

APPARITIONS OF THE VIRGIN MARY
IN MODERN EUROPEAN ROMAN CATHOLICISM
(FROM 1830)

Volume 2:
Notes and bibliographical material

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Notes

NB - Format of bibliographical references. The reference form "Smith [1991; 100]" means page 100 of the book by Smith dated 1991 in the bibliography. However, "Smith [100]" means page 100 of Smith, op.cit., while "[100]" means *ibid.*, page 100. The Roman numerals I, II, etc. refer to volume numbers. Books by three or more co-authors are referred to as "Smith et al" (a full list of authors can be found in the bibliography).

(1/1). The first marian apparition is claimed by Zaragoza: AD 40 to St James. A more definite claim is that of Le Puy (AD 420). O'Carroll [1986; 1] notes that Gregory of Nyssa reported a marian apparition to St Gregory the Wonderworker ('Thaumaturgus') in the 3rd century, and Ashton [1988; 188] records the 4th-century marian apparition that is supposed to have led to the building of Santa Maria Maggiore basilica, Rome. She also notes that a recent seminar on marian studies suggested a figure of 21,000 apparitions of Mary in the last ten centuries! Marian cycles of vision and miracle stories were common by the high middle ages (so eg Christian [1981a; 5]).

(1/2). Example figures of those apparitions recorded: 210 between 1928 and 1971 (Billet [1973; 9ff]), 352 between 1950 and 1985 (Lane-Fox [1986; 375-6]). See Laurentin [1990a] for the worldwide spread of apparitions (and locutions, ie auditory phenomena) in recent times: eg Syria, Japan, Korea, Rwanda, Latin America, as well as Europe. According to Billet's list [20], the countries with most reports between 1928 and 1971 were: Italy (71), France (27), Germany (19), Belgium (17), Spain (9) (but see Christian [1984; 242] who records 17 for Spain in 1931 alone), USA (8), Canada (6), the rest 4 or less. It is unlikely that this includes any but better-known cases.

(1/3). Orthodox: Ashton [99ff]; in Yugoslavia - Alexander [1979; 66]; Coptic: in Cairo - Laurentin [70-2], Gayed [1985], Johnston [1980a].

(1/4). Many books list the apparitions beginning from this date, although often Guadalupe (Mexico, 1531) is included, now the world's best-attended marian apparition shrine (for an example of a compendium of modern apparitions, see Delaney [1961], who uses the term "Marian Age" [12]).

(1/5). The appendices give bibliographical and very brief historical details for each apparition case.

(1/6). This is an observation based on visits to older apparition shrines; - eg Garaison and Pi  tat in France, Nazar   in Portugal; Le Puy (France) is busy but the

apparition is no longer a factor which draws the crowds, rather the medieval cathedral - they are rather quiet in comparison with their modern counterparts. Exceptions might be: shrines in German-speaking countries and in Spain, Walsingham in England, but even these do not attract the thousands of pilgrims and many writers as do Lourdes, Fatima, Beauraing, Banneux, Rue du Bac, and now Medjugorje.

(1/7). Africa: Kibeho - Laurentin [68-70], Maindron [1984], but apparently, there have been many recent marian phenomena in Uganda; Latin America - Laurentin [53ff, 149] (cases from 1976).

(1/8). See the "miscellaneous" section for those that I have received or seen during research. There are also many stories and anecdotes in the periodicals mentioned in the bibliography.

(1/9). See the "interviews" section for a list of those that were the most important.

(1/10). Note that the basic details of the apparitions will not be referenced in the text, as full bibliographical references are given in the appendices.

(1/11). In the autumn of 1831, Catherine Labouré's confessor, Fr Aladel, finally took notice of her requests to have the medal distributed. He met the archbishop of Paris, Mgr de Quélen, who agreed to a minting; the first 1500 were delivered on the 30th June 1832. The cholera epidemic had reached Paris during the preceding March. Soon the medal was becoming famous for healing and conversion, and a large number of medals were distributed: ½ million by the end of 1834, 1000 million by 1876 (Laurentin [1983; 86-96]).

In this way, the apparitions at the Rue du Bac became famous, and Fr Aladel began to write brief accounts of them, as the anonymous Catherine had described to him, in 1834. He added his own treatise on the efficacy of the medal and on devotion to "Marie conçue sans péché". This went through several editions: the source used here is the 8th edition (Aladel [1842]).

The medal was publicised further with the news that an apparition of Mary had converted a Jewish banker, Alphonse Ratisbonne, whilst he wore one in the church of Sant'Andrea delle Frate in Rome. He was received by the pope within the month (January 1842), and later became a priest, following his brother. This apparition was recognised by canonical sanction (Laurentin [135-7]; Gillett [1967; 181-7]; Nôtre [1967; 93]).

(1/12). Mgr de Quélen was the most prominent of many churchmen committed to renewing the faith among the masses after the lean years following the Revolution, and his adherence to the national Catholic tradition had fostered in him a special devotion to Mary and belief in her Immaculate Conception (see the biography in two volumes by Limouzin-Lamothe, where de Quélen's spirituality is discussed in [1955; I; 320-1]). He suffered the sacking of his palace and a temporary exile during the instability of 1830. With this background, it comes as no surprise that he was interested in the revelations of Catherine Labouré including her prayer to "Marie conçue sans péché".

De Quélen went further than the phenomenal success of the new medal in his determination to promulgate devotion to Mary's Immaculate Conception. He was at the forefront of the campaign to have this ancient belief dogmatically defined; the Vatican under Gregory XVI treated this cautiously, however, and de Quélen had to be content with a dispensation for special liturgy on the second Sunday in Advent (near to December 8th, the feast of the Immaculate Conception). Many other bishops in France and Spain were granted this (the details are in Limouzin-Lamothe [1957; II; 265-7]). Cardinal Cienfuegos of Seville was working on the same lines as de Quélen in requesting the expansion of liturgical devotion to the "Regina sine labe concepta". See also Aladel [37ff].

De Quélen's successor to the bishopric of Paris, Mgr Affre, unlike several contemporaries in the episcopate, did not consider a dogmatic definition appropriate (Limouzin-Lamothe & Leflon [1971; 111]). However, the process which ensured the success of the campaign under Pius IX, between 1849 and 1854, was largely due to pressure from France ([111]; Hales [1958; 119-20]; Aladel [52-3]).

De Quélen's interests in Paris and France during the 1830s were well-served by a revelation to the abbé Desgenettes at the church dedicated to Notre-Dame des Victoires in Paris, 1836, when this priest was inspired to consecrate his parish to the Immaculate Heart of Mary, and a sizable increase in church attendance there was the result (Laurentin [308-9]; Gillett [1953; I; 169-74]). The archbishop founded the congregation of this title in the church, but did not support the raising of this movement to an archconfraternity in 1838 - this occurred only by direct appeal to the pope (Kselman [1983; 166-9]). Over the years, the archconfraternity gained lay members all over France, and was the most famous organisation of its kind in the mid-nineteenth century. Yet de Quélen's reluctance to give up diocesan control of the movement reflected episcopal concern over power and orthodoxy among the lower clergy and laity (the anxiety of Mgr Paris of

Langres at devotion to the Holy Face is another example: see the correspondence from Mgr Parisis of Langres to Mgr de Bruillard of Grenoble on 11 September 1847 in Stern [1984; 126-9] (see also [22-5]): it concerns the "archconfrerie réparatrice du blasphème et de la profanation du dimanche" renewed in 1847. Details also in Jaouen [1988; 174-7]).

Subsequent to the fame of the "Miraculous Medal" and the archconfraternity of the "Most Holy and Immaculate Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary" came further apparitions at the Rue du Bac convent, to Sister Justine Bisqueyburu, in 1840 (Laurentin [309]; Attwater [1957; 264]). This resulted in the distribution of the green scapular of the Immaculate Heart, another example, like the devotions instigated by Catherine Labouré and Estelle Faguet (Pellevoisin, 1876), of the influence of popular and topical devotional ideas on visionary phenomena. Then, in 1846, a sister of the same community, Apolline Andreveau, had revealed to her the red scapular - this was given papal authorisation in 1847, while its green predecessor and counterpart had to wait until 1863 (Perry & Echeverría [1988; 95]).

(1/13). Kselman [23], records the case of Prince Hohenlohe (ordained 1815, a miraculous healer investigated by the Church in the early 1820s). He also records [17] the rift between popular cults and clergy at the beginning of the period. See also Berenson [1984; 57]; ; Boutry [1986; 453]; Weber [1977; 364]. Gibson [1989; 1-29] notes that the urban clerical elite disliked popular and superstitious religion in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Bouritius [1979; 155-6], identifies two different models for the relationship between popular and official religion within the Catholic Church. The first is where the two slowly merge, the hierarchy merely tolerating (eg the cult of the saints); the second is that in which the popular is modified and soon determined by the officialdom (eg the Sacred Heart). Here we might remark that the marian apparition cult conformed more and more to the second of these models rather than the first as the nineteenth century progressed.

(1/14). There was a new movement of thought among the French clergy from the 1820s, under the influence of the abbe Lamennais. He abandoned his allegiance to the monarchy because of his disappointment with Charles X; he was against gallicanism (a tendency to independence of the French Church from Rome which had made it more subject to the monarchical State under the Bourbons), and recommended the absolute authority of the pope in Church matters. At the same time, he espoused liberal political and heterodox religious views for which he was condemned by the Vatican

in 1832. For an overview of the contribution of Lamennais to French Catholicism, see Dansette [1961; I; 211-16].

Despite Lamennais' split with the Church, his followers remained in communion, and became influential figures in French Catholicism until the 1850s (for example, Lacordaire and Montalembert, see eg Gooch [1960; 237-45]). This school was more ready to accept the philosophy of the Enlightenment than the old gallican clergy had been, and the newly-trained clergy emerged from the seminaries to campaign against the superstitions of rural beliefs. Berenson [63] mentions the influence of Enlightenment rationalism on the French clergy. However, in Gibson [139-43]: hostility to popular religion was still strong in the 1830s and 40s, but there emerged a new peasant and artisan clergy who replaced the urban elite in the 19th century; they were more influenced by Romanticism than the Enlightenment. They accepted and took control of the popular religious practices, with the following provisos: (i) clerical control; (ii) suppression of the festive element; (iii) suppression of superstition; (iv) universalisation of the local cults.

Many of this new brand of clergymen desired a universal Roman liturgy in place of local variations; this was almost achieved by the mid-1860s. Mgr Parisis was the leader of this movement from 1839 (Limouzin-Lamothe & Leflon [107-10]). Dupanloup at Orléans was the last bishop to introduce the change in 1875 but, in 1864, only ten dioceses had still to do so (Boutry [502-6]).

(1/15). See Gibson [141]; Kselman [28]. There was a dearth of famous French marian shrines with origins after 1700 up until 1830. Gillett [1967; 181-7] mentions an exception at La Vange, dating from 1800, and Gibson [146] records the apparition at Redon-Epic (1814), a cult revived in the 1850s and 1870s. Yet all rural areas of France had local marian shrines in the mid-nineteenth century, many connected with a miracle of days gone by, most unknown outside the immediate vicinity. Boutry, lists several of these in the diocese of Belley [492ff], and he mentions the importance of Notre-Dame de Fourviere at Lyons for the Cure d'Ars [93-4].

There were many chapels dedicated to Notre Dame. Boutry [476] gives a list for Belley in which "Notre-Dame des Sept Douleurs", important at La Salette, "Notre-Dame de Pitié", and "Notre-Dame des Grâces" were the most popular. The shrines nationally famous included Paray-le-Monial, Chartres, Le Puy, and La Délivrande in Normandy. Lourdes has a special historical link with Le Puy, being dedicated to this marian shrine predecessor with its claimed apparition in the fourth century. Cros [1925; I; 5-20] gives the details of the link between Le Puy and Lourdes,

and suggests that this has a special place in marian history [I; 13]. He mentions a crowd of 150,000 pilgrims at the jubilee in Le Puy in 1842 [I; 12]. One could say that Lourdes inherited the pilgrimage tradition of South and South-West France from Le Puy. Whilst Lourdes was experiencing the ecstasies of Bernadette in 1858, a giant madonna and child, "Notre-Dame de France", was being built at Le Puy from the metal of Russian cannons captured in the Crimea. This statue was first suggested in 1846 and, after completion, was blessed formally on 12 September 1860 (Comte [1988; 32-5]).

The apparitions at La Salette and Lourdes occurred in regions already graced by famous marian shrines. In the Alps, near Gap, stands the seventeenth-century shrine of Le Laus, instituted after a shepherdess claimed to see the Virgin Mary. Lourdes, not far from Garaison (sixteenth century), has Bétharram on its doorstep: the site of a miraculous medieval image a few kilometres downstream from the Lourdes grotto on the Gave de Pau. Bernadette Soubirous, the visionary of Lourdes, is likely to have visited Bétharram (the thesis of Oyenhart [1988], who records Michel Garicoïts' positive view of Lourdes in face of his colleagues' worry that the new shrine would displace their own in popularity).

(1/16). The 1840s in France were marked with apocalyptic prophecy and manifestations of the miraculous. See Kselman on Soeur Nativité and Marie Lataste [86-8]; there are the revelations of Marie de Sainte-Pierre, recorded in Jaouen [174]. Weber [352] records several marian apparitions in the Vendée in 1840. See also Gibson [149-50]: an apparition in the diocese of Valence, 1848-9, assessed by the Church as diabolical.

(1/17). La Salette seemed to be a very effective aid to the rural missions; its message repeated the very substance of much preaching from country pulpits - an end to Sunday work (allowed under the 1801 Concordat), regular mass attendance, no more blasphemy. See the exhortative letters (1818 and 1844) written as if by Christ in Stern [1980; I; 385-92]. The similarity between such letters and La Salette is treated in [I; 375-83]. Berenson discusses the loss of Church influence in the countryside before 1830 [54-7] and conflict between clergy and labourers over working on Sundays during the July Monarchy [66]. For the reaction of the local priests and the bishop of Grenoble to the La Salette local revival, see 3.2.1.

(1/18). Kselman [65] and Stern [II; 7-8] record how the La Salette message began to be interpreted in a political way as the famine receded, forcing the State to take action to suppress it. There was concern that the reference to the hopelessness of sowing compared to the efficacy of

religious practice would threaten the morale of rural labourers. The political aspect to La Salette's secrets, which began in the early days, the late 1840s, was the background to the notorious visit of the visionary Maximin Giraud to the Curé d'Ars. Maximin was taken to Ars by supporters of the monarchy who hoped that his secret, which they reckoned favourable to their cause, would be learnt by the famous Curé (Jean Vianney) and be thus used in their propaganda. However, this did not occur; all that happened is that Maximin managed to blunder into convincing the Curé that he was a liar. This caused Vianney, who had been enthusiastic about La Salette at first, to doubt the testimony of Maximin and to avoid discussion on the topic. By his death in 1858, however, he was convinced of the validity of La Salette, having received a 'miraculous' proof in the form of a donation after private prayer to Our Lady of La Salette. See Trochu [1927; 377-87]. The excitement over the secrets reached a climax with the news that they had been divulged to the pope in 1851 (see eg Ullathorne [1950; 105-18]).

(1/19). See also 3.2.1. The investigative commission at Grenoble took place in late 1847, but already the metropolitan archbishop of the area, Cardinal de Bonald of Lyon, was voicing grave concern over the fact that he saw nothing of religious value in the case, and he supported the clerical dissenters of Grenoble for some time (an account of the opposition to La Salette is given in Jaouen [213-46]). De Bonald suppressed preaching "on any miraculous fact" without permission in 1852, even after La Salette had been officially approved (Kselman [175]). The climax of the clerical opposition to La Salette was the publication by "Membres du clergé diocésain de Grenoble" [1854], including Cartellier, a member of the original commission.

The bishop of Grenoble, Mgr de Bruillard, supportive of La Salette and thus opposed to Cardinal de Bonald, stood in the gallican tradition of French Catholicism like de Quélen, who had criticised Lamennais and Lacordaire in 1831 for mixing religion and politics (Limouzin-Lamothe [II; 102] - see also Hales [90-1]). Thus de Quélen and de Bruillard believed in a national Church integral to the State with some independence from Rome; indeed, de Quelen had been a supporter of the Bourbon monarchy before 1830 (Limouzin-Lamothe [I; 316]: de Quélen was faithful to the monarchy yet considered himself a respectful opposition). These bishops avoided politics, and kept themselves to ecclesiastical matters (anticlericalism in his diocese helped push de Bruillard into this position, so Vigier [1963; I; 147]).

Thus like de Quélen a decade before, de Bruillard was concerned to encourage Catholic renewal among the laity.

The correspondence in Stern shows the positive attitude of the local clergy from the very beginning of the La Salette event. Mgr de Bruillard insisted on control over the publicising of the "miracle" on 9 October 1846 [I; 56] and he soon made arrangements for the visionaries to enter a convent school [152-3] (26 November 1846). The bishop of La Rochelle encouraged de Bruillard, publishing a favourable report on his experience as a pilgrim ([II; 8-10]; Jaouen [6]): Nouveau Récit de l'Apparition (September 1847).

On the other hand, de Bonald was an adherent of the new ultramontane movement which applauded the fall of the July Monarchy in 1848 and the setting-up of the Second Republic. Dansette [I; 249] records de Bonald as saying: "We shall, in future, have no reason to envy North America", and [I; 241-2] Veuillot, the ultramontane editor of L'Univers, writing about the "harmony of religion and liberty" during the July Monarchy, then [I; 249-50]: "Who nowadays would dream of defending the monarchy?" after the 1848 Revolution. In 1848 came a monumental change in the pattern of French Catholic thinking. The workers' revolution in June, fear of socialism, and the rise of Louis Napoléon were all factors in the Church becoming a reactionary force supporting the move from Republic to Empire (this topic is dealt with in Merriman [1978]). During this time, the leading lights of the old ultramontane movement fell out with the new conservatives who championed both papacy and Empire.

The argument between de Bruillard and de Bonald over La Salette may thus be understood partly in the context of traditional beliefs versus modernity. Yet the ultramontane cardinal was defeated on this issue by de Bruillard consulting the Vatican over his head! (See Ullathorne: the publication by the Grenoble investigator, Rousselot (La Vérité sur l'Événement de La Salette (1848)), was received by Pius IX with favour (Ullathorne [124-6]), and the visionaries' secrets were read by him in 1851 [105-18]. The cardinals Fornari and Lambruschini were positive about La Salette, and the pope allowed de Bruillard to pronounce on it [118]. De Bonald's objections to La Salette are recorded in his letter of 25 September 1847 (Stern [II; 146-9]): he tried to intervene in the commission [II; 185-7], being angry that it did not consult the provincial council (Kselman [175]).

The ultramontane movement was very supportive of apparition events from Lourdes in 1858, but in the case of La Salette, it was the 'anti-ultramontanes' de Bruillard, Dupanloup of Orléans (impressed by the visionaries in 1848), and Ginoulhiac (who succeeded de Bruillard at Grenoble in 1853) who helped the cause. (For a list of bishops as regards their positions in the three parties of

the infallibility dispute in France, see Lecanuët [1931; 47-54].) Ginoulhiac's support for La Salette is treated in Jaouen [221ff]. By the 1870s, the majority of French bishops were in the ultramontane camp: Mgr Wicart of Laval (jurisdiction over Pontmain, 1871) and Mgr de la Tour d'Auvergne (over Pellevoisin, 1876) were not exceptions (see Lecanuët [47-54] and Maurain [1930; 529-32, 608, 874]).

(1/20). The emphasis on reconciliation that survived at La Salette is in part due to the archconfraternity founded in 1852, under the title "Notre-Dame Réconciliatrice des Pécheurs". This was the successor of the lay confraternity set up by the local priest in May 1848 in honour of "Notre-Dame des Sept Douleurs", the title of the feast day on which the apparition occurred (Stern [II; 11]).

The "Missionaries of La Salette" were founded by the bishop of Grenoble in 1852; they were a diocesan order in charge of the shrine and the promulgation of its message. Details of the Missionaries and their history are displayed at the shrine. The order applied for authorisation in 1876, but did not receive it until 1926, due to the storm over the 'secret of Mélanie'; they gained their full title only in 1941. Their exile from La Salette was from 1902 to 1943. Today they have missions worldwide (interview with Missionary father at La Salette, September 1988, who provided notes on a lecture by Jean Stern on the Missionaries' history and spirituality [undated]).

(1/21). The fragile alliance between the right wing of the Church and the emperor was destroyed in 1859 by the latter's foreign policy, which contributed to the partial loss of the papal states. Although this followed plans made in 1858 (eg Napoléon III's secret meeting with Cavour of Piedmont in July), the French public were unaware of them until the beginning of the following year. The La Salette visionary Mélanie Calvat claimed to have foreseen this "treachery". She published the secret purportedly given to her during the 1846 apparition in 1879, although details of it were leaked in the early 1860s. The text of the secret is given in Griffiths [1966; 363-9]. In particular, note: "...Napoléon; son coeur est double, et quand il voudra être a la fois Pape et empereur, bientôt Dieu se retirera de lui; il est cet aigle qui, voulant toujours s'élever, tombera sur l'épée dont il voulait se servir pour obliger les peuples à se faire élever" [365]. Mélanie claimed that she had been told to retain her secret until 1858, the very year of Napoléon's 'treachery'. One wonders why the Vatican has never revealed whether the secret corresponds in any way to that given to the pope in 1851.

(1/22). Napoléon III personally ordered the Lourdes grotto to be re-opened to the public during September 1858. Two Lourdes supporters had helped this to happen: Louis Veuillot, who had visited Lourdes at the end of July 1858, toured with the emperor in a journalistic capacity later that autumn. Also, the archbishop of Auch petitioned the emperor for the re-opening of the grotto (Maurain [233]; Cros [1926; II; 420-1]). Laurentin & Billet deal critically with the contemporary legends surrounding the emperor's connection with Lourdes in [1958; IV; 51-64]. It was rumoured that the emperor's son had been healed by the Lourdes water, a story provoked by the visit of a royal governess to the grotto, but this is unlikely.

(1/23). The roots of the ideological change in the French Church of the 1850s are to be found in the ultramontanism of the Lamennais school but also, and more decisively, in the nationwide popularity of the Catholic newspaper L'Univers and its editor from 1843, Louis Veuillot. Veuillot appealed to the lower clergy who resented the power of the conservative French episcopate; the mid-nineteenth century was marked by tension between these clerical groups (see Phillips [1936; 9ff], Dansette [I; 282], and Gooch [245-8], who all show Louis Veuillot's role in encouraging this phenomenon). The enormous influence of Louis Veuillot is recorded in many histories, eg Dansette [I; 301] and [1961; II; 19]; Gooch [245-8].

L'Univers argued the case for supernatural intervention against secular newspapers which denigrated popular religious beliefs. It had supported La Salette from the first, but in a qualified way subject to an authoritative episcopal decision - the point Veuillot wished to make was that an apparition was possible as a divine initiative (see the debate between L'Univers and La Siècle over La Salette in Stern [I; 242-3, 248-53], and over Lourdes, in Cros [II; 372-9]. Veuillot's deference to Church authority in the case of apparitions can be seen in the article of 19 February 1847, given in Stern [I; 248-53]).

The new popular ultramontanism of Veuillot was in contrast to the old ultramontanes who, after 1848, began to resent the new extreme mood which moved toward papal infallibility and right wing politics (for example, Mgr Sibour of Paris in correspondence to Montalembert, given in Phillips [1]). The 'anti-ultramontane' group of the 1850s and 1860s could not be called gallican - that tradition was dead by then (Dansette [II; 100-1]).

In parallel to the new mood was a dramatic increase in officially-organised pilgrimages during the Second Empire (Kselman [28] - above (1/15)). Yet there were embarrassments for those Catholics who emphasised the miraculous and the authority of the pope. Eugène Vintras

and Rosette Tamisier, would-be prophets, were successfully prosecuted for fraud in the early 1850s [182]. Mlle Lamerlière lost her court case in 1855 when attempting to sue the priests Déléon and Cartellier, who had accused her of impersonating Our Lady at La Salette ([182]; Wallace [1948; 177] assumes that this verdict substantiated their claim!). In the Mortara affair of 1858, a 4 year old Jewish boy was almost taken from his family on the Church's orders because he had been secretly baptised by a maid - this caused anti-Catholic feeling. Despite these setbacks, popular Catholic sentiment was ready to embrace Lourdes (see Maurain [232-5]; Phillips [77-80]).

Note also the background of the bishop of Tarbes, Mgr Laurence, who had jurisdiction over the events of Lourdes. He was reserved about the phenomena at first, as is usual in the Church reaction to such happenings, but he was not predisposed to be an opponent of the grotto. Appointed to the area to help breaches within the clergy caused during the years of Revolution and First Empire, he had for some 22 years before 1858 been a key figure in the restoration of old shrines destroyed or abandoned in that period (see Neame [1968; 219]). For this purpose, he had helped to found the Missionaries (later Fathers) of the Immaculate Conception at Garaison, site of a sixteenth-century apparition (to a young shepherdess) and healing spring (see Chourry et al [1981] on Jean-Louis Peydessus, co-founder of the Missionaries of the Immaculate Conception at Garaison, which contains several references to Bertrand-Sévère Laurence and his nephew). They were to supervise the renewal of shrines, and still exist today at Garaison whilst being involved in the administration of the shrine at Lourdes.

(1/24). Kselman [113, 117-8]. Boutry [498-500] gives an account of the apparitions at Veyziat, which likened the state of France in the early 1870s to that of the time of Noah's Ark; many crowds went to the scene, and there was trouble with antireligious demonstrators. The bishop of Belley condemned the phenomenon in 1875. [500-2] gives details of the 'miraculous journey' of Catherine Panier across the Prussian lines in October 1870, a claim ignored by the Church.

(1/25). Kselman [113-40] describes the religious revival of the Third Republic, with its royalist and eschatological prophecy.

(1/26). See the discussion below, 3.4.2.

(1/27). The Sacred Heart basilica on Montmartre, a response to the request at Paray-le-Monial in the seventeenth century for a national shrine of that name, was planned from 1871 and begun in 1875 (Phillips [176,

320-1]; Dansette [I; 333]). The mass pilgrimages at Paray-le-Monial and Lourdes were openly nationalist, monarchist, and ultramontanist; thus the priests on procession suffered anticlericalist slogans and attacks (Wallace [177-8, 269]; the details of pilgrimages with regard to monarchism can be found in Kselman [125-8]; Boutry [504]). These mass events were encouraged by the Assumptionist order, the supervisors of Lourdes after 1866, who utilised the media and railways. Paray-le-Monial and the Sacred Heart recalled the Bourbon era, and were obvious symbols of the hope for the return of this line in the person of the Comte de Chambord (see the details of the Paray pilgrimage of 1873 in Dansette [I; 333] - 1873 was the year of disappointment for monarchist hopes, according to Kselman [128]). For the history of the Sacred Heart visions experienced by St Marguerite-Marie Alacoque at Paray-le-Monial (1673-5), see Préclin & Jarry [1955; XIX; 287-90].

(1/28). The archbishop of Bourges, Mgr de la Tour d'Auvergne - a leader of the 'infallibilists', according to Perry & Echeverría [136] - was in favour of the new cult at Pellevoisin, and obtained Vatican permission for the founding of a confraternity dedicated to the "Mère toute miséricorde", which wore the scapular. He set up two commissions of enquiry in 1877 and 1878 but, despite the positive finding on the healing of Estelle Faguet, did not live long enough to pronounce any verdict (Vernet [1988; 52]). I am not sure whether the distrust of the new cults because of the danger to the parish structure from the end of the 1870s, as recorded by Boutry [505-6], has any bearing on the lack of enquiry into Pellevoisin by Mgr Marchal (1880-92) (Boutry notes that this archbishop of Bourges banned devotion to the wound in Christ's left shoulder).

The Sacred Heart scapular became popular and was encouraged by Rome, but the years of Church-State tension at the turn of the century saw a reversal in the fortunes of Pellevoisin. The new archbishop of Bourges in 1896, Mgr Servonnet, was a liberal and supporter of the "ralliement" (Dansette [II; 133-4, 148]). Supportive toward Pellevoisin at first, he opened a third enquiry in 1899 but, by 1902, the priest who had been at Pellevoisin since the apparitions, Abbe Salmon, was moved, and in 1903 the shrine was closed. The visionary, Estelle Faguet, was the subject of a scandal, and the Vatican carefully distinguished its support for the scapular from belief in the apparitions: the pope suspended judgement on them, despite the Vatican approval of the scapular on April 4 1900; in 1904, the Vatican issued a neutral declaration disavowing belief or disbelief in the apparitions (Thurston [1934b; 127-8] gives AAS, vol 37 (1905), p 372, as reference; Beevers [1953; 129-40] has 1907 and 1926 as

the dates for Vatican documents distancing the hierarchy from belief in the apparitions).

In 1910, the new archbishop, Mgr Dubois, reopened the shrine and attended pilgrimages. It is believed at the shrine that the bad years for Pellevoisin were caused by Servonnet's anxiety to keep his links with the State, and a resultant rejection of old-fashioned and conservative Catholicism (this is the opinion of the Dominican Sisters at Pellevoisin, according to an interview in September 1988).

(1/29). See the appendix for bibliographical notes on the authentication of the Pellevoisin healing in 1983; in the appendices are references for the authentication processes in general.

(1/30). The memorial chapel to the apparitions at Tilly has a plaque which exalts the visions of Marie Martel above the other "phénomènes plus ou moins étrange... probablement inférieur". This chapel was built with the permission of Mgr Hugonin in 1897 and rebuilt and blessed by 1953, so that there has been some attempt by the diocese to reach a compromise with the local cult (visit, September 1988). Tilly is recorded in W J Walsh's compendium of marian apparition phenomena [1904; IV; 205-17].

(1/31). See Billet [1973; 8], who records "epidemics" of apparitions, such as the period 1937-47 in France.

(1/32). According to the parish priest in residence during an interview in October 1988, the apparitions of L'Ile-Bouchard were never recognised or encouraged by the hierarchy because of the following factors:

(i) the delicacy of the political situation of the time (the death of General Leclerc and the possibility of a communist takeover). The messages of the apparition contained a reference to the dangerous situation in France. As we will see, the hierarchical Church tends to avoid visionary phenomena with political overtones. Yet the exhortation to "pray for France" by the children merely reflected the practice of the local nuns at the time.

(ii) The lack of popular support and religious "fruits", ie mass pilgrimage and devotion (the priest thinks that this is due to the lukewarm attitude of the people of central France to Catholicism).

(1/33). Laurentin [1988b; 146-7] notes the official judgement against the supernatural character of the events (1938 - 1965). See also Billet [24-7].

(1/34). Recorded in McClure [1983; 130-2].

(1/35). This process is outlined in Dansette [I; 21]; Weber [passim]; Kselman [193].

(1/36). Boutry [453-506]; Kselman, [eg 199]; Weber [355]. As an example of the growth of national marian lay associations, we can cite the "Children of Mary", constituted as an association in 1840 (Laurentin [1983; 145-6]). In Lourdes, however, the congregation of women was known as the "Daughters of Mary Immaculate", founded in 1841 by Dominique Forgues (Cros [I; 28]), whose dress seems to have inspired Bernadette's vision to some extent. These women and girls are referred to as the "Children of Mary" in most books (eg Laurentin [1979; 42]).

Bouritius [122-3], in referring to the revival of pilgrimage in the nineteenth century and the mass devotions to Mary during the second half of that century (in 1871, the "Sacred Virgin" was the national symbol of France), points out that no year passed between 1802 and 1898 inclusive without an order, devoted to her, being founded.

(1/37). The crowning of statues, sometimes by a papal legate, is recorded in Attwater [57]; Kselman [33]. The practice was also popular in Belgium and Spain (Attwater [296]). For the universal erection of certain statues, see Boutry [494-6], and for the nationalisation of statues and titles of Mary, see Gibson [143, 155]. Bernadette Soubirous will have seen, in her local church, a statue dedicated to the devotion centred on Mary's Immaculate Conception, based on the apparitions at the Rue du Bac convent with Mary holding her hands outstretched. There is a selection of the statues extant in 1858, and which Bernadette compared to her vision, in the museum at the shrine of Lourdes.

Lourdes grottos as well as statues became popular in France and abroad. Oostacker, near Gent in Belgium, had a Lourdes grotto from 1872, and many cures were reported to have occurred there (Gillett [I; 214-8]). The twentieth century visionaries at Beauraing, Belgium, and at L'Île-Bouchard had their experiences at sites where Lourdes grottos had been built.

(1/38). Weber [372-4]; see also Kselman [57-8, 201-3]: there was an increase in pilgrimage from urban areas towards the end of the century; Gibson [152-3]: the "embourgeoisement and feminisation of popular religion" during the second half of the 19th century.

(1/39). Kselman [144-5]: "Even with the early belief of the clergy, the rapid diffusion and success of the new cults cannot be attributed to anything like the clerical conspiracy pictured in anticlerical propaganda."

(1/40). The Assumptionists were founded in 1845 by Père d'Alzon to act as missionaries to the lower classes; their periodical La Croix became a daily newspaper in 1883, attacking liberalism and eventually the "ralliement" of the 1890s. D'Alzon was openly monarchist in sympathy when forced to sign the official Church document respecting the national institutions of the Third Republic in 1880 (Dansette [II; 9, 20-1, 45, etc]. Peyramale, the parish priest of Lourdes, was angry at the neglect his church was suffering whilst the shrine was being built; he resented the religious clergy brought in to supervise the shrine (Neame [266]). Yet he was very much involved in the plans for the building programme (Cros [1926; III; 163ff]).

There are also religious orders based at Pontmain and Pellevoisin, inspired to be at those sites by the respective apparition events.

(1/41). Many Catholics blamed the disasters of 1870-1 on the lack of support by the Empire for the pope, and on religious apostasy generally. The "Moral Order" of the early 1870s called for national penance, and particularly pilgrimage (see the references in note (1/27) and Gibson [148-9]).

(1/42). Mélanie's secret, claimed by her to have been revealed during the apparition of 1846, was published in 1870 but suppressed by Rome, being put on the Index. This alienated the extreme right of French Catholicism, such as well-known writers like Bloy and Huysmans. These men refused to let the issue die, and continued to champion Mélanie's cause into the twentieth century. They were protagonists of penitential suffering, and opponents of secularism. For this reason, they attacked Catholic liberalism, especially amongst the clergy (Griffiths [50, 178, 235, 296]).

Mélanie's secret had referred to the heterodoxy of some priests ([364]: "Les chefs, les conducteurs du peuple de Dieu ont négligé la prière et la pénitence, et le démon a obscuri leurs intelligences", etc.), while expressing support and sympathy for the pope.

(1/43). The Assumptionists opposition to the State finally resulted in their being one of the first orders expelled from France, in 1900. Yet pilgrimage to Lourdes had its own life separate from the political and religious struggles of its supervisors. The shrine survived shut-down in 1900 because of the business interests of local people, many of them republican sympathisers, who lobbied the State on the shrine's behalf (Sandhurst [1953; 208]; Dansette [II; 202]). Lourdes had become more popular than the older local devotions (whose heyday was the 1860s before the more rapid modernisation of the late 19th

century (Gibson [150]).

(1/44). The conflict over farming tenancy as a background to the apparition at Knock is outlined in L Cadhain [1953; 69ff]; Neary [1989; 57ff]. It is also given in M Carroll [1986; 202ff], as, in his view, the reason for anxiety which resulted in the apparition.

(1/45). Corish [1985; 230] and Keenan [1983; 187-8] give details of clerical involvement in politics. The archbishop with jurisdiction over the Knock area, Dr MacHale of Tuam, was accused of allowing his priests to attack landlords from the pulpit, a charge that he denied [187]. Nevertheless, MacHale was well-known for his support for Irish independence and sympathy for the pro-Fenian priest, Lavelle (Corish [1967; V; 9ff]).

The Knock area was suffering from evictions at this time, and the local priest, archdeacon Cavanagh, was under pressure to speak out on behalf of the Land League, but instead had denounced the secret societies formed in the area as pressure groups on the land question, because he believed their leaders to be freemasons (Cadhain [82-4]). He seems to have been favourable to the apparition claims from the outset, and has been accused of manufacturing the phenomenon to divert people's attention from the land conflict. The Channel 4 programme on psychic phenomena, Is there anything there? (1987), suggested that the pressure on the priest may have led him to manufacture a 'magic lantern' vision, but they did not mention early refutations of this theory by a Maynooth professor and a Daily Telegraph journalist, see eg MacPhilpin [1894; 54-63]; Purcell [1961; 163]; McCarthy [1903; 234, 250]. Berman [1987] has also resurrected the lantern theory, but S Campbell [1988], a fellow "rationalist", disagrees, preferring his own theory that the light was cast by the rising Jupiter!

(1/46). The enquiries begun by Cavanagh were taken up by archbishop MacHale, who welcomed the first organised pilgrimage as it passed through Tuam in March 1880 from Limerick, implying by his words to the pilgrims that he believed in the apparition (according to Neary [1979b; 57] who refers to the Daily Telegraph, March 19, 1880. Neary believes that MacHale's words were equivalent to the official authentication statements used in France, as no procedure of this kind existed in Ireland (interview, September 1989)). MacHale also set up a commission within a couple of months of the apparition - this decided in favour of the reliability of the witnesses.

However, after MacHale's death in 1881, the cause of Knock was not pursued by the Church for almost fifty years

(Rynne [1979; chapter 12]). The new archbishop in 1881, Dr McEville, who remained silent on Knock, had been appointed coadjutor in the Tuam archdiocese against the wishes of MacHale in 1878. The two men disagreed on the nationalist question, McEville opposing the Home Rule movement (Corish [1967; V; 54]; [1985; 198]). Whether this influenced McEville's unwillingness to continue his predecessor's initial positive reaction to Knock is unclear.

For early press reactions to Knock, see miscellaneous item 1 (the reports in The Times were neutral as to the likelihood that the apparition had 'occurred'; those in the New York Times were more sceptical). The first newspaper report on Knock was in the Tuam News of 9 January 1880 (quoted in MacPhilpin [13-15]); the Daily Telegraph interviewed archdeacon Cavanagh on March 1st 1880 (McCarthy [246-7]; the resultant article is quoted in MacPhilpin [54-63]).

There were other visionary phenomena, seen by visitors to Knock on 6 January and 9 February 1880 (MacPhilpin [50-3]). The positive archbishops were those of Toronto and Hobart (eg Rynne [appendix 1]).

(1/47). In 1926, Dr Gilmartin, the then archbishop of Tuam gave permission to the local priest for an approved formula of devotions. Three years later, he visited Knock (Rynne [appendix 1]; Neary [65] quotes him as saying on this occasion: "It was incorrect to say that the story of Knock was unfavourably considered at any time"). Gilmartin set up a new commission in 1932, which sent a favourable report to Rome in 1939. Pilgrimage flourished during the 1940s, and in 1954 Pius XII included Knock among the marian shrines especially honoured on 31st October, the eve of the declaration of the feast of Mary's Queenship [175-6].

After this, papal indulgences were granted to Knock by both Pius XII and Paul VI, and John XXIII sent blessings along with a commemorative candle [181]. John Paul II visited the shrine in its centenary year, 1979. Thus Knock, despite the lack of published official pronouncement on the apparition itself, has received the highest possible ecclesiastical honours. This probably renders such a statement unnecessary, especially as commissions have been carried out and have reached positive conclusions.

(1/48). For acknowledgement that Knock is Ireland's national marian shrine, see the Catholic Truth Society booklet by Neary [1979a] which refers to "Ireland's National Shrine of Our Lady". The observations regarding the sociological focus for devotion are derived from Keenan [240-5] and Corish [1985; 212,222].

(1/49). The opinion that the 1980s have seen a special challenge to traditional Catholicism in Ireland (eg the divorce referendum) was voiced by many Irish Catholics interviewed during a research visit in September 1989. See Inglis [1987; 21]; on the abortion and divorce referenda (respectively 1983, 1986) [80ff]; on the undermining of Church authority since the 1960s by the State [93], and by the media [94]. See also [217, 224-7], and on increasing demand for status by the laity [225-6].

(1/50). The period 1910-26 must rank as the most turbulent in modern Portuguese history: da Silva Rego [1969; 39] records 8 different presidents and 43 prime ministries between 1910 and 1926, with the longest government lasting just over a year; there were 4 revolutions (1910, 1915, 1917 and 1926). The Church and its status were a major factor of controversy in the to-and-fro of this period. (Wheeler [1978; 67-72]: anticlericalism shocked people into a new religiosity in 1910-13. There were two republican views in retrospect: (i) that anticlericalism had been the ruin of the Republic, and (ii) that it was a necessary means to re-education). A majority of the population were still very much Catholic, a fact which forced successive governments of the Republic to compromise their anticlericalism.

The leading political figure during the first years of the Republic, Afonso Costa, believed that religion would die out within a couple of generations under the new regime. His government set out to help this process by suppressing religious orders (already under pressure before 1910), proscribing religious education in primary schools, closing the famous theology faculty at Coimbra, and placing marriage under civil law, with facilities for divorce. Diplomatic relations with the Vatican were ended in 1911 - in reply, the encyclical Jamdudum in Lusitania protested against the persecution of the Church in Portugal (see da Silva Rego [167-70]; Hales [265]; Wheeler [67-72, 104-5]). There was in addition a great deal of international pressure from other countries on behalf of the Portuguese Church.

After 1914, the situation became more tolerable for the Church, with attendance still high and active popular anticlericalism mostly confined to Lisbon. A much brighter period for Catholic hopes nationally was the "New Republic" under the leadership of Pais during 1918 and, although this was a false dawn, Pais being assassinated one year after taking office, things were never as bad again as the 1910-3 period. 1917-26 marks a time during which the Republic became increasingly aware of the need for compromise in the Church question (Wheeler [170-1, 192, 204, 259]; see also da Silva Rego [169-70]). The

armed insurgencies by monarchists which followed the end of the War and the fall of Pais did not receive the full approval of Catholics - it seemed to the latter that the monarchists had no interest in the fortunes of the Church (Wheeler [198]).

(1/51). Portugal entered the War under British pressure, a move with a devastating impact on the country - the economy was greatly worsened from its already difficult position, and many Portuguese casualties were sustained [125-33].

(1/52). The local administrator of the region (Vila Nova de Ourem), Artur Santos, was hostile to Catholicism and tried to end the apparition events. He arrested the children so that they were unable to be at the Cova da Iria before the crowds on August 13 1917. They claimed, however, that the August apparition took place in private on the 19th, and that the October "miracle" would be diminished by the administrator's action (the story is given in all the accounts of Fatima, see eg Martindale [1950; 46-59]).

(1/53). Details in Wheeler [136-8].

(1/54). Fatima was threatened by mob aggression in the early years, the army attempted (unsuccessfully) to prevent the annual pilgrimage on May 13 1920, the famous hawthorn tree was attacked (but the wrong one uprooted), and a bomb destroyed the small chapel in 1922 (Martindale [105-8]; de Marchi [1986a; 213-9]).

(1/55). The delicacy of the Church-State relationship in 1917 caused the clergy to approach the Fatima affair with much caution and even dismissal. This was certainly true of the initial reaction of the Patriarch of Lisbon, Cardinal Belo, exiled from his see at the time (Martindale [128] and W T Walsh [1949; 260] report that the cardinal laughed at the stories about Fatima in 1918, although the latter points out that he had changed his mind before his death in 1922. See also Fox [1982; 88]. Walsh [222] also notes that he threatened excommunication of any priest speaking in favour of the apparitions because of his fears for the delicate Church-State relationship).

The local priest had arrived at Fatima in the recent past with a determination to stamp out country practices which were in danger of being immoral. The surviving visionary after 1920, Lucia dos Santos, records the arrival of Fr Boicinha in dos Santos [1976; 64]. This is the priest who suggested to her, during the apparitions, that the devil could be behind them [68-9]. Some priests actually went among the crowds at Fatima telling them to go home

(Martindale [74]; de Marchi [132]. Martindale [83] says that "the clergy were nearly all hostile to the affair").

The hierarchical Church took control of the situation by reinstating the diocese of Leiria, the new bishop, Dr José Alves Correia da Silva being installed on July 25, 1920 (Fox [vii]: the diocese was restored on January 17th, 1918; McClure [135], admittedly very much a secondary source, says that the bishop's position at Leiria was "created more or less for the purpose". Certainly, the bishop set about the enquiry into Fatima straight away after his installation: de Marchi [5]; Barthas & da Fonseca [1947; 57]).

(1/56). Salazar held the Catholic faith to be integral to the Portuguese State, and treated the Church with respect (see Blanshard [1962; 218ff]; also the quote attributed to Salazar in Derrick [1938; 9], where the dictator promotes "spiritual values of life....against those who know no country and no God....against the purely materialist conception of life"). Martindale [181-2] says that Fatima helped to transform Portugal. Barthas & da Fonseca [168] claim that Fatima was responsible for the supremacy of Catholicism and lack of war in Portugal.

(1/57). The BBC 'Everyman' documentary The Virgin and the Red Flag (1979) demonstrates this.

(1/58). The reports in the republican newspaper O Seculo of 23 July, October 13, and October 15, 1917 (see miscellaneous item 2) show how the sceptical editor Avelino de Almeida became a witness to the phenomenon. S Campbell [1989] claims that the 'miracle of the sun' has a rationalist explanation: a dust cloud. However, the possibility that the visionaries and crowds expected a miracle in advance of the exact time of an unusual atmospheric phenomenon is itself something to wonder at!

(1/59). After 1921, Lucia dos Santos, who survived her fellow visionaries and cousins, Francisco and Jacinta Marto, victims of the "Spanish flu" epidemic in 1919 and 1920, was sent to the school run by the sisters of St Dorothy in O Porto. The bishop of Leiria, like his predecessors at La Salette and Lourdes, was anxious to protect and to educate this popular figure away from the crowds. Lucia moved to Tuy in Spain in 1925 so as to become a novice of the order; it was there that she received further revelations. Lucia's request for first Saturday devotions (see note (1/60)) dates from her private apparition in 1925, and was first mentioned in a letter to her mother in 1927. A locution in 1927 (this time she perceived Jesus giving the message) confirmed that it was time to make known the things pertaining to the Immaculate Heart. She asked for the consecration of

Russia to the Immaculate Heart in 1929 in a letter to a priest - this was passed on to the bishop of Leiria.

The later revelations follow in four memoirs published in 1936, 1937, 1941, and 1942 (for a summary, see Martindale [139-70]; the memoirs are recorded in full in dos Santos [1973] and [1976]; for the earlier letters, see Martins [1979]). The bishop began to ask for the memoirs after the transferral of the remains of Jacinta Marto to Fatima in 1935 (dos Santos [1976; 15]); it was clear from the first memoir that there was much more to be disclosed [49]. The visions of the angel in 1916 were first mentioned by Lucia in her second memoir (21 November 1937). By the time that Lucia revealed the reference to the "errors" of Russia in her record of the 1917 apparitions, the Spanish Civil War was over, and Pius XI had condemned communism, referring to Russia and Spain, in Divini Redemptoris, 1937 (Hales [280-1]: Pius XI also denounced nazism in Mit Brennender Sorge, March 1937). There had also been an anti-communist pilgrimage organised by the Portuguese bishops at Fatima in 1938 (Barthas & da Fonseca [68, 199-202]).

Pius XII was moved by Lucia's requests to consecrate Russia to the Immaculate Heart (which reached the papacy only in a new letter, 1940), perhaps because her prophecies seemed to be fulfilled by the Second World War. (Lucia wrote out the prophecy that she claimed to have received on July 13 1917 by August 31 1941: the "unknown light" she identified as the Aurora Borealis of January 1938; the war beginning "in the pontificate of Pius XI" was the Second World War starting with the annexation of Austria in 1938 - see dos Santos [104-5, 111-2]. On October 31st, 1942, the pope therefore consecrated the world to the Immaculate Heart, but without explicit reference to Russia. Yet Lucia required the latter to be so consecrated with the full collegial support of the Catholic bishops worldwide. Ceremonies in 1952 and 1982 did not satisfy her on the latter count, and only in 1984 did John Paul II's consecration of the world to the Immaculate Heart seem to convince Lucia that her mission had been accomplished (so Noël [1985; especially pp 36-8]). However, there is a lobby which claims that the consecration has not been fulfilled, and also claims Lucia's support for this view (notably, the Fatima Crusader - see eg Leonard [1990]).

(1/60). The Immaculate Conception had been a concept enshrined in the Portuguese marian cultus for several centuries. The Immaculate Heart was more established in the French tradition of the two hearts (eg the miraculous medal; the Immaculate Heart was enshrined in the archconfraternity established at Notre-Dame des Victoires in 1838, see note (1/12)). Lucia's request for confession,

eucharist, and prayer on five first Saturdays, made after a revelation in 1925, resembles the message of St Marguerite-Marie Alacoque, the seventeenth-century visionary of the Sacred Heart at Paray-le-Monial (see Dhanis [1952; 600-1]; Martindale [140-1]).

The consecration of the world to the Immaculate Heart had been the object of Catholic pressure during the twentieth century, after the consecration to the Sacred Heart made by Leo XIII in 1899; petitions to this effect began in the 1870s (Beevers [222]). Alfonso XIII consecrated Spain to the Sacred Heart in 1919 (Hales [264]). The consecration of the world to the Immaculate Heart was finally carried out on October 31 1942, by Pius XII.

(1/61). The apparitions at Fatima coincided with the rise to power of bolshevism in Russia in 1917, a fact close to the heart of interest in the revelations. Yet the problem of communism was also topical in the Spanish peninsula when Lucia began to allude to Russia being part of the Fatima secrets in 1929. In addition, the threat to Christians in Russia was now being fully realised under Stalin's cultural revolution of this year and beyond.

(1/62). An overview of the relevant literature is given in Alonso [1967]. Dhanis [1952] is the original author of the thesis that the 1917 apparitions may be separated from the later revelations when considering the authenticity of the whole Fatima phenomenon, ie that the original apparitions and messages are authentic, the later revelations not. Alonso [1973b] refutes Dhanis' division of Fatima's history.

(1/63). Careful episcopal control during the 1920s, before full authentication of the Fatima apparitions in 1930, limited the number of publications, all Portuguese before 1929. The major commentator was the bishop's investigator Dr Formigão, who had interviewed the visionaries; under the pseudonym "Visconde de Montelo", he edited the Voz da Fatima paper from 1922, and wrote three books describing the events. Books in other languages came with ecclesiastical validation of the visions (see Alonso [1967; 8-20]).

Confraternities for voluntary stretcher-bearers and nurses, and then for prayer and mission were established during the 1920s; the hospital was built in 1929 (Barthas & da Fonseca [61-3]). In 1934, the Portuguese bishops set up an organisation called the "Movimento dos Cruzados de Fátima", given the job of promulgating the fame and message of the shrine ([63]; the Estatutos of the movement are available at the shrine). This became the basis for international interest, especially after the Second World War, with the founding of the "Blue Army" by an American

priest in 1946: an international organisation with the bishop of Leiria as president. Membership of the organisation is based on devotional duty, eg saying the rosary daily, and its original title expressed a desire to claim one member for every communist (ie the "Red Army") (Johnston [1980b; 133ff]; Blanshard [238-9] was negative about the Blue Army, calling it "McCarthyite" and "pro-fascist").

The anti-communist emphasis of Fatima, begun in the 1930s, thus developed with the onset of the cold war. The "third secret", that part of Lucia's revelations which was sealed in 1944, fuelled much apocalyptic speculation in keeping with the nuclear age. Yet, although the secret was meant to be revealed in 1960, successive popes from that time refused to do this (the authority on the "third secret" is Alonso [1979]. For a criticism of the papacy for failing to reveal the secret, see de la Sainte Trinité [1987]).

The Fatima cultus laid the ground for further revelations which returned to the anti-communist theme and suggested that the message of Fatima was being forgotten, eg the apparitions at Lipa, Phillipines (1948, a "hoax" according to Rahner [1963; 87]), and Necedah, Wisconsin, USA (1950s, see Billet [36-8]). The fear of communism has led some Catholic groups to suggest that the papacy itself has been taken over by this ideology since the Second Vatican Council (eg Bayside's apparition cult (New York, 1970s, see Laurentin [1988b; 44, 138-9]); the French group "Contre-Réforme Catholique" publishes a periodical which has referred to the "marxism" of the papacy since Vatican II). Such fanaticism and the one-sidedness of some Catholic sentiment in the cold war years has helped to make Fatima very unpopular among many Catholics of a liberal spirit.

Fatima's international appeal has been enhanced by the building of statues at many places across the world (following the Lourdes cult), and by the carrying of the "Pilgrim Virgin" statue from the shrine around the world (see Johnston [124-32]; Christian [1984; 246ff]). For the statue of Our Lady of Fatima and other marian devotions in Africa, see Ranger [1982; 333-65, especially 348]).

(1/64). The rosary stands at the centre of the Fatima message. This devotion had been an important element in the marian cult in Portugal over the centuries, encouraged, for example, by the Dominicans at nearby Batalha. (for a brief history of marian devotion in Portugal, see Martindale [11-14]; Attwater [224]; Cross [1957; XVI; 679ff]).

Mary was known under a variety of titles in Portugal, and Lucia particularly liked the statue of Our Lady of the

Rosary in the local church; it was this title that was revealed as the identity of the vision, although she was also seen as Our Lady of Sorrows and Our Lady of Carmel (Martindale [157]). For details of the Spanish medieval apparition tradition, see Christian [1981a; eg 23-5].

(1/65). Wheeler [67] states that Portugal looked to republican France as its model for secular government; therefore in 1910 it followed the policy of Church-State separation enacted in France in 1905. The ideas of the French Revolution had had a profound effect on Spain and Portugal since the Napoleonic period (da Silva Rego [162-6] and Becarud [1969; 184]).

(1/66). See Billet [8]; below, (3/55).

(1/67). The media, communications, and travel networks in Belgium allowed news of Beauraing to reach other parts of the country very quickly. When Mariette Beco first claimed to see the Virgin at Banneux across the Ardennes on January 15th 1933, she had already heard vaguely of the visions at Beauraing. Unknown to her, the local priest and nuns were already praying for guidance on Beauraing (Tancrémont-Banneux, June 1933, p 21). Banneux, where the apparitions ceased on March 2nd, did not provoke the debates and controversial publicity surrounding Beauraing, partly because of the over-exposure of the latter, and partly because so few were witnesses at Banneux (Kerkhofs [1953; I; 34] says that there were never more than twenty witnesses to Mariette's trances at any one time).

(1/68). The feast of the Immaculate Conception was a point of climax during the Beauraing apparitions. The visionaries attracted a large crowd on 8th December 1932 (Toussaint & Joset [1981; 52]); the children had been prepared for this day by the Virgin [45]. The vision also confirmed that she was the "Immaculate Virgin" in reply to a visionary's question near the beginning of the apparition period. Thus, while the Immaculate Heart was not explicitly mentioned, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the concept was consciously in the visionaries' minds.

(1/69). The Banneux Virgin resembled the vision at Lourdes in dress and stance. The feast of Our Lady of Lourdes (11 February) was an important milestone during the apparitions; Mariette Beco's apparitions resumed on the 11th February 1933 after a break of three weeks (at the local school, the story of Lourdes was related on that day, according to Walne & Flory [1983a; 10]). In addition, Mariette, like Bernadette 75 years before her, found a spring while following the instructions of the Virgin.

(1/70). By 1933, Belgium was racked with economic decline and the fear of German invasion resurfaced with the rise of Hitler. The "Éditions Rex" (see (1/71) below) seized upon the apparitions of Mary in Belgium as a rallying-point for national Catholic morale. The propagandists were especially interested in the visionary Tilman Côme, who had gone to Beauraing in the summer of 1933 after hearing of the childrens' visions of the previous winter. Côme promised the protection of Mary against the "invader", ie Nazi Germany. On August 5th 1933, he attracted huge crowds to Beauraing, an occasion given full publicity by the "Éditions Rex" despite ecclesiastical reserve. He claimed that the Virgin had asked for a large pilgrimage to take place on her feast day: 5th August is the minor feast of Our Lady of the Snows, anniversary of the foundation of St Maria Maggiore, the basilica dating from the fourth century. In addition, he had seen in a vision the title "Notre-Dame de Boring" (sic), a hitherto unknown spelling of Beauraing! (For details of Côme, see Soirées (23 June 1933); Burnon [1933]; Toussaint & Joset [115-9]).

At Onkerzele, August to September 1933, the visionary, apart from generally calling for prayer and repeating the title of Mary first given at Banneux: "Notre-Dame des Pauvres", declared that Mary had promised the protection of Belgium (Sindic [1933]).

(1/71). The tendency for lay Catholics in France to be tempted into the politics of the extreme right was repeated in Belgium in the 1930s. Pius XI had banned the extremist "Action Française" in 1926 (Dansette [II; 378-413]), but he also encouraged "Catholic Action" - a network of lay Catholic organisations with a commitment to social action. The "Action Catholique de la Jeunesse Belge" was such a movement, and this took as its motif 'Christ the King', hence the name of its publisher, the "Éditions Rex" at Louvain (for a self-analysis of the Rex movement, see Soirées, 25 August 1933).

A political movement known as "rexism" was spawned by the ACJB, under the leadership of Leon Degrelle, a Catholic layman who appropriated the Rex concept. The rexists became the Belgian fascist party, and they won a sizeable share of the vote in 1936. A scandal during a Brussels local election in 1937 dented their popularity and brought the condemnation of Cardinal van Roey, archbishop of Malines, upon them (the priests of Brussels spoke out against the rexist candidate from the pulpit) (Genicot [1973; 427-8]; Delfosse [1969; 244]). The rexists were anti-Nazi at first, in keeping with Belgian fear of Germany (the Éditions Rex magazine, Soirées, 25 August 1933, refers to nazism as "racisme", and regards it as an enemy together with communism. Catholicism is the third alternative of "les trois mystiques modernes"). However,

Degrelle became a collaborator during the German occupation; after the War, therefore, nothing more was heard of the rexists.

The "Éditions Rex" at Louvain was publishing material on Beauraing as early as December 1932: the testimony of a Dr Maistriaux [1932], who interviewed the visionaries and decided in favour of the events. Maistriaux was a local president of the "Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Belge" (Toussaint & Joset [99]).

(1/72). See below, 3.2.2 and the notes therein for details of the arguments over Beauraing begun by Maistriaux, and for details of the commissions. There are also many details of the arguments scattered throughout the issues in the notes to section 3.3.

(1/73). As note (1/72); see also the remarks in 4.3.1.

(1/74). The bishop of Namur, Mgr Heylen, was cautious at first, ordering his clergy to stay away from the crowds attending the apparitions. Yet the strength of popular opinion forced him to act, and in June 1933 (the children's visions had ceased on January 3rd), he visited the new shrine and announced an official enquiry. At this time, Tilman Côme was beginning to attract large crowds. It appears that Heylen was impressed by the children's testimony whilst distancing himself from the completely separate Côme phenomenon; he authorised the building of the chapel requested by the young visionaries, and permitted the local priest to attend the evening rosary at the now-famous hawthorn tree (more detail in (3/55); Servais [1933; 57-61] mentions the bishop's positive attitude. For the bishop's visit in June 1933 and subsequent actions, see Joset [1981 ; I; 17-42]).

Nevertheless, Heylen was cautious about lay involvement. The bishops stayed out of the angry debate, preferring to depend on the slow process of ecclesiastical enquiry. Heylen was also worried about the power of some Catholic organisations: he had had an unfortunate experience with his own "Ligue Agricole Belge" [12-16], and the rexists were beginning to show their hand at this time. He distrusted the laity when they worked outside episcopal control, and set up the "Saint-Martin" ecclesiastical group to supervise the building of the Beauraing shrine, despite the fact that the lay "Pro Maria" group already existed. Pro Maria has remained at the centre of the process of publicising Beauraing [32], running the official Beauraing shop today (see also Toussaint & Joset [119ff]).

By the Autumn, both sites were producing their own periodical providing information and interviews; the new

shrine at Banneux was paired with an older one 2 km. away at Tancremont, where a miraculous cross was and is displayed. The Tancremont-Banneux was first published as a monthly in May 1933 by Caritas, the organisation responsible for pilgrimages to Banneux, with a local office in Liège. The bimonthly L'Officiel de Beauraing, published by Pro Maria, did not appear until October 1933 (Toussaint & Joset [121]); it became La Voix de Beauraing. Les Annales de Beauraing et Banneux was published from 1933 to 1940 [216]. A popular feature of the new shrines was the regular evening rosary, a practice afterwards encouraged elsewhere: an "International Union of Prayers" group was founded by the German Catholic welfare society "Caritas" in 1934 - this centred on Banneux (the internationalisation of Banneux is recorded in Kerkhofs [I; 168-79]). The international fame of both sites by the Summer of 1933 is illustrated by the fact that a notable miraculé at Banneux at this time was a pilgrim from Barcelona (Thurston [38-40]).

(1/75). Universal suffrage was introduced in Belgium after the First World War, and as a result the Catholic politicians lost their majority. As a Catholic country, Belgium had been ahead of its time with the Church constitutionally separate from the State since independence in 1830, a situation that made it easier for lay Catholics to be organised in the political arena. Yet 1918 saw the socialists as the party with the largest share of the vote in Wallonie, and the communists gained in popularity in the period between the wars (for figure of voting in Wallonie, 1919-46, see Genicot [424]).

(1/76). In Belgium as elsewhere, socialism (not always anti-Catholic) and communism were strongest in urban areas, but the process of secularisation had reached into the countryside by the twentieth century. Priests had been low in numbers in urban areas and, after the Second World War, there was a missionary effort against "dechristianisation" (Delfosse [245]). In addition, the Catholics (Cardinal van Roey in particular) were reckoned on the side of Leopold in the monarchy crisis of 1945-51, as were the Flemings. This worked against Catholic efforts in Wallonie, and it is against this background that the shrines of Beauraing and Banneux were finally given full ecclesiastical approval. Yet the respective bishops had been favourable for many years before 1945.

(1/77). See the appendices for cases in Italy (eg Ghiaie di Bonate, Tre Fontane, Montichiari, San Damiano, Schio, Oliveto Citra), in Spain (Ezquioga, Garabandal and Palmar de Troya; see also Christian [1984; 261-2]). This is a small selection. Italy is recorded as having the most

apparition cases in the period 1930-1971 (Billet [20] records 71; France has the second highest total of 27).

(1/78). Billet [8] cites 1948 as the year of this outbreak, although the apparition at Tre Fontane had occurred the year before.

(1/79). Laurentin [1988b; 43]; Derobert [1985; 25-31]; Rossi [1985].

(1/80). The period after the Second World War was, for Italy as in other European countries, notably France, one in which the communists enjoyed widespread support and contended for overall power. Yet the Catholic Church in Italy had survived the War without taking too much blame for the fascist years, despite its pact with Mussolini (Poggi [1972; 136-9]). The Church, clerical and lay, felt able to be involved in the political arena, and was committed to organising and supporting the Christian Democrat Party, which gained an important victory in the 1948 general election (Woolf [1972b; 227-8]; de Rosa [1969; 145-6]). Catholics also recognised the need for the re-establishment of traditional devotions, now national rather than local, and mass preaching, which would give the clergy an influence at all levels of political and social life. The Church was concerned to defeat the socialists and communists politically, and to ensure its continued privileges in the constitution (Poggi [142, 151]).

(1/81). The danger of losing status amongst the liberal middle classes could have resulted in a socialist victory at the polls. Thus any rejection of liberalism by the Vatican would have been inopportune [140-2]. This may have caused the Church to avoid supporting the miraculous, but we can only speculate on this.

(1/82). For San Damiano, see Laurentin [146]; Billet [43-5]; Derobert [161-9]. In the years 1964-81, the local bishops were openly opposed to the shrine and pilgrimage there (Triclot [1990; 34-6] who also mentions a "venomous campaign" by means of the "so-called Catholic press"). The Church forbade the promulgation of the messages of the visionary, "Mama Rosa", in 1970 (Laurentin [147]).

(1/83). The prime example of which is Pescara (see Laurentin [1990a; 141-2]), where great signs were foretold and many attended only to be disappointed.

(1/84). Christian [239ff, and especially 261-2] cites cases of visions and weeping statues in Spain.

(1/85). The early twentieth century was a tense period for the Spanish Church, with growing anticlericalism in the

cities. The crisis years came with the Second Republic and Civil War, 1931-9, perhaps the most vicious battle between Catholicism and republicanism or communism in modern Europe. Nevertheless, apparitions were not encouraged by the Church, despite the large crowds at Ezquioga (1931-4), rejected by the hierarchy (Rahner [87] includes Ezquioga in the rejected list; see also Thurston [128]: "The dangers and abuses following upon the too ready acceptance of unverified apparitions, which have been brought home to us lately in the fanatical scenes at Ezquioga...". Other reference: Christian [1981a; 3]).

(1/86). Spain is host to a great many famous marian shrines, the majority of which claim an origin in apparition events or the finding of miraculous statues. There is, in addition, one of Europe's most famous medieval shrines, Santiago de Compostela on the north-western coast. The shrine with the claim to the oldest apparition of Mary in Europe is that of the Virgen del Pilar in Zaragoza, although it is difficult to believe the first-century date or the circumstances for its founding-legend: supposedly a first-century (40 A.D.) apparition of Mary to St James, the patron saint of Spain. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Spanish Catholics regard it as very important, and many girls have "Pilar" as a middle name.

Late medieval apparitions in Spain have been researched by William Christian, who traces a history of repression of such phenomena during the years of the Inquisition from the sixteenth century (Christian [passim] and [1981b; especially 75-91, 125]). In the twentieth century, however, there have been some remarkable phenomena, including the moving crucifix of Limpias, a village near the north coast between Bilbao and Santander (Thurston [45-65]). From 1919, many witnesses saw the crucifix move and bleed, and thousands visited Limpias in the 1920s.

The Catholic Church in Spain has a history of integration and identification with the nation and its government. The early Franco years saw an intensification of this process (Becarud [186-8]). The conservative nature of the Spanish episcopate was noted during the discussions at the Second Vatican Council. Yet, during the 1950s, there was a shift in the role of the Church in Spain, with greater numbers of the lower clergy and laity willing to criticise the injustice of the Franco regime. This caused a widening gulf to appear between the attitudes of the lower clergy and the caution of the bishops [188ff]. This situation formed the immediate background to the explosion of apparition phenomena in the 1960s.

The Spanish bishops in the 1960s did not seem any more inclined to encourage apparition phenomena than their predecessors over the centuries. The visionary events at

San Sebastian de Garabandal, a Cantabrian mountain village, between 1961 and 1965, were ignored or denied by bishops of Santander during the 1960s (see the leaflet on the Church's position on Garabandal by Pelletier [1980]; Laurentin [1988b; 144-5]; Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [1967; 147-9, 172-8]). The commission of 1961-2 found no reason to accept a supernatural explanation for the phenomena. The apparitions at Palmar de Troya, near Seville, from 1968, have received an outright denunciation from the hierarchy rather than negative caution. The archbishop of Seville, Cardinal Bueno y Monreal, regarded them as "collective hysteria", although he made no attempt to distinguish the visionaries as regards their worthiness (Luna [1973; 60-2] criticises him for this). The only sign of a relaxing of this mood is the investigation at Garabandal (details in note (1/87) below)).

(1/87). I have a photocopy of a letter from the bishop, Juan Antonio del Val, written recently to the local parish priest, Don Juan González Gómez, where he announces "a sociological study about the events of Garabandal, to be followed later by a theological one" (14 July 1988, miscellaneous item no 23). Interviews in the village of Garabandal in October 1988 confirmed that the work of questioning the witnesses has begun. Mgr del Val was a member of the 1961-2 commission, and did not believe in the apparitions he said then, but resigned from this position because of his dissatisfaction with its procedure (according to Morris [1989]).

(1/88). At Palmar, children were followed by adults in visionary experiences, and one of the latter has founded a schismatic movement, setting himself up as "Pope Gregory XVII" in 1976 in response to ecclesiastical condemnation (Luna [1976; 23ff] gives details; there is or was a "Palmar Apostolate" in Sussex which produced pamphlets: George F. Tull, Holywell, 1973. See also Laurentin [139-40]). The schism began on 2nd January 1976, when a Vietnamese archbishop ordained five priests at Palmar without the proper ecclesiastical authority. The schismatic group insist upon devotion to the Holy Face of Our Lord, a religious practice well-known in the nineteenth century, the devotion that caused Mgr Parisi some difficulties in the 1840s (see note (1/12) above); they are also emphatically conservative in ecclesiastical and political matters (Laurentin [39]; see Luna [1973; 52-3] and McKeown [1973] and [1974] for Domínguez' messages).

The other adult visionaries continue to draw crowds for their ecstasies on a monthly basis (see miscellaneous items nos 24 and 25), but there is little chance that the Church will recognise them as worthy of approval while the schismatic community remains in the locality. The expected miracle and miraculous host of Garabandal have been taken

over into the Palmar phenomenon, so that they are linked by some devotees. Fr Luna, author of the books referred to here, and friend of the visionaries both at Palmar and Garabandal, has stated that the miracle is expected to occur simultaneously at the two sites. The late Padre Pio would visit him in a vision six weeks beforehand to warn him of this happening (private interview, Zaragoza, October 1988).

(1/89). The visions at Garabandal seem to owe much to Fatima, although it is not certain whether the Fatima story was well-known by the villagers (during an interview in October 1988, Aniceta Gonzalez, the mother of the most prominent visionary, denied that the girls knew anything of previous marian apparitions before their own experiences. Yet she herself knew of Fatima, and recalled this at the time of the Garabandal apparitions - see Garabandal, July-September 1990, p 6). The parallels with Fatima are: visions of an angel before the coming of Mary, reference to Our Lady of Carmel, the promise of a miracle to overcome disbelief, and the receiving of a host from an angel (and see 1.3.3 below).

There is a great deal of interest in Garabandal by Catholics in the United States, because of references to the danger of communism by the visionaries amongst other things (Garabandal, April-June 1979, pp 12-13, July-September 1988, pp 3-5). All four Garabandal visionaries now live in the U.S. The anti-communist apparition cults at Necedah, Wisconsin (1950s), and Bayside, New York (1970s) (see note (1/63) above) were condemned by the American bishops, and this may be a factor in the popularity of Garabandal there. This apparition, unlike Palmar de Troya and Bayside, has not scandalised Catholics loyal to the papacy.

(1/90). Lay people, and some priests, have ignored the displeasure of the hierarchical Church because of the apocalyptic urgency of the Garabandal message (a factor in most post-War marian visions). These devotees derive comfort from comments attributed to the famous Italian stigmatist, Padre Pio, who died in 1968: this man has been given a central place in the new marian apparition cults (the main figure in the publicisation of Garabandal in the U.S.A., Joey Lomangino, was sent by Padre Pio to Garabandal for his first visit in 1964; see Pelletier's leaflet [undated b]). There are now several "Padre Pio" bookshops selling literature on varied miraculous phenomena.

The movement supporting Garabandal has been named the "Garabandalists", and it has been discouraged by the local bishops with the support of the Vatican (see the reference to Canon 2019 in James O'Connor [1975; VII; 1019-21], a

reply of the SCDF to a query from the archbishop of New Orleans about the Garabandal cult, quoted in part in 3.4 below). The main visionary, Conchita Gonzalez, has encouraged the movement (see Conchita's letters to "workers of the Blessed Virgin" in Pelletier [1971; 222-31]). The international Garabandal magazine is published in the U.S.A; there have also been television programmes on the apparitions (e.g. the BBC 'Everyman' documentary After the Visions, 1980).

See also Gilsdorf [1990], a priest thanking Garabandal for "saving his priestly life" as it is against the "spirit of Vatican II", ie (in his view) misinterpretations of the Council by liberals which question faith and morals.

(1/91). The prophecies include a revelation of the errors of many priests (which reminds one of the secret of Mélanie of La Salette, see note (1/42) above), the expectation of the end of the age after only two more popes (see Conchita Gonzalez' diary in Pelletier [164, 176]), and the apocalyptic warning, miracle and chastisement (see note (1/88) above).

(1/92). The apparitions are occurring monthly at the moment (visit in 1988). Details are given in Cuevas [1987]. The visionary, a mature woman, has been invited to France to give talks on the long and complicated messages she claims to receive from Mary. Her experiences have been treated with the customary caution and reserve by the archbishop of Madrid (also in Laurentin [85-6]).

(1/93). A.A.S. 58/16 (SCDF, December 29 1966) abolished articles 1399 and 2318 of Canon Law.

(1/94). Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina are as well-endowed with marian shrines as any other region of Catholic Europe. Sinj is a Franciscan shrine originating in a fifteenth-century apparition of Mary during a Turkish attack; Ilaca is a nineteenth-century Bosnian healing shrine. (Attwater [309-10]).

(1/95). At the end of the Second World War, the annual votive pilgrimage to Marija Bistrica, near Zagreb, drew a crowd of over 40,000, and provoked accusations of being a cover for political activity. There was an outbreak of visions and miracles in both Catholic and Orthodox Yugoslavia immediately after the War. This was the period in which religious groups found themselves directly threatened, for the first time, by an atheist party rather than each other. (Alexander [64-7]).

(1/96). The first teenager to see the vision identified her as Mary immediately. The extent to which the

visionaries knew about Lourdes before their own experiences is a matter of contention. Sivrić [1988] claims that they possessed a book on Lourdes before June 24 1981, when the apparitions began; he is contradicting the common view that this was given to them after they reported their experiences (the latter view is defended by Rupčić [1989; 9-19], in reply to Sivrić).

(1/97). Pope Benedict XV added the title "Queen of Peace" to the Loreto litany during the First World War, while recommending prayers for peace to Catholics of all nations. This was done on May 5 1917, by coincidence earlier in the same month that the Fatima apparitions began (see Johnston [1980b; 19]). It is a particularly apt title in a region standing at the centre of national religious and international ideological divisions. The Immaculate Heart has also been mentioned at Medjugorje, thus placing the apparitions firmly in the modern tradition. (Attwater [235] notes that the "Queen of Peace" was a seventeenth-century feast associated with a miraculous statue in Paris).

(1/98). It was built in 1933 to mark the centenary of the crucifixion. The feast of the Exaltation of the Cross occurs on the Sunday nearest September 14th annually.

(1/99). Despite their history of co-existence in Bosnia-Herzegovina, clashes occurred there between Serbs and Croats in the 1890s. This began a process by which many Catholics and Franciscans were pushed into the Croat nationalist camp, and this situation was worsened by the experience of Serbian hegemony in the unified Yugoslav monarchy after World War I. The Franciscan provincial in Herzegovina held political office in Mostar for the Croat clericalist party from 1920 (Banac [1984; 349]). Violence during the 1930s set the scene for the terror in the Independent State of Croatia, founded by the German invaders of 1941. Many Franciscans were involved in the Ustaše group who governed Croatia in the War years with infamous brutality (Singleton [1985; 80]; Alexander [55, 62] says that many priests were among the Ustase killed while fleeing in 1945). Yet the last Franciscan bishop of Mostar complained bitterly to the Ustaše regime about atrocities in his diocese in 1942 (Singleton [180-1]; Craig [1988; 35]).

Any wartime Croat consensus between secular clergy and Franciscans (eg Martiničić, provincial of the Franciscans in Zagreb, was tried with archbishop Stepinac in 1946, and received a sentence of five years, Alexander [96, 117]) proved temporary. The Franciscans in Sarajevo were pioneers in the foundation of "priests' associations", which attempted to bridge the gulf between Catholic or Orthodox Church and communist State by accepting Slav

unity, and by working for justice within the new system. The "Dobri Pastir" association of Sarajevo was founded in 1950 ([126-31, 138-43]; Sivrić [1982; 35]); it was a Franciscan-run group independent of bishops, although its founders had consulted them during the planning period. In the same year, however, the Catholic bishops condemned all such priests' associations but, nevertheless, "Dobri Pastir" continued with a popular magazine and a large, mainly Franciscan, membership.

Relationships between the institutional churches and the communists were badly strained after the War. For Catholics, the years up to 1960 were difficult, because of the imprisonment (1946-52) and exile from office (to his death in 1960) of archbishop Stepinac of Zagreb. He had not been arrested immediately after the War, but he was outspokenly defiant against the communist programme, protesting against the secularisation of education and marriage, and the appropriation of Church lands. He denounced the authorities in a pastoral letter of 20 September 1945, which included encouragement for marian devotion and pilgrimage as opposed to materialistic atheism (Alexander [69ff]; Singleton [215]). This resulted in his trial on charges of complicity with the Ustaše regime of 1941-5. Yugoslavia severed relations with the Vatican when Stepinac was made a cardinal in 1952, but the State was lenient with regard to his funeral in 1960 - his funeral was accorded the full honours appropriate for an archbishop, and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage (Alexander [240-2]; Singleton [215]). This encouraged a period of rapprochement with the Church, ending with the restoration of diplomatic relations in 1966 (the rapprochement had begun with bishops being allowed to visit Rome from 1957: see Alexander [235ff]).

1966-71 was a period of good Catholic-State relations, but the 1971-2 Croat nationalist agitation prevented any further growth in this respect. Tito suppressed Croat nationalism despite being a Croat himself: the importance of his determination to transcend the ethnic problem can be seen in the way that this has become more acute since his death.

(1/100). The Franciscan parish priest of Medjugorje resident in June 1981, Jozo Zovko, suffered eighteen months imprisonment for refusing to dampen popular enthusiasm. Apparently, he was finally condemned for referring to "forty years" in the desert, interpreted as a slur on the communist period. His full sentence was 3½ years, and two other Franciscans, who edited the periodical Our Hearts, which had given details of the apparitions at Medjugorje, were jailed at the same time on charges of preaching to Croat exiles (Craig [71-81]). The threat of Croat emigre terrorism made the authorities very

sensitive (see D Wilson [1979; 207] for a note on this problem).

(1/101). The Bosnia-Hercegovina region, in which the Catholic parish of Medjugorje is situated, was taken from the Turks by Austria-Hungary in 1878. During the previous 400 years under Turkish rule, the Franciscan order administered the region as priests. The Bosnian Church has a history of Roman Catholicism with an independent streak: the region has enjoyed the privilege of using the vernacular in liturgy for many centuries before Vatican II (Sivrić [25-8, 78-9]). The Franciscans were known for their preference for pluralistic unity between Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim Slavs from the eighteenth century, at least ([30-1]; Banac [77, 210, 361]).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, this liberal tradition was also found among the secular clergy, particularly in the figure of archbishop Strossmayer of Djakovo, who voted against papal infallibility in 1870 because of the damage that this doctrine would do to ecumenism (Alexander [58]). Strossmayer, as a bishop and statesman, was a pioneer of modern Yugoslavia, although aware of the difficulty of putting Slav unity into practice.

However, the Austrians instructed archbishop Stadler, installed in Sarajevo in 1881, to wrest pastoral control in Bosnia-Hercegovina from the Franciscans: they should be replaced by, or converted to, secular clergy. This was part of a policy of "Austro-Yugoslavianism", an attempt to unite Slovene and Croat Catholics under Austrian rule. The attack on Franciscan influence caused popular resentment, and the problem still provokes controversy in Hercegovina, where many parishes are Franciscan today, including Medjugorje itself.

(1/102). Čule, the local bishop of Mostar who had been appointed during the War resigned in 1980: imprisoned for seven years (1948-55) for collaboration with the Ustase in the post-War clampdown on the Church (Alexander [131-6]), he had become dedicated to continuing the transfer of Franciscan parishes in Hercegovina to secular control. His assistant, Pavao Žanić, who became bishop in 1980, immediately stepped up this process in the town of Mostar itself (Craig [103-5]).

(1/103). Two Franciscans were disciplined for not complying with his instructions; within a couple of months of the first apparition at Medjugorje, they visited the place and seemed to receive a word of encouragement from the Virgin herself (the argument over this became fierce. Did any of the visionaries have a diary which contained a message critical of the bishop? ([105-6]; Laurentin &

Rupčić [1984; 113-9]; O'Carroll [117-9]; De la Sainte Trinité [1984-6; July 1984, pp 7-9]).

Bishop Žanić had protected the visionaries from communist accusations in the Autumn of 1981. His defence of the visionaries appeared in a statement published in Glas Koncila on the 16 August 1981, and in a letter to the president of Yugoslavia dated 1 September 1981 (see O'Carroll [73-5]). The problem with the Franciscans emerged on 14 January 1982 [81], and so the bishop became, during the new year, the most outspoken critic of Medjugorje. He decided that the apparitions were a cover for Franciscan rebellion against his policies; he could not believe that Our Lady would speak against the authority of the Church of which she was the archetype. It is difficult to tell how many priests in Hercegovina support Medjugorje, and how many are opposed (the BBC 'Everyman' documentary, The Madonna of Medjugorje (1987), has a filmed interview with a secular priest in the region strongly opposed to the apparitions in support of the bishop of Mostar). One well-known supporter of Medjugorje is archbishop Frane Franić of Split (eg the pamphlet Franić [1984], an interview with Dr Franić on December 16 and 17 1984. See also Laurentin & Rupčić [145]. Franić suffered mob violence in the anticlericalism of 1953, according to Alexander [131-6]).

(1/104). This will be expanded below. Note here that Medjugorje stands in the post-conciliar tradition of openness to ecumenism, and it is not surprising that a modern popular Catholic journal of Zagreb, Glas Koncila, has been the major means of publicisation of the shrine within Yugoslavia (a periodical founded on October 4 1962, its title meaning "Voice of the Council"; it had, according to Alexander [308-12] up to 1974 the largest Catholic circulation in Yugoslavia. This may still be the case).

International response to Medjugorje has followed the pattern of Garabandal, with centres and magazines in various countries set up to promulgate the message of religious renewal and apocalyptic events. Disagreements over Medjugorje by Catholics on an international scale have had to take account of the position of the bishop of Mostar. He is supported by right-wing traditionalists who dislike the post-conciliar and "charismatic" style of Medjugorje (De la Sainte Trinité [1984-6] regards Medjugorje as charismatic, pluralist, and anti-Fatima. The opposition of this group strengthens the claim that Medjugorje conforms to the pattern of post-conciliar Catholicism). There is also the opposition of a Franciscan originally from Medjugorje (Sivrić [1988]). Rupčić [1989] claims that Sivrić is defending his family, local opponents of the apparitions and thus very isolated. Pro-

Medjugorje writers support the local Franciscans and disprove the bishop's claims whenever they are able (Thus O'Carroll [73-140] deals with the whole problem at length; Laurentin's *Dernières Nouvelles* are now in several volumes, eg [1985a], [1985b], [1988a]). Greater detail of the arguments over Medjugorje may be found in chapter 5.

(1/105). The apparitions at Medjugorje began on the 24th June 1981, the year after the death of Yugoslavia's powerful post-War leader, Josip Broz (Tito). The communist party under Tito has tried to transcend the national and ethnic divisions in Yugoslavia: Catholic Croats and Slovenes, Orthodox Serbs and Macedonians, Albanian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin Muslims - all have lived within a very fragile national unified state since 1918, except for the tragic War years, 1941-5. The internecine strife of that period has left a lasting and bitter memory among Yugoslavia's peoples.

(1/106). References for the commissions are given in note (5/6) below. The bishop's commission appears to have returned a negative verdict, but its jurisdiction was placed in the hands of the national episcopal assembly by the Vatican in 1986.

(1/107). Recently (22 July 1989), a programme appeared on the British Channel 4 - a Yugoslavian television documentary on Medjugorje - advertised as an example of the Yugoslav media attitude to religion.

(1/108). Montfort [1957; 24-5].

(1/109). Montfort is often quoted in the apparition literature, especially in French books, eg Pannet [1988; 59] and Hupperts [1956; 94-6]. The period since 1830 is known to many as the "Marian Age" or "The Age of Mary" ((1/4) and Fox [21]; see also Kselman [90]).

(1/110). Derobert [199-200].

(1/111). Garabandal: Pelletier [1971; 164], where Conchita Gonzalez prophesies that two more popes are to appear before the end of the age (not of the world); Medjugorje: the warnings and prophecies of the miracle are like those at Garabandal. The apparitions are claimed to be the last, but there is no suggestion that the world will end - rather, the century "under the power of the Devil" is soon to be over (ref Vlašić's letter to Rome, reporting the main points of the prophecies, in O'Carroll [209-12]). See also Laurentin [1990a; 123-4].

(1/112). The Second Coming is prophesied in the newsletter The White Cross of Palmar, which gives the latest news of

the apparitions at Palmar (see miscellaneous items no 24 and 25: I have issues dated 1989 and 1990, eg 29th June, 1989: "My Son will come to the earth very soon", a message given by the seer Rosario Arenillas). For Kibeho, see Maindron [1984].

(1/113). Redemptoris Mater (John Paul II [1987]), paras 3, 52. Laurentin elucidates the need for a marian year in [1987c; 16-17, 23-4].

(1/114). Redemptoris Mater, para 50.

(1/115). Cheetham (ed), The Prophecies of Nostradamus (Corgi edition, London, 1975), p 417 (Century X, quatrain 72).

(1/116). Garabandal and Medjugorje readily come to mind, but other cases betray this mood (in Laurentin [1990a; 119ff]: other examples are Cuapa, Escorial, Oliveto Citra, but the list is longer, and includes most modern (post-War) apparitions).

(1/117). An example of this apocalyptic is the sheet Prophecy for Our Time (printed by Our Lady's Press, Port Talbot), which comments on the apparitions (miscellaneous item no 7).

(1/118). Eg the 'divine' miracles of Garabandal and Medjugorje, like that at Fatima, will not be mundane in nature. Fatima's revelations did include war, although that were ultimately apocalyptic ("My Immaculate Heart will triumph"). Chernobyl's disaster plays a part in the apparitions at Hrushiw (or Grouchevo), Ukraine, the republic in which Chernobyl is situated. These visions began on the hour and day of the nuclear accident, one year later (Laurentin [133ff]), thus establishing an obvious link.

(1/119). Eg 1 Cor 15.24-28, Mark 13.24-7 and pars., Revelation passim.

(1/120). For the idea of 'transformation', see below, chapters 4 and 7.

(1/121). Montfort [24ff].

(1/122). Eg, again, Vlastic in O'Carroll [210-11]; also, Tutto [1985; 36ff].

(1/123). Liguori quotes Anselm: the womb of Mary as the means of salvation for sinners. Montfort, who also refers repeatedly to Catholic writers over the centuries, talks of the "supernatural and spiritual generation of God as Father and Mary as Mother of the Head and members of the

body of Christ" [1868; 14]. Graef [1985; I; 85-6] quotes eg Ambrose: Mary bringing forth the Christians from her womb, their mother as also the Church is.

(1/124). Refer below, 2.2.1.

(1/125). Refer to Kselman [passim].

(1/126). See Tóibín [1985]; Vose [1986]. Several Irish Lourdes grottos are associated with apparitions and miracles - those that I visited in 1989 are (two at) Inchigeela, Ballinspittle and Melleray.

(1/127). Rue du Bac: promise to safeguard the Vincentian communities; La Salette: stones to turn into wheat, and a successful planting of potatoes if there was religious conversion; Lourdes: "I do not promise to make you happy in this world, but in the next".

(1/128). Ie from the Rue du Bac, through La Salette, Lourdes, Pontmain and Pellevoisin to the Belgian cases of 1932-3, and then including, alone of the many French phenomena between 1937 and 1947, the rest for which I have no information, L'Ile-Bouchard.

(1/129). I write "questionable" because Thurston [123-4] reports that the visionaries retracted their testimonies on being examined by the local bishop.

(1/130). Admittedly, the information is more readily available for the more recent cases, but it is strange that Jesus is so often seen after Fatima (the notable exceptions being Beauraing and Banneux), but not in any of the well-known cases of the nineteenth century, with one possible exception: the lamb seen at Knock, where (as at Fatima) St Joseph was seen (at Knock with a figure identified as St John).

(1/131). See below, notes (7/24) and (7/25).

(1/132). Note the evolution of the tradition suggested in chapter 8 (eg notes (8/101) and (8/133)).

(1/133). See below, 6.5.2, where it is suggested that these features are 'archetypal' (using the Jungian terminology).

(1/134). The title "Co-Redemptrix" was part of a message reported by the seer of Amsterdam in 1958 (Derobert [121]). Also included were "Mediatrix" and "Advocate", but these are in Lumen Gentium 8, para 62. They are not as controversial as "Mediatrix of All Graces" which, with "Co-Redemptrix", was suggested before Vatican II (see below, 8.1.2). The pressure for these definitions is an

example of the 'maximalist' position of mariology (Laurentin's term, see [1965b; especially 40-6]).

"Mediatrix" is also a title reported in the apparitions at Medjugorje (eg O'Carroll [181] who translates "Mediatress"). John Bird has recorded an audio-tape (Manchester Medjugorje Centre, 1990) titled The Last Dogma in Marian History, ie "Co-Redemptrix, Mediatrix and Advocate", which is based on apparition revelations, particularly Amsterdam.

(2/1). Recorded in Billet [1973; 8] (but see (1/78)); for Yugoslavia: Alexander [1979; 66]; Spain: Christian [1984; 252-3] (see also "English Resident.." [1932] for the general religious atmosphere in Spain, 1931-2).

(2/2). Turner & Turner [1978; 150].

(2/3). Christian [1981a] for apparitions in the context of fear of the Moors in medieval Spain, eg [55-7]; an example in a background of Catholic-Protestant rivalry is Vinay, France (1656), given in Gillett [1952; II; 121-30].

(2/4). The main periods of tension between Catholic Church and Western European State since 1789 were:

France: 1793-1801, 1875-1914; Belgium: 1879-84; Germany: 1870-86, 1933-45; Austria: after 1866, 1938-45; Switzerland: after 1847, 1870-82; Italy: 1848-70 (Piedmont), 1870-1914, 1922-9; Spain: 1820-3, 1834-51, 1854-6, 1868-74, 1931-6; Portugal: 1834-8, 1901, 1910-26.

Periods of anxiety for Catholics due to revolutionary movements (including communism):

France: 1830, 1848, 1870-1, communism - after 1945, especially 1947; Belgium, Germany, Austria: socialists and communists - after 1918; Italy: 1830-1, 1848-9 (Rome), socialism and communism - 1918-22, after 1945, especially 1947-8; Spain: socialism and communism - after 1918, 1936-9; Portugal: communism - 1974-5.

The main historical sources used here are Hales [1958]; Fitzsimons, [1969]; Latourette, 5 vols [1959-63]; Vidler [1974]. More precise references for specific details are found in the notes following.

(2/5). Eg the concepts of Sacred Heart and Immaculate Heart (and the reparation associated with them) are not known outside Roman Catholicism. The doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and Assumption, defined dogmatically in 1854 and 1950 respectively, are strange to all Christians except Anglo-Catholics and Orthodox; even these find the idea of papal definition difficult. Suffice it to say here that the religious language of the apparition cults is usually only comfortable to those with some commitment to them.

(2/6). The objection that the words of the Virgin were not worthy of her was used against La Salette by the clergy in opposition (see (3/52) below). Note also the 'chatty' and sometimes trivialising nature, ie for many tastes within and without Catholicism, of the recent visions in Spain at Garabandal (eg Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [1967; 53, 62-3]: the Virgin 'kissed' pebbles, and the children 'tried on' her crown) and Palmar de Troya (Luna [1973; 75]: saccharine descriptions of the infant Jesus, and [1976; 32]: illustrations of a visionary 'holding' the Sacred Heart of Jesus).

(2/7). So de Bruillard and Veuillot in the face of the 'modernising' tendency in French Catholicism (notes (1/19) and (1/23)); Laurence's denunciation of enlightenment philosophy when establishing the Lourdes commission (Cros [1926; II; 288-91]); the reference to the "errors" of Russia in the message of Fatima (note (1/59)).

(2/8). Laurentin [1979; 57].

(2/9). Martindale [1950; 47, 105-7]; de Marchi [1986a; 88-90] gives the denial of the local priest printed in a local newspaper, the Ouriense, because he had been accused of complicity in the kidnapping of the visionaries by the Mayor, and was thus under a great deal of local pressure.

(2/10). See eg Sharkey [1961; 216]; Maloy [1961; 241-2].

(2/11). The cult of Fatima has been responsible for the shadowing of communist ideas by marian devotions, eg the Immaculate Heart. Many modern apparition cases that achieve some fame occur in countries where there is a heightened tension between some factions loyal to traditional Catholicism and communists, eg Eastern Europe, the Philippines, Latin America.

(2/12). Pace Perry & Echeverría's paradigm [1988; 76-8]: the background is not always the persecution of the Catholic Church or particularly acute social upheaval (Lourdes? Beauraing? San Damiano? etc.). The 'paradigmatic' details given by Perry & Echeverría are simply an amalgam of specific details of the most famous cases. Certainly the message being "transmitted to the Vatican on the orders of the pope" and, in part, "strategically released some time in the future" applies to Fatima alone out of several hundred cases!

(2/13). Fatima (World War I), Pontmain (Franco-Prussian War). Note also the apparitions in France, 1937-47.

(2/14). The most notable example is the Rue du Bac, where the first apparition (July 18/19 1830) apparently foretold the fall of Charles X a few days later. We might also note

the political uncertainties in Italy, 1947-8 (see notes (1/80) and (1/81) above), and the death of Tito in Yugoslavia, 1980, the year before the commencement of the apparitions at Medjugorje.

(2/15). Tilman Côme at Beauraing and the visions at Onkerzele, 1933, promised protection for Belgium (note (69) above). M Carroll [1986; 211ff] notes the national anxiety in Egypt over the presence of Israeli troops at the Suez canal as a background factor for the apparitions at a Coptic church in Zeitoun, Cairo, 1968-71.

(2/16). La Salette (famine of 1845-47).

(2/17). The evictions at Knock during the strife over tenancies and land (see M Carroll [202ff]).

(2/18). A general anxiety in apparition cults. The message of La Salette is notable in this respect. Another example is Garabandal, the cult of which is particularly concerned about decline in respect for the eucharist and priesthood among other elements in traditional Catholicism (eg Pelletier [1971; 208]; the message given to Conchita Gonzalez, apparently by St Michael, on June 18 1965: "ever less importance is being given to the Holy Eucharist", in Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [173]).

(2/19). The healing of Estelle Faguet at Pellevoisin.

(2/20). Bernadette Soubirous (Lourdes) and, to a lesser extent, Mariette Beco (Banneux) were reckoned to be from particularly poor families (see Laurentin [14ff]; Cros [1925; I; 39ff]; Kerkhofs [1953; I; 4]).

(2/21). Ref the continued stress on conversion, pilgrimage, and attendance at the sacraments in the marian cult.

(2/22). Ref the criticism of priests by Mélanie Calvat of La Salette (note (1/42) above) and Conchita Gonzalez of Garabandal (note (1/91) above).

(2/23). We will record here the contextual factors for apparitions given in Christian [1981a]: over all others, plague; restoration of religious sites; threat from bandits or Moors (reference to the hostile 'other', notes Christian [55]); bad morality or religious indifference (the 'other' within [145]); re-establishment of the saintly other-worldly protector within a continuous religious tradition [207]).

(2/24). Ullathorne [1950; 117-18].

(2/25). Eg the headline on the cover of Garabandal, Jul/Sep 1988: "No Third World War", as revealed to Conchita Gonzalez during the Cuban crisis of 1962 - yet the visionaries did prophecy the worldwide spread of communism (ibid., p 4).

(2/26). As observed in 1.2.5. Yet we are not claiming that adults are more favoured with prophetic messages apparitions now than at any time in the past. It is, however, a fact that, while most famous visionaries of the past, ie the majority of those whose experiences were supported by the approval of the hierarchy, were children, often illiterate, the most notable cases of modern times (eg San Damiano, Palmar de Troya, El Escorial, Medjugorje) do involve adults with a greater ability to articulate complex information. Unless these cases are to be finally vindicated, we would conclude that the Church is happier with the simple and more clearly orthodox messages of children.

(2/27). Especially Garabandal, Palmar de Troya, and Medjugorje, where devotees are encouraged to remain loyal to cults disliked by the local hierarchy because of the compelling urgency expressed in the messages. The clerical protagonists of the cults stress their obedience to the hierarchical Church, but remain very critical of the local bishop. Eg Pelletier [1980] states that the bishop's judgement is not necessarily decisive - he is like a "court of first or original jurisdiction", with the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith above him, and the pope as supreme court. He then claims that the SCDF has never gone against Garabandal. Luna [1976] is often reminding the reader of his obedience to Church discipline, but says, on [38]: "the verdict of the diocesan authority is in part false and consequently unjust". Laurentin [1985a] is again respectful, but also accuses the local bishop of being responsible for the false information. He pleads with him to proceed with discernment and scientific principles (open letter [77-8]).

The adherents to these modern cults in conflict with bishops like to be encouraged by rumours of papal favour, eg the blessing of Conchita Gonzalez by Paul VI on her visit to Rome (recorded by Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [cover]) and the reported positive remarks made by John Paul II about Medjugorje (see 5.4.2). These cults might remind one of the campaign of Veillot (note (1/23)) for an ultramontane papal authority to override the decisions of the French bishops.

(2/28). There is now also a tendency for urban people to initiate apparition movements, eg El Escorial and

Surbiton. Yet rural people are still the focus of the most famous cults (see 8.5.1 below).

(2/29). See details of the international interest in Fatima (note (1/63) above) and Garabandal (notes (1/89) and (1/90) above). Pilgrimage to Lourdes and Fatima, and now Medjugorje, occurs from nations all over the world, including those in the communist bloc.

(2/30). Medjugorje's "Queen Of Peace" represents a climax of this trend. Some apparitions in Belgium (1933) were concerned with national welfare only (note (1/70) above); this is also true of L'Ile-Bouchard, and divine favour for Ireland has been mentioned in some recent cases there (especially Melleray and Gortnadreha).

(2/31). The cult of the Sacred Heart was greatly enhanced by the apparitions at Paray-le-Monial, 1673-5 (see note (1/27) above). The Sacred Heart and Immaculate Heart were given feast days; the former obligatory in France from 1672 (Préclin & Jarry [1955; XIX; 288]), and international from 1856, the latter permitted by the pope in 1805 (Beevers [1953; 201]).

(2/32). In the same way as the Sacred Heart devotion had been, the marian cult was further established by the apparitions in nineteenth-century France (see eg note (1/12)). The identity of the Lourdes vision ("the Immaculate Conception") was seen as a confirmation of the papal dogma of 1854. Yet Boutry [1986; 505-6] (see note (1/28) above) records a change in attitude to new cults after the end of the 1870s. The apparition cult had been established before this, and was based upon the five shrines with origins between 1830 and 1876.

The 'officialising' of the French shrines progressed to papal level when Lourdes was given a feast day in 1907 (O'Carroll [1986; 10]). Pontmain's second enquiry was carried out because of a desire for a Mass and Office for the apparitions in 1919.

(2/33). Inglis [1987; 93-4, 208-9, 217] writes about the secularising background to Ireland's modern marian cult.

(2/34). The date 1979 is a notable one, with Pope John Paul II visiting Ireland on the centenary of the Knock apparition. However, the Channel 4 documentary The Whole World in his Hands (1990) suggests that the excitement over this visit represented the end of an era, ie the traditional Catholicism of Ireland, rather than a renewal. Any year after 1979, then, would have been an 'appropriate' one for an explosion of marian phenomena.

(2/35). In France, Le Puy in particular, and also Chartres to some extent (note (1/15)). The old Portuguese shrine of Nazare, on the Atlantic coast, is only 40 miles from its modern successor at Fatima. Belgium's old marian shrines include Bruges (medieval), Notre-Dame de Foy (17th century), Notre-Dame de Moresnet (18th century), Notre-Dame de Walcourt (medieval). In Ireland, there was no notable national marian shrine before Knock, except perhaps Our Lady's Island in Co. Wexford (see Dunne [1989]).

(2/36). Eg the favour shown to the new shrines by the French bishops, including Mgr Laurence, who had spent many years restoring old shrines in the Tarbes region (note (1/23)). After the authentication of Fatima by the bishop of Leiria (1930), the Portuguese bishops organised the first national pilgrimage at Fatima in 1937, and $\frac{1}{2}$ million pilgrims attended (Martindale [171-5]; de Marchi [228]). Note too the favour on Beauraing and Banneux shown by the local bishops ((1/74) and (3/55) below).

(2/37). German-speaking Catholic regions have many old marian shrines still popular today, eg Altötting, Kevelaer, Schönstatt (Germany), Maria Zell, Maria Stein, Maria Saal (Austria), Einsiedeln, Mariastein (Switzerland).

(2/38). Christian [1984; 241]; see Billet [20]: the highest number of reported visions between 1928 and 1971 occurred in 1933, 1947-50 and 1954.

(2/39). Christian [246-8].

(2/40). [258] and below note (6/89).

(2/41). [250-1].

(2/42). [259].

(2/43). [255] and below note (3/92).

(2/44). See the discussion on this point in 7.3.1.

(2/45). See Laurentin [1983; 76]: the revolutions of 1848 and 1871 were not predicted specifically, only misfortunes for France in general. However, the death of the archbishop of Paris occurred in both years (Mgr Affre and Mgr Darboy respectively), and Catherine regarded the latter death as fulfilling the prophecy.

(2/46). The references for condemnation of irreligion in the modern world are too numerous to note. See eg the messages of Mary at Medjugorje in Tüttö [1985; 54]: "The West has gone a long way in the process of civilisation but acts as though it had created everything by itself, without God", [55]: the recent loss of the practice of confession, and [57]: fasting. There is also the memorable: "Turn off your television sets" (quoted on the

BBC film, The Madonna of Medjugorje (1987)); see also Tutto [55]).

(2/47). For the Syllabus of Errors, see the extracts in Bettenson [1963; 272-3]: condemnations of rationalism, religious toleration, socialism, separation of Church and State, liberalism.

(2/48). Eg Leo XIII's "ralliement" with the French Third Republic (see Dansette [1961; II; 98ff]) and his Rerum Novarum (1891, see Bettenson [275ff]). For Vatican II's 'aggiornamento', see Butler [1981; 1ff].

(2/49). A sweeping statement, but one which finds support throughout this thesis and its source material (eg the use of La Salette and Lourdes in the French national movement of the 1870s (note (1/27)), of La Salette in right-wing French reaction (note (1/42)), Fatima's anti-communism (note (1/63), Garabandal's concern too about communism (notes (1/89) and (1/90)); see also Perry & Echeverría (mentioned in the text below), eg [103ff, 119ff, 135, 181ff]).

(2/50). [1-2].

(2/51). [Passim] (eg the Jesuits during and after the 1848 revolutions [110ff], the anti-socialism of Pius XI [187], during Spanish Civil War [215-6], anti-communist, eg [43ff, 302ff]).

(2/52). [153] (anti-semitism), [183] (Salazar), [200] (Beauraing), [220-6] (Franco), [281ff] (Latin America).

(2/53). Eg [295ff].

(2/54). Paul VI anti-modernist [266ff], against liberation theology [275ff]; quote from [313].

(2/55). [166]: Lourdes was "well inside the philo-Nazi zone... a centre of Pétainiste militarism".

(2/56). In the thesis in this bibliography, eg Boff [1989], E Campbell [1982], Donnelly [1990], Elizondo [1977], [1983], Gebara & Bingemer [1989], Neame [1968].

(2/57). Eg reconciliation between parties in local conflicts at Medjugorje (5.5.1 below); concern over the War at Fatima; personal dilemmas like bereavement, illness, etc.

(2/58). Refer to Kselman [1983; passim].

(2/59). See Griffiths [1966; 365]: "En l'année 1864, Lucifer avec un grand nombre de démons seront détachés de l'enfer; ils aboliront la foi peu à peu et même dans les personnes consacrées à Dieu..." (how did Mélanie see this as having been fulfilled, one wonders? - she had it published after 1864). And: "Le Vicaire de mons Fils aura beaucoup à souffrir, parce que, pour un temps, l'Eglise

sera livrée à de grandes persécutions...". This idea of the lonely, suffering Pope was continued in the Fatima tradition (eg dos Santos [1976; 108, 162]). The divided Church is the theme of speculation about the 'Third Secret of Fatima' (De la Sainte Trinité [1987; 24-7]). The battle between the Virgin and the Devil which this signifies [28-32]) is based on Genesis 3 and Revelation 12.

(2/60). The defeat at the hands of Prussia in 1870 was seen as a divine judgement on France, and the nationalist pilgrimage movement which followed was part penitential, part monarchist, prompting a religious revival (Kselman [113ff]).

(2/61). Toussaint & Joset [1981; 86].

(2/62). [44]. As at Fatima, the requests for specific healings were not answered by the vision, who was more concerned with conversion and prayer as a means to healing. Banneux's visionary, at the prompting of the priest, asked for a sign (van Houtryve [1959; 31]) - this is reminiscent of Lourdes (Laurentin [1979; 71, 74-5]). In neither case was this request complied with!

(2/63). Refer also to 3.4.2 below.

(2/64). See note (3/52) below.

(2/65). See notes (3/52) and (3/81); 4.2.2 and notes (4/77) and (4/79). For the different traditions identified here: the 'French-speaking' and the 'post-Fatima', see 1.3, especially note (1/128).

(2/66). See notes (3/71) and (3/73) below.

(2/67). All the necessary references for this paragraph have been given above in 1.3.3. It is only the original messages that are referred to as being non-nationalist and non-apocalyptic. Yet speculation and intrigue surrounded the secret of La Salette from the 1840s (see note (1/18)).

(2/68). See 4.3.1 below.

(2/69). Refer to 4.3.3 below, especially note (4/117).

(2/70). An example is Derobert [1985], who does not display the discernment of a Laurentin or a Billet (see note (3/98) below. In his book, he includes the Italian cases Montichiari (suppressed by the hierarchy), Bonate and San Damiano (neither authenticated), and the French Kérinzen (which caused concern to the local bishop). Perhaps less surprising is his inclusion of Garabandal, but here again, he is flying in the face of the official position. Leaflets like the one cited in note (1/117) above also take a wholly uncritical view of marian phenomena.

(2/71). Laurentin [1983; 75-6]: the divine involvement was the safeguarding of the Vincentian communities during the turmoil (see note (1/127) above). There is no suggestion in the message that the crises for France were divinely ordained.

(2/72). See the quote in note (2/59). In the original message of La Salette, the "hand (or arm)" of Mary's "Son" punishes through famine and disease (but see Stern's interpretation, in 7.4). In the later secret, Mélanie writes: "Dieu va frapper d'une manière sans exemple" and "Dieu permettra au vieux serpent de mettre des divisions..." (Griffiths [364]).

(2/73). Eg the Garabandal expectation of the triumph of communism (see note (2/25)); both Cuapa and Hrushiw warn (conditionally) about a third world war (Laurentin [1990a; 59] for Cuapa; Hrushiw - John Bird's audio-tape, Apparitions in the Ukraine (Manchester Medjugorje Centre, 1989). For post-War visions and the fear of communism, see also Christian [1984].

(2/74). Glock & Stark [1965; 246ff].

(2/75). This literature reviewed in Yonina Talmon, 'Pursuit of the Millenium: the Relation between Religious and Social Change', pp 238-54 of N Birnbaum & G Lenzer, Sociology and Religion: A Book of Readings (Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs NJ, 1969). See also Vittorio Lanternari, The Religions of the Oppressed: A Study of Modern Messianic Cults transl Lisa Sergio (MacGibbon & Kee, London, 1963). Tilby [1990; 285] makes the point that apocalyptic visions happen to the 'outsiders', eg women and pre-adolescents, in a way that challenges the status quo. Here we anticipate the discussion in 8.5.2 and 9.3.

(2/76). Marx & Engels [1975]: see Marx's 'Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law' (1844) [38ff], and 'The Communism of the Rheinischer Beobachter' (1847) [73ff].

(2/77). This critique of the Catholic Church in eg Perry & Echeverría [1988] and Blanshard [1962]. Hales [1958] is more optimistic about the non-partisan nature of the Catholic Church.

(2/78). See 3.4.2 for examples, and also note (1/55).

(2/79). As in Kselman's analysis of the French religious revival during the Third republic [61, 113ff]; see also Griffiths [1966]. For Portugal, see notes (1/50-54). Fatima was quite clearly anti-republican, but there is no clear evidence known to me as to how or whether this

sentiment was utilised in an explicitly political way before 1926. There is no doubt, though, that an increase in marian devotion, and a new focus for it at Fatima, must have aided the Catholic cause in Portugal under the Republic. Perry & Echeverria [164] claim that Fatima "had made a significant contribution to the 1917 military coup" but, in their expansion of the topic [181ff, especially 185-6]), they do not provide evidence for this.

(2/80). Kselman [67-8] accepts that La Salette was not political but devotional before the publication of Melanie's secret in 1870. Yet there had been attempts to make it political (see note (1/18)). The fundamental distinction between politics and devotion must be maintained here, whilst accepting that devotional sentiment has the potential for political expression, and may contribute to voting patterns (see Gerhard Lenski's research into this in The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics and Family Life (Doubleday, Garden City NY, 1961).

(2/81). Larry Shiner, 'The Concept of Secularisation in Empirical Research', pp 460-74 in K Thompson & J Tunstall (eds), Sociological Perspectives: Selected Readings (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1971), prefers to distinguish specific terms within the concept of secularisation, such as "desacralisation", "differentiation", "transposition" - these can be individually tested more easily than the broad idea of secularisation, he argues.

(2/82). Useful literature on this topic are the books by Berger (eg Facing Up to Modernity: Excursions in Society, Politics and Religion (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1979) and The Social Reality of Religion (Faber, London, 1969)).

(2/83). As in The Syllabus of Errors (1864, Pius IX), and Humanae Vitae (1968, Paul VI).

(2/84). Durkheim coined the term 'anomie' in his Suicide: A Study in Sociology transl J A Spaulding & G Simpson (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1970), especially pp 285ff. It means the lack of aims, norms and values on which to base one's individual life, and occurs with the loss of closely-knit, traditional societies. 'Anomie' may be considered as the same phenomenon as 'psychic deprivation' (see note (2/74) above).

(2/85). Beckford [1986]. See other sociological literature on sects, cults, and new religious movements (eg Bryan Wilson, Patterns of Sectarianism: Organisation and Ideology in Social and Religious Movements (Heinemann, London, 1967), Sects and Society: A Sociological Study of Three Groups in Britain (Heinemann, London, 1961) and Eileen Barker, New Religious Movements: A Practical

Introduction (HMSO, London, 1989)). In this literature, there is a general consensus that such groups emerge as a reaction to modernity (or its ideological equivalent, secularity - see the entries for these terms in B Wilson [1987] and elsewhere in Eliade [1987]). Groups which adopt an apocalyptic mood are usually rejecting some aspect of the modern world, eg rationalism, the impersonal relationships of socio-economics, colonialism, urbanisation, industrialisation, etc.

The reactive relationship between apocalypticism and modernity, mentioned in the sociological literature referenced in this section, supports the contention that such a relationship also exists in the case of marian apparitions, and the broad marian literature, with its rejection of the irreligious attitude of the modern world, is conclusive in this respect. This does not mean, of course, that modernity is the only context for apocalypticism, an ancient phenomenon, but it is the present one. Beckford [1986] suggests that, during periods of rapid social change, traditional social and religious ties are weakened, and that this is the seed-ground for reactionary religious movements of this type (see also 8.5.1). Such change in the twentieth century is what we know as the process of 'modernisation'.

(2/86). See Kselman [107-8] for the importance of Bernadette's poverty in the Lourdes cult: "Stories that circulated by word of mouth at the time of the Lourdes apparitions asserted that Bernadette's poverty was the source of God's favour". Laurentin [1987b; 254-9] also puts stress on the poverty aspect of Lourdes. Banneux's Mary was the "Virgin of the Poor", and the visionary came from a poor family (eg Kerkhofs [I; 1, 3ff]).

(2/87). San Damiano: Rosa Quattrini was critically ill at the time of her first apparition, and was healed during this experience (Marie [1981; 11-12]). The Pellevoisin case is also of this type. Fatima: for comments on its context, see 7.3.1.

(2/88). There is no obvious background factor of hardship for the visionaries of eg Beauraing and Garabandal. At Medjugorje, one could perhaps point to the recent bereavement for the first visionary, Ivanka Ivanković - her mother - as M Carroll points out (see 6.5.1 below), or even the strains between Catholicism and communism in post-Tito Yugoslavia. Yet it is difficult to accept that Medjugorje was suffering strains like those on Fatima (1917) or on various individual visionaries throughout the period (mentioned in notes above).

(2/89). So referred to in the titles of Latourette [1959-63] and Vidler [1974].

(2/90). The debate on secularisation is wide-ranging and several positions are taken. The best-known British proponent of a total secularisation thesis, which includes the demise of religious institutions, social power and, to a large extent, individuals' beliefs and behaviour, is Bryan Wilson (see eg Religion in Secular Society: A Sociological Comment (C Watts, London, 1966) or his entries in either Hammond (ed), The Sacred in a Secular Age: Toward Revision in the Sociological Study of Religion (University of California Press, London, 1985), or [1987]. Others, such as David Martin (see The Religious and the Secular: Studies in Secularisation (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969) and A General Theory of Secularisation (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1978)) and Thomas Luckmann [1967], argue that it is only by an exclusive, one-sided measuring of the powers and membership of traditional institutions that the secularisation thesis can be maintained in its full form. However, all parties agree that the traditional institutions, of which the Roman Catholic Church is one, have lost a good deal of social and political power over the last two hundred years.

(2/91). See eg Hales [246, 249-50]. For the secularisation process in Ireland, see Inglis [93-4, 208-9, 217, 221ff] (as for industrialisation, the Church in Ireland was for some aspects, but against others [222]).

(2/92). See eg Vidler [11ff]: anti-religion was not the ethic of the Revolution at first, but the process went through the extreme Gallicanism of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790) to the anti-clericalism and de-christianisation of the Terror (1793 and afterwards).

(2/93). See Marx & Engels [36, 44, 53-61, 78-9, 86ff, 262ff].

(2/94). Another source for Marx and Engels is [1978] - see Marx's 'On the Jewish Question' (1843) [26-52, especially 31-2, 35].

(2/95). For one point of view on the integration of Catholicism with the feudal system, see Marx & Engels [1975; 261]. For the support of Catholics for the return of the monarchy, see note (1/27). Turner & Turner [153-4] point out that post-Napoleonic France was an appropriate soil for the seeds of a renewal of marian devotion, as Mary represented the generalised, universal Mother available to the dispossessed, uprooted Catholics of Europe. See also [38-9]: Mary represents the community experiences of Catholicism as against the demands and compartmentalisation of modern society.

(2/96). An expansion of the point made referenced in note (2/91) above.

(2/97). For this and several notes below, I have given references in Latourette and Hales, books which give more detail of these historical occurrences. Here, Hales [252] and Latourette [IV; 130].

(2/98). Hales [227ff, 243ff]; Latourette [I; 416-9, 440-2].

(2/99). Deduced from eg Hales [86ff] and Latourette [IV; 256].

(2/100). See note (1/65) above: revolutions in the Iberian peninsula from 1820 were encouraged by the revolutionary ideas from France following 1789 and the export of this ideology by Napoléon. Ref Latourette [I; 419ff, 424ff]; also da Silva Rego [1969; 162] and Becarud [1969; 184].

(2/101). Hales [22ff].

(2/102). On the religious nature of the American Declaration of Independence, and the conflict of this with the American Constitution, see the essay on "civil religion" in Bellah [1970].

(2/103). The Third Republic became anti-clerical after 1875 (Hales [248ff]; Latourette [I; 408ff]). The Portuguese and Spanish Republics are instances of this type, although the anti-clericalism followed so immediately on their institution that they could be considered examples of type (iii), parallels to the Communist State. The typology should be considered, therefore, as a guide only, and not definitive. See also note (2/79).

(2/104). I am thinking of 'militant atheism' here - of course, even the U.S.S.R. situation is not monolithic, changing with time - deterioration under Stalin (from 1929) and Khrushchev (late 1950s), and improvement after the German invasion (1941) and under Gorbachev (after 1985), with denomination (the different status of Orthodoxy from that of Catholicism); and with region (the republic of Lithuania has a Catholic majority). For religion in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, see eg Trevor Beeson, Discretion and Valour: Religious Conditions in Russia and eastern Europe (revised edn, Collins Fount, London, 1982), M Bordeaux & M Rowe, May One Believe...in Russia?: Violations of Religious Liberty in the Soviet Union (Darton, Longman & Todd, London, 1980).

(2/105). Hales [247] writes about the lack of impact of Catholicism in Protestant countries, where the few

Catholic intellectual luminaries are regarded as "anti-Roman". In anti-clerical Italy, however, "the country remained Catholic in a sense long forgotten in England".

(2/106). Eg 'Americanism' [179ff]; Latourette [III; 106ff] - and also recent anti-authoritarian problems for the Vatican arising in the U.S.A. (see Fogarty, 'North America', in Hastings [1991; 326ff]).

(2/107). See M J Walsh, 'The Conservative Reaction', in Hastings [283ff] for such reactions to Vatican II, eg Lefebvre's comment about the Church being wedded to the principles of the Revolution at Vatican II. There are also the writings of the 'Contre-Réforme Catholique' (1/104), and some articles in the Garabandal magazine (note (1/90)).

(2/108). One index of secularisation, according to writers on this topic (see eg B Wilson [1987]).

(2/109). Particularly abortion (the LIFE and SPUC groups), but this is one of many perceived wrongs. James Morrow [1990] writes, as if Mary is speaking: "But if you prefer, you can continue to have your present world of hatred, bloodshed, greed, injustice, discrimination, persecution, social disorder, marital breakdown, abortion, contraception, human embryo experimentation, homosexuality, and new horrible and incurable diseases. Which world do you want?"

(2/110). Liberal republics often legalise divorce soon after coming into power. This and other examples of new liberal legislation in Catholic countries can be found in Hales [243, 249-50, 264-5]. Legislation of homosexuality and abortion is a more recent phenomenon (post-1960s), and is now the norm in Western Europe, with the exception of Ireland.

(2/111). Support from Rome for La Salette in 1851 came at the same time as the reading of the secret prophecies of the visionaries (see notes (1/18), (1/21), and (2/26) above). Although the content of the secrets was not revealed, this action certainly established the credibility of these prophecies, at least until the scandal over Mélanie's publication (note (1/42) above). The consecrations to the Immaculate Heart (1/59) suggest papal acceptance of the secrets of Fatima, too, although Vatican refusal to divulge the so-called "third secret" (1/63) qualifies this to some extent. For an outline of the Vatican position on apparitions and their messages, see 3.1.

(2/112). One other important feature of 'modernity' is its pluralism with regard to religions (see eg the references to Peter Berger in note (2/82) and also his The Heretical Imperative: Contemporary Possibilities of Religious Affirmation (Collins, London, 1980)). This may be another aspect of modern life which threatens some Catholics, but it has not really been mentioned in the modern apparition cult, and now at Medjugorje, Catholics are urged to respect other religions and denominations as being of God (5/104).

(2/113). It is not possible to prove that the twentieth century has seen more apocalyptic phenomena than before: indeed, they were rife in the nineteenth century, as Kselman [1983] informs us. The official marian cult has, however, become more apocalyptic with the recognition of Fatima (as in (2/111) above), and the liberalising of the Catholic publication rules on miraculous phenomena (1/93) may make it appear as if there are more apocalyptic visions nowadays. Writers like Christian [1984] pick up on some official statistics which make it look as if the period 1937-1954 was particularly active on the matter of visionary phenomena (2/38).

(2/114). The oldest children were sixteen and almost seventeen at the time that the Medjugorje apparitions began, and so it is not surprising that the messages there displayed a broad knowledge from an early stage, commenting on global matters (see eg 5.3.8).

(2/115). Eg Betania (Laurentin [1990a; 53ff]), Terra Blanca [61-2]. I would not wish to make too much of this point as this is the only and brief source that I have for these cases. Others in Latin America do betray an apocalyptic edge, eg Cuapa [56ff], San Nicolas [62ff]. However, it would not be surprising if shrines based on healing were not so prominent with the advance of medical provision.

(2/116). I am surprised that no-one has linked the apocalypticism of visions to the ecological question, now that this has become the most obvious source of anxiety with the decline of the nuclear threat. In fact, one recent message (25 January 1991) from Medjugorje does allude to the environment: "...Satan is strong and he seeks to destroy not only human life but also nature and the planet on which you are living..." (given in Mir, No 27, Feb 1991, p 3).

(2/117). The notes (1/12), (1/19), and (1/28) will elucidate this point. Conservatism was gallican until 1848 or so, and then ultramontane (see also (1/14)).

(2/118). The official sanction from the Vatican on the French shrines (note (2/32) above) continued for the marian apparition cult in general with the emergence of Fatima. Pope Pius XII helped to make the Fatima cult even more established by his consecrations of 1942 and 1942, a process continued by Paul VI and John Paul II (1/59). Both of these latter popes have visited some of the marian apparition shrines on pilgrimage. For recent papal teaching on marian devotion within the context of theology and sacramental liturgy, see the encyclicals Marialis Cultus (1974) and Redemptoris Mater (1987) (dealt with briefly in 8.1.4).

(2/119). See note (1/13). The modern cults are nearer to the first model suggested by Bouritius [1979], where there is some antagonism between "popular" and "official" religion.

(2/120). Traceable, perhaps, back as far as the Montanist movement during the early centuries (for "enthusiastic" movements over the centuries, see Ronald Knox, Enthusiasm (corrected 1st edn, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1950)). For more recent scepticism about apparitions among the clergy, see (1/46), (3/48), (3/51) (Ireland), (1/55) (Portugal), (3/55) (Belgium), and (1/86) (Spain).

(2/121). The difficulty with some of the modern cases (like many in previous centuries, e.g. the nineteenth - see Kselman [passim]) is that they contain lengthy and apocalyptic messages (see note (2/26) above) not easily tailored to simple orthodoxy. Promises are made, eg the miracles of Garabandal, Palmar de Troya (note (1/88) above), and Medjugorje (5.3.8), which could embarrass the Church if the apparitions were accepted and then the expected events failed to occur. In addition, the language of the apparitions is not easily compatible with the modern search for ecumenism (see note (2/5) above), not such an important issue before Vatican II.

Therefore it is not at all an easy matter for the Church to adopt these cults into its pastoral, liturgical, and devotional practices. See Doyle's observations referenced in note (4/46).

(2/122). Jung's hypotheses are dealt with in chapter 6 (6.2.2, 6.3.2, 6.5.2). Laurentin [115] dismisses the idea that there is a series, or unfolding plan:
"To me apparitions seem like individual cries from heaven, heard at various places at various times without any overall plan. Our Lady's familiarity intervenes to particularise and personalise the Christian message according to our needs".

(2/123). Kselman decided against this latter explanation for French 19th century apparitions ([144-5], quoted in note (1/39) above).

(3/1). See Schillebeeckx [1954; 153ff], where he refers to the Acts of the 5th Provincial Council of Malines, 1938, for this official position; also McBrien [1984; 237-9].

(3/2). Rahner [1963; 83].

(3/3). [13-16].

(3/4). Schillebeeckx [152]; see also Rahner [26] (cf note (3/13) below).

(3/5). Lambertini [1852; III; 162-3]; Rahner [64, 74-5]. This is also supported by the priest who is the historian at Fatima, Fr Cristino, in an interview in October 1988, to the effect that the messages revealed by Lucia Santos from 1936-42 have not been recognised by the Church as having a divine origin. Laurentin [1990b; Apr 24-5] points out that manifest error disqualifies a case, according to the principles of the SCDF (1978), but account is taken of possible unconscious additions by the seer, and this may allow the vision to be considered authentic in certain circumstances where every detail is not doctrinally correct (Laurentin mentions, in this respect, St Ignatius Loyola's Spiritual Exercises, No 336).

(3/6). See O'Carroll [1986; 9-10]: this position was stated in a declaration by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, 1877, and restated in Pius X's encyclical Pascendi dominici gregis, 1907.

(3/7). The Lourdes feast is catalogued in Attwater [1957; 84-6]; see also O'Carroll [10]. For the crowning of the Lourdes statue, see Cros [1926; III; 243-5].

(3/8). The policy of the Council of Trent, session XXV (given in Stern [1984; II; 3-4]); for an example, see O'Connor [1975; VII; 1019-21] (Canon 2019, SCDF, April 21 1970) in which the Vatican supports the bishop of Santander over Garabandal: "...the bishop of Santander has been and continues to be the only one with complete jurisdiction in this matter and the Holy See has no intention of examining this question any further...". See 3.4.5, and also 3.3 where the 1978 SCDF document, referring to this question, is discussed.

(3/9). Eg de Bruillard's referral to the Vatican because of the opposition of de Bonald (Jaouen [1988; 75]); Laurence's statement authenticating Lourdes: "We submit humbly our judgement to the judgement of the Sovereign Pontiff, who is charged to govern the universal Church"

(Cros [III; 51]); the Council of Trent declared that no novelty or usage previously unknown should be adopted without recourse to the pope (Stern [1984; II]); more recently, the case of Medjugorje (5/6).

(3/10). Attwater [57]: the present popularity of the practice dates from 1597 - it was carried out most numerously in the late nineteenth century, particularly in France and Belgium.

(3/11). Eg Paul VI's visit to Fatima (1967), which dismayed the ecumenical movement (Hebblethwaite [1975; 90-1, 233]); John Paul II has been to Guadalupe, Lourdes, Knock, Beauraing, Banneux, and Fatima, at least.

(3/12). Rahner [29], gives the date for the consecration of the world to the Sacred Heart by Leo XIII as 1900, and says that this was due to the visions of Christ to Maria Droste zu Vischering. Beevers [1953; 222] gives 1899 as the date. See also note (1/59).

(3/13). See Rahner [18-30]: in a discussion on private revelations as prophetic charismata, he suggests that such phenomena are often underestimated: "It is not enough to say: private revelations are not addressed to the Church (or humanity) as a whole and their content is not positively guaranteed by the magisterium" [25]. They are "imperatives" in a "concrete historical situation" rather than supplements to public revelation or identical with it, because "... what God wishes to be done in certain given circumstances cannot be logically and unequivocally deduced from the general principles of dogma and morals, even with the help of an analysis of the given situation" [26].

(3/14). See notes (3/1), (3/4), (3/5) above. Doctrines like the Immaculate Conception (cf Rue du Bac, Lourdes, L'Ile-Bouchard) and devotions such as the Sacred Heart (cf Pellevoisin) were established in Catholicism before the nineteenth century.

(3/15). Clerical approval often begins with the local priest (see 3.2.2 below), and the bishops are sometimes won over well before any canonical verdict (see notes (3/52-5) below). After the authentication process is complete, the Church's approval continues with the building of basilicas, granting of indulgences and feast days, etc. (see note (2/32)).

(3/16). See Laurentin [Apr 22-3] and, on Kibeho, [1990a; 70]. Other examples of recognition of the cult, but not of the divine origin of the apparition which initiated it, are: Tre Fontane; Beauraing and Banneux, six years

elapsing before the apparitions were fully authenticated (see the appendices).

(3/17). See Rahner (notes (3/5), (3/13) above), who finds great value in prophetic messages - hence his sense of urgency in distinguishing the authentic ones [30]. The words allegedly spoken by the Virgin Mary are often used in theological commentaries on apparition events and enshrined on plaques and statues (eg all of the words spoken by the Virgin via Bernadette are engraved on a plaque there - the list does not quite tally with Laurentin's reconstruction, eg in [1962; III; chapter 19], as it contains the words "Je désire qu'il vienne du monde", not given in his list).

(3/18). Eg at Fatima, planning for a large-scale shrine was begun in 1921, a year before the canonical enquiry was instituted (Barthas & da Fonseca [1947; 58-9]); Mgr Heylen authorised the chapel at Beauraing in June 1933; at Banneux, the first stone of the chapel requested by the visionary was laid on 25 May 1933, and the building formally blessed on the 15th August (Toussaint & Joset [1981; 119]). Yet no commissions of enquiry were instigated until after October of that year.

(3/19). This is officially recommended (see (3/8) above, (3/102) below). In Stern [II; 3], from Trent session XXV: bishops should consult theologians and "other pious men".

(3/20). Billet [1973; 8-19].

(3/21). Eg Laurentin's [1988b] (the original French version of [1990a]) gives 13 cases occurring in Roman Catholic areas after 1971, the end of the period covered by Billet, and these include Medjugorje.

(3/22). The figure of five per year is relatively meaningless, as there is no easy way to collect all the data and, anyway, many cases continue for several years. Nevertheless, it gives us an idea of the extent of the phenomena (see (1/1) above).

(3/23). Other visits were carried out or intended, but for various reasons cannot be included in the overview here. Notre-Dame des Victoires (Paris): a locution of Mary on December 3rd, 1836 (see (1/12)) lies at the origin of the Confraternity of the Immaculate Heart - this was not an apparition and occurred to a priest; Montichiari (Italy): I did not get as far as the shrine itself - quite a small one, I was told - due to the availability of transport, but in the local church is an official notice condemning the cult; Palmar de Troya (Spain, see (1/88)): regretfully, I did

not have time to travel to Seville - Palmar's early history is cloudy, but what is clear is the outright opposition of the local archbishop from 1970, two years after the outset of the visions;

El Escorial (Spain, see (1/92)): I did not discover where the monthly visions took place, not having enough time there to follow it up;

Bessbrook (Ireland): I decided not to travel from the Republic into Northern Ireland in a hired car, having been informed that there was very little to see;

Cork and Grantstown (Ireland): the vision location is not fixed, and I do not know what the Church hierarchy thinks - presumably it is aloof, like other Irish cases, but the priest at Grantstown Priory has allowed the visionaries to form a prayer group.

We cannot include here Latin American or African cases, as little information is available on them, and they are beyond the geographical limits of the research travel possible. However, recent developments in South and Central America, and in Rwanda, are quite interesting (see the paragraphs in 3.4.7).

(3/24). There is little doubt that all of the apparition cults listed in the text, with the exception of the Rue du Bac, Sant' Andrea delle Frate and possibly Pellevoisin, grew in their early days because of popular interest rather than ecclesiastical contrivance, although the Church helped the process along at varying stages. See Kselman's comment (1/39). La Salette is a good example of how popular religious revival impressed the clergy responsible in the area (1/17). L'Ile-Bouchard is an example of how a lack of popular support told against official backing for the shrine (1/32).

Of course, the amount of popular interest is different for the individual cases. Interest in Pontmain or Pellevoisin has never reached the level of the mass support for the shrines at Lourdes and Fatima, for example.

(3/25). Tilly-sur-Seulles: I have little information on Tilly, and so have not included it when categorising further in section 3.2.2. See (1/30) for the scant details. There is a very small shrine, and clearly one visionary was picked out from the rest to make the case in part respectable (this is not to suggest that she was not deserving of this).

(3/26). Archbishops from overseas supported the shrine at Knock within the first four years (see the references in note (1/46) above). Anticipating chapter 5 (note (5/177)), we might add that Medjugorje has been visited by bishops from outside Yugoslavia, despite the opposition of the

local bishop to the shrine, and the prohibition on official pilgrimages by the national episcopate.

(3/27). Veuillot's support of La Salette and Lourdes was important for the publication of these throughout France (see note (1/23)), but it is unlikely that he influenced de Bruillard or Laurence directly. On the other hand, Laurence was not swayed by the newspapers which opposed his authenticating Lourdes, claiming to support the Catholic faith in their denunciation of Lourdes as a corruption of it (eg the Constitutionnel, Le Monde, Pays, their response in February 1862 to the bishop's statement authenticating Lourdes cited and quoted in Laurentin & Billet [1961; VI; 300-6]).

The attack on Beauraing by Derselle, Bruno de J esus-Marie, van Gehuchten, and de Greeff, among others, caused a controversy which resulted in the bishops of Namur and Liege losing jurisdiction for the shrines in their diocese (see note (3/55) below). Yet their positive attitude to the shrines at Beauraing and Banneux was finally decisive.

(3/28). In the early days, restrictions against clergy supporting Fatima were enforced (note (2/119) above); clergy were forbidden to visit the shrines at Lourdes (note (3/53) below), Beauraing (note (1/74) above), and Garabandal (see Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [1967; 147-8, 174]).

(3/29). The La Salette investigator, Rousselot, was responsible for encouraging the Grenoble commission to a positive verdict against dissenters (note (3/54)); the Lourdes commission needed the support of diocesan clergy in gathering evidence for the healings attributed to the grotto water (see Laurentin & Billet [1959; V; 30]). Most commissions will include priests from the appropriate diocese.

(3/30). The bishop's attitude was certainly decisive in the two Belgian cases (3/55). At La Salette (3/52) and Pontmain (3/54), the responses of the local clergy clearly influenced the bishop to a positive decision.

(3/31). The authentication statements outlined in the appendices leave no room for doubt as to the importance of orthodox popular religious revival for the authentication process. Yet the caution of the episcopate is demonstrated by the careful approach of Laurence toward Lourdes and Heylen toward Beauraing (see above, note (3/28)), despite their eventual enthusiasm for these shrines. The long delays in the authentications of La Salette, Fatima, Beauraing, and Banneux are also illustrative. The possible exception to the rule of caution is Wicart in his obvious favour for Pontmain before any enquiries had been made

(3/54), yet even he stresses the Church's traditional caution in such matters.

In Spain and Italy, it would seem that caution outweighs popular excitement (see note (1/86)). Christian [1981a; 150-1], before going on to discuss the period of repression of popular religious phenomena in that country from the sixteenth century, notes that the Spanish were more rigorous than the Italians in maintaining this policy; yet in Italy, too, apparitions founding shrines in Italy occurred only up to 1590.

(3/32). The bishop of La Rochelle encouraged both de Bruillard and Laurence before their decisions had been made on La Salette and Lourdes respectively; Laurence was also visited by Mgr Thibaut of Montpellier, who recommended that he institute an enquiry (notes (1/19) and (3/64); also Cros [1926; II; 288]).

(3/33). Eg: Cardinal de Bonald, opponent of La Salette (1/19), Archbishop Servonnet of Bourges, who retarded the cause of Pellevoisin (1/28), and the Belgian national episcopal congress under Cardinal van Roey (3/55). However, on the supportive side, Archbishops de Quélen and de la Tour d'Auvergne were responsible for the promulgation of the devotions initiated at the Rue du Bac and Pellevoisin respectively (notes (1/11) and (1/28) above), and the archbishop of Auch, metropolitan over Tarbes, helped the cause of Lourdes (note (1/22) above).

(3/34). Except certain individuals (eg van Houtryve and Lenain in Belgium (3/55) and the two Franciscans on the Mostar commission with jurisdiction over Medjugorje (5/6)). De Jésus-Marie, Carmelite opponent of Beauraing, tried to influence the Church's judgement (eg 4.3.2)).

(3/35). The State was against the most notable apparition cases, eg La Salette, Lourdes, Fatima, without being able to suppress them. I do not know of a case where State suppression has succeeded in preventing the spread of an apparition cult, although it is possible that this has occurred in Eastern Europe in recent years (apparently, there were visions reported in Lithuania in 1962 (Johnston [1980a; 1])); more recently, the marian apparitions at Hrushiw in the Ukraine seem to have a nationalistic focus (Cornwell [1988]).

(3/36). The local secular authorities were against the Lourdes shrine in its first year, allegedly because the numbers of pilgrims threatened to provoke disorder; the opponents of Lourdes were nominally Catholic (3/53). Only later did the activities of the legitimist and anti-republican Assumptionists, co-supervisors at the shrine, threaten its future (see note (1/40) above). The La

Salette message was suppressed in its early days by the State because of its possible political and economic repercussions (note (1/18) above), but this slant did not survive after the secret of Mélanie was suppressed by the Church in 1879 (note (1/42) above). The hostility of local authorities to Fatima was due, it would seem, mainly to ideology (note (1/52) above).

(3/37). See notes (1/56) and (1/57) above; in France, after the 1870s, Belgium and Ireland, apparition cults and shrines do not appear to have played a political role, certainly not at any national level.

(3/38). See 3.4.2: political content is one of the negative criteria counting against authentication. It is possible, too, that the hierarchical Church is more likely to encourage the cults at times of low or no tension between Church and State, eg Fatima was not authenticated until the Salazar regime had been established. The tension in Italy, 1945-8, coincided with a period during which the Church was informed of many cases, but failed to promote any of them substantially (see notes (1/80) and (1/81) above).

(3/39). Political speculation about the secret of La Salette is quite clearly unrelated to the original circumstances of the apparition (1/18). The political context of Lourdes as an Assumptionist shrine did not emerge fully until the 1870s, eight years and more after ecclesiastical authentication. This was a period when all such phenomena were given a political interpretation (notes (1/24) and (1/25) above). The reference to Russia in the message of Fatima was not alluded to by the visionary until 1929, and not fully public until 1941, 24 years after the apparitions (1/59).

(3/40). A bias towards popular religious revival, rather than towards concern for peaceful agreement between the clergy, marks the policy of Mgr de Bruillard on La Salette (3/52). The bishop of Namur ignored Catholic opposition in pursuing the cause of Beauraing after 1934 (3/55). On the other hand, episcopal attitudes at Garabandal (notes (1/86) and (1/90) above) and Medjugorje (5.2.2) appear to put the principle of Church authority above that of the growth and renewal of devotion.

(3/41). See above (1.2.1 and note (1/12)). At Lourdes, the emphasis is on the Immaculate Conception, declared a dogma four years before the apparitions. Pellvoisin echoed the national interest in the Sacred Heart during the 1870s (note (1/28) above). Note also the case of L'Île-Bouchard (note (1/32) above).

(3/42). No new shrines have merged in France during the twentieth century, yet the nineteenth-century ones are given full ecclesiastical promotion. Derselle, the opponent of Beauraing, was horrified that the apparitions there could be compared to Lourdes, authenticated some 71 years earlier (Derselle [1933a; 33-4]). The Spanish hierarchy seem content with the medieval pattern of shrines (1/86).

(3/43). Eg Mgr de Quélen's concern about the archconfraternity dedicated to the Immaculate Heart (1/12). De Bruillard founded a diocesan order, the Missionaries of La Salette, to administer the shrine from 1852 (note (1/20) above). Laurence placed the diocesan Pères Missionnaires de Notre-Dame de Garaison (later Pères Missionnaires de l'Immaculée Conception) in charge at Lourdes, 1866 (Cros [III; 200-2]; see also Neame [1968; 132ff]).

(3/44). For the bibliographical detail for each apparition case mentioned in this section, see the appendices, which contain details about the apparition events, but also about the commissions of enquiry.

(3/45). "If this enterprise, this movement of theirs, is of human origin it will break up of its own accord; but if it does in fact come from God you will not only be unable to destroy them, but you might find yourselves fighting against God".

(3/46). This is rather a special case, as Catherine Labouré confided her revelations to her confessor, Fr Aladel, alone. It took him some time to consider her testimony seriously and report to the archbishop (Laurentin [1983; 80-1, 86-9]).

(3/47). Fatima and L'Ile-Bouchard appear together in both of these lists, but they are very different. The priest at Fatima was quite hostile to the apparitions, and informed his superiors because of the huge numbers gathering at the Cova, and the resultant national media coverage. The episcopate took control quite subtly, giving the priest permission to start enquiries, then reconstituting the diocese of Leiria (1/55). The new bishop was installed in 1920 and seems to have been favourable to Fatima from the outset (his first positive statement was issued on the 3rd May 1922 - de Marchi [1986a; 225-6]).

At L'Ile-Bouchard, the local priest was rather disturbed, although he began enquiries. The archdiocese of Tours has not pronounced on the event, despite the archbishop's attendance at the annual pilgrimage (1.2.1).

(3/48). At Carns and Inchigeela, the priests at the time of my visit (September 1989) were remaining aloof from the phenomena; I do not know about Melleray, which is very close to the Cistercian abbey of that name. I did discover the existence of priestly spiritual directors for some of the Irish visionaries, although there is nothing 'official' about this.

(3/49). I would claim that all the bishops relevant here were positive from an early stage, despite their caution; at no time, did any of them (de Bruillard, Wicart, MacHale, Laurence, Heylen or Kerkhofs) do anything that could be described as discouragement, and all bar MacHale (who was succeeded shortly after the events at Knock by the reserved McEvelly (1/46)) steered the respective cases through the commission procedure (3/52-5).

(3/50). The conclusions they did come to vary between negative and prohibitive (Garabandal, San Damiano, Medjugorje) and reserved (Schio and Oliveto Citra). The latter two Italian cases are quite recent (both began in 1985), and perhaps it is too early to say whether the respective bishops have come to a definite decision (the bishop of Vicenza, over Schio, seems to be slightly the more positive of the two, allowing some aspects of the movement there (Rossi [1988; 91-2]), but my information is that a change of bishop has not helped the cause of Schio.

(3/51). The negative reaction of the bishop of Cork, Michael Murphy, to moving statues and apparitions in his diocese is given in his official statements [1985], [1986], [1988]. In the latter, for example:
"The very multiplication of alleged apparitions in recent times is in itself a strong indication that they lack credibility. God does not display his power in such ways. To portray Our Lady as giving an endless stream of messages, some of which border on the absurd, is another indication of unreliability".
See also the bishop of Ferns' view in Comiskey [1989].

(3/52). At La Salette and Pontmain, official enquiries predating the episcopal commissions were made at an early stage (La Salette - full report by investigators from a diocesan seminary available by 10th November 1846 (Stern [1980; I; 114-19])). The thorough research made by the Church during the initial phase of these cases owes much to the fact that they were single apparitions, with no suggestion that the phenomenon would be repeated. Therefore the problem of the continuing promulgation of messages and growing crowds to witness the ecstatic experiences did not trouble the authorities in the dioceses of Grenoble and Laval; the complete facts were to hand - at least, as far as it was possible to reconstruct

them. Despite this, the apparition at La Salette sparked off a controversy in the Church within two months of its occurrence (see the chronology below). This was due, in the first instance, to the long message attributed to Mary, given in the rustic patois of the two visionaries, and their unbecoming character and youthfulness (Berthier's correspondence with M^elin - Grenoble vicar-general, against the apparitions, to parish priest of Corps, who had championed their cause - below and Stern [I; 146-7, 155-7, 204-9]).

The unfolding story of La Salette shows how, in the background to an official enquiry, there might exist a lack of objectivity and the danger of predisposition leading to entrenched positions (eg Berthier, who decided against on the basis of reports, M^elin, and Perrin, the priest who preached enthusiastically on the apparition the day after it occurred (Jaouen [23])). In this particular case, we have already noted that the issue of modernity versus traditionalism as represented by de Bonald and de Bruillard was a major factor (1/19). For Melin and de Bruillard, the religious renewal in the alpine countryside was the dominant issue; they were ready to defend the source of this happy phenomenon, answering objections in copious detail (M^elin to Berthier (below); also Bishop de Bruillard to Cardinal de Bonald (details given in (4/81)). Berthier, Cartellier, and de Bonald were worried about the status of the Catholic Church (de Bonald's complaints - Stern [II; 146-9] and Jaouen [214], and see below; Cartellier - see Membres du Clergé Diocésan de Grenoble [1854]). They were quick to spot apparent discrepancies in the accounts, and disliked the simple and rustic nature of the words attributed to the Virgin Mary (see the minutes of the commission meetings, referenced in the appendix). In addition, they were dismayed by the apparent over-eagerness of their colleagues to accept the apparition as genuine (eg Membres [41, 85]).

Suffice it to say that much of the content of the objections was not at all conclusive - Berthier's objections could be applied to scripture; de Bonald was ignorant of basic details about the case; Membres [59ff] pinned their opposition on the possibility of the children being taken in by a wandering woman (see (1/23)), although it must be conceded that the documents have been retained and presented by those who accept the genuine origin of the cult, and we cannot be sure that the history thus reconstructed is wholly balanced. Much of the difficulty in arguments like these centres on the model that one has for the apparition phenomena in general. This question will be discussed in more detail later in the thesis, but we might wonder whether Berthier et al. would have been happier if the part played by the subjective faculties of the visionaries in their experience as a whole had been

more clearly stressed, because then the detail of the visionaries' report, if not its spirit, could have been put down to their own limited capacities for language and expression.

Yet the question remained for the opposition as to whether the investigative process at La Salette could be considered 'objective'; this was the main point of attack by Berthier on his reading the early reports by the parish priest of Corps, and by Cartellier, after his criticisms had not been taken up during the meetings of the commission (Stern [II; 238-9]). This question will be considered further in 4.3.1.

Here we give a chronology of investigations into La Salette at the pre-commission stage:

19 September 1846: apparition on the alpine hillside in the parish of La Salette, near the town of Corps. The parish priest of La Salette enthusiastically announces this the next day, and the details of the vision are written down by local farmers. (See Stern [I; 50-5]).

4 October: first report made by the parish priest of Corps, Mélin, to the bishop of Grenoble, de Bruillard, summarising the Virgin's message and notifying him of the consistency of the visionaries' reports and the religious renewal in the area [I; 50-5].

9 October: the bishop, in a pastoral letter to the clergy, forbids any publication or proclamation of "miracles" without his consent (a pamphlet had already been published without this) [I; 56-8].

10 November: report by Chambon, superior of the seminary at Rondeau, from where four teachers had set out to make enquiries - the Virgin's message is recorded, and the teachers' impressions are "favourable" [I; 114-9].

22 November: note from Berthier, vicar-general at Grenoble, to the bishop, accusing Mélin of abridging the speech, reported to be that of the Virgin, so as to avoid difficulties. The note also takes Melin, and another investigator-priest, Cat, to task for jumping too quickly to a positive verdict because of the large numbers of pilgrims and their own predispositions [I; 139-42].

27 November: the bishop refuses to sign a letter written by Berthier to Mélin, outlining the objections to La Salette (some of the words attributed to the Mother of God are not worthy of her, the phenomenon "could compromise the clergy in the eyes of the worldly and the unbelievers") [I; 155-7].

c15 December: report by teachers at the Grenoble seminary, concluding that there was no proof to establish a supernatural occurrence, and that the age of the visionaries constituted a problem as to their status as witnesses of an apparition. A detailed enquiry is recommended, so as to gain greater clarification. Possible problems within the message are listed, and it is suggested that the 'miraculous' healings at the new shrine are not convincing [I; 196-202].

15 December: report by the Grenoble cathedral canons, advising the bishop to avoid intervening before an enquiry, which was necessary, but they wrote that, so far, the event had had good effects [I; 202-4].

17 December: Berthier takes issue with the above reports, in that they take for granted the reliability of the children and the possibility that the apparition is worthy or religious attention - he underlines the doubts posed by the Grenoble seminary report [I; 204-5].

19 December: Mélin replies to Berthier's objections in detail, insisting on the lack of personal vested interest in the success of La Salette [I; 205-9].

27 July 1847: beginning of enquiry by Rousselot and Orcel, canons at the diocesan seminary named as investigators by the bishop. Their enquiry provided the details for the commission of November and December 1847, although Orcel, more sceptical than Rousselot, took a back seat whilst the latter became the main protagonist for authenticity, being allowed to publish his findings and conclusions in 1848 [II; 8-9].

25 September: objections to the growing popularity for La Salette by Cardinal de Bonald of Lyons, in a letter to the bishop of Mons. He states his concern over the lack of proof, the age of the witnesses, the irregularity of the message and the appearance of the vision, the uselessness of secrets, the over-commercialisation of the spring, the publication of pamphlets in his diocese without permission, the lack of verification of the healings claimed [II; 146-9].

After the commission, the arguments continued:

9 January 1848: letter from Cartellier, the priest who voted against the authenticity of the apparition during the commission, to de Bruillard, complaining that his criticisms had not been taken seriously during the meetings. He claims that there was still a lack of clarity in the visionaries' testimony [II; 238-9].

11 January: note from de Bruillard to Cartellier, answering his objections, and chastising him for

continuing his opposition after the end of the commission, thus endangering the pastoral concerns [II; 239-40].

January: letter from de Bruillard to de Bonald, answering objections in full, and insisting on the need to break the Church's official silence at this point [II; 240-5] (and see (4/81)). (De Bonald had written letters, now lost, attempting to influence the outcome of the commission, and remove its responsibility to archdiocesan level [II; 187]. He and Cartellier remained stubborn opponents of La Salette, the latter being moved to publish against it during the 1850s (Membres [1854]). Berthier, however, was not active in criticism of La Salette after the 1847 commission.)

(3/53). The clergy at Lourdes had two problems to deal with in the months before the bishop, Mgr Laurence, announced the setting up of a commission on 28th July 1858, some 5½ months from the beginning of the apparitions, and two weeks after their conclusion (the decree is given in Cros [II; 288-91]). The first of these was the activities of the secular authorities against the new shrine, the main protagonist being the prefect of Tarbes, Baron Massy, who stayed in constant touch with the police and town hall of Lourdes, as well as with his superiors in Paris (especially the minister of cults). The second was the extraordinary epidemic of visionaries that emerged after Bernadette had already become famous.

During the period of the apparitions at Lourdes (February 11th - July 16th 1858), the prefect of Tarbes, Baron Massy, attempted to suppress the rapidly-growing pilgrimage cult. Massy's three points of attack on the Lourdes grotto and its devotees were as follows: (i) Bernadette's mental health; (ii) the constituents of the 'miraculous' spring water; (iii) the legality of religious gatherings at an unofficial site. The clergy felt compelled to protest against the implications of (i) and (iii), while Massy's efforts on (ii) were undermined by the second and most authoritative of two professional analyses of the water, which declared that it was perfectly ordinary and not injurious to health. The analyses were by Latour of Trie (Cros [II; 117-8]) and Filhol of Toulouse [II; 330-1]. The former suggested that "medical science will perhaps not be long in identifying special curative qualities in (the spring water)". The opponents to the grotto pilgrims considered this a victory but, in doing so, implicitly admitted that healings had occurred. Both sides in the dispute looked for further evidence, and Filhol was a chemist of far greater standing than Latour. He concluded that "the extraordinary effects... could not, at least in the present state of science, be explained by the constituents of the salts

which the analysis has discovered"; this subtle difference in wording was enough to convince the pro-miracle camp that they had been vindicated.

So Massy had to resort to (iii) to keep the grotto closed to the public and prosecute those who trespassed beyond the barriers. As we saw in chapter 1 (note (1/22)), imperial authority itself prevented this measure continuing beyond October 5th of the same year.

The secular authorities at Lourdes took the step of subjecting the visionary to a medical examination; this had not been a feature of the La Salette investigation, but it became a standard procedure used by the Church itself after Lourdes. So it was the mayor of Lourdes who, at the request of the prefect, sent three doctors to examine Bernadette on 25th March; she had already been interrogated by the police commissioner and public prosecutor. The doctors' report confirmed the visionary's asthmatic condition, but decided against any danger to her mental health. They suggested that she could be the victim of a hallucination - NB they described a false perception resulting from a trick of the light as an "hallucination": as far as we are concerned, such a condition would be better termed an "illusion", because of the presence of an external object as the source of the visionary experience (an hallucination is a wholly internal perception: this is the normal use of these words in most of the literature dealing with such phenomena) - rather than being the author of a fraud, misinterpreting, perhaps, a trick of the light, thus causing ecstatic states to be repeated several times. She would probably return to normal when the crowds ceased to encourage her, they concluded (Cros [II; 468-71]).

The Lourdes clergy took a very passive role at the outset of the phenomena; the three priests there had been forbidden to attend the grotto by the bishop of Tarbes with the agreement of the parish priest, Peyramale. It was Bernadette who sought out the parish priest to tell him that the Virgin had requested a chapel and processions; his angry reaction became famous. Yet the popular account describes the conversion of Peyramale, already warming to Bernadette, as being completed on 25th March, when she announced the vision's identity: "I am the Immaculate Conception". In support of this, it is true that at this time Peyramale began to write letters complaining about the attacks of the secular authorities against the grotto. Thus Massy's complaint: "Certain ecclesiastics seem to want to abandon the prudent reserve in which they have kept themselves until now", on 26th March [II; 8]. "We haven't ever asserted a miracle; what right do they have to assert a farce?", asked Peyramale in a letter to his bishop on 10th April [II; 9-13].

At this time, relations between local Church and secular authorities started to become strained, although prefect and bishop came to an understanding that Bernadette should be prevented from going to the grotto, if at all possible. The bishop agreed that hallucination was the likely reason for the occurrences, but he insisted on the possibility of the supernatural [II; 14-16]. The Lourdes clergy were critical of the bishop's lack of resolve in dealing with the State [II; 17-18]. By July, Peyramale was asking for the bishop's intervention in the worsening chaos brought about by the prefect's sanctions against the grotto [II; 266-7].

Mgr Laurence had been bishop since 1844; he was not a liberal, objecting to dances in 1858 (Neame [220]; Weber [1977; 368]). He had been on good terms with the prefect of Tarbes (Maurain [1930; 233]), but whilst Lourdes was becoming famous, engaged himself in an argument with the latter over Church property (for the details of the argument, see Cros [II; 196-212]). The prefect, Baron Massy had the grotto closed on the 8th June, 1858, with the support of Rouland, Minister of Cults, and Fould, Minister of Finance (Lasserre [undated; 13-4, 284-6]), on the pretext that the water could be hazardous to health. (However, Laurence's denial of complicity in this measure is in [296-7]).

So, at Lourdes, the State asserted itself as the proper investigator of the visions rather than the Church. Thus the case was considered within medical and scientific principles; there was no recourse to theology (see Cros [II; 14-16, 107]). The Church, on the other hand, combined theology and science in its approach to visionary phenomena [II; 288-91] - the concept of 'natural explanation' is an old one in the Church - and so at Lourdes, the fact that Bernadette had been adjudged mentally healthy by doctors was important (see Lasserre [234-5]; Estrade [1951; 122-7]). However, theologians with no desire to be purely scientists drew different conclusions from this fact than their rationalist (albeit nominally Catholic) counterparts, moving in the direction of a supernatural theory rather than speculating on some future ability of science to explain the phenomenon. It is only when there is an absence of natural explanations that the Church and empiricist science part company (see chapter 4).

At Lourdes, the secular authorities attempted to suppress the new cult because of their concern for established Catholicism - see Rouland, the Minister of Cults, writing to Massy in Cros [II; 6]; Massy's respect for religion [II; 79-80]. The second problem facing the Church at Lourdes was the epidemic of visionaries that followed in the wake of the fame of Bernadette's ecstasies [II; 95-

103]. This undermined attempts by devotees to establish the respectability of the original apparitions. Massy threatened to inter the so-called visionaries as mental patients ([II; 80]: this was published in the Lourdes newspaper Lavedan on 6 May 1858), and even Bernadette came under a renewed threat. She was subjected to a second medical examination on 3rd May and, although the diagnosis was the same as before, Massy determined to arrest her with the intention of putting her into hospital. At this point, Peyramale intervened, averting the danger with threats and insistences that the visionary was not ill [II; 107-9]. The other visionaries continued to be an embarrassment to the Church; on 12th July, under some pressure, the bishop condemned two of them, suggesting a "nervous affectation" [II; 248].

Some years later, Cros [II; 228-39, 249-54] rehabilitated the State authorities somewhat, as he suggested that the case of the many, often hysterical, visionaries justified the government's action in closing the grotto (see also Thurston [1927]). Yet one wonders whether the antagonistic attitude of the State authorities caused the clergy to be more favourably-inclined to Bernadette than if the Church had been left to deal with the responsibility for an explanation of the situation. Admittedly, the tension in the Church so evident at La Salette had faded away in the years of the Second Empire, and so there is no reason to posit a struggle in the Church if there had not been one with the State (1/19; 1/23). In addition, Bernadette's story was free of the complexities which dogged La Salette; most importantly, her report supported the papal definition of the Immaculate Conception made four years earlier, thus appealing to the ultramontane mood of French Catholicism at this time.

Three visitors to Lourdes in July 1858 turned events in favour of the apparitions: the bishop of La Rochelle, a supporter of La Salette who persuaded Laurence to instigate an enquiry; Louis Veuillot, who helped the fame of Lourdes with his powerful arguments against scepticism; and a governess to the imperial prince who refused to obey the notice of prohibition on visits to the grotto. Rouland's unwillingness to have the imperial governess prosecuted ended all such measures against visitors to the grotto, a business already much ridiculed (Estrade [151-63]; Cros [II; 309ff]).

The ecclesiastical enquiry began its work on the 2nd August 1858, but its first important interviews were carried out at Lourdes on the 17th November, the month after the grotto, closed for four months by the civil authorities, had been re-opened at the command of Napoleon III (Cros [II; 460ff]; Laurentin & Billet [V; 22]; see also (1/22)). The enquiry had to be satisfied on basic

criteria and procedures, including interrogations of Bernadette. The reported healings were of major importance and there was much work done on validating them, but Bernadette's character impressed the commission immediately, and nothing untoward was uncovered during the enquiry. Thus, at Lourdes, the battle was over with the re-opening of the grotto.

(3/54). Quite clearly, local and diocesan clergy believed in the authenticity of the apparition at Pontmain from the very beginning. The enquiry, once its initial phase had been carried out, was a matter of routine, a formality to satisfy the Church universal that things had been carried out properly. The extraordinary circumstances of both the January armistice and the Laval petition to the Virgin, made before news of the apparition at Pontmain had reached the town, coupled with the first-hand testimony of the local priest, sisters, and other adults, had left the bishop in very little doubt as to the outcome of his investigation. The Pontmain message was too simple to cause offence, and in the wake of Lourdes and its fame, the concept of marian apparitions had been established in contemporary French Catholicism (see Kselman [1983; 113ff; see also (1/24)]).

This is the history of the pre-commission stage at Pontmain:

Michel Guérin, the priest at Pontmain, witnessed the five children whilst they looked into the sky and claimed to see the Virgin on 17th January, 1871. On the following day, he wrote to his namesake François Guérin, the priest at nearby Landivy. His letter shows that he was already convinced: "... the most Holy Virgin revealed herself to five children... You will certainly wish to carry out an enquiry and interrogate these happy children. I believe their testimony to be certain..." (Laurentin & Durand [1970; III; 11]. F. Guérin questioned the children on the 19th; having interviewed them separately with the customary tricks to test them, he wrote: "I remain convinced that they are not mistaken about that which they claim to have seen and I have no doubt about their truthfulness" [III; 17-20]. He wrote to the bishop, Mgr Wicart, on the 23rd, in positive terms [III; 29-33]. The bishop replied that he had read the report with interest, but had to remain reserved, whilst he would like to be kept up to date with events [III; 39].

The bishop's letter to M. Guérin on the 13th February had a more enthusiastic tone: "The moment does not appear to me to have yet arrived for me to pronounce on the incomparable favour accorded to your blessed parish, but you see that I am getting ready for this little by

little... Praised, loved, glorified and blessed... millions of times be the Father of infinite mercies and the immaculate Mother..." Furthermore, the bishop gave his permission for Guerin to build a commemorative chapel, as long as he was kept aware of the details for this [III; 62-3]. The bishop's positive attitude can be traced to the end of the Franco-Prussian conflict (28th January 1871), and the fact that he had made a public vow on the 20th, oblivious of the apparition that had occurred on the 17th, to restore the spire and towers of Notre-Dame d'Avesnières if the Virgin saved Laval from the Prussian advance [1950; I; 54].

The bishop sent his vicar-general, Vincent, to undertake an enquiry at Pontmain on the 27th and 28th March [III; 110-11]. This prepared the way for the main investigation in December. He then sent a pastoral letter to the clergy of the Laval diocese telling them of the event at Pontmain, and linking it with his own vigil of prayers in the face of Prussian hostilities. This letter recommends the small book on Pontmain written by one of his investigators (Richard [1871]), and mentions the canonical enquiry undertaken by Vincent. The whole text is positive, with the qualifying : "But the Church does not usually move so fast in her judgements. We will do as she has always done. The whole dossier will remain provisional on the study in our hands" (Laurentin & Durand [III; 112-16].

(3/55). In the case of Belgium, we see how extreme caution (procrastination, even) may result in difficulties for the Church because of the involvement of non-official parties; in the case of Beauraing, doctors and would-be theologians entered into a vitriolic debate that endangered the reputation of the emergent shrine. The arguments of unworthiness (as at La Salette) and natural explanation (as at Lourdes) were again in the forefront of the opposition claims.

The opposition began in January 1933, nine months before any official enquiry was set up. In the main text, we are dealing only with the ecclesiastical response to Beauraing and Banneux (and see the chronology below), but note that the Catholic opposition (mainly lay) to Beauraing was very influential in its day, and many of its insights add substance to the discussion in sections 3.3 and 3.4. However, the debate did not seem to have any decisive effect on the final outcome, which rested on the bishops' satisfaction that the cause of orthodox religious piety was being served by the shrines.

By the end of 1933, responsibility for judgement on Beauraing (and in consequence, Banneux) was surrendered to the archbishop of Malines, and eventually also to Rome.

The national commission that resulted did not seem to have the enthusiasm for Beauraing and Banneux that the local bishops Heylen and Kerkhofs, with jurisdiction over Beauraing and Banneux respectively, had come to feel. Eventually, despite the work of the three commissions (Namur, Liège, and Malines) from 1935, and a final report sent to Rome in 1939, there was no reply from the Vatican, partly because of the conclusion of the Malines commission in that the supernatural character of the apparitions had not been established.

Yet Heylen believed in the cause of Beauraing, as he confided privately several times from 1935 onwards, but the authority of the Vatican condemned him to silence (Toussaint & Joset [145-6]; Joset [1981; I; 38]). In 1940, however, after the German invasion of Belgium, he announced to pilgrims at Beauraing that he "daily invoked Our Lady of Beauraing". He agreed that four thousand pilgrims could gather at the site to pray for peace in July 1941 [I; 37-41]. The coming of the Second World War and the invasion of Belgium preceded a change of mood in the hierarchy, and the local dioceses of Namur and Liège regained their rights over the process of enquiry (Charue [1943-6; 16]; Beyer [1959; 225]). It was then that the respective bishops gained full control over events, and the cults were approved with hints that the apparitions were considered to be genuinely of divine origin (Charue [16]; Beyer [227-9]); however, the bishops were careful before announcing a final decision.

The new Namur commission of 1942 gave Mgr Charue the positive foundation on which to push forward for full authentication of the Beauraing case (Joset [1984; V; 85-154]) but, at Liège, the 1942-5 commission came to a largely negative conclusion in its consideration of Banneux (Beyer [1959; 232-44]). Thus it was left to Mgr Kerkhofs to initiate personal enquiries using selected priests before feeling confident enough to make an official declaration in line with his previous support for Banneux [238-42]. Beauraing and Banneux were finally validated as genuine manifestations of the Virgin Mary by the respective bishops in 1949 (Joset [V; 154-5]; Kerkhofs [1959; III; 83-7]). The way in which Kerkhofs effectively overruled the second Liège commission shows how determined he had been in the cause of a positive result (see Beyer [243-8]; Kerkhofs [III; 66]). Thus, for Beauraing and Banneux, the support of the local bishops from an early stage was conclusive.

Here are the details of the pre-commission stage at both Beauraing and Banneux:

29 November 1932 - 3 January 1933:
the apparitions are experienced by five children at

Beauraing. The events are attended with great interest by doctors, mostly lay Catholics, who interrogate the visionaries and take control of events in the absence of clergy.

6 December 1932:

the auxiliary bishop of Namur forbids the clergy to attend the site of the visions (the parish priest had already interviewed the visionaries and their parents).

15 December:

the bishop (Mgr Heylen) makes his first statement, pointing out that his duty was to proceed with discretion, and to follow the events carefully. Although it was possible that "the Holy Virgin might want something of us", the ecclesiastical authority had to "restrict itself to the most severe reserve with regard to the events". He confirms his auxiliary's decision of the 6th, referring to the "credulity of certain persons" which would be aggravated by the presence of priests (Joset [I; 18]).

15 January - 2 March 1933:

the apparitions at Banneux to an 11 year-old girl, attended by very few people.

January:

the argument over Beauraing begins, with Maistriaux's pamphlets ([1932] and [1933]) being followed by Derselle's objections ([1933a] and [1933b]). The medical opinions of Dr Maistriaux are soon questioned by the Louvain professors de Greef and van Gehuchten (de Jésus-Marie et al [1933]). The bishop stays clear of the growing controversy, but accords an indulgence to a prayer based on the Virgin's messages at Beauraing; he is happy to see such a development of marian piety in his diocese (Joset [I; 25]).

May:

Mgr Kerkhofs, bishop of Liège, authorises the building of a chapel as requested by the visionary at Banneux. At about this time, he receives a report on the apparitions from the Benedictine van Houtryve. (Like Heylen, he had been concerned to keep the parish priest from attending the evening rosary vigil that followed the apparitions, but dropped this stricture in July 1933 (Beyer [210])). Heylen visits Rome in May, and informs Pius XI of the events that had occurred at Beauraing. Cardinal Sbaretti, secretary of the Holy Office, assures him that the judgement was in his hands, "in your capacity as the Ordinary of the area" (Joset [I; 29]).

June:

Heylen visits Beauraing; by this time, the new visionary Tilman Côme is becoming famous. The bishop meets the

children, and conveys the apostolic blessing from Rome to them. He authorises the building of the chapel there, and attends the evening rosary at the hawthorn tree, site of the original visions. A commission is first mentioned by Heylen on the 17th June, and a religious, Lenain, appointed in charge of enquiries [I; 29]. At Banneux, Dessain, former secretary to the late Cardinal Mercier, leads the first large pilgrimage (Beyer [208]).

October:

The situation regarding the conflict over Beauraing is steadily deteriorating: the aged Heylen now faces a crisis of public confidence. He is invited by the Nuncio to surrender his right of judgement to Cardinal van Roey but, reluctant to do this, suggests instead a meeting of the Belgian bishops to discuss the problem of apparitions that had occurred all over Belgium (eg Onkerzele, Etikhove).

30 October:

The national episcopal council thus called makes three resolutions with regard to the Belgian apparition cases: (i) the foundation of a medical commission comprising four members (one of whom is van Gehuchten, opponent of Beauraing); (ii) the creation of a theological commission (two members per diocese); (iii) the writing of a letter to the clergy, reminding them of episcopal control over publications concerning the Church and over pilgrimages (Joset [I; 33-34]).

Late 1933 - early 1934:

After the episcopal meeting, Heylen takes careful steps to retard the progress of the Beauraing cult: delaying the book by Maes, which rebutted criticisms of Beauraing, and calling a halt to the building of the chapel. In February, the medical commission begins its work; it will come to consider that only Beauraing and Banneux, amongst all of the apparition cases, are worthy of further attention.

December 1934 - January 1935:

Kerkhofs writes to the Nuncio in his report: "the progressive and apparently providential evolution of the events of Banneux, a faithful piety traditional to all countries, the development of Banneux's works and the motivated commitment of people who know the facts are so many reasonable motives for believing in the origin and in the supernatural nature of the events"; he adds that they were inexplicable by natural means (Beyer [213-4]). At this time, Heylen and Kerkhofs reach agreement with van Roey that diocesan commissions should be set up. (Unfortunately, the Nuncio, unaware of these developments, was writing to the Holy Office, suggesting that a firm line should be taken.)

9 January 1935:

the Holy Office issues a decree (which did not reach Belgium until the 25th March), to the effect that:

(i) the primate of Belgium should prepare an archepiscopal team to take control of the investigation into the apparition cases, which was to inform the Holy Office before making any publication of its findings;

(ii) all publications on the Belgian apparitions (naming the Voix de Beauraing as an example) were to be prohibited;

(iii) pilgrimages to the sites were to be prohibited ([219]; Joset [I; 35-6]).

April:

Heylen and Kerkhofs, upset by the suppressive nature of this document, decide to work together on behalf of Beauraing and Banneux. Kerkhofs travels to Rome and meets Pius XI and Sbaretti, pointing out to them that a decision to appoint diocesan commissions had been made immediately prior to the Roman decree. On returning, the bishops compromise with van Roey in agreeing that the diocesan commissions would work in parallel to the archepiscopal team, under the direct control of the primate, and then forward proposals to Rome, with a request that the January decree be softened ([I; 32-6]; Toussaint & Joset [140]).

May:

the Holy Office agrees to rescind articles (ii) and (iii) of the January decree, subject to the whole document being kept secret. (The secrecy thus imposed meant that neither Heylen nor Kerkhofs could publicly declare the reason for their being unable to judge the cases without the permission of Malines and Rome (Joset [I; 38])).

(3/56). All of the eleven cases authenticated or approved between 1830 and 1949 have required and enjoyed the wholesale support of the local bishop at the crucial stage (in the cases of Sant' Andrea delle Frate and Tre Fontane, the local bishop was also the pope).

(3/57). See the comments throughout 3.3 and its notes; the Louvain professor investigating Beauraing, van Gehuchten, had to speculate on theories of unconscious simulation, and admitted that this did not explain everything (van Gehuchten [1933; 24-30]).

(3/58). Lambertini [1852]: most relevant is [III; 283ff]. Many of the topics treated below in 3.3 and 3.4 can be located in Lambertini's work, eg as follows: bizarre phenomena (eg contortions) as a sign of diabolical influence [III; 260], positive signs (including brevity of the message) [III; 265], spiritual fruits - good works, illumination, lasting conversion, virtue [III; 330],

orthodoxy [III; 374-5, 379], lies and contradictions [III; 375-6], political and unscriptural ends which put faith in peril [III; 381].

(3/59). Laurentin [1990b], an article in five parts over the issues January to May 1990 (see also Ottaviani [1990]). Laurentin writes about Ottaviani [Jan 21-2]. Furthermore, he suggests that Lourdes would not have been recognised 100 years later than its occurrence, in the 1950s [Jan 21]. Laurentin also cites basic philosophical reasons for the unpopularity of apparitions in the modern period: the predominance of rationalism, idealism, psychoanalysis and empiricism [Jan 19-20]. The period of suppression (described as 1930-1970 in [Mar 22]) seems now to be over, especially with the recognition of the visions at Finca Betania (1987) [Jan 21].

(3/60). [Jan 21]. Laurentin disagrees with the 'sub secreto' designation for the 1978 document, but abides by it by not reproducing it in full or part; rather, he paraphrases it. The document is discussed elsewhere in Laurentin [1990a; 39-42] and Rooney & Faricy [1987; 93-9]. Faricy claims that Mgr Žanić of Mostar showed it to him, but then suggests that Mgr Žanić himself has not adhered to it [99].

(3/61). Laurentin [1990b; Feb 29-31]: there is greater detail than that given here in his article, of course (eg the negative criterion of deliberate profit-making from the visionary event).

(3/62). [Feb 31-3, Mar 20-1]. The document also suggests that bishops might remain aloof, while observing, an apparition event that was doubtful, but not dangerous. Have the Irish bishops followed this advice (see 7.2.1)?

(3/63). [Apr 22-3]; Pellevoisin is mentioned [Apr 25]. For Kibeho, see (3/16).

(3/64). [Apr 23] points out the non-formal judgement in favour of supernaturality at Cuapa (see Martinez [1982]) and Akita (the latter is a case of weeping statue and locutions). For the Santander commission on Garabandal, see the appropriate appendix. The episcopal commission on Medjugorje have very recently issued a statement, quoted in note (5/6).

(3/65). See Stern [II; 1-4].

(3/66). De Jésus-Marie et al [180-93]; see also Laurentin [1985a; 10] on the intellectual pro-John of the Cross attitude.

(3/67). Van Houtryve [1933; 9-11].

(3/68). See Lambertini [III; 395]; Schillebeeckx [153]; Rahner [82-3].

(3/69). Beyer [243]; also Laurentin [1988a; 85-6].

(3/70). Laurentin [1990b; Apr 26].

(3/71). Four members of *Grenoble, including Cartellier and Berthier, voted against the thesis that the character of the two La Salette visionaries was compatible with their claim, while the remaining twelve were in favour. The same four could not bring themselves to vote in favour of the thesis that the event actually happened as the visionaries described; three abstained because of the absence of proof, and Cartellier was against. This vote covered the most basic of questions with regard to the character of the visionaries: were they liars or dupes? In the years to come, the La Salette opposition abandoned any attempt to demonstrate the dishonesty of the cowherds, and tried instead to show that they had been taken in by a wandering woman, named as Mlle Lamerlière (who failed to discredit this theory in her lawsuit against its authors) (Membres [1854]; Jaouen [227ff]; Maurain [233]; Kselman [180-1]).

The character of Bernadette Soubirous of Lourdes was one of three main considerations for *Tarbes. Whereas the La Salette visionaries had not impressed all of the priests interested in their case, Bernadette's sincerity and simplicity of character and her clear and direct testimony were widely approved. Another factor was considered here, and this because of the suppositions of those hostile to the phenomena: did Bernadette's family, suffering economic deprivation, gain financially from her new-found fame? All of the witnesses attested to the fact that the visionary refused all gifts and forced this policy on the rest of her family.

The possibility of fraud has to be taken into consideration: this was dismissed by the bishop of Laval in his statement authenticating the vision at Pontmain. Fraud was a hypothesis also rejected by both sides in the argument over Beauraing (with the exception of the arch-sceptic Derselle) (Derselle [1933a]; [1933b; 43-8]; Joset [V; 64-5]). Yet, even after the favourable result of *Namur II, Mgr Charue felt impelled to check the negative aspects of the reported character of the young Albert Voisin, and instigated a special investigation to this end, authenticating the apparitions only when he had been satisfied that nothing untoward existed to cast doubt on the early testimonies.

The Fatima visionaries were commended for their perseverance in the face of persecution when Mgr da Silva announced the Church's approval of the apparitions in 1930, as a result of *Leiria. He pointed out that their suffering arrest and threats at the hands of the local administrator had not deterred them from their story. *Grenoble was unanimous in agreeing that the La Salette visionaries had been consistent in keeping their secrets despite constant prompting and bribery.

Finally, there is the question of personal development - do the visionaries grow perceptibly in faith, as is befitting their experience? No-one had any doubt about Bernadette's piety; this was not so clear in the case of the Beauraing children. Mariette Beco's apparent lack of religious development caused difficulty for *Liege I and II, neither of which was able to reach a definite conclusion, despite van Houtryve's early testimony on the positive change in Mariette (van Houtryve [58ff]).

(3/72). Although the visionaries have been given medical checks on their physical health, the main issue is mental health (not, of course, unconnected with physical factors). Tests help to preclude the possibility of hysteria or hallucination (the latter being a perception wholly internal brought on by a subjective state). Hallucination is often confused with illusion, a false perception of an externally real object (see the psychologist's distinction in M Carroll [1986; 72]); both must be dismissed before a positive verdict can be given.

Most opponents to a supernatural explanation of apparitions have resorted to various theories of false perception rather than that of fraud, which, in the famous cases at least, was not an hypothesis likely to be accepted by witnesses to the visionaries' ecstasies and testimonies. The main difficulty for the false perception theory is the existence of groups of visionaries in the apparition history; thus the commentator is forced to resort to a "collective hallucination" hypothesis, usually based on the idea that a principal visionary affects the others by suggestion. Dr van Gehuchten concluded that the Beauraing phenomenon was probably to be explained by more or less unconscious simulation complicated by auto-suggestion. His Louvain colleague, Dr de Greeff, also sought a "natural" explanation in which the children were not culpable (despite the "inanity" of the phenomenon as he saw it) (van Gehuchten [24-30]; de Greeff [1933; 173-4]).

Whereas *Tarbes had been content with establishing Bernadette's good mental health (although the possibility of hallucination was mentioned (Laurentin & Billet [1961; VI; 27]), and Pontmain's authentication document had

dismissed "imagination" and fraud, the accent on a definitive medical analysis in apparition enquiries was not pronounced until the twentieth-century cases, especially those in Belgium. The 1933 visions at Onkerzele and Lokeren were put down to "hysteria" (Joset [V; 64-5]). *Liège II could not discount "hallucinatory or hysterical phenomena" in its final analysis. *Namur II rejected the idea of suggestion between the children because of the lack of a satisfactory parallel. Collective hallucination and illusion were also treated and dismissed in its summing-up.

(3/73). Whereas a single visionary will be convincing if consistent, a group of visionaries must combine consistency over time with the conformity of their descriptions at an early stage. The visionaries at La Salette, Pontmain, Fatima and Beauraing were interrogated separately so that their accounts could be checked. During *Grenoble, Cartellier alone disagreed that the La Salette visionaries had been consistent when cross-checked one to another; all fifteen of his colleagues were satisfied on this count. The opponents of Beauraing claimed that the children had not concurred in the early interrogations, despite the assurances of Dr Maistriaux (Maistriaux [1932; 25-31] challenged by de Greeff [87-8]). *Malines agreed with the doubters - the concordance and sincerity of the children was not demonstrated to its satisfaction. This objection had to be countered by *Namur II.

(3/74). Supposing that the visionaries are consistent in their reports, it remains for the theologians appointed by the bishop to decide whether the message passed on, and claimed as the words of the Virgin herself, is worthy of such an origin. We have seen above how the priests who distrusted the enthusiasm over La Salette regarded its message as undignified and rustic (3/52). The wisdom of this message was one of the four main criteria for judgement laid down by the bishop during *Grenoble. *Tarbes was struck by Bernadette's wisdom when responding to questions about her experiences. In addition, the Virgin's strange commands to her to drink from the mud and eat the grass of the grotto had to be considered; of course, the appearance of the miraculous spring, at the place of her carrying this out, had long put this issue to rest.

Beauraing's opponents referred to the way in which the message seemed to have been solicited by questions, and also to the lack of clarity in the accounts of the earliest apparitions (Derselle [1933a; 25-6, 58-61]). *Namur II answered the latter by referring to the homogeneity of the reports as a whole, ie the earlier (unclear) period fitted in with the tenor of the message as a whole, according to this view.

*Liège I felt that the "sobriety, coherence and beauty of the (Banneux) message" countered the hallucination hypothesis; thus Mariette could not have produced it from her own imagination. The message was considered again by *Liège II which left the questions in mid-air. It is a testimony to the bishop's favour for the message of Banneux that he authorised the cult in 1942 under the title of "Virgin of the Poor". This authorisation, while separate from that of the apparition as a supernatural event, appears to contain an implicit agreement that the messages promulgated through it are worthy of the belief that they originated from the Virgin Mary (Beyer [227-9]).

Some years before this, in 1934, Mgr Kerkhofs had argued that the Banneux apparition was "appropriate" as regards time and place (Beyer [213-4]). So, in addition to the negative criteria applied to the message that check it for orthodoxy in faith and morals, we can add positive criteria such as "worthiness", "wisdom", "beauty", "dignity", "appropriateness" and "homogeneity", while observing that these are especially subjective and usually used as rhetoric by those already in favour of the apparition they refer to.

(3/75). Only one member of *Grenoble disagreed that the "topography of the site" of the reported apparition at La Salette conformed to the claims made by the visionaries. This enquiry was unique amongst those we are considering in referring to this factor. *Tarbes, however, attempted to establish whether or not the spring supposedly uncovered by Bernadette existed before her ecstasies. There were reports that some kind of water outlet had been observed in the grotto, but this had not been a continuous spring of the kind thought to be responsible for miraculous healing after the visions (see Estrade [218-21], who came to accept that the spring had not been miraculously created at the time of the visions).

(3/76). Considerations about the local population of Beauraing and Banneux were used negatively as counting against authenticity. *Namur II dismissed the charge of hypnosis that had been made several years before, to the effect that a spiritualist in the town had had an influential hold over the visionaries (as claimed by Derselle [58-61]). *Namur I had to interview the Beauraing parish priest to establish that the local people were not given to wild tales and belief in phantoms that could have conditioned the children to expect an apparition.

The emotional pressure of the crowd witnessing the ecstatic states has been noted by those rejecting the visionary claims. The doctors at Lourdes thought that Bernadette's "hallucination" was perpetuated by popular excitement, and that she would return to normal when the

crowds failed to gather (3/53). De Greeff echoed this objection when pointing out the influence of the crowd on the young Beauraing visionaries (de Greeff [87-8]).

*Liège I noted the problem of the involvement of the local priest at Banneux. Was he biased in favour of marian apparitions (ref his interest in Beauraing) in such a way as to ask leading questions of Mariette? Had he given her a brochure on Lourdes before the visions? This last point is another crucial one. Does knowledge of previous marian apparitions by visionaries count against the authentic nature of their own experience? *Namur I was keen to deny that the Beauraing children had been given a brochure on Fatima. In later apparition cases, too, the visionaries and their families have been eager to disavow any knowledge of previous apparitions in order to substantiate their own experiences ((1/89); 5.3.4).

(3/77). *Grenoble was unanimous in agreeing that there was general belief in the La Salette apparition; Cartellier did not consider this fact to constitute proof, nor did the bishop identify it as one of the main criteria. *Malines, which came to a non-committal conclusion on Beauraing because of certain doubts, referred to the "disaccord" between "serious and Christian men" over the events and their interpretation. *Namur II countered this by mentioning the "pressure and intimidation on the part of the "anti-beaurinois" circle", pointing out the role of scientific and theological predisposition in this. (*Namur I had commented on the "rather pitiful" opposition which lacked "serious foundation".)

The authentication document on Fatima referred to the general belief in the apparitions which grew despite anticlerical pressure, including physical threat. In this case, the opposition that continued after the initial period seems to have been mainly anti-Catholic, and did not therefore trouble the hierarchy in the same way as the wholly Catholic objections to Beauraing. The incredulity of many Portuguese priests in 1917 appears to have been forgotten by 1930 (1/55).

Thus belief by a substantial number of orthodox Catholics in the divine origin of an apparition can be counted a factor in favour of the authenticity of this. Catholic disbelief is not necessarily a major obstacle in the verification process if it can be shown that those who profess it are predisposed to consider apparitions unlikely per se (eg de Greeff - Toussaint & Joset [110] claim that de Greeff had made a boast before the apparitions occurred at Beauraing: that the phenomenon at Lourdes would not have taken the same course had he been there to debunk it).

(3/78). Phenomena that appear to be supernatural, and which are visible to people other than the main visionaries, have been used as positive criteria in the cause of authentication. Fr Sauvé, who prepared questions and notes for *Laval I, referred to the "three extraordinary stars" visible to the crowd in such a way as to show that this phenomenon was being put forward as a proof for the apparition. His own analysis was somewhat more cautious than the popular interpretation: even if it were demonstrated, did this subsidiary vision confirm the children's testimony? At Beauraing, too, bystanders claimed to see a strange phenomenon - a luminous silhouette (Maistriaux [1933; 45], the report criticised by Derselle [21]).

Fatima was the site par-excellence of subsidiary phenomena. The bishop's authentication letter mentioned the "column of smoke seen on the tree during the visions by hundreds, by thousands of people... repeated several times". He goes on to record the "solar phenomenon of 13th October 1917, described in the newspapers of the time": "the most marvellous miracle". This phenomenon "was not natural... witnessed by people of all categories and social classes... even individuals at a distance of some kilometres, which destroyed the explanation of collective illusion" (1/58).

Fatima is the only case where the canonical enquiry (*Leiria) has considered with some seriousness the less distinct visionary phenomena experienced by many observers. This is due to the sensational effect that such reports had on the Portuguese public at the time. Nevertheless, in all cases, these kind of occurrences help to foster popular conviction that the apparitions are genuine supernatural manifestations, and they are used as 'proofs' in literature which promotes the growing cult.

(3/79). Lourdes was the first major publicly-witnessed case of apparitions in the modern period. Bernadette's state of trance-like ecstasy had a profound impact on those who witnessed it. Thus the bishop's authentication statement referred to the "transformation" of the visionary whilst the ecstasies were taking place, and to the fact that this inspired a sentiment of admiration and prayer among the crowds.

The testimonies of those present at Bernadette's visions were important to the members of *Tarbes. Witnesses to the state of the visionaries are always listened to during the process of investigation; *Laval I used the presence of priests and sisters at Pontmain as a counter to any possibility that bad character, over-imagination or deceit on the part of the visionaries might cast doubt on their claims. *Namur I interviewed 109 witnesses, including the

Beauraing visionaries themselves and their families. Fr van Houtryve's dossier on Banneux, read by the bishop of Liège in 1933, includes interviews with the principal witnesses collected immediately after the period of visions (van Houtryve [11]).

The arguments over Beauraing illustrate how the form and nature of the visionary trances is convincing to one observer and disconcerting to another. Maistriaux mentioned the instantaneity of the visionaries' fall to their knees and the change in intonation of their prayer at the coming of the vision (Maistriaux [1932; 24]). Derselle, on the other hand, could not believe that a heavenly mother would keep the children up so late in the evening (Derselle [23])! *Namur II dismissed the illusion hypothesis because it had been based on a fact since controverted, apparently: fear shown by the children in the early stages of the apparitions.

The commissions, therefore, needed to establish the unusual but edifying appearance and conduct of the visionaries during their experiences, in such a way as to demonstrate that these were in accord with the possibility of communication with the Virgin Mary.

(3/80). Healing has been a major criterion in most famous cases of apparition since 1830. *Grenoble heard about many claims of physical healing that had followed either use of the spring water from the site or invocation of Our Lady of La Salette. Although the healings were not amongst the main criteria appealed to during the enquiry, the bishop referred to them in his declaration of authentication.

For *Tarbes, healings were a central point of discussion, and investigation into them constituted the major bulk of the work of the parallel commissions. The commissioners travelled through neighbouring regions in the same way as the La Salette investigators Rousselot and Orcel had done, although the area covered around Lourdes was more limited than that visited by these latter two because of the greater number of cases (Laurentin & Billet [V; 30]). Local priests and doctors were consulted where possible. Mgr Laurence included the healings as one of six proofs supporting Bernadette's testimony in his final declaration.

A "miraculous" physical healing has to fulfil the following conditions: instantaneous, complete, durable, unforeseen medically, and transformative. These points are used in support of the healing of Estelle Faguette at Pellevoisin by Fr Vernet, a member of *Bourges (Vernet [1988; 40]). The medical commission that formed part of this made use of the doctor's notes written at the time (1876).

The medical enquiry into the Belgian apparitions established by the national episcopate (*Interdiocesan) came to no definite conclusion, but at least decided that Beauraing and Banneux were worthy of further consideration, unlike the other cases. The final declaration on Beauraing, sixteen years after the apparitions, cited two cases of healing as supporting the authenticity of the visions. The bishop of Liege collected reports of many healings apparently obtained as signs for the authenticity of the Banneux apparitions. Healing was not central to the authentication process of *Leiria, but the bishop referred to it in a prayer to Mary, "health of the sick and refuge of sinners". The Fatima shrine became a focus for visits by the sick in its early years; a confraternity of voluntary stretcher-bearers and nurses was founded in 1924 (Barthas & da Fonseca [1947; 61]).

Both *Tarbes and *Namur I divided claims of healings into those explicable by natural means and those not. Over-enthusiastic analyses which claim miracles in too many cases, eg Dr Dozous at Lourdes (Laurentin & Billet [V; 28-30]) are not considered helpful to the careful work of the commissions, or to the special bureaux that have been set up at many shrines for the purpose of evaluating healings which occurred through prayer or pilgrimage connected with them.

(3/81). Pilgrimage, conversion, attendance at the sacraments, increased prayer, moral improvement are all considered as spiritual fruits that advance the claim for authenticity of apparitions. We have seen how the popular movement at La Salette convinced some of the local clergy of its supernatural favour ((3/52): see in particular Stern [I; 60-1, 81-5]). Spiritual fruits are often mentioned under the same general heading as healing: "moral works" were presented by Rousselot to *Grenoble. The spontaneity of pilgrimage to La Salette was referred to in the authentication document. Pilgrimage also features large in the bishop's letter which authenticated Fatima, where the accent is on the growth of the religious movement from local to international status despite the forces of opposition to it.

Mgr Laurence's declaration mentioned the continuation of pilgrimage to Lourdes after the end of the apparition period, and specified the participation of all social classes and the spirit of piety and conversion. The fruits of Pontmain, according to Mgr Wicart's authentication statement, were manifested in the faith and confidence among Catholic pilgrims after the end of the Franco-Prussian War.

Although all enquiries into apparitions include a consideration of the popular movement of piety, it remains

to mention Beauraing, where *Namur II described "conversions and spiritual favours, supernatural blessings" resulting from the visions.

(3/82). Category (b) has not been cited in support of the authentic nature of any apparition; of those approved, only La Salette and Fatima can be said to include prophecy of this kind, and in both cases this came to light several years after the statement of authentication (La Salette: (1/20), (1/21), (1/42) and Le Hidec [1969]; Fatima: (1/59)). As regards category (a), however, the bishop of Leiria did refer to the fact that the children foretold the Fatima miracle of October 13th, 1917. With reference to Beauraing on the other hand, Derselle claimed that the visionaries foretold a continuation of the apparitions on 2nd February 1933 which did not happen; thus he considered the visions discredited (Derselle [61]).

Category (c) is perhaps the most interesting, and potentially the most contentious, type. The threatening prophecies of La Salette had not been accomplished by the time of *Grenoble (November 1847), and the famine was then over. Rousselot defended the authenticity of the prophecy by pointing out its conditional nature, ie the crisis would only have come if there had not been conversions to religious practice - these had occurred. It has been suggested that famine and disease throughout Europe in the 1850s satisfies the prophecy (see Jaouen [156]). Yet the 1854 report sent to the archbishop of Lyons, and destined for Pius IX, by Grenoble clergy objecting to the cult of La Salette, claimed that Rousselot had altered the original words of the prophecy, which had read "next year" (Membres [103ff]; Jaouen [6, 219ff] notes the refutation of this and other charges by the new bishop of Grenoble, Mgr Ginoulhiac, in 1854). By this time La Salette was established, but this complaint illustrates the importance of elucidating the fulfilment of prophecy so as to convince the Church authorities.

Pontmain is the most notable instance of prophecy fulfilled in the modern history of marian apparitions, although it was not a specific prediction, consisting of simply: "God will soon answer you(r prayer)" during a time of military threat. The bishop of Laval, following popular opinion, considered the end of Franco-Prussian hostilities to be the fulfilment of the prophecy and also a "fruit" of the apparition.

(3/83). A reminder to the reader - the bibliographical references for the cases cited in this section are given in the appendices. It is not clear, from the literature that refers to Palmar de Troya, whether the unorthodox and

extreme conservative elements there emerged before or after the denunciation by the cardinal in 1970.

(3/84). For the Garabandal message criticising "many priests", see Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [173] and Pelletier [1971; 176].

(3/85). See the references in note (3/84) and Pelletier [208].

(3/86). Mélanie's text includes: "Le Vicaire de mon Fils aura beaucoup à souffrir, parce que, pour un temps, l'Eglise sera livrée à de grandes persécutions..." (given in Griffiths [1966; 365]). See eg Martindale [1950; 160] for Lucia's text, which includes: "Many good men will be martyred; the Holy Father will have much to suffer...", and also her record of her fellow-visionary Jacinta's concern for the pope (then Benedict XV) (dos Santos [1976; 108-9]).

(3/87). See note (3/5) above, although note (1/59) shows how the Vatican has made moves to carry out some of Lucia's requests.

(3/88). Laurentin [1983; 75-6] (on the apparition of July 18/19 1830) includes the following text: "Misfortunes will come crashing down on France. The throne will be toppled. The whole world will be turned upside-down by misfortunes of all kinds (the Blessed Virgin looked full of grief as she said this)". She had tears in her eyes when speaking of victims in the Church. See also (2/14) and (2/45).

(3/89). The Virgin was reported to have said, on December 8th 1947: "Dites aux petits enfants de prier pour la France qui en a grand besoin" (La Diffusion Mariale Saint-Joseph [1972; 42]).

(3/90). Thurston [1934b; 131].

(3/91). [128].

(3/92). Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [73ff]; Pelletier [64].

(3/93). Laurentin [1990a; 53-68].

(3/94). Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [149n]: the commission stated, on October 7th 1962, that it found that "those phenomena lack any supernatural origin, and have an explanation of the natural order" (see also Perez [1981; 63-4]).

(3/95). Pelletier [206-8]; Laurentin [144-5].

(3/96). Laurentin & Durand [1970] refute Lebossé's retraction by matching it against the early testimonies.

[III; 331-4] gives the judgement on 16th April 1920, which refers in particular to the two male visionaries who later became priests. Jeanne-Marie Lebossé had become a nun in her adult life.

(3/97). O'Connor [VII; 1019-21] (Canon 2019). This document takes the form of a letter (21st April 1970) from the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith to the archbishop of New Orleans, who had requested guidance on the Garabandal cult.

(3/98). Derobert [1985]. Compare eg his treatment of the apparitions at Amsterdam [115-24] and San Damiano [161-9] with Laurentin [1990a; 143, 146] respectively, and with Billet [28-34, 43-5] respectively.

(3/99). Eg [22-45].

(3/100). Laurentin [passim].

(3/101). There are some recently favoured cases in Latin America (in Betania, Venezuela, Cuapa, Nicaragua and San Nicolas, Argentina); it is not clear whether there is a "mood" in favour of apparitions in any of the South American countries at the present time.

(3/102). The bishop is officially responsible for choosing the members of the commission (e.g. Stern [II; 185-7]; Cros [II; 291]; Laurentin & Durand [114]; Martins [1984; 106]; Joset [V; 35, 85]; Beyer [217, 232]; Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [147]).

(3/103). Despite the observations above, eg note (3/5). The accounts of the apparitions are preserved and promulgated in all kinds of ways (see note (3/17) above).

(3/104). The 'copycat' visions are those which take place immediately after, and in the same general location as, famous ones, often duplicating some of the messages (eg at Lourdes (3/53); Beauraing and Banneux (3/55)).

(3/105). With the exception, perhaps, of the French pilgrimages of the 1870s (see note (1/27)).

(3/106). The commission had reached a positive verdict by mid-December 1847 (Stern [II; 209ff]). The bishop probably delayed his statement of authentication because of both the political crisis of 1848 and the quarrel with Cardinal de Bonald [II; 10]; political speculations about the secrets began in the aftermath of the revolution of February 1848 [II; 11].

(3/107). Taken from a report in Mir, December 1988 (No 4), pp 28-9. The Manchester Medjugorje Centre issues an

audiotape on Kibeho which gives more information, and see also Maindron [1984].

(3/108). Eg Cuapa (Laurentin [1988b; 58]: "If you do not change, the coming of the third world war will be precipitated"), San Nicolas [66]: "I am going to destroy everything on the earth that does not come from heaven"), and Kibeho [69]: "The world is heading towards its ruin"); however, no sign of apocalyptic at Betania, according to Laurentin's report [51-4].

(3/109). The history of the commissions enquiring into Medjugorje has not been covered in this chapter, as there is a full chapter - 5 - on Medjugorje. The commissions are referenced in the appendix, and mentioned in (5/6).

(3/110). Laurentin doesn't seem to mention 'signs' in his commentary on the 1978 document [1990b]. He does, however, include this as one of his list of seven criteria that he claims is based on it (3/112). Of course, signs (eg the healings at Lourdes) are an important feature of the discernment of miracles (see Lambertini [III; 329]).

(3/111). My own diocese of Leeds had not heard of the document, so it is not easily available. It is only sent to those dioceses who request it.

(3/112). Laurentin [1990a; 39-42].

(3/113). Von Hügel [1909; I; 50] on the elements; [I; 70] on the conflicts between them; [I; 75] on the alliance between the institutional and emotional elements.

(4/1). Lambertini [1852; III; 321-2].

(4/2). [377-8].

(4/3). Eg Lourdes - Bernadette was adjudged mentally healthy in March 1858 (Cros [1926; II; 468-71]); Pontmain - medical examination carried out December 1871 (Laurentin & Durand [1970; III; 129-31]); Beauraing - interdiocesan medical examination 1934 (Joset [1984; V; 23ff]); Banneux - the possibility of hallucination suggested by the commission was not a diagnosis (Beyer [1959; 236]).

(4/4). Doyle [1985; 81-2].

(4/5). Derselle [1933a; 58-61]; de Greeff [1933; 173].

(4/6). This information given in The Tablet, 27 August 1988, p 978, by Renée Hayes.

- (4/7). Thurston [1934b; 133-4]. Lambertini [III; 345-6] also accepts that visionaries may be good or wicked, but adds that authentic ones are usually the former.
- (4/8). Thurston [63-4].
(4/9). [119].
(4/10). [viii-x].
(4/11). [40-1]; in [42-4], he notes the repetitious nature of the Belgian cases at Onkerzele, Etikhove, Chaineux and Mélen (1933).
- (4/12). Billet [1973; 23].
(4/13). See [25], where Billet notes that the apparitions at Kérinzen contained many features of those at Lourdes and Fatima.
- (4/14). Thurston [32]: he contrasts Tilman Côme's egocentrism with the attitude of St Bernadette of Lourdes.
- (4/15). Doyle [81-2]. Lambertini stresses time and again the importance of humility and modesty (eg [III; 265, 329, 334]) - diabolical visions engender a desire to speak about them with self-esteem [III; 357-8].
- (4/16). [III; 334] suggests that peace and joy, the expected results of the authentic visionary experience (even if the vision was first received with fear and distress), must lead to virtue and humility.
- (4/17). Christian [1981a; 191].
(4/18). [194].
(4/19). [192-3].
- (4/20). Lambertini [III; 406].
- (4/21). Graef [1950; 8, 37ff, 44, 73, 77]. This is also von Hügel's [1909; II; 46] analysis of the test of mystical experience: there must be spiritual fruitfulness and a many-sided applicability of the insights gained.
- (4/22). Graef [9]; von Hügel, however [II; 25], felt that although St Catherine of Genoa had hysteric-like symptoms, her personality was not disintegrated and she had a strong, self-consistent will, spiritually fruitful.
- (4/23). Thurston [24].
(4/24). [134].
- (4/25). Doyle [80].
- (4/26). Rahner [1963; 76-8].
(4/27). [79]. See also Graef [6]: genuine stigmata must be based on "infused contemplation".

- {4/28}. Rahner [61].
{4/29}. [80-2, 103]. This is the 'sign', referred to in eg
{3/110}. Lambertini concurs that revelations are private
{and the receipt must have evidence to believe them}
[III; 394].
- (4/30). Christian [188, 194].
- (4/31). Doyle [82].
- (4/32). Membres (of the Grenoble Clergy) [1854; 8-9].
- {4/33}. Rahner [52].
{4/34}. [56-7, 62-3].
- (4/35). Thurston [134].
- (4/36). Laurentin & Rupčić [1984; 122-3, 138]; see also
Laurentin [1962; III; 273-92].
- (4/37). Laurentin & Rupčić [138-40]; also [125]: the
communication of the glorious body of Mary to the
visionary must take on other-worldly modalities - hence
partial suspension of normal sensation. This communication
occurs, however, by the means of an impact on the
subjectivity of the visionary [123]. Not all of the
Medjugorje visions, for example, have the objectivity
claimed by the visionaries [126]. See also Laurentin &
Joyeux [1987; 31ff].
- (4/38). Rahner [83]. Graef [10]: it is "perilous" to trust
the contemporary Church on unusual phenomena (note her
remarks on marian apparitions in [1985; II]); better to
observe the "holy indifference and caution" of the Doctors
of the Church.
- (4/39). Thurston [117].
- (4/40). Doyle [79-80].
- {4/41}. Christian [203].
{4/42}. [73].
{4/43}. [205].
{4/44}. [73].
- {4/45}. Doyle [81-2].
{4/46}. [80].
- (4/47). Christian [196-7]. Yet Lambertini was quite open
to the possibility of the diabolical: the devil may appear
as an angel of light [III; 302-4], and "lost spirits" may
take on the form of Christ, or Mary, or the saints [III;
332]. See also the signs of the diabolical ecstasy:

contortion and violent movement (cf 3.4.3), evil content or end, disturbance of the subject afterwards [III; 260].

(4/48). Billet [26].

(4/49). [27].

(4/50). [33]. Also Laurentin [1990a; 39-42]: his list can be compared with that in the text here.

(4/51). Billet [46-7].

(4/52). [42].

(4/53). Derselle [54-5].

(4/54). Thys [1933], in an appendix where he quotes Professor Lavaud of Fribourg on this point.

(4/55). Rahner [106]; see also note (3/13).

(4/56). Schillebeeckx [1954; 151].

(4/57). Rahner [105-6].

(4/58). [44-5].

(4/59). Ratzinger ([1985; 111-12] and in Rossi [1988; 56]) suggests that 'fruits' may be distinguished from the 'supernaturality' of the phenomenon; after all, very dubious miracles (by our modern scientific criteria) generated profound devotion in medieval times.

(4/60). Rahner [41, 46].

(4/61). [41] (and see 6.2 below).

(4/62). [47].

(4/63). Thurston [94-101] on eg Migné (December 17th, 1826), the vision which Leo XII pronounced to be not due to natural causes; see also [124-5], where Thurston refers to the apparitions at Knock as a "collective hallucination".

(4/64). Rahner [56].

(4/65). The best and most critical works on La Salette by its "Missionaries" (Stern [1980], [1984] and Jaouen [1988]) do not attempt to play down the weakness of character of the visionaries, although they regard them as "ordinary" Catholics. See eg Jaouen [265].

(4/66). Given in Martindale's introduction to Sandhurst [1953; xvii].

(4/67). See eg Redemptoris Mater (John Paul II [1987; 5, 58ff, 73ff]).

(4/68). See also 6.4 below. Rahner [32-38, 60] (ref St John of the Cross [1934; I; 100ff] (ie Ascent of Mount Carmel, II, chapter XII); St Teresa of Jesus [1963; I; 178ff] (ie The Life of the Holy Mother Teresa of Jesus, chapter XXVIII)); see also Laurentin & Rupčić [125]. Nevertheless, Turner & Turner [1978; 155] suggest that the doctrine of the Assumption is supportive of the idea that Mary may appear corporeally.

(4/69). Reported in Laurentin & Rupčić [42, 78, 126].

(4/70). This polarity is illustrated best by de Bruillard and de Bonald over La Salette ((1/19), etc); Heylen, Kerkhofs, and van Roey over Beauraing and Banneux ((3/55), etc.). It is not true of Lourdes (1/22). Fatima represents a special case, as the diocesan bishop seems to have been installed to supervise the emerging shrine (1/55).

(4/71). In particular, Mélin and Rousselot (La Salette (3/52)); Scheuer and Rutten (Banneux (3/55)) - there are numerous other examples.

(4/72). Despite the difficulties of the words with which Bernadette's vision revealed this, in identifying herself as the Immaculate Conception (see eg Cros [1925; I; 462-3]). The bishop's authentication statement of 18 January 1862 [III; 49] refers to the link between Lourdes and Pius IX's dogmatic definition of 1854.

(4/73). Trent session XXV, covered by Stern [II; 3].

(4/74). Eg Cartellier's opposition to La Salette continued after the Grenoble commission; he insisted that the visionaries' testimonies had not been established, and his own objections ignored (Stern [II; 238-9]). Later (1854), he contributed to Membres [1854], wherein de Bruillard was accused of lack of discernment [41ff] and Rousselot of fraud [90ff]. The commission procedure was dismissed by the authors of this document because of a supposed failure to debate and to apply the Council of Trent's guidelines ([84ff] - see note (4/73) above). Jaouen [227ff] answers this document's points, citing the statement by Mgr Ginoulhiac, bishop of Grenoble succeeding de Bruillard [6], who wrote an official refutation of the rebel document ((1/19), (3/82)).

(4/75). See note (3/55): these reports were prepared by Scheuer and Rutten, the latter being the author of the huge work Histoire critique des Apparitions de Banneux [1985], published after his death. This work deals with each of the eight apparitions at Banneux in scrupulous detail.

(4/76). See Garabandal, January/March 1989, pp 5-8, for an example of how the Garabandal literature emphasises the dissatisfaction of the present bishop with the original commission. Note also Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [1967; 149n]: "with the Commission rests the responsibility for a series of resolutions which we, in principle, consider to have been arrived at hastily...". Pelletier's leaflet [1980] refers to the bishop's judgement as a lower court, with appeal possible over its head to the Vatican (see note (2/27)). The Mostar commission investigating Medjugorje (5.4.1 and (5/6)) is also discredited in the eyes of the pilgrim movement there.

(4/77). Stern [II; 196-8, 213-5].

(4/78). Especially at La Salette (3/52), Pontmain (3/54), Pellevoisin, and Knock, where priests encouraged the new cults at a very early stage (3.2.2). At Lourdes (3/53), Beauraing, Banneux (both (3/55)), L'Ile-Bouchard, and Garabandal, priests were not long in coming to support the apparitions. With regard to Medjugorje, we will see (5.2.2; 7.2.1) how the local Franciscan priest became a supporter after one week.

(4/79). Clergy are encouraged by popular religious renewal (eg (1/39; 3/24); La Salette - eg (3/81); Fatima - the authentication statement by da Silva, in Martins [1984; 139]), and themselves influence it (note (4/78) above). The constant dialogue between clergy and laity does not allow one to distinguish between them as to which contributes the more towards the growth of popular phenomena such as apparitions. The official authentication requires 'spiritual fruits'; continued pilgrimage appears to require priestly support and, finally, authentication.

(4/80). Eg Pius IX's remarks on the La Salette secrets (2/24), Pius XII's consecrations repeated by Paul VI and John Paul II (1/59), the Vatican allowing de Bruillard (1/19), Charue, and Kerkhofs (3/55) the right of judgement over apparitions, Paul VI and John Paul II as pilgrims to marian apparition shrines (3/11).

Pius X granted Lourdes a universal feast (3/7), and the cause of Pontmain prospered under Benedict XV (see the appendix). John XXIII wrote that he prayed to Our Lady of Lourdes and of Fatima (Pope John XXIII [1965; 385-6, 390-1]). Under Leo XIII, the cause of the La Salette cult (1/20) was retarded somewhat - yet this same pope gave support to Pellevoisin (1/28); he approved of the Archconfraternity of Our Lady All-Merciful in 1896, according to Gillett [1953; I; 228-39].

(4/81). The commissions of enquiry on La Salette and Beauraing and their aftermath provide good examples of the

kind of detail that becomes the object of discussion (references in the respective appendices). Here we will cite the letter of Mgr de Bruillard to Cardinal de Bonald (early 1848), mentioned in note (3/55) (given in Stern [II; 240-5]). This answers twelve objections made by de Bonald:

- 1) there is still a lack of Friday abstinence in Corps - A. the conversion is overwhelming but not yet total;
- 2) the dialogue is not too long and complicated for the children to have learnt it - A. how did the teacher climb the mountain?;
- 3) the secret may have been an injunction to hide intrigue;
- 4) the lady's costume as described is odd - A. therefore not likely to have been invented;
- 5) the prophecies are not fulfilled - A. they are conditional or their time may be uncompleted (cf Nineveh);
- 6) other apparitions in 1830 (La Creysse in Rodez [not of Mary]) were approved by the bishop [not true, according to Stern], and yet were invented by innkeepers and winesellers - A. many apparitions and prophecies occurred around 1830, but none came to anything, and La Creysse had no spiritual fruits;
- 7) why not keep silence? - A. this would disobey Heaven, and help unbelievers rather than Christians;
- 8) a declaration would encourage blasphemy against religion - A. this has happened anyway during a period of silence;
- 9) why hurry to pronounce on the testimony of two children - A. why keep quiet when miracles confirm this testimony?;
- 10) salesmen are waiting eagerly for the announcement - A. they are already on the site!;
- 11) Protestants gain from this affair - A. La Salette is in a Protestant area, yet there is no disorder;
- 12) the supporters of La Salette are profiteers - A. the pious seek the water only and do not trade with the salesmen.

Many of the arguments over Beauraing appear in the discussion in 3.3. The second Namur commission rejected claims of fraud, contradictions between the visionaries, illusion, mythomania, autosuggestion, collective hallucination, hypnosis, diabolical influence, and contrariness in the events (Joset [V; 116-38]).

(4/82). We have seen how La Salette's religious revival centred on the message rejecting blasphemy and religious indifference (eg (1/17)). Heylen began to encourage the status of Beauraing as a centre of pilgrimage after the German invasion of Belgium (Joset [1981; I; 40-1]), although we have already noted that his support began some years earlier, in 1933 (3/55).

Yet, of the two Belgian bishops, it was Kerkhofs who was most clearly enthusiastic during the 1930s, exhorting prayer for a speedy and successful conclusion to the cause of Banneux (eg Kerkhofs [1959; III; 18-19, 22-3, 25]). His talk in Liège at a 1938 marian celebration suggested the following intentions for prayer: those of Pius XI concerning the battle against communism, peace, and the liberty of the Church, that of Christian, eucharistic, and marian devotion in the diocese, and finally that of the success of Banneux [III; 27-34]. "Everything which reawakens faith, reanimates piety, increases confidence, converts and save souls, does that not merit our interest?", he asked, referring to Banneux [III; 29-30], adding later: "...personal conviction could result in private acts of piety, recourse to Our Lady of Banneux, use of the water at the Spring, visits to the sanctuary" [III; 33].

(4/83). The bishop of Gap, Mgr Depéry, was angry that he had been publicly named as a supporter of La Salette before the end of 1846, and he came to oppose the cult after the Ars incident in 1850 (Stern [I; 189-90], [II; 112-13]).

(4/84). Ie Pius IX and Pius XII (see note (4/80) above), the popes who made the important marian definitions in 1854 and 1950. Pius IX considered himself to have been specially protected by the Virgin Mary during the crisis of 1848, three years before he was drawn into the La Salette debate (Hales [1958; 119-20]; see also W J Walsh [1904; III; 335-6] on Pius IX's favour shown to La Salette). Pius XII, under whose pontificate Beauraing and Banneux were finally validated, was influenced by the cult of Fatima (coincidentally, he had been consecrated bishop on the day and hour of the first marian apparition there, 13 May 1917) (Johnston [1980b; 4, 11, 66, 73, 92]). The jurisdiction of the two Belgian shrines was returned to their respective dioceses during 1942, halfway through the Second World War and the year that Pius XII consecrated the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary ((1/59); see also Latourette [1959; I; 270-1, 360], [1962; IV; 47, 59, 101]).

(4/85). Thus Pelletier [1980] insists that the Vatican has never condemned Garabandal; Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [cover, 183-4] mentions the blessing of the visionary Conchita Gonzalez by Paul VI.

(4/86). Eg their refusal to open the "third secret" of Fatima, although John Paul II has not done this either (1/63). No apparition was authenticated during the pontificates of John XXIII or Paul VI, although there have been some successful Latin American cases during the present pontificate (John Paul II) (3.4.7). Vatican II

(Lumen Gentium 8 para 67 in Flannery [1980; 421-2]) urged the clergy to refrain from "all false exaggeration" with regard to the marian cult; some commentators anticipated the consequent decline of the 'high' marian cultus (eg Küng [1978; 461]). However, Paul VI continued to support the marian shrines, and John Paul II's attachment to them (3/11) suggests that predictions of the end of the "marian age" may have been premature.

(4/87). See (5/6) - the episcopal commission was ended summarily in May 1986, and jurisdiction given to the national episcopal conference of Yugoslavia.

(4/88). Of course, there may have been Vatican pressure on some bishops not to support new cults, especially during the period 1930-1970 (see (3/59)).

(4/89). Ullathorne [1950; 127]; the 1848 draft for the statement is in Stern [II; 246-8].

(4/90). Cros [1926; III; 51]; Laurentin & Billet [1961; VI; 48-9] point out that the boldness of Mgr Laurence's statement belies contemporary opinions that he was over-timid. See also Laurentin [1990a; Apr 24]: Laurence "seemed to go beyond the traditional restriction... expressed his personal conviction... but..did not claim an infallible authority".

(4/91). Beyer [248].

(4/92). Martins [131].

(4/93). Beyer [243]. See also 3.3.

(4/94). Rahner [83].

(4/95). Schillebeeckx [153].

(4/96). [156]. See, however, Küng [1967; 182-3]: "charisms are everyday phenomena in the life of the Church".

(4/97). Yet see Rahner's qualification of the concept of "private revelation" (3/13).

(4/98). To the comments in notes (4/80) and (4/84) above, we can add the following supportive statements attributed to popes: Pius XII saying, "If we are to have peace, we must all obey the requests made at Fatima" (Johnston [73]), and John Paul II, on pilgrimage at Fatima on 13th May 1982, acknowledging the meaningful coincidence of his being wounded on the 13th May 1981, 64th anniversary of the first marian apparition at Fatima (Rossi & de Oliveira [1981; 74]). He also prayed the prayer dictated by Lucia in her revelation of the 1916 apparitions of an angel

(this fact learnt during a visit to the shrine in October 1988).

(4/99). I do not mean to imply that the resurrection appearances of Christ should be regarded as distinct from the later ones of Mary in their being independent of the subjective faculties of the disciples and other seers! The point being made is that the authoritative statement blurs the distinction between public and private revelation.

(4/100). See St John of the Cross [I; 100ff, eg 137]: God does not desire the labour of distinguishing between true and false visions; he wishes us to remain in darkness with faith as the only light.

(4/101). This biography is mentioned in [I; xxi].

(4/102). De Jésus-Marie et al [1933; 193].

(4/103). See note (1/76). The second Namur commission of 1942, in the reports made by Monin and Ranwez, refuted Bruno de Jésus-Marie's objections, questioning his application of St John of the Cross, considering this to have meant for the "spiritual" and "mystic" only, and asking why his thesis did not lead him to condemn other apparition cases in the same way (Joset [V; 148-52]). See also Charue [1943-6; 12] (a pastoral letter of 1943), which reminds readers of the Christian obligation to help the process of conversion, for the sake of "our brothers in humanity, ... above all our neighbours and our compatriots". He writes about the importance of combining the gospel and social good, also cultic obligations and those in moral, individual, family, and social life.

(4/104). Joset [V; 154-5].

(4/105). Eg St John of the Cross [1934] and St Teresa of Avila [1963]; also St Thomas Aquinas, eg [1965; 119-23]. See also 6.4.

(4/106). The threefold possibility for the origin of apparitions is considered throughout the literature on the enquiry processes (for the diabolical possibility, see eg Lambertini [III; 302-4]; Laurentin & Billet [VI; 280]; Laurentin & Durand [III; 165ff]; Derselle [1933a]; Joset [V; 132ff]; Laurentin & Joyeux [118ff]; de la Sainte Trinité [1984-6; Oct 85 5ff]).

The devil is supposed to have appeared in the guise of Mary for an instant at Medjugorje (Laurentin & Joyeux [118ff] and O'Carroll [1986; 211]). Bernadette Soubirous threw holy water at her vision to ensure that it wasn't a devil (Cros [I; 137]), an act repeated by the Medjugorje visionaries (Kraljević [1984; 16]). Lucia dos Santos

feared for a short while that the Fatima vision might be the devil, as this was suggested by the local priest (de Marchi [1986a; 72-4]).

(4/107). These are all important at the shrines for acceptance by clergy and laity alike. For investigation into healings, see eg Stern [II; 220ff]; Laurentin & Billet [1958; III; 253ff]; Laurentin & Durand (index of documents) [III; 361ff]; MacPhilpin [1894; 67ff]; Martins [74]; Joset [1981; II; 135-6]; Kerkhofs [1953; I; 97ff]. The importance of conversions and increased piety is confirmed by reference to eg: Stern [I; 197], [II; 240-5]; Laurentin & Billet [1959; V; 48], [VI; 274]; Laurentin & Durand [I; 58]; Martins [129-30]; Charue [16]; Kerkhofs [I; 155ff].

(4/108). St John of the Cross [I; 144].

(4/109). G Hughes [1987; 655-6].

(4/110). "Social praxis" is an important concept in liberation theology, which criticises a Church which fails to recognise its own (oppressive) participation in the socio-political sphere, and concentrates on 'other-worldly', i.e. cultic activities (see e.g. Gustavo Gutierrez, A Theology of Liberation transl C Inda & J Eagleson (SCM Press, London, 1974), pp 215ff). Commentators, even those supportive of the marian cult generally, have remarked on the tendency for those involved in old-fashioned marian piety to ignore social issues (as observed in eg Laurentin [1965b; 26]; Neame [1968; 270]).

(4/111). It is difficult to prove this omission of reference to conversion in a social as well as religious way. It comes from an overall reading of the canonical documents regarding criteria for authenticating apparitions and shrines. The references in note (4/107) will give a flavour of this. Most recently at Medjugorje, mention has been made of a new peacefulness among the people of the area (reversing the trend of its violent history) which conforms to the title given to Mary there - "Queen of Peace". This will be dealt with in 5.5.1.

(4/112). Neame [272].

(4/113). Eg Thurston [119] who accepts Lourdes, but not La Salette. One hears the view stated in the text very often in conversations with English and Irish priests, for many of whom pilgrimage to Lourdes is valuable, but the message of Fatima a hallmark of an old-fashioned and superstitious Church.

(4/114). The time taken for authentication varies: eg La Salette - just over one year, the official statement after five; Lourdes - two to three years, the statement after four; Pontmain - just over one year; Fatima (where a large-scale shrine was being planned within four years) - thirteen years; Beauraing and Banneux - sixteen years. The supportive clergy at La Salette felt that a judgement was urgent (see note (4/81) above and Stern [II; 179]). Judgements on Beauraing and Banneux were delayed against the local clergy's wishes (eg note (4/82) above). The commission at Santander completed their negative findings on Garabandal within just over a year of the first apparition, while the phenomena there were still continuing (Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [147-9]).

Therefore it is clear that, with the possible exception of Fatima, the Church authorities have taken a relatively short-term view of the widespread effect of an apparition event when assessing its effects with a view to authentication.

(4/115). Warner [1985; 310] makes this observation: "By insisting that the supernatural is only manifest in the unnatural, the Church renders itself extremely vulnerable to scientific discovery, which can make its decisions look foolish".

(4/116). As in Mgr Laurence's call to experts in science to help with the enquiry procedure (Cros [II; 289], cited in note (3/53)), and other medical and scientific enquiries throughout the history of the apparition commissions.

(4/117). The best example of this methodology at the present time is the research on Medjugorje in Laurentin & Joyeux [1987]. Their conclusion [126] suggests that science may only provide a verification for the "contours" of the experience:

"The visionaries are psychologically healthy, without neurosis, or hysteria. Their ecstasies are not a pathological phenomenon. We are not dealing with hallucination or a morbid accident. It is a functional phenomenon which conditions a valuable experience: one which is coherent, healthy, enlivening and, for the visionaries, both human and spiritual. The scientific tests do not explain this experience. They discover the paradox of an objective communication independent of the ordinary sensory pathways. This statement does not give the lie to the evidence of the visionaries, rather sets it within a positive framework. These young people live out an encounter which is in itself, in many respects, the most obvious explanation of the phenomenon, at a level which is evidently beyond science. The medical study neither proves nor contradicts their evidence. It verifies

the contours. Above and beyond the tests, Christian spiritual criteria (stability, prayer, charity, holiness, the progress of these young people and the abundance of spiritual fruits) indicate an authentic encounter".

(5/1). Statistics of pilgrim numbers released by the Franciscans of Medjugorje are in Mir, No 8 (April 1989), p 17: 850,000 pilgrims in 1987, 1 million communicants at Mass in 1988, 12,000 clergy (from 93 countries), 60 bishops concelebrated in 1988.

(5/2). As evidenced by the BBC film The Madonna of Medjugorje (1987).

(5/3). The bishop of Mostar cites this movability of the visions as a factor against (an interview in the film cited in (5/2), and Žanić [1989; 14]).

(5/4). Here is a breakdown of the themes most referred to in the weekly messages, 1st March 1984 to 8th January 1987 (from eg miscellaneous item no 32; Mirecorder - all issues; Rooney & Faricy [1987; 121ff]; O'Carroll [1986; 158ff]): (164 messages in total)

Prayer is mentioned in 88; God 64; love 46; Jesus 44; hearts of hearers 28; the messages 27; the parish 24; Mary's empathy/feelings 26; graces/divine gifts 26; Satan 23; encouragment/gratitude 19; 'living the messages' 17; Lord (Jesus) 16; Mary's protection/guidance 16; Mary's presence 16; sacrifice(s) 15; Mary's mediation 14; chastisement 14; joy 14; the family 13; blessing (of God, Jesus or Mary) 12; hearers as vessels/communicators 12; Mary's prayer 12; surrender/abandonment (to God, Jesus or Mary) 11; conversion 11; sin/sinners 11; peace 10; hearers as flowers 9; Christmas 9; Holy Spirit 8; God's plan 8; physical work (local) 8; Mary as mother 8; young people 8; warning against (parish) falling away 7; temptations 7; suffering/trials 7; the Cross 7; pilgrims/visitors 7; witnesses 7; Mary's sorrow 6; materialism 6; rosary 6; Mary's choosing the parish 6; holiness 6; the hills of Medjugorje 6; Lent 6; fasting 5; renewal 5; attendance (eg Mass) 5; Mass 5.

(5/5). Eg the first weekly message (1st March 1984): "I have chosen this parish in a special way and I wish to lead it" (O'Carroll [159]). See also Rooney & Faricy [passim]; Plunkett [1990; 48-54].

Note (5/6). The text makes clear the major change in the enquiry procedure, the episcopal commission ending in 1986 with an unpublished result (Žanić claimed that it was negative, and it seems that, of 16 members, 11 voted against the supernaturality of the visions). The SCDF then

took charge, delegating the enquiry to the Yugoslav national episcopal conference. There is no definite result of this yet (July 1991), although my own parish newsletter (6 July 1991) contained the following message:

"The Yugoslavian Bishops in their statement sent to all Bishops state:- 'Examining evidence so far collected, it is not possible to affirm that events can be said to be apparitions or supernatural revelations, However, the great numbers of faithful, who are visiting Medjugorje, require the pastoral care and attention of the Diocesan Bishop and others..so that a healthy devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary can be fostered in accordance with the teaching of the Church...in due course the Bishops will issue liturgical and pastoral norms...and will continue to keep the situation in Medjugorje under constant review.'".

This appears to be an interim measure. The decision (if it is that) conforms to the middle way between acceptance and rejection of the phenomena (see 3.3). We have yet to see the pastoral initiatives, but there is every suggestion that the Yugoslav hierarchy is working towards the careful integration of cult and Church that is suggested as the best policy here in chapter 7.

The details of the commissions overall and the actions of the chief protagonists are too complex to be included in the text or the notes of this thesis, for which the main facts are sufficient. Here are several references for more information, taken from supporters and opponents:

Commission on Medjugorje [1984]; Laurentin & Rupčić [1984; 2-3]; Laurentin [1985b; 40-1, 51, 77-80], [1988a; 9-10, 22-4, 79-86]; Craig [1988; 3-4, 128-9, 131, 155ff]; Pelletier [1987; 236]; Rooney & Faricy [57, 92]; Túttó [1985; 20, 29]; O'Carroll [93-4, 200-8]; Sivrić [1988; 28-32]; de la Sainte Trinité [1984-6; Oct 85 5ff]; Reimer [1987]; Mirecorder, Annunciation 1987, Immaculate Conception 1987; Mir, November 1988, p 20, December 1989, pp 29-31, July 1990, pp 23-4, February 1991, pp 20-2, March 1991, pp 31-2; Medjugorje Herald, May 1988, p 3.

(5/7). Laurentin confesses to have accepted, before 1986, that the commission's result under Mgr Žanić would be negative ([1990a; 37-8, 85]).

(5/8). See Kraljević [1984; 24] and the interview with Simić, Minister for Religious Affairs in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the BBC film The Madonna Of Medjugorje, recorded also in Craig [191-2].

(5/9). Bubalo [1987; 93ff].

(5/10). Kraljević [37]. Sivrić [72-3] claims that the visionaries themselves were responsible for the diversion from the apparition site made in the outing on 30th June 1981; they blamed two local communists.

(5/11). Laurentin [1986; 54].

(5/12). Kraljević [21, 31, 197ff].

(5/13). Craig [57].

(5/14). [65].

(5/15). See [80]; Laurentin & Rupčić [168]; note (1/100).

(5/16). See Craig [87]. Examples included bans on coach firms carrying pilgrims, and on extra accommodation facilities, and the barring of pilgrims at the borders.

(5/17). Rooney & Faricy [15].

(5/18). Laurentin [115]. See also Ramet [1985; 12-18].

(5/19). Tüttö [35].

(5/20). Here are some references which describe the early stages in the apparition event at Medjugorje, the site of these, and the origin of the injunction to fast: Kraljević [14, 17, 39, 47-8]; Bubalo [75, 67ff, 123-4, 179ff]; Craig [58, 61]; Pelletier [51ff]; de la Sainte Trinité [May 84 11]; Laurentin [64-5].

(5/21). Kraljević [22, 27-8].

(5/22). [41-3].

(5/23). De la Sainte Trinité [May 84 9].

(5/24). [May 84 11].

(5/25). O'Carroll [34]; Kraljević [25].

(5/26). Laurentin [70-1].

(5/27). Kraljević [201-2].

(5/28). Laurentin [79].

(5/29). [41].

(5/30). Cf the criterion of "Catholic belief" in 3.3. See also note (1/103), and the bishop's statement of 30th October 1984, in eg Laurentin [1985b; 52-3]; the full text is in O'Carroll [79ff].

Here are some useful references which describe the development of the apparitions after the early stages: (the visionaries) Sivrić [43]; Laurentin & Rupčić [74]; Laurentin [41-3]; (liturgy) Pelletier [50, 63ff]; Bubalo

[62ff]; Laurentin [1986; 97]; (Fr Vlašić as spiritual director) [82]; (parish religious life) Kraljević [124, 145-6]; Tùttó [36ff]; (pilgrimage from Italy) Craig [87].

(5/31). See Laurentin [1985a; 28ff].

(5/32). [79ff]; Tùttó [7]; Laurentin [79ff]; Pelletier [120ff].

(5/33). O'Carroll [148].

(5/34). See Franić's letter to Žanić in O'Carroll [156-7], and [149ff] for indirect communication between them.

(5/35). [203-8].

(5/36). Laurentin [1988a; 15ff, 84-6].

(5/37). Mirecorder, Pentecost 1985, pp 3-5; O'Carroll [149].

(5/38). Reference to this action is given in eg O'Carroll [200].

(5/39). Tùttó [18]. Laurentin 1985a; 13ff], among others, shows how certain articles in the press suggested that this prohibition covered all pilgrimages. Refutations of this piece of misinformation were sent out with Medjugorje publications, eg from the London Medjugorje Centre by Fr Richard Foley ('The Position about Medjugorje', 1987).

(5/40). Sivrić [30].

(5/41). [33].

(5/42). [35].

(5/43). [169].

(5/44). Rupčić [1989; 9ff].

(5/45). Sivrić [55ff].

(5/46). See Laurentin's references to Bé langer and Sivrić in his [1988a; 35-42].

(5/47). De la Sainte Trinité [June 84 3]: he refers to the interest in Medjugorje by many "Blue Army" members, devotees of Fatima.

(5/48). [May 84 3].

(5/49). Sivrić [17].

(5/50). De la Sainte Trinité [June 86 15].

(5/51). The truth of this can be judged by reading his works on Medjugorje. It does not mean that he would therefore be misled easily. The bishop of Mostar instead accused him of making a great deal of money quite

deliberately from Medjugorje publications (O'Carroll [94-5]).

(5/52). Ref Laurentin & Joyeux [1987]; see also Craig [136ff]; Sereny [1986].

(5/53). Craig [141]; Laurentin & Joyeux [53ff].

(5/54). Laurentin & Rupčić [134-7].

(5/55). Craig [149-50]; Laurentin [1985a; 78].

(5/56). [5], [1987a; 9].

(5/57). Laurentin [1988a; 32-5]: Laurentin claims that Gramaglia (a) has neither examined the ecstasies nor met the visionaries; (b) employs a purely polemic approach; (c) is inspired by an idealist philosophy which denies the corporeal Resurrection or any other tangible supernatural experience (an ideology "again predominant, even in Catholic universities and seminaries", adds Laurentin).

(5/58). Ramet [18].

(5/59). Reimer [11]: Mary bears the Logos in whom the Magnificat is made manifest.

(5/60). [11].

(5/61). "Others" include O'Carroll, eg [183ff]; Rooney & Faricy [1985; 83ff]; Kraljević [passim].

(5/62). See Laurentin & Rupčić [32]; Laurentin [1985b; 45-50], [1988a; 24ff].

(5/63). Laurentin [1987a; 35ff]; Sereny [100] notes that partial disconnection from normal sensory perception is sufficient for an ecstasy to qualify as 'authentic', according to the visionaries' spiritual director of the time, Fr Barbarić.

(5/64). Laurentin & Rupčić [34ff]; Kraljević [73-5].

(5/65). Laurentin & Rupčić [84].

(5/66). [126].

(5/67). O'Carroll [198-9].

(5/68). Rooney & Faricy [1985; 25].

(5/69). [19]; Bubalo [283ff]; Sivrić [81ff]. The headaches seem to have been caused by a benign tumour on the brain. However, Vicka claimed that the Virgin prophesied their coming and going, and said that they were a form of redemptive suffering. By 1988, they had stopped

completely, apparently as foretold by the Virgin (Medjugorje Monthly, January 1989).

(5/70). See O'Carroll [137]; Craig [148].

(5/71). Tincq [1989; 16].

(5/72). Sivrić [86ff] cites the case of Mirjana Dragicević, who hears voices as well as experiences visions. According to Sivrić, she also admits to suffering from depression. He adds that her messages concerning heaven, hell, and purgatory have been omitted in some reports supportive of Medjugorje because they are clearly heterodox.

(5/73). Bubalo [78].

(5/74). Sivrić [69ff].

(5/75). [173].

(5/76). Kraljević [49, 54-5]; Laurentin [1987a; 39-42]; Medjugorje Messenger, No 4 (Oct-Dec 1986), p 4.

(5/77). Laurentin & Rupčić [102ff, 126].

(5/78). Craig [123].

(5/79). Laurentin & Rupčić [107-8]: there has been only one contradiction discovered by Laurentin in his analysis: the stress on inevitable punishment in the testimony of Mirjana Dragicević, where other visionaries claim that it is only conditional.

(5/80). Laurentin [1986; 32-3]; Bubalo [20].

(5/81). Pelletier [57]; de la Sainte Trinité [May 84 11] says that the Medjugorje visions are not dignified, unlike the previous cases authenticated by the Church.

(5/82). Bubalo [234]. [102-5] and Pelletier [16], among others, record the assurance of her mother being in heaven that Ivanka Ivanković received on the second day of the apparitions (June 25th 1981).

(5/83). Kraljević [58].

(5/84). [12].

(5/85). O'Carroll [46].

(5/86). De la Sainte Trinité [May 84 14ff].

(5/87). [May 84 6].

(5/88). Laurentin [85] records how Jakov Colo wanted to talk to the Virgin about football!

(5/89). De la Sainte Trinité [Feb 85 4ff].
(5/90). [Feb 85 4ff]; Sivrič [61ff]; Bubalo [90-2]: a taxi driver was stopped by a poor man who gave him a bloody handkerchief and told him to throw it into the first water he came to, otherwise some evil would befall him. The taxi driver drove off with it and made to throw it into a nearby river. A woman in black appeared and demanded that he gave it to her instead, and he did so after she had threatened him. She then told him that if he had not given her the handkerchief, something awful would have happened like the end of the world.

This strange tale was told to the visionaries and they asked the Virgin about it: she confirmed the story, saying that she was the woman in black, and her Son the poor man (Vicka Ivankovič, who relates the story in Bubalo [90-2], does not claim to understand this incident).

(5/91). Craig [48].

(5/92). Kraljevič [28].

(5/93). Sivrič [77ff].

(5/94). See Kraljevič [18, 55-6] (the early messages were conversion, reconciliation, and peace); Laurentin [1987a; 51ff]; Laurentin & Rupčič [87ff].

(5/95). Tüttő [38]; Craig [113]; Rooney & Faricy [67].

(5/96). Tüttő [58-9]; Pelletier [147] (he claims that there is more emphasis on the Eucharist at Medjugorje than at Lourdes or Fatima).

(5/97). Craig [186-8].

(5/98). Rooney & Faricy [68].

(5/99). Laurentin & Rupčič [81-2].

(5/100). Pelletier [59]; Kraljevič [50]; Bubalo [147ff].

(5/101). Laurentin & Rupčič [102ff].

(5/102). Tüttő [38]; Pelletier [104ff]; de la Sainte Trinité [Feb 85 11].

(5/103). Kraljevič [133-4].

(5/104). Tüttő [57]; Pelletier [210] has "Christians" in place of "Catholics".

(5/105). See O'Carroll [197]; Laurentin & Rupčič [102ff]. There are more apparitions than any other public case, it

would seem - it is possible that visionaries in the privacy of convents or monasteries in previous centuries have experienced as many or more than Medjugorje's seers.

(5/106). Kraljević [51].

(5/107). Sivrić [69ff] - this criticism is reminiscent of La Salette (see note (3/52)).

(5/108). Eg the story related in note (5/90) above. The observation is made in Sivrić [81ff]; de la Sainte Trinité [June 84 12], and is countered in Laurentin & Rupčić [87].

(5/109). The view of Tincq [1989].

(5/110). Craig [45] records the ignorance of the visionaries about other cases in the past. They did, however, know a song entitled "In the grotto Mary appeared" on June 29th 1981 (Laurentin [1986; 43]).

(5/111). Kraljević [16]; Bubalo [17].

(5/112). Sivrić [44ff]; de la Sainte Trinité [Feb 85 4ff]. Žanić complained about this in his statement of 30 October 1984 (O'Carroll [80-1]). The answer to this problem, according to supporters, is that the book on Lourdes given to the visionaries caused them to expect an end to the visions after eighteen apparitions (Laurentin [51]; Kraljević [39]).

(5/113). Sivrić [168] argues that the visionaries had the book before June 24th, and Rupčić [9-19], reviewing his book, disagrees with him.

(5/114). Eg Laurentin & Rupčić [81-2].

(5/115). Craig [106]; O'Carroll [95-6].

(5/116). De la Sainte Trinité [May 84 3-5] ("the Holy Spirit has become tangible, of the senses" in the charismatic renewal), [June 84 17], [July 84 11].

(5/117). Fr Zovko was at a charismatic meeting in Zagreb when the apparitions began (Craig [43]). Sivrić [1988] accuses Zovko of trying to elicit a message from the visionaries on his return when there hadn't been one before. Laurentin [35], says that the local prayer groups started by Zovko before the apparitions were "traditional".

(5/118). Sivrić [91ff].

(5/119). [101ff]; Laurentin [1985a;19ff]; rumours against Vlašić, Craig [175-6]; Kraljević [67-9] refutes the charge that there was clerical influence over the apparitions.

- (5/120). See the pamphlets Franić [1984] and Vlašić [1984].
- (5/121). De la Sainte Trinité [May 84 11].
- (5/122). Laurentin & Rupčić [150ff]; Kraljević [167ff].
- (5/123). Laurentin [1988a; 24ff]; Rooney & Faricy [101]; Laurentin [1986; 95] (296 healings registered thus far by the parish); Craig [51] is among others to record the first healing at Medjugorje - that of Danijel Šetka (mute and spastic), which was not instantaneous.
- (5/124). De la Sainte Trinité [Feb 85 9].
- (5/125). Kraljević [59-61, 161ff]; Laurentin & Rupčić [146ff]; Laurentin [1985b; 45-50], [1988a; 24ff].
- (5/126). Craig [135].
- (5/127). Laurentin & Joyeux [106-11].
- (5/128). Sivrić [31] refers to Graef's comments on Fatima [1985; II; 139-40], in that she points out how people's experience there may have been induced by the visionary Lucia crying, "Look at the sun!".
- (5/129). Sivrić [61ff].
- (5/130). Laurentin [1987a; 35ff]; Kraljević [67].
- (5/131). O'Carroll [146-7]; Laurentin [33].
- (5/132). O'Carroll [191ff].
- (5/133). Laurentin & Rupčić [126].
- (5/134). Kraljević [25]; see O'Carroll [99, 122] for comments by Žanić and Rupčić over the numbers of pilgrims. See also (5/1).
- (5/135). Kraljević [82].
- (5/136). Laurentin [1988a; 46ff].
- (5/137). Tüttő [5, 26].
- (5/138). Sivrić [52-3, 176].
- (5/139). [145ff].
- (5/140). De la Sainte Trinité [Feb 85 11].
- (5/141). [Feb 85 4ff].

(5/142). Laurentin admits this (Laurentin & Rupčić [113]; noted in de la Sainte Trinité [July 84 7]).

(5/143). See eg de la Sainte Trinité [Feb 85 4ff]; Craig [105]. At first the Madonna just said that the Hercegovina problem would be sorted out with prayer and patience. However, the two suspended Franciscans went to Medjugorje in August, 1984 (see notes (1/102) and (1/103)), and the visionaries reported that the Madonna had declared the bishop too hasty and the two Franciscans innocent - this happened on thirteen separate occasions, according to Craig, before the Madonna became weary of the topic when pressed by Vicka Ivanković.

(5/144). Laurentin [1985b; 34ff]; de la Sainte Trinité [July 84 7ff].

(5/145). Eg the local Franciscans and visionaries obeying the bishop's orders regarding moving the site of the visions (see eg Laurentin [1987a; 25], [1986; 152]).

(5/146). Sivrić [55ff]; Laurentin [1986; 20]; Kraljević [33].

(5/147). De la Sainte Trinité [Feb 85 4ff].

(5/148). Laurentin [1985b; 17ff].

(5/149). Rooney & Faricy [1987; 84].

(5/150). Kraljević [133-4].

(5/151). Rooney & Faricy [11].

(5/152). See eg Pelletier [186]; O'Carroll [189]; Craig [82]; Rooney & Faricy [1985; 93ff]; Kraljević [127].

(5/153). O'Carroll [209-12]; Kraljević [123-4].

(5/154). De la Sainte Trinité [June 84 13].

(5/155). Eg Tüttš [54]: in Poland, there would be great conflict, but justice would prevail; the Russians were the people amongst whom God would be most glorified (both messages given in October 1981).

(5/156). See Craig [192].

(5/157). De la Sainte Trinité [June 84 14-15].

(5/158). [June 84 18].

(5/159). Laurentin & Rupčić [110-11].

(5/160). See Ramet [1985]. The only exceptions, perhaps, are the messages cited in note (5/155) above, but these are too vague with regard to political questions. For the joy in Medjugorje over the victory of the Croatian Democratic Union Party, see Meyer [1990a].

(5/161). O'Carroll [195].

(5/162). Sivrić [115ff]; see especially the letter from the visionary Ivan Dragicević to Mgr Žanić on [118-9], reminding him of God's judgement as emphasised by the Madonna.

(5/163). O'Carroll [73]; Laurentin [1986; 79].

(5/164). See Craig [104-5].

(5/165). O'Carroll [76]; Laurentin [1987a; 31]; Tüttő [10ff].

(5/166). O'Carroll [154]; Rooney & Faricy [1987; 38].

(5/167). O'Carroll [141]; Rooney & Faricy [16]: the bishop used Italian television for his propaganda against Medjugorje.

(5/168). See Laurentin [1985a; 6].

(5/169). [85-7].

(5/170). The announcement of 30th October 1984 stating his (the bishop of Mostar's) position. See Laurentin [21ff]; O'Carroll [79ff]. The bishop's homily at Medjugorje on 25th July 1987 is given in Laurentin [1988a; 72-5]: this restates his view that the apparitions are hallucinations, especially given the numerous sites of the visions. There is also the bishop's more recent statement (Žanić [1989]), restating his objections.

(5/171). Ie Archbishop Franić, the Franciscans, both those in Medjugorje and those who support them, Fr Laurentin, established writer on Mary, and also Fr von Balthasar, recently deceased, a notable theologian, who criticised Žanić for impatience and denigration of the innocent in an open letter (see the references in note (5/178) below).

(5/172). A situation reminiscent of Garabandal - see notes (1/89), (1/90), (3/8), (4/76).

(5/173). Laurentin [1985b; 33-4]: the letter was addressed to four cardinals, namely Ratzinger, prefect of the Congregation of the Faith, Lourdasamy, secretary of the Congregation for Evangelisation, Gantin, prefect of the Congregation of Bishops, Hamer (who has become a cardinal

since the letter was written), prefect of the Congregation of the Religious.

(5/174). See eg Mirecorder, Pentecost 1985, pp 3-5.

(5/175). See Mir, No 8 (April 1989), p 17.

(5/176). Laurentin [1988a; 91-2].

(5/177). Many priests visit Medjugorje as pilgrims, even some bishops, accompanying groups from various countries, especially Italy, the United States, and Ireland. I saw this for myself on two visits (August/September 1986 and August 1988).

(5/178). O'Carroll [55-6]; Rooney & Faricy [22].

(5/179). De la Sainte Trinité [Oct 86 13-14], [July 87 10-11].

(5/180). Laurentin [1985a; 13ff].

(5/181). Bubalo [209-10]; Tüttö [57].

(5/182). De la Sainte Trinité [June 84 13]; O'Carroll [211-2] (a letter from Fr Vlašič to Rome, 2nd December 1983: Mirjana's revelation merely refers to this century as being given to the power of the devil by God's permission, as a time of trial for the Church. Only afterwards did "certain Catholic experts" notice the apparent connection between this message and the vision of Leo XIII, after which he introduced the prayer of St Michael recited after Mass up until Vatican II).

(5/183). Craig [17].

(5/184). Tüttö [61-2]; Laurentin & Rupčić [102ff]; de la Sainte Trinité [June 84 18], also [June 84 15]: the success of conciliar ideas in Catholicism is due to their being easy and not challenging for the practices of the believer.

(5/185). Craig [85]; Laurentin & Rupčić [134ff]; Kraljević [95ff]; Pelletier [210], but G Hughes [1987] is not convinced that this ecumenical mood really engages Roman Catholic pilgrims to Medjugorje. The most notable non-Catholic 'convert' to the cause of Medjugorje is the Lutheran Wayne Weible (see his [1987] and [1989]).

(5/186). Tüttö [34]; Craig [25ff].

(5/187). De la Sainte Trinité [May 84 14ff], [June 84 4-6]: the Medjugorje message is "pluralist".

(5/188). Eg Pelletier [133ff]; Laurentin & Rupčić [96ff].

(5/189). Franić [11].

(5/190). Kraljević [57, 89].

(5/191). See Pelletier [11]: Sr Brierge McKenna met Fr Vlašić at an "International Leaders' Conference of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal" (May 1981). She saw a vision in which he was "seated in a chair and surrounded by a great crowd; beneath his seat great streams of water gushed forth". Fr Tardif, a Sacred Heart Missionary, received a prophetic word for Vlašić during this same conference: "Do not fear. I am sending you my Mother". See also McKenna's own account in [1987; 107-10].

(5/192). Vlašić [13].

(5/193). De la Sainte Trinité [June 84 6-11]; Gramaglia as cited in Laurentin [1988a; 35ff].

(5/194). See notes (1/33), (1/82), (1/89), (1/90), (1/91) for Kérinzen, San Damiano, and Garabandal. They are almost all postwar phenomena (except that Kérinzen, which continued until 1965, began in 1938).

(5/195). De la Sainte Trinité [Feb 85 4ff].

(5/196) Tincq [1989].

(5/197). The term "charismatic" applies to a twentieth-century emphasis in Christianity, where the gifts of the Holy Spirit for the individual believer are particularly important. It gained popularity in Roman Catholicism from 1967. Obviously, however, there are different forms of this type of spirituality, some more edifying for the Christian community than others, eg the warnings of St Paul in 1 Corinthians will be taken more seriously in some groups than others. It is not for us to make any judgement on the charismatic movement at Medjugorje, except to observe (drawing on my personal experience) that pilgrims fall into all the different types of charismatic ideas and practice. People like Vlašić, Tardif, and McKenna are leaders of the movement in that they are educated and articulate, and thus able to write books.

(5/198). Like 'charismatic', 'left' and 'right' are vague categories, and need further definition. By 'right' in the context of the opposition to Medjugorje, we mean those who think that the apparitions present an unwelcome challenge to traditional Catholicism, in particular that of the pre-Vatican II period. The 'left', on the other hand, are those who dislike Medjugorje because of their suspicion that it promotes Catholic authoritarianism or old-

fashioned devotionism. Broadly speaking, de la Sainte Trinité falls into the 'right' camp, and Tincq, Hughes, and Gramaglia into the 'left', although their theologies are probably very different from one another. Sivrić and Bé langer come from a well-established tradition of scepticism in the face of the miraculous which is neither 'right' nor 'left'. Sivrić, like Mgr Žanić, seems to have local issues on his mind when writing disparaging material about the apparitions.

(5/199). This is a general impression from films and literature, but one impossible to substantiate from the outside. See Laurentin & Rupčić [34ff].

(5/200). See Tüttő [25].

(5/201). Laurentin [1988a; 46ff].

(5/202). [52]; Sereny [1986].

(5/203). Kraljević [19].

(5/204). Pelletier [47ff].

(5/205). Craig [85].

(5/206). De la Sainte Trinité [May 85 16].

(5/207). Sivrić [145ff]; also Craig [187].

(5/208). Tincq [1989].

(5/209). Ramet [18].

(5/210). Reimer [11].

(5/211). Laurentin [96]: Marija Pavlović wrote to the then president of the U.S., Reagan, mentioning the Madonna's call to peace shortly before disarmament talks with Gorbachev. She received a brief but friendly reply, which quoted Reagan thus: "Now I shall go to this meeting with Gorbachev in a new spirit".

(5/212). The Yugoslav episcopal conference being now responsible for a decision on Medjugorje (5/6). They will have to decide whether the 'charismatic' emphasis is wholly orthodox, and whether the 'fruits' are extensive enough.

(5/213). Bubalo [53-4].

(5/214). Rooney & Faricy [1985; 110-11].

(5/215). [19]. The mystical dictation of Mary's life has

happened in previous centuries, eg Catherine Emmerich (died 1824, see her [1954]).

(5/216). See Kraljević [25-6] (when the visionaries, on the fifth day, asked the Virgin what she wanted from them, she said, "Faith and respect for me"); on [116], Kraljević describes how the messages are christocentric. Yet one would probably deduce from the testimonies in this and other books on the early days of apparitions that the call for peace at that time was not referred explicitly to Christ.

(5/217). O'Carroll [185-6].

(5/218). Eg Pelletier [231].

(5/219). Sivrić [21] (note the message of La Salette, and see 8.1.1, 8.4.1 below).

(5/220). Eg Laurentin [1987a; 31].

(5/221). De la Sainte Trinité [May 84 14ff].

(5/222). Laurentin [1965b; passim] seeks a middle way between "maximalist" (as many honours as possible given to Mary, but without a sound theological basis) and "minimalist" (Mary has no more honour than any other disciple and is subject to sin) approaches to mariology. The former was in vogue before Vatican II, according to Laurentin; the latter, afterwards (see 8.1.3 below).

(5/223). De la Sainte Trinité [June 84 18].

(5/224). In particular, see the story in note (5/90). This tendency (perhaps coloured by local folklore) has been surpassed by a more respectable christocentricity, and thus the apparitions do not present a problem to doctrinal orthodoxy even for knowledgeable supporters (eg Laurentin & Rupčić [119ff]; O'Carroll [183ff]). This raises a problem about the development of an apparition event (ie can it grow in orthodoxy?), and this issue will be discussed in 7.2.

(5/225). The claims for the christocentricity of Medjugorje are supported by the importance of the cross on Križevac, the mountain overlooking Medjugorje (Mary prays at its foot, according to the visionaries - Tuttle [61]), and by the emphasis on the gospels [58]. This corresponds to papal teaching on Mary as a pilgrim, moving in faith from Annunciation to Cross, and present at the great shrines dedicated to her (Redemptoris Mater 28 (John Paul II [1987])). This will be discussed at greater length later in the thesis (8.1.4; 8.4.2; 9.2.3).

(5/226). Aidan Nichols, 'Professor Hastings' 'Vade-Mecum' of Progressive Catholicism', pp 201-6 in Priests and People (May 1991, Vol 5 No 5) (a review of Hastings [1991]), is against Catholic progressives, and therefore quite helpful in defining what programme for the Catholic Church the progressives believe in: the rescinding of Humanae Vitae, revision of Catholic moral teaching, male and female non-celibate priesthood, reduction of Roman primacy to liaison, down-saying of non-ecumenical Catholic doctrines, relativisation of the Christian claim to uniqueness (p 201). I expect that most Medjugorje supporters (myself not included) would reject the majority, if not all, of these ideas.

(5/227). Eg Weible ([1987], [1989]) and Reimer [1987].

(5/228). Yet see the positive remarks in 7.2.1. However, I would not feel comfortable in completely overlooking the criticisms of the Franciscans by Mgr Žanić.

(6/1). Eg the case of Bernadette Soubirous of Lourdes (see (3/53): three doctors at Lourdes considered Bernadette to have been the victim of a trick of the light, her ecstasies being sustained by the emotional pressure of the crowds who gathered at the grotto when she experienced the visions there).

(6/2). Tyrrell [1938; 145] states that 60% of children aged between 10 and 15 possess the "eidetic" faculty, which is superior to normal memory in that the image remembered and projected is clearer, richer in detail, accurate including accuracy of colour, brilliant, coherent with the background, and may be recalled after a considerable amount of time. Graef [1985; II; 145] writes: "For it is a commonplace of child psychology that both children and adolescents have considerable eidetic gifts and are able to visualise as outside themselves objects that present themselves to their conscious - or unconscious - imagination".

(6/3). Graef is a critic who prefers to play down the miraculous element in marian apparitions, and seeks psychological explanations, see eg [II; 92, 97-8, 101, 105, 139-40, 145n] (in the last reference, Graef notes that the secrets often entrusted to child visionaries suggest a psychological explanation).

(6/4). See Underhill [1930; 270]; Rahner [1963; 64, 73].

(6/5). By 'psychical', we mean models which posit an extrasensory capacity (eg telepathy) as the only way to describe observed phenomena, whereas 'psychological' suggests research in the established tradition based on

stimuli restricted to the five senses. However, if we include Jung under 'psychological', we are perhaps not far from the 'psychical' field, as in his work the boundaries between these areas becomes rather indefinite.

(6/6). See Lash [1988; 9-104] for his critique of James.

(6/7). See [151ff], and [141-77] for a more positive appraisal of von Hügel, in which the latter's criticisms of James are noted (especially [157n, 168]). See also James [1977; passim]; von Hügel [1909; II; 275, 283, 308, 336-7, 351ff].

(6/8). [I and II; passim]. The 'mystical' element of the three is essential for our "deepest life and its sanity" [II; 60], but it cannot be considered alone [II; eg 365]. Von Hügel's work rests on the claim that full spiritual maturity comes with a balance of all three elements. See also (3/113) above.

(6/9). For comments on the early programme of the SPR, see Price's preface in Tyrrell [1953; 7].

(6/10). The SPR committed themselves to a census on hallucinations as a test for telepathy: [18ff] - the sample was 17,000.

(6/11). For a study of belief in ghosts, see Bennett, Traditions of Belief, Women and the Supernatural (Penguin, London, 1987): pp 149-209 charts the post-Reformation history of belief in ghosts in Britain.

(6/12). Tyrrell [18].

(6/13). See the remarks by Lindblom [1978; 37].

(6/14). Laurentin & Joyeux [1987; 53].

(6/15). Tyrrell [22].

(6/16). See the comments in 4.2.1: it is difficult to accuse a visionary group of false perception or illusion without questioning their truthfulness, that is if they are not mentally ill or drug-users (cf note (6/14) above).

(6/17). See 3.3: prophecies that are fulfilled become a strong factor in favour of a supernatural origin of the phenomenon.

(6/18). See Broad [1962; 195-6].

(6/19). Tyrrell [19-21]: he questioned the SPR conclusion that the chance of the death-crisis coincidence hallucinations was 1 in 19,000, based on the figures in

the census - he felt that it was higher because of the number of days a person lives.

(6/20). For the work of the IPR on apparitions, see McCreery [1973; especially 43-54] on apparitions; Green & McCreery [1989; passim].

(6/21). For the characteristics of non-marian apparitions, see Tyrrell [49-82]; also the IPR works in note (6/20) above.

(6/22). Eg horses (Green & McCreery [1]); a rocking-chair [170].

(6/23). In the case of Mary, wind is reported rather than cold - see eg Craig [1988; 125]; Laurentin [1979; 33].

(6/24). Tyrrell [77-80] suggested that the "perfect apparition" could not be grasped, photographed, or tape-recorded - this was self-confessed speculation on his part. It is normally true, too, for Mary, but some 'miraculous' recordings and photographs, which are claimed to have captured her image or voice, have been reported: see eg Craig [plates between 160 and 161]; Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [1967; 69-70].

(6/25). Tyrrell [77]; Green & McCreery [95]: only 14% of visual apparitions speak, and few of these speak realistically or at length.

(6/26). The conversation at La Salette was not part of a series unlike many other cases, but it was comparatively long; at Medjugorje, the vision has returned over 2000 times, and gives many messages (lengthy messages being a quite common phenomenon in recent years, see note (2/121)); Pontmain and Knock (both one vision without speech) are nearest to the SPR/IPR typical case, but they are not typical marian cases, which normally comprise a series of short conversations (eg Lourdes, Fatima, Beauraing, Banneux).

(6/27). Von Hügel (as quoted in Lash [163n]) wrote to James saying that "psychical research", in his experience, never yielded results of spiritual or religious worth. Nevertheless, for our purposes, it is important to compare marian apparitions with those recorded in a non-religious literature.

(6/28) The records of the Alister Hardy Research Centre, 29-31 George Street, Oxford, consulted on 3 April 1990.

(6/29). Von Hügel [II; 283]: we must have a dim experience of divinity so as to recognise it; [II; 336-7]: the clear

(ie consciousness) depends on the dim (ie the subconscious).

(6/30). [II; 42].

(6/31). Thurston [1934b; 63-4].

(6/32). James [1977], ie the Gifford lectures, 1901-2 (see the caveat in 6.1).

(6/33). [235].

(6/34). [457].

(6/35). [487].

(6/36). [488].

(6/37). [490].

(6/38). [237n].

(6/39). Eg T Hughes [1937; 275-6].

(6/40). Jung [1968; 282-3]; the importance of dream symbolism is obvious throughout Jung's works, see eg his own experiences in [1977; passim] (he had frequent hypnagogic visions, too - see eg [236-7]).

(6/41). Cf Jung's comments on both schizophrenia and "individuation", eg [1976; passim]. Yet the difference between a mentally healthy person undergoing the individuation process and a psychotic is dangerously slight, see eg [1977; 194-225] and [1978; 20].

(6/42). Eg T Hughes [316-9]; Underhill [273]: divine visions and locutions are "teleological and coherent".

(6/43). James [267].

(6/44). See eg Deikman [1969]; also Robert E Ornstein, The Psychology of Consciousness (W H Freeman, San Francisco, 1972).

(6/45). Ibid., eg p 184: during meditation, the intuitive mode, associated with the right hemisphere of the brain, emerges; Deikman [42-3]: states of meditation may be viewed as the "deautomatisation of hierarchically-ordered structures that ordinarily conserve attentional energy for maximum energy in achieving the basic goals of the individual";

(6/46). Underhill [65].

(6/47). Laurentin & Joyeux [44-5].

(6/48). Note Deikman's experiments with students told to undergo a series of controlled meditations: Deikman [chapter 13].

(6/49). [43, 215].

(6/50). Eg Medjugorje, where the intensity of the ecstasies seem to have developed from rough and ready beginnings (see 5.3, especially notes (5/87), (5/91), (5/107), and Laurentin & Joyeux's account of the ecstasies [6ff]). At other marian sites, the apparitions have sometimes been prearranged by the vision (eg in particular, Lourdes and Fatima).

(6/51). Tyrrell [126-8] calls hallucinations produced by drugs and anaesthetics "a distorted form of normal sensation".

(6/52). See the various categories of "waking" dream in Green & McCreery [211].

(6/53). Laurentin & Joyeux [44].

(6/54). Jung [1968; 214n].

(6/55). A notable exception is Catherine Labouré, who wished prayerfully, whilst retiring on the night of the first major vision, that she would see the Virgin Mary (Laurentin [1983; 71]).

(6/56). Different studies in glossolalia are instructive in this respect. W J Samarin, Tongues of Men and Angels: The Religious Language of Pentecostalism (Macmillan, New York, 1972) emphasises the socio-dynamic conditions for glossolalia; H Newton-Malony & A Adams-Lovekin, Glossolalia: Behavioural Perspectives on Speaking in Tongues (Oxford University Press, 1985) study the phenomenon from a behaviourist point of view, concluding that it is in Troeltsch's broad category of 'mysticism'; Morton J Kelsey, Tongue Speaking (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1968), gives a positive appraisal of glossolalia, including considering it as a manifestation of the Jungian collective unconscious (pp 188ff). Yet, despite this latter point, these works overall suggest that glossolalia takes place because of the wish of the tongue-speaker, even if it is then a true spontaneous expression of unconscious contents. The fact that glossolalia as prophecy needs to be interpreted distinguishes it from marian visions, where the prophecy is usually explicit in the experience itself.

(6/57). For the Myers-Gurney debate (relevant works: E Gurney, F W H Myers and F Podmore, Phantasms of the Living (Trubner, London, 1886) and F W H Myers, Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death (Green, London, 1902)), see Broad [224-49] and Tyrrell [42-8].

(6/58). Broad [230-1].

(6/59). [233, 238] (note that a screen interposed at Medjugorje between visionary and apparent place of vision - which did not inhibit the vision - tends to discount the possible objectivity of a supernatural entity in space (see Laurentin & Joyeux [35]); Bernadette saw her last vision at Lourdes despite intervening barricades, too - Laurentin [1979; 89-90]).

(6/60). Broad [245-9]; see also Rahner [49].

(6/61). Tyrrell [83-90].

(6/62). [43-5].

(6/63). [45-8].

(6/64). [88, 100-2]: Tyrrell referred to "mid-level" factors, midway between consciousness and the body, which he saw as two ends of a continuum.

(6/65). However, see Laurentin & Joyeux [43]: "Does the impact take place at the level of our sensory nervous system? Our tests tend equally to exclude this hypothesis unless we are dealing with a sui generis impact which would, of course, remain unverifiable". The latter seems to describe Tyrrell's concept.

(6/66). The "mid-level" factors were named the "producer" (arranger of the "drama") and "stage-carpenter" (provider of the hallucinatory scene) [101]. The "idea-pattern" has no image content, as the latter is produced by the "producer" and "stage-carpenter" of the visionary's subconscious. The "idea-pattern" is dynamic, creative, teleological, adapting means to ends [103]. Evans [1984; 113, 301-2, 308-9], adopts Tyrrell's idea of a "producer" in the subconscious.

(6/67). See Tyrrell [112-3]: he accepted the partial collective cases, without developing a comprehensive theory as to how this occurs. However, he felt that some form of telepathic theory was inevitable. Evans' conclusions could be categorised under models of telepathy, too (see Evans [304-5]).

(6/68). Tyrrell [113]; Green & McCreery [47-8].

(6/69). Tyrrell [142].

(6/70). [113] and [107-8]: the "mid-level" entities are neither atomistic nor homogeneous, possessing qualities of selfhood and otherness, neither singular nor plural.

(6/71). [109, 129-34].

(6/72). [126-8] - here Tyrrell categorises five kinds of "sensory hallucination": (1) telepathic; (2) common, based on misperception due to habit; (3) produced under hypnosis; (4) dreams and subjective; (5) produced by drugs

and anaesthetics. For our purposes, (1) and (4) are of interest.

(6/73). [148] (cf Thurston's comments on Tilly-sur-Seulles (see note (4/24)) as a parallel to this idea).

(6/74). Green & McCreery [passim, eg 7, 18-21, 24-5]. Tyrrell [99] suggests this as a possibility.

(6/75). Green & McCreery [passim, eg 36, 48, 99-100].

(6/76). [100]; see also characteristic (vi) of apparitions in 6.2.1.

(6/77). Underhill [271-2]: mystical visions and voices are an outward sign of real experience and constructed by the mind.

(6/78). [271-2]; see Rahner's similar model for mystical visions (4.2.1).

(6/79). Underhill [270]; T Hughes [318-9]; Tyrrell [88, 93].

(6/80). See T Hughes [288ff].

(6/81). [288ff]; Jung [1977; 169-93]; [1968; 3].

(6/82). Jung, Collected Works, passim, eg [1968; 3-53]. One of the most straightforward summaries of Jung's work is [1978; 1-94]. See also Kassel [1983; 74-5]: archetypes are archaic, symbols, processes of psychological differentiation.

(6/83). Jung [1968; 42].

(6/84). [61-3]: the treatment of "representations collectives".

(6/85). Jung, Collected Works, passim, eg the comparison of mother symbols from across the world in [1976; 207ff]; the comparison of sacrifice motifs in [1969; 222ff]; also [1968; 189].

(6/86). Jung, Collected Works, passim, eg [1969; 289]; [1968; 42ff].

(6/87). [155, 183, 189].

(6/88). [63+n]; see also von Hügel [II; 41]: "intense spiritual energising is accompanied by auto-suggestion and mono-ideism". However, note the discussion in 6.6.1 below.

(6/89). See Heisig [1979; 93]; McClure [1983; 144] mentions that reports of both marian apparitions and UFOs increased sharply in the years 1947 and 1954. See also Evans [120, 278-83].

(6/90). See Jung [54ff and 73ff] and Neumann [1955; passim].

(6/91). Jung [81, 107-10] on the Assumption. Articles applying Jungian principles to the figure of Mary include Dines [1987].

(6/92). Eg the way in which both sides used the Virgin Mary as a patroness in the Mexican War of Independence (see E Campbell [1982; 8-10]).

(6/93). Preston [1982b; 333-6].
(6/94). [327].

(6/95). E Campbell [21]. See the comments by M Carroll [1986] on the socio-geographical spread of the Mary cult, outlined in 6.5.1 below.

(6/96). Warner [1985; passim]. On [338-9], Warner suggests that the myth of Mary "will recede into legend like Ishtar", because of the new climate of sexual equality. Yet she rejects a Jungian interpretation of Mary, as the psychological concept of the Great Mother archetype "colludes with and continues the Church's operations on the mind" [335].

(6/97). Note the comments to this effect by Begg, a Jungian analyst, on BBC's 'Everyman' programme, 27 December 1987: Madonna (Begg is the author of The Cult of the Black Madonna [1985], a book which traces the pagan origins of the black statues of the Virgin Mary). He referred to visions of Mary as manifestations of the "Eternal Feminine" (Goethe's expression). See also Ashe [1977 ; 13ff].

(6/98). White [1952; eg 108, 127]. See also Rahner [40-3]. The Bryant work is Jung and the Christian Way [1983].

(6/99). Underhill [266-7]; Von Hugel [II; 5]. See the discussion in 4.3.2 above.

(6/100). White [185]: he emphasises that a distinction such as that made between the natural and diabolic in 'religious' experience resulting from mental disorder is not a Thomist one. See note (4/106) for references to treatment of the possibility of diabolic agency in marian apparitions.

(6/101). White [127].

(6/102). [120, 123].

(6/103). [126].

(6/104). [115-6].

(6/105). Von Hügel [II; 134] (yet the degree of will-force of the human subject is in inverse ratio to self-consciousness).

- (6/106). [II; 112ff]; also Rahner [64].
- (6/107). Aquinas [1922; 48-51 (Qu 174, art 2)].
- (6/108). See Poulain [1950; 340-7, 389-96]. Also Lambertini [1852; III; 26] on Aquinas: the importance of prophecy for others' profit.
- (6/109). John of the Cross [1934; I; 144].
- (6/110). Aquinas [43 (Qu 173, art 3-4)] (the biblical reference is John 11. 49-52).
- (6/111). Poulain [302].
- (6/112). White [130-2]; Aquinas [33-5 (Qu 173, art 1)].
- (6/113). Firth, in his study of Polynesian religion [1970; 33-4], distinguishes prophets (figures of moral commitment and authority who may clash with priests) and spirit mediums, who are merely mouthpieces without a sense of public obligation.
- (6/114). Rahner [91-100].
- (6/115). [39-41]; also [48]: visions are "psychosomatic".
- (6/116). Lindblom [32-3].
- (6/117). [46].
- (6/118). Ref Laurentin [1979; 58-61].
- (6/119). Aquinas, eg [37 (Qu 173, art 2)]: "I answer that, as Augustine says... prophetic knowledge pertains most of all to the intellect", and [38]: mention of Joseph, Daniel, Jeremiah.
- (6/120). See Lindblom [41-2], where he discusses "symbolic perception", ie real objects giving rise to prophetic interpretation.
- (6/121). Aquinas [1965; 119-23 (Qu 76 art 8)].
- (6/122). [121-3].
- (6/123). Poulain [301]; cf John of the Cross [I; 100-2] (imaginative visions are perceived by the "inward bodily senses", ie the imagination); Teresa of Jesus [1963; I; 179] (imaginative visions are those seen with the eyes of the soul).
- (6/124). The SPR and IPR record hallucinatory cases where a strong sense of "presence" of a person is experienced, rather than any visual or audial perception of them - see Tyrrell [76]; Green & McCreery [118-22]. Perhaps these

should be considered a mundane parallel to mystical "intellectual" visions.

(6/125). Teresa of Jesus [I; 183]; Underhill [288-9].

(6/126). Teresa of Jesus [I; 179]; John of the Cross [I; 102].

(6/127). Underhill [281-2]; also Rahner [38ff].

(6/128). Underhill [269].

(6/129). Eg the apparitions at Medjugorje, in which the visionaries claim to be able to touch Mary - see eg Laurentin & Joyeux [9, 25].

(6/130). Poulain [314-5]; however, Laurentin & Joyeux [35] deny that the apparitions are caused by a projection onto the retina of the visionary.

(6/131). Poulain [315].

(6/132). Rahner [38].

(6/133). [34-8].

(6/134). Lindblom [36].

(6/135). Ref [37]: the apparent physical perception is part of what psychologists call "hallucination".

(6/136). See White, eg [233], on how psychology sometimes confirms theology. He added that, in both theological and Jungian models, healing comes unexpectedly from the unknown.

(6/137). Jung, *Collected Works*, passim, eg [1969; 5-6].

(6/138). Ref note (6/137) above; also eg *Collected Works*, Vol 9 Part 2, entitled Aion: Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self transl R F C Hull (Pantheon, New York, 1959) - Jung everywhere maintains that he uses a phenomenological approach. Note also Pannenberg [1968; 95] who, when discussing the resurrection appearances, suggests that "in the area of the history of religions, where only exceptional phenomena are handed down, the psychiatric concept of "vision" may not be postulated unless a more specific point of contact for it is given by the tradition", etc.

(6/139). M Carroll [1986; 10ff].

(6/140). [49ff].

(6/141). [55].

(6/142). [56].

(6/143). [55-9].

(6/144). [59].

(6/145). [75ff].

(6/146). [117].

(6/147). [121ff].
(6/148). [126].
(6/149). [132ff].
(6/150). [147].

(6/151). Doyle [1985; 80].

(6/152). M Carroll [148-94].
(6/153). [181n].
(6/154). [149-56].

(6/155). See eg 8.1.1, 8.4.1 below. Even the actual motif of Mary holding back her Son's judgemental arm is older than La Salette: eg in Liguori [1868; 90] (see also Graef [II; 75]) (or God's arm: in Olier [II; 40]).

(6/156). M Carroll [154].
(6/157). [156-65].
(6/158). [165-72].
(6/159). [150, 156, 177]: as was the case at La Salette, Lourdes and Fatima.
(6/160). [195ff].
(6/161). [218].

(6/162). Even the theory that some sort of projecting device (1/45) was used to manufacture the images is more plausible than the suggestion that everyone present managed to concoct a detailed apparition from a vague phenomenon of light.

(6/163). Jung [1968; 107-10]. The Assumption, in Jungian thought, also heals the 'split' between good and evil (M Daly [1986; 87-9]).

(6/164). Jung [1969; 71, 171]; [1938; 73ff, 85ff]; [1954; 140-2].

(6/165). [1954; 165ff] (chapter 19 of this work deals with the Assumption dogma; the whole of the book may also be found in [1969; 355-470]).

(6/166). [1954; 170].
(6/167). [171].
(6/168). [171].
(6/169). [165].
(6/170). [166].
(6/171). [165].

(6/172). [1969; 312].

(6/173). This remark is made based on a few sentences that Ean Begg spoke in answer to questions on the TV programme mentioned in (6/97). I do not know, however, how he would develop this line of thinking. It is possible that he would deny any suggestion that one could radically

distinguish between the feminine archetype and its manifestation in one particular instance.

(6/174). The vision often revealed her identity in response to questions, eg Lourdes ("Immaculate Conception"); Fatima ("Our Lady of the Rosary"); Beauraing ("Immaculate Virgin" - the response here was simply an affirmative in reply to a question containing these two words); Banneux ("Virgin of the Poor"); Medjugorje ("Blessed Virgin Mary").

(6/175). So Rahner [62-4]; Laurentin & Rupčić [1984; 108, 116]; Poulain [355-6]: he refers to St Catherine of Siena, whose vision of Mary revealed that the Immaculate Conception was false.

(6/176). Laurentin [1983; 73-81].

(6/177). [89].

(6/178). [212-9] (see the sketch of the Virgin holding the globe made in 1841, 35 years before this was revealed more widely [152]).

(6/179). [88-9].

(6/180). [219]: a Vincentian bishop (Catherine Labouré was a Vincentian sister) put this pressure on Rome.

(6/181). [212]: Catherine Labouré's superior, Sr Dufès, was of the opinion that the vision portrayed Our Lady protecting the earth and offering it to God.

(6/182). [219]. The theme of Mary on the globe was repeated in the visions at Amsterdam (1945-59) (Derobert [1985; 122]).

(6/183). Jung [1976; 103].

(6/184). See the traditional image of Mary standing on a serpent and crescent moon in Laurentin [88]. Of course, the image in Revelation 12 is 'archetypal', too!

(6/185). Jung [1980; 84].

(6/186). [103]: the mandala, a circular design, is a symbol of the wholeness of the "Self" in Jungian psychology (also [221-2]).

(6/187). [133, 326, 372].

(6/188). See Toussaint & Joset [1981; 118].

(6/189). For the importance of the astrological ages for Jung, see eg [1954; 139-40, 146].

(6/190). See Pelletier [1987; 77]; Kraljević [1984; 161-2]; the host in place of the sun is reported many times in Medjugorje testimonies.

(6/191). Ie in Jungian terms, see eg [1976; 303n, 207-33]: 'Symbols of the Mother and of Rebirth', eg [269]: the

cross as a symbol of the "tree of life" and "mother"; [364]: heart as the seat of life; [1980; 343]: sun as image of God, heart as sun's image in man, gold as image of sun in earth (note the many rosaries which, it is claimed, turn gold in Medjugorje without there being a natural reason for this); [84, 208, 417]: Christ as the sun (worshipped as such in early Christianity); also 'Transformation Symbolism in the Mass', in [1969].

(6/192). For Jung's observations on the saviour-hero myth: [1946; 322ff, 328-9]; on the ordering, just father archetype of the Mediterranean: [1974 ('Wotan'); 13]; on the transfer of father imago to Father in Heaven through the Pope [1974 ('Psychotherapy Today'); 21ff].

(6/193). Warner, eg [273ff].

(6/194). As revealed by Cardinal Tedeschini; see Johnston [1980b; 11]; also Jung [1954; 165-6]: the Pope apparently saw visions of Mary before defining the Assumption.

(6/195). [175].

(6/196). Warner [312-3].

(6/197). [311] (but see Christian [1981a; 216, 222]: children considered in mediæval Spain as symbols of purity and innocence).

(6/198). Jung [1980; 54].

(6/199). Green & McCreery [58].

(6/200). [35].

(6/201). [116].

(6/202). [139].

(6/203). [202-3].

(6/204). See Rahner [75]: the subconscious of the visionary may intrude more powerfully into the experience after the visions, thus unconscious later additions (eg Rahner suggests Fatima, although here the additions occurred after some years).

(6/205). See Jung [1976; 324]: a youthful figure is the "anima, the personification of the collective unconscious". See also [330]: the mother is the first "incarnation" of the anima archetype personifying the unconscious. The "Eternal Feminine" belongs to the "prenatal realm of archetypal possibilities" where the "divine child" sleeps, "patiently awaiting his conscious realisation", ie wholeness. Evans [305] points out that Bernadette's Mary was younger (about 14) than the stereotype Virgin Mary (see also (8/97) below).

(6/206). See Jung [1954; 170-3]: one of Jung's passages critical of Protestantism. Evans [104] writes that

Catholicism has a "virtual monopoly of the phenomenon" of religious visions. Note that Laurentin [1965b; 10] suggests that apparitions were principally of Christ until the last 150 years. Graef [1950; 9-10]: God's graces are adapted to the environment; in Catholicism, visions and stigmata are typical manifestations.

(6/207). Rahner [64, 73]; Schillebeeckx [1954; 159].

(6/208). Von Loewenich [1959; 235-6] complains that it is not the pagan elements in marian piety which cause him the most difficulty, but the making of these into rational dogma. Lambertini [III; 375-6] suggests that, apart from lies and contradictions, another disqualifying mark for visions is that their contents could have been discovered by reason alone.

(6/209). M Carroll accepts the influence of the Catholic tradition, but one would expect, with his Freudian wish-fulfilment and Oedipal models, that visions of a Father (perhaps in the form of Christ or a saint) would manifest themselves. After all, the Alister Hardy records include several of Christ and God the Father (see note (6/28) above). The consistent sightings of Mary, at least in the cases that become the origins of major shrines, suggest a dynamic basis more collective than the individualistic influences that Carroll posits. It is difficult to see why, when the Oedipal complex is such a major aspect of his treatment of the marian cult, none of the apparitions are interpreted in an Oedipal way, but rather using a simple wish-fulfilment model (see M Carroll [146, 148ff]). The possibility that personal influences shape the actual form which the experience takes is a reasonable one, but applying a Freudian model as Carroll does is, on the whole, as we have intimated in the text, arbitrary, superficial and over-speculative.

(6/210). Eg Sanchez-Ventura y Pacual [85-7]; there are several reports of the visionaries of Medjugorje knowing details of the lives of visiting strangers.

(6/211). For Limpias, see Thurston [45ff]; Zeitoun, see the entry in the appendix.

(6/212). In a 'straw poll' conducted among 30 students at Ripon College, 4 claimed to have had hallucination experiences. This seemed to accord with the SPR findings, but at Leeds University, 9 out of 35 were willing to admit this. Other smaller polls indicated a statistic of greater than 10%. These small samples prove nothing, except to confirm how common is the experience of hallucination.

(6/213). Evans [111].

(6/214). The two who saw the vision on the first day but never again were Milka Pavlović and Ivan Ivanković. The group constituted on the second day (25th June 1981) stayed together until Mirjana Dragicević (1982) and, later (1985), Ivanka Ivanković, received the "tenth secret" and left the group, experiencing apparitions only on special occasions. The remaining four still make up the group to this day (June 1991).

(6/215). Eg the series of apparitions at Fatima, Beauraing, and Garabandal, where the same group were present throughout the phenomena. Perhaps the Catholic calendar is relevant to the Medjugorje case. The first apparition took place on the feast day of St John the Baptist (24th June), but the day that constituted the group of six (25th June) was declared at Medjugorje to be the feast day of "Our Lady, Queen of Peace". In this way, the Midsummer feast is brought into line with other major Christian feasts (Annunciation, 25th March; Christmas, 25th December). The monthly day for messages (from 1987) is the 25th, which therefore seems to have significance.

(6/216). Eg the powerful effect of Bernadette's ecstasies at Lourdes - Estrade [1951; passim] and Sandhurst [1953]; also the Garabandal ecstasies with their backward walks - Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual, eg [71-2].

(6/217). Richard Wilhelm's translation of the I Ching or Book of Changes (translated into English by Cary F Baynes, 3rd edn, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1968), p 194.

(6/218). Although occasionally a visionary is revered over the years, and has further apparitions (eg Lucia of Fatima), the original series of visions is still the focus for their status and, normally, no new messages arise which are not attributable to them.

(6/219). Eg the experiences of Jelena and Marijana at Medjugorje, which came later than those of the group of six who see the main apparitions -ref eg Pelletier [94ff].

(6/220). Mélanie and Maximin became infamous (La Salette); Bernadette (Lourdes) and Lucia (Fatima) became nuns; Jacinta and Francisco (Fatima) died in childhood.

(6/221). Fatima and Lourdes are more international than, eg, Pontmain and Beauraing, although these do attract many foreign pilgrims. Christian [passim] records medieval shrines in Spain which seem to have been important only in the local context.

(6/222). Evans [253].

(6/223). [305].

- (6/224). [21-3].
(6/225). [128-30].
(6/226). Rahner [42-3].
(6/227). See eg Green & McCreery [200ff].

(6/228). I have no details that describe the earliest beginnings of the Palmar de Troya visions (to children), but the schismatic tendency seems to be the work of adults (see also (1/88)).

(7/1). For theological expansions of this observation, see Rahner [1975; 300-5]; Von Balthasar [1982; 261-4]; Schillebeeckx [1986; 113-14, 200]; Küng [1967; 174-5].

(7/2). Rahner [304]: "... it must be concluded that the Church can be sinful in her actions. It goes without saying that this happens in opposition to the impulse of the Spirit and the norms and laws always proclaimed by the Church".

(7/3). [302].

(7/4). The apparition at Neuholz, Alsace, July 1871, according to Thurston [1934b; 121-2] (listed in the appendices).

(7/5). Eg Bayside, New York (where it was claimed that Paul VI had been replaced by a communist imposter), and Palmar de Troya (where Clemente Domínguez had revealed to him the vision of an antichrist in the chair of Peter - see McKeown [1973] and [1974]). Again, see the bibliographies in the appendices.

(7/6). For the Rue du Bac message, see Laurentin [1983; 75-6]; Marechal [1957; 16-25].

(7/7). For the prophecies of Mélanie Calvat: Calvat [1904]; Griffiths [1966; 124, 235, 363-9] (see also (1/21) and (1/42)). For those of Lucia dos Santos, see dos Santos [1976] and (1/59).

(7/8). For criticism of the link between Fatima and fascism, see Perry & Echeverría [1988; 181-93]; Blanshard [1962; 218-39]. Turner & Turner [1978; 171] suggest that the community experience of the marian shrines and images may be "subverted" by the "political structure". Duffy [1991; 192-3] refers to the exclusivist use of the image of Mary in an implicit support for fascism.

(7/9). Note: the use of the word "gospel" in this chapter is not intended to imply that there is a pure timeless 'gospel' by which one can judge sin. Obviously, the teaching of the New Testament is permeated through different contexts, historical, social, theological.

Judgement as to whether an action is sinful by the standards of the 'gospel' can be made only through experience, discussion, and moral debate, and this in dialectic with the texts of scripture. Cf Schillebeeckx [260-8]. Rahner [304] says that the Church "alone can distort by her sin the eternal visible presence of Christ in the world which she is and so wrap a shroud around him..." - it is in this spirit that we use here the concept of 'gospel', ie the sought-for truth about Christ as revealed in the Bible, especially the four gospels.

(7/10). See Schillebeeckx [107-19] for his thinking on critical theology.

(7/11). Eg de Marchi [1986a; 52-3]; Martindale [1950; 32].

(7/12). For example, remarks about the bishop of Mostar and two dissenting Franciscans - see eg Laurentin & Rupčić [1984; 113-14]; O'Carroll [1986; 96-7] (from the document by Bishop Žanić of 30 October 1984); Žanić [1989]. The fact that the visionary Ivanka Ivanković saw her deceased mother (eg O'Carroll [46]) is another Medjugorje report that is interesting but subordinate in the major publications to the overall message of peace, prayer, fasting, and the openness of the heart to God.

(7/13). Reported in Johnston [1980b; 19]; see also The Tablet (12 May 1917) and The Month (No 636, June 1917, pp 543-6), the latter of which - mistakenly, I believe - gives the 5th March as the date for the letter rather than 5th May. Rhodes [1989] mentions Benedict XV's peace proposals of February and August 1917, and also [249, 252] this pope's obsession with the threat of czarist Russia.

(7/14). So Beevers [1953; 222]: petitions were regular from 1870.

(7/15). Joset [1982a; III; 79-80].

(7/16). Laurentin [1987c; 15-7]: Paul VI and John Paul II had refused several such requests from Italian groups (as had Leo XIII in response to requests for a celebration of the 19th centenary of Mary's birth), replying that the date could not be known. John Paul II appeared to be warmer to the idea in 1983, but the linking of the bimillennium to Mary in Redemptoris Mater 3 (John Paul II [1987]) is as near as he came to making it official.

(7/17). See also Redemptoris Mater 44: the link between devotion to Mary and the Eucharist as seen in the pastoral practice of the marian shrines.

(7/18). Laurentin [1983; 75-6].

(7/19). Calvat [12-14].

(7/20). Laurentin [1979; 58-61, 64-6]; see also his [1962b; III; 295-302], in which he suggests that the

"penitential" phase of Lourdes followed the first, silent one, and came before the final and third one, the mission to the priests.

(7/21). Vernet [1980; 231-2].

(7/22). Eg M Walsh [1959; 19ff] (the testimonies of the witnesses).

(7/23). Dos Santos, eg [152-4, 158, 162].

(7/24). Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [1967; 81-2, 85-7, 123-34, 171].

(7/25). Luna [1973; eg plates between 96 and 97]; McKeown (ed) [1973] and [1974].

(7/26). Eg Kraljević [1984; 41-3, 47-8]: visions occurred to the children while hiding in the rectory [42]. Then, "for pastoral reasons, the attitude of parishioners, and overall developments, the children were asked to 'arrange' to have their visions in the Church" [47-8].

See also O'Carroll [186, 190]; Tüttö [1985; 55]. However, the first response of the Virgin to the priest's request for the children to go to the church for visions, rather than to the hill Podbrdo, was ambivalent: "She seemed not so sure. She didn't seem so happy, but she said she did not mind", in the words of Mirjana Dragicević, in an interview between visionaries and Fr Zovko on the 30th June 1981 (recorded in the Medjugorje Herald, Aug 1990, pp 6-7; cf Kraljević [36]: "Somehow, she seemed undecided when we asked her this. Even so, she said that she will not mind").

(7/27). The message as printed in every issue of Garabandal.

(7/28). See eg Gilsdorf's [1990] denunciation of liberals opposed to strict allegiance to the Pope and official doctrine.

(7/29). See Rahner [300-2]; this is also a well-known theme in Reinhold Niebuhr, The Nature and Destiny of Man: A Christian Interpretation (2 vols, Nisbet, London, 1941, 1943), eg Vol 1, chapter 8 (pp 221-55).

(7/30). This is a personal observation based on many conversations. One notable example of a Catholic who treats modern marian apparitions with some scepticism is Hilda Graef (see eg note (6/3)).

(7/31). I can only refer the reader back to 7.1.1 which contains possible examples of sinfulness in apparition phenomena, and also to the discussion in 6.6.3, in order to support this statement.

(7/32). See the "Chalcedonian model of the Church", ie it is divine and human, in Congar [1957]. For the Church as community of grace, see Schillebeeckx [193-4]; the Spirit in the Church, von Balthasar [225-6]; the charismatic element in the Church, Rahner [293-6]; Küng [200]: the balance needed between traditionalism and claims for Spirit-inspired enthusiasm; [202]: the Spirit is bound to the Word, but not confined to the Word.

(7/33). The balance of grace and sin in the Church is summed up by the following words of Schillebeeckx [114]: "But in those concrete historical and ecclesiastical forms the felicitous reply of the Church with regard to grace is documented, but equally so her historically less adequate and even ideological response to the offer of grace".

(7/34). Eg Tüttő [35]: the church was built between 1937 and 1969, larger than necessary, on the inspiration of an local elderly man. See also Craig [1988; 83-4].

(7/35). As in his interview during the BBC film, The Madonna of Medjugorje (1987).

(7/36). For essays on this topic, see Vrijhof & Waardenburg [1979], and also Schreiter [1985; 122ff].

(7/37). See eg Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [73-82, 147-9].

(7/38). Fr Luna seems to have been a lone wolf in his priestly support for Palmar de Troya [1973; passim], except for a certain Fr Albarracín [38, 43]. However, The White Cross of Palmar information sheet, p 2 (see miscellaneous items no 24), claims that, in 1969, "priests came to say Mass at the open-air shrine".

(7/39). The parish priest responsible for Carns (interview, September 19 1989) said that many of the messages there seemed to have little to do with "the God of Jesus Christ". I was struck by the fact that the main 'message' of Carns was "Faith and Hope" (interview with visionary Coleen McGuinness, September 19, 1989; it is also written on the small chapel at the shrine). Notice that the third great gift, "Love", is omitted. "Faith and Hope" are aspects of popular religion the world over, but in the Christian tradition, the "Love" dimension is centred on the giving of the Son by the Father, the focus of the Eucharist itself, which does not seem to be at the centre of the Carns phenomenon.

(7/40). See miscellaneous items, nos 10-15 - I have collected photocopies of messages (given 'through' visiting pilgrims, not always the original child visionaries), displayed at the Irish shrines, eg:

"I do not want lay people on my alters (sic) throughout the world" (Maura McEneaney, pilgrim at Inchigeela); "Satan is so strong now. He is destroying so many of My poor innocent children, because of the sinful ones..." and "Ireland will not be saved if My children do not become My messengers" (Christine Gallagher, Co Mayo). Also apparitions of Padre Pio are commonly reported.

(7/41). As admitted by the parish priest at Inchigeela (interview, September 20 1989).

(7/42). Note the obvious influence of Medjugorje (where Mary is the "Queen of Peace") on Inchigeela (in O'Sullivan [1989], on the visionary Considine sisters of Cork (leaflet, miscellaneous item no 16), and on Carns (interview with the visionary Coleen McGuinness, 19 September 1989). At Melleray, too, there is an emphasis on peace (see Deevy [1987; 32-3]).

(7/43). See Žanić's outburst against Franciscan 'manipulation', in his statement of 30 October 1984 (in O'Carroll [79-103], see especially [85, 102]).

(7/44). The opponents made much of the fact that the apparitions were supposed to end on the 3rd July, 1981, thus intimating that they were prolonged in the interests of certain parties (Žanić in O'Carroll [80-1]).

(7/45). According to Laurentin [1979; 86-9], the other visions occurred between April 11 and July 11 1858, ending immediately after the bishop of Tarbes' denunciation. He took control of the events of Lourdes from July 28, announcing a commission then. However, according to Thurston [1927], Cros' research shows that these visions went on until December 8, 1858 (the reference is Cros [1926; II; 47ff]).

(7/46). The response at national level was the setting up of a commission, which did not occur until 30 October 1933, after the explosion of visions in Summer and Autumn (Joset [1981; I; 33-4]).

(7/47). This is a personal observation, based on reading meditative works like those of the Medjugorje Franciscans Vlašić and Barbariĉ [1985a], [1985b] and [1986], distributed by the Friends of Medjugorje, Milan - compare these with the prophecies of eg McKeown [1973] and [1974] and the magazine Michael Fighting, neither of which foster practical and balanced spirituality in the same way as the Medjugorje Franciscans, in my opinion.

(7/48). This difficulty is at the heart of the objections of Žanić (see (5/31)) and Sivric (eg [1988; 51]).

(7/49). Kraljević's text [93] suggests at first reading that the Madonna revived fasting spontaneously, but it was in fact Fr Zovko who was responsible (eg Laurentin & Rupčić [131]). Perhaps, too, the Madonna only endorsed the adding of the Creed ([58], but this is contradicted on [26]); however, Craig [51] suggests that she initiated the idea.

(7/50). Fr Zovko was attending a Charismatic Renewal group meeting in Zagreb at the time that the apparitions were beginning (eg Craig [43]).

(7/51). Eg Žanić in O'Carroll [95, 102].

(7/52). Local priests did help to sustain the shrine at Knock during the years when the bishops ignored it, ie 1881-1926 (see notes (1/46-7)). Certainly the local priest at the time of the apparition, Archdeacon Cavanagh, encouraged pilgrimage until his death in 1897 (Neary [1979b; 61-3]; L Cadhain [1953]). The Rev Tuffy supported pilgrimage in 1920 (Neary [65]), but the two priests who followed Cavanagh from 1897 were not so helpful (M Walsh [119]). However, the fact that the shrine was the church itself may have greatly facilitated its survival as a popular place of pilgrimage.

(7/53). For the psychology of conversion, see Walter E Conn (ed), Conversion: Perspectives on Personal and Social Transformation (Alba House, New York, 1978) or G Stanley, 'Personality and Attitude Correlates of Religious Conversion' in L B Brown (ed), Psychology and Religion: Selected Readings (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973).

(7/54). 1 Thessalonians 5.19-20: "Never try to suppress the Spirit or treat the gift of prophecy with contempt"; see also Rahner [295]; Laurentin [1988b; 23, 41]; [1985a; 86].

(7/55). Calvat [12-14].

(7/56). Jaouen [1988; 35]: letter from Fr Mélin to Mgr de Bruillard (see 3.2.2 for the bishop's support for La Salette).

(7/57). Lourdes - early 1861 (Cros [1926; III; 19ff]); Fatima - 1921 (Barthas & da Fonseca [1947; 58]). Also La Salette - 1849 (Stern [1984; II; 12]), and Pontmain - 1871 (Association Diocésaine de Pontmain [1986; 23]).

(7/58). Fatima - chapel inaugurated April 1919 (Barthas & da Fonseca [52]), first mass in chapel October 13 1921 (Fox [1982; vii]); Beauraing - permission for chapel, June 1933, and Banneux - May 1933 (3/55). La Salette - see note (7/75) below.

(7/59). Lourdes - again, note (3/53); Fatima - see eg de Marchi [88ff].

(7/60). Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [84-5].

(7/61). Of course, the first 'miraculous communion' in the modern marian apparition series apparently occurred at Fatima, where two of the three children were at the pre-first communion stage (dos Santos [25-7, 62-3]; Martindale [147-9]). It was not there (unlike the Spanish cases) public and expected, and did not occur more than once, not being reported until Lucia's later revelations (1/59). St Catherine of Siena (according to Graef [1950; 85-6]) experienced a miraculous communion after communion was refused to her by a priest.

(7/62). Thus his prohibition of 25 March 1985 on visions in the parish church (eg O'Carroll [154]).

(7/63). McBrien [1984; 734-6].

(7/64). Rahner [279-82]; de Lubac [1950; 35ff].

(7/65). McBrien [736-7]; Rahner [285-8].

(7/66). [283]; Sacrosanctum Concilium (1963), para 11 (in Flannery [1980; 6-7]).

(7/67). Sacrosanctum Concilium 10 [6].

(7/68). McBrien [738].

(7/69). [767].

(7/70). [767] quotes Rahner, The Church and the Sacraments, p 84.

(7/71). Ecclesiae Semper (Sacred Congregation of Rites, 1965, in Flannery [58]): "Every Mass is the celebration of that sacrament by which the Church lives and grows continuously and in which the Church's own nature is especially manifested".

(7/72). Presbyterorum Ordinis (1965), para 6 [874].

(7/73). Liturgiae Instaurationes (Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship, 1970), para 9 [219].

(7/74). Luna [38-9].

(7/75). A small chapel had been hastily built for the purpose, although it was too small for the large crowd (estimated at 50-100,000). The pilgrims had been using the small church in Corps (where up to eight Masses were said per day: Jaouen [34]).

(7/76). See Lumen Gentium (1964), para 12 (in Flannery [364]).

(7/77). Laurentin [1990a; 85]: deprivation of pastoral guidance is the "classical attitude"; [97]: visionaries need help, enlightenment, not avoidance; [163]: abandoning the visionaries induces "deviations and even revolts".

(7/78). Rahner [1975; 295].

(7/79). [295]: "For although official authority might be sufficiently protected by the rule (of orderliness) from merely apparent spiritual gifts, the charismata also need to be protected from the authorities. Provision has to be made that bureaucratic routine, turning means into ends themselves, rule for the sake of rule and not for the sake of service, the dead wood of tradition, proud and anxious barricades thrown up against new tasks and requirements, and other such dangers, do not extinguish the Spirit".

(7/80). Laurentin & Rupčić [117]: "Throughout history the failure of charismatic movements has not always been due to the fact that they were wrong from the beginning. Often conflict (with the authorities) has either deflected or perverted them. In such cases authority is deprived of the living energy of such movements, and the movements, deprived of the help and necessary control of authority, become degraded and deviant". Laurentin [163]: under suppression, events grow out of proportion; Kung [197]: negative opposition is unsuccessful and leads to sectarianism.

(7/81). I am not sure how, in practice, the 'false' charismata would be changed or rejected, but the principle stands that, according to the logic of Catholic teaching on the sacraments, the guidance and committed discernment of the universal Church must be part of the pastoral policy.

(7/82). Schillebeeckx [208].

(7/83). [210].

(7/84). [211].

(7/85). Mgr de Bruillard made this point in defending the apparition against Cardinal de Bonald (see note (4/81)). Yet Goubert & Cristiani [1952; 48-9] claim that the La Salette prophecies were fulfilled in the 1850s, after de Bruillard wrote this.

(7/86). Garabandal - see note (1/91) (the prophecies include the one that predicts only two more popes before the end of the age - Pelletier [1971; 164]); Medjugorje - 5.3.8 (the apocalyptic is set out in Vlašić's letter of 2 December 1983 to the Vatican, eg in O'Carroll [209-12]).

(7/87). St John of the Cross [1934; I; 151] (Ascent of Mount Carmel, Book 2, chapters 19 and 20): we understand

God's language literally, but [153] it is very different from our own. Prophecy [158ff] is conditional (eg Nineveh). This last point is accepted by the Garabandal and Medjugorje visionaries, for whom the chastisements may be averted by conversion and prayer.

(7/88). At least, not as far as published works are concerned (see eg MacPhilpin [1894]: the emphasis was (and is) on the apparition and healings, as the title of this book suggests).

(7/89). On the topic of nationalistic interpretations of the Pontmain apparition, always subordinate to a universal message, see Chardonnet [1984; 251-3]; Laurentin & Durand [1970; I; 118, 139].

(7/90). Thus two interesting articles in The Way (October 1990) identify contextual factors which make sense of the content and impact of certain visions: Akita is near Hiroshima (and has an apocalyptic tone - Tilby [1990; 285]; McSorley [1990; 295]); those at Hrushiw, Ukraine, began on the anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster (which puts the strong light seen in context - [295-7]; Medjugorje is near the sites of Croat war crimes (Tilby [285-6]: thus [296] "we should also recognise that the fierceness of the language of judgement and chastisement may not arise only from the sins of the unbelieving world but from the repressed shame of the community from which the visions sprang").

(7/91). A great pilgrimage at Fatima on 13 May 1938, at which the consecration of Portugal to the Immaculate Heart was renewed (having been carried out in 1931), was to the end of protecting the country from communism (Johnston [85]; Barthas & da Fonseca [68]).

(7/92). See Perry & Echeverría [1988]: chapters 25 and 27 on fascist support for marian apparitions in Portugal and Belgium respectively; chapters 28-30 for the link between Spanish fascism and the cult of Mary; chapters 31-32 for the spread of the Fatima message under right-wing governments (and [233]: Fatima and 'pro-nuclear theology').

(7/93). McSorley [297] suggests that the religious message is unheard or distorted when the political message is unheard or misunderstood (and adds that this applies to all religious truths).

(7/94). This work has been begun in eg Venancio et al [1973].

(7/95). For example, the small leaflets one sometimes receives in apparition literature, urging the reader to

say the prayer written on them; each time this is done, claims the leaflet, a thousand souls are released from purgatory.

(7/96). See Graef [1985; II; 101n] on the lack of social concern in the message of La Salette.

(7/97). So Shinnars [1990; 161-2]. See also Bouritius [1979; 137]: popular religion is "existential" as opposed to "exemplary". Schreiter [128-31] lists the attributes of popular religion, and notes its lack of respect for sacraments and priesthood.

(7/98). The pilgrim to Medjugorje may well be treated to a talk by a Franciscan (on my first trip, August-September 1986, the English-speaking Fr Kraljević), re-orienting those looking for signs and miracles to the importance of one's own renewal of faith which, suggest the Franciscans, is the true miracle of Medjugorje.

(7/99). I suspect that the saying of Mass at an apparition site (see note (7/75) above) is regarded by some as an official seal of approval on the phenomena there - hence the ecclesiastical reluctance for this to occur in some areas, eg the lack of encouragement for the moving statue of Ballinspittle, 1985. See eg Holland [1985; 45]: "The bishops do not want to be seen to encourage superstition, which is why the Bishop of Cork refused to allow a Mass to be said at the grotto in Ballinspittle last week on the feast of the Assumption". Yet the Bishop of Cork welcomed the spirit of prayer that characterised the shrines (see the references given in note (3/51) above).

(7/100). I do not mean to suggest that this was necessarily the case at La Salette (see note (3/52)) and other shrines where an increase in church attendance has pleased the clergy, but it is certainly a danger that the context for the apparition could be forgotten in the more formal setting of the church, once the renewal in Catholic practice has taken place, only for the impetus for this to die out.

(7/101). Schillebeeckx [eg 209]: "Redemption is a task imposed upon us; for us it remains a reconciliation to be realised..."; [188] "The present of the living Christ and his pneuma is at the same time the historical story of the community of faith in prayerful confession and action, in solidarity with man's cause as the cause of God".

(7/102). Dhanis [1952; 595] suggests that it is impossible to consecrate a community other than one's own.

(7/103). Dudley Plunkett, by no means an extremist among writers on marian apparitions, describes the present state

of (Christian and Catholic) religion as "confusion, apostasy and religious indifferentism" [1991; 19-21]. He refers to secularisation indirectly: "The erosion of Christianity is a fact". Our Lady of Medjugorje, he reminds us, has warned us that "Satan is strong and wants to destroy you in many ways" (message of 25 September 1990). His view of Satan's work: "So many TV programmes and newspapers solicit our interest in material indulgence and corrupt behaviour, or our assent to abortion, sexual licence or to the free rein of science to pursue its own interests". The apparitions show that: "All the signs are that we are living in the last times, when the Church will nearly be destroyed from the inside and the outside".

Of course, the chastisements of Garabandal and Medjugorje and elsewhere are always described as the punishment for irreligion and the consequent immorality, not for something explicitly named as 'secularisation'. In the Fatima prophecies, the Second World War was the punishment for "offences" made to Jesus. Thus the word 'secularisation' is not quite correct - perhaps 'deepening irreligion' is the best way of describing the malaise perceived by Catholic devotees of the marian apparition phenomenon.

(7/104). Images of the cross are everywhere in the apparition tradition, and the suffering adult Jesus has been seen too, particularly at Medjugorje (note (5/100)). The Madonna and Child is also a common theme, although more so in the 20th than the 19th century (see 1.3 above). As for the Saviour as peace-maker, this is a Jungian observation (6.5.2), a biblical motif (particularly Isaiah 9), and peace is a major theme of the Fatima and Medjugorje traditions.

(7/105). Laurentin [1987c; 104-5].
(7/106). [106].

(7/107). Redemptoris Mater, para 44.

(7/108). It is not always expressed as 'Parousia' (but see 1.3 above), but is usually seen as the 'end times' of a corrupt society and its age (cf Plunkett quoted in note (7/103) above), brought about by a divine purgation.

(7/109). See Laurentin [1990a; 121]. Examples of this widespread belief: Medjugorje (Laurentin & Rupčić [52-3]), San Damiano (Derobert [1985; 165]), Damascus (Laurentin [80]). Or there is the suffering hearts of Jesus and Mary theme (both hearts: Akita [104], Mary: Fatima (dos Santos [195])).

(7/110). An interesting book on this theme is Leon Festinger, Henry W Riecken & Stanley Schachter, When

Prophecy Fails (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1956).

(7/111). There is debate over the conditional nature of the Medjugorje prophecies (see eg note (5/79)). The Garabandal prophecies do not seem to be reckoned as conditional (see eg Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [134-5]), but the Fatima messages concerning a future war were (Martindale [159]), even if these were only known in hindsight.

The apparent delay of the chastisements prophesied at Medjugorje have been explained in terms of God mercifully prolonging the period for conversion (as in Laurentin's La Prolongation des Apparitions de Medjugorje: Delai de Misericorde pour un Monde en Danger? (OEL, Paris, 1986)).

(7/112). 'Routinisation' is Max Weber's concept, meaning the way in which new and urgent ideas and challenges to the social and religious order, which claim to be divinely inspired, are passed on by traditions and customs which, because of the need for continuity and stability, tend to contradict the very message which they are handing on. See Weber's The Sociology of Religion (transl Ephraim Fischhoff, 4th edn, Beacon Press, Boston, 1963).

Weber's distinction of charismatic and traditional authority seems to be blurred when a charismatic message and lifestyle (such as that of Jesus Christ) is handed down in a 'routinised' condition, ie in a tradition. Michael Hill, in A Sociology of Religion (Heinemann, London, 1973), suggests that charisma can be distinguished from tradition using the concept of 'latent charisma' (pp 160-80, especially p 172). This means that the bearers of the routinised charisma, although examples of traditional authority, are legitimised by the charismatic nature of the tradition's origin to reform it and to claim to speak in the name of the founder. In Christianity, this concept describes the belief that the Holy Spirit acts by inspiring the institutional Church through the centuries. Yet groups not authorised by the institutions have claimed this inspiration too.

Therefore routinisation of a prophetic expectation means a cultic system in which the events foretold are still expected, but without the urgency of the original hearers, and in which certain functionaries claim to have a special understanding of the meaning of the prophecies for future generations.

(7/113). The most obvious examples are Mark 13.30 and pars., and 1 Thess 4.13-18.

(7/114). Presumably there is no reason to conclude that the prophecies have not occurred until either the visionaries responsible for revealing the date of fulfilment admit the fact, or die without fulfilment having occurred (ie at Garabandal: Conchita Gonzalez (see the BBC film After the Visions (1980)) and Medjugorje: Mirjana Dragičević (5/151)).

(7/115). The following ideas of Stern can be found in his booklet [1988; passim].

(7/116). The problem of the opposition between a merciful Mary and a judgemental Christ was an old one, not confined to the uninformed, eg Graef [II; 74-5] quotes examples of this once medieval error in the work of the 18th-century mariologist, St Alphonsus Liguori, who followed notable authors before him in this (eg [31ff]). Liguori talked of Mary withholding the avenging arm of her Son [75] (and see (6/155)). Stern [22] mentions this problem in general, and says that it sets Mary between Christ and human sinners. See below, 8.1.5, 8.4.1, 8.5.2 and note (8/5).

(7/117). Laurentin [1987b; 254ff].

(7/118). Laurentin & Durand [I; 118ff, 139]. For an example of a nationalist interpretation of the events at Pontmain, see Kselman [1983; 116].

(7/119). Alonso [1973a; 61].

(7/120). For example, this interpretation of the word "Russia" in the Fatima message was made by a Portuguese priest during the BBC Everyman documentary, The Virgin and the Red Flag (1979). See also Mowatt [1973; 107ff]: it is not Russia as a totality which is at war with Mary. Within Russia is the Orthodox Church (much persecuted by Stalin in 1929, the year when Lucia first revealed the Virgin's reference to that country) and, in the Blue Army headquarters at Fatima, a Byzantine-style chapel has been built as a testimony to Catholic hopes for the re-emergence of the Orthodox Church to the centre of Russian life. So Mowatt concludes that Fatima may be interpreted in the light of ecumenism with the Eastern half of Christianity, with its characteristic devotion to the Mother of God.

(7/121). Vernet [1988; especially 16, 21-2, 26-7].

(7/122). Laurentin & Durand [I; 126, 135ff]; Caplet [1984; 201, 208].

(7/123). Joset [III; 69, 77-9]; Wilmet is treated by Bossard & Chenot [1981; 268].

(7/124). Bossard [1981; 276ff].

(7/125). Leys [1959; 82].

(7/126). Wuillaume [1982; 270].

(7/127). Leys [82].

(7/128). Treated in Wuillaume [275]; see also Heuschen [1959; 137] and Minon [1959; 170].

(7/129). The popularity of this interpretation of the apparitions at Banneux was confirmed in an interview with the rector of the shrine in July 1988.

(7/130). These apparitions still continue after many years, and it is therefore not surprising that the whole interpretation process is centred on the Franciscans who are the visionaries' spiritual directors (see eg the books cited in note (7/47) above).

(7/131). Cf Schillebeeckx [33]: "The social dimension is not something additional to our personal identity; it is a dimension of this identity itself". Given that there is a substantial element of subjectivity in apparition messages, then one must conclude that social context is part of this subjectivity, and thus a part of the message itself. See also Gebara & Bingemer [1989; 139-40]: "the messages she (Mary) seems to impart are less important than the circumstances of the apparitions themselves".

(7/132). Küng [132]: charisms are "everyday phenomena" enjoyed - potentially - by everyone; [182-3]: they are not confined to ordination neither purely 'enthusiasm'; Graef [1950; 5]: charisms are gifts given by God for the edification of others.

(7/133). In all of the cases cited in 7.1.2 above, this seems quite likely. The La Salette visionaries were likely to have experienced preaching about Sunday attendance (they had had some contact with the Church before the apparition - Jaouen [92-3, 100]). Bernadette Soubirous must have heard the words "Immaculate Conception" even if she did not know what they meant (see 6.6.1, penultimate paragraph, and (1/12)). The Fatima prophecy about the end of the War came out of the October 1917 apparition, five months after Benedict XV's pastoral. Nevertheless, on 13 May (the pastoral having been published on the 5th), Mary is supposed to have said: "Say the Rosary every day, to bring peace to the world and the end of the war" (de Marchi [53]; Martindale [32]).

The Belgian apparitions, though occurring only a couple of months after the institution of the feast of the "Mother

of God", came nearly two years after the actual centenary of the Council of Ephesus - thus, the seers were likely to have heard this epithet emphasised. As for Medjugorje, the first request for a 2000th birthday celebration of Mary was made during the pontificate of Paul VI, several years before the apparitions (see note (7/16) above).

So, on balance, we should conclude that, as a rule, the visionaries had heard, although perhaps without a full understanding, the issues in the Church highlighted by their experiences.

(7/134). Agreeing here with Thurston (see 4.2.1), and drawing on chapter 6 as a whole.

(7/135). See Turner & Turner [1978] for the attributes and functions of pilgrimage.

(7/136). See Rudolf Otto, The Idea of the Holy (transl John W Harvey, Oxford University Press, 1958), eg chapter 14, entitled "The Holy as an a priori category".

(7/137). Because of all the possible social, psychological and political reasons for religious interest. See 7.1.1.

(7/138). An example of the link between shrine, Eucharist and praxis is the liturgical attitude to the sick and handicapped. Lourdes is the shrine of the sick par excellence, and the practices of blessing the sick after Mass and processions of the Blessed Sacrament are central to devotions there. These practices are carried out at most marian shrines, although they are most evident at Lourdes.

(8/1). Graef [1985; II; 6-16]; see also Gritsch [1982; 133-41].

(8/2). Dawe [1982; 142-50].

(8/3). See eg Laurentin [1965b; 34-6]. For 20th century Protestant negative reactions to the cult of Mary, see Miegge [1955]; von Loewenich [1959; 188-239]; K Barth [1956; 138-46].

(8/4). Graef [II; 48-51].

(8/5). McBrien [1984; 874] notes that the idea of Mary appeasing God's wrath was known in the 8th century, and was popular in the middle ages. Christian [1981a; 213-4] records the presence of such a belief in Spain, although the images of Mary there at that time varied from cool representative of God to tearful, pleading, vulnerable and approachable.

(8/6). Graef [II; 2-6]: see Erasmus' complaints about the Mary cult.

(8/7). Newman's letter is reproduced in Graef [II; 116-7]. [II; 118]: the main sources for the ideas that he rejected were Bernadine of Siena (d 1444), Grignon de Montfort (d 1716) (ref Montfort [1957; 17-18]), and Alphonsus of Liguori (d 1787) (ref Liguori [1868; 14, 155]).

(8/8). Crasset - Graef [II; 51-3]; Bossuet - [II; 55-7]; Muratori - [II; 72-4].

(8/9). Mary d'Agreda - Graef [II; 53-5] and Mary d'Agreda [1978]; Montfort - Graef [II; 57-62] and Montfort [29-31, 55ff]; Ketwich - Graef [II; 68-72]; Liguori - Graef [II; 74-7] and Liguori [44-5, 195].

(8/10). The second Eve concept refers to Christ as the new Adam as in Pauline teaching; 'Theotokos' to Christ as fully human and fully divine (the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, AD 431 and 451). See also Graef [II; 107-9]; Schmaus [1975; 897-8].

See Newman [1977; 2-10] who quotes Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Irenaeus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Ephraem Syrus, Epiphanius, Jerome, Peter Chrysologus and Fulgentius on Mary as the second Eve, whose obedience for the purposes of salvation contrasted with Eve's disobedience which led to the Fall.

For Scheeben on Mary as second Eve, see Scheeben [1947; I; 211ff]; his fundamental principle is that of Mary as the bridal mother of Christ (second Eve and Theotokos together) [I; 160ff], and he is keen to state the christological foundation for this. The 'bridal motherhood' expresses - to simplify Scheeben's mariology somewhat - the fact that Mary co-operates with the 'spiritual' as well as the physical creative relationship of God [I; 160]. Her relationship with her Son is not only natural and physical [I; 163].

(8/11). Eg Newman and Scheeben in Graef [II; 114-5, 123-6] (although the latter is careful not to say that the Redemption was dependent on Mary in a way which endangered it). Graef notes the difference between Newman and Scheeben on [119]: Scheeben's Mary is a daughter of the eternal Wisdom, Newman's "nothing else than our fellow". See Scheeben [I; 223ff] for Mary's "transcendental position"; [II; 185] on Mary's "supernatural activity".

(8/12). See eg Bérulle in Graef [II; 31-4], Olier in [II; 35-41], Eudes in [II; 41-3]: the so-called "École Française" of the 17th century. The idea that Mary gave her consent to the crucifixion was present in Bonaventure

([I; 284]; McBrien [876]): thus her share in Redemption. This became exaggerated in later writers (see eg Ketwigh in Graef [II; 69]). It is also present in 20th century writers, see eg Schillebeeckx [1954; 23, 73, 87, 122].

(8/13). See eg Newman [10-15, especially 14] on the Immaculate Conception.

(8/14). [4-5]; Graef [II; 111].

(8/15). See McBrien [889] and Flanagan [1982; 13-19]; Barth, in particular, was against the Catholic position: [143-5]; also [140] against the Eve-Mary parallel.

(8/16). Newman [33-5] and also Graef [II; 114-5], and Scheeben in Graef [II; 121,125] and Scheeben [I; 236-7], [II; 239ff, 262ff], but in [II; 258], he limits her "co-operation in the distribution of grace" to "a glorious intercession". Thus the subtle balance between these (and I would argue that there is a polarity here, eg the issue in the note (8/17) below) is one of emphasis.

(8/17). Eg K Rahner [1961; I; 201-13] on the Immaculate Conception, and [1974; 101]: Mary "is the intercessor for all of us, the mediatrix of all graces". Thus this 'balanced' position regards the intercession as mediation. The crux of the matter is: do the graces obtained by the prayers of Mary come from Christ but only through her to humanity? This is not really made clear by the words used in Catholic mariology - it is implied by 'mediatrix of all graces', but not necessarily by 'intercessor'.

See also Schillebeeckx [1954], and compare [115]: she is "the co-redemptrix, the mediatrix of all graces", being "in power" in heaven, using her maternal love on behalf of all men, "so that the kingdom of her Son may be fulfilled", with [91]: Mary's co-operation was purely receptive, in communion with Christ, the sole Redeemer, and [95]: Christ alone is our representative with the Father.

(8/18). The details of the 20th century marian movement are given in Laurentin [1965b; 42-6]: Laurentin calls the promotion of the high mariology a 'maximalist' position (as opposed to the low mariology, which is 'minimalist'). See also his [1956; 66-70], and E Carroll [1979; 92-6].

Latourette [1962; IV; 116-9] notes that popes and the Holy Office have, in the past, implied or actually used the term 'Co-Redemptrix' as applying to Mary.

(8/19). Laurentin [1965b; 11ff]; Graef [II; 146-8].

(8/20). Winch & Bennett are against the definition of the Assumption as dogma, as they claim that the belief does not go back beyond the 6th century [1950; 15-56]. Without the historical evidence that a doctrine was accepted by the early Church, it must be present in scripture - they claim that the Assumption fails to qualify in either category.

(8/21). See Lumen Gentium, chapter 8 (hereafter LG8), para 67, in Flannery [1980; 422] (LG8 is in [413-23]); Baum [1988]; Laurentin [1965a]; Napiorkowski [1967].

(8/22). Eg LG8, para 56 (Flannery [415]): "The Father of mercies willed that the Incarnation should be preceded by assent on the part of the predestined mother, so that just as a woman had a share in bringing about death, so also a woman should contribute to life. This is preeminently true of the Mother of Jesus, who gave to the world the Life that renews all things, and who was enriched by God with gifts appropriate to such a role".

Ibid., para 60 [418] stresses the unique mediation of Christ, and para 62 [419] refers to Mary as "Advocate, Helper, Benefactress, and Mediatrix". For Mary as Intercessor - para 69 [423].

(8/23). Mary as the representative of humanity is an ancient tradition, dating back to the 'second Eve' of Justin Martyr and Irenaeus (Halkes [1983; 67]); see also Ruether [1983; 150]: Mary in Luke's gospel is the first believer. See also Rahner [1974; 97], Schillebeeckx [26, 102-3] and ecclesiological interpretations of the Immaculate Conception and Assumption in Seward [1982] and Yarnold [1982].

Karl Rahner's work has the tendency, like the latter two ecumenical articles just mentioned, to de-literalise and de-particularise marian doctrines, so as to make them ecclesiological, applying to all believers (see eg note (8/119) below). For this reason, his mariology was regarded as rather suspicious by highly-placed Catholics in the 1950s, but it is more in vogue since Vatican II (see Herbert Vorgrimler, Understanding Karl Rahner: An Introduction to his Life and Thought transl John Bowden (SCM Press, London, 1986), pp 88-90, 91-2). See also 9.2.1 below.

(8/24). K Rahner [1961; I; 206].

(8/25). Schillebeeckx [48-9]; McBrien [875-6, 880]; Schmaus [897]; Redemptoris Mater, para 10.

(8/26). Napiorkowski [53-4]; Laurentin [1965b; 55] argues that a synthesis between these two tendencies is the norm.

Duffy [1991; 191-3] notes how the mariology of the 19th century contrasted Mary with the ordinary Christian; in recent times, however, she has been rediscovered as a model and prototype.

(8/27). Laurentin [1965a; 80]; Schmaus [904].

(8/28). The patristic writings put the emphasis on Mary as the second Eve (see note (8/10) above); see Graef [I; 38ff] on Mary associated with the Church in Irenaeus, Tertullian, Zeno, etc..

(8/29). LG8, para 67 (Flannery [422]).

(8/30). Ibid.. Despite this, many Catholics believe that the marian cult has declined since Vatican II (see eg Duffy [190]; Küng [1978; 461-2]: Vatican II saw the end of an exaggerated marian cult; M Hebblethwaite, 'Devotion', in Hastings [1991; 240], notes a "widespread collapse of the older devotional system" after the Council).

(8/31). LG8, para 67 (Flannery [422]) encourages the liturgical cult of Mary.

(8/32). Schmaus [901]; Laurentin [1965a; 80-2].

(8/33). [1965a; 80-2]; see also Vollert [1957; 595]: Mary as "transcendent archetype of the Church".

(8/34). Marialis Cultus, paras 42-55 (Paul VI [1974; 70-82]).

(8/35). Ibid., para 48: "In fact meditation on the mysteries of the Rosary, by familiarising the hearts and minds of the faithful with the mysteries of Christ, can be an excellent preparation for the celebration of those same mysteries in the liturgical action and can also become a continuing echo thereof. However, it is a mistake to recite the Rosary during the celebration of the liturgy, though unfortunately this practice persists here and there".

(8/36). Eg Warner [1985], although this book was published two years after Marialis Cultus. Warner refers [337] to the "impossible ideal" of the cult of the Virgin for a Catholic girl, and sees this still in evidence in this encyclical.

(8/37). Marialis Cultus, paras 36-7, eg para 37: "Thus the modern woman, anxious to participate with decision-making power in the affairs of the community, will contemplate with intimate joy Mary...". See Duffy [194]: this "new woman" encourages a mariology that is no longer quietist

or endorsing of authoritarianism, but engaged in the issues of social justice.

(8/38). Redemptoris Mater, para 28.

(8/39). Ibid., para 9: "But at the same time the "fullness of grace" indicates all the supernatural munificence from which Mary benefits by being chosen and destined to be the Mother of Christ", and para 13: "This fiat of Mary - "let it be to me" - was decisive, on the human level, for the accomplishment of the divine mystery". Perry & Echeverría [1988; 312-3] regard John Paul II's high marianism, with its debt to Liguori, as linked to his conservatism.

(8/40). (a) Redemptoris Mater, para 3, and (b) para 50.

(8/41). Gebara & Bingemer [1989; 122-3]: Mary is more important than Jesus in Latin America because the latter's figure is less rooted in the people due to various images of him - Mary is more intimate. (Leonardo) Boff [1989; 102]: simple folk render Mary the adoration applicable to "a source of comfort, grace, and salvation".

(8/42). Gebara & Bingemer [32-8]; Boff [eg 95]: "Mary is not beneath Jesus, but beside him", [103]: against the "christocentrism" of recent years ("even in Vatican II"), [241-3, 250-2, and passim]: Mary is the feminine revelation of God.

(8/43). Gebara & Bingemer [32-8]; Boff [188-203]. Without writing about the possibility of Mary's equality with Christ, Ruether [152ff] also argues for a "liberation mariology" based on the Magnificat. Duffy [192] suggests that the Magnificat was often "spiritualised" before the most recent period, ie applied to the toppling of personal sins, heresies and external enemies, rather than unjust social structures.

(8/44). See eg the Instruction on liberation theology (1984) and the Instruction on Christian Freedom and Liberation (1986), issued by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, of which Cardinal Ratzinger is the prefect.

(8/45). Ratzinger (with Messori) [1985; 108-9].

(8/46). Redemptoris Mater, paras 35-7.

(8/47). Johnson [1990; 43] criticises Boff for legitimising maximalist tendencies rather than seeing them as compensations for an over-masculine God. [51]: God is the mother of mercy, and this language properly belongs to her. Børneson [1983; 54-5] argues that: "God must be feminised... divinising Mary is heretical".

(8/48). Johnson [1985]; Pannenberg [1968; 143-50].

(8/49). Brown et al [1978; eg pp 285-7]: Mary as a faithful hearer of the word in Luke, and [287-9]: model of belief and discipleship in John. I am not sure whether the message at Schio - to the effect that the word "womb" in the 'Hail Mary' should be replaced by "heart", ie "...and blessed is the fruit of thy heart, Jesus..." (Laurentin [1990; 95-6]; Rossi [1988; 37] - can be reckoned as a visionary equivalent to this idea.

(8/50). Halkes [66].

(8/51). M Daly [1986; 83-97] finds that the marian dogmas, the Immaculate Conception and Assumption, reinforce "sexual caste" as doctrine, but reflect the power and influence of the Mother Goddess as "free-wheeling symbol" ([86-9] - she refers here to Jung, ref 6.5.2). The prophetic dimension in the symbol of the Great Goddess is the key to salvation from patriarchal structures [96], and the marian symbols are a "prophetic threat" to male supremacy [86-7]. Nevertheless, God transcends anthropomorphism [97].

(8/52). [84]; Gray [1989; 336] wishes to discover who Mary is in herself (ie not only in relation to Christ).

(8/53). So Johnson in her rebuttal of Boff's position (note (8/47) above); Jung (6/166); MacQuarrie [1991; 2, 101].

(8/54). E Carroll [81-2] argues that, although the impression is sometimes conveyed that Christ is stern and remote and Mary a merciful go-between, it is not correct Catholic teaching. He rejects the claim that St Alphonsus Liguori taught this (see note (7/116)).

(8/55). Schillebeeckx [144-5]: Mary manifests irrational truths ignored by formal theology. Laurentin [1965b; 80]: Marian piety was the territory chosen for a compensation against a one-sided rational scholasticism, and devotion moved towards a "poorly enlightened piety".

(8/56). However, Mary has been taken, quite comprehensively, into the official theology of Catholicism - if she does represent 'popular religion', then this occurs, perhaps, on a subconscious level (ref 6.3.2).

(8/57). So Bouritius [1979].

(8/58). As in the tradition of St Jean Eudes (Graef [II; 41-3]). The heart of Mary became known as the "Immaculate Heart".

(8/59). As per the insights of Marx, that ideology and religious ideas are 'epiphenomena' of socio-economic realities (see eg Marx & Engels [1975; 67-8]). For Marx, religion was a false consciousness arising from the alienation of society [37ff]. While we would not accept a thoroughgoing Marxist model of religion here, the principle that religious ideas arise to some extent from context cannot be contested (see 7.3; 7/131).

Küng [1967; 198] suggests that enthusiastic movements within the Church are signs of a crisis, while Borneson [55] notes that socio-cultural rather than confessional background seems to determine attitudes to Mary (eg she is strong where economic weakness and male chauvinism preside).

(8/60). See Vollert [30-87]; Boff [11-21]; Semmelroth [1964; passim]. These are not the only 'fundamental principles', but perhaps the major ones.

(8/61). Von Balthasar [1982; 218-20]; K Rahner [1961; I; 226] and [1974; 91-2]; Schillebeeckx [123-4]; LG8, para 65 (Flannery [420]); Laurentin [1956; 128].

(8/62). Schillebeeckx [93, 109]; LG8, para 53 (Flannery [414]).

(8/63). Vollert, eg [594-5]; Schillebeeckx [90, 115]: our mother "in power", [110]: Mary as the revelation of God's maternal love; Laurentin [102]; Gebara & Bingemer [1989] (see notes (8/41-3)). Some of these writers may not agree that their work suggests the quasi-divinity of Mary, but all would agree that Mary 'transcends' the rest of the human race, Christ excepted, in one way or another (eg Vollert [595], Schillebeeckx [93, 109], Laurentin [134]).

(8/64). Schillebeeckx [71, 84-5, 107]; von Balthasar [213-4].

(8/65). LG8, para 64 (Flannery [420]).

(8/66). Ie the words "Do whatever he tells you" (John 2.5), which may be understood in an ecclesiological way as the preaching of the Church.

(8/67). Schillebeeckx [126-7]; von Balthasar [219].

(8/68). Redemptoris Mater, paras 24 and 28.

(8/69). *Ibid.*, Part 2: 'The Mother of God at the Centre of the Pilgrim Church' [53ff].

(8/70). By "symbolic", I do not mean to imply that Mary's life is not historical (see note (8/48) above), but that it represents, in one life, the actions of many lives after it and the mission of the collective Church. See Schillebeeckx [125].

(8/71). [125-6]; Laurentin [113].

(8/72). Schillebeeckx [126-7].

(8/73). Von Balthasar [1982] has sections on the 'Origin of the Church in the Marian consent' (ie the 'fiat') [213-5], and the 'Origin of the Church in the event of the Cross' [216-8].

(8/74). So C Daly [1989; 137]; Ruether [142]: the Church was born from Christ's side on the cross.

(8/75). Schillebeeckx [39,72].

(8/76). Laurentin [90-5].

(8/77). Eg in the Fatima revelations of Sr Lucia (a message of 1925, which was similar to that reported by St Margaret-Mary Alacoque in the 17th century): Mary's promise "to assist at the hour of death with the graces necessary to salvation" for those keeping the first Saturdays - confession, communion, and rosary devotion (Martindale [1950; 140-1]).

(8/78). Tüttő [1985; 61]; Kraljević [1984; 88-90].

(8/79). Tüttő [55]; Kraljević [88-90, 92-3].

(8/80). Lourdes: Estrade [1951; 26] suggests that this happened during the first apparition, February 11th, 1858, but the vision's lips did not move at all, according to Laurentin [1979; 34]; Garabandal: Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [1967; 50]; Medjugorje: Laurentin & Rupčić [1984; 31].

(8/81). See Christian [215]: Mary in medieval Spain as an exemplar for prayer and penitential action; Newman, in Graef [II; 113]: "She is the great exemplar of prayer in a generation which emphatically denies the power of prayer...".

(8/82). At Fatima, the vision asked the children to say the rosary to obtain peace and the end of the War (Martindale [32]), but in the later revelations, the episcopal universal consecration of Russia to the Immaculate Heart was deemed necessary for the conversion of that country [160-1].

(8/83). Including Scheeben [I; 187]; Schillebeeckx [106]; Vollert [30-87]; Schmaus [898]; Ratzinger [1983; 38-61].

(8/84). Schillebeeckx [39, 84-5, 88, 91, 113]; see also Schmaus [904]; K Rahner [1961; I; 205; von Balthasar [217].

(8/85). Schillebeeckx [81-2]; Schmaus [899-900]; Rahner [1974; 97-101].

(8/86). [93-7]; Yarnold [1982].

(8/87). In despite the avoidance of the maximalist titles and the inclusion of the careful references to Christ's sole mediation, LG8 still contains the kernel of ideas that allowed Schillebeeckx and Rahner to expand on the 'high' titles before LG8 was conceived (see note (8/17) above).

(8/88). LG8, para 55 (Flannery [415]); Ratzinger [eg 32-3] suggests that mariology must unify the Old and New Testaments, between which Mary is the bridge. See also his [1985; 107].

(8/89). See Brown et al [93ff]; Küng [1978; 456].

(8/90). Barth [172-202] (who is criticised by Pannenberg [143-4, 147-9]); Brunner [1934; 322-7].

(8/91). See Boff [134-52].

(8/92). Rahner [1983; XIX; 218-31]; Kassel [1983; 79] wishes to regard the virginity of Mary as archetypal rather than biological.

(8/93). Paul VI declared Mary "Mother of the Church" at the Second Vatican Council (see note (8/32) above). The key biblical text is John 19.25-7.

(8/94). Ref John 1.13, 3.5-6, Romans 6.3-5. See also Schillebeeckx [94]: "She is the universally conceptive, life-bearing womb of the Christian community, the type of the Church".

(8/95). The virgin aspect of Mary also suggests her independence and autonomy, according to feminists comparing her with the Great Goddess (eg M Daly [83, 85]).

(8/96). Christ was not mentioned at Lourdes, the only allusion to God being: "Pray to God for the conversion of sinners" (24 February 1858 - Laurentin [1987b; 118]); the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is implicitly but not explicitly christological.

(8/97). Although there is a tendency to try and make her older than the 14 year old that she was reported to be by Bernadette of Lourdes (eg Laurentin [1979; 120]).

(8/98). A perusal of the sources recorded in the appendices confirms this. Before Garabandal, in the famous apparitions at least, Mary is the mother of Christ under various titles, but the visionaries do not refer to her as their mother - rather she is "Our Lady" or "The Blessed Virgin Mary". (See eg Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [66]: the Garabandal visionaries wanted to add "and our mother" to "Mother of God" in the Hail Mary.)

Cuapa, 1980, is another modern case where Mary's universal motherhood is more apparent. Medjugorje seems to have presaged several similar cases in which Mary refers to the seers and their followers as "dear children" or an equivalent (eg San Nicolas, Schio, Inchigeela, Terra Blanca, Cork, Gortnadreha).

(8/99). Rue du Bac; Lourdes; Fatima - "Immaculate Heart"; L'Île-Bouchard; Beauraing - see note (8/100) below.

(8/100). The vision at Beauraing responded affirmatively to the children's request as to whether she was the "Immaculate Virgin" (Toussaint & Joset [1981; 40, 50-7, 64]) - the feast of the Immaculate Conception (8th December 1932) was important at Beauraing.

(8/101). See Turner & Turner [1978; 152]: the title "Mother of God" suggests a power of intercession with God, and [154]: Mary as historical sufferer, becomes the patroness of suffering.

(8/102). Ref Romans 8.14-17.

(8/103). Boff [227ff]. An earlier statement of Mary being the revelation of the femininity in God is Greeley [1977].

(8/104). Schillebeeckx [110]; Laurentin [1956; 121]: "As the heart of Christ gives the manly harmonics of divine love, so the heart of Mary gives its feminine and maternal harmonics". Gray is part of the feminist movement which attempts to restore the "Goddess language", applied to Mary, to the Godhead, although she accepts that Mary is "the symbol of the immanent divine female in us all" (Gray [340]).

(8/105). [337-8, 340] (although she finds confirmation of Mary's power in tradition rather than in the ("androcentric") biblical texts; Gebara & Bingemer [32ff]; Halkes [71]).

(8/106). Laurentin [86]: her mission, appropriate for a woman, was wholly hidden, and [110]: the condition of being created and redeemed, of living by faith, is summed up by Mary's womanhood.

(8/107). Gray [338]: "Mary is open and vulnerable, the essential prerequisites for divine creative/redemptive action". Gray perhaps moves a little nearer to the Boff position than Johnson (8/47), as she accepts that Mary may symbolise the divine female present in every woman (Gray [337]; (8/104)), although she still finds Boff's ideas difficult for feminism [335].

(8/108). [338]: "we can reclaim the motherhood of Mary from unworthy patriarchal connotations", eg the implication that women should all be mothers, their sexuality geared solely to child-bearing. Also Halkes [70-1] wishes to "relativise" the dimension of motherhood.

(8/109). So D Hampson, 'The Challenge of Feminism to Christianity', pp 341-50 in Theology Vol 88 No 725 (September 1985).

(8/110). For scriptural exegesis from a feminist perspective, see E Schüssler-Fiorenza, In Memory of Her A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins (SCM Press, London, 1983) and L M Russell (ed), Feminist Interpretation of the Bible (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1985). Yet Børneson [54] claims that: the "feminist Mary is rooted in androcentric typology". Moreover [55], if Mary were to lose her christological and ecclesiotypical attributes, Jesus' gender would lose its unfortunate androcentric significance.

(8/111). For Luther on Mary, see Graef [II; 6-12]; Gritsch [1982]; Barth [140]; Hollenweger [1977]. Apart from the liberationists mentioned below, see also Laurentin [1965b; 147]: we must see both the glory and humility of Mary.

(8/112). Boff [192ff]; Gebara & Bingemer [91ff]; Sklba, 'Mary and the Anawim', pp 123-32 in Donnelly [1990]. See also Schillebeeckx [27ff]; Ruether [156-8].

(8/113). Johnson [1990; 69-91]; Shinnars [1990; especially 173-7].

(8/114). Boff [196ff].

(8/115). Eg at Medjugorje. Actually, it is not clear whether the popular high mariology is waning (this is further discussed in 8.4 and 8.5 below).

(8/116). See Scheeben [II; 272-3] for the "intimate and organic union" of the hearts of Jesus and Mary.

(8/117). See Boff [14-15]. St Bernard of Clairvaux's "mediatrix with the mediator" (ie Mary mediates between humanity and Christ the mediator) is quoted with approval by both Montfort [50] and Liguori [581].

(8/118). Ref John 14.12, 2 Corinthians 3.18.

(8/119). A patristic interpretation of Matthew 27.52-3 is that Christ did not rise alone - thus the Assumption may be a corporate eschatological 'event' (see K Rahner [1961; I; 219-20, 225, 227] - NB the comments in (8/23) above; Saward [115-9]; Newman [30]).

(8/120). Schillebeeckx [94, 131-2, 141]; Newman [29].

(8/121). See R Williamson, 'Medieval English Pilgrims and Pilgrimage', pp 114-26, and P Geary, 'The Saint and the Shrine: the Pilgrim's Goal in the Middle Ages', pp 265-73, both in Kriss-Rettenbeck & Möhler [1984]. For the saints' cult in general, see P Brown [1981].

(8/122). [106ff]; Christian [203ff].

(8/123). The shrine at Fernyhalgh, near Preston, Lancashire, claims to hold relics of all twelve disciples and of St Paul!

(8/124). Concern for the Pope was a feature of the revelations of Mélanie Calvat of La Salette (Calvat [1904]) and Lucia dos Santos of Fatima (dos Santos [1976]); the Pope is also in favour at Medjugorje (Bubalo [1987; 209-10]). However, priests are certainly not exempt from criticism by Mélanie Calvat and Conchita Gonzalez of Garabandal (Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [171-3]).

Therefore, the Pope's position as representing the unity of the Church is reinforced by the apparition cults.

(8/125). Garabandal - Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [81]. Medjugorje - there are many requests from Medjugorje devotees for money to help with pilgrimage for priests. In addition, see Tüttø [59-60]; McKenna [1987; 109].

(8/126). Ref Wordsworth's famous line about Mary: "Our tainted nature's solitary boast...". Mary is the only sinless human being in Catholic belief, Christ excepted, due to her Immaculate Conception. See also Pannenberg [144-5].

(8/127). Napiorkowski [53] writes that, in the ecclesiotypical model for mariology, "Mary stands clearly

by the side of humanity, facing with it their common redeemer" - this emphasis helps the cause of ecumenism, as Napiorkowski points out, but it also strengthens the 'split' between Mary's mercy and solidarity with humanity, and Christ's judgement and distance.

(8/128). Perry & Echeverría [1978] complain that Mary has overshadowed Christ in the Catholic tradition (eg [72]: Mary the papist symbol against Christ the socialist radical in 1848).

(8/129). Eg Mary at the Cross; the sight of Jesus as a baby or as a wounded adult - Tüttö [61]; Laurentin & Rupčić [44, 52-3].

(8/130). Ref the Virgin conception and birth; also Matthew 12.46-50. See also Montfort [eg 14]; Liguori [eg 22, 31]; Scheeben [I; 160, 174-5]. For a modern expression of this, we have the words of the Medjugorje visionary Mirjana Dragicević, in Mir No 22 (August 1990), p 25: "Our Lady says to those who believe, to the whole world, that we must consider God as Our Father and Her as Our Mother...".

(8/131). Halkes [72] is happy to link Mary with the powerful Goddess.

(8/132). Schillebeeckx [90, 109].

(8/133). I use the word "patroness" because: Mary refers almost exclusively to events which transcend the personal life of the seer, rather than entering into conversations about personal and local events, she does not refer to herself as mother of the visionaries, although she may the use the words "my child" as at the Rue du Bac - this would not be out of place on the lips of a kindly patroness, however. She is 'queenly', and her messages are short as if from a royal person visiting briefly.

(8/134). As has been the case in many modern apparitions: see the references in the appendices (eg San Damiano, Bayside, as well as Garabandal, Palmar de Troya and Medjugorje). Regular contact with the Virgin (daily at Medjugorje) makes her appear more 'motherly' than 'queenly'.

(8/135). Boff [passim]; Halkes [72] and Kassel [75] like to view Mary as an image of the 'Great Mother', bringing forth life alone without the aid of a man (cf Barth and Pannenberg's critique of Barth's position (8/90)). An example of Mary viewed as the earth goddess is Thomas Berry, 'The Spirituality of the Earth', pp 151-8 of C Birch, W Eakin, J B McDaniel (eds), Liberating Life: Contemporary Approaches to Ecological Theology (Orbis, Maryknoll NY, 1990).

(8/136). Barth [139], taken from the section pp 138-46. An answer to this can be found in Flanagan [1982].

(8/137). Barth [145].

(8/138). Küng [1978; 462]; see also Miegge [187].

(8/139). As in E Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life transl Joseph Swain (2nd edn, Allen & Unwin, London, 1976); S Freud, The Future of an Illusion transl W D Robson-Scott (rev edn, Hogarth Press & Institute of Psychoanalysis, London, 1962).

(8/140). Eg von Balthasar [219]; Laurentin [1956; 128].

(8/141). Ie Mary transcends, as well as represents, the Church. See note (8/63) above, and Schillebeeckx [123-4].

(8/142). Pannenberg [146].

(8/143). Boff [220, 241-3, 250-2]; see chapter 9 for an expansion of this idea.

(8/144). However, Turner & Turner [156] suggest that Eve and Mary are usually seen as collective images, while Christ and Adam represent the singular and unique human being.

(8/145). The problem of Mary's role obscuring that of the Holy Spirit is treated in Suenens [1982; 69-78]; see also Boff [102]. It is also one of Perry & Echeverría's complaints [passim].

(8/146). Many of the works cited in this section refer to earlier works, from the Church Fathers of the first centuries through the Middle Ages to the Counter-Reformation. Like many Catholic works, they are an amalgam of the writings of the tradition on a particular facet of the faith. Those cited here were and are influential in our period (1830 - date).

However (NB), the absence of a particular writer from any of the following sections does not imply that they would not have had a view of the matter. Here we are simply illustrating the main issues and the relevant dates using a manageable cross-section of the literature.

(8/147). Eg K Rahner [1983; XIX; 211-14]; H Rahner [1961]; Schmaus [903-4]; Semmelroth [1964]; Schillebeeckx [1954]; von Balthasar [218-20].

(8/148). Scheeben [I; 162-3] (see also Graef [II; 118-26]); for christotypical statements, see Scheeben [I; 236-

7], [II; 25, 50, 190]. For Scheeben, Mary is the mother and bride of Christ, but Scheeben was also instrumental in the new emphasis on ecclesiotypical mariology from the 19th century (so Laurentin [1956; 66-70]); Laurentin [1965b; 55] says that the christotypical and ecclesiotypical models are usually synthesised by theologians in the balance between maximalist and minimalist mariologies; Napiorkowski [54] says that "clear traces of the two opposing tendencies in mariology can be found" in LG8, a reasonable estimate (he supports the ecclesiotypical model in the cause of ecumenism).

(8/149). These writers in Graef [II; 31-4, 41-3, 45-6, 68-72, and 74-7] respectively. Eudes taught the doctrine of the hearts of Jesus and Mary, defending the cult of the latter [II; 42]. See also Liguori [14, 331, 336] (Mary infinitely inferior to God, immensely superior to other creatures).

(8/150). Bérulle - Graef [II; 31-4]: although Bérulle is the pioneer of the "École Française" high mariology tradition, Graef remarks on the christocentricity of his work; Newman - [1977] and Graef [II; 106-18]; LG8 - the christocentricity is obvious (Flannery [413-23]).

(8/151). Scheeben [I; 172]; John XXIII in his famous remark: "The Madonna is not pleased when she is put above her Son" (quoted in the frontspiece to Graef [1985]).

(8/152). Bérulle, Contenson - in Graef, refs as note (8/149); Olier - Graef [II; 35-41]; Montfort - Graef [II; 57-62] and Montfort [8-10]; Liguori [153, 155]. See also Biver [1951] on the mariology of the visionary Père Lamy, who lived at the turn of this century.

(8/153). Bossuet - Graef [II; 55-7]; Newman - refs as note (8/150) (see also note (8/11)); Johnson - God is mother (see note (8/47)).

(8/154). Bérulle, Olier, Eudes - refs in notes (8/149), (8/150) and (8/152); Mary d'Agreda - [1978] and Graef [II; 53-5]; Boff - see notes (8/41-3); Montfort [11-13]; Liguori [155-6]; Scheeben [II; 185ff]. It would have to be conceded, however, that although Mary seems almost divine in many Catholic works, they usually always qualify this by referring to the orthodox position, ie she was created. Yet again (see (8/63), the reader should be reminded that these writers also claim that Mary is essentially different from the rest of the human race (see eg Scheeben [I; 161-2]).

See also M Daly [90-2]. However, it is not true that she regards Mary the historical person as a goddess [81]; rather, she wishes to break free of such historical role

models [69ff]. Thus she is probably not so opposed to Johnson as the text here suggests.

(8/155). Newman - against Montfort in Graef [II; 117].

(8/156). Boff's concept of Mary "hypostatically united to the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity" [93].

(8/157). Graef [II; 59]; Montfort [11, 17-18].

(8/158). Muratori - Graef [II; 72-4]; Newman - note (8/16) above.

(8/159). See note (8/17) above, and note that LG8 calls Mary "mediatrix" while confirming Christ as the "one Mediator" (para 62, Flannery [419]); Redemptoris Mater talks of mediation "in the nature of intercession", and see also Part 3 (John Paul II [80ff]): "Maternal Mediation".

(8/160). Olier, Ketwich - refs in notes (8/149) and (8/152); Montfort [11-13, 49-51]; Liguori [3-4, 129-31, 581] (qualified by reference to St Jerome on Mary as intercessor); Scheeben - note (8/16); Leo XIII - Graef [II; 127-8]. Once again, we should note that, while emphasising Mary's mediation, most of these writers would see this as centred upon her intercessory role. The key issue is whether or not Mary's mediation is seen as necessary - here we have identified this as the opposite to the simple idea that her intercession is very effective, but not an aspect of a necessary mediation.

(8/161). Widenfeld - Graef [II; 48-51]; Muratori - Graef [II; 72-4]; LG8 avoided the term "co-redemptrix" (see note (8/22) above).

(8/162). Ketwich (note (8/149) and Scheeben [II; 193ff, 211ff]; Ruether [154]: Mary shows the co-creatorship between God and humanity.

(8/163). Widenfeld, Bossuet - notes (8/161) and (8/153); Crasset - Graef [II; 51-3]; Paul VI against the idea that Mary's mercy is opposed to Christ's justice (Laurentin [1965a; 82]).

(8/164). Olier, Ketwich and Leo XIII - notes (8/152), (8/149) and (8/160); Montfort [51]; Liguori [14, 112].

(8/165). LG8 - Gray [334-5] points out the passive and inferior position of Mary in LG8, referring to Boff's own analysis of this as impoverished theology (ref Boff [12-13]); yet LG8 para 56 states that Mary is "not merely.. passively engaged by God" (Flannery [415-6]).

(8/166). Newman [35-6] mentions the times when Mary has aided Catholics militarily: against the Albigenses and Turks, and politically: the restoration of the Pope's temporal power during the Napoleonic period; Scheeben [II; 206-7]; Boff, Gebara & Bingemer - Mary as liberator (see note (8/43) above); Ruether [154]: Mary made a free act of faith, and [155]: Mary is the object and subject of liberating action; Carr [1990; 7-24]: against backward-looking apparitions which divinised Mary, but did not stress her active co-operation in redemption, rather her intermediary privileges "as a pure and passive vessel" [9-10]); Johnson [1990; 69-91]: Mary as proclaimer of justice; Romuald Gibson, 'Marist Marian Heritage', pp 162-78 of Hyland [1989], pp 166-7: in Marist tradition, Mary is not only gentle, passive and distant, as in long-standing belief, but one who takes the initiative.

Note also Greeley [125]: the high tradition of mariology shows the independence rather than the passivity of women and mothers.

(8/167). Boff [passim]; Ruether [152ff]; Gray [1989]. See also Warner [177ff] on the use of the Mary cult in encouraging women to be submissive.

(8/168). Newman and Scheeben reapplied the patristic writings to mariology, and so came to a renewed appreciation of 'Theotokos' (Graef [II; 106,118] and Scheeben [I; 187]).

(8/169). Rahner prefers not to decide on the fundamental idea of mariology [1974; 32-41] - he sees Mary's virginity as her incorporation into "the historical salvific mission of Jesus" [1983; XIX; 228], which could suggest Mary as mother or disciple; Laurentin [1956; 93] - conception in spirit and body; Baum [727] lists the attributes of Mary as he sees them in LG8, including disciple and mother (see LG8, paras 57 and 58 (Flannery [416-7])).

(8/170). Laurentin certainly stands by the historicity of the biblical texts concerning Mary (eg [1987c; 25ff]). E Carroll [1989; 369-80] notes the debate between Laurentin and Brown regarding their respective stress on the historical or symbolic nature of the texts, and also Flanagan's solution: Mary's choice as ideal disciple must rest on some historical memory.

(8/171). Johnson - see note (8/48); Brown & Fitzmyer - notes (8/49) and (8/170) - Brown et al [291] suggest that the infancy narratives "reflect a christology which finds its earliest expression in such formularies as Rom 1.3-4".

(8/172). The apparition cases covered in this section are confined to those referred to in 3.2.1, with the addition

of Palmar de Troya, for which I have a reasonable amount of information, but not including Sant' Andrea delle Frate and Knock, where there were no messages as such, and Tilly-sur-Seulles and Carns, for which there is not enough information.

The bibliographical references for the cases used may be found in the appendices, but the following sources are those particular ones that have been utilised for this section:

RB: Laurentin [1983; 75-81]; LS: Stern [1980; I; 46-8]; LSii: Griffiths [1966; 363-9]; L: Laurentin [1987b]; PM: Laurentin & Durand [1970; I; 21-50]; PV: Vernet, LVAP [1980]; F: Martindale [31-101]; Fii: [140-57]; BR: Toussaint & Joset [1981]; BN: Kerkhofs [1953; I]; TF: Tornaselli [undated]; IB: La Diffusion Mariale Saint-Joseph [1972]; GB: Sanchez-Ventura y Pascual [1967]; SD: Triclot [1990]; PT: Luna [1973]; MG: Kraljević [1984], Tüttö [1985], O'Carroll [1986]; SC: Rossi [1988]; OC: Faricy & Percoraio [1989]; ML: Deevy [1987]; IG: O'Sullivan [1989].

(8/173). Issues 2, 4, 6 and 9 must be qualified, as it is not easy to divide apparition messages into these 'categories'. We are seeking an emphasis only. Those termed 'christocentric' here are still apparitions of Mary, and she is at the centre of the phenomenon. However, some cases include many references claimed to be by her to Christ, whereas others (termed here 'mariocentric') have very little in the way of such explicit references.

(8/174). The very presence of Mary in an apparition might lead her to be viewed as 'quasi-divine'. What we are seeking here for (a) is the presence of statements which leave the visionaries in no doubt as to her creaturely status, or for (c) those which imply a kind of divine power. This is not to question the orthodoxy or otherwise of the visionaries themselves.

(8/175). As we have remarked before (notes (8/16), (8/160)), the terms 'intercessor' and 'mediatrix' are not mutually exclusive. Many apparition messages refer to Mary's intercession, but here, again, we seek explicit references for (c) which suggest a necessary mediating role for Mary.

(8/176). For Amsterdam and 'Co-Redemptrix', see Derobert [1985; 121], and the audiotape supplied by Manchester Medjugorje Centre: The Last Dogma in Marian History: Amsterdam - Cairo - Akita (a talk by John Bird).

(8/177). The Mary of the apparitions is always powerful, and so here we seek references for (a) which clearly refer the source of this power to Christ alone.

(8/178). For sources used for this table and the exceptions noted below it, see above in the notes accompanying 8.4.1. The positions of scholars given in the table are taken from the table there, and the relative position of the apparition cults from the table in this section. In all tables, the positions set down are the result of a perusal of the sources cited, and represent an impression gained from them. This may be misleading: to say that a scholar prefers mariocentricity to christocentricity does not mean that he wrote nothing directed to Christ, but that his marian teaching seems to give Mary a place where she is honoured for her own sake, without strict references to her dependence on Christ's salvation. The references to the high mariology of the 17th and 18th centuries depend to an extent on Graef [1985], who is clearly critical of its excesses. However, the observations here are not meant to imply that Liguori, Montfort et al are wrong. Rather, we are trying to find which 'strand' of mariology best represents the apparition tradition.

Note also that, as 'VC' includes both LG8 and scholars influential at the time of Vatican II, it may not always represent LG8 exactly.

(8/179). See Graef [II; 57, 74].

(8/180). Cf other apparitions of the 1980s reported in Laurentin's research. Cuapa, Nicaragua (Laurentin [1990a; 55-9]; Martinez [1982]) is pointedly christocentric, with Christ as the initiator. Betania, Venezuela (from 1974) (Laurentin [51-4]) seems mariocentric - this accords more with Gebara & Bingemer's observations on the Mary cult in Latin America than the Cuapa case does (see note (8/41) above).

Laurentin's notes are rather brief, and only represent examples of the messages. There is nothing in them to prove decisively that the apparitions of the 1980s differ in mariological content from their 19th century and early 20th century counterparts, although the prophecies of imminent divine judgement are much more in evidence.

(8/181). P Geary in Kriss-Rettenbeck & Möhler (see also (8/121)) [270]: the cult of the Virgin began to compete with those of local thaumaturges in Southern Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries. Universal saints replaced local veneration to some extent. This transformation began to occur in the 10th and 11th centuries.

(8/182). Of course, the cult of the saints was still very influential in Europe, up to the 19th century at least (eg France, see Gibson [1989; 137]; Kselman [1983; 20ff]). The universalisation of the cults and the developing predominance of the cult of Mary was thus also a process of the 19th century (see 1.2.1; 2.2.1).

(8/183). There are some notable exceptions, eg Sr Faustina Kowalska (Poland), Dozulé, and of course, apparitions of Christ as subsidiary phenomena during marian apparition events. The main trend is, however, visions of Mary, as observed in 6.6.1.

(8/184). As reported by Vlašič in his report to Rome of 2nd December 1983, quoted in O'Carroll [210]: "These apparitions are the last apparitions of the Blessed Virgin on earth. That is why they are lasting so long and occurring so frequently".

(8/185). See eg Tüttö [51-65].

(8/186). See eg Beckford [1989; 56-77]: the functionalist theory of religion, especially as advocated by Talcott Parsons. See eg [77]:

"... the view that religious values of ever higher generality continue to guide societal developments despite the declining power of religious organisations in public life".

See also Bellah [1970; 36-9] on what he refers to as "early modern religion" (arising from the Reformation) and the subsequent demise of the role of the "cosmological baggage" and mediators generally (earthly and heavenly!).

(8/187). Beckford [87-107]: the post-Parsons theories of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann in particular. See eg [106]:

"... Berger acknowledges that the canopy of sacred meaning that was formerly cast by religion over all human life is now only a patchwork of largely privatised experiences" (for Berger, see the references in (2/82) and The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion (Doubleday, Garden City NY, 1967)).

Also Beckford [107] on Luckmann: "The problem of religion in modern society has to do, then, with the difficulty of symbolising individual autonomy at a time when social life appears to be dominated by monolithic public institutions". (See Luckmann [1967]).

(8/188). One only has to look through the religious notices in a Catholic newspaper to see how the cult of the saints persists in modern times.

(8/189). See eg Beckford [74ff] for the concept of 'societalisation': the decline of importance of kinship and traditional religion as local communities are integrated into whole societies.

(8/190). Priests in urban parishes are still contacted by persons who claim to have had all kinds of visions.

(8/191). See 2.3.1 (and especially note (2/75)) for the link between apocalyptic and deprivation, which may be seen as deprivation of the Church or deprivation in the Church.

(8/192). Bayside - where it was publicised that an imposter had usurped the place of Paul VI; Palmar de Troya - where one visionary, Clemente Domínguez, broke with the rest and proclaimed himself pope with a substantial following. Note also the case of Léon Bloy, who believed in papal infallibility until the 'ralliement' of Leo XIII with the Third Republic - he then divorced infallibility from the temporal plane (Griffiths [339-42]).

(8/193). Elizondo [1983; 59-65]; see also his [1977; 25-33].

(8/194). Gebara & Bingemer [144-54]: the preservation of Indian culture because of Guadalupe is mentioned here also.

(8/195). For an analysis of the historicity of the apparitions of Guadalupe, see J B Smith [1983], which is quite positive as regards their historicity because of the proximity of the earliest surviving reports (at the latest, 1556) to the claimed date of the apparition (1531).

(8/196). As the Filipino ex-priest and radical Ed de la Torre reports in his talks on colonisation, oppression and liberation in the Philippines.

(8/197). The question of Mary as a kind of 'battle goddess' is treated by critics of the marian cult, eg Perry & Echeverría [17]; Warner [303ff].

(8/198). See Craig [1988; 79]; of course, events in Croatia have moved on since 1981, and this region - in which Medjugorje is not situated as, although its inhabitants are Croatian, it is in multi-racial Bosnia-Herzegovina - elected its first non-communist president since the War on 30th May 1990. There were many celebrations in Medjugorje (Meyer [1990a]).

(8/199). See eg Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion transl Willard R Trask (Harvest/Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, London, 1983).

(9/1). Pannenberg [1968]: the theme is throughout, and introduced in [33-7].

(9/2). [47-8].

(9/3). [44-5]: Kant's Jesus as the personification of the "ideal of moral perfection"; Schleiermacher's Jesus the prototype of "strength of consciousness of God".

Pannenberg also cites Ritschl's religious ethics in this tradition. Yet these still represent a type of soteriological motif, according to Pannenberg, if only a modest one which is very much centred on this world.

(9/4). [48]: theologians like Tillich and Bultmann are cited, because they stress the "significance" of Jesus rather than his history.

(9/5). [141-50].

(9/6). [144-5].

(9/7). Von Loewenich [1959; 235-6] points out the paganism of the Mary cult; Küng [1978; 459-60] accepts the role of goddess worship in the early marian devotional tradition.

(9/8). Pannenberg [141-4] and Brunner [1934; 322-7] see the virgin birth as a legend; K Barth [1956; 172-202, especially 188] does not (see (8/90)). For Barth, its historicity confirms the lack of any power or attribute in humans for God, other than that which is laid on them, as it is on Mary.

(9/9). Pannenberg [149-50].

(9/10). Eg Küng [450-1, 456-7]; Schillebeeckx, Jesus: An Experiment in Christology (transl Hubert Hoskins, paperback edn, Collins Fount, London, 1983), p 554; Brown et al [1978; 291-2] suggest that the historicity of the virginal conception cannot be settled by historical-critical exegesis, but will be decided, rather, by one's attitude to Church tradition.

(9/11). Pannenberg [36, 108ff, 132ff].

(9/12). [158].

(9/13). Other "from below" christologies are based in Jesus' proclamation and work - see [53ff].

(9/14). I am grateful to my colleague at Leeds, Dr Alistair McFadyen, for this insight.

(9/15). Pannenberg [88ff].

(9/16). Note Paul's inclusion of himself as one of those who saw the resurrection appearance of Jesus (1 Cor 15.8),

which suggests that this experience was a special historically-limited founding event in the kerygmatic tradition.

(9/17). Pannenberg [133ff, 141-2]: it is not that Jesus did not have a unity with God before the Resurrection, but that only in the experience of the latter was it recognised fully and thus concluded to have existed in his life, birth and, indeed, in eternity (thus the concept of 'pre-existence').

(9/18). K Rahner [1983; XIX; 211-17] ('Mary and the Christian Image of Woman') and [XIX; 218-31] ('Mary's Virginity').

(9/19). [215].

(9/20). [215] (see also 8.5.2 on Mary as powerful representative of the poor).

(9/21). [228].

(9/22). Brown et al [1978], mentioned in 8.1.4. (Their work on Peter is Peter in the New Testament (Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1974).)

(9/23). Brown et al [1978; 285-9].

(9/24). To expand on these alternatives: (a) Mary accepted the motherhood of Christ with her 'fiat', and thus her maternity in faith is a model of discipleship - the traditional view, see notes (8/64) and (8/65); (b) this view is based on Luke 11.27-28, where a woman says: "Happy (blessed) the womb that bore you, and the breasts that you sucked", and Jesus replied: "Happy (blessed), rather, those that hear the word of God and keep it". The Lukan testimony in chapters 1 and 2 suggests that Mary satisfied the latter criteria (Brown et al [170-2, 285-7]); (c) the "negative" view of Mary as suggested if the gospel of Mark were read alone ([51ff, 286]); (d) this view, which does not exclude the possibility of (b), is found in [285], but here there is no suggestion that Mary's motherhood was wholly illustrative and not actual.

(9/25). Eg Marialis Cultus and Redemptoris Mater, both [passim]; von Balthasar [1982; 218-20]; Schillebeeckx [1954; eg 55ff]. The idea of a 'real' history behind the texts is, I believe, in the spirit of K Rahner's work (notes (9/18-21) above).

(9/26). Laurentin is keen to support the literal reading of the texts (eg [1987c; 25ff]; see also (8/170)) - he is the principal Catholic writer on apparitions. Yet all the others, to my knowledge, also assume that the marian texts are literal history (eg Plunkett [1990; 18ff]; Heuschen [1959; 123ff]; etc. in scattered references).

(9/27). Tatian's Diatessaron (c 150-160 AD) compounded the four gospels into one narrative.

(9/28). There is, of course, also an apocryphal history of Mary in documents later than the New Testament (eg the Protoevangelium of James, 2nd century), which outline her early life, and name her parents (see eg Graef [1985; I; 32ff]; Brown et al [241ff]). This is sometimes incorporated into her history, but not by careful writers such as Laurentin [28-9].

(9/29). As concluded in note (9/25) above, this appears to be K Rahner's position.

(9/30). This is derived from Pannenberg's position, in which mariological statements are wholly ecclesiological, and the virgin birth is a legend (notes (9/5) and (9/8) above).

(9/31). Some visionaries of the past have had revealed to them the life of Mary which go beyond the biblical texts (eg Mary d'Agreda [1978] and Catherine Emmerich [1954], and recently Vicka Ivanković of Medjugorje, whose version is not yet published - see (5/215)).

(9/32). So Laurentin [1990a; 113]: "As in previous apparitions these differences are a sign of the freedom and powers of adaptation of glorified bodies". See also [32-4].

(9/33). Bryant [1983; 45-6, 84-5].

(9/34). [46].

(9/35). [84].

(9/36). [84-5].

(9/37). See Heisig [1979], for a discussion of how Jung's work postulates a divine image within the psyche, which he calls the "Self".

(9/38). For 'fruits' and 'transformation' due to apparitions, see 3.3, 4.2.2 and 7.2.2. These are perceived to be, of course, the fruits of the Holy Spirit (see eg Laurentin [20-2]). The relevant biblical references are Matthew 7.16-20, Luke 6. 43-4, Gal 5.22-3, 1 Thess 5.19-20.

(9/39). Ie the Spirit in the life of the believer is the Spirit of Christ, crucified and risen (cf 2 Cor 3.17-18); cf the KÜng reference (7/32).

(9/40). Cf von Balthasar [207ff].

(9/41). In the same way as Bryant describes Christ (note (9/36) above). Examples of different symbols centred on

Mary are those in the Litany, eg "Ark of the Covenant", "Tower of David", "Morning Star", "Gate of Heaven", "Mystic Rose", etc., and others, like the Old Testament concepts Daughter of Zion and Wisdom. Kassel [1983; 74ff] looks at Mary as archetype, in positive and negative terms.

(9/42). Otherwise Christ becomes a symbol, of which one instance in history is Jesus of Nazareth (see notes (6/91) and (6/97) on the same problem applied to Mary), and the singularity of Christ (cf von Balthasar [119ff]) is thus lost.

(9/43). For an example of this thinking, see Redemptoris Mater paras 25-28.

(9/44). Eg Laurentin [1987c; 65].

(9/45). The part-symbolic view as suggested in Brown et al (above, notes (9/22) and (9/23)) and K Rahner (notes (9/21) and (9/29)). The pan-symbolic view does not allow there to be a 'below' identified as the historical base for mariology!

(9/46). For some observations on the importance of historical work on Mary, see Laurentin [9-10], and also [32 n5].

(9/47). The earliest witness being (probably) 1 Cor 15. I assert the historicity of the resurrection appearances pace Marxsen (The Resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, SCM, London, 1970) and Elliott (Questioning Christian Origins, SCM, London, 1982), and cite such as Pannenberg [1968], Fuller (The Formation of the Resurrection Narratives, SPCK, London, 1972) and Hendrickx (The Resurrection Narratives, Geoffrey Chapman, London, 1984) in support. I do not disregard the concept of 'faith legends' implied in this literature, but would like to argue that a historical cross, burial, and appearances stand behind them.

(9/48). Mary is at the foot of the cross in John (19.25-6), but not, apparently, in the synoptics. Thus it has been suggested that the Johannine version is symbolic (eg by Bultmann, see Brown et al [214]).

(9/49). As in Acts 1.14.

(9/50). Von Balthasar [219-20].
(9/51). [213-8].

(9/52). See eg Schillebeeckx [117]. The simile of marriage is also appropriate [217], ie the Church as the new Israel; both similes are perhaps combined in Rev 12.1-6.

(9/53). Extending the possibilities of the symbolic nature of Mary's presence at the cross (above, note (9/48)) and the virgin birth as theologumenon (above, notes (9/8-10)).

(9/54). Yet Brown et al [1978] do not draw this conclusion, despite their own understanding of Mary as a model of belief and discipleship.

(9/55). Ref K Rahner's description of Mary ("perfectly redeemed", in [1961; I; 209]), and von Balthassar's "original figures of the Church" [207ff].

(9/56). Mary as the whole Church: Rahner [1983; XIX; 211-17]; Laurentin [1956; 113], but not as hierarchy: in the latter, [130-1]: the Church participates in Christ in two modes - "acts in his name" (Peter) and "lives with his life" (Mary), and [113n]: if Mary was at the Last Supper, then "Do this in memory of me" was unlikely to have been addressed to her (!), ie, in the official view, her participation cannot be priestly. See also Schillebeeckx [123-8].

For Turner & Turner [1978; 160, 171], Mary embodies 'communitas', the experience of the community as against the legalistic aspect of the Church. However, if the 'communitas' is local and exclusive, then it has been "subverted" by the "political structure" (see also notes (2/95) and (7/8)).

(9/57). Eg Schillebeeckx [24, 39, 107, 125].

(9/58). [71], and Vatican II on 'mediatrix' (qualified by Christ's One Mediatorship - LG8, para 62 (Flannery [1980; 418-9]), but Mary's role in salvation history in Church tradition from Irenaeus (paras 55-7 [415-7]), and Mary as "unique" (para 53 [414]) and "exalted above all angels and men" (para 66 [421])).

(9/59). Eg Schillebeeckx [123ff, especially 125].

(9/60). Barth [138-46, especially 145].

(9/61). A concept expanded in Rahner [1974; 93ff] in relation to Mary's mediation.

(9/62). Note Archdeacon Cavanagh's statement at Knock, when he learned that he had missed seeing the collective apparition: "If I had seen it, and if I had been the first to speak of it, many things would have been said that cannot now be advanced with any fair shadow of reason or probability on their side" (L Cadhain [1953; 81]). The visionaries of Medjugorje also claim that ordinary lay people are chosen to be seers (Ivanka Ivanković, on the

video Queen of Peace (1984)). Fr Don Gobbi (see Laurentin [1990a; 152-5]; Marian Movement of Priests [1986]) would therefore claim to be an exception to this rule, although he receives locutions and not apparitions.

(9/63). Eg the revelations to Sister Faustina Kowalska (miscellaneous items nos 33-4), Anna Marie Taigi (leaflet, Prophecy for Our Time (miscellaneous item no 7), and those at Dozulé (Manceaux [1984]).

(9/64). The adult Jesus has been visually and audially present, as has been noted in 1.3, at cases such as Fatima, Medjugorje and Kibeho, but these are still primarily marian phenomena.

(9/65). Cf Kselman [1983; 17, 150].

(9/66). Beckford [1989; 131-5] outlines the thoughts of Gramsci on this issue.

(9/67). I do not mean to imply that lay people cannot be in the 'image of Christ', but here I am referring to the traditional idea that the priest represents Christ in his offering the Eucharistic sacrifice (see again Schillebeeckx [125-6]). In the most recent papal teaching on the role of the laity (Christifideles Laici (1988)), the vision of an active lay ministry is expounded. The fact that this was necessary suggests that passivity in the laity in Church matters generally is, or has been, the norm (and certainly was before Vatican II).

(9/68). Eg Rue du Bac, Fatima, Beauraing, Kérinzen, Medjugorje in particular.

(9/69). Eg Pellevoisin, Fatima, Amsterdam, San Nicolas in particular.

(9/70). Eg La Salette (the secret of Mélanie) and Garabandal in particular.

(9/71). See 8.1.1 and 8.4.1: the reference notes there contain bibliographical references. The 'dehumanising' aspect, if such there is, of the high mariology is not a feature of the writing of the liberation theologians Boff, Gebara, and Bingemer mentioned in those sections.

(9/72). The quote from Marx is from 'Contribution to Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law' (1844), in Marx & Engels [1975; 39]. The whole paragraph: "Religion is at the same time the expression of real distress and also the protest against such real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of spiritless conditions. It is the opium of the people".

A fascinating example of lay versus priestly aspirations is the record of the conversations between Vicka Ivanković and Marija Pavlović (visionaries at Medjugorje) and Fr Grafenauer, a visiting priest. These are used by Žanić [1989; 5-6] against the apparition claims. Vicka suggests that the bishop should listen more to Our Lady than to the Pope (consequently, to herself as medium). Both women insist on their testimony regarding the Franciscans (see 5.3.7) despite Grafenauer's warning that it represented a challenge to Church authority which cast doubt on the authenticity of the apparitions.

(9/73). Although I suspect that many writers in the Jungian psychoanalysis (6.5.2) or liberation and feminist theology (8.1.4) traditions would argue that the emancipation of women and the laity would have to be matched by a corresponding conceptual equality of the central masculine and feminine figures in the Christian tradition.

NB: the biblical quotes in these notes are taken from The Jerusalem Bible (standard edn, Darton, Longman & Todd, London, 1966)

Bibliography

I do not claim that this bibliography is exhaustive for the topic - the amount of available material on marian apparitions is surprisingly large! However, I think that it is complete, in the sense that it provides adequate research material for all the major apparition cases, and many minor ones, as well as a comprehensive record of supportive and interpretative material.

Authors with names like 'von Balthasar', 'van Houtryve', 'de Lubac', 'da Silva Rego' and 'dos Santos' are indexed under 'Balthasar', 'Houtryve', 'Lubac', 'Silva Rego' and 'Santos', respectively. Titles are not usually given except for: saints, popes, cardinals, bishops - the lattermost only when their writing is relevant to their office, eg pronouncements on local phenomena - or those for whom no first name is available. This is to avoid offending those for whom a title is not known.

I have attempted to give full details for each reference. Occasionally a translator's name or date of publication is not given in the original, and so cannot be reproduced here.

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The following issues and articles are relevant to this topic and to mariology generally (this list is not exhaustive):

(a) British Church periodicals.

Catholic Herald, and Universe: various issues;

Church Times: 12 May, 19 May 1989;

The Month: Aug/Sep 1987 (5 articles), Feb 1989 (pp 58-62), Aug/Sep 1989 (5 articles);

New Blackfriars: May 1989 (pp 216-25), Dec 1989 (pp 555-64);

One in Christ: 1982 No 4 (pp 309-40), 1985 No 1 (5 articles), 1989 No 4 (3 articles);

Priests and People: May 1988 (8 articles), Jul/Aug 1988 (3 articles), Dec 1989 (pp 421-7), Oct 1990 (pp 359-61), Dec 1990 (pp 434-7);

The Tablet: 25 Jul, 29 Aug 1987, 13 Aug 1988, 31 Mar & 7 Apr 1990 and, consequently, correspondence in several issues afterward.

(b) Other theology, religious studies and sociology periodicals.

Biblical Theology Bulletin: Summer 1990 (5 articles);

Social Compass: 1986, Vol XXXIII No 1 (whole issue).

(c) Newspaper reports as primary sources for visionary phenomena.

KNOCK (all 1880): The Times (10 Aug p 9, 30 Aug p 7, 11 Sep p 5), New York Times (4 Jul p 9, 19 Jul p 2, 20 Jul p 2, 27 Sep p 2, 21 Nov p 1) = miscellaneous item no 1.

FATIMA (all 1917): O Seculo (23 Jul p 2, 13 Oct p 1, 15 Oct pp 1-2), O Mundo (18 Aug, 19 Aug) = miscellaneous source no 2.

STOCKPORT: Stockport Express (16 Oct 1947), Manchester Guardian (2 May 1949), The People (12 Jul 1970) = miscellaneous source no 3.

Moving statues (Ireland): The Irish Press (27 Mar, 27 Aug 1985), Cork Examiner (3 Aug, 25 Sep 1985), Sunday Tribune (15 Sep) = miscellaneous source no 4.

MELLERAY: Cork Examiner (24 Dec 1985) = miscellaneous source no 5.

INCHIGEELA: Cork Examiner (23 & 25 Aug 1986, 30 June 1987) = miscellaneous source no 6.

(d) Other articles and reports in newspapers and magazines.

Daily Star: 30 Mar 1989;

The Independent: 25 Jan 1988, 12 Jan 1989, (Magazine) 10 Nov 1990, (on Sunday) 23 Jun 1991;

The Guardian: 17 Sep 1984, 17 Aug 1988, (Weekend) 9-10 Sep 1989, 7-8 Apr 1990;

The Listener: 12 Feb 1987;

Sunday Correspondent: 24 Dec 1989;

Time: 7 July 1986;

TV Quick: 25-31 May 1991.

Zeit Magazin: 22 Aug 1986.

Periodicals specifically on the topic

(specific articles have been referred to in the notes, under their respective authors, and the periodicals here named have been used for general references in the notes elsewhere):

(i) for Medjugorje - the following periodicals have been consulted extensively:

Medjugorje Herald monthly (Medjugorje Centre, Galway, Ireland, editor John O'Connor)

Medjugorje Messenger quarterly (Medjugorje Centre, London, editor Richard Foley)

Medjugorje Monthly monthly (Medjugorje Centre, London, editor Richard Foley)

MIR monthly (Manchester Medjugorje Centre, editor Tony Hickey)

Mirecorder (Medjugorje Information Service, St Leonard's-on-Sea, East Sussex, editor Peter Batty)

(ii) for apparition cults elsewhere - certain issues of the following periodicals have been consulted:

Garabandal quarterly (Workers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Lindenhurst, NY, and Dublin)

Marie (Numéro Special, Vol X No 3, Sep/Oct 1956, Beauraing: La Vierge au Coeur d'Or) (Centre Marial Canadien, Nicolet (Québec))

Soirées weekly (Rex, Louvain) (issues 1933; apparitions in Belgium, especially Beauraing and Banneux)

Tancrémont-Banneux monthly (Caritas, Liege) (issues 1933; ditto)

Shrine periodicals: Annales de Notre Dame de La Salette; Lourdes Aujourd'hui: Journal de la Grotte; A Voz da Fatima (including first issues, 1922); Voix de Beauraing; La Vierge des Pauvres (Banneux); La Vergine della Rivelazione (Tre Fontane); At San Damiano; Terra di Maria (Oliveto Citra)

(iii) others:

Catholic Counter-Reformation in the XXth Century (English translation) monthly (published by the Contre-Reforme)

Catholique, Maison Saint-Joseph, St-Parres-les-Vaudes)

Fatima Crusader (Ottawa, Canada)

Impartial, L' (Diffusion Mariale St Joseph/ Association des Enfants de Notre-Dame de La Salette et de St Grignon de Montfort, Beaupréau)

Michael Fighting (Rougemont, Québec)

Video- and audio-tapes

Video:

BBC Everyman: The Virgin and the Red Flag (on Fatima, 1979)

- After the Visions (on Garabandal, 1980)
- The Madonna of Medjugorje (on Medjugorje, 1987)
- Madonna (on the figure of Mary, 1987)

Center for Peace, Boston, Massachusetts: Message of Peace (on Medjugorje, 1984)

Channel 4: The Whole World in his Hands (on the Pope's 1979 visit to Ireland, 1990)

Private production, Munich: Queen of Peace (on Medjugorje, 1984)

Private production, Oliveto Citra: (on Oliveto Citra)

Westernhanger/ Veritas: A Vision of Freedom (on Hrushiw)

Williams, Ernest: Dear Children (on Medjugorje)

Audio:

Manchester Medjugorje Centre: The Last Dogma in Marian History: Amsterdam-Cairo-Akita (talk given by John Bird)

- Apparitions at Kibeho
- Apparitions in the Ukraine (talk by John Bird)

Private production, New York: Apparitions at Bayside

Miscellaneous Pieces of Source Material:

(these are information sheets, newsheets, leaflets, etc. not so far referred to in the bibliography - they have been numbered for the purposes of the documentation here)

(NB - some newspaper reports which serve as primary sources have already been given above in "various articles..." (c) as miscellaneous sources nos 1-6)

(A) General:

7. The sheet Prophecy for Our Time (Our Lady's Press, Port Talbot)

(B) France:

8. The sheet on Dozulé, France (Les Amis de la Croix Glorieuse, Paris)

(C) Ireland:

9. The sheet Mary McCarthy: August 1945 - November 1962 (Kitty and John Mc Carthy, Gortaneadin Grotto, Inchigeela, Co Cork)
10. Sheets giving details of experiences of pilgrims to the Gortaneadin Grotto, Inchigeela, Co Cork, available at the shrine (September 1989):
May Broderick, Maura McEneaney, Hannah-Mary Tarrant, Michael Cremin, Norma Heddington
11. Sheet giving Messages of Our Lady to Mrs Mary Casey at Inchigeela
12. Double sheet, Extracts from Our Blessed Lady's Message to the Irish People and the World: from Melleray Grotto, Cappoquin, Co Waterford (Melleray Grotto Committee)
13. Double sheet, Messages conveyed by Our Lady during Apparitions at the Grotto in Bessbrook Chapel during the Summer of 1987 (testimonies of Beulah Lynch and Mark Treanor)
14. Double sheet, "I have a Plan for Ireland" says Our Lady (messages reported by Christine Gallagher of Gortnedreha, Knockmore, Co Mayo, 1988)
15. Double sheet, Messages given to Christine Gallagher during the Year 1988 in Co Mayo (as no 10)

16. Double sheet, Our Blessed Mother speaks to her Children (messages reported by Sallyann and Judy Considine, Cork and Grantstown, Co Wexford)

(D) Fatima:

17. The sheet The First Five Saturdays (Our Lady's Press, Port Talbot)
18. The sheet The Human Cost of ignoring Our Lady of Fatima (Our Lady's Press, Port Talbot)
19. Report on Pope John Paul II's pilgrimage to Fatima in the A.C.T. Digest (Autumn 1982, Vol 4 No 3, pp 1-17) (Apostolate of Catholic Truth, Preston)

(E) Spain:

20. Newletters of Our Lady of Mount Carmel Garabandal Association, especially vols 8 and 9, 1988-9
21. The sheet The Essential Garabandal (Austin Curran, St Helens)
22. The sheet What is Garabandal? (supplement to Garabandal magazine)
23. Photocopy of letter from Bishop Antonio del Val of Santander to Rev Juan González Gómez of San Sebastian de Garabandal (14 July 1988), informing him of the new commission on the apparitions of 1961-5
24. The double sheet The White Cross of Palmar, giving details of the Palmar de Troya apparitions from their beginnings in 1968 ("Loreto", Dublin)
25. The newsheets (various lengths) Messages of Our Lady to Rosario Arenillas (of Palmar de Troya) ("Loreto", Dublin), especially 1989-90

(F) Italy:

26. The sheet December 8th: Hour of Grace (on Montichiari) (reproduced from the Ave Maria magazine, Felician Sisters)
27. The sheet San Damiano: What happened there? (The Marian Centre, Hungerford)
28. The sheet The Marian Year (message of Fr S Gobbi, 10 June 1987)
29. The double sheet A Short Synopsis of a Marvelous Story (transl, taken from Terra di Maria, Oliveto Citra)

(G) Medjugorje:

30. The double sheet The Facts about Medjugorje (produced by Fr Richard Foley, Medjugorje Centre, London)
31. Note of welcome to English-speaking pilgrims by Anita Curtis, 31 August 1986
32. Messages of Life (messages at Medjugorje, 1984-6, several sheets)

(H) Eastern Europe:

33. The sheet The Two Divine Promises (on Sister Faustina Kowalska (Mariam, Augustine, Chulmleigh, Devon)
34. The double sheet Divine Mercy: Sister M Faustina Kowalska (1905-1938) (Our Lady's Press, Port Talbot)
35. Various reports on Hrushiw (Our Sunday Visitor, 30 August 1987, Newsdesk (KNS), 23 July 1987, No 280, sheet comparing Hrushiw and Fatima)

(I) England:

36. The sheet A Miracle of the Sun in Yorkshire? (Association of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, reproduced from Catholic Pictorial, 3 October 1982)

(J) Rest of the World:

37. The pamphlet The Apparitions of Our Lady at Necedah - True or false? (Youth Group, Inc, Covington, Kentucky)
38. Assorted newsheets about the Australian visionary "The Little Pebble" (fact sheets plus issues of Our Lady comes to Australia: Our Lady of the Ark, Mary Our Mother, Help of Christians, The Marian Work of Atonement, Wollongong, Australia), 1984-90
39. Information sheet on Penablanca, Chile ("455 apparitions of Our Lady Queen of Peace since 1983")
40. Letter from Sophia Richards, Leeds student in Cairo (23 February 1990), giving details of an article in Al-Akhbar (21 February 1990) on a reported miracle of Mary in Port Said
41. Episcopal statement by bishop John S Ito of Niigata, Japan on Akita (Our Lady's Press, Port Talbot, 1984)

Interviews

Trip to Belgium, France, Spain and Portugal, September-October 1988:

Chaplain to the Beauraing sanctuary;
Sr Anne Wagner, pilgrim guide at Beauraing sanctuary;
Rector of the sanctuary at Banneux;
Parish priest, L'Ile-Bouchard;
Representative of archdiocese of Tours;
Dominican sister in convent at Pellevoisin;
American priest, member of Missionaries of La Salette;
Fr Reims, archive-keeper at Lourdes sanctuary;
Fr Luna - author on Palmar de Troya - at Zaragoza seminary;
Aniceta Gonzalez, mother of main visionary at Garabandal;
Fr Cristino, historian at Fatima sanctuary.

Trip to Ireland, September 1989:

Parish priest, Carns, Co Sligo;
Coleen McGuinness, original visionary at Carns;
Tom Neary - author on Knock - at Claremorris, Co Mayo;
Fr Michael Walsh - author on Knock - at Dunmore, Co Mayo;
Parish priest, Inchigeela, Co Cork;
John and Kitty McCarthy - builders and keepers of Gortaneadin shrine, Inchigeela;
Mary O'Sullivan - author on Inchigeela, sister of visionary - at Inchigeela;
Cistercian monk - with some knowledge of Irish visionaries - at Melleray Abbey, Co Waterford.

Trip to Italy, September 1990:

Parish priest, San Damiano;
A custodian of the shrine at Schio.

Correspondence:

Emile François-Xavier Wilmotte (Brussels), René Laurentin (Angers), Jean Stern (Rome), Fr Cristino (Fatima), diocese of Southwark (concerning the visions in Surbiton), diocese of Leeds (concerning the 1978 SCDF document).

I would like to thank all interviewees and correspondents for their help.

Appendices: Brief historical and bibliographical details of apparition events

This list, in two parts, each in chronological order, contains the following:

- (a) apparitions, and some locutions, of Mary in the period from 1830, for which some information is known (the long lists in some publications, eg Billet [1973], Maréchal [1957], Rahner [1963] are not included wholesale, nor the recent little-known cases in Laurentin's appendix [1990a; 156-63], unless there is some other, more substantial source);
- (b) apparition events rather than long-term revelations to eg religious (perhaps eg Kérinzen, Amsterdam, long-term visionary experiences to lay women, are nearer to the latter category, but they are listed here nevertheless);
- (c) one-off publications - the bibliographies do not include periodicals specially dedicated to apparition events, which can be found in the relevant section above.

Firstly, some general publications which have information on several apparitions, especially the most famous, although they are usually secondary sources:

Alonso et al [1973]; Ashton [1988]; Beevers [1953]; Delaney [1961]; Derobert [1985]; Gillett [1953, 1952]; Goubert & Cristiani [1952]; Laurentin [1988b, 1990a]; Maréchal [1957]; Odell [1986]; Pannet [1988]; Thurston [1934b]; W J Walsh [1904]. Bouscaren [1934, 1943, 1954], Bouscaren & O'Connor [1958, 1963, 1969] and O'Connor [1975, 1978, 1983, 1986] contain decrees issued by the Vatican on various cases.

Chronological list of apparitions in Europe

1830 Rue du Bac convent, Paris, France. The young Vincentian sister, Catherine Labouré, now canonised, had a prophetic apparition in July followed by two visions towards the end of the year in which the 'Miraculous Medal' was revealed. In 1840 and 1846, two more Vincentian sisters had revelations, of the 'green' and 'red' scapulars (see notes (1/11-12)).

Aladel [1842]; Kerr [undated]; Laurentin [1983].

Status: medal and shrine recognised. Details of commission: 16 February - 13 July 1836: enquiry into the apparitions entrusted by archbishop de Quélen of Paris to canon Quentin. Catherine Labouré (still anonymous to all but her confessor, Fr Aladel) refused to testify, and so the proceedings came to no formal conclusion (Laurentin [99-103, 308]).

1836 Notre-Dame des Victoires, Paris. The abbé Desgenettes experienced a locution (again, (1/12)) - Gillett [I; 169-74; Laurentin [308-9]. Status: resulting confraternity approved.

1842 Sant' Andrea delle Frate church, Rome. Alphonse Ratisbonne, a Jewish banker was 'converted' by an apparition.

Abel [1971]; Laurentin [135-7]; Nôtre [1967]; Sartore [1987]. Status: vision recognised.

1846 La Salette, France. Two teenage cowherds, Maximin Giraud and Mélanie Calvat, had a single vision high in the Alpine mountains. The message was publicised, but the 'secret' was not fully 'revealed' by Mélanie until 1870. See the detail in notes (1/17-19), (1/21), (1/42), (3/52).

Calvat [1904]; Jaouen [1988]; Le Hidec [1969]; Membres... [1854]; Missionaries... [1987]; Stern [1980, 1984]; Ullathorne [1950].

Status: vision recognised, later revelations condemned (decree of 1915 in Bouscaren [I; 157]). Details of commission:

15 October 1847: report sent to Mgr de Bruillard by Rousselot on La Salette, as commissioned by the bishop on 19 July (Stern [II; 163-79]);
8, 15, 16, 17, 22, 29 November, 6, 13 December 1847: 8 meetings of canonical commission of Grenoble [II; 187-91, 196-8, 199-201, 203-5, 209-14, 220-1, 227-9, 235-7];
January 1848: draft of doctrinal judgement: [II; 246-8];
19 September 1851: judgement announced by de Bruillard: the apparition "bears within itself all the characteristics of truth, and the faithful have grounds for believing it indubitable and certain"; the spontaneity of pilgrimages and healing is noted; the cult of Notre-Dame de La Salette is authorised, and may be preached from the pulpit; the event called people "to a horror of blasphemy and to the sanctification of the Sunday" and asked for penance. (Ullathorne [127-9])

1858 Lourdes, France. Bernadette Soubirous, now canonised, experienced eighteen visions between February and July. She found a spring in the grotto, and heard the vision identify herself as "the Immaculate Conception". After Bernadette, there were many visionaries at the grotto. See the detail in notes (1/22) and (3/53).

Bernardo [1986]; Cranston [1956]; Cros [1925-6]; Estrade [1951]; Hypher [1984]; Lasserre [undated]; Laurentin [1957], [1961-4], [1979] and [1987b]; Laurentin & Billet [1958-66]; Marnham [1982]; Neame [1968]; Oyenhart [1988];

Ravier [1979], [1986], [1987]; St Gildard's Convent [1978]; Sandhurst [1953]; Thurston [1927].

Status: visions recognised. Details of commission: 28 July 1858: decree by Mgr Laurence instituting commission (Cros [II; 288-91]);

2, 3, 6, 9, 13 August, 8, 15, 22 November, 6, 21 December 1858, 12, 21 January, 28 March, 12 April 1859: 14 meetings of canonical commission of Tarbes (Laurentin & Billet [III; 249-50, 253, 255-7, 271-2, 278-9], [V; 116, 123-5, 147-8, 160-2, 172-3, 193, 203-4, 232-3, 244-5]);

17, 29 November, 13, 20 December 1858, 17, 18 January, 23 March 1859: 7 meetings of Lourdes sub-commission [V; 125-42, 151-6, 164-6, 167-71, 196-8, 198-202, 228-30];

15 November 1858: Mgr Laurence's letter calling on the commission to begin a full process of enquiry [V; 122-3];

12 April 1859: Baradère's summing-up of the work of the commission [V; 245-80];

April 1860: Vergez' medical report on the healings referred to by the commission [V; 350-61];

Summer 1860: Fourcade's minute on the commission [VI; 127-31];

18 January 1862: Judgement of Mgr Laurence on the apparitions at Lourdes:

Bernadette Soubirous' testimony (she had been interviewed on 17 November 1858 and 7 December 1860 [IV; 127-32] and [VI; 136-43] was accepted because of

- (a) her sincerity, simplicity, candour and modesty;
- (b) the wisdom of her responses and a stability of intellect, mind, and character;
- (c) her transformed state during the ecstasies;
- (d) the sentiment of admiration and prayer among the witnesses;
- (e) the continuation of pilgrimage after the apparitions in a spirit of piety and conversion;
- (f) the healings brought about by the grotto spring water.

The bishop's decision is based on the principles of Benedict XIV. The 8 articles of the final declaration are as follows:

- (i) the judgement that Mary "actually appeared to Bernadette Soubirous... eighteen times... this apparition assumes all the character of truth, and the faithful are justified in believing it to be certain", submitted to the pope;
- (ii) the authorisation of the cult, provided that all publications are subject to episcopal approval;
- (iii) to (vii) the proposal to build a sanctuary, and an appeal for funds with directions as to details for collection;
- (viii) the order that the declaration should be read in "all churches, chapels, oratories in seminaries, colleges and hospices in our diocese on the Sunday after receiving it" (Cros [III; 42-53]).

1865-7 Ilaca, Croatia - Gillett [I; 67]: some sanction, according to Gillett.

1866 (or 1871?) Philippsdorf, Bohemia - Gillett [I; 67]; W J Walsh [IV; 59-70]: some sanction, according to Gillett. The sources disagree about the date.

1871 Pontmain, France. A group of children saw a single vision while the Prussian military threatened to take the area (but an armistice soon followed). See the detail in note (3/54).

Association Diocésaine de Laval [1986]; Laurentin [1987d]; Laurentin & Durand [1970]; Missionnaires Montfortains [1984]; Richard [1871].

Status: vision recognised. Details of commissions:

5 December 1871: doctors' report on the children, noting minor problems, but nothing which could explain the vision naturally (Laurentin & Durand [III; 129-31]);

December 1871, January 1872, January 1872: Fr Sauvé's canonical notes preparing for the episcopal decision, during the period of the bishop's own enquiry [III; 147-55, 155-8, 159-72];

2 February 1872: Mgr Wicart's canonical judgement: consideration of enquiries, fruits of apparition (end of war, faith and confidence of pilgrims), character of children, local testimonies, medical report, possibility of diabolical origin. Articles:

(i) the judgement that the Virgin Mary "truly appeared" to the four children;

(ii) the authorisation of the cult in the diocese, under the title "Notre-Dame d'Espérance de Pontmain";

(iii) the subjection of all publications to episcopal approval;

(iv) the erection of a sanctuary [III; 172-87].

22 March 1919: instructions for the second Laval investigation into Pontmain by Mgr Grellier. This was for the purpose of obtaining a proper Office and Mass to celebrate the apparition [III; 283-4];

1 April - 9 February 1920: second Laval commission on Pontmain. The fact that the two Barbedette brothers were now adults, and had become priests, added a great deal of value to their testimony, unchanged after 48 years. Yet the third surviving visionary, Jeanne-Marie Lebossé, refused to attend [III; 284ff];

16 April 1920: judgement by Mgr Grellier, affirming the authentication by Mgr Wicart in 1872: "... the Immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of God, veritably appeared at Pontmain on the 17th January 1871, to the eyes of several children, two of whom, having become priests of Our diocese, have for this second enquiry reiterated and confirmed entirely the testimony given by them at the first" [III; 331-4].

1871 Neuholz, Alsace (under Prussia) - Kselman [1983; 117]; Thurston [1934b; 121-2]: not investigated.

1871-3 Veyziat, France - Boutry [1986; 498-500]; (1/24): eventually suppressed by local bishop.

1872 Pompeii, Italy - Caggiano [1986]; Gillett [I; 175-81]. The shrine founded by this 'experience'; more definite apparitions at Pompeii in 1884.

1873 Buising, Lorraine (under Prussia) - Kselman [117].

1876 Pellevoisin, France. Estelle Faguet had several visions during which she was dramatically healed. She promoted the 'Sacred Heart' scapular. See also (1/28).

Adrian [1984]; Beaumont [1986]; Delin [1980]; Vernet [1980], [1988].

Status: scapular approved, not visions (decree of 1904 in Bouscaren [I; 158]), but healing recognised in 1983. Details: (1983) medical and theological commission on healing of Estelle Faguet in 1876 (Vernet [1988; 36-42]);

4 September 1983: speech of Mgr Vigancour giving conclusions of two years' study: the miraculous character of the healing and its value as a sign. Thus "in my capacity as archbishop of Bourges I recognise the miraculous character of (Estelle's healing)" [45-7]; 8 September: declaration to the same effect [48-9].

1876 Marpingen, Rhineland - Thurston [122-3]; W J Walsh [IV; 263-8]: suppressed by civil authorities.

1877 Mettenbuch, Bavaria - Thurston [123-4]: bishop announced that the visionaries had retracted their testimonies.

1877 Gietrzwald - Doyle [1985; 82] (= Dietrichswald in Thurston [121]?): some recognition, according to Doyle.

1879 Knock, Co Mayo, Ireland. Fifteen villagers saw the vision on the church wall as the evening progressed. See also (1/44-8).

L Cadhain [1953]; S Cadhain [1985]; Neary [1979a], [1979b], [1989]; Rynne [1979]; B Walsh [1985]; M Walsh [1959]; miscellaneous item no 1.

Status: no declaration, but recognised after enquiry during 1930s. Details:

8 October 1879 - unknown date 1880: first commission (no judgement due to change of archbishop in Tuam, 1881); 1932: examinations of surviving witnesses;

1936-9: second commission (report sent to Rome) (Rynne [Appendix 1]).

1880 Llanthony, Wales - Ashton [193]; McClure [1983; 118-20].

1888 Castelpetroso, Italy - Perry & Echeverría [1988; 143]; W J Walsh [IV; 173-9]: disregarded by Leo XIII, according to P & E.

1896-9 Tilly-sur-Seulles, France. Only one visionary of many given some approval, the rest condemned - Thurston [128-31]; W J Walsh [IV; 205-17] (see also (1/30)).

1917 Fátima, Portugal. Three children saw a series of apparitions on the 13th of each month, May to October. At the last, many thousands experienced a 'miracle of the sun', including previous sceptics. Years later, the surviving visionary, Lucia dos Santos, now a nun, published memoirs which revealed further details about the 'secrets' of the vision, and the fact that an angelic vision had occurred first in 1916. See the detail in notes (1/52), (1/54-5), (1/59) and (1/63).

Alonso [1967], [1973a], [1973b], [1979]; Barthas & da Fonseca [1947]; Dhanis [1952]; Fox [1982]; Freire [1978]; Haffert [1961]; Johnston [1980b], [undated]; de Marchi [1986a], [1986b]; Martindale [1950]; Martins [1979], [1984]; Noël [1985]; dos Reis [1970]; Rossi & de Oliveira [1981]; de la Sainte Trinité [1987]; Venancio [1964]; Venancio et al [1973]; Walne & Flory [1983b]; W T Walsh [1949]; miscellaneous items nos 2, 17-19.

Status: visions recognised. Details of commission:
15 October 1917: enquiry requested by parish priest Fr Ferreira in a letter to the archbishop of Mitilene (Martins [1984; 64-5]);
3 November: reply authorising enquiries [65];
13 October 1930: approbation of Fatima apparitions by Mgr da Silva, with the final declaration:
(i) "to declare as worthy of belief the visions of the children in the Cova da Iria, parish of Fatima, this diocese, on the 13th day of May through to October 1917";
(ii) "to permit officially the cult of Our Lady of Fatima";
followed by recommendations "to the love of Our Lord Sacramentally, the devotion to the Most Holy Virgin, to St Joseph, the blessed souls in Purgatory, the daily recitation at least, of a third of the rosary, flight from carnal sin, from immodest fashions and immoral reading, the practice of penitence on which Jesus so much insisted and the Virgin, Our Lady, so much recalled, charity towards all our brothers and sisters and principally towards the sick and poor" [125-31].

1931-4 Ezquioga, Spain - Attwater [1957; 300-1]; Christian [1981a; 3]; Perry & Echeverría [210-1]; Thurson [118]. Many visions during the first year of the Spanish Second Republic, but suppressed by the Church ("not supernatural" - decree of 1934 in Bouscaren (II; 98, 376)).

1932-3 Beauraing, Belgium. Five children saw visions over a five-week period, and began a heated debate over the worth of the phenomena amongst Belgian Catholics. See the detail in (1/74) and (3/55). Some months later, an adult visionary, Tilman Côme, drew many thousands to Beauraing with his visions and messages (see (1/70)).

On Come: Billet [22]; Burnon [1933]. On the children's visions: Charue [1943-6]; Derselle [1933a], [1933b]; Destrelle [1933]; de Jésus-Marie et al [1933]; Joset [1981-4]; Maistriaux [1932], [1933]; Missionnaires Monfortains [1981]; Moyet [1933]; van Roy [undated]; Saussus [1933]; Servais [1933]; Thurston [1933a, b], [1943b]; Thys [1933]; Toussaint & Joset [1981].

Status: visions of children recognised, those of Côme condemned. Details of commissions:
1934: interdiocesan commission (three reports) (Joset [V; 21-31]);

17 May 1935 - 6 March 1936: meetings of Namur commission. The final report gave the authorities no base on which to form a judgement, as the commissioners admitted their fear in having been imperfectly informed so that they could not come to a firm conclusion. There was, too, the possibility of further revelations which might shed further light on the issue [V; 39-75];

1935 - 1938: Malines commission - the findings of the final session, 23 November 1938, attended by Cardinal van Roey, were that "the supernatural character (of Beauraing) is not established"; there were doubts about the concordance and sincerity of the witnesses, disaccord between "serious and Christian men"; some things could be explained by suggestion. The Malines commission was independent of that at Namur [V; 76-84];

1942: (authorisation to judge having been received from Rome in two decrees, 30 May and 7 December 1942, see Charue [16]): the second Namur commission, which rejected previous objections, from the early opponents of Beauraing, such as de Greeff and Bruno de Jésus-Marie, to the findings of the Malines commission. There was a "great probability" in favour of the divine supernatural character of the event, and the diocesan authority "could permit a public cult of Notre-Dame de Beauraing" (Joset [V; 85-154]);

2 February 1943: authorisation of the cult by Mgr Charue: "the arguments in favour of a divine supernatural character appear very serious", considering the sincere

and profound piety of the faithful at Beauraing, the numerous conversions and favours, and the perfect orthodoxy of the message (Charue [16]);

2 November 1947: report on the investigation into the character of Albert Voisin, not published (Joset [V; 153]);

2 July 1949: judgement on the apparitions by Mgr Charue: declaring "that the Queen of Heaven appeared to the children of Beauraing during the winter of 1932-3, especially to show us her maternal heart, the urgent call to prayer and the engagement of her powerful mediation for the conversion of sinners". Two cases of healing were cited [V; 154-5].

1933 Banneux, Belgium. Mariette Beco's visions, over a six-week period, in rather quieter circumstances than Beauraing. Like Bernadette, she found a healing spring. See the detail in (1/74) and (3/55).

Van Houtryve [1933]; Kerkhofs [1953-9]; Missionnaires Montfortains [1982]; Moyet [1933]; Rutten [1985]; Thurston [1933b, 1934a], [1934b]; Walne & Flory [1983a]; Wuillaume [1983].

Status: visions recognised. Details of commissions:

24 December 1934: report by Mgr Kerkhofs to the papal nuncio, insisting on the inexplicability of the apparition by natural means, and its appropriateness as to place and year (Beyer in Kerkhofs [II; 213-4]);

19 March 1935 - 18 February 1937: Liège commission. Having interrogated Mariette Beco on 18-19 July 1935, the commission concluded that a natural explanation was not sufficient. The message itself militated against the hallucination hypothesis; the reality of the visions was "at least probable", but there was no categorical affirmation, the report citing as reasons for this the offputting character of the visionary, the lack of effect on her piety, and the manner in which the priest carried out the early interviews (predisposed to believe) [215-25];

1935-1938: There was no general conclusion by the Malines commission on Banneux, which only considered the case for one week (four meetings) [224];

19 March 1942 (having received authorisation to judge from Rome on 2 January 1942 [225]): authorisation of devotion to the "Virgin of the Poor" by Mgr Kerkhofs - one could believe in the events without imprudence; devotion at Banneux was beneficial [227-9];

16 May 1942 - February 1945: second Liège commission, which stated that, despite the desire for a favourable conclusion, the reality of the apparitions appeared

"neither certain nor simply probable". The difficulties were a possibility both of natural explanation - hallucination or hysteria - and of the influence of previous cases (Lourdes, Beauraing) [232-44];

31 May 1945: declaration by Mgr Kerkhofs affirming the cult while admitting that the commission's findings did not empower him to make judgement [228-9];

19 March 1947: pastoral letter from Mgr Kerkhofs, renewing the pastoral of 19 March 1942 in which the events were considered to be "of a serious probability, worthy of a human faith" [243];

22 August 1949: definitive judgement by Mgr Kerkhofs: "we believe in all conscience to be able and to be obliged to recognise without reserve... the reality of the eight apparitions" [248].

1933 Onzerzele, Belgium - Billet [22-3]; Sindic [1933]: rejected by Belgian bishops as were all cases in 1933 except Beauraing and Banneux.

1937-40 Heede, Germany - Attwater [300-1]; Maréchal; miscellaneous item no 7: the case was 'pending' at the time of these (first two) publications, both 1957.

1938-65 Kérinzen, France - Billet [24-7]; Christian [1984; 243-4]; Derobert [95-102]: negative decision, prohibitions in 1956, 1961, 1972.

1944 Bonate, Italy - Attwater [300-1]; Christian [250]; Derobert [103-14]; Maréchal: negative decision.

1945 La Codosera, Spain - Christian [250-1, 254-5]: like all Spanish cases, not allowed to grow.

1945-59 Amsterdam, Holland - Billet [28-34]; Derobert [115-24]; Laurentin [1990a; 144]: prohibited, negative decision (not supernatural - decree of 1974 in O'Connor [VIII; 1203-4]).

1947 Aldeamorete, Spain - Christian [239-40, 254-5].

1947 Cuevas de Vinromá, Spain - Christian [251-2].

1947 Montichiari, Italy - Derobert [141-8], McClure [1983; 122]; miscellaneous item no 26: prohibited (confirmed in visit, September 1990).

1947 Tre Fontane, Rome, Italy. An anti-Catholic man and his children saw a vision resulting in his conversion - Alimenti [1987]; Rossi [1985]; Tornaselli [undated].

Status: shrine approved.

1947-56 Casanova-Staffora, Italy - Billet [35]: negative decision, although building of a church allowed.

1947 L'Ile-Bouchard, France. Three girls saw visions during one week in the local church (see note (1/32)). Diffusion Mariale [1972]; L'Ile-Bouchard (Paroisse de) [1988]; Laurentin [150-1]. Status: no decision, but pilgrimage permitted.

(1947 Stockport, England. This actually was a case of 'miraculous roses', later exposed by the press as a fraud - see miscellaneous item no 3.)

1948 Gimigliano, Italy - Christian [252]; Maréchal; Perry & Echeverría [240]: visionary claim rejected.

1949 Balestrino, Italy - Laurentin [144]: pilgrimage forbidden, declared not supernatural.

1949 Heroldsbach, Germany - Maréchal: not supernatural, according to decree in Bouscaren [III; 507]: pilgrimage prohibited and pilgrim priests suspended.

1950 Acquaviva, Sicily - Christian [252-4]; Marechal: claim rejected.

1961 Villaesteva, Spain - Christian [260-1].

1961-5 San Sebastian de Garabandal, Spain. Four girls had visions of an angel, which announced to them that Mary would appear. The visions were more numerous in the early days, but continued to one visionary or another until 1965. The messages, apocalyptic in character, were disseminated widely (see notes (1/86-7), (1/89-91)).

Billet [38-42]; Garcia de la Riva [1971]; Laurentin [145-7]; Pelletier [1970], [1971], [1980], [1981], [1987], [undated a, b]; Perez [1981]; Sanchez Ventura y Pascual [1967]; miscellaneous items nos 20-3.

Status: not (yet) recognised. See Perez [62ff] and Sanchez Ventura y Pascual [147-9] especially, but all of the above are relevant for details of the enquiries. First commission (1961) found the phenomena "due to natural causes" and prohibited priests from organising pilgrimages. Subsequent bishops published notes denying that the case was closed, or that it was heterodox, but maintaining the ban on priestly involvement (1965), pointing out that the visionaries had retracted their testimonies (1967), reiterating the natural basis for the phenomena (1970). The SCDF supported the Santander bishops without issuing any negative statement (decree of 1970 in O'Connor [VII; 1019-21]). In 1977, a new bishop (Mgr Antonio del Val Gallo) asked Rome to appoint a new

commission whose work did not begin until 1988, it appears, but is still continuing. The visionaries did not continue their denials of the phenomena; at least three have remained very supportive of the cult.

1962 Vilnius, Lithuania. Not much information, but see Johnston [1980a; 1] and Laurentin [159].

1964-81 San Damiano, Italy. The visionary had her first experience in 1961 when being healed of an illness, but the public visions began in 1964 (see also (1/82)).

Billet [43-5]; Laurentin [147-8]; Marie [1981]; Triclot [1990]; miscellaneous item no 27.

Status: the cult was prohibited in 1970, the visions have never been recognised (negative decision) (prohibition of pilgrimage and suspension of priest pilgrims in the 1970 decree in O'Connor [VII; 1021-2]).

1968 Palmar de Troya, Spain. Four girls saw the first visions, but a following of adult visionaries emerged, and finally one of them formed a schismatic movement in 1986. See also (1/86) and (1/88).

Laurentin [140-1]; Luna [1973], [1976]; McKeown [1973], [1974]; miscellaneous items nos 24 and 25.

Status: condemned (excommunication for rebel bishops and suspension for priests in the 1983 decree (renewing that of 1976) in O'Connor [X; 285-7]).

1980- El Escorial, Spain. Weekly visions and messages to an adult woman (see also (1/92)) - Cuevas [1987]; Laurentin [85-7]: not established as supernatural, priests prohibited from involvement.

1981- Medjugorje, Hercegovina, Yugoslavia. Six visionaries, aged 10-16, all of whom still have visions ten years later. The main phenomenon is daily apparitions (which four still enjoy). There is a huge following and many publications, and these visions form the subject for the whole of chapter 5; see also (1/96-8), (1/100), (1/103-5).

Bubalo [1987]; Commission investigating Medjugorje [1984]; Craig [1987]; Flegar [1988]; Franić [1984]; Giraud et al [1988]; Kraljević [1984]; Laurentin [1985a], [1985b], [1986], [1987a], [1988a]; Laurentin & Joyeux [1987]; Laurentin & Rupčić [1984]; O'Carroll [1986]; John O'Connor [1986]; Parsons [1989]; Pervan [1986]; Plunkett [1990]; Ramet [1985]; Reimer [1987]; Rooney & Faricy [1985], [1987]; de la Sainte Trinité [1984-6]; Sereny [1986]; Sivrić [1988]; Tincq [1989]; Tüttö [1985], [1986]; Vlašić

[1984], [1988]; Vlašić & Barbarić [1985-6]; Weible [1987], [1989]; Žanić [1989]; miscellaneous items no 30-2.

Status: not established as supernatural, pilgrimage to be given pastoral attention (see references to the commissions in note (5/6)).

1981-3 La Talaudière, France - McClure [130-2]; Pannet [5]: discouraged, bishop sceptical.

1983- Surbiton, England. Messages received by "Patricia" - Divine Innocence Trust [1986a], [1986b]; Laurentin [156]. The diocese of Southwark has submitted some details to Rome, according to my correspondence with them, but there is no encouragement for the phenomena.

1985 Belluno, Italy - Laurentin [140].

1985- Schio, Italy. The visionary Renato Baron has inspired a movement of prayer - Laurentin [94-8]; Opera dell' Amore [1989], [1990]; Rossi [1988]. A commission is in progress, and the event has attracted some pastoral interest without any wholesale acceptance. A large centre is being built.

1985- Oliveto Citra, Italy. Children first saw visions, but now there are many visionary claims amongst local people and pilgrims alike - Faricy & Pecoraio [1989]; Laurentin [88-94]. A shrine has been allowed to be built in the town, but the local bishop is very cautious and not at all encouraging.

1985-7 Inchigeela, Co Cork, Ireland. Three girls' visions, followed by many adults at two village shrines - O'Sullivan [1989]; miscellaneous items nos 6, 9, 10 and 11. The Church is aloof, as in all of these recent Irish cases (see (3/48)); Inchigeela, in particular, has attracted episcopal disapproval (Murphy [1986], [1988]). See also (3/51).

1985 Carns, Co Sligo, Ireland. Four teenage girls, then several adult visionaries. No bibliographical information, knowledge is based on personal visit (see (7/39)).

1985 Melleray, Co Waterford, Ireland. Three children had visions here over a short period (although other experiences are recorded at the shrine) - Deevy [1987]; Laurentin [158]; miscellaneous items nos 5, 12.

1987-8 Pescara, Italy - Laurentin [141-2] (see also note (1/83)).

1987- "Little R", Italy - Laurentin [98-102]: some limitations placed by local bishop.

1987- Hrushiw, Ukraine, USSR. Visions to many beginning with a young girl on the anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster - Allason [1991]; Cornwell [1988]; Laurentin [133-8]; McSorley [1990]; miscellaneous item no 35; audio- and videotapes.

1987- Bessbrook, Co Armagh, Northern Ireland. Two main visionaries, an adult woman and a teenage boy - miscellaneous item no 13.

1988- Gortnadreha, Co Mayo, Ireland. The visionary Christine Gallagher's messages - miscellaneous items no 14,15. See also (7/40).

1988- Cork and Grantstown, Co Wexford, Ireland. The visionaries are the Considine sisters, who had their first experiences in Inchigeela. These continued at their home in Cork, and now there is a prayer group which includes the visionaries in Grantstown Priory - miscellaneous item no 16.

1989- Ballinacolla, Ireland - Kelly [1989].

Cases outside Europe:

1859 Robinsonville, Wisconsin, USA - McClure [116].

1861 Dassapore, India - W J Walsh [IV; 35-43].

1862 St Louis, Missouri, USA - W J Walsh [IV; 45-55].

1948 Lipa, Philippines - Attwater [300-1]; Maréchal; Rahner [87]: claim rejected.

1950s Necedah, Wisconsin, USA - Billet [36-8]; Maréchal; miscellaneous item no 37. Movement condemned: the 1979 decree in O'Connor [IX; 685-7] recognises that Mary van Hoof and her followers are no longer Roman Catholics.

1968-71 Zeitoun, Cairo, Egypt - Gayed [1985]; Johnston [1980a]; Laurentin [70-2]: recognised by the Coptic patriarch.

1973 Akita, Japan - Jacq [1985]; Laurentin [103-5]; miscellaneous item no 41: the bishop has recognised the validity of the case.

1975- Bayside, New York, USA - Laurentin [139-40]; audiotape: condemned.

1976-84 Betania, Venezuela - Laurentin [53-6]: recognised by the local bishop in 1987.

1980 Cuapa, Nicaragua - Laurentin [56-61]; Martinez [1982]; Perry & Echeverría [302-3]: not formally recognised, but cult and messages encouraged by the local bishop.

1981-9 Kibeho, Rwanda - Laurentin [68-70]; Maindron [1984]; audiotape: cult approved.

1982- Damascus, Syria - Laurentin [72-82]: not under Catholic jurisdiction.

1983- San Nicolas, Argentina - [62-8]: as Cuapa.

1983 Vallenar, Chile - Perry & Echeverría [307].

1983-8 Penablanca, Chile - [308-9]; miscellaneous item no 39: condemned by enquiry.

1983- Shoubra, Cairo, Egypt - Laurentin [70-2]: as Zeitoun.

1984- "Little Pebble", Australia - [142]; miscellaneous item no 38: no information of ecclesiastical position, but messages are clearly schismatic.

1984- Lebanon - Laurentin [108-9].

1985- Naju, South Korea - [105-8].

1986- Terra Blanca, Mexico - [61-2].

1988-90 Cuenca, Ecuador - Allason [1991].