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RICHARD P. McBrien (1987)

## ROMAN CATHOLICISM [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS] A significant theme recurs in Roman

Catholic studies at the turn of the twenty-first century: before nominally indicating a church or adjectivally describing a belief, Roman Catholicism denotes action. It is what people do with spiritual sensibilities redolent of the Christian God and tutored in traditions of Roman Catholic memory. Terrence Tilley's 2000 study of Roman Catholicism as a religious tradition is representative, illustrating Roman Catholicism as the *act* of handing something on (*traditio*) as much as the *things* (*tradita*) passed down.

This focus on human action belies the oversimplified image of Roman Catholicism as a hierarchical, authoritarian church of immutable beliefs and acquiescent believers. It reveals a much more complex phenomenon: a church hierarchical in form, yet materially diverse in its religious actions and insights. Roman Catholics variably control and contest the practice of their religious sensibilities; practices formed as much by aesthetic sensibilities as by dogmatic pronouncement. What emerges from this scholarship is a Christianity not reckoned by a plurality, but expressive of a surprising pluralism. Sociologists of religion such as Kevin Christiano strike a common note: "many people—not excluding Catholics themselves—think that the Catholic Church is unitary in addition to universal, monolithic as well as monumental, and immutable as much as it is inimitable. Nothing could be farther [sic] from the truth (2002)."

Attending to what Roman Catholics do, contemporary research mines the everyday world of time and space. Uncovered in such work are previously unrecognized changes in Roman Catholicism over time, as well as locally distinct religious practices shaped by the geographic and social spaces within which Roman Catholics find themselves. Eamon Duffy's 1992 work *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400–c.1580* illustrates this trend. Duffy scrutinizes daily life in late medieval England and discovers lay Roman Catholic religious practices that are surprisingly vibrant and changing. Overturning the standard view of the period, Duffy unearths a popular religiosity that seems scarcely moribund or decadent enough to seed an English Reformation.

Other historical investigations apply this method to spaces beyond the Eurocentric limits of earlier Roman Catholic scholarship. Gauvin Bailey (1999), for example, analyzes art on the Jesuit missions in Asia and South America from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

Kathleen Myers and Amanda Powell (1999) edit and translate the seventeenth-century journal of Mexican nun Madre María de San Jose. Austen Ivereigh (2000) edits essays on Roman Catholic religious politics in nineteenth-century Central and South America. These and more examinations outside Europe further disclose the variable impact of time and space on lived Roman Catholicism.

Regard for historicity and contextuality also marks present Roman Catholic theology. Ethnically and regionally focused theologies have proliferated, drawing on Roman Cath-

olic behaviors and convictions particular to nearly every region of the world. There are African and Asian Catholic theologies, European-American, Hispanic-American, and African American Catholic theologies, as well as theologies differentiating many national cultures of Central and South America. Robert Schreiter summarizes this development in his 1985 book *Constructing Local Theologies:* "there is now a realization that all theologies have contexts, interests, relationships of power, special concerns—and to pretend that this is not the case is to be blind."

Allied to this fascination with action in time and space is scholarly concentration on Roman Catholic group activity. Between the microscopic level of personal religious practice and the macroscopic level of hierarchical church authority lies a "mesoscopic" layer of group and organizational action. From parish ladies' guilds and food-drive committees, through regional ethnic associations and right-to-life groups, across diocesan social justice offices and marriage preparation conferences, to national lay organizations and Marian devotion assemblies, Roman Catholicism is replete with mesoscopic religious action. In his historical-analytical investigation of this fact, Ad Leys (1995) observes both the practical ubiquity of Roman Catholic group life and the theoretical expression it is given in the social-moral principle of subsidiarity.

Recent explorations attend to important, but previously unexamined, groups and organizations. Especially poignant are studies of women's religious orders, the unheralded creators of vast school, orphanage, poorhouse, hospital, and social service networks around the world since the early nineteenth century. Like the African American Oblate Sisters of Providence described by Diane Batts Morrow (2002), many of these heroic women's groups struggled against not only social discrimination, but also the disregard of their own church leadership. To this day, a push-pull relationship with church authority persists for some women's religious orders. Characteristic of Roman Catholicism, two national organizations of women religious, representing contrasting responses to this relationship, evolved in the United States after the Second Vatican Council (1961-1965): the Leadership Conference of Women Religious and the Council of Major Superiors of Women Religious.

Heightened strain on the quality and funding of public schools at the end of the twentieth century has called attention to another previously neglected mesoscopic organization: the Catholic school. Though many schools have closed and enrollment has declined over the past twenty-five years, the remaining 120,000 Roman Catholic elementary and secondary schools and their fifty million students around the world still play a vital role in many societies. Analysts Anthony Bryk, et al. (1993) and Gerald Grace (2002) are particularly fascinated with the loose federation, relative autonomy, and commitment to inner-city, non-Catholic children that is emblematic of many Roman Catholic schools—organizations ironically nested within their church's centralized, authoritarian structure.

Bryk observes another irony in the operation of Roman Catholic high schools. Teachers and students still grant the (typically lay) Roman Catholic school principal a greater degree of power and deference than is generally given principals in public schools. But today, this vestige of religious order, authoritarian empowerment, is used as much for encouraging parental involvement and local, decentralized school control as for maintaining discipline. From an international perspective, Grace (2003) explains how schools employ this power in relation to church authority, from those that are largely compliant (e.g., in Australia and Ireland), through moderately challenging (e.g., in England, Scotland, and the United States), to boldly resistive (e.g., in Brazil, Chile, and South Africa).

Research on women religious orders and Catholic schools parallels the new scholarly concentration on the parish, the place where the micro-, meso-, and macroscopic levels of religious life intersect for most Roman Catholics. Andrew Greeley captures this reality when he writes that "it is the parish where people do their living and dying, their loving and their quarreling, their doubting and their believing, their mourning and their rejoicing, their worrying and their praying" (1990). James Davidson, et al., communicate the point statistically: 78 percent of parish-affiliated Roman Catholics in the United States consider parishes "very important" organizations, as do 50 percent of those no longer affiliated with a parish (1997).

While a Roman Catholic's sacramental life cycle surely accounts for much of this affiliation, Mark Kowalewski's research offers an additional reason. As a member of a church with largely distant, ostensibly unchanging authority, a lay Roman Catholic's typical contact with approachable and flexible religious leadership is the parish priest. When such person-to-person leadership is effective, Roman Catholics receive help not only in managing their sacramental lives through the upheavals of contemporary economic, familial, and cultural existence, but also in coping with these hard realities on a day-to-day basis. Parish priests, says Kowalewski, are "not simply bearers of the official directives of the organization, they also exercise their ministry in the context of individual pastoral experience—an experience which often calls for compromise and negotiation" (1993).

As they do with school principals, Roman Catholics frequently defer to their parish priests. The common result is a parish milieu mirroring the priest's style of response toward church authority. Today, Roman Catholics worldwide popularly categorize parishes as conservative, liberal, or radical.

In the United States, however, the prerogatives granted to parish priests have come under intense scrutiny, ever since numerous disclosures of clerical sexual abuse of children occurred in the 1980s and subsequent decades. This priest-pedophilia tragedy has been compounded immeasurably by the delinquency of church authority. Schooled in habits of hierarchical, authoritarian arrogance, few bishops initially felt compelled to respond compassionately to the victims of

past abuse or to safeguard potential future victims. Instead, their first instincts were to protect predator priests, by reassigning them to other parishes without notice or simply by denying that the abuse ever took place. Not surprisingly, lay Roman Catholics have reacted by creating multiple protest groups. The Voice of the Faithful collaborates with bishops on church reform, while the Survivors' Network of those Abused by Priests (SNAP) is less inclined to participate in such collaboration.

These examples display the plural, mesoscopic ways in which Roman Catholics practice and perceive their everyday religiosity, and how they relate this religiosity to the power and instruction issued from hierarchical church authority. Scholars regularly model this relationship on a conservative, liberal, and radical scale. Mary Jo Weaver and Scott Appleby (1995) add further complexities to this scale. At each point, a Roman Catholic congregation may articulate comparatively "right" and "left" orientations, approaches that are often additionally nuanced by a group's unique regional history.

This complex combination affects the many Roman Catholic groups in the Americas that are devoted to improving society. Responding to prevailing public policies, as well as to church authority, groups on the conservative-right, such as Catholics United for the Faith, exist alongside those on the conservative-left, such as the North American neoconservative movement. Simultaneously, liberal-right groups like the St. Egidio communities work differently from liberal-left organizations such as the social-justice lobby, Network. Added to this mix are radical-right groups, such as those sustaining Dorothy Day's Catholic Worker legacy, and radical-left groups, such as those inspired by the earlier Latin American comunidades eclesiales de base movement.

Some Roman Catholics deride this variety as the undesirable byproduct of "cafeteria Catholics"—people who select only those items in Roman Catholicism they like and pass over items they dislike. If this phenomenon did not exist, critics argue, Roman Catholic thought and action would more uniformly replicate the instruction of hierarchical church authority. But as Dean Hoge points out, "Catholicism includes an amazing collection of teachings, symbols, rituals, devotions, and practices, which has grown up over the centuries." Accordingly, it is not transparently obvious to Roman Catholics which elements are core and which are peripheral. "Catholics today are faced with the question," says Hoge, "of sorting out core and periphery in their rich, many-stranded tradition." Hence, "everyone is, to some degree, a cafeteria Catholic" (2002).

This is not a new phenomenon. Thomas Bokenkotter (1998), Marvin Krier Mich (1998), Paul Misner (1991), and others map an analogous range of Roman Catholic dispositions dating as far back as the French Revolution. Eighteenth- and early nineteenth- century conservative Catholics include the autocratic *caudillos* in South America on the right and German romantic traditionalists like Adam Müller on the left. Liberal Catholics can be found supporting Frédéric

Ozanam's St. Vincent de Paul societies on the right and Félicité Lamennais' *L'Avenir* republicanism on the left. Similarly, some radical-right Catholics support communitarian experiments inspired by the earlier Jesuit reductions in Paraguay, while other radical-left Catholics embrace Philippe Buchez's Christian socialism.

Frank recognition of Roman Catholic pluralism, past and present, invites assessment of how this compound Christian religiosity sustains itself over time. Drawing on the thought of Félix Guattari, Renée de la Torre offers a "transversalized institution" model. In such institutions, multiple horizontal axes of popular practice intersect a single vertical axis of hierarchical authority. As in Roman Catholicism, this vertical axis of objective law meets multiple, horizontal "group aspirations and strategies which cross it from different points—within and without, above and below." As these lateral activities crisscross the axis of the hierarchical authority, "spaces of conflict that traverse and penetrate the institution" are produced (2002).

In transversalized institutions, therefore, vertical and horizontal axes operate in tensive, but mutually beneficial, ways. This model suggests that Roman Catholicism persists in its formal religious structure and dizzying array of material religiosity by "the continuance, rather than the dissolution, of contradictions" (2002). For de la Torre, Roman Catholicism not only is, but also *must be*, a site of religious contestation.

The functionality of this control-contest interaction can be further elucidated using Paul Connerton's (1989) and Ann Swidler's (2001) investigations of social memory. With its protracted and geographically diffuse history, Roman Catholicism possesses more religious memory than it can express at any given time. By selecting and communicating a manageable portion of this memory, church authorities perform an important control function for a Roman Catholic's religious identity.

But Roman Catholic lay people contribute to corporate identity formation as well. They also select and communicate religious memory, primarily to meet the practical challenges of day-to-day economic, familial, and cultural life. Church authority tutors most, but not all, of this lay religious memory. Some religious memories may include personally and locally cherished practices and perceptions that were never known, long forgotten, or once silenced by church authority. Other memories may recall searing family crises resolved by untutored, customized religious insights unavailable or even contrary to the letter of formal church teaching.

Sometimes, the institutionally unknown, novel, and contested religious memories alive in 98 percent of the Roman Catholic population rejuvenate the 2 percent of Catholics who exercise church authority. Though such memories may first appear divisive to church leaders, often their long-term effect is to lessen, if not prevent, arthritis in the vertical axis.

Thomas Reese's (1989, 1992, 1996) in-depth research on the structures and processes of Roman Catholic church authority indicates that religious *ressourcement* may also originate within the vertical axis itself. Reese tracks the often covert interplay of control and contest among popes, cardinals, and bishops. Though infrequent, inside reform may sometimes be overt, as in Pope John XXIII's 1959 call for an ecumenical council.

Michael McCallion and David Maines (1999) explore intra-institutional transformation in Roman Catholicism by taking up sociological "frame analysis" and social movement research. In particular, they look at change in religious liturgy. Since the Second Vatican Council, a class of professional liturgists has appeared; these practitioners are committed to a relatively egalitarian "People of God" theology inspired by conciliar documents. Through variously inserting this ideological "frame" into patterns of worship, these "oppositional insiders" press against the formally asymmetric relationship between priest and people.

The seemingly impressive power of adaptation detailed in these examinations has not sheltered Roman Catholicism from defection of worshippers, however. Statistical surveys in Europe and the Americas demonstrate that Mass attendance has not noticeably rebounded from the precipitous decline during the 1960s and 1970s. More Roman Catholics have converted to evangelical forms of Protestant Christianity. Fewer young people get married in the Roman Catholic Church, and an even smaller number become priests or nuns. The large population of divorced Roman Catholics typically leaves the church, alienated by what they perceive to be an arcane, duplicitous annulment process.

Disaffection with church authority also registers high in survey research. As more and more people around the world expect and demand operational transparency from the institutions that affect their lives, the procedures of the Roman Catholic hierarchy remain shrouded in secrecy. At a time when official church teaching encourages democratic forms of participation and oversight in worldwide political and cultural institutions, no formal structure allows lay people to check and balance the hierarchical, authoritarian power of their leadership. Coincidentally, these same church leaders use secular rational-legal systems to protect their own clergy—and themselves—from civil lawsuits.

Despite all this, most Roman Catholics stay in their church. Michele Dillon (1999) cites this seeming anomaly in her discussion of women. As profound as the work of women's religious orders has been, nothing matches the contribution women have made to the practical, day-to-day survival of Roman Catholic Christianity. From quietly praying with newborns and herding families to Mass, through organizing liturgies and planning parish fund-raisers, from handing out food baskets and editing church bulletins, to laundering altar linens and making coffee after Mass, women perform most of the practices which preserve everyday, local Roman Catholicism. Yet women continue to be excluded

from priestly ordination and are largely prevented from holding positions of decision-making power in parishes and dioceses.

The glue Dillon finds securing women—whether conservative, liberal, or radical—to Roman Catholicism is the rich melange of symbols, stories, devotions, and rituals they claim as their own. When linked to memory, says Dillon in a 1998 book, these traditions remind most women that "their genealogy is entwined with a historically continuous church rather than a history of sectlike divisions. There is a disposition therefore to stay, rather than to leave, and to work towards transformation from within the tradition."

Dillon's observation touches on a growing theme in contemporary Roman Catholic research: the centrality of aesthetic resources for the understanding and exercise of Roman Catholic religiosity. Important to this renewed theological interest in beauty has been the English translations of Hans Urs von Balthasar's five-volume theological aesthetics, *The Glory of the Lord*. Critical too has been increased theological focus on culture. Works such as Roberto S. Goizueta's *Caminemos Con Jesús: Toward a Hispanic/Latino Theology of Accompaniment* (1995) show how attention to aesthetics discloses heretofore hidden theological resources in the cultural practices of the Roman Catholic laity.

Greeley points this out in terms of narrative when he insists that "religion is story before it is anything else and after it is everything else" (2000). Writtings such as John Shea's popular *Stories of Faith* (1980) have highlighted the role narrative plays in Roman Catholic religiosity.

Greeley signals another topic of current exploration when he observes that "religious sensibility is passed on by storytellers, most of whom are not aware that they are telling stories because their narratives reside more in who they are and what they do than in what they say" (2000). Several Roman Catholic investigations today probe the transmission of religiosity through such aesthetic embodiment, correcting for an earlier overemphasis on religious faith as a predominantly cognitive matter. Characteristically, Aidan Nichols comments that "nothing is in the intellect that is not first in the senses" (1996).

Interest in aesthetics and bodily senses has likewise created interest in the role of affectivity in the play of Roman Catholic Christianity. Important advances have been made, for example, in understanding how affections influence the moral life, as William C. Spohn explains in *Go and Do Likewise: Jesus and Ethics* (2000). This focus has also added novel twists to the much-explored field of Roman Catholic sacramentality. In *Extravagant Affections: A Feminist Sacramental Theology* (1998), Susan Ross creatively enjoins these dynamics, inviting one to consider the sacramentality of such actions as giving birth, cooking meals, mediating conflicts, and tending to the sick.

With this attention to Roman Catholicism as action, this overview of Roman Catholic studies returns to where it began. The focus on action in Roman Catholic research has lead scholars in many fresh directions, only a few of which have been outlined here. The overall effect of this quarter century of research has been to heighten appreciation for the rich complexity of Roman Catholicism. As its population center continues to shift from the Northern to the Southern Hemisphere, away from the comforts of middle-class existence to the soul-testing conditions of hunger and disease, the challenges confronting this multifaceted religious community will continue to be great indeed.

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MICHAEL J. SCHUCK (2005)

## **ROMAN RELIGION**

This entry consists of the following articles:

THE EARLY PERIOD

THE IMPERIAL PERIOD

## ROMAN RELIGION: THE EARLY PERIOD

HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP. Although Roman religious institutions had been studied earlier (by, for example, Barnabé Brissonius, 1583), the differentiation between Greek and Roman religion within antique "heathendom" or "polytheism" was the work of nineteenth-century scholars. Concen-