla « Rinnovazione di spirito »* in *Spic. Hist.* 15 (1967) 126-133.

⁴¹ Cf. *Documenta miscellanea ad regulam et spiritum Congregationis nostrae illustrandum*, Rome, 1904, p. 59; *Documenti intorno alla regola della Congregazione del SS. Redentore, 1725-1749* = *Bibliotheca Historica Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris*, IV, Rome, 1969, p. 400.

⁴² *Documenta miscellanea*, 79.

rists was codified by the general chapter of 1764 the renewal was included and explained. It is clear that from the time it was introduced the renewal in the mind of St. Alphonsus, and in fairness it must be said of Falcoia as well, had the same purpose as the exercises of the Devout Life, to confirm those converted by the mission in the Christian life.

3. - *The Constitutions of 1764*

A final and quite exhaustive formulation of missionary practice in the time of St. Alphonsus is to be found in the constitutions promulgated by the general chapter held in 1764⁴³. The first thing that occurs to one who reads these constitutions is that the formula has evidently grown a great deal from the terse *Metodo* or even the longer *Regolamento*. If Father de Meulemeester found cause to suspect Falcoia's hand in the *Regolamento*, then there is good reason also to see influences other than that of St. Alphonsus in the constitutions. The chapter of 1749, which had accepted the Pontifical Rule given early in that year, directed that the legislation of the institute be completed by suitable constitutions applying the new rule to everyday life and activity.

This task was entrusted to Father Paolo Cafaro, whose proposals were to be submitted to the next chapter, to be held in 1755. Father Cafaro died in 1753 with his work as yet incomplete, so that St. Alphonsus commissioned Father Antonio Tannoia to have the material ready for the subsequent chapter in 1764. Father Tannoia's draft had a somewhat turbulent passage, so that afterwards some disgruntled individuals spoke slightly of «Tannoia's constitutions»⁴⁴.

Father Tannoia spoke of himself as «the compiler» of the constitutions⁴⁵, in other words the collector of pre-existing legislation. Father Tellería has judged, after carefully identifying Tannoia's sour-

⁴³ The constitutions *Delle missioni ed altri esercizi* are to be seen in *Codex Regularum et Constitutionum Congregationis SS. Redemptoris*, Rome, 1896, p. 36-106. There are studies on the composition of these constitutions of 1764 by Oreste Gregorio, *Le costituzioni redentoriste del 1764* in *Spic. Hist.* 1 (1953) 121-144 and Raimundus Tellería, *De capitulo an. 1764 Nuceriae Paganorum celebrato necnon de eiusdem constitutionibus adnotationes historicae* in *Spic. Hist.* 1 (1953) 145-168.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Spic. Hist.* 1 (1953) 150.

⁴⁵ *ibid.* 132.

ces, that the material presented and accepted in 1764 represented « substantially » the way of life that had been followed since 1732⁴⁶. In particular, he examined the legislation *Delle missioni ed altri esercizi* and found that it reproduced « substantially » the earlier sources such as the old *Regolamento* and the *Breve istruzione degli esercizi di missione* of 1760, which he calls « the *Magna Charta* of the Alphonsonian missions »⁴⁷.

At first sight the constitutions, some seventy pages in length, may perhaps seem to be very far removed from the comfortably succinct *Metodo*, but closer examination shows that all the elements of the earlier texts can be recognised even though they have been very considerably elaborated. The prologue, for example, which Father de Meulemeester found so lengthy, has now grown to several times its original size⁴⁸. The elaboration in this and in other places is somewhat rhetorical, though always quite inspiring in expression. And there are places where the extended text introduces eminently practical material.

The section entitled *Della maniera di predicare* gives a brief and excellent summary of the familiar Alphonsonian insistence on how to preach « *come ha predicato Gesù Cristo ed i suoi santi Apostoli* »⁴⁹. Similar important development can be seen in the section *Del predicatore della sera*⁵⁰. Of particular value is constitution VII *Delle opere da stabilirsi in missione*⁵¹, which treats the exercises of the Devout Life in a manner that seems to summarise the experience of the past thirty or so years. « *Consiste propriamente la vita divota in una mezz'ora d'orazione* ». Constitution IX is entitled *Del direttorio per una missione*⁵², and it treats in detail the points we have gathered from the *Metodo* and the *Regolamento*.

The renewal is now given a more precise formula⁵³. It is to be held four or five months after the mission for the space of a few

⁴⁶ *ibid.* 150.

⁴⁷ *ibid.* 151-152.

⁴⁸ Cf. the section *Dell'idea delle missioni e disposizioni per quelle* in *Codex Regularum*, 37-41.

⁴⁹ *ibid.* 41-43.

⁵⁰ *ibid.* 53-56.

⁵¹ *ibid.* 69-72.

⁵² *ibid.* 72-88.

⁵³ *ibid.* 88-89.

days, during which things should be done as in the mission with a single exception. « *Solo l'esposizione del Venerabile proibita in missione si permette in tutti que' tre o quattro giorni che dura la rinnovazione* ».

Under the heading *Degl'impiegghi alieni del nostro istituto* there is a lengthy treatment of incompatible works⁵⁴. Among other things it is still forbidden to give retreats to nuns outside the time of mission. The chapter after careful consideration exempted only « *le monache del SS. Redentore della città di Scala* »⁵⁵.

In his petition for Papal approval of his institute in 1748 St. Alphonsus assured Benedict XIV that he and his companions had by then preached their missions in the most isolated and neglected places of all six provinces of the Kingdom of Naples⁵⁶. His claim was warmly supported by the archbishop, Cardinal Spinelli, who added his comments to the petition⁵⁷. The first decade and a half of its existence had given sufficient evidence of the value of what St. Alphonsus had maintained from the beginning was a manner of giving missions that was proper to his new institute. For the years that followed to the end of the founder's life, which was not far short of the end of the century, it is not possible to give precise figures. But some contemporary statistics of activity for a part of the time have been published by the *Spicilegium*⁵⁸. It is possible to argue that the extraordinarily busy apostolate of the earliest years did not decrease in the course of the century, nor does it seem that there was any diminution of the excellent results of the missions.

II. - REDEMPTORIST MISSIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the parish missions fell under official disfavour and suffered a decline to the extent that in some Catholic countries of Europe they ceased entirely. In

⁵⁴ *ibid.* 89-93.

⁵⁵ One would have to see this decision of the chapter as being not only an explicit exception in favour of the nuns at Scala, but also a very plain prohibition of the exercises to be given to the Redemptoristines established some twenty years or so in Foggia.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Documenta miscellanea*, 60.

⁵⁷ Cf. Maurice de Meulemeester C.S.S.R., *Origines*, II, 196.

⁵⁸ Cf. *Spic. Hist.* 8 (1960) 322-346; 10 (1962) 51-176.

Austria they were forbidden by the Josephist laws for half a century, while the victorious arms of the French Revolution carried to the puppet republics it established its own contempt for everything that to its enlightened eyes wore the guise of superstition. By about the third decade of the nineteenth century, however, more tolerant governments had removed most of the restrictions, and the parish missions quickly revived. After that delayed start the nineteenth century saw enormous activity which showed startlingly spectacular results in Europe and spread from there to the Americas⁵⁹.

1. - Neapolitan Missions

In 1820 the Redemptorists outside Italy were allowed to establish themselves in Vienna, and under Father Joseph Passerat, Vicar General in succession to St. Clement Hofbauer, they entered on a period of rapid expansion⁶⁰. The superior, anxious to see that this dramatic development remain authentically Redemptorist, sent Father Francis Springer to Pagani, the venerable house of St. Alphonsus and the residence of the Rector Major, to obtain first hand information about the manner of living among the Neapolitans and the way they gave their missions⁶¹.

Father Springer was an excellent reporter, as can be judged by his account of a mission given in Nocera from 9th November to 11th December 1823⁶². In fact the principal value of his narrative, as Father Josef Löw comments, consists in its offering a description of an important mission conducted « according to the genuinely Alphonsian method »⁶³. Father Springer does indeed give a vivid description of the various exercises we have seen indicated in the *Metodo* and the *Regolamento* as he saw them performed, adding his own

⁵⁹ Cf. Antonius Meiberg C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 272.

⁶⁰ For bibliographical data concerning Ven. Joseph Passerat cf. *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 265.

⁶¹ *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 295-364. There is a brief but most informative account of Father Springer in pages 300-305. See also *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 377-424.

⁶² His report is published in *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 25-43. Among other contemporary witnesses to Redemptorist practice on the missions is a rather lengthy manuscript in the domestic archives of the house of Scifelli, which is yet to be studied in detail. It is the work of Father Vincenzo Gagliardi and bears the title *Direttorio apostolico o sia metodo di missione in cui vi sono gli esercizi da farsi in essa per bene delle anime*. It is dated 1806. Cf. *Spic. Hist.* 30 (1982) 3-289.

⁶³ *ibid.* 27.

comments with an occasional polite but shrewd criticism. The report is careful and methodical, and everything is neatly summarised: « Thus the principal exercises of the mission are: the early morning exercise, the Rosary, the instruction, the great sermon, and they go on until the *vita divota* »⁶⁴.

The topics of the evening sermons are carefully listed in the order in which they were preached: Opening (*chiamata*), Mercy, Delay of Conversion, Mortal Sin as an Offence against God, Spiritual Effects of Sin, Temporal Effects of Sin, Scandal, Death of the Sinner, General Judgement, Hell: Pain of Sense, Hell: Pain of Loss, Hell: Eternity, Importance of Salvation, Difficulty of Salvation, Blasphemy, Who are Saved, Justice of God, The Number of Sins (limits of forgiveness), Folly of loving the world, when life is a journey towards eternity, Abandonment (of the sinner, it seems), Sin as renewing the Passion of Christ, The Madonna, The Blessed Sacrament, The Gifts of God, True Happiness consists in loving God, Heaven⁶⁵. To these twenty-six topics, which occupied the time needed for the confessions in that important parish, should be added the three days of the Devout Life and the final sermon on Perseverance. On ten evenings of the mission, therefore, the people were offered preaching of considerable positive inspiration. Moreover, one must bear in mind the frequent exhortations of St. Alphonsus that in every sermon the missionaries should seek to lead their hearers to love even by way of fear⁶⁶. Just the same, it must be said that the list of topics indicated a very lively mission indeed. The impression is amply verified by the spirited description Father Springer has given of the various spectacular ceremonies and solemnities.

After the procession to the parish church, which because of rain consisted only of a few damp clerics besides the eleven missionaries and the inevitable following of small boys⁶⁷, the mission soon gained momentum. Father Springer describes the packed church that heard the opening sermon, while the prefect of the church and a couple of other missionaries patrolled the crowd armed with canes, which they used (in moderation, no doubt) especially on the little boys packed

⁶⁴ *ibid.* 34.

⁶⁵ *ibid.* 30-31.

⁶⁶ Among many instances which might be quoted, in the *Esercizi di missione* he states succinctly: « The missionary should chiefly endeavour in every sermon that he preaches to leave his hearers inflamed with holy love ». *Preaching of God's Word*, 303.

⁶⁷ *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 28.

into the sanctuary⁶⁸. The *sentimenti di notte* on the first three nights are described just as they were directed in the *Esercizi di missione*, and Father Springer finds them simply *wunderschoen*⁶⁹. The discipline taken by the men he finds most effective, especially on the night when the sermon was on scandal and all the missionaries joined in. And he gives, too, a vivid account of the daunting ceremony of the *strascino della lingua*, with the penitents dragging their tongues along the floor from the door to the altar to make amends for the gall and vinegar given to Christ in His suffering⁷⁰.

Father Springer's interest was captured by the instruction of the children, a thorough catechising in the form of question and answer, in a place apart at which the missionaries' canes were once more in evidence⁷¹. The general Communion of children and adults, men and women, were occasions when the reporter as well as the people found himself moved⁷². The preparation for Communion for each group had its own special ceremonies to express sorrow, humility, love and desire in ways that were quite dramatic. This was especially so with the children, wearing crowns of thorns and greeting processions of the Divine Infant and of the crucifix. There was a great deal of weeping; little girls had convulsions; and Father Springer concludes: « *Das Geschrey ist unbeschreiblich* ». There were similar scenes, scarcely if any more restrained with the adult groups.

Father Springer frequently draws attention to various aspects of the exercises carefully calculated, he considers, to stir the people and arouse in them sentiments of repentance and love. He was particularly interested in the style of preaching, giving a brief but very clear description of the three « tones » used to such effect by preachers in Italy⁷³. He had reservations about the prudence of introducing the use of the « tones » among northern peoples, even though he recognised that at Nocera the missionaries in their perorations were able to reduce their hearers to « a weeping, sobbing, crying *pasta* ».

The description of the exercises of the Devout Life during the

⁶⁸ *ibid.* 29.

⁶⁹ *ibid.* 31.

⁷⁰ *ibid.* 31-33.

⁷¹ *ibid.* 34-35.

⁷² *ibid.* 35-38.

⁷³ *ibid.* 29-30. For a study of the « tones » in Redemptorist mission preaching cf. F. Di Capua, *La « Predica Grande » dei redentoristi e la « Modulatio oratoria » degli antichi* in *Spic. Hist.* 1 (1953) 234-240.

final days of the mission is of particular interest⁷⁴. On these days the exercises consisted of a meditation in the morning, the Rosary in the afternoon and at the usual time of the sermon the special features of the *vita divota*. These were instruction on the necessity of the prayer of petition (*preghiera*) and of mental prayer (*orazione*) with some practical demonstration of how easy it was to perform them. Among these practical meditations was one on the theme of the Passion, which Father Springer says was presented rather as a detailed description than in the form of mental prayer. He concludes that « in his poor judgement » the *vita divota* was the weakest of the exercises of the mission, seeming to be really nothing more than another attempt to play on the people's emotions. Is it right to see in Father Springer's description and opinion an indication of how much the *vita divota* had declined from what it had been in earlier times?

There is no mention of the renewal, which does not mean, of course, that it did not take place later. Father Springer does, however, speak of the exercises to the clergy and the *galantuomini*, the latter a class considerably altered in composition since Napoleonic times. He also speaks of the exercises preached to the nuns for eight days, permitted by the rule only at time of mission, but « they now look at that through their fingers »⁷⁵.

2. - *The Extension of the Missions in Italy*

Further information about the manner of giving missions among the Redemptorists in Italy has been made available by *Spicilegium*. In 1837 there was a mission in Finale in the Duchy of Modena and in 1840 another in the nearby village of Solara⁷⁶. These ventures introduced the Alphonsian missions into the north of Italy. They were made possible by the patronage of the pious Duke Francis IV of Modena, who had come to know the Redemptorists through his Austrian connections and introduced them into his Duchy in Modena, Finale and Montecchio. On the occasion of the foundation of Finale in 1836

⁷⁴ *ibid.* 38.

⁷⁵ *ibid.* 41.

⁷⁶ Correspondence and some contemporary accounts, including a long letter to a local newspaper, have been published as edited by Fathers Josef Löw and André Sampers in *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 44-67.

he had asked the new superior, Father Francis Doll, to arrange a mission for the town as soon as possible⁷⁷.

The community in Finale was composed of men from the other side of the Alps, Austrians and the survivors of a suppressed foundation in Lisbon. Father Doll's problem was that he had no one capable of satisfying the good Duke, not only because he and his companions were unacquainted with the Italian missions but they were far from comfortable with the language. He put his dilemma to the Rector Major, Father Camillo Ripoli. As a result he was promised three Neapolitan Fathers to carry the burden of the preaching, while he and his community were to assist in the confessional. In this way the mission in Finale came to be under the competent guidance of Father Ignazio Maria Sortino, rector of the house of Spoleto and a missionary of some renown⁷⁸.

The mission lasted from 29th April to 25th May 1837. Among the documents published by *Spicilegium* there are three that enable us to form a complete picture of the exercises. There is a very laudatory description in the letter to the editor of *La Voce della Verità* and the more sober and balanced judgement of Father Giuseppe Valle in his chronicles of the house and in his reminiscences of Finale written in the 1860's⁷⁹. In general one sees that the three Neapolitan Fathers trained in the methods of St. Alphonsus remained as faithful to what they had learned as did those described by Father Springer in Nocera. All of the exercises already described were repeated in Finale and with similar effects.

Father Valle's comments are shrewd, as can be seen especially from one instance. Speaking of the general Communions, which were every bit as spectacular and moving as those described by Father Springer, he strikes a slightly sour note, remarking about the men's Communion that of the two thousand who took part under the prominent leadership of civil and military dignitaries many did so for motives that were political rather than religious⁸⁰.

⁷⁷ For biographical data concerning Father Doll cf. *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 248.

⁷⁸ Biographical data about Father Sortino are to be found in *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 47; Francesco Minervino C.S.S.R., *Catalogo dei redentoristi d'Italia 1732-1841 e dei redentoristi delle provincie meridionali d'Italia 1841-1869* = *Bibliotheca historica Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris*, VIII, Rome, 1978, p. 168.

⁷⁹ For an informative account of that interesting character, Father Valle, cf. Giuseppe Orlandi, *P. Giuseppe Maria Valle C.S.S.R., Contributo bio-bibliografico* in *Spic. Hist.* 25 (1977) 130-249.

⁸⁰ *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 62.

A new feature, not mentioned by Father Springer, is the erection of the *Calvario* on the last evening of the Devout Life after the reflection on the Passion⁸¹. This beautiful ceremony is described very much as it had been recommended by St. Alphonsus in the *Esercizi di missione*.

« After the last meditation of the exercises of the Devout Life the preacher announces that as a remembrance not only of the Passion of our Saviour but also of the mission five crosses would be erected [...] Hence, the meditation finished, five missionaries come from behind the high altar, carrying each a cross on his shoulder and walking one after the other with two torches before each cross. When they have reached the place destined to receive the crosses, they place them on the ground; and at the erection of each cross a suitable exhortation is given »⁸².

Neither in connection with the mission in Finale nor with that of Solara given three years later does Father Valle mention the *sentimenti di notte*, the moving invitation to the mission that had so impressed Father Springer. It does not necessarily follow that the exercise so warmly stressed by St. Alphonsus had disappeared: it could well have been that the *tedeschi* from beyond the Alps were judged to be not yet ready for such a new type of sacred oratory.

Reflecting in Frosinone after he had been expelled with his companions from the Duchy by the Piedmontese march to unity, Father Valle soberly evaluated the Finale mission. « In the first place, it is worth recording that the mission was most fruitful, and perhaps there had never been so much good done for souls in Finale, nor has there been since (at least up to the present year, 1866) »⁸³. He goes on to speak of the fervour shown by the very great numbers who eagerly sought direction in the spiritual life from the Fathers, continuing right up to the time the latter were compelled to leave Finale. The five crosses of the *Calvario* became such objects of veneration that a special shrine was built to enclose them. The Redemptorist church from the very first Sunday after the mission became an important centre for the spiritual life of the locality.

The mission of Solara in 1840 still had to depend on the Neapolitan Fathers to carry the burden of the work⁸⁴. Father Emmanuele

⁸¹ *ibid.* 59-60.

⁸² *Preaching of God's Word*, 247.

⁸³ *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 62-64.

⁸⁴ *ibid.* 65-67.

Baldari, who had taken part in the Finale mission and had stayed on afterwards to assist the German Fathers, was the preacher⁸⁵. The others with him were all members of the community of Finale, one young Neapolitan recently appointed, Father Valle and two « Germans ».

Father Valle has left two descriptions of this occasion as he had for the earlier mission. It seems to have started off rather badly with only « *poca gente* » present in the church for the opening: but after that the enthusiasm grew as the missionaries presented the familiar and well-tried exercises. The population of Solara, of some 1500, was swelled as large numbers were drawn from neighbouring hamlets. The *sentimenti di pace* or the ceremony of reconciliation of enemies fell a little bit flat since, as Father Valle says, « there were no enmities in the district ». The beautiful little ceremony of the *Calvario* was just as moving as it had been in Finale with the charming additional feature that each missionary was assisted by his own special « Cyrenian »⁸⁶.

From Father Valle's diligent pen we have the description of a third mission, given this time from the house of Montecchio⁸⁷. On this occasion the Fathers in the north did not need to summon help from their Neapolitan confrères. The mission was given in Acquafredda in the present province of Brescia from 2nd to 17th February 1847. It had been arranged by the devout and wealthy Di Rosa family, whose textile industry provided employment for about seventy women and girls in the little village of some seven hundred inhabitants. The saintly Paula Di Rosa, who was to be canonised by Pius XII in 1954, showed herself most attentive to the missionaries and a great support in ensuring the success of their work, as one of them attested: « If any good has been done in the district by the mission, it has been due most of all to Signora Paola »⁸⁸.

Father Valle's description is not as detailed as for the two

⁸⁵ For biographical data about Father Baldari cf. *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1965), 237-238; Francesco Minervino C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 21.

⁸⁶ *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 67. Father Valle adds that it was necessary to summon the help of the parish priest, because poor Father Baldari was not able to take part in the procession *col pericolo di costiparsi*.

⁸⁷ Father Josef Löw has published contemporary documents in *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 87-104. He includes some interesting details from the Process of St. Paula di Rosa, daughter of the Cavaliere Clemente di Rosa whose patronage made the mission possible. Montecchio, the third Redemptorist house in the Duchy of Modena, was founded in 1843.

⁸⁸ *ibid.* 104.

previous ones. He speaks mainly about the difficulties put in the way of the missionaries by the parish priest. He does not, however, seem to have noticed a most interesting feature mentioned by a witness in St. Paula's process, that the Fathers had to be escorted to the church by armed police, so that Father Löw in presenting the reports in *Spicilegium* expresses his doubts of the good witness's memory⁸⁹. It is worth noting that in this very small village of only seven hundred inhabitants there was still a team of four missionaries, who remained for three weeks. In the same way the missions in Finale and Solara had been clearly in the tradition of St. Alphonsus, who always insisted on sufficient time and a sufficient number of missionaries.

3. - Father Berruti and the Missions

Just after the middle of the century there was available in Italy a publication very much like the later *Directories*. This was the *Metodo pratico degli esercizi di missione*, published in Naples in 1856 for the use of Redemptorists. The booklet of 202 pages was introduced by Father Celestino Berruti, Rector Major of the Congregation in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies⁹⁰. The chapter that had elected him in March 1855 had directed that the *rhetoricam quamdam veluti regulam* of St. Alphonsus should be revised so as to incorporate the modifications that later experience of the missions had introduced in the course of nearly a century⁹¹. Father Berruti in his introduction, signed in December 1855, announced that the revision had been completed, and he directed that the *Metodo pratico* now published be observed by all « *ad unguem et absque ulla interpretatione* »⁹².

The « rhetorical rule » of St. Alphonsus is referred to frequently in the revised text, as one would expect, and it soon becomes evident that the « rule » is in fact the *Esercizi di missione*⁹³. What must be

⁸⁹ *ibid.* 103.

⁹⁰ For biographical data and bibliography cf. *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 238; Francesco Minervino C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 25. By a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars in 1853 the Redemptorists in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies had been placed under their own Rector Major. Father Berruti was the second to hold that position, being elected by a general chapter in March 1855. He remained in office until 1869, when the Congregation was once more reunited.

⁹¹ *Metodo pratico*, 3.

⁹² *ibid.* 3.

⁹³ That is particularly unmistakable when in treating the *vita divota* on p. 85, the *Metodo pratico* refers to the *rettorica sacra* of St. Alphonsus by chapter and

suspected from the evidence already seen of the missions in Nocera and in the north of Italy appears now to be confirmed. The Redemptorists in Italy depended not only on the constitutions of 1764 as their guide to mission practice, but also and probably to a greater extent on the practical explanation of the mission exercises offered by St. Alphonsus himself. The promulgation made for the Redemptorists of the south in 1855 now gave this practice the force of legislation.

The new handbook for the missions frequently appeals to the teaching or practice of St. Alphonsus; but often enough there is reason to suspect that it is not so much a question of quoting him but of expressing how he has been interpreted in the course of the years. This interpretation is particularly in evidence in the article entitled *Precetti di S. Alfonso in ordine alle missioni*⁹⁴. This should not be taken as implying that the Neapolitans had simply put their own views into the mouth of St. Alphonsus. If, as seems quite likely, the principal or even the sole compiler of the *Metodo pratico* was Father Berruti himself, then the interpretation would certainly be trustworthy. Father Berruti was a diligent student of the life and writings of his founder, as he showed especially in his *Lo spirito di S. Alfonso M. de Liguori* published in Naples in 1857. If this was the style of the interpretation, then the *Metodo pratico* represented a healthy evolution from the original *Esercizi di missione*.

The *Metodo pratico* has a different arrangement from the *Esercizi*, adapted more to serving as a useful missionary's handbook. In the beginning there is handy information about such things as the opening of the mission, the way to arrange the platform for the preacher, how to keep order in the church; and then follows along familiar lines directions for the children's instruction, the Rosary and the catechism⁹⁵.

When the book then comes to treat the sermon, there is at once something new. « Previously there used to be a meditation in the morning, but since 1800 the practice has been introduced of having the sermon in the morning as well as in the evening »⁹⁶. The reason for the change is that many people find that their work does

subheading, and these correspond exactly to the section in the *Esercizi di missione* treating the same material. Other references, less explicit, are still quite identifiable.

⁹⁴ *Metodo pratico*, 139-149.

⁹⁵ *ibid.* 5-22. One is relieved to learn that now the prefect of the church is warned not to use a stick or a cane to control the people.

⁹⁶ *ibid.* 23-24.

not let them come to the church of an evening. The sermon was given first thing in the morning as soon as enough people had come to the church, and the usual accompanying ceremonies of the *predica grande* were somewhat modified. The morning meditation was still described by Father Springer in 1823, but by the middle of the century it would seem that it had practically disappeared apart from the three days of the Devout Life.

The sermon is treated rather more concisely than in the *Esercizi*, but not differing from it substantially⁹⁷. The use of the « tones » is restricted with very precise directions; and a list of sermons, almost identical with that noted by Father Springer, is offered. Another interesting difference from the earlier « rhetorical rule » is the mention of the *propositi*⁹⁸. Before the act of contrition the preacher makes a solemn application of the sermon. With crucifix and candles held before the pulpit, for four minutes or so for motives drawn from the sermon he urges the people to abandon sin and make a good confession. With the *propositi*, the dramatic act of contrition, the « tones » and spectacular ceremonies like the use of the skull, the parade of the picture of the damned, the discipline and the reconciliation, it is clear that the Italian Redemptorist missions were full of colour, movement and drama.

There is a fine treatment of the *sentimenti di notte* together with the *sentimenti* that followed the sermon⁹⁹. One is relieved to find that the *strascino* no longer entails dragging the tongue along the floor from the door to the altar, but has been reduced to a few crosses made on the floor with the tongue. There is also a description of the beautiful ceremony of the *Calvario* which Father Valle had found so moving¹⁰⁰.

The treatment of the Devout Life calls for some attention, as some of the variations mentioned at Nocera in 1823 seem to have been incorporated into official practice¹⁰¹. The section begins with a reference to the *rettorica sacra* of St. Alphonsus, which is easily identified as meaning the *Esercizi di missione*, and goes on to add: « But constant practice has changed its form ».

⁹⁷ *ibid.* 23-82.

⁹⁸ *ibid.* 67-82.

⁹⁹ *ibid.* 94-104.

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.* 131-134.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.* 85-89.

At the usual time for the catechism, that is the major instruction, there is an instruction for at least half an hour on the prayer of petition (*preghiera*), because « the people have no idea of this prayer », and « this prayer guarantees the fruit of the mission ». This instruction during the days of the Devout Life is an evident difference from the sermon on the prayer of petition which used to be included among the *prediche grandi* at the particular instance of St. Alphonsus. Then after a short interval during which pious objects, scapulars, rosaries, crucifixes, are blessed there is a further practical instruction on mental prayer (*orazione*), prayer that can be made « sitting, working, walking ». The preacher then makes for the people a practical meditation to show how the method (seek, think, resolve) made it so easy to pray. Even in the exercises of the Devout Life occasion is found for a dramatic play on the people's emotions with a moving appeal to the crucifix, the very sort of thing that Father Springer had noted in Nocera earlier in the century with the comment that in his poor opinion this was the weakest point of the mission.

There is no mention of the renewal. That is a disappointment, as it would be most desirable to have some witness to its evolution such as was provided for the exercises of the Devout Life. The fact that it was not included in Father Berruti's handbook does not, of course, prove that it no longer found its place in Redemptorist missionary practice. It is to some extent a consequence of the fact that the *Metodo pratico* was based, not on the constitutions of 1764, but on the *Esercizi di missione*. One is left to conjecture as to what extent this change of basis for missionary legislation may have contributed to the decline of the renewal witnessed in later Redemptorist observance.

4. - *The Missions outside Italy*

Italy had the advantage of an almost uninterrupted practice of the parish missions. And the evidence we have seen shows a continuous development among the Redemptorists, who from an early date chose to base their methods on the *Esercizi di missione*, the manual St. Alphonsus had composed for the practical training of his followers. In the lands north of the Alps Josephist and anticlerical legislation had made such an uninterrupted tradition impossible. When Father Springer came to Nocera in 1823 a new climate of freedom was beginning to offer hope that soon the missions would show

signs of flourishing even there. As we have seen, the Redemptorists from the north had their important contacts with the missions of their southern confrères. It is well, however, to keep in mind the caution expressed by Father Löw in editing Father Springer's report from Nocera¹⁰². It is not clear to what extent the northern missions were affected by the accounts of southern practice they were able to study, so that the Redemptorists beyond the Alps need to be examined almost independently, and in particular it is necessary to attend to what was to become almost a feature of their ways, their use of *Directories*.

(a) *The Earliest Missions*

The first mission of the Redemptorists outside Italy was in HAGENAU, a small city of over ten thousand inhabitants in the diocese of Strasbourg from 12th January to 7th March 1826. It was conducted simultaneously in the two parish churches of the city with exercises also in the hospital and in the large women's prison of some four hundred inmates. There is a collection of contemporary material describing the event available in *Spicilegium*¹⁰³. For this important venture the eight missionaries were assembled from Alsace and Switzerland together with two men who were on their way to make a new foundation in Lisbon. They were fortunate in having the help of Father Springer with his first hand knowledge of practice in southern Italy and whose moving farewell sermon has been preserved.

From the Bischenberg chronicles we learn that after a well attended start the mission gained momentum and had to be prolonged on account of the increasing attendance, which at the ceremony of planting the mission cross had grown to twenty thousand¹⁰⁴. As an example of the impact of the mission on the locality Josephine Brunner's pamphlet says that in the prison only seven obstinate souls

¹⁰² Cf. *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 27.

¹⁰³ *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 280-339. In the collection of contemporary documents assembled and edited by Fathers Josef Löw and André Sampers there is correspondence before and after the mission, an eyewitness account by some devout person, possibly a nun, copied by a certain Josephine Brunner and later printed in the form of a small pamphlet, an Italian translation of the German original of the account made by Father Sabelli, secretary to the Rector Major, Father Cogle, and finally an extract from the chronicles of the Redemptorist house of Bischenberg, which had the responsibility for the conduct of the mission. The final sermon of the mission, which was preached by Father Springer, is also included among the documents.

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.* 330.

would not go to confession, and that a few months after it was over the gaol was more like a convent than a prison¹⁰⁵.

The order of the day as described both by the pamphlet and the Bischenberg chronicles was a little different from what was done in Italy¹⁰⁶. The day opened with morning prayer followed by a meditation and a short instruction on confession and the commandments of God and of the Church. Before the evening sermon there was what the pamphlet calls *die sogenannte Glosse*, which is explained as being a very brief instruction on practices of devotion, the mysteries of the Rosary or sacred ceremonies. After that came the sermon, which was followed by Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, all concluding with night prayers. Perhaps the most marked differences from Italian practice were the somewhat lesser emphasis given to the daily instruction and the solemn close of the evening exercise with Benediction.

Understandably enough, there was some difference in the solemnities or ceremonies of the mission. These are described in detail in the pamphlet¹⁰⁷. The emotionally charged and dramatic *Abbitte*, which came to be called in French the *Amende*, was most spectacular, as was also the renewal of baptismal vows in the context of a sermon on the Christian life. The sermon on the Blessed Virgin, so important in the practice of St. Alphonsus, became an occasion for an expression of devotion in the form of decorations and a procession. The general Communion was also solemn events, rather less so perhaps than in Italy. In place of the *Calvario* we have seen in Finale there was in Hagenau a great event that doubled the population of the city for the planting of the mission cross. This event took up most of the pamphlet's description of the ceremonies. It was a *crux ingens*, the Bischenberg chronicles report, carried and escorted in procession by nine hundred men in six relays of a hundred and fifty each. They formed a most impressive honour guard for the huge memorial of the mission¹⁰⁸.

The differences from Italian practice are evident enough, but they can hardly be called substantial. The most important difference is that the Devout Life has become obscured to the point where it has practically vanished. Father Thomas Landtwing in his account

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.* 300, 322. A more sober report says that fifty refused the Sacraments, though agreeing that the prison was transformed into a nunnery. Cf. p. 330.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.* 294, 337.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.* 301-317.

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.* 338.

of early Redemptorist activity in Switzerland says that the mission in Hagenau was influenced by the practices of the *Société des Missions de France*¹⁰⁹. One might reasonably conjecture that such a connection was in the mind of the author of the pamphlet, introducing the lengthy description of the solemnities. The ceremonies in Hagenau are said to be little different from those used and made familiar by the *Missionen in Frankreich*, a phrase Father Sabelli translates as *le Missioni di Francia*¹¹⁰. The Society of the Missions of France, founded in 1808 by abbé Jean Baptiste Rauzan, was a pioneering group of the revival of the parish missions in France up until the time of its dissolution during the revolution of 1830¹¹¹. The Redemptorists appear to have had some association with them before 1826, which makes it all the more likely that they should have been ready to incorporate into their own practice what had been tried in the field they were about to enter.

Whatever may have been their origin, the few special or new features that appeared in Hagenau are easily discernible, and one can recognise them as they occur again in later practice. After the mission was over Father Alois Czech, rector of the house in Tschupru near Fribourg, wrote to the Rector Major, Father Cocle, that even though the mission may have been a little different from Italian practice and not entirely according to what was prescribed in the constitutions, the results seemed to show that it was pleasing to God¹¹².

The pamphlet speaks about the good effects of the mission as being still discernible about a year later¹¹³. Apart from the marvellous transformation of the women's prison it does not descend much into detail. Much more significant, however, are some reflections on Hagenau that the Rector Major, Father Cocle, jotted down in his diary¹¹⁴. The people of the city, it seems, had become so enthusiastic in the cause of religion after the mission that they were led to make some imprudent speeches and take some ill-advised action, with the result that the unstable restored government of the Bourbons suspected

¹⁰⁹ Th. Landtwing C.S.S.R., *Die Redemptoristen in Freiburg in der Schweiz, 1811-1847* = *Bibliotheca Historica Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris*, II, Rome, 1955, p. 84.

¹¹⁰ *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 301.

¹¹¹ Concerning the abbé Rauzan and his foundation cf. *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, X (1953), Rome, 555-556.

¹¹² Letter of 28th August 1826 in *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 333.

¹¹³ *ibid.* 322.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.* 335.

sinister political forces at work. The Austrian Fathers in consequence found themselves obliged to leave Alsace, and even Father Joseph Passerat, Vicar General of the Redemptorists beyond the Alps, had to break off a canonical visitation in Bischenberg. This irritating « persecution » had the happy effect of giving occasion to the rapid increase of mission work in Switzerland; « and Father Czech even went to Geneva », notes Father Cogle with evident satisfaction.

The Redemptorists in SWITZERLAND, during the twenty years before they fell into official disfavour in 1847, had a most creditable record of mission work¹¹⁵. The Fathers there had been greatly encouraged by the heady experience of success in Hagenau, particularly since some of their own men had taken part in the mission there and they could draw on the further experience of the Austrians compelled to leave Alsace.

It is possible to discern further new features in these early Swiss missions. Useful evidence made available in *Spicilegium* makes it possible to see the structure of these missions which followed on from that first venture in Hagenau¹¹⁶.

The first impression one gets from the reports of Fathers Czech and Michael Neubert made available by *Spicilegium* is that the missions were more concentrated and intensive. In Jaun in 1828 the mission given by four Fathers lasted ten days, as did the one in Sachseln in the following year, in which five missionaries took part. The labours in the Fribourg district reported by Father Czech lasted a week or even less in some instances; but they were scarcely missions, but rather courses of preaching for the jubilee year. The mission in Carouge lasted three weeks or so in 1832 with two missionaries. It is really scarcely more than an impression of some concentration in time and effort. Nevertheless, that impression is well worth keeping in mind in view of certain later trends in regions of German speech.

The concentration of effort is much more in evidence in the order of the day followed in Switzerland and in the mission plan pro-

¹¹⁵ Cf. Th. Landtwing C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 77-88. There is a list of missions year by year in an appendix, p. 132-135.

¹¹⁶ *Spic. Hist.* 8 (1960) 347-390. Fathers Josef Löw and André Sampers have gathered documents of which the most useful for our purpose are the reports of Father Michael Neubert of missions in Jaun in 1828 and Sachseln in 1829 and of Father Alois Czech of works in the Fribourg district in 1830 and in Carouge in 1833. Father Neubert was to become in later years a busy and renowned missionary, while Father Czech was for long a kindly and competent superior. Father Neubert's reports are the more informative.

vided by Father Neubert¹¹⁷. And in this respect there is clearly a marked difference from earlier Redemptorist practice, even from that of Hagenau. Each day began with a meditation of half an hour followed by a sermon of an hour or so and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. In the evening there was what the Italian translator of the Jaun report calls a *controversa morale*¹¹⁸ and Father Neubert in his plan for Sachseln a *Conferenz*¹¹⁹. This was followed by the second sermon of the day and by Benediction.

Very likely the second mission sermon each day was introduced for reasons similar to those given by Father Berruti for the practice in Southern Italy; but it is clear from Father Neubert's plan that the two topics each day were quite different. There was no provision, it seems, for an instruction apart from the dialogued exposition of various moral topics that preceded the evening sermon. Father Landtwing gives a brief description of this exercise, which he calls the *Kontroverskonferenz*¹²⁰. Two missionaries took part, one speaking for the people and expressing their doubts and objections so as to give the preacher in the pulpit the opportunity of giving a little life to his exposition. Again, as in Hagenau, there seems to be nothing that resembles the exercises of the Devout Life, apart from the trend in the last few days to what one might call a more inspirational content of the preaching.

The solemnities were those that had proved themselves so successful in Hagenau; and once more Father Neubert was able to speak of the dramatic impact of the *Abbitte*, the renewal of baptismal vows and the planting of the big mission cross¹²¹.

Father Landtwing adds a further informative note concerning these early missions in Switzerland. In his lists of missions he includes several renewals¹²². From his careful examination of the records of the time he was able to say that generally the renewals lasted no more than three days, strongly recalling what we have seen as prescribed in the constitutions of 1764. The Fribourg house alone gave nine such renewals in the course of a single year¹²³. It would not be unreason-

¹¹⁷ *ibid.* 353, 361-363; Th. Landtwing C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 80.

¹¹⁸ *ibid.* 354.

¹¹⁹ *ibid.* 362.

¹²⁰ Th. Landtwing C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 80.

¹²¹ *Spic. Hist.* 8 (1960) 354-355, 365-375.

¹²² Th. Landtwing C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 132-135.

¹²³ *ibid.* 85.

able to see in this zeal for the renewal an instance of the cult of the constitutions of 1764 which had become characteristic of Redemptorist life under Father Passerat¹²⁴.

While the Fathers in Switzerland were commencing their short but intense missionary apostolate, a new field was opening up to the Redemptorists in BELGIUM. Established in Tournai since 1831, the community under the dynamic leadership of Father Frederick de Held began a period of rapid expansion that quickly rivalled earlier foundations and a busy and remarkably successful missionary activity¹²⁵. The first venture was in the province of Limburg, now in Dutch territory, in 1833. The mission in the parish of Gulpen and Wittem attracted much favourable comment. Father de Meulemeester quotes a letter of Mgr. Jean Laurent, later Vicar Apostolic of Luxembourg, who wrote to his brother of the huge crowds drawn to the churches, as many as fifteen thousand in Wittem in one day¹²⁶. As a consequence of this spectacular beginning the houses in Belgium and Holland by the middle of the century had already accumulated a most impressive tally of missions and renewals.

In AUSTRIA it was not easy to make a start with the parish missions in the face of continuing Josephist legislation. Some relaxation of the long prohibition was gained by the Jesuits, refugees from Russia, who asked for authorisation for missions in the province of Galicia. After long negotiation permission was given in 1832. Before long it was the turn of the Redemptorists, but not before they had made tedious and seemingly interminable explanations to Josephist officials¹²⁷.

The negotiations were opened by Johann Ehart, the zealous parish priest of Landeck in the Tyrol¹²⁸. In 1838 he had met Father Passerat and spoke with him about having Fathers preach in his parish for the *quarant'ore* devotions, which had long been the sub-

¹²⁴ Cf. E. Hosp C.S.S.R., *Geschichte der Redemptoristen-Regel in Oesterreich, 1819-1848*, Vienna, 1939.

¹²⁵ Maurice de Meulemeester C.S.S.R., *Glans Alphonsiennes*, Louvain, 1946, p. 27-36.

¹²⁶ Letter of 27th December 1833 *ibid.* 30.

¹²⁷ E. Hosp C.S.S.R., *Erbe des hl. Klemens Maria Hofbauer*, Vienna, 1953, p. 445-460.

¹²⁸ The beginnings of the missions in the Austrian Tyrol are described *ibid.* 460-491.

stitute found in the region for the missions. There was the usual Josephist round of interview with the local authorities, letters to exalted personages in Vienna, objections of all kinds to be answered: and at the end of it all there were in the early part of 1840 exercises lasting one week and given by five Fathers from the house in Innsbruck. Later in the year there was even a renewal.

The method followed was similar to those already working so successfully in Alsace, Switzerland and Belgium with much the same topics for the sermons and instructions and the same solemnities. As the Austrian missions, however, spread quickly through the Tyrol and to the rest of Austria, there were some differences from what was done in other parts of Europe. For one thing, the word « mission » could not be used, so that reports spoke of *Volksexerzitionen* or some similar name. Another important new feature was the appearance of the *Standesunterweisungen* or instructions for the « states of life », which had been introduced on the occasion of the first mission in Landeck¹²⁹. The rector of Innsbruck, trying to find a way of making up for the restriction of the preaching to a single week, talked the problem over with his companions and eventually they hit on the idea of separate instructions for men and women¹³⁰. For the German-speaking lands these features of the early Tyrolean missions remained, a concentration of effort into a shorter period of time and the special instructions for the « states of life ».

The early Redemptorist missions outside Italy were extraordinarily successful in capturing the support of clergy and people. Reports of the enthusiastic crowds such as we have seen for Hagenau and Wittem could be repeated many times over during the early 1800's. And in most Redemptorist houses the books revealed an almost incessant activity, showing how eagerly their missions were sought by bishops and priests. It was a most encouraging experience for the developing Redemptorist life in those northern lands, where its official toleration dated only from 1820. The missions continued to loom large in the minds of those who planned the direction to be taken when in 1841 provinces were erected in Austria, Switzerland and Belgium. And in the new provinces there were soon special regulations issued in the form of *Directories* for the missions and other pastoral activities.

¹²⁹ *ibid.* 527.

¹³⁰ Cf. Antonius Meiberg C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 313.

With the multiplication of the provinces, there was also an increase in the number of the *Directories*, as experience in new countries called for further guidelines. It is by examining these authoritative regulations that one can discover the way the Redemptorist missions were conducted.

Among the *Directories* in use during the nineteenth century it is possible to discern three broad trends. These trends should not be understood as though they implied great differences in practice. For all Redemptorists of traditions stemming from Father Passerat's regime there was throughout the nineteenth century a firm adherence to the constitutions of 1764, solemnly reaffirmed in the general chapter of 1855. Small variations, rather of the type we have seen in the earliest missions, did appear, and it is according to them that we speak of the three large divisions. Obviously, if we are to understand the distinctions in this way, it would be misleading to see the classification as anything but very loose.

(b) *The Belgian - Dutch Tradition*

Of the provinces erected in northern lands in 1841 that of Belgium was outstanding for its rapid development and its missionary activity. The first superior was Father Frederick de Held, a disciple of St. Clement Hofbauer and like him a man of immense zeal and energy. He had guided the Belgian foundations from the beginning. His province included the houses in Holland as well as Belgium, with those in England added after 1843 and after 1844 even those in far-off North America. It is not surprising that the Belgian province under such leadership should have produced the first *Directory* for missions and retreats¹³¹.

The first brief section of the little handbook deals with questions raised at a meeting of superiors in 1844. It presumes already existing broad norms for the missions, which are in fact the constitutions of 1764, to which reference is made in the answer to no. 8. What resulted from the meeting was a summary of the variations

¹³¹ *Dispositions diverses faites pour les missionnaires de la Congrégation du Très-Saint-Rédempteur de la province belge*, s.l., s.d. The little booklet contains three divisions: *Questions sur les missions proposées et résolues par les Supérieurs assemblés en l'an 1844*. This is of less than four pages. *Dispositions prises dans la réunion des Supérieurs le 1^{er} janvier 1849* is of three pages. The final section, occupying the rest of the sixteen pages of the whole booklet, gathers together the existing directions for conducting missions and retreats. It is entitled *Dispositions faites dans la Réunion Générale des Missionnaires le 23 juin 1849*.

that had been introduced by the experience of the past decade or so.

Decision no. 2 directs that an instruction replace the morning meditation with the people; and a further resolution, no. 5, speaks of the need of more instruction, appealing to the practice in Italy and recommending that in addition to the early morning instruction there be another on the occasion of the principal Mass. The solemnities in general are moderated, prudence being recommended in the general Communion and the *Amende honorable* being much curtailed with the prohibition to use some of the dramatic features of the earlier *Abbitte*. The planting of the mission cross is still recommended, but the ceremony of the renewal of the baptismal vows is now transferred to the close of the renewal.

The general impression of these first Belgian regulations is of a more austere form of the mission than had been the practice either in Italy or in the first works beyond the Alps. Benediction is still given each evening, but apart from that there is little to distract from the word of the preacher either in the instructions or in the sermons.

The discussions at the meeting of superiors on 1st January 1849, which form the second division of the booklet, were concerned mainly with broad regulations assigning spheres of responsibility in the acceptance of missions to the various houses and to the provincial and some prudent rules of behaviour. There was little particular regulation of mission practice apart from a warning that in a sermon on blasphemy the preacher should not explain his theme by means of examples.

The meeting of the missionaries in June of the same year was a much more important occasion, bringing together the special rules governing the apostolic works of the province. Its decisions are contained in pages 7 to 16 of the booklet, its third and final division. These decisions form in fact a real *Directory*, even though that name was not used at this early stage.

The « *Directory* » opens with a general statement. « The great Rules and Constitutions on the missions are obligatory in all parts which have not been formally dispensed in the appendix added in Latin to the same Rules »¹³². After this broad invocation of the rules

¹³² The Latin text referred to was most probably that printed in Liège in 1846. It reproduced a translation published in Fribourg in 1826. This version did not include the constitutions of 1764. Cf. *Spic. Hist.* 11 (1963) 482-483. Later in 1849, at some time after July, a new Latin version was published in Liège which was to be used in the chapter of 1855, assuming an official status. Cf. *Acta integra Capitulum Generalium Congregationis SS. Redemptoris ab anno 1749 usque ad annum 1894 celebratorum*, Rome, 1899, p. 310.

and constitutions this first Belgian « *Directory* » goes on to add a number of points of an eminently practical nature, some of which it is careful to note differed a little from the rules.

The concern for instruction noted in 1844 now introduces a new practice, that of a brief, familiar instruction in the evening in place of the explanation of the Rosary, no doubt what had been called in Hagenau *die sogenannte Glosse*. In no. 5 it is directed that the *amende honorable* be performed after the sermon on sacrilege, even though it was not mentioned in the rules. Treating of hymns during the mission, the meeting forbids them after the sermon, adding that it is likewise forbidden to make any announcement after the sermon. Clearly nothing must be allowed to spoil the effect of the preaching. Interesting is the recommendation that confessors called in to assist be given suitable guidelines, because « uniformity of practice in dealing with penitents contributes greatly to the successful outcome of the mission ».

The topics of the instructions and sermons are given in the shape of a plan. It is in four parts. In the first the instructions are on confession and the sermons on the Last Things; the second part is on particular sins and their occasions; the third on the duties of one's state in life; and the final part is « consecrated to the devout life or the means of perseverance ». The exercises of the Devout Life had obviously undergone a considerable transformation.

The solemnities or ceremonies of the mission are enumerated under a special heading. They are for the most part the ones that had become familiar since that first mission in Hagenau. Additions are few, among them the « sinners' bell », now met for the first time, the ringing of the church bell in the evening while the people led by a missionary recite five *paters* and *aves* for the conversion of sinners and the success of the mission. The *amende honorable* conducted with fitting moderation is to follow the sermon on bad Communion. The consecration to Our Lady is never to be omitted. In addition to the mission cross, which is to be erected in a purely religious ceremony from which all appearance of the profane should be removed, it is recommended that the Way of the Cross also be erected. Had those early Belgian missions experienced a taint of politics similar to that found by Father Valle in Finale?

A small section on renewals states merely that there should be no *amende* and that the exercises should close with the renewal of baptismal vows. Directions then follow for retreats to priests, nuns, seminarians and schoolchildren. And now there is no longer

question of looking at the constitutions through one's fingers, as Father Springer had found in Italy, but they are taken for granted without comment.

A similar *Directory* was produced by the Dutch province, which was separated from Belgium in 1855. It appeared in 1866, promulgated by the provincial, Father Konings, and it is also very short, being of only twenty-four pages¹³³. After the pattern of the parent Belgian booklet this new little handbook for missionaries confines itself to a small number of practical guidelines, presuming broadly that the venerated constitutions, now solemnly reaffirmed by the chapter of 1855, will be faithfully observed.

From Holland a province in England developed, being separated in 1865, and before long it too produced its own *Directory*¹³⁴. This little booklet of thirty-one pages was promulgated by Father Coffin, the provincial, after consultation with the superiors of the province. It opens with an extract from St. Alphonsus' *Exercises of the Mission* and a circular Father Coffin himself addressed to the province earlier in that year, 1877, in which the *Directory* was issued and which the superiors wished to be included. Again it is a question of no more than a small number of practical guidelines. Among these a new solemnity appears, namely the Way of the Cross with the preacher from the pulpit making the reflections at each station. Some directions that were apparently peculiar to English conditions concerned the prudent disposal of harmful literature surrendered to the missionaries¹³⁵ and the manner of arranging for the instruction and reception of converts to the faith.

This *Directory* of Father Coffin's was reproduced by the Irish province with very little change the year after it was made independent in 1898¹³⁶. It continued to provide the basis of later *Directories*,

¹³³ *Verordeningen voor de missiën en andere apostolische werkzaamheden, s.l., s.d.* The approbation given by the provincial, Father Konings, is dated 2nd August 1866.

¹³⁴ *The Directory of the Missions in the English Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer*, London, 1877.

¹³⁵ This direction for the missionaries probably reflects the sort of incident as occurred during the mission in Kingston, Ireland in October 1855 leading to Father Vladimir Pecherin's being brought to trial on a charge of having publicly burnt a Bible. Cf. *Spic. Hist.* 28 (1980) 237-241 for a bibliography on Father Pecherin.

¹³⁶ *The Directory of the Missions in the Irish and Australian Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer*, Belfast, 1899. In the same year the newly erected Irish province issued a further booklet which was occupied principally with

which with the passing years found occasion to make no more than slight alterations. This was the case with new publications in England in 1924¹³⁷, Ireland in 1927¹³⁸ and even in remote Australia in 1929 and as late as 1957¹³⁹. The small modifications occasioned by local circumstances are usually like the provision made in Australia for missions in lonely, isolated districts where it would be a considerable hardship for the people to assemble even once a day. Interestingly, the Irish and Australian *Directories* even retained the section on converts to the faith. Some modifications made in Ireland in this connection were amply justified by the highly successful Belfast mission to non-Catholics¹⁴⁰.

(c) *The German Tradition*

A somewhat different tradition is to be observed stemming from Austria. The Redemptorists there continued to be affected by the direction into which their first mission in the Tyrol had been channelled in 1840 by suspicious Josephist officials. From that beginning, so successful in spite of the difficulties, Austrian practice assumed certain characteristics, as one can learn from the fine *Directory* published in 1914¹⁴¹. Its 295 pages contain a thorough exposition of the exercises of the mission with plans for sermons and instructions and a brief but informative treatment of retreats.

The mission is visualised as being short — one to two weeks — with five or six days for the renewal¹⁴². Regretfully, it is noted, with changed times and over cautious parish clergy it seems impossible to devote as much time to the work as St. Alphonsus would re-

the *Apostolic Formula* of Father Raus, of which there will be occasion to speak shortly. *Provinciae Hibernicae C.S.S.R. consultatio provincialis 18-26 januarii 1899*, Limerick, 1899.

¹³⁷ *The Directory of the Missions in the English Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer*, London, 1924.

¹³⁸ *Directory of the Apostolic Labours in the Irish Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer*, Limerick, 1927.

¹³⁹ *The Directory of the Missions in the Australasian Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer*, Sydney, 1929. Also *Redemptorist Mission Directory. Australasian Province*, s.l., s.d. (but 1957).

¹⁴⁰ D. Cumming, *A Mission in Ireland for non-Catholics* in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Review* 70 (1948) 481-494.

¹⁴¹ *Direktorium für Missionen und Renovationen zum Gebrauch der PP. Redemptoristen der Wiener Provinz*, Frankenstein, 1914.

¹⁴² *ibid.* 100-103.

commend¹⁴³. Also the ingenious expedient devised on the occasion of the first mission in the Tyrol, the *Standesunterweisungen*, have become permanently included in the Austrian practice¹⁴⁴. In any case, the instructions for the « states of life » have by now a more authoritative foundation: they had been recommended by the general chapter of 1855¹⁴⁵. The solemnities remain those that had been in common use since Hagenau, the *Abbitte* (now after a sermon on the Eucharist), Our Lady, the general Communion and the planting of the mission cross, all of them much more restrained than in the days of that first enthusiasm¹⁴⁶.

The Austrian *Directory* was a carefully produced work. It was based on an unpublished manuscript of Father Andreas Hamerle, and in all it listed fourteen sources used, some of them still in manuscript, but including two very interesting regular *Directories*¹⁴⁷. The earlier of the two, *Directorium pro Missionibus C.S.S.R.*, Altoetting, 1854, unfortunately seems to be no longer available for consultation, but the other, a *Directory* prepared for the Upper German province, confirms the impressions received from our examination of Austrian practice¹⁴⁸.

This latter *Directory* was published anonymously in 1885, but it was the posthumous publication of a work compiled by Father Michael Benger, author of a highly esteemed *Pastoraltheologie*¹⁴⁹. The work is the fruit of Father Benger's long experience of teaching pastoral theology and careful study of the writings of St. Alphonsus. Most of the text is devoted to the sermons and instructions of the mission with final comments on the renewal. We find the same features as had become established in Austria, from which the first houses in Germany had been founded. Father Benger offers plans for missions of eight or ten days, apparently not considering any other duration¹⁵⁰. He gives considerable attention to the *Standeslehren*,

¹⁴³ *ibid.* 21-25.

¹⁴⁴ *ibid.* 66-73.

¹⁴⁵ *Codex Regularum*, 507.

¹⁴⁶ *Direktorium*, 82-84.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid.* 7-8.

¹⁴⁸ *Directorium für die Missions-Vorträge zum Gebrauch für die Priester der Congregation des allerheiligsten Erlösers der oberdeutschen Provinz*, Regensburg, 1885.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Maurice de Meulemeester C.S.S.R., *Bibliographie générale*, II, 1935, p. 23.

¹⁵⁰ *Direktorium*, 94-95.

insisting that they must be carefully prepared and concise so as not to spoil their effect by boring the people¹⁵¹. As had come about in other parts of Europe, the *Abbitte* follows a sermon on the Eucharist which dwells particularly on bad Communion¹⁵². The brief space devoted to the Devout Life, summarily recommending that the instructions in Christian living be made in the course of appropriate sermons, shows clearly how the practice had declined since the days of St. Alphonsus¹⁵³.

These same features of the Austrian and Bavarian missions reappear in American practice. After all, most of the personnel of the North American foundations came originally from those lands. For the practice followed by the provinces of the United States we can consult the thorough exposition of Father Joseph Wissel, the first edition of whose detailed guide to Redemptorist missions appeared in 1875¹⁵⁴. Again the missions are short. « Very rarely should a mission be laid out for two full weeks »¹⁵⁵. And there is the same insistence on the instructions for the « states of life ». « Particular instructions for each of the states of life mentioned have become indispensable »¹⁵⁶. The ceremony of the *Abbitte* apparently had a somewhat checkered history in America and was eventually discontinued¹⁵⁷.

The second German province, now called the Cologne province established in 1859, seems to have reacted against the practices it had received through Bavaria. Father Bernhard Scholten has linked this reaction with the influence of the brilliant missionary, Father Johann Ambrosius Zobel¹⁵⁸. Father Zobel, a native of the Tyrol, had joined the Redemptorists in Switzerland and by way of Luxembourg had brought to the North German foundations an approach different from that of Austria and Bavaria. He was strongly opposed to the practice of shortening the time of the mission and of placing what

¹⁵¹ *ibid.* 87-90.

¹⁵² *ibid.* 44-46.

¹⁵³ *ibid.* 190.

¹⁵⁴ Joseph Wissel, *The Redemptorist on the American Missions* 3, 3 vols., Norwood, Mass., 1920.

¹⁵⁵ *ibid.* I, 57.

¹⁵⁶ *ibid.* I, 73.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid.* I, 64-65.

¹⁵⁸ Bernhard Scholten C.S.S.R., *Die Volksmission der Redemptoristen in den letzten hundert Jahren in In Benedictione Memoria*, Bonn, 1959, p. 184-225. There is a biography of Father Zobel. Petrus Zender, *P. Joh. Ambrosius Zobel. Ein Lebensbild*, Luxembourg, 1894.

he considered too much emphasis on the *Standespredigten*¹⁵⁹. Certainly, the plans of mission quoted by Father Scholten show that the Cologne Redemptorists had struck out on their own line of development¹⁶⁰.

(d) *The French Tradition*

Another important missionary tradition can be found in the provinces that developed from Switzerland. The original Swiss province became, after the temporary disappearance of its houses there, the province of France and Switzerland; and that in turn by early in the present century had been divided into three provinces in France and one in Spain with several foundations along the Pacific coast of South America. The missions in these extensive regions were conducted with great zeal and vigour; and they owed their inspiration most of all to the leadership of one strong superior, Father Achille Desurmont¹⁶¹.

Like Father Benger Father Desurmont was a competent pastoral theologian, having to his credit a substantial work on the subject¹⁶². Superior for more than twenty years of the huge province of France and Switzerland, he used to repeat over and over in his exhortations to the province: « Esteem, study and love our Father, our incomparable Doctor [...] and you will do what Christ and the Church expect of you »¹⁶³. In everything to do with Redemptorist life and work his constant criterion was the teaching and practice of St. Alphonsus. And that was particularly so in his instructions concerning the missions. He prepared a study of mission practice which he sent to the houses to be discussed before he finally published it; and he recommended two basic norms by which to judge Redemptorist pastoral activity: the practice, that is to say the limits imposed by circumstances, and the ideal, which meant what was proposed by St. Alphonsus¹⁶⁴.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.* 202.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.* 199-202.

¹⁶¹ Cf. A. George C.S.S.R., *Le très révérend Père Achille Desurmont C.S.S.R., Provincial de France*, Paris, 1924.

¹⁶² *La Charité sacerdotale ou leçons élémentaires de théologie pastorale*, 2 vols., Paris, 1899. Publication was posthumous, Father Desurmont having died in the previous year.

¹⁶³ A. George C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 147.

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.* 204.

He described the nature of his work and his own fundamental principles in the circular to the rectors. « So as to make as little innovation as possible and to put the work on a solid foundation we have followed the constitutions in order, refraining from comment when it seemed a constitution could be observed to the letter, and any necessary modifications we endeavoured to make as conformable as possible to the teachings of St. Alphonsus with due regard to our present circumstances of time and place »¹⁶⁵. That description can be seen to represent the character of the three works on missions which he issued, the first of them in 1875¹⁶⁶.

From the principles enunciated by Father Desurmont one would be led to expect that the French missionary tradition stemming from him would be such a meticulous application of the constitutions of 1764 that any departure from them would have been made only with extreme reluctance. It is an agreeable surprise, therefore, to find that the third of the *Directories*, the *Praxis missionariorum* of 1887, is an eminently practical work revealing a sound pastoral judgement. Some few points may be singled out as particularly representative.

As regards the duration of the mission the French *Directory* was precise and uncompromising¹⁶⁷. It was to last normally three weeks, but the local superior could authorise a longer duration, while it was not permitted to accept a mission of less than two weeks without the approval of the provincial. Lists of topics for sermons and instructions were divided into obligatory and optional, and they were sufficiently detailed to give the preacher not only clear guidelines but ample latitude as well¹⁶⁸.

The structuring of the mission presents certain interesting features¹⁶⁹. The morning instructions can be of two kinds. If those attending are *une petite portion d'élite*, then they are to be given a sort of retreat with topics suitably adapted, while if the hearers should belong rather to *la masse du peuple*, then the instructions should be

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.* 204.

¹⁶⁶ *De munere apostolico in Provincia Gallica C.S.S.R.*, Avon, 1875; *Congr. SS. Red. Prov. Gall. Exercice de notre saint ministère*, s.l., s.d. (but circa 1880); *Prov. Gall. C.S.S.R. Praxis missionariorum seu Constitutiones et earum applicationes quaedam, per mandata locis et temporibus accomodata*, Tours, 1887.

¹⁶⁷ *Praxis missionariorum*, 22.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.* 30-31; 82-85.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.* 56-62.

on confession and the commandments. Similarly, at a suitable time in the course of the day an exercise might be arranged for *la haute classe*, people who did not attend the evening exercise. To them should be given some suitable adaptation of the sermons they would otherwise miss altogether.

In the evening after two decades of the Rosary there is to be for *un demi-quart d'heure a glose*, or a succinct instruction drawn from a rather broader range of topics than that of the morning. Then follows the sermon, with Benediction closing the exercise.

In planning the sermons and instructions the missioners are required to adhere to three main divisions. In the first part, of at least five or six days, the topics aim at preparing the people for confession; in the second, of at least six or seven days, the preachers treat the eternal truths, sin and its occasions; and the final part, which is to last three days or so, is to be concerned with the exercises of the Devout Life, with instruction and practice on mental prayer in the mornings.

The solemnities of the mission are treated with the meticulous attention to detail characteristic of the *Directory*, and they are the ones that had become familiar to practice outside Italy with some new ones¹⁷⁰. With regard to the exercises of the Devout Life, a long extract from the constitutions is quoted followed by a brief reference to the third section of the mission plan¹⁷¹. More practical, perhaps, is the brief admonition concerning « associations of perseverance » to be established or reanimated. They are to be given « the spirit and the methods that St. Alphonsus and venerable Father Sarnelli have left us »¹⁷². For the renewals the directions are as precise as for the missions, without however offering any new inspiration¹⁷³.

III. - « THE SYSTEM OF ST. ALPHONSUS »

By the end of the century the Redemptorists, wherever they were established, had reason to be satisfied with an excellent record of mission work, almost uninterrupted and frequently achieving quite remarkable success. In 1894 their representatives came to a general

¹⁷⁰ *ibid.* 85-90.

¹⁷¹ *ibid.* 67-68.

¹⁷² *ibid.* 69.

¹⁷³ *ibid.* 70-72.

chapter, the first since 1855, with missions very much on their minds. The first decree of the chapter began with the direction that « a formula of the whole apostolic system of St. Alphonsus be prepared » to be given to the provinces « as uniform and altogether the same ». This formula was to be studied in all the provinces so as to form the basis of their provincial statutes to be submitted to the Superior General and to subsequent general chapters¹⁷⁴.

According to one of the capitulars, Father Wulfingh from Surinam, the decisions of the chapter had won warm support from Father Desurmont in all that concerned the system of St. Alphonsus and the missions¹⁷⁵. Father Desurmont was present in his capacity of Consultor General, and one would have to expect him to support measures so much like the principles he proposed for the *Directory* he prepared for his own province. That does not necessarily mean, of course, that he actually originated the decree, but it is possible to discern an influence, at least indirect, in its implementation.

Father Matthias Raus, elected Superior General in 1894, had been a student of Father Desurmont's and a member of the province of France and Switzerland until he came to Rome as Consultor in 1889¹⁷⁶. Father Desurmont's biographer describes his relations with the new Superior General by comparison with St. Bernard and Eugenius III¹⁷⁷. Allowing for a good measure of rhetorical exaggeration in the parallel, it is still right to see at least a considerable similarity in thought between the two. And it was Father Raus who prepared the formula required by the chapter that had elected him.

The formula appeared 24th May 1896 introduced and explained by an accompanying circular letter¹⁷⁸. In the circular Father Raus speaks of the document as having been composed by himself, describing in the first person singular the norms chosen and the methods used.

« It is clear first of all », he wrote, « that the system to be followed in our apostolic works is never expounded better than in our Rule and in the Constitutions that explain the Rule ». For that reason he saw his task as being simply to bring together into a neater

¹⁷⁴ *Acta integra*, 653.

¹⁷⁵ A. George C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 507.

¹⁷⁶ *ibid.* 507.

¹⁷⁷ *ibid.* 509-512.

¹⁷⁸ *Litterae circulares Reverendissimi Patris Matthiae Raus C.S.S.R. Superioris Generalis et Rectoris Majoris*, Rome, 1908, p. 70-74. The *Formula Systematis S.P.N. Alphonsi circa labores apostolicos* is in p. 75-102.

and more coherent form what was already in existing legislation¹⁷⁹. The resultant formula, therefore, was proposed as « the perfect ideal to which all our missionaries should aspire »¹⁸⁰. After that clear echo of Father Desurmont he went on to direct that the *Formula* now promulgated be studied in the various houses and provinces and suitable local statutes be added, as the chapter had decreed. From Father Raus's circular it is clear that he had proceeded according to the same principles his old and venerated superior had invoked in the French *Directory*.

A detailed examination of the *Formula* of 1896 would serve little purpose. It is clearly described in the accompanying circular. It was no more than a rearrangement of the contents of the rules and constitutions as they had existed with practically no alteration since 1764. It is more useful to discover what was the effect on Redemptorist mission practice of the « canonisation » of the observances of 1764.

In the first place, it is necessary to emphasise that any variation at all from established practices would be most improbable. From the beginning the Redemptorists outside Italy had adhered as closely as their circumstances permitted to the constitutions of 1764 both in their missions and in other observances. As Father Raus described his method in compiling the *Formula*, he made it clear that all he had done was to put the legislation on apostolic works into a different order without changing them in any other way. Consequently, after 1896 the missionaries were required to continue very much as they had been working all through the nineteenth century. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *Directory* of the Austrian province published in 1914 should merely list the *Formula* along with the other sources it had used¹⁸¹.

In some provinces the *Formula* seems to have had very little if any impact. The English province, for example, as late as 1948 published along with its provincial statutes a new edition of Father Coffin's *Directory* of 1877¹⁸². And as we have already noted, the

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.* 71.

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.* 72.

¹⁸¹ *Direktorium*, 7.

¹⁸² It would burden the text too much to add references to publication details for all of the very large number of *Directories* and books of statutes which appeared between 1896 and the late nineteen forties. Such information may be obtained by reference to the very full list given in *Spic. Hist.* 15 (1967) 163-178.

same *Directory* with some slight modifications was issued in Australia at the even later date of 1957. In the Irish province in the same year as it promulgated its own edition of Father Coffin's *Directory*, 1899, it issued provincial statutes with comments on the *Formula*. Obviously, neither the *Formula* nor the Irish comments on it could have exercised any influence on what was already the established mission practice of the province.

Very much the same must be said of those provinces which published their directions for mission work in the shape of their comments on the *Formula*. A consultation in the Lower German province in 1897 commented on the *Formula*, spelling out the practice already established there. The same is to be said of the statutes of the Belgian province approved by the Superior General in 1898 which begin with a section entitled *Circa labores apostolicos iuxta formulam S. P. N. Alphonsi a Rmo Patre elaboratam*. The statutes of the Dutch province, published in 1908, commence also with comments on the *Formula*, and that is the pattern followed by the province of Baltimore in the east of the United States in 1901, 1912 and 1924 and that of St. Louis in 1915.

In spite of the decree of 1894 and Father Raus's circular letter there was no further reference to the *Formula* in subsequent general chapters in 1909 and 1921. Indicative, perhaps, of the inevitable neglect of the *Formula*, statutes of the Dutch province approved in 1923 give directions for the missions with reference directly to the appropriate constitutions without any mention of the *Formula*. In the French provinces legislation about the missions for Lyons and Paris in 1924 and Strasbourg in 1935 is attached to neither the constitutions nor the *Formula*. And that is the case also for the province of Prague, whose statutes were approved in 1925 and for the two provinces of Canada, that of Ste-Anne-de-Beaupré for the French language in 1924 and 1940 and the English-speaking province of Toronto in 1926.

This rapid survey of Redemptorist missionary legislation following the chapter of 1894 makes it plain that the *Formula* or the systematic statement of St. Alphonsus' methods made no difference to mission practice¹⁸³. Whether in Italy or beyond the Alps the Redemptorists had always based their methods on their founder's teachings, and what variations existed could certainly not be called

¹⁸³ Not all available texts have been cited, only those that seemed to be sufficiently representative.

substantial. And that continued to be the pattern of their work on the missions until the period after the Second World War.

IV. - RECENT TRENDS

Father Bernhard Scholten speaks of annual mission conferences in the Cologne province from as early as 1923¹⁸⁴. Their aim was that by means of their painstaking study of mission practice it would be possible in time to produce a new *Directory*; and the themes of discussion mentioned by Father Scholten show how thoroughly the conferences examined the troubled times leading to what he called the « political, social and religious chaos » of the Second World War. These North German Redemptorists were well in advance of those in other parts of the world, who for the most part, if one can judge from their *Directories*, were coming to grips with the changing world only somewhere around the fifties.

The *Directories* issued in these post-war years are much less numerous than in the earlier part of the century. And they indicate no substantial change from the methods followed earlier. This is the case in the provinces of Baltimore¹⁸⁵ and Toronto¹⁸⁶. A *Directory*, however, of Brazil issued by the province of São Paulo at about the same time as these gives some refreshing indications of an attempt to adapt accepted methods to new circumstances¹⁸⁷. Founded by Redemptorists from Bavaria, the province had been canonically erected only in 1946. There were new features in these Brazilian missions, which must have been full of life with suggestions for no fewer than thirty-two possible solemnities, and these included a motorcade as well as several other less flamboyant processions. Each day there was a visit to the Blessed Sacrament with a devotional exhortation preached by one of the missionaries, this in addition to the instructions, sermons and special sessions for the different « states of life » which had been learned from the parent province. Two types of mission were visualised, one in which all the people participated together and another, the « specialised mission », in which there were separate

¹⁸⁴ Bernhard Scholten C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 192.

¹⁸⁵ *Mission Directory. Baltimore Province C.S.S.R.*, New York, 1958.

¹⁸⁶ *Resolutions Adopted by the Mission Conference of 1957 for the Toronto Province and Edmonton Vice-Province*, s.l. s.d.

¹⁸⁷ *Directorio das missões. Província de São Paulo e Vice-Província de Pôrto Alegre de Congregação do Santíssimo Redentor*, 1957, s.l.

exercises for men and women. The « means of perseverance », which were probably intended to replace the old exercises of the Devout Life, were occupied with organising the people into pious associations. The renewal took the form of a « Eucharistic week », which had its special exercises and solemnities. While the pattern of the mission as it existed in Europe is still easily discernible in this new *Directory*, there is also a very considerable addition of new features adapted to a new situation.

Some *Directories* which appeared in the sixties betray quite distinct signs of uncertainty. That of the province of Ste-Anne-de-Beaupré in Canada begins with the warning that « like the Church and with it we have to work unceasingly to adapt our pastoral ministry to the needs of souls in a rapidly changing world »¹⁸⁸. In Australia in 1965 the authorities did not venture to authorise more than an *Interim Directory*¹⁸⁹. Just at this time, of course, the Second Vatican Council was in progress with its accompanying ferment in theological circles and a great deal of theorising about how the Church's pastoral activities would be affected. This is the sort of thinking reflected in the two *Directories*. It appeared also in that of the Neapolitan province which appeared in 1966, the first since Father Berruti's a century before¹⁹⁰. Reference is made to the conciliar decrees, particularly in explaining the procedures for a week of preaching on the liturgy.

As one would expect, the times which could produce such a formula as an *Interim Directory* witnessed also a certain amount of experimenting with new methods. The Neapolitan Liturgical Week was of this kind. Probably, the most important of the new methods tried during the post-war years was the General or Regional Mission which the Redemptorists and other institutes attempted in some countries, especially in Europe¹⁹¹. These have been exciting and encouraging ventures, but sober reflection has revealed certain aspects which raise doubts as to their suitability. Not the least is the fact that no matter how favourable may be the immediate impression on a locality, the lack of permanent pastoral structures transcending the parish and corresponding to the field of the mission's campaign makes it hard to maintain the mission's good effect.

¹⁸⁸ *Directoire et Statuts Provinciaux de la Province de Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, Ste-Anne-de-Beaupré, 1964, p. 7.* The emphasis is in the *Directory* itself.

¹⁸⁹ *Interim Directory of Apostolic Labours. Australasian Province of the Redemptorist Congregation, Sydney, 1965.*

¹⁹⁰ *Direttorio delle missioni, Pagani, 1966.*

¹⁹¹ Cf. Bernhard Scholten C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, 196.

One factor which to an important extent has affected Redemptorist missions in recent years has been a sharp decline in the number of the missionaries. It is not merely that the overall numbers of the institute have fallen off. There has been an increase in the kinds of pastoral activities Redemptorists undertake, parochial work in particular having claimed a very large number of men. Redemptorists for some decades have not been as exclusively missionaries as they had been in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

From their beginning in 1732 Redemptorists have been occupied principally with the parish missions, and they have had their own method in giving them, « a way different from that of any other Congregation »¹⁹², St. Alphonsus claimed. Our examination of this method has shown that through two centuries and a half a very strong veneration for the founder has kept his own method alive. Differences have been very slight from one country to another, so that the similarity of practice has come close to uniformity, and that without the stimulus of Father Raus's *Formula*. Among the *Directories* the one which, perhaps, may be proposed as the most typical is that of the Roman province published in 1925¹⁹³. It was compiled by Father Augusto Manchi, who not only described the mission and its exercises but explained them from appropriate and ample quotations from the writings of St. Alphonsus. Even in provinces that differed from Roman practice nobody would have any difficulty in recognising the common inspiration.

This easily identifiable common inspiration continued to be the principal feature of Redemptorist missions until somewhere about the late nineteen fifties. Without the loss of the continuing dependence on the original impetus of the practice of the founder there has apparently intervened a new element. It is hardly anything that can be clearly identified. It is best described, rather, as a groping for ways that will work in modern conditions, the experimenting that has been mentioned. Perhaps the province of Ste-Anne-de-Beaupré has come close to the mark in describing the modern Redemptorist missionary as one who has « *un esprit constamment inquiet* »¹⁹⁴.

¹⁹² Maurice de Meulemeester C.S.S.R., *Origines*, I, 128-129.

¹⁹³ *Il missionario redentorista. Direttorio delle missioni predicate dai Padri Redentoristi della Provincia Romana*, Rome, 1925.

¹⁹⁴ *Directoire*, 7.

The first part of the book deals with the early history of the United States, from the time of the first European settlers to the end of the American Revolution. It covers the exploration of the continent, the establishment of the first colonies, and the struggle for independence from British rule.

The second part of the book deals with the early years of the United States, from the end of the American Revolution to the beginning of the Civil War. It covers the development of the federal government, the expansion of the territory, and the growing tensions between the North and the South.

The third part of the book deals with the Civil War and Reconstruction, from 1861 to 1877. It covers the causes of the war, the military and political events, and the challenges of rebuilding the South and the nation.

The fourth part of the book deals with the late 19th and early 20th centuries, from the end of Reconstruction to the beginning of World War I. It covers the industrial revolution, the rise of big business, and the emergence of the United States as a world power.

The fifth part of the book deals with the 20th century, from World War I to the present. It covers the two world wars, the Cold War, and the social and economic changes of the modern era.

The book is written in a clear and concise style, making it accessible to a wide range of readers. It provides a comprehensive overview of the history of the United States, from its beginnings to the present day.

COMMUNICATIONES

ANDRÉ SAMPERS

ERGAENZUNGEN ZUM STUDIUM DER TAETIGKEIT DER REDEMPTORISTEN IN OBERWALLISER PFARREIEN

Vor einiger Zeit wurden in dieser Zeitschrift zwei Artikel über die Tätigkeit der Redemptoristen bzw. Ex-Redemptoristen im Wallis im 19. Jahrhundert veröffentlicht¹. Voriges Jahr übergab uns Pater Josef Heinzmann, der sich ständig weiterbemüht, unbekanntes Material zu diesem Thema zu finden², eine Anzahl von Dokumenten, die er im bischöflichen Archiv von Sitten³ gefunden hat. Zur Ergänzung bzw. Berichtigung einiger der in den oben erwähnten Artikeln vorkommenden Notizen scheint es nützlich, hier ein Verzeichnis dieser Dokumente vorzulegen und die wichtigsten davon zu veröffentlichen. Im November 1982 und im Januar 1983 fügte Pater Heinzmann diesen Dokumenten noch einige anderswo gefundene hinzu. Diese werden wir am Schluss erwähnen, um sie für weitere Forschung leichter zugänglich zu machen⁴.

¹ A. SAMPERS, *Redemptoristen in Oberwalliser Pfarreien in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 216-234. Ein Artikel desselben über Pater Johann Schulski, ebd. 23 (1975) 221-238.

² Pater Heinzmann hat selber das Material teilweise benutzt in seinem Aufsatz *Als Polen im Oberwallis Pfarrer waren*, in *Walliser Jahrbuch. Kalender für das Jahr 1982*, SS. 45-55, besonders im 2. Teil: *175 Jahre Redemptoristen im Oberwallis*, SS. 48-54.

³ Im folgenden: BAS.

⁴ Pater Heinzmann hat sich freundlicherweise damit einverstanden erklärt, dass die von ihm gesammelten Dokumente und Notizen hier veröffentlicht werden. Wir möchten ihm an dieser Stelle nochmals herzlich danken.

Verzeichnis der sich auf Redemptoristen beziehenden Dokumente im BAS

Brief von Pater Josef Passerat¹ an den Bischof von Sitten, Mgr. Augustin Sulpiz Zen-Ruffinen²; Valsainte, 20. Mai 1818. — Original (von

¹ Biographischen Notizen über Josef Passerat (1772-1858), Generalvikar der transalpinischen Redemptoristen (1820-1848), in *Spic. hist.* 2 (1954) 265, Nr. 125 u. ebd. 28 (1980) 225-228.

² Biographische Notizen über Mgr. Zen-Ruffinen (1765-1829), Bischof von Sitten

Pater Alois Czech³ geschrieben) im BAS, T 377, Nr. 058.

Passerat erklärt dem Bischof, dass die Redemptoristen eine in der Kirche anerkannte Klostergemeinschaft sind und dass er als Oberer das Recht und sogar die Pflicht hat, den in der Diözese Sitten tätigen Patres angebrachte Weisungen zu geben.

Der Brief ist herausgegeben in den *Monumenta Hofbaueriana*⁴, Bd. XIV, Rom 1951, 224-226⁵. — Im BAS, T 322, Nr. 0223, befindet sich ein Brief von Pater Stanislas Bédon⁶ an den Bischof von Sitten, datiert Uvrier 18. Dezember 1924, worin er dafür dankt, dass ihm die Möglichkeit gegeben wurde, eine Abschrift des Briefes von Passerat zu machen. Mit seinem Brief schickte Bédon dem Bischof ein unvollständiges und nicht fehlerfreies Verzeichnis der Redemptoristen, die im 19. Jahrh. in den Pfarreien der Diözese Sitten gearbeitet haben.

Brief von Pater Alois Czech an den Bischof von Sitten, Mgr. Augustin Sulpiz Zen-Ruffinen, Fribourg, 27. (24?) März 1829. — Original im BAS, T 377, Nr. 016.

Czech schickt dem Bischof ein vom Nuntius⁷ empfangenes Rundschreiben⁸, womit um Spenden für die feierliche Heiligsprechung des sel. Alfons von Liguori gebeten wird⁹.

Aus einem Brief von Pater Czech an seinen vertrauten Freund Pater Johann Sabelli¹⁰ in Neapel vom 13. Mai 1829 geht hervor, dass Ostini ihm

(1817-1829), in RITZLER-P. SEFRIN, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, Bd. VII (1800-1846), Padova 1968, 340, u. in *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (im folgenden: HBLs) VII (1934) 644.

³ Biographische Notiz über Alois Czech (1790-1868), Rektor des Redemptoristenklosters La Valsainte (1820-1823), in *Spic. hist.* 2 (1954) 244, Nr. 32.

⁴ Im folgenden: MH.

⁵ Der veröffentlichte Text weicht an wenigen Stellen vom Original ab, ohne dass der Sinn geändert ist. Der einzige Unterschied von Bedeutung ist, dass Passerat im Original auf eine Bulle von Pius VI. verweist, während der veröffentlichte Text diese Bulle Pius VII. zuschreibt. Es handelt sich um ein an den Bischof von Brünn (Brno) gerichtetes Dokument, das wir nicht unter den veröffentlichten Akten von Pius VI. und Pius VII. gefunden haben; *Bullarii Romani continuatio...* tom. 5-10 (Pius VI), Romae 1842-1845, tom. 11-15 (Pius VII), Romae 1846-1853.

⁶ Stanislas Bédon (1867-1948) war Rektor und Juvenatsdirektor in Uvrier (Saint Léonard, etwa 4,5 km östlich von Sitten) von 1919 bis 1933.

⁷ Vom Januar 1827 bis Juli 1829 war Mgr. Pietro Ostini (1775-1849) Nuntius in der Schweiz. G. DE MARCHI, *Le nunziature apostoliche dal 1800 al 1956*, Roma 1957, 244. Die Angabe von Ostinis Nuntiatur in HBLs IV (1927) 122 ist nicht genau.

⁸ Es handelt sich hier um das von Kardinal Carlo Odescalchi, 'Ponens seu Relator' im Heiligsprechungsprozess von Alfons von Liguori, unterschriebene Rundschreiben. Mehrere Exemplare dieses gedruckten Dokuments im AGR XXIX 4a. Vgl. darüber *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 19.

⁹ Eine Antwort des Bischofs auf Czechs Schreiben ist uns nicht bekannt. Aus dem uns zur Verfügung stehenden Material ist nicht ersichtlich, ob das Ordinariat in Sitten eine Spende geschickt hat.

¹⁰ Johann Sabelli (1780-1863) war 1807-1809 im Oberwallis tätig und 1819-1822 im Kanton Freiburg. Dann ging er nach Italien, wo er etwa dreissig Jahre als

drei Exemplare des Rundschreibens von Kard. Odescalchi geschickt hatte: « Vor einiger Zeit erhielt ich drey Kopien eines gedruckten Cirkularschreibens, die mir Sr. Exzellenz der Nuntius von Luzern schickte, um sie dem Bischofe von hier¹¹ und jenem von Sitten zu übermachen. Es war eine Aufforderung von Seiten des Kardinals Odescalchi an die Bischöfe, um etwas zur Canonization unseres seligen Vaters beizutragen. Der hiesige versprach mir, das seinige zu thun, und wirklich hat er sich auch bemüht, einige Frauenklöster zu einer milden Beisteuer für diesen heiligen Zweck aufzumuntern. Was der von Sitten thun wird, weiss ich nicht. Ich habe ihm das Cirkular mit einem schmeichelhaften Briefe geschickt, aber keine Antwort erhalten »¹².

Zwei Briefe von Pater Anton Egle¹³, Pfarrverweser in Obergesteln, an Domherrn Franz von Riedmatten¹⁴ in Sitten; Obergesteln, 11. März 1811 u. 11. April 1812. — Originale im BAS, T 014, Nr. 004 u. 005.

Der erste Brief enthält eine Aufzählung der gestifteten Messen und der jährlichen Seelenmessen der Pfarrei. Am Anfang des zweiten Briefes wird eine Ergänzung dazu gegeben; der 2. Teil wird weiter unten veröffentlicht (Dok. 1).

Bericht des Pfarrverwesers Johann Forster¹⁵ über die Pfarrei Obergesteln an das Ordinariat in Sitten; Obergesteln, 1821. — Original im BAS, T 014, Nr. 006.

Sekretär des Generalobern der Redemptoristen amtierte. Biographische Notizen in *Spic. hist.* 2 (1954) 297-299 u. ebd. 24 (1976) 230-231.

¹¹ Mgr. Pierre Tobie Yenni (1774-1845), am 10. Juli 1815 zum Bischof von Lausanne und Genf ernannt, residierte aber in Freiburg. RITZLER-SEFRIN, a. a. O. 233.

¹² Original des Briefes und eine von Sabelli für den Generalobern angefertigte italienische Uebersetzung im AGR X A 33.

¹³ Biographische Notiz über Anton Egle (1781-1844), Pfarrverweser in Obergesteln (1810-1813), in *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 227-228. — Ein längerer Nachruf, « quia bene meretur, ut amplior ejus memoria posteris tradatur », in der Chronik des Redemptoristenklosters in Freiburg, SS. 149-150. Notizen über die Freiburger Chronik in *Spic. hist.* 23 (1975) 236, Anm. 9 und 29 (1981) 394, Anm. 37.

¹⁴ E. JOSSEN, *Die Kirche im Oberwallis am Vorabend des Franzoseneinfalls, 1790-1798*, [Brig 1973], 50-51 nennt einen Titulardomherrn namens Franz Bonifaz von Riedmatten, der 1789-1836 als Hofkaplan zum « Bischöflichen Hofstaat » gehörte.

¹⁵ Biographische Notiz über Johann Forster, Pfarrverweser in Obergesteln (1813-1823), in *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 228. Vgl. dazu die von Forster selber gegebenen Personaldaten am Anfang des weiter unten auszugsweise veröffentlichten Dok. 2.

Wie aus einem Brief von Pater Czech an Pater Johann Sabelli in Neapel vom 13. Mai 1829 hervorgeht, scheint Forster damals daran gedacht zu haben, schliesslich doch wieder in die Kongregation zurückzukehren: « Der P. Forster hat mir neulich einen jammervollen Brief geschrieben, worin er wieder um Aufnahme bittet. Da er sich aber durch so viele Jahre zu kommen geweigert, wo ich nicht aufgehört, ihn selbst mit Bedrohung zu rufen, so kann er nun auch seine letzten Jahre dort zubringen, wo er seine Kräfte verbraucht hat. Ich will ihn nicht ». Original des Briefes und eine von Sabelli für den Generalobern angefertigte italienische Uebersetzung im AGR X A 33.

Der Bericht ist offenbar die Antwort auf einen vom Ordinariat vorgelegten Fragebogen. Auszüge werden weiter unten veröffentlicht (Dok. 2). Der Bericht ist für uns besonders von Bedeutung wegen der am Anfang gegebenen Personaldaten Forsters und zum Vergleich mit Schulskis Bericht über die Pfarrei Randa, der nachstehend veröffentlicht wird (Dok. 3).

Bericht des Pfarrers Johann Schulski¹⁶ über die Pfarrei Randa an das Ordinariat in Sitten; nicht datiert. — Original im BAS, T 053, Nr. 007.

Der Bericht ist offensichtlich nach demselben Fragebogen bearbeitet wie der vorhergehende über die Pfarrei Obergesteln (Dok. 2). Allerdings geht aus dem Vergleich der beiden Dokumente hervor, dass Schulski einige Fragen nicht beantwortet und auch mehrmals verschiedene Fragen in einer Antwort zusammengefasst hat.

Wir bringen diesen Bericht vollständig (Dok. 3), da Schulski eine besondere Stellung unter den im Wallis tätigen Redemptoristen einnimmt. Eigens zu beachten sind die am Anfang gegebenen Personaldaten, womit nun wohl endgültig das Rätsel seines Geburtstags (6. oder 9. Januar) gelöst ist.

‘Versöhnungsvertrag’ zwischen Johann Schulski und Johann Peter Imboden¹⁷, d.h. zwischen Pfarrer und Rektor in St. Niklaus, aufgesetzt von Josef Anton Bürcher¹⁸, Dekan in Visp; 1831. — Original im BAS, T 063, Nr. 010.

Das Dokument wird weiter unten veröffentlicht (Dok. 4).

Drei Dokumente, unterschrieben von Franz Imboden¹⁹ und anderen, mit Klagen über Pfarrer Schulski beim Ordinariat in Sitten eingereicht; Visp, 18. Dezember 1833, St. Niklaus, Januar 1831 u. 5. Juni 1835. — Originale im BAS, T 063, Nr. 007, Nr. 016, Nr. 019.

Brief von Pfarrer Johann Schulski an Generalvikar Hildebrand Loretan²⁰ in Sitten; St. Niklaus, 28. Juli 1836. — Original im BAS, T 063, Nr. 022.

Schulski sagt, dass sein Widersacher Franz Imboden auf unbestimmte

¹⁶ Biographische Notiz über Johann Schulski (1785-1848), Pfarrer in Randa (1818-1824), in *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 231. Vgl. dazu die von Schulski selber gegebenen Personaldaten am Anfang des weiter unten veröffentlichten Dok. 3.

¹⁷ Johann Peter Imboden war gebürtig von St. Niklaus. Dort war er zuerst Rektor der Familienfründe von Schallen 1795-1798, dann Kaplan 1798-1800 und Pfarrer 1800-1828, dann wieder Rektor der Familienfründe von Schallen 1828-1831 (bis zu seinem Tod). K. BURGNER, *Pfarrei und Kirche von St. Niklaus*, St. Niklaus (selbstverlag des Verfassers) o. J. [1976], 64, 67, 70.

¹⁸ Biographische Notiz über Josef Anton Bürcher (1794-1848), Pfarrer und Dekan in Visp (1826-1839), in *HBLs II* (1924) 402.

¹⁹ Es war uns nicht möglich, diese Person näher zu identifizieren.

²⁰ Biographische Notizen über Hildebrand Andreas Loretan (1756-1837), Pfarrer und Dekan in Leuk (1805-1817), residierender Domherr in Sitten seit 1817, Generalvikar 1830, in *HBLs IV* (1927) 712 u. *JOSSEN*, a. a. O. 56.

Zeit fortgegangen ist. Dann bittet er gegen das von seinem Kaplan²¹ gegebene Aergernis einzuschreiten.

Fünf Briefe von Anselm Brenzinger²², Pfarrer in Turtmann, datiert Turtmann 25. April 1834, 20. Juni 1834, 4. Oktober 1834, 15. Oktober 1834, 1. Februar 1841. Die vier Briefe von 1834 sind adressiert an Generalvikar Hildebrand Loretan in Sitten, der Brief von 1841 an Hofkaplan Johann Bapt. Henzen²³ in Sitten. — Die Dokumente im BAS, T 093, Nr. 0011, 0012, 0014, 0016 (die Briefe von 1834), T 105, Nr. 010 (der Brief von 1841). Der Brief vom 4. Oktober 1834 ist eine Abschrift von unbekannter Hand, die anderen sind Originale.

Die Briefe handeln von Angelegenheiten der Pfarrei, u.a. von Differenzen zwischen den Einwohnern des Kirchdorfes Ergisch, damals kirchlich zu Turtmann gehörig²⁴, und dem dort tätigen Rektor Carlen. Im Brief an Henzen wird gebeten, den in Naters tätigen hochw. Herrn Tritsch zum Kaplan in Turtmann zu bestellen, « da er nicht nur mir sondern unsrer ganzen Gemeinde sehr gefällig wäre, und als ein junger Mann für die Schulen sehr dienlich seyn dürfte ».

²¹ In den Jahren 1833-1837 war Josef Anton Manz Kaplan in St. Niklaus. BURGNER, a. a. O. 68.

²² Biographische Notiz über Anselm Brenzinger (1790-1860), Pfarrer in Turtmann (1824-1860), in *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 227.

²³ Die Adresse des Briefes lautet: « Sr. Hochwürden Hochgelehrten Herrn Hr. Henzen, bischöfl. Sekretär und Hofkaplan in Sitten ». HBLS IV (1927) 186 erwähnt Henzen (1815-1881) als bischöflichen Kanzler 1840-1843.

²⁴ « Seit 1663 kirchlich mit Turtmann verbunden, wurde Ergisch 1798 zum Rektorat, 1860 zur Pfarrei erhoben und 1861 gänzlich von Turtmann getrennt ». HBLS III (1926) 55.

DOKUMENTE

1. - Letzte Absätze eines Briefes vom Redemptoristenpater Anton Egle an Domherrn Franz von Riedmatten in Sitten; Obergesteln, 11. April 1812. — Original im BAS, T 014, Nr. 005.

Hochwürdigster Hochgelehrtester insonders Hochzuverehrender Herr!

[...]

Ihro Gnaden dem Hochwürdigsten Bischoff¹ ist es besser bekannt als mir, in welcher gefährlicher Lage wir Redemptoristen sind, dass wir nemlich täglich neuen Bericht von Paris zu erwarten haben, der uns den künftigen Aufenthalt im französischen Reich verbieten möchte².

Auch wünschte ich innigst, dass die Pfarrey Obergesteln nicht so lang ohne Seelsorger seyn möchte, und dieses letztere könnte gar leicht geschehen, wenn mehrere Pfrunden³ sollten vakant werden, weil die Gegend sehr wild und rauh ist, dass nicht jeder Geistliche Lust hat, die Pfrund von Obergesteln anzunehmen. Weil die Pfrund nicht gerade eine von den besten ist, und fast von Jahr zu Jahr (besonders gegenwärtig, da das Dorf wegen den Bässen⁴ ziemlich mit fremdem Volk überhäuft ist) die Lebens-Mittel schwerer zu bekommen sind, auch die Leute immer weniger imstande sind, etwas freywillig beyzusteuern, auf welches Beysteuern man vor Zeiten viel rechnen konnte. Weil diese kleine Seelsorg⁵ nicht gar gut zu regieren ist, da sich wegen den Bässen allerhand Fremde zuziehen, die ihre Sittenlosigkeit ziemlich einpflanzen — und dieses ist nur gar zu gut bekannt —, darum könnte es den Obergestlern vieles zu thun geben, bis sie wieder

¹ Biographische Notizen über Mgr. Joseph François Xavier de Preux (1740-1817), Bischof von Sitten (1807-1817), in RITZLER-SEFRIN, a. a. O. VII 339-340 u. in HBLV V (1929) 486.

² Im November 1810 war die Republik Wallis von Napoleon annektiert und als 'Département du Simplon' dem französischen Reich einverleibt worden. Die Niederlassung in Visp wurde 1811 aufgehoben. Der Bischof von Sitten bekam aber die Genehmigung, einige Redemptoristen für die Seelsorge zu behalten, allerdings unter dem ausdrücklichen Vorbehalt, dass sie sich nicht zu einer Gemeinschaft vereinigen durften. Vgl. *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 218-220.

³ Pfrund, veraltet für Pfründe.

⁴ Basse: Eber, Wildschwein.

⁵ Forster sagt in seinem Bericht von 1821, dass die Pfarrei im ganzen 209 Seelen zählte. Siehe das nachstehende Dokument 2 § III, am Anfang.

einen Seelsorger hätten, wenn nicht Vorsorge beyzeiten würde getroffen werden. Derothalben möchte ich Ihro Gnaden den Hochwürdigsten Bischoff mit schuldigster Ergebung und demütigst gebeten haben, dass die Pfarrey Obergesteln bald mit einem Landesgeistlichen könnte besetzt werden, wenn es je möglich wäre, bevor bessere Pfrunden Geistliche notwendig hätten.

Sollte es aber der Höchste auch leiten (denn die Herzen der Könige sind in seiner Hand⁶), dass wir in diesem Departement länger zu verbleiben hätten, so wünschte ich doch von der Seelsorg entlediget zu werden, weil es meiner Gesundheit sehr nachtheilig ist. Im verflossenen Jahr hat mich der Herr schon zum fünften mahl heimgesucht mit Glieder-Krankheit und dem Brust-Stich, und die zwei Uibel setzen mir bey rauher Witterung (die im obern Goms selten durch gute Tage unterbrochen wird) sehr stark zu. Auch kann man im Goms nichts bekommen als wohl gesalzenes ziemlich starkes Fleisch, das mir die kränklichen Umstände verschlimmert und die schon schwachen Kräfte^{6a} noch mehr schwächet⁷. Wegen angeführten Ursachen also bitte ich Ihro Gnaden den Hochwürdigsten Bischoff demütigst, dass ich könnte von einem Welt-Priester bald abgelöst werden⁸.

Mit schuldigster Ehrfurcht und kindlichem Vertrauen empfehle ich mich in Ihr Hochw. Gnaden unverdiente Gewogenheit und habe die Ehre ergebenst zu verharren

Ihro Hochwürden Gnaden bereitwilligster Diener
P. Anton Egle Congr. SS. Redem[p]t.

Obergesteln, den 11. Apr. 1812

⁶ Der Text ist wohl mit einer Anpassung dem Buch der Sprüche (*Liber Proverbiorum*) XXI 1 entnommen, wo es heisst: « Sicut divisiones aquarum, ita cor regis in manu Domini: quocumque voluerit, inclinabit illud ».

^{6a} Im Original: Kräften.

⁷ Egle scheint immer kränklich gewesen zu sein. Am Anfang des Nachrufes in der Freiburger Chronik (siehe oben, Anm. 13) heisst es: « Ad haec [labores, pericula cet.] accessit infirma valetudo, ita ut per plures annos quotannis fuerit in lectulo doloris graviter detentus ».

⁸ Im nächsten Jahr, 1813, wurde Egle von Johann Forster abgelöst. Er blieb zuerst noch irgendwo im Oberwallis tätig, vom April 1815 an war er im Freiburgischen tätig. *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 228.

2. - Auszüge aus einem eigenhändigen Bericht des Pfarrverwesers Johann Forster über die Pfarrei Obergesteln an das Ordinariat in Sitten; Obergesteln, 1821. — Original im BAS, T 014, Nr. 006.

Obergesteln 1821

Ego subsignatus administrator Castellionis Superioris (Obergesteln) attestor, me, quo exactius et fidelius fieri potuit, erexisse statum sequentem ecclesiae, beneficii et parochiae dicti loci.

Sum natus Winethensi, Bavaria, 1770, 15 Januarii, ordinatus in presbyterum 1797, 18 Januarii⁹, provisos de hoc beneficio curato 1813, 17 Junii. Hoc beneficium est liberae collationis. Obtinui illud a R.mo Episcopo de Preux¹⁰, qui est ipsius collator et patronus tenore actus separationis erecti an. 1493¹¹, die 12^a Junii, auctoritate R.mi D.ni Jodoci de Silinon¹².

§ I [De Ecclesia]

Est filialis ecclesiae Monasterii erecta sub invocatione S. Martini episcopi, qui ejusdem est patronus, cujus dies festus celebratur 11^a Novembris. Fuit consecrata a R.mo Adriano de Riedmatten¹³ an. 1693 festo S. Annae. Anniversarium celebratur prima Dominica post idem festum S. Annae. [...]

Altare majus fixum et consecratum, integrum et proportionatum. [...]

Tabernacula. [...] 4^o — Oleum infirmorum in tabernaculo aservatur. 5^o — Vasa SS. Oleorum sunt ex argento.

Structura. [...] 3^o — Tecta frequenter visitantur.

⁹ Die hier von Forster selber angegebenen Daten seiner Geburt und Priesterweihe weichen von den in *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 228 erwähnten ab; diese sind den MH entnommen.

¹⁰ Mgr. Joseph de Preux. Siehe oben, Anm. 1 zu Dok. 1.

¹¹ « Kirchlich gehörte Obergesteln zu Münster, hatte bereits um 1400 seine Dorfkapelle St. Martin. 1493 wurde die Seelsorgestelle (Rektorat) durch den Bischof errichtet. 1738 wurde Obergesteln mit Oberwald eine selbständige Pfarrei ». HBLs V (1929) 321.

¹² Biographische Notizen über Mgr. Jost von Silenen (um 1435-1497/8), Bischof von Sitten (1482-1496), in C. EUBEL, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, Bd. II² (1431-1503), Münster 1914, 233; HBLs VI (1931) 368 u. 388.

¹³ Biographische Notizen über Mgr. Adrian von Riedmatten (1641-1701), Bischof von Sitten (1673-1701), in RITZLER-SEFRIN, a. a. O., Bd. V (1667-1730), Padova 1952, 349; HBLs I (1921) 113 u. VI (1931) 388.

Sacristia. [...] Habet tabulam Missarum fundatarum in loco patente appensam. [...]

Campanile. Campanae Episcopo benedicendae offerri solent. [...]

Baptisterium. [...] 8° — Susceptores¹⁴ sunt vere catholici et probatae vitae.

Tribunal sacrum. [...] 4° — Pia ubique imago adest; ad 5 ita.

Suppellex sacra. Ad omnia affirmative, uti mihi videtur.

Reliquiae sacrae non adsunt nisi in altaribus, quae etiam in processionibus — praesertim festo Corporis Christi — circumferuntur. [...]

Coemiterium. [...]

Fabrica [ecclesiae] fundum habet, qui consistit 1030 *Walliser Gulden*¹⁵. Ex redditibus autem annuis, id est ex censibus, mantentur lampas die noctuque lucens et cerei. Redditus annui ascendunt ad *Gulden* 51½. [...]

Officium divinum. [...]

Confraternitates tres: Conf. SS. Rosarii et Scapularis, erectae sub R.mo p.m. Josepho Antonio Blatter¹⁶, sine fundo; Conf. bonae mortis [...], sine fundo.

Indulgentiarum adest unum Breve quod exspiravit, sed flagitavi renovationem.

Altaria collateralia [sunt] duo. Unum B. V. Mariae de Rosario est fixum et consecratum, privilegiatum cujus privilegium an. 1815 die 5^a Augusti confirmatum fuit pro alio septennio [...]. Alterum altare S. Mariae Magdalenae est fixum et consecratum. [...] Sacellum ecclesiae annexum, id est ossuarium¹⁷, habet portatile, sine fundo. [...]

Registra. [...]

¹⁴ Susceptores, qui suscipiunt infantem ex fonte baptismali: die Paten. A. SLEUMER, *Kirchenlateinisches Wörterbuch*, Limburg a. d. Lahn 1926, 761.

¹⁵ Das Wallis hatte eigene Münzen, bis das eidgenössische Münzgesetz von 1850 diese abschaffte. HBLs VII (1934) 403.

¹⁶ Biographische Notizen über Mgr. Josef Anton Blatter (1745-1807), Bischof von Sitten (1790-1807), in RITZLER-SEFRIN, a. a. O., Bd. VI (1730-1799), Padova 1958, 372; HBLs II (1924) 268 u. VI (1931) 388; JOSSEN, a. a. O. 23-40.

¹⁷ Ossuarium (ossarium): Beinhaus. SLEUMER, a. a. O. 573.

§ II [De Beneficio]

Domus curae. [...]

Fundalia bona^{17a} [enumerantur]. Alle obengesagte Fundalia Bona, das ist alle zusammen, sind von unsrem Vorsteher geschätzt worden zu 210 Walliser Gulden, wenn sie sollten verkauft werden. 6° — Capitalis summa ad beneficium spectans consistit in 4220 *Walliser Gulden*. Summa dicta est incorporata fundo Fabricae. Manutentionem habent civitates Obergesteln, Oberwald et Unterwasser. Curatus Castellionis Superioris percipit annualiter in fixo a procuratore ecclesiae summam 211 *Walliser Gulden*. Ex his tradere tenetur R.D. Parocho Monasterii *Pfund* 3. Capitalis summa est penes rusticos¹⁸.

Missae fundatae [enumerantur].

Stolae iura. 1° — Casualia¹⁹ per annum circiter 20 *Batzen*²⁰ vom Opfer an Seelentagen²¹. 2° — Ex mortuario²² et trigesimo personae communicantis propriae parochiae curatus percipit *Batzen* 27. 3° — Pro sepultura non communicantis *Batzen* 5. 4° — A qualibet persona communicante curae [Silvae] Superioris *Batzen* 13½. 5° — Pro collatione baptismi, loco merendae alias consuetae, dantur nunc *Batzen* 3. [...]

Onera rectoris [...]

§ III De Parochia

Parochia. 1° — [Habet] focos²³ 52, communicantes 147, universim animas 209. 2° — Agricultura [est primaria parochianorum occupatio]. 3° — Alii quidem saepius, alii raro, alii rarissime [ad sacramenta accedunt]. 4° — [Vitia principaliora hic sunt]: contu-

^{17a} Fundalia bona (Spätlatein; franz. *biens-fonds*): Grundstücke, Immobilien. DU CANGE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*. Ed. nova, aucta a L. Favre, Bd. III, Niort 1884, 628.

¹⁸ Bei den Landleuten, Dorfbewohnern.

¹⁹ Casualia (Casualien): Stolgebühren, Stolrechte (stolae iura). E. HABERKERN-J. WALLACH, *Hilfswörterbuch für Historiker*³, München 1972, I 99, II 600.

²⁰ Batzen (Bazen): Scheidemünze in Süddeutschland und in der Schweiz, hier durch das eidgenössische Münzgesetz von 1850 dem Umlauf entzogen.

²¹ Seelentag: Sterbetag, auch Tag des Begräbnisses.

²² Mortuarium: Verpflichtete (bisweilen auch freie) Abgabe an den Pfarrer bei Todesfällen. HABERKERN-WALLACH, a. a. O. II 564; DU CANGE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*. Ed. nova, aucta a L. Favre, Bd. IV, Niort 1884, 528. Mortuarium: (feierliches) Begräbnis; ebd.

²³ Focus: Herd, Familie.

macia aliquorum contra praecepta sacerdotis, inobedientia erga parentes, potus immoderatio aliquorum in domo tabernae et lites inde exortae et lasciviae in eadem domo. Medium maxime efficax videtur correctio et confusio publica. [...]

Scholae fundus non est, spes erigendi est parva. Ego administrator octo per annos scholam habui²⁴, sed curato obligatio non est²⁵. Habui [scholam] ab Adventu ad Pascha usque.

Obstetrices. Una, Maria Josepha Jost, artem didicisse fertur expensis propriis apud Doctorem Bürker [...], quae modum baptizandi a R.do D.no Michaeli Tenisch²⁶, SS. Theologiae Doctore, [didicit] et a me saepius fuit examinata; est honestae vitae.

Obligationes erga ecclesiam matricem [enumerantur].

In fidem

Joannes Evangelista Forster²⁷
Administrator parochiae
Castellione Superiore (Obergesteln)

²⁴ Forster sagt im Jahre 1821, dass er acht Jahre hindurch Schule gehalten hat, und zwar von Advent bis Ostern. Dies bedeutet, dass er sofort nach seinem Amtsantritt 1813 damit angefangen hat.

²⁵ Die Schulpflicht wurde im Wallis erstmals 1828 gesetzlich festgelegt. Der Schulbesuch wurde für die 7-14jährigen während der fünf Wintermonate vorgeschrieben. HBS VII (1934) 397.

²⁶ Johann Michael Tenisch (Thenisch) von Binn gebürtig (1764-1824), wirkte im 1. Dezennium des 19. Jahrhunderts eine Zeitlang in Obergesteln, wo Pater Anton Egle ihm nachfolgte; 1809-1824 war er Pfarrer in Turtmann (1811-1814 gefangen in Frankreich), wo Anselm Brenzinger ihm als Pfarrer nachfolgte. Biographische Notizen in JOSSEN, a. a. O. 54-56 u. HBS VI (1931) 721. Siehe auch die Notiz in *Spic. hist.* 23 (1975) 235, Anm. 7.

²⁷ Bemerkenswert ist, dass Forster in der Unterschrift nicht erwähnt, er sei Redemptorist. Vermutlich betrachtete er sich nicht mehr als Mitglied der Kongregation.

3. - Eigenhändiger Bericht des Pfarrers Johann Schulski über die Pfarrei Randa an den Fürstbischof²⁸ von Sitten; nicht datiert, aber am Anfang der 1820er Jahre verfasst²⁹. — Original im BAS, T 053, Nr. 007.

Reverendissime ac Celsissime Princeps

Hisce tandem Celsitudini Tuae Reverendissimae transmitto relationem exquisitam³⁰, simulque humillime veniam precor quod illam tam diu distulerim; vix enim ante mihi possibile fuisset, cum hucusque omnia fuerint in perturbatione³¹.

Indig[nus] Servus
Joan. Schulski

Ego subsignatus parochus loci Randae attestor, me, quo exactius et fidelius fieri potuit, erexisse statum sequentem ecclesiae, beneficii et parochiae dicti loci Randa.

Sum natus in loco dicto Gänsewo die 6 Januarii an. 1785³², ordinatus in presbyteratum die 3 Aprilis an. 1808, provisus de hoc beneficio curato die 11 Novembris an. 1818. Hoc beneficium est electivum³³.

²⁸ Seit Kard. Matthäus Schin(n)er (um 1465-1522; Bischof von Sitten 1499, Kardinal 1511) führten die Bischöfe von Sitten den Titel eines Fürsten des hl. Römischen Reiches (*Sacri Romani Imperii Princeps*). Mgr. Pierre Joseph de Preux (1795-1875; Bischof von Sitten 1844-1875) war der letzte, der den Titel führte.

²⁹ Im Begleitschreiben an den Bischof entschuldigt Schulski sich, so lange (*tam diu*) mit seinem Bericht gewartet zu haben. Am Anfang des Berichtes sagt er, er sei am 11. November 1818 mit der Pfarrei betraut worden. Andererseits wissen wir, dass er 1824 für kurze Zeit Pfarrer in Albinen war und Ende dieses Jahres als Pfarrer in Grächen tätig war. So wird der Bericht wohl am Anfang der 1820er Jahre verfasst worden sein, wie der vorhergehende Bericht des Pfarrverwesers Johann Forster, der 1821 datiert ist.

³⁰ Exquiro im Sinne von 'anfordern' (ungewöhnlich).

³¹ Es ist nicht ersichtlich, wie dieses Durcheinander zu verstehen ist.

³² Aus den Dokumenten, die uns bis vor kurzem zur Verfügung standen, war das Geburtsdatum Schulskis nicht mit Sicherheit zu ermitteln: 6. oder 9. Januar (*Spic. hist.* 23 [1975] 222, Anm. 7; 232). Der 9. Januar schien uns schliesslich wahrscheinlicher (ebd. 24 [1976] 231). Mit dieser von Schulski selber gemachten Aussage ist sein Geburtstag nun wohl endgültig auf den 6. Januar festgelegt.

³³ Die Gemeinde hatte also das Recht, den Pfarrer zu wählen; dem Bischof stand nur die Bestätigung zu.

De Ecclesia

Est parochialis, non amplius filialis; est separata a S. Nicolao³⁴. Est erecta sub invocatione S. Sebastiani qui ejusdem patronus est. Ejus festum celebratur die 20 Januarij. Patronus secundarius nullus est. Anniversarium vero dedicationis ecclesiae incidit in Domi[nicam] 4am Julij.

1° — Altare majus est fixum et consecratum, 2° — est integrum et proportionatum. 3° — Sacrarium³⁵ est prope baptisterium. 4° — Sepulchrum pro sacerdotibus est in medio chori. 5° — Omnes imagines sunt integrae.

Tabernaculum. 1° — Est bene clausum et ornatum. 2° — Lampas coram Venerabile semper lucens existit. 3° — Sumptus pro perpetuo hoc lumine communitas administrat, et pro cereis ecclesia. 4° — Oleum infirmorum in sacristia conservatur. [5°] — Vasa SS. Oleorum sunt ex argento.

De structura. 1° — Muri, fenestrae et tecta in bono sunt ordine. 2° — Ecclesia sexies in anno mundatur.

Sacristia. 1° — Est in loco profundo et humido. 2° — Tabella Missarum perpetuarum appensa in sacristia asservatur. 4° — Arca est nulla pro pecuniis, quia desunt pecuniae. 6° — Cista pro paramentis est incommoda.

Campanile. 1° — Duae [campanae] sunt benedictae et una adhuc benedicenda. 2° — Saepius quidem visitatae et non reparatae. 3° — Horologium est corruptum et non reparatum.

Baptisterium et circa baptismum observantur omnia secundum praeceptum.

Tribunal sacrum [= confessionale]. 1° — Est unum in ecclesia. 2° — Habet crates ligneas. 3° — Tempore hiemali excipiuntur confessiones in cubiculo. 4° — Adest pia imago. 5° — Tabella affixa est casuum sedi episcopali reservatorum.

Suppellex sacra. Pro pauperula ecclesia est satis in numero et ordine bono.

³⁴ Am 5. Mai 1730 gründete Bischof Franz Josef Supersaxo ein Rektorat in Randa. Der Rektor war aber Vikar des Pfarrers von St. Niklaus, und es wurde zunächst keine neue Pfarre begründet. Diese Abhängigkeit fand aber offenbar bald ein Ende, denn schon der dritte Rektor, Johann Peter Anton Supersaxo (1713-1786; in Randa 1738-1750), nannte sich Pfarrer (*curatus*). B. TRUFFER, *250 Jahre Pfarrei Sankt Sebastian, Randa*, Randa 1981, 16 ff.

³⁵ « Eine Senkgrube hinter dem Altare oder in der Taufkapelle, welche dazu dient, das Wasser von gottesdienstlichen Waschungen, die Reste oder die Asche gebrauchter geweihter Sachen aufzunehmen ». SLEUMER, a. a. O. 686.

Reliquiae sacrae. Habemus tantum unicam pro processionibus. Coemiterium. 1° — Est muro cinctum et portis clausum, 3° — et in eo Crux elevata. 4° — Est benedictum excepta parte pro non baptizatis et est separatum pro parvulis. 5° — Sepulchra mihi videntur satis profunda. 6° — Ossa in ossuario conservantur. 7° — Pecora ibi non pascuntur neque ibi quidquam seritur aut plantatur. 9° — Proclamationes fiunt per Salterum in ecclesia³⁶.

Fabrica ecclesiae. 1° — Habet in capitalibus Libras Maurienses³⁷ 1000. 2° — Manutentionem habet communitas. 3° — Festo S. Andreae³⁸ procuratores ecclesiae coram parcho et praepositis communitatis de annuis redditibus rationem reddere solent. 4° — Inventarium bonorum fabricae adest. 5° — Procurator summus ecclesiae est parchus. 6° — Procuratores suo munere funguntur pro posse et velle.

Divina officia peraguntur secundum ritum romanum.

Indulgentiae. 1° — Brevia et concessionis authenticae adsunt. 2° — Publicatae sunt cum facultate Ordinarii.

Confraternitates. 1° — Tres existunt scilicet SS.mi Sacramenti, SS. Rosarii et SS. Scapularis. 2° — A quo tempore, quomodo et qua auctoritate erectae fuerint ignoro. 3° — Statuta earum satis negligenter - eheu! - observantur. 4° — Confraternitates sustentat ecclesia; nomina et cognomina fratrum et sororum registrantur.

Altaria collateralia. 1° — Sunt duo, unum sub vocabulo Sanctae Crucis, alterum B. M. V. 2° — Capella est unica; redditus hujus capellae consistunt in capitalibus.

Registra. Libri omnes, tam baptizatorum, quam conjugatorum et defunctorum in bono sunt ordine.

De Beneficio

1° — Domus parochialis quatuor complectitur conclavia. 2° — Muri, tectum, parietes, januae, fenestrae de novo bene reparata sunt. 3° — Domus curae satis ampla est.

Bona fundalia. 1° — Hortos habet quatuor, unum prope ecclesiam circiter 20 The.³⁹, unum ad antiquam capellam habet circiter 20

³⁶ Dieser Satz scheint hier nicht am richtigen Ort zu stehen.

³⁷ Libra Mauriensis (Mauriciensis): Mörsiger oder Sankt Moritzer Pfund. Bis 1850 im Wallis gängiges Geldmass. In St. Maurice war früher eine Münzstätte.

³⁸ Am Andreastag, dem 30. November, wurden früher in ländlichen Gegenden öfters die jährlichen Abrechnungen gemacht.

³⁹ The. ist die geläufige Abkürzung für Thesia (franz. *toise*): Klafter. Ursprünglich als Längenmass, dann auch als Oberflächenmass gebräuchlich.

The., unum in loco dicto *zum Stein* circiter 25 The., unum *zum Bild* circiter 12 The. [2°] — In agris variis locis sitis habet circiter 320 The. [3°] — Agri, horti, prata simul sumpta reddunt communiter libras 55. Accrevit fundationi petia⁴⁰ prati 450 The.

Decimae sunt nullae. Novalia⁴¹ nulla. Primitiae et spendae⁴² nullae. Feuda nulla.

1° — Capitalis summa ad beneficium spectans est 3600 Lib. Mau. 2° — Solide elocata est; hujus manutentio est penes communitatem.

Missae fundatae. Adest codex illarum legitime et in debita forma erectus, omnia requisita complectens.

Stolae jura reddunt circiter per annum 10 Lib. Mau.

Onera rectoris praeter curam animarum nulla sunt.

De Parochia

1° — Habet focos 30, animas 130, communicantes 90. 2° — Potissima occupatio parochianorum est pecuaria et commercium ovium. 3° — Sacramenta Poenitentiae et Eucharistiae satis negligenter frequentantur. 4° — In summo gradu hic loci dominatur tepiditas in spiritualibus. 5° — Libros vix precario⁴³ sibi procurant.

Scholae ex obligatione sunt nullae, nisi parochus ipse hoc onus in se suscipere velit.

Obstetrices sunt nullae aut, ut melius dicam, fere omnes vetulae.

⁴⁰ Petia oder pecia (Spätlatein; franz. *pièce*): Stück.

⁴¹ Novale: Neubruch, neugereutetes bzw. neukultiviertes Land. HABERKERN-WALLACH, a. a. O. II 446.

⁴² Spenda (Spätlatein): Gabe, auch Pflichtabgabe.

⁴³ Precario: bittweise, wenn darum gebeten, erbettelt.

4. - « Versöhnungsvertrag » zwischen den hochw. Herren Johann Schulski und Johann Peter Imboden, resp. Pfarrer und Rektor in St. Niklaus, geschrieben und mitunterzeichnet von Josef Anton Bürcher, Pfarrer und Dekan in Visp; 1831. — Original⁴⁴ im BAS, T 063, Nr. 010.

Wir, Jos. Ant. Bürcher, Supervigilant⁴⁵ des Zehnden^{45a} Fischbachs, am heutigen Tag, dem 6. Christmonats⁴⁶ im Jahr 1830⁴⁷, sich in St. Niklaus befindend, erfuhren, dass gegenseitige Beleidigungen zwischen den wohlhehrwürdigen H. H. Pfarrer Schulski und Rektor Peter Imboden und ihren respektiven Hausgenossen⁴⁸ sich erhoben haben. Um diese Unbeliebigkeiten zu beseitigen, schlug ich beyden Partheien einen Vergleich des Friedens vor, wovon dann der nachstehende zwischen ihnen verfasste Ausgleichungsschluss entstand.

Zur Zeugnuss Bürcher, Supervigilant m.p.

Erkännend, dass böser Leuten Zungen uns zwey obgemelldeten Partheyen immer mehr und mehr zu entzweyen suchen, und schonn unzulässige Berichte herumtrugen, so verstehen wir uns obgemelldete Partheien eines besseren und büthen [= bieten] für künftig hin einander freundschaftlich die Hände durch diese beyderseits ausdrücklich gemachte Erklärung: dass jede Parthey die andere, sowohl die Herren gegen einander, als auch die Herren gegen die Hausgenossen des einten und des anderen, wie auch diese unter sich, einander keine Behaftungen von Hurereyen oder ehrenschänderischen Verbrechen noch vorwerfen, weder beschuldigen oder verdächtigen⁴⁹.

⁴⁴ Das Dokument besteht aus einem einzigen Blatt, dessen untere Hälfte beiderseitig beschrieben ist. Auf der oberen Hälfte der 1. Seite steht: « Versöhnungsvertrag. Fischbach 1831 ».

⁴⁵ Supervigilant: Dekan, Dechant. Vgl. JOSSEN, a. a. O. 51, Anm. 71.

^{45a} Zehnde (Zende, Zehne): Bezirk, Landkreis. Eine im Oberwallis von alters her bestehende bürgerliche Verwaltungseinheit, mit der die kirchliche Verwaltungseinheit (das Dekanat) damals öfters gebietsmässig zusammenfiel. HABERKERN-WALLACH, a. a. O. II 668.

⁴⁶ Christmonat (Christmond): Dezember. Am 6. d.M. ist das Fest des hl. Niklaus; so versteht man leicht, dass Bürcher sich an diesem Tag in St. Niklaus befand.

⁴⁷ Im Original stand ursprünglich 1831, dann geändert in 1830.

⁴⁸ Hausgenossen scheint hier wohl soviel als Parteigänger, Anhänger zu bedeuten.

⁴⁹ Um welche Beschuldigungen es sich handelt, wissen wir nicht. Aus dem oben erwähnten Dokument vom Januar 1831 geht allerdings hervor, dass Imboden — und andere mit ihm — der Ansicht waren, bei Schulskis Wahl zum Pfarrer von St. Niklaus wäre es nicht mit rechten Dingen zugegangen. « Bekanntlich hat die mit einigen Intriguen verbundene Erhebung desselben zur Würde eines Pfarrers von St. Niklaus und seine noch auf seltsamere Weise erhaltene, so unerwartete als geheime

Wir beyde Partheyen sind aufrichtig gesinnt, das friedliche gegen einander wohl nie zu stören. Indessen, falls sich (was Gott verhüte) in Folge der Zeit neue Spaltungen und Uneinigkeiten von Erheblichkeit wieder erheben würden, so behaltet sich jeder Herr für sich und seine respektive Hausgenossenschaft jene Vertheidigungsmittel vor, die sie dermalen wider einander zu gebrauchen an der Hand zu haben glauben. Diese gegenwärtige freundschaftliche Uebereinkömmnis soll beurkundet seyn von der nachstehenden Unterschrift des obgemeldeten Herrn Supervigilant Bürcher und der eigenhändigen Unterzeichnung beyder Partheien, als Herr Pfarrer Schulski und Herr Rector und Alltpfarrer Imboden, jeder für sich und seine respektive Hausgenossenschaft sich starktragend.

Also geschehen am obgenannten Tag 1831 — sage tausend achthunderd und ein und dreysig⁵⁰

Bürcher, Supervigilant m.p.
Joan. Petrus Imboden, Rector
Joannes Schulski, Parochus St. Nicolai

Bestätigung bey vielen braven und vernünftigen Leuten einen widrigen Eindruck gemacht, welchem Eindruck H. Pfarrer Sulzki durch einen Reaktions-Geist bis dahin entsprochen hat und ferner entsprechen zu wollen scheint ».

Was unter diesem 'Reaktionsgeist' genau zu verstehen ist, gibt der Briefschreiber nicht näher an. Wohl sagt er, dieser äussere sich in Beleidigungen und Feindseligkeiten Schulskis gegen Pfarrkinder. « Durch einen solchen Reaktions-Geist, sag ich, dass derselbe sich in Invektiven, ehrverletzlichen Beschimpfungen und Verfolgungen eines beträchtlichen Theils seiner Pfarrgenossen, die ihm in seinem Unrecht nicht Recht geben wollen, nicht mehr mässigen kann, so zwar dass das verderbliche Aergernis, das er diesfalls verbreitet hat, nicht nur der Bewirkung des Seelenheils und der Versöhnlichkeit zwischen den Pfarrkindern mächtig entgegen weht, sondern es zu befürchten ist, ja kaum auszuweichen, dass man von Spaltungen und Partheyungen nicht auch zu Thatsachen, zu Zänkereyen und Schlägereyen kommen werde. Denn wer sollte nicht im Grund der Seele erbittert seyn und in solcher Gemüthsstimmung die Strasse der Mässigkeit verfehlen können, [...] wenn er Augen— und Ohrenzeuge seyn muss, wie derselbe fortfahret, noch sogar in der Kirch beym Gottesdienst ehrver[le]zlich und leidenschaftlich über Personen anstatt über das Laster auszufahren, Hass und Abneigung anstatt auszureuten, eher ein— und fortzupflanzen. Wer sollte nicht leicht böses Beyspiel nehmen, Achtung gegen Pflicht und Anstand verlieren und sich zu Exzessen verleiten lassen, wenn ein Seelsorger öffentlich, wie es H. Sulzki gethan, seine Vorfahren im Weinberg des Herrn verdächtig zu machen, anzuschwärzen sucht, [...] als wie z. B. dass H. alt-Pfarrer Imboden, der nun von Verdross abgehärmt krank zu Bette liegt, ein schlechtes Haus und Hausvolk habe, ein schlechter Mann sey ».

⁵⁰ Da am Anfang des Dokuments die Jahreszahl 1831 in 1830 geändert wurde, stimmt der 'obgenannte Tag' (6. XII. 1830) nicht mit der Datierung (1831) am Ende des Dokuments. Wir halten es für wahrscheinlich, dass Bürcher am 6. Dezember 1830 in St. Niklaus war, dann in Visp den 'Versöhnungsvertrag' aufgesetzt hat, der anfangs 1831 von Imboden und Schulski unterzeichnet wurde.

Pater Johann Appenzellers Wirksamkeit in der Diözese Novara

Im vorigen Jahr wurde in dieser Zeitschrift ein Artikel über Pater Johann Appenzeller veröffentlicht, worin wir die uns bekannten Notizen bezüglich des ersten Schweizer Redemptoristen vorlegten¹. Es wurde u. a. erwähnt, dass Appenzeller, nach einem einjährigen Aufenthalt in Visp, 1809 in die Diözese Novara geschickt wurde und dort irgendwo etwa ein Jahr tätig war². Aus einem Bericht von Don Angelo L. Stoppa, Archivar des Bistums Novara, an Don W. Tichelli, Pfarrer in Gondo, vom 12. August 1982³ geht hervor, dass Appenzeller Vikar der Marienkirche (*Annunciata*) in Pecetto, Gemeinde Macugnaga⁴, war, und zwar von 1809 bis 1813⁵. Don Stoppa teilte noch mit, unter den sich auf Appenzeller beziehenden Dokumenten gebe es auch welche, worin dieser ungünstig beurteilt werde. Dies ist keineswegs verwunderlich, wenn man bedenkt, dass auch sein religiöser Oberer Pater Passerat gewisse Gerüchte (*rumores*) über ihn vernommen hatte⁶.

Im Artikel über Appenzeller ist auch ein gewisser Amadeus Zimmermann aus Visp erwähnt, vom dem Passerat damals (1810) hoffte, er werde bei den Redemptoristen eintreten⁷. Pater Johann Kaltenbach berichtet in seinen 'Notizen', dass Zimmermann 1811 dem Pater Passerat nach Freiburg gefolgt war und dort seine Studien fortsetzte⁸. Bis wann ist unbekannt⁹. Unter den Kaplänen von St. Niklaus kommt für die Jahre 1814-1820 Josef Moritz Amadeus Zimmermann von Visp vor¹⁰. Weil die entsprechenden Unterlagen fehlen, können wir einstweilen nicht feststellen, ob es sich immer um dieselbe Person handelt¹¹.

¹ A. SAMPERS, *Pater Johann Appenzeller (1766-1830). Einige Notizen über den ersten Schweizer Redemptoristen*, in *Spic. hist.* 29 (1981) 389-404.

² Ebd. 395-396.

³ Der Brief wurde von Don Tichelli an Pater Heinzmann weitergeleitet, der uns eine Fotokopie besorgte.

⁴ Macugnaga ist erwähnt unter den Walsersiedlungen in HBL VII (1934) 407.

⁵ Anschliessend war Appenzeller dann in Weisstannen (Sankt Galten) tätig. Th. LANDTWING, *Die Redemptoristen in Freiburg in der Schweiz, 1811-1847* (Bibliotheca Historica CSSR II), Rom 1955, 140. Die Notiz der Chronik des Redemptoristenklosters in Freiburg, S. 40, dass Appenzeller 1821 nach Freiburg kam, nachdem er « a duodecim circiter annis » in Weisstannen gewirkt hatte, ist dementsprechend zu berichtigen.

⁶ *Spic. hist.* 29 (1981) 396, Anm. 48.

⁷ Ebd. 395.

⁸ MH XV 65. Kaltenbach ist hier gut informiert. Er wusste um die Anfänge der Redemptoristen im Freiburgischen aus eigener Erfahrung.

⁹ Kaltenbach sagt nur, dass Zimmermann nicht durchgehalten hat (*non perseveravit*). In der Freiburger Chronik wird er nicht erwähnt. Profess hat er also sicher nicht gemacht. Pater Heberle sagt in seinen 'Erinnerungen', nachdem er von den Schwierigkeiten im Jahre 1812 berichtet hat: « Die Walliser Studenten begaben sich alsdann nach Hause »; MH XV 68. Vgl. dazu LANDTWING, a. a. O. 6 über die Auflösung der Gemeinde in Freiburg 1812.

¹⁰ BURGNER, a. a. O. 68.

¹¹ Eine Untersuchung im Gemeinde- und Pfarrarchiv in Visp könnte hierüber Sicherheit geben.

GIUSEPPE ORLANDI

I REDENTORISTI E LA MASSONERIA

a proposito di una recente opera di Franco Molinari¹

La storia della Massoneria ha registrato negli ultimi tempi apporti di grande rilievo. Non solo all'estero, dove si sono avute opere monumentali come quelle di Pierre Chevallier² e di José A. Ferrer Benimeli³, ma anche nel nostro Paese. I volumi di Rosario F. Esposito⁴, di Carlo Francovich⁵ e di Aldo A. Mola⁶ — per fare solo alcuni esempi — costituiscono autentiche pietre miliari per la conoscenza della Massoneria nei vari periodi della sua storia.

Perciò l'idea di racchiudere in un solo volume di non grande formato le vicende di una realtà così complessa e differenziata come la Massoneria poteva indurre allo scetticismo, se ad attuarla non fosse stato un autore della serietà e della preparazione di Franco Molinari. Egli unisce infatti la rara dote del divulgatore, al rigore ed alla solidità dello storico. Qualità che gli hanno permesso di tracciare un quadro quanto mai avvincente e sfumato della ricca e tormentata storia massonica.

Il volume del Molinari si divide in due parti. La prima (*La Mas-*

¹ F. MOLINARI, *La Massoneria, cattedrale laica della fraternità* (Nuovi Saggi, 44), Brescia, Editrice Queriniana, 1981, 12,5 x 20,5 cm., 244 pp.

² P. CHEVALLIER, *Histoire de la Franc-maçonnerie française*, 3 voll. Paris 1974-1975.

³ J.A. FERRER BENIMELI, *Masonería, Iglesia e ilustración. Un conflicto ideológico-político-religioso*, 4 voll., Madrid 1976-1977.

⁴ R.F. ESPOSITO, *La Massoneria e l'Italia. Dal 1800 ai nostri giorni*, Roma 1979⁵.

⁵ C. FRANCOVICH, *Storia della Massoneria in Italia. Dalle origini alla Rivoluzione Francese*, Firenze 1974.

⁶ A.A. MOLA, *Storia della Massoneria italiana dall'Unità alla Repubblica*, Milano 1976².

soneria nel mondo) tratta della natura della Libera Muratoria, delle sue radici ideologiche, dei successi conseguiti e degli scacchi subiti nel suo plurisecolare cammino (pp. 17-81). Mentre la seconda parte (*La Massoneria e l'Italia*) illustra le origini, lo sviluppo, e l'influsso esercitato dalla Massoneria nel nostro Paese (pp. 83-175). Una *Bibliografia ragionata* (pp. 191-195) aiuta il lettore, desideroso di approfondire l'argomento, ad orientarsi nelle sue scelte.

Il Molinari, che pure non ha evitato di esprimere con franchezza il suo giudizio su alcune amare verità riguardanti la storia massonica, si è opportunamente astenuto dallo strumentalizzare recenti vicende (affare della P2), nelle quali — a quanto è dato sapere — la Massoneria compare più nella veste di vittima che di imputata. E non poteva essere altrimenti, dal momento che anche nella *Conclusione I* (pp. 176-184) egli auspica che, caduto ormai lo spirito di crociata che ne ha avvelenato a lungo i rapporti, tra i cattolici come tra i massoni i fautori della tolleranza e del mutuo rispetto diventino sempre più numerosi.

Il libro del Molinari — ricco di informazioni e di dati, in parte inediti — è utile non solo al comune lettore, che vuole informarsi su un'organizzazione che tanta parte ha avuto nelle vicende del nostro Paese, ma anche allo specialista, che vi trova una sintesi della storia massonica seria, documentata e ben scritta.

In questa sede riteniamo opportuno rilevare che il Molinari menziona alcuni Redentoristi, che sono stati a vario titolo in rapporto con la Massoneria. Per esempio, il p. Antonio Dressino (1877-1969), che fu a lungo titolare della parrocchia romana di S. Gioacchino ai Prati⁷. In tale veste era entrato in contatto con Raoul Vittorio Palermi, Gran Maestro della Comunione massonica che aveva sede a Roma in Piazza del Gesù, 47. Il Molinari scrive che il Palermi aveva spesso fatto parlare di sé. Fino al termine della vita, dato che « in punto di morte sembra accertato che egli abbia abiurato dal triangolo e dal compasso, ottenendo da Pio XII un'udienza, che lo liberava dalla scomunica⁸. I suoi funerali, che si svolsero in forma religiosa a Roma

⁷ Necrologi del p. Dressino si trovano in *Bollettino della Provincia Romana C.S.S.R.*, 14 (1969) 175-176; *Orbis*, 2 (1969) 95; *Osservatore Romano* del 19 X 1969.

⁸ Parlando della morte del Palermi, ESPOSITO (*op. cit.*, 427) scrive: « nella pasqua precedente si era accostato ai Sacramenti e sembra che durante un'udienza ottenuta da Pio XII, gli abbia manifestata l'abiura dall'Ordine, ottenendo personalmente l'assoluzione dalla scomunica. E' certo comunque che nel corso della sua ultima malattia ricevette i conforti religiosi dal parroco di S. Gioacchino ai Prati ».

nella parrocchia di S. Gioacchino ai Prati, registrarono un piccolo giallo. Il parroco, dinanzi a 500 Fratelli che scortavano la salma, affermò: "Per la verità debbo dichiarare che lo scomparso nella Pasqua del 1947 si è dimesso dalla Massoneria. Malgrado avesse peccato, sapeva di essere stato in errore e si era ricreduto"⁹. Ed ecco il colpo di scena. Al termine della funzione religiosa, Manfredi De Franchis smentì con garbo il parroco, rivolgendo il saluto all'amico scomparso. "Fino all'altra sera egli era il nostro legittimo Sovrano Gran Maestro, frequentava il suo ufficio e dirigeva la sua comunità"¹⁰. Lo stesso De Franchis nella successiva polemica giornalistica focalizzò lo spirito religioso dell'associazione, scrivendo: "Gli atei, i miscredenti, gli scettici non hanno diritto di cittadinanza nella famiglia massonica, perché i Liberi Muratori giurano di essere credenti in Dio e lo giurano sulla Bibbia e sul Vangelo di Giovanni. Essi desiderano svolgere la loro missione educatrice e perfezionatrice con lo stesso principio di carità fraterna, in cui lo svolge la Chiesa"¹¹.

Desiderosi di conoscere qualche altro particolare sulla vicenda, con l'aiuto del P. Giuseppe Zirilli abbiamo condotto un'indagine nell'archivio della parrocchia di S. Gioacchino. Nel *Libro dei Defunti*¹² si legge che «Palermi Ravul [sic] Vittorio», nato a Firenze, era morto di anni 83, alle ore 5 del 3 febbraio 1948, nella casa di via dei Gracchi 195, non munito dei Sacramenti «per morte improvvisa» («insufficienza cardiaca»). Nella *Cronaca*¹³ della comunità redentorista di S. Gioacchino si legge, sotto il 6 febbraio 1948: «Funerale in suffragio di Vittorio Palermi Raul [sic], Gran Maestro della Massoneria. Il P. Parroco prima delle esequie dichiara che il Palermi già dalla Pasqua del '47 era fuori della Massoneria». E sotto il 7 febbraio si legge ancora: «Stasera dopo cena è stato presentato alla comunità l'edizione serale del *Giornale d'Italia*, che riportava abbastanza diffusamente e sotto forma di dubbio lo scandalo della sepoltura ecclesiastica di un massone. Era anche riportata una fotografia del P. Parroco. L'articolo si chiedeva nel titolo grande: *Il parroco di S. Gioacchino ha benedetto uno scomunicato?* Il dubbio si doveva al

⁹ Cfr. anche E. MARTIRE, *La Massoneria italiana*, Milano 1953, 74; ESPOSITO, *op. cit.*, 427.

¹⁰ Cfr. anche *ibid.*, dove viene citato il *Corriere della Sera* dell'8 II 1948.

¹¹ MOLINARI, *op. cit.*, 152.

¹² *Libro dei Defunti* (1934-1953), atto n° 923.

¹³ La *Cronaca* (1938-1950) della comunità redentorista di S. Gioacchino non ha numerazione di pagine.

discorso del dr. De Franchis ai fratelli massoni al cimitero. Il De Franchis affermava che il Palermi Raul era stato fino all'ultimo Gran Maestro, e difendeva la ortodossia della Massoneria Scozzese, che ammette le stesse verità della Chiesa, lo stesso Dio, lo stesso Verbo. L'articolista metteva in evidenza il contrasto fra le affermazioni del Parroco e quelle del De Franchis, e difendeva anche lui la Massoneria Scozzese, compiacendosi dell'onestà di intenzioni del fu Gran Maestro. Secondo lui la Chiesa avrebbe apprezzato e tenuto conto di questa onestà. Ma al P. Parroco, in realtà, interessava soltanto il fatto di essere in possesso di un documento¹⁴ del Vicariato, nel quale si dice espressamente e agli effetti della sepoltura ecclesiastica, che Vittorio Palermi Raul fin dal 1947 (dalla Pasqua) è fuori della Massoneria. Anche nell'ultimo Natale si è confessato e comunicato¹⁵. Nel documento si danno anche disposizioni sulle modalità del funerale ».

Evidentemente sia il p. Dressino che i suoi collaboratori — come del resto gran parte dell'opinione pubblica — ignoravano chi era il Palermi, e quale fosse stato il suo vero atteggiamento nei confronti della Chiesa. Un altro storico della Massoneria, l'Esposito, ci illumina in proposito: « Temperamento inquieto, egli [= il Palermi] ondeggiò sempre tra la stretta osservanza esoterica e le esigenze della vita quotidiana; non essendo riuscito a bloccare Mussolini nell'ambito della Massoneria, finì con l'accettare i favori del dittatore, giungendo a farsi ambasciatore delle attività massoniche estere presso Palazzo Venezia; i suoi stessi ex compagni lo accusarono di aver avuto rapporti stretti col capo della polizia fascista Bocchini e di aver fatto parte dell'Ovra »¹⁶. L'Esposito scrive ancora: « A guerra finita egli fu il primo massone a mettere pubblicamente le carte in tavola, ma lo fece in maniera del tutto inattesa, dichiarando cioè che la rinata Comunione di Piazza del Gesù non intendeva seguire le antiche orme della Massoneria anticlericale. Il suo manifesto, affisso sui muri di Roma nel gennaio del 1945, diceva testualmente: "La nostra Comunione Regolare è lieta di dichiarare solennemente che non intende montare la guardia ad un cadavere, la Questione Romana, né mettersi in fazione alla breccia di Porta Pia per speculare su di un anticlerica-

¹⁴ Ogni sforzo per rintracciare tale documento è finora risultato vano.

¹⁵ Il giornale *Il Messaggero* dell'8 II 1949 scriveva che « il Palermi effettivamente si era dimesso dalla Massoneria a cui apparteneva ed anche nella sua lunga malattia, che lo ha costretto a letto sino alla fine, non ha mancato di confermare le sue oneste intenzioni al suo assistente spirituale, ricevendo i sacramenti nella festività natalizia ». Cfr. ESPOSITO, *op. cit.*, 427.

¹⁶ ESPOSITO, *op. cit.*, 425. Cfr. anche MOLA, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

lismo di maniera che ripugna alla sua coscienza civile; dichiara perciò di accettare il fatto compiuto con il solenne atto di Conciliazione e di rispettare ed osservare, nello spirito e nella lettera, le clausole del Concordato, che danno alla Chiesa cattolica nella vita della Nazione quella preminenza alla quale ha diritto in un paese come il nostro, sinceramente e profondamente cattolico. L'alta autorità morale della Chiesa e del suo Capo visibile è oggi, come sempre e più che mai, assolutamente essenziale al divenire della Nazione e dell'Umanità" »¹⁷. Anche successivamente il Palermi aveva ribadito tali concetti. Per esempio il 4 dicembre 1947, allorché dichiarò che « da parte della sua frazione lo stato d'animo nei riguardi della Chiesa rimaneva quello già espresso in precedenza, vale a dire rispettoso, e confessava che lo scozzesismo, ispirandosi in tutto e per tutto alla Massoneria inglese, professava la fede in Dio e nell'immortalità dell'anima »¹⁸.

Come si vede, il Palermi aveva avuto il coraggio di esprimere a viso aperto il suo punto di vista, nettamente sfavorevole alla linea anticlericale di larga parte della Massoneria italiana, anzi « propenso all'intesa con la Chiesa non solo come fatto personale ma anche in relazione alla Costituzione dell'Ordine »¹⁹. In questo senso egli può considerarsi un precursore dei nuovi rapporti tra Chiesa e Massoneria.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 426.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 428.

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