

[9781107157835](#) examines a type of object that was widespread and very popular in classical antiquity - votive offerings in the shape of parts of the human body. It collects examples from four principal areas and time periods: Classical Greece, pre-Roman Italy, Roman Gaul and Roman Asia Minor. It uses a compare-and-contrast methodology to highlight differences between these sets of votives, exploring the implications for our understandings of how beliefs about the body changed across classical antiquity. The book also looks at how far these ancient beliefs overlap with, or differ from, modern ideas about the body and its physical and conceptual boundaries. Central themes of the book include illness and healing, bodily fragmentation, human-animal hybridity, transmission and reception of traditions, and the mechanics of personal transformation in religious rituals.

Votive Body Parts in Greek and Roman Religion in the Series 'Cambridge Classical Studies' Jessica Hughes tracks how and why of the anatomical votive cult in classical antiquity, by looking at some of the varied meanings these objects held for their ancient users and viewers. The study is organized around four case-studies of anatomical votives from different chronological and geographical contexts - four discrete snapshots, which are then woven together to construct a 'moving picture' of the anatomical votive cult in the ancient world. After a review of the literature, Hughes looks at the early anatomical votive cult in fifth- and fourth-century BCE Greece, exploring how these recovered objects might be linked to nascent views of the body in the Classical period. Next the study travels across the Mediterranean to inspect votive body parts in the sanctuaries of Roman Republican central Italy, concentrating on how these clay models differ from the votives studied previously examined. Next examples from Roman Gaul and Asia Minor are sampled to investigate how the anatomical votive cult may have developed away from the classical center, in each case again relating them to the initial examples. This comparative approach offers a sense of how to understand the votive cult that is elastic and transmuting: in this sense, it differs from the picture painted in the work of earlier scholars, who chose to emphasize the longevity of the anatomical votive cult as evidence of a long and unbroken continuity in bodily beliefs and practices.

- [Votive Body Parts in Greek and Roman Religion \(Cambridge Classical Studies\) by Jessica Hughes \[Cambridge University Press, 9781107157835\]](#)
- [Eranos Yearbook 72: 2013-2014 by Eranos Foundation \[Daimon Verlag, 9783856307622\]](#)
- [Poets of the Bible: From Solomon's Song of Songs to John's Revelation by Willis Barnstone \[W. W. Norton & Company, 9780393243895\]](#)
- [Psychology and Western Religion by C.G. Jung \[Routledge, 9781138161924\] paper edition, 2010, reissue](#)
- [Stone by Stone, Reflections on the Psychology of C.G. Jung edited by Andreas Schweizer and Regine Schweizer-Vüellens \[Daimon Verlag, 9783856307653\]](#)
- [The Sensus Fidelium and Moral Theology \(Readings in Moral Theology\) edited by Charles E. Curran and Lisa A. Fullam \[Paulist Press, 9780809153152\]](#)
- [Gerard of Abbeville, Secular Master, on Knowledge, Wisdom and Contemplation \[Two Volume set\] by Stephen M. Metzger \[Brill, ISBN 978-90-04-34237-8 \(hardback, set\) ISBN 978-90-04-34728-1 \(hardback, vol. 1\) ISBN 978-90-04-34727-4 \(hardback, vol. 2\) ISBN 978-90-04-34247-7 \(e-book\)\]](#)
- [Meister Eckhart in Paris and Strasbourg \(Eckhart: Texts and Studies, 4\) \[Peeters, 9789042932302\]](#)
- [Focus on Peeters' Series: 'Eckhart: Texts and Studies'](#)

Jessica Hughes notes anatomical votives are challenging objects to work with, partly because of the difficulties involved in counting and dating them accurately (the contextual archaeological evidence is often frustratingly scant), but also because they challenge some of our most deep-rooted modern beliefs and ideas about how the body was represented and perceived in classical antiquity. Hughes does not attempt to present an exhaustive account of all the extant archaeological evidence for anatomical votives across the ancient world. Instead the goal entails a

visual image of a truncated body part also had other meanings, which drew on contemporary discourses and contexts for the divided body. For instance, the Classical Greek votives resonated with contemporary medical discourses which conceptualized illness as fragmentation and health as reintegration, while the similarities between the votives and older images of divine punishment served to infuse illness with a moral component. In turn, Hughes maintains the Etrusco-Italic votives were best understood in relation to the 'undoing' of the body in local traditions of

There was a temple filled with various ornaments, where the barbarians of the area used to make offerings and gorge themselves with meat and wine until they vomited; they adored idols there as if they were gods, and placed there wooden models of parts of the human body whenever some part of their body was touched by pain. —**Gregory of Tours**

selection of a relatively small number of deposits, as well as individual objects from within those deposits, and to start questioning how these materials might be understood in the light of the shifting social and cultural background against which the votives were dedicated. 'Interpretation' here often means looking beyond the original, often irretrievable intention of the dedicant, to consider instead what these objects might reveal about the more tacit beliefs held by those who used and viewed them. In part, this involves looking closely at which body parts were represented contexts, and at how these parts were represented. Her approach also involves recognizing that anatomical votives do much more than simply indicate sick parts of an individual's body, as has normally been assumed. In fact, another central theme of this study is how fragmentation evolves in the material forms of these votives, that physical suffering becomes intertwined with other ideas and images pivoting on the broken or 'rebuilt' body - from sickness and sacrifice to human-animal hybridity and even the social creation of the ancient 'body politic.

The emphasis in this volume is on highlighting differences between the four case-studies, and the shifting range of body parts represented in the various archaeological historic contexts. Each study forms a single frame in a moving picture of the anatomical ritual in antiquity. But although the emphasis has been on contrast and difference, Hughes maintains that all votive body parts share one important feature - that is, the capacity to symbolize the fragmentation or disaggregation of the human body. In turn, Hughes considers how the anatomical votives in each of these four cultures fit alongside other non-votive images of the body produced in the same areas, to better understand what these objects meant to their original users and viewers. So, this study offers a counterpoint to the usual commentary on the anatomical votives, in which these objects are evidence for an unbroken continuity in beliefs about how to represent and treat the human body; it also highlights the agency of users and their power to transform the tradition they 'inherited'

By moving beyond the observation that anatomical votives pinpoint parts of the human body that were suffering (or salient for another reason), to recognize that the striking

sacrifice and haruspicy, while the Romano-Gallic material echoes older practices in which the actual human body was dismantled and displayed in situations of conflict and sacrifice. In conclusion, the study shows how the propitiatory stelai from Asia Minor not only evoke the fragmentation of the body in illness and divine punishment for mortal transgression, but also suggest the reassembly of these fragments into a hybrid body politic.

Excerpt: On Easter Monday in 1450, in the small town of Sant'Anastasia near Naples, a young boy lost a ball-game and, in a fit of pique, hurled the ball at an image of the Madonna that was painted into a nearby roadside shrine. These events would hardly have gone down in history, had not the image - to the amazement and horror of those gathered - begun to bleed profusely down its left cheek. In the years that followed, a sanctuary was built on the spot, which became, and remains, one of the most important sites of pilgrimage in the whole of Catholic Europe. The bleeding face was the first miracle of many. Over the centuries, countless numbers of the faithful have been saved from death and disaster by the Madonna dell'Arco: evidence of these events can be seen today in the huge accumulation of ex-votos displayed in the sanctuary and its adjoining museum, which was inaugurated in the Jubilee year 2000. While the dedications include many kinds of objects (crutches, medical instruments, degree certificates, photographs, clothes, hair), two types of votive gift predominate: the painted wooden tablets, which depict the intercession of the Virgin in the varied disasters of life, and the metal body parts which represent the part of the body that has been (or hopefully will be) healed from illness. This latter line the walls of the sanctuary's corridors, elaborately arranged on panels for the visitor's contemplation. Almost every part of the body is represented, including eyes, ears, hands, mouths, hearts, legs and the 'dissected' torsos which plot the internal organs in relief on the surface of the chest and stomach.

These votive body parts are not unique to the Madonna dell'Arco sanctuary, nor even to the Catholic faith. They are found at sanctuaries of different creeds all over the world, from Orthodox churches in Greece to Hindu temples in southern India. Moreover, the practice has deep historical roots: 'anatomical' votives are found at least as far back as classical antiquity, when model body parts in metal, marble, wood and terracotta were dedicated in the sanctuaries of the gods of Greece and Rome. Like the later Christian offerings, these ancient models often appear to have been dedicated in thanks or expectation of a bodily healing miracle: this, at least, is the reading suggested by the tiny handful of literary texts which mention the practice, as well as by the occasional inscriptions found on the objects themselves, their frequent archaeological findspots in sanctuaries of

The typical forms of the ex-voto, such as the anatomical forms, have practically never evolved - neither in size, nor in the choice of materials, nor in the techniques of manufacture, nor even in the 'style' of figuration, which it would be better to qualify as a formal insensibility to any affirmation of style - from Greek, Etruscan or Roman Antiquity, to what we can still observe today in the Christian sanctuaries of Cyprus, Bavaria, Italy or the Iberian Peninsula?

—George Didi-Huberman

ancient healing deities, and comparison with similar objects from later periods such as the Catholic ex-votos from the sanctuary of the Madonna dell'Arco. Other body parts were no doubt appropriated for other reasons besides healing, although in most cases it is impossible to reconstruct the stories behind their dedication. Crucially - following what Day has described as the 'dissolution of the link between offering and dedicant' - most viewers in antiquity would also have been left to wonder at the narrative behind many of the votives that they saw in sanctuaries, thereby creating an intimate relationship between dedicant and deity from which all other viewers were excluded. <>

The 72nd volume of the Eranos Yearbooks, *Soul between Enchantment and Disenchantment*, presents to the public the work of the last years of activities at the Eranos Foundation (2013-2014). The book gathers the lectures presented at the occasion of the 2013 Eranos Conference, *Money — Symbol, Enchantment, and Disenchantment*, and of the 2014 Eranos Conference, *Care of the World and Care of the Self* together with the talks given at the 2013-2014 Eranos-Jung

Lectures seminar cycle on the topic, *Soul in the Age of Neuroscience*. The volume includes essays by Salvatore M. Aglioti, Stephen Aizenstat, Gianni Aprile, Giovanni Berlucchi, Leonardo Boff, Françoise Bonardel, Claudio Bonvecchio, Massimo De Carolis, Victoria Cirlot Valenzuela, Adriano Fabris, Franco Ferrari, Clarisse Herrenschildt, Giuseppe O. Longo, Angelo Malinconico, Grazia Shôgen Marchianò, Fabio Merlini, Ginette Paris, Xavier Pavie, Antonio Prete, Elena Pulcini, Gian Piero Quaglini, Francesca Rigotti, Lawrence E. Sullivan, Silvano Tagliagambe, Mohammed Taleb, Emanuele Trevi, Amelia Valtolina, Ferruccio Vigna, and Jean-Jacques Wunenburger. Each lecture is reproduced in its original language, 25 essays in Italian, 5 in French and 2 in English

The Greek word, *Eranos*, means a 'banquet,' to which every guest contributes. From 1933 onwards, the Eranos Conferences took shape in Ascona-Moscia (Switzerland), springing from the idea of Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn to create a 'Meeting Place of East and West.' Under the influence of the psychologist, Carl Gustav Jung, and other prominent leaders of that era, the Eranos Conferences found their way towards symbolical, archetypal, and mythological motifs. The Eranos gathering is symbolized by its famous Round Table, the image and meaning of which inspired many of the leading thinkers of the 20th century. For more than 80 years, depth psychologists, philosophers, theologians, orientalists, historians of religions as well as natural scientists find at Eranos a unique place where they could meet and exchange views. The rich collection of Eranos Yearbooks bears testimony to an immense and original work accomplished in various fields of learning.

The Conference was articulated by starting out from the observation that the present economic crisis seemed to correspond to something more than a mere circumstantial downturn, one of the many that the economic cycles of the last decades have gotten us accustomed to, where the bullish euphoria of the markets is punctually replaced by market depressions. If we accept the idea that these constant ups and downs tell us something about a crisis with deeper roots, then it becomes meaningful to ask ourselves about the shape of our relationship with ourselves, with others, and with the social and natural world itself. Starting out from here, the Conference attempted to give a radical analysis of our relationship with the 'universal equivalent,' which is money. Our reflection on money and on its meaning for us is something too important to be left only within the realm of the so-called 'dismal science' of economics. Rather, it should also involve disciplines like philosophy, psychology, anthropology, and history. Reflecting on money in this way, the Conference aimed to work out some interpretive tools in order to find out what a crisis of civilization is and also what the new paths are that can be taken in order to try to overcome such a crisis.

Held on September 4-7, 2013, the Conference witnessed dialogues among a group of leading scholars: Prof. Stephen Aizenstat (Pacifica Graduate Institute, Santa Barbara), Dr. Gianni Aprile (BSI Bank, Lugano), Prof. Leonardo Boff (State University of Rio de Janeiro), Prof. Claudio Bonvecchio (Università degli Studi dell'Insubria), Prof. Adriano Fabris

(Università di Pisa), Prof. Mauro Guindani (Musikhochschule Stuttgart), Prof. Clarisse Herrenschildt (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris), Prof. Bernardo Nante (Universidad del Salvador and Fundación Vocación Humana, Buenos Aires), Prof. Gian Piero Quaglino (Università degli Studi di Torino and Vivenzia), Prof. Francesca Rigotti (Università della Svizzera Italiana, Lugano), Prof. Lawrence E. Sullivan (David Arthur Foundation, New York), Prof. Amelia Valtolina (Università degli Studi di Bergamo), Prof. Jean-Jacques Wunenburger (Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3), and Dr. Luigi Zoja (Centro Italiano di Psicologia Analitica and International Association for Analytical Psychology, Milan).

The 2014 Conference was dedicated to the topic, 'Care of the World and of the Self.' The Conference took on the issue of the care of the self as a kind of knowledge and as a style of reflection, one for which the world is not just a complex of opportunities and resources to take advantage of. In fact, there is no care of the self that also is not care of the world. The reason is that these very types of cognitive practices lead us to identify something in the world that is more than mere support for the fulfillment of our own projects. Likewise, there is no neglect of the world that also is not misunderstanding and carelessness of the self. There is a mindset that reaches out entirely to master the situations of the world. This is a mindset that neglects the pole of subjectivity and inevitably ends up losing the world as much as the subject. It may not be just an accident that the refined techniques of controlling the world that are available to us today correspond to a social and natural world that is more and more unpredictable in its behaviors and more and more out of control in relation to its potential for shaping itself up in harmony with our aspirations and wishes. The scholars who took part in the symposium, held on September 3-6,

marked out a thematic process to investigate the destiny of a notion, the notion of 'soul,' one which, in the face of present-day types of reductionism, keeps on accompanying us in our dialogues with ourselves and in our relationships with others. All in all, the conferences aimed to investigate what was left of the 'soul' now when this concept stopped being a term of the scientific lexicon because it had come out of a different cognitive orientation. Yet, this term has not stopped being a reality that is very tangible in our perceptions of ourselves, especially when joy and sorrow as well as, for some, salvation and damnation, are at stake.

Thus, at the Monte Verità Congress Center in 2013, many scholars illustrated the points of view of the human sciences on the 'soul.' The speakers included: Prof. Pietro Barcellona (Università degli Studi di Catania, January 11), Prof. Franco Ferrari (Università degli Studi di Salerno, February 1), Prof. Bernardo Nante (Universidad del Salvador and Fundación Vocación Humana, Buenos Aires, March 1), Prof. Antonio Prete (Università degli Studi di Siena, April 19), Prof. Ginette Paris (Pacifica Graduate Institute, Santa Barbara, May 31), Dr. Angelo Malinconico (Associazione Italiana di Psicologia Analitica and International Association for Analytical Psychology, Termoli) and Prof. Silvano Tagliagambe (Università degli Studi di Sassari, June 7), Prof. Amelia Valtolina (Università degli Studi di Bergamo, November 7), and Prof. Gian Piero Quaglino (Università degli Studi di Torino and Vivenzia, December 7). My own lecture was delivered on October 25.

In 2014, an equal number of neuro-scientists, physicists, and philosophers of science spoke on the points of view of the natural sciences on the 'soul,' including: Prof. Giuseppe O. Longo (Università degli Studi di Trieste, February 7), Prof. Aldo Fasolo (Università degli Studi di Torino, March 14), Prof. Massimo De Carolis (Università degli Studi di Salerno,

— Francis Bacon

are: Prof. Françoise Bonardel (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne), Prof. Claudio Bonvecchio (Università degli Studi dell'Insubria), Prof. Victoria Cirlot (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona), Prof. Adriano Fabris (Università di Pisa), Prof. Grazia Shôgen Marchianó (Fondo Scritti Elémire Zolla, Montepulciano), Prof. Bernardo Nante (Universidad del Salvador and Fundación Vocación Humana, Buenos Aires), Prof. Xavier Pavie (ESSEC Business School and Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense), Prof. Elena Pulcini (Università di Firenze), Dr. Mohammed Taleb (École supérieure en Education sociale, Lausanne), Dr. Emanuele Trevi (writer, Rome), Prof. Amelia Valtolina (Università degli Studi di Bergamo), and Dr. Riccardo Bernardini (Eranos Foundation).

The 2013 and 2014 Eranos-Jung Lectures were dedicated to the topic, 'Soul in the Age of Neuroscience,' leading us to publish a biennial Yearbook for this occasion. The lectures

March 16), Prof. Giovanni Berlucchi (Università degli Studi di Verona, June 6), Prof. Salvatore Maria Aglioti ('Sapienza' — Università di Roma, October 24), Prof. Ferruccio Vigna (Associazione per la Ricerca in Psicologia Analitica and International Association for Analytical Psychology, Turin, November 14), and Prof. Silvano Tagliagambe (Università degli Studi di Sassari, December 12).

Willis Barnstone's new poetic anthology of the bible offers some idiomatic renditions of poetic portions of the Hebrew and Christian scriptures. In the shadow of Tyndale's homey language, (and as enshrined KJV and Authorized versions), he continues to take scriptures away from the orthodoxies of

priests and rabbis to give it new life for the plain-speaking, contemporary mouth and ear. Like his previous efforts in *The Other Bible* [2005] and *The New Covenant* [2002], *Poets of the Bible* is in line with other efforts by modern translators like Robert Alter, Reynolds Price, and Richmond Lattimore.

What is compelling about this selection of passages is the approachability that breathes a freshness and life into well-known passages. Take as an example the 23rd Psalm deeply etched into the brains of even many unchurched in the KJV and Barnstone's:

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.	The lord is my shepherd, I have no needs.
2 He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters.	2 He makes me lie down in green meadows. He leads me by peaceful waters.
3 He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake.	3 He restores my soul. He leads me on pathways of the just As becomes his name.
4 Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.	4 Though I walk through a valley of gloom and darkness, I fear no harm. You are with me. Your rod and your staff comfort me.
5 Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.	5 You prepare a table before me Below the eyes of my enemies. You anoint my head with oil And my cup overflows.
6 Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.	6 Surely goodness and mercy will follow me All the days of my life, And I shall live in the temple of my lord My whole life long.

The Beatitudes after Matthew echoes the well-worn vigor of the KJV, still Barnstone's slips in some needed intelligibility:

Matthew 5:3-12 King James Version (KJV):	Willis Barnstone version:
3 Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.	3 Blessed are the poor in spirit For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

4 Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.	4 Blessed are they who mourn For they will be comforted.
5 Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.	5 Blessed are the gentle For they will inherit the earth.
6 Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.	6 Blessed are the hungry and thirsty for justice For they will be heartily fed.
7 Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.	7 Blessed are the merciful For they will obtain mercy.
8 Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.	8 Blessed are the clean in heart For they will see God.
9 Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.	9 Blessed are the peacemakers For they will be called the children of God.
10 Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.	10 Blessed are they who are persecuted for the sake of justice, For theirs is the kingdom of heaven.
11 Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.	11 Blessed are you when they revile, persecute and speak Every cunning evil against you and lie because of me.
12 Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.	12 Rejoice and be glad, for your reward in the heavens is huge, And in this way did they persecute the prophets before you.

This substantial collection of some of Jung's central essays on Western religion has withstood the test of time. Jung's principal interest was in the psychology of Western men and women. The son of a pastor, he was also deeply interested in their religious life and development. This election of his writings enables us to understand his interpretation of Western religion as central to his psychological thought. The topics he covers include the Trinity, transformation symbolism in the Mass, the relationship between psychotherapy and religious healing, and resurrection.

C. G. Jung (1875-1961), the Swiss psychiatrist and founder of Analytical Psychology, was an original thinker who made an immense contribution to the understanding of the human mind. In his early years he was a lecturer in psychiatry at the University of Zürich, and collaborated with Sigmund

Freud. He gave up teaching to devote himself to his private practice in psychiatry and to research, eventually becoming world famous. He travelled widely and was a prolific author, often writing on subjects other than analytical psychology, such as mythology, alchemy, flying saucers, and the problem of time.

A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity" and "Transformation Symbolism in the Mass" extracted from Volume 11 of the Collected Works of C. C. Jung, Psychology and Religion: West and East, "Psychotherapists or the Clergy", "Psychoanalysis and the Cure of Souls," and "Brother Klaus" extracted from Development of Personality (Collected Works of C.G. Jung, Volume 17). "Letter to Père Lachat," "On Resurrection," and "Jung and Religious Belief" extracted from Volume 18, The Symbolic Life.

Jung's principal interest was in the psychology of western man and so in our religious life and development. Religion, Jung stated, is "a careful and scrupulous observation of what Rudolf Otto aptly termed the numinosum, that is, a dynamic agency or effect not caused by an arbitrary act of will." Jung was struck by the contrasting methods of observation employed in the religions of the East and in those of the predominantly Christian West. In his view, the two are radically different. An entire volume of the Collected Works, some 600 pages, is devoted to "Psychology and Religion: West and East," but for a full understanding of Jung's thesis on religion a thorough grasp of his theory of the archetypes is essential, as well as a knowledge of several other of the volumes, of which Aion and Psychology and Alchemy may be singled out.

The present selection opens with two of Jung's weightier essays on Christian religion, devoted respectively to the Dogma of the Trinity and Transformation Symbolism in the Mass. Both originated as lectures at the Eranos Conference in Ascona, Switzerland, during the dark early years of World War II, when the country was isolated and the future doubtful. Jung subsequently expanded both essays into the versions here published.

A third and equally weighty essay is Psychology and Religion, originally given as The Terry Lectures at Yale University in 1937, and is available in a revised and augmented version, 1940, in Collected Works 11, which also contains Jung's most mature and challenging brief on Western religion, Answer to Job, also available in a separate paperback (Princeton).

Religious Belief," consisting of questions put to Jung by two English clergymen and his often-extensive replies.

The last three works are taken from Volume 18, The Symbolic Life, which contains some other shorter writings on aspects of religion. The reader is directed, furthermore, to the two-volume edition of Letters of C. G. Jung: Volume 1, 1906-1950, Letters of C. G. Jung: Volume 2, 1951-1961 selected and edited by Gerhard Adler and Aniela Jaffé, for numerous statements on religion particularly in the late years. Jung's earliest formulations on Christian belief are found in a recently published work, The Zofingia Lectures (Supplementary Volume A, 1983), being Jung's addresses to an undergraduate society during his years at Basel University, 1896-1899.

This new hardcover and paperback reissue is a convenient addition for students of religion not able to invest in the collected works volumes.

With a new appreciation of the lay body of the church politic, these studies of the moral anchor of the living church stimulates renewal of Church practice and avowal. "Who are the laity?"

In his seminal work on the *sensus fidelium*, On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine (1859), John Henry Newman recounts that when Bishop William Ullathorne of Birmingham put this question to him, Newman "answered ... that the Church would look foolish without them."

The tradition of the Apostles, committed to the whole Church in its various constituents and functions *per modum unius*, manifests itself variously at various times: sometimes by the mouth of the episcopacy, sometimes by the doctors, sometimes by the people, sometimes by liturgies, rites, ceremonies, and customs, by events, disputes, movements, and all those other phenomena which are comprised under the name of history. It follows that none of these channels of tradition may be treated with disrespect; granting at the same time fully, that the gift of discerning, discriminating, defining, promulgating, and enforcing any portion of that tradition resides solely in the *Ecclesia docens*. [John Henry Newman, *The Rambler*, Volumes 1-2. (1859). London: Central Publishing Office. p. 205.]

In the wake of Pope Francis revival of the synod process and its attendant consultation of the Catholic laity in preparation for the Synod on the Family, The Sensus Fidelium and Moral Theology is an especially timely book. By presenting points of view on the *sensus fidelium* from a wide range of theologians and pastors, it makes an outstanding contribution by widening its application to ethical and not only doctrinal issues.

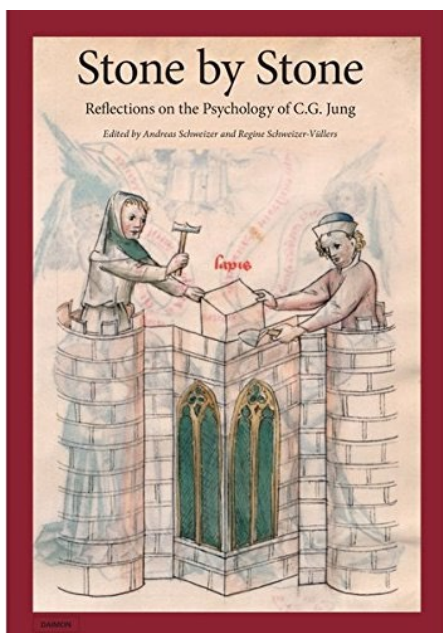
This volume will be consulted not only by students and professors of moral theology but also by all educated and involved lay people who want to see how the concept of the *sensus fidelium*, championed by one of the greatest minds of the nineteenth century, is experiencing a deserved revival after years of being consigned to limbo by those who would prefer to equate authentic Catholic teaching with the hierarchical magisterium.

The *Sensus Fidelium* or sense of the faithful, a sort of collective sense of the faith including laity and magisterium together as when exercised by the body of the faithful, is "the supernatural appreciation of faith on the part of the whole people, when, from the bishops to the last of the faithful, they manifest a universal consent in matters of faith and morals." Quoting the document *Lumen gentium* of the Second Vatican Council, the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* adds: "By this appreciation of the faith, aroused and sustained by the Spirit of truth, the People of God, guided by the sacred teaching authority, receives... the faith, once for all delivered to the saints. ...The People unfailingly

adheres to this faith, penetrates it more deeply with right judgment, and applies it more fully in daily life." [Catechism of the Catholic Church, 91-95]. The foundation of this can be found in Jesus' saying in Mt 16:18 that "the gates of Hades will not prevail against it," where "it" refers to the "Church", that is, the Lord's people that carries forward the living tradition of essential beliefs, moral perception and sacramental life throughout history, with the Bishops overseeing that this tradition does not pursue the way of error.

Consensus among the faithful is a powerful witness to the truth of a doctrine, but that consensus is not what makes the doctrine true. The consensus is a result, not a cause of the truth of the doctrine.

His Holiness Benedict XVI: "In the believer this gift, the *sensus fidei* constitutes a sort of supernatural instinct which has a vital co-naturality with the object of faith itself. We note that the simple faithful carry with them this certainty, this firm sense of faith. The *sensus fidei* is a criterion for discerning whether a truth belongs to the living deposit of the Apostolic Tradition. It also has a propositional value for the Holy Spirit never ceases to speak to the Churches and to guide them towards the whole truth. Today, however, it is particularly important to explain the criteria that make it possible to distinguish the authentic *sensus fidelium* from its counterfeit. It is certainly not a kind of public ecclesial opinion and invoking it in order to contest the teachings of the Magisterium would be unthinkable, since the *sensus fidei* cannot be authentically developed in believers, except to the extent in which they fully participate in the life of the Church, and this demands responsible adherence to the Magisterium, to the deposit of faith." [ref] Pope Benedict XVI often pointed out that the theologian must remain attentive to the faith lived by the humble and the small, to whom it pleased the Father to reveal that which He had hidden from the learned and the wise.



The accompanying frontispiece and cover of this publication shows two masons engaged in placing the capstone on a building. Above this stone is the word "lapis" indicating the alchemical stone. To the alchemists, the lapis was infinitely precious. It healed illnesses, brought about miracles, endowed long life, but it was so mysterious and puzzling that they ascribed to it an endless number of names, and could only describe it through paradoxes.

In psychological terms, it is an image of the Self, for the completeness or wholeness within us; in other words, for that never-to-be quite-realized mysterious inner value that embraces all parts of one's personality, even the minor, unsightly and despised aspects. Therefore, to the lapis and the alchemical process always belongs the encounter with the dark sides of one's own personality.

The contributions in this volume, published on the occasion of the centennial of the Psychology Club Zurich (1916-2016), are committed to such wholeness. They encompass a wide spectrum of Jungian psychology: dreams, fairy tales, alchemy, Kabbalah, the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (the I Ching), as well as Jung's exploration of the Judeo-Christian God-image, and include previously unpublished works of C.G. Jung and Marie-Louise von Franz.

This volume comprises original contributions by Carl Gustav Jung and Marie-Louise von Franz, along with additional works addressing analytical psychology. It is published in honor of the centennial existence of the Psychology Club of Zurich (1916-2016).

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- Andreas Schweizer, I Ching - The Book of the Play of Opposites
- Marie-Louise von Franz, Conversation on the Psychology Club Zurich
- Marie-Louise von Franz, The Goose Girl (Grimm's Fairy Tales, nr. 89)
- Regine Schweizer-Vüllers, "He struck the rock and the waters did flow" - The alchemical background of the gravestone of Marie-Louise von Franz and Barbara Hannah
- Tony Woolfson, "I came across this impressive doctrine" - Carl Gustav Jung, Gershom Scholem, and Kabbalah
- C.G. Jung, A Discussion about Aion, Psychological Society of Basel, 1952
- Murray Stein, Jungian Psychology and the Spirit of Protestantism
- Marianne Jehle-Wildberger, Stations of a Difficult Friendship - Carl Gustav Jung and Adolf Keller
- Hermann Strobel, Aloneness as Calling
- Claudine Koch-Morgenegg, The Great Mystery - Individuation in Old Age

- Rudolf Högger, *The Treasure Vase - On the many-sided Symbolism of an Archaic God-Image from the Stone Age to the Dreams of Modern Man*.

"Stone by Stone" — in view of its hundredth anniversary of the Psychology Club Zurich (1916-2016) the board decided to publish a collected volume of various articles. The title "Stone by Stone" and its accompanying frontispiece from the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, (see cover illustration) however, require an explanation. What is it that needs to be built? And what do the individual building stones represent?

Today, Jungian psychology has spread throughout the entire world. It speaks to an ever-increasing number of people in various countries and in different continents. People of different religions, cultures and worldviews are drawn to it. Ever more and new institutional training centers are being founded and this will continue in the future. However, this development began around hundred years ago through the efforts of a small group of students, friends and colleagues of C.G. Jung who, after a few tentative attempts, met on the 26th of February 1916 to found the Psychology Club of Zurich. There were 40 members listed at the time. Emma Jung was elected as the Club's first president.

The first few years of the Club's existence were anything but peaceful. The so-called "Club problem" had to be repeatedly discussed, which means, for instance, that its members showed little engagement, it lacked funds, and personal differences erupted. The members of the board frequently changed. Even C.G. Jung, upon whose initiative the Psychology Club had originally been called into existence, withdrew from the Club, along with Emma Jung, Toni Wolff and a small group of members for one and a half years. It was only in the mid-1920's, particularly after Toni Wolff became President of the Club in 1928, that quieter and decidedly productive years ensued for the Club. This period saw regular lectures held by its members, talks were given by well-known personalities, for example Richard Wilhelm or Heinrich Zimmer, and C.G. Jung held lectures in which he introduced his new writings one by one for his listeners. Jung placed great importance upon presenting and discussing his research work within the framework of a small group. From its inception and into the early 1930's, the Psychology Club of Zurich provided him with such a suitable circle, while later the Eranos conferences in Ascona became the appropriate forum. Thus, in a certain sense, one can say that the Psychology Club was the place from which Jungian psychology sprang, or to be more exact, it was the place from which Jungian psychology made its way out into the world.

But what does the title of our publication mean and what is the meaning of the building in the frontispiece? With hammer and trowel in hand, two masons are preparing the capstone of a building. This stone has the word "lapis" above it. It is rectangular or square. It is clearly a special stone. The building, too — as can be seen by its church-like windows — is a spiritual structure, and not a worldly building. And above the image is the well-known verse from the Synoptic Gospels, "*Lapidem quem reprobaverunt edificantes hic factus est in caput anguli*," "The stone that the builders rejected has become the cornerstone." This stone

represents Christ — the risen Christ. According to the illuminated manuscript *Speculum humanae salvationis* of the late Middle Ages, it is connected to the Prophet Jonah who, on the left half of the image is emerging with folded hands from the throat of the whale.' He is thanking God for his rescue from his underworld journey. C.G. Jung, who integrated this image into his paper *Psychology and Alchemy*, wrote beneath it, "Jonah emerging from the belly of the whale. The goal of the night sea journey is equivalent to the *lapis angularis* or cornerstone." In this manner, Jung compares the capstone of the building that the two masons are working on with the philosopher's stone.

The philosopher's stone, the lapis, was infinitely precious to the alchemists. It healed illness, brought about miracles, endowed long life, but it was so mysterious and so puzzling that they ascribed to it an endless number of names and qualities, and could only describe it through paradoxes. No alchemist, as Jung emphasized, was ever able to produce nor to find the stone in his retort. And yet it remained the goal that the alchemists pursued for centuries. The lapis is a living stone. It is a stone "with a spirit." Simultaneously, it is small and inconspicuous, thrown out into the streets, and trodden upon in the dunghill. "Help me, so that I can help you," it cries out to the adept.' In psychological terms, it is an image of the Self, for the complete, or whole man within us; in other words, for that never-to-be-quite-realized mysterious inner quality that embraces all parts of one's personality, even the meagre, inconspicuous or despised aspects of oneself. C.G. Jung speaks of the "insignificant assortment of man 'as he is'," that is essential for self-realization or individuation. And it is precisely what we despise — or even despise most — about ourselves, this "stumbling block," as Jung formulates it, that paradoxically should become the cornerstone, that is, the intrinsic foundation of a unified personality. This would be, then, the end of the night sea journey that Jonah had to bear and the prize or attainment of the "treasure hard to attain." Marie-Louise von Franz describes just such an experience in the following way: "The experience of the Self brings a feeling of standing on solid ground inside oneself, on a patch of inner eternity which even physical death cannot touch." Thus, a kind of inner assuredness, together with a feeling of being alive or being enlivened, is part of the alchemical stone. The "stone is water of a living fountain," one alchemist says. Simultaneously, the stone is the firestone that, without ever becoming exhausted, generates fire or sparks of fire — emotions, feelings or also love."

At different points in several of his works, C.G. Jung points to the parallel between the alchemical lapis and the Christian Redeemer. But he also repeatedly underscores their differences. The alchemical stone represents man's entire nature, not only his spiritual soul aspects. It is "God's mystery in matter," as Marie-Louise von Franz writes, a spirit in matter or — as it is sometimes said - "hidden in the human body." In his work, the alchemist does not so much seek to achieve his own personal redemption in the manner of a Christian believer, but rather his aim is to redeem and transform those qualities that at first were considered unsightly and were rejected, but which finally attain the highest possible value, for they are the lapis, or the divine spirit in nature.

The real mystery does not behave mysteriously or secretively; it speaks a secret language, it adumbrates itself by a variety of images which all indicate its true nature. I am not speaking of a secret personally guarded by someone, with a content known to its possessor, but of a mystery, a matter or circumstance which is "secret," i.e., known only through vague hints but essentially unknown. The real nature of matter was unknown to the alchemist: he knew it only in hints. In seeking to explore it he projected the unconscious into the darkness of matter to illuminate it. To explain the mystery of matter he projected yet another mystery - his own psychic background - into what was to be explained: Obscurum per obscurius, ignotum per ignotius! [The obscurity of the more obscure, unknown by the more unknown!] This procedure was not, of course, intentional; it was an involuntary occurrence.

—C.G. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*

It is of great significance, however, that the alchemical opus and the production or attainment of the lapis rest upon the efforts of the individual, or of individual people. And just as Jonah had to endure both involuntarily and unwillingly his night sea journey in the belly of the whale, so, too, did C.G. Jung should face the "Spirit of the Depth" in the years of his confrontation with the unconscious during which he felt completely alone and without any sure ground under his feet. "Others have been shattered by them," he writes in *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*. "But there was a demonic strength in me, and from the beginning there was no doubt in my mind that I must find the meaning of what I was experiencing in these fantasies. When I endured these assaults of the unconscious I had an answering conviction that I was obeying a higher will, and that feeling continued to uphold me until I had mastered the task." One's individuation process and its concomitant encounter with the unknown within oneself - one's night sea journey and one's descent into one's own inner depths - are the tasks of the individual. Attainment of the lapis - one's experience of the Self - however, mysteriously appears to connect us with other people and with the world around us.

"Pursuit who never grows weary of labor,
who slowly forms but never destroys
and - to the building of eternities
but grain on grain of sand does lay,
yet minutes, days and years effaces
from the great debt of ages."

These final lines of Friedrich Schiller's poem *The Ideals* speaks of "the building of eternities" slowly, one grain of sand at a time, but each grain causing it to continually grow through the collaboration of patient, creative, human effort. Schiller's "pursuit" does not refer to some simple activity or some frenzied bustle. Rather, it is referring to what the alchemists tried to achieve with the lapis, and to what we refer to as becoming conscious of one's inner soul kernel, or individuation. It is, indeed, a matter of building. And just as

everyone is able over time to build an inner house, an inner fortress, an inner solid realm of the spirit, perhaps it is also possible that over the course of centuries, far-reaching constructive changes in the collective unconscious connected to the efforts of individual people striving to become more conscious and more whole, may occur. This would be the "building of eternities." Being a part of this effort, and thereby being connected to the infinite within ourselves, endows us with meaning, and can liberate us from feeling separate and isolated. "Meaninglessness inhibits fullness of life and is therefore equivalent to illness. Meaning makes a great many things endurable — perhaps everything," Jung writes in *Memories*.

In 1949, four years after the end of the Second World War, Max Zeller, a doctor and analyst from Berlin, visited Europe many years after his emigration to Los Angeles." He came to Zurich to see Jung and, he could meet again the circle of Jungian friends and colleagues, but the entire time, as he himself wrote, he was preoccupied with one question: "What am I doing as an analyst? With the overwhelming problems in the world, to see twenty or twenty-five patients, that's nothing. What are we doing, all of us?" The night before he was to leave to return to the States he had a dream about which he himself said, "There was the answer to my question what we, as analysts are doing."

A temple of vast dimensions was in the process of being built. As far as I could see — ahead, behind, right and left — there were incredible numbers of people building on gigantic pillars. I, too, was building on a pillar. The whole building process was in its very first beginnings, but the foundation was already there, the rest of the building was starting to go up, and I and many others were working on it.

After Max Zeller told him the dream on the morning of his departure, C.G. Jung said at that time, "Ja, you know, that is the temple we all build on. We don't know the people because, believe me, they build in India and China and in Russia and all over the world. That is the new religion. You

know how long it will take until it is built?" And when Max Zeller asked, "How should I know? Do you know?" Jung said, "About six hundred years." "Where do you know this from?" Jung, "From dreams. From other people's dreams and from my own." Max Zeller ended his little, but thereby even more meaningful, report by saying, "That is what happens in our work... We see it every day... Each person works on his own pillar, until one day the temple will be built."

It is to this greater building that the editors feel committed. And it is in this sense that the various contributions in this publication on the hundredth anniversary of the Psychology Club Zurich are to be understood. Most are based upon lectures that have been held at the Club over the last years. They are creative contributions from individuals who feel that they are a part of something bigger. Together, they cover a wide spectrum of Junian psychology. Almost all areas of Analytical Psychology are represented.

The first two papers concern the Psychology Club itself. In his article "I Ching — The Book of the Play of Opposites," Andreas Schweizer begins with the often-underestimated difficulties that we in the West have in truly understanding "the wisdom of the Orient." C.G. Jung often warned against a too-hasty adaptation to the East. Which is why the author's point of departure is the Taoist background of the Book of Changes. His focus is upon the inner structure of the I Ching, as well as some of the individual Chinese written characters of the hexagrams, to shed light upon his own question to the I Ching, namely, how the Psychology Club should proceed with its centenary heritage and how to pass it onto future generations? The second contribution is also about the Psychology Club. In what was one of her last public appearances, Marie-Louise von Franz speaks in a very touching manner about her personal relationship to the Club, particularly in her younger years. She describes how she, as an introverted person, experienced the Club's community and what was important to her at that time. At the end of her talk, she answers questions from her listeners.

The article that follows leads the reader into the world of fairy tales. Marie-Louise von Franz's unpublished (until now) interpretation of the Grimm fairy tale "The Goose Girl" opens with the fact that in this fairy tale two distant kingdoms co-exist. What does this mean in psychological terms? The problem of the shadow - particularly the shadow of the feminine - is discussed at length. Marie-Louise von Franz emphasizes several times that "The Goose Girl" is a special tale. Here, the old king does not mean, as he does in most other tales, an old and therefore in-need-of-renewal viewpoint. Rather, he stands for wisdom and careful insight. It is the old king who is responsible for the princess being where she should be at the end of the tale. Within the realm of feminine psychology, he is the equivalent of a sovereign spiritual-religious animus.



Figure 1 Main Face of the Bollingen Stone

The following two articles are concerned first with the world of alchemy, and next with mysticism or, more precisely, with Jewish mysticism of the Kabbalah. The contribution by Regine Schweizer-Vüllers, "He struck the rock and the waters did flow," looks at the alchemical background of Marie-Louise von Franz and Barbara Hannah's gravestone. Initially looking at what is represented on the stone itself - the circle or also the mandala - the model of which can be found in an alchemical text, she goes on to discuss the inscription and its interpretation according to Marie-Louise von Franz herself in her work *Aurora Consurgens*. "I came across this impressive doctrine" - the title of Toni Woolfson's essay had its origins in a letter from C.G. Jung. In a refreshingly lively, but also profound, manner, the author sheds light upon the Jewish Kabbalah as a whole, and in particular the relationship between C.G. Jung and Gershom Scholem. C.G. Jung and the world of Christianity, especially the world of Protestantism is the theme of the next three papers. In January 1952, the "Psychologische Gesellschaft Basel" invited C.G. Jung to talk on his recently published book *Aion - Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self*. C.G. Jung answered questions from his listeners. They were on the function of the unconscious, particularly its compensatory function; on alchemy and its relationship to Christianity; on the meaning of the feminine; on the problem of evil; and on the Jewish, as well as Christian, concept of God and the transformation of the God image. Murray Stein's article on "Jungian Psychology and the Spirit of Protestantism" looks at the special meaning that Protestantism, or more specifically Swiss Protestantism, had for Jung. This spiritual-religious and cultural background had, according to the author, a bigger impact on both Jung and his psychology than we had previously thought. This is particularly the case with the emphasis upon the individual and the responsibility that each individual carries. At the end of his paper, Murray Stein shows the effect Jung had upon his listeners through two situations, both of which took place in 1937 — one in Germany, the other in New York. Marianne Jehle-Wildberger's contribution, "Stations of a Difficult Friendship — Carl Gustav Jung and Adolf Keller,"

is based upon the talk she gave at the vernissage that was held at the Psychology Club for the book she edited on the exchange of letters between C.G. Jung and Adolf Keller. Jung and the theologian Adolf Keller knew each other for over fifty years. Especially in the early years of Analytical Psychology, Adolf Keller and his wife, Tina Keller Jenny, were close friends of C.G. Jung and Emma Jung. Later, their paths separated. Marianne Jehle-Wildberger describes this "difficult friendship" — as she calls it — in a knowledgeable and empathetic manner, elucidating in the process certain unknown aspects of both personalities.

"Aloneness as Calling," the paper by Hermann Strobel is a legacy. Hermann Strobel passed away in 2006. The thoughts he presents here may comprise his last creative work. As the author himself says, they "revolve" around the theme of being alone, whereby his thoughts, ponderings and insights seem to spiral ever deeper. It is like diving into one's own depths. For Herman Strobel "aloneness" means, at bottom, "all-one-ness," that is, the encounter with the Self. At various points in his paper he touches upon times of dictatorship, National Socialism in Germany and the Second World War. This time left its traces upon the Psychology Club also, even though the Club had the good fortune of being based in Zurich in a comparatively peaceful country. Herman Strobel's paper shows how people at that time confronted such terrifying darkness without being broken, Deo concedente, with God's grace.

Claudine Koch-Morgenegg describes her work with a 90-year-old woman. "The great Mystery — Individuation in Old Age" is the title of her article. It is, indeed, a process of individuation — of "becoming one's Self" — that is revealed in this article. Dreams accompany and trigger this spiritual process from the outset. In addition, one is struck by the personality of the analysand herself and the deeply human connection between her and her analyst. It would appear that individuation - in this world, at least - never comes to an end and is always also the destiny of the respective individual. To be able to communicate "the great mystery" to another human being and thereby become conscious of it oneself was the path of healing, or of becoming whole, for this woman.

Rudolf Högger's contribution is also about a decisive moment in an individual's life. The author had the opportunity to be a part of the initiation ceremony of a seven-year-old Hindu boy in Nepal, and he was struck by a central symbol of this ceremony - the so-called "Treasure Vase." His paper follows the trail of this archaic god-image, especially within the religious context of the Indian sub-continent, but also in the dreams of modern man. Fundamentally it is the great goddess in all her richness - the great feminine - that finds expression in this symbol of the "treasure vase."

Based on the Introduction by Regine Schweizer-Vüllers
Zollikon, October 2016

Excerpt: Many aspects of the development, daily routine and social composition of the University of Paris for much of the thirteenth century are still unknown. Notwithstanding the mass of material included in the *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, prepared at the end of the nineteenth century by Émile Châtelain and Heinrich Denifle, the number of documents from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that pertain to the origin, foundation and development of the University in terms of both its nature as an institution and its quotidian customs and practices are few and temporally disparate. Thus, our knowledge of the growth of the University out of the twelfth-century schools of Paris until the late thirteenth and early-fourteenth century remains fragmented. For example, no specific "charter of incorporation" or other official document provides an exact date for the University's beginning, and scholars are at a loss to know precisely when the corporation of masters and students in Paris, which by the middle of the thirteenth century is recognizable as a legal entity or 'university', came into existence. The founding of the University of Paris is often recorded as 1215, the year in which the papal legate Robert of Courçon issued statutes for the *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, which signaled the legal recognition of the corporation by the papacy. Gaines Post discovered, however, that several terms that indicate a corporation's legal status were used to refer to the masters and students of Paris from the end of the twelfth century, and therefore concluded that it was impossible to ascertain exactly when the corporation of masters came into existence but that it must have occurred "by 1215 at the latest."

Considering the uncertainty regarding the origins and foundation of the University of Paris itself, it should not be surprising that a similar situation pertains to the men who taught and studied there in the first half of the thirteenth century. The main reason for this ignorance, as with the University's origins, is the lack of documentary evidence. A quick glance through Palémon Glorieux's repertory of thirteenth-century masters of theology reveals a great many names, but little prosopographical or biographical information was available to Glorieux for many of the men who taught in the Faculty of Theology during this period. Furthermore, of the many works that survive from this early period in the University's history, relatively few have been edited, nor have the manuscripts that contain these writings been studied carefully. This is especially the case for secular masters.

The predilection of historians of the university and Scholasticism to view intellectual history as a succession of great men or great ideas has further complicated our knowledge of the thirteenth-century University of Paris and the men who taught and studied there. The revitalization of study and interest in Scholastic thought encouraged by Pope Leo xiii in his encyclical *Aeterni patris* of 1879 was a great boon to the scientific investigation of Scholastic philosophy

and theology, especially as the Roman Catholic Church and her religious orders brought their powerful institutional resources to bear on the enterprise. The program enjoined by the encyclical, however, led to the production of a quickly ossified historical narrative that privileged the writings of Thomas Aquinas, who is still often viewed as the summit and perfection of Scholasticism, or of leading theologians from other religious orders (e.g., Bonaventure, John Duns Scotus, etc.). Consequently, many Scholastic thinkers were viewed as valuable only to the degree that they prepared the way for, clarified the thought of, or constituted a precipitous decline from, one of the 'great thinkers', especially Thomas Aquinas.

Indeed, since the nineteenth century scholars have understood the history of the university and of Scholastic philosophy and theology to be intertwined, and even synonymous, with the influence that the Franciscans and Dominicans had upon the intellectual landscape of thirteenth-century Europe. Hastings Rashdall, for example, combined the belief that intellectual history is characterized by a succession of great men with his understanding that the great men of the medieval period were mendicants, especially Thomas Aquinas. Consequently, in his monumental history of the universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, he portrayed the University of Paris as dependent on, and emerging from, the influence and impact of the religious orders. Many twentieth-century scholars adhered to Rashdall's basic assumption. For example, Maurice de Wulf shares the assumption in his lectures on the history of medieval philosophy, which he gave at Princeton in 1919, and so does Gordon Leff in his *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, published in 1968. Even the most recent study of the origins and early history of the University of Paris breaks off in the year 1245 because at that point the arrival of Thomas Aquinas marked a dramatic shift for the history of the University. This view has not been without its critics. Maurice Powicke and Alfred B. Emden in their introduction to the revised edition of Rashdall's *Universities of Europe* state that "Rashdall rightly emphasized the part played by great men in the history of the medieval schools, but it is not unfair to say that he approached the problem of their relation to the rise and growth of organized universities in an a priori way."

While it is true that the Franciscans and Dominicans played a significant role in the development of medieval thought and by extension the history of the university, the fixation of Rashdall and other scholars on Thomas Aquinas and his mendicant confrères has obscured and confused much of our understanding of the university. Powicke highlighted this fact in a speech that he gave to the Royal Historical Society in 1934, shortly before the publication of his and Emden's updating of Rashdall's history. Powicke says that "nobody at Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries would recognize the conventional picture of the medieval University in that city as the home of a few great men, followers of St. Francis and St. Dominic, surrounded by a crowd of garrulous dullards. This is a ridiculous travesty of the truth."

This 'conventional picture', as Powicke termed it, has endured for most of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. It has been identified most clearly by the scholarly literature in the period between the death of William of Auvergne in the 1240s and the beginning of Henry of Ghent's teaching career in the 1270s, during which, in the judgment of modern scholars, there was no secular master teaching at Paris who was of any intellectual significance. This thirty-year period is seen, not coincidentally, as the crucial period for the growth of the mendicant orders and their triumph in the Faculty of Theology at Paris. Fernand van Steenberghen gives the following explanation for this dearth of secular masters in his influential *La philosophie au XIIIe siècle*, the second edition of which was published in 1991:

Cette longue éclipse est attribuable surtout à deux causes: les ordres mendiants avaient attiré l'élite de la population universitaire, conquise par l'idéal nouveau qu'ils proposaient et, d'autre part, les quelques maîtres qui auraient pu briller dans la science sacrée vouèrent le meilleur de leurs énergies à la lutte contre les Mendicants. [This long eclipse is attributable mainly to two causes: the mendicant orders had attracted the elite of the university population, conquered by the new ideal they proposed and, on the other hand, the few masters who could have shined in science, consecrated their vow to best their energies to the fight against the mendicant orders.]

Van Steenberghen enunciates the two assumptions that are the foundation for ignoring secular masters during this period: the mendicant theologians were better and smarter, and the few seculars who might have been great theologians were too obsessed with the growing prestige and influence of the mendicant orders to concentrate their efforts on speculative thought.

This study of Gerard of Abbeville, who was a secular Master of Theology beginning sometime in the late 1250s until his death in 1272, questions Van Steenberghen's assumption and takes up the challenge posed by Powicke to see whether the 'conventional picture' of twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholars accurately reflects the reality of the medieval University of Paris. Gerard provides an excellent test-case. Not only was he an exact contemporary of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure, but he was also an outspoken critic of the Franciscans and Dominicans, challenging especially their notion of evangelical poverty and defending traditional theological and ecclesiological positions. Furthermore, Gerard's life and writings provide a much-needed window into the history and daily practice of the University of Paris. He was an early patron of the College founded by his friend Robert of Sorbon, and donated almost his entire personal library to the College upon his death. Among those books from his library that are preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris are two that contain Gerard's theological writings, upon which this study is primarily based. These books and the writings that they preserve provide an insight not only into Gerard's theological and philosophical thought but also into the social status and daily life of secular masters of theology in the thirteenth century, who still comprised most of masters in the University of Paris. Following both the

doctrinal and historical evidence of these manuscripts, we will present a study of Gerard that places him within a tradition of theologians and theological enquiry that had its origin in the schools of twelfth-century Paris and continued through Gerard to Henry of Ghent and Godfrey of Fontaines. In short, I hope that a clearer picture and understanding of the University of Paris during the third quarter of the thirteenth century will emerge from this study.

A Secular Theologian and the Official Scholasticism of the Thirteenth Century

Gerard of Abbeville (†1272) stands at the center of the great tradition of thirteenth-century Parisian theologians. He has been little studied, however, because he was not a member of a religious order but was rather a member of the secular clergy. Without the interest of disciples who were institutionally bound to preserve his legacy, Gerard's works remain largely unedited and hardly studied, even though he taught at the same time as Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas. Indeed, a study of Gerard's theories contextualizes the writings of his more famous religious contemporaries. Secular theologians preserved the traditional Scholasticism that had been taught in Paris since the schools of the twelfth century and continued until the death of Godfrey of Fontaines. Gerard embodied this inheritance and, during a teaching career that lasted almost two decades, worked to continue it and defend it against criticism and error, thus fulfilling the duties of a Master of Theology.

Little could Gerard have known that events that he witnessed and opposed would result in his obscurity. During his career in the 1250s and 1260s as a

Master of Theology at the University of Paris, he saw the growth in influence and prestige of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders both at the University and in the Church. Despite his best efforts, especially during a three-year papal interregnum (1268–1271), his arguments questioning the authenticity and legitimacy of the new way of living the Christian life by voluntary poverty, which was at the core of the Dominican and Franciscan movements, were unsuccessful. Indeed, Gerard's spirited and sophisticated defense of the necessity for the Church's wealth and property against the radical claims of spiritual perfection by means of evangelical poverty could not stop the growth of the intellectual influence of the mendicant orders. Similarly, his arguments in support of the traditional division between clerics and laypeople, which could not admit the hybrid of the mendicants, were no match for the powerful support, including of the papacy itself, enjoyed by the friars. Consequently, modern historians, influenced largely by medieval and early modern Franciscan and Dominican chroniclers, have concentrated on Gerard's role in this controversy and portrayed him and his predecessor, William of Saint-Amour (†1272), as examples of the

jealousy that was typical of secular theologians as they purportedly watched an ever-increasing number of students go to the study-houses of the religious orders to learn from better teachers.


This caricature of Gerard as an obstinate curmudgeon who was so obsessed by his disdain for the friars that he failed to make any contribution to the history of Scholastic thought, however, is a confection of modern historiography. The thirteenth-century chronicler William of Nangis of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis attests to this fact in his entry for the year 1264 when he lists Gerard, Robert of Sorbon, Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas as the most distinguished Parisian theologians of his day. In addition to his long magisterial career, Gerard held the influential ecclesiastical office of archdeacon, first for his native diocese of Ponthieu and then for the Church in the important diocese of Cambrai. In the Middle Ages, an archdeacon was second in rank to the bishop of the diocese and often could act in the bishop's stead. Evidently, some thirteenth-century secular masters, such as Gerard of Abbeville and Henry of Ghent, who were also archdeacons, did not view their office as an honorary sinecure; one may reasonably infer that Gerard, like Henry after him, exercised the duties of his office even while he was a master in Paris, as he argues is possible in a

quodlibetal question.

Moreover, as I said, Gerard was an important benefactor of the College founded by his friend Robert of Sorbon. Gerard amassed an impressive personal library during his career, including many of the books of his patron, Richard of Fournival, and donated almost his whole collection to the library of the Sorbonne. By this act, Gerard doubled the size of the College's holdings

and laid the foundation for it to become one of the most important and distinguished libraries in Europe. That surely is an enduring legacy enjoyed by few, which cannot be overestimated. Besides detailing the size of his bequest to the Sorbonne, Gerard's last will and testament also reveals his impressive personal wealth, which was not uncommon among secular theologians in the thirteenth century.

This study is based upon two books from Gerard's donation to the Sorbonne: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Mss. lat. 15906 and 16405. Both manuscripts contain his writings and were his *libri magistri*. The arrangement of the texts in Ms. lat. 15906 and Ms. lat. 16405 evinces the lineaments of an editorial project for his personal writings that Gerard initiated but could not complete before his death. Ms. lat. 15906 contains an incomplete collection of disputed questions on topics treated in the third Book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. It is well-known among historians that the *Sentences* provided the basis for theological instruction in the medieval university, but the precise details of how theologians outside of the study-houses of the religious orders approached and taught the *Sentences* remains largely a matter of conjecture and



This study of Gerard places him within a tradition of theologians and theological enquiry that had its origin in the schools of twelfth-century Paris and continued through Gerard to Henry of Ghent and Godfrey of Fontaines.

inference, especially because so few commentaries survive by secular masters and students. Although his questions follow the order of the topics contained in Book iii, Gerard's work is not a typical commentary. Rather, he uses Peter Lombard's text as a guide for his own treatment of the material and arranges the subjects not according to the division of the Sentences but into distinct treatises (*tractatus*) when he judged it appropriate. Gerard's approach to the Sentences becomes evident in several questions that are repeated in mss 2 and 3 of this codex. The text in ms 3 is written in Gerard's own cursive bookhand and contains material that summarizes the Lombard's presentation of the subject before Gerard proceeds to his own questions. In addition to indicating a process of redaction, these introductory sections show how Gerard taught theology in his school. It is clear from these *libri magistri* that the common method for theological instruction in the medieval university was the disputed question, a genre at which Gerard excelled. Indeed, he disputed more quodlibetal questions in the history of the University of Paris than any other Scholastic theologian, religious or secular.

These manuscripts conveniently provide a guide for the order of this study, which progresses from a consideration of their construction to an analysis of several texts that they preserve, beginning with the two inaugural lectures that are contained in the initial folia of Ms. lat. 16405, continuing with three disputed questions and two treatises in Ms. lat. 15906, which feature questions concerning human knowledge and faith, and concluding with Gerard's disputed questions on the nature of contemplation, which immediately follow his *principia* in Ms. lat. 16405. These books have also helped to limit the scope of this study. Gerard addressed the most pressing philosophical, theological and ecclesiastical issues of his day. Thus, it would be tempting to analyze his positions with those of his contemporaries, most notably Thomas Aquinas. Such an endeavor would have made this study too long and unwieldy. Thus, we have limited ourselves to a comparison between Gerard and Thomas concerning Boethius' division of the sciences and the necessity for a divine illumination in human cognition. In addition, because texts by the Franciscans Eustace of Arras and Bonaventure appear in these two manuscripts, we have brought them into our analysis to give a fuller contextual account of Gerard's teachings. (I present editions of two pertinent disputed questions by Eustace in the Appendix to this study.)

The combination of his own resources, seen most clearly in the size of his library, and his position as an archdeacon enabled Gerard to remain at Paris as a professional theologian. Upon his promotion to Master, the University's statutes required Gerard to deliver two lectures in which he explained his conception of the discipline of theology and the office of the theologian. According to Gerard's view, the professional theologian plays the same role as the ancient sage. His fundamental duty is to teach the faith and defend it against error.

Besides the challenge posed by the mendicant orders to the Church's traditional hierarchical order, Gerard confronted interpretations of Peripatetic philosophy that were at variance with Christian truth. In 1270 the Bishop of Paris

and former secular master, Étienne Tempier, promulgated a list of thirteen articles that he judged to be heretical. The first item in Tempier's Condemnation singles out the doctrine of the unicity of the intellect, a doctrine which Gerard had determined to be heretical in a quodlibetal question that he disputed before the Condemnation. In the body of his determination, Gerard presents the ways in which this philosophical position contradicts theological truth, but, as is clear from his responses to the initial objections that support the doctrine, his position is informed by his own understanding of the nature of human cognition. In this study I present an exposition of Gerard's complete theory of cognition, encompassing the difference between wisdom and knowledge, the nature of faith, which is the lowest level of knowledge between opinion and science, the nature of the union of the soul and body in the human composite, the process of abstraction for the knowledge of particulars, the division of the sciences, the role of divine illumination in human cognition, the nature and extent of contemplative vision, and, finally, the vision of God that will be attained when the soul and body are reunited in the general resurrection. Indeed, Gerard's texts present the most sophisticated and complete account of human cognition written during the third quarter of the thirteenth century, until his secular successor in the Faculty of Theology, Henry of Ghent. Gerard is the only theologian of the period to compose a treatise of disputed questions on the topic of thinking (*de cogitationibus*), which he intended to be disseminated through the University of Paris' stationers by means of *peciae*,¹⁴ although his desire does not appear to have been fulfilled.

Gerard's discussion of the nature of human cognition begins with a consideration of the nature and permanence of faith and knowledge. When the soul of the wayfarer attains the beatific vision, will there remain any knowledge that it acquired in this life by either faith or science? Gerard answers that only the object of knowledge, namely God, will remain but not in the same way as in this life. His view was not universally accepted. There are several disputed questions by his contemporary Eustace of Arras, OFM, at the beginning of the manuscript that contains Gerard's questions on the third Book of the Sentences (Ms. lat. 15906). In some cases, Eustace seems to have been strongly influenced by Gerard, most notably in his conception of the distinction of the trinitarian Persons about the Greek's rejection of the Latin doctrine of the Filioque. In this instance, however, although guided by Gerard's definition of the question and its problematic, Eustace, who must have had a copy of Gerard's question on the evacuation of knowledge, disagrees with Gerard's conclusion.

Gerard's theory of cognition combines Augustinian and Aristotelian elements, and in the main it is recognizably Peripatetic.¹⁵ He argues that the soul is both the form that gives life to the body and a *hoc aliquid*, i.e., a substance. The soul is integrally united to the body because it is the body's form, but it is also separable from the body because it is a *hoc aliquid* because of its creation by God. As a form, the soul provides existence to the body. Because what differentiates a human being from other animals is rationality, the soul is also the locus of a human being's intellect. Gerard divides the intellect into active and passive

parts. Unlike many of his predecessors and contemporaries, he eschews two conventional options for understanding this distinction. Some Scholastic thinkers identified the agent intellect with God on the authority of Augustine and Avicenna (“Augustinisme avicennisant”); others, such as Siger of Brabant, argued that there was one intellect for all human beings according to Averroes’ interpretation of Aristotle. Instead, Gerard adopts the position that the intellect has an active part that belongs to the human soul itself. He probably learned this view, which was advocated by several masters in Paris during the first half of the thirteenth century, while he was a student in the Faculty of Arts.

Human intellection proceeds by the mind’s abstraction of universals (intentiones) from particulars. Gerard differentiates three types of intentiones, and these correspond to different types of science, as he makes clear in his discussion of the different modes of knowledge in a disputed question on the Holy Spirit’s gift of knowledge (scientia). Because he posited that the active intellect is a proper power of the individual human soul, Gerard needed to address how a person can have certain knowledge and attain universal truth, an issue for which both the Avicennian and the Averroist interpretation provided an answer. He does this by means of the Augustinian doctrine of divine illumination, whereby the mind has access to the guiding and correcting exemplars in the divine mind.

Human knowledge is not limited to that obtained by abstraction. In accordance with the teaching of Hugh of Saint-Victor, Gerard divides knowledge into three modes: faith, reason and contemplation.

Contemplation is the highest knowledge that the wayfarer can attain in this life and is ‘wisdom’ properly speaking. In twelve disputed questions, Gerard presents a comprehensive treatment of the nature of contemplation. His conception is greatly indebted to the writings of Richard of Saint-Victor, whose doctrine of the six genera of contemplation he presents verbatim with only the slightest comment and analysis. Notably, although he owned three copies of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*, Gerard does not cite Dionysius’ *De mystica theologia* in his questions on contemplation. The most cited authorities are Augustine, Gregory the Great, Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugh and Richard of Saint-Victor. Unlike some of his contemporaries who were fascinated with the negative way of the Athenian master, Gerard steadfastly maintains the affirmative Latin tradition of light and vision.

He argues that the object of contemplation is the “true good under the reason of the true good.” However, as one rises through Richard’s six genera of contemplation, one moves progressively from intellection to affection. In the highest mode of the highest level of contemplation, the object is solely the good. At this height of vision, the mind enters God and sees more through the mode of taste (per modum

gustus) than through the mode of sight (per modum visus). This vision is transitory, however, and has been attained only by a select few.

As a Master of Theology during the third quarter of the thirteenth century, Gerard of Abbeville embodied the traditional Scholasticism of the University of Paris and preserved and expounded the *theologia communis* of the Faculty of Theology as he had received it. He believed that it was his duty to teach the faith and defend it against error, which he accomplished through preaching and disputing. According to Gerard, preaching, which must derive from contemplation, is one of two works of the active life (the other being martyrdom) that are more meritorious than any works of the contemplative life alone. In this way, Gerard advocated for a special status within the Church for the office of the theologian.

Gerard’s teaching had a certain legacy after he died. There are many affinities between Gerard’s doctrine and that of his more celebrated successor in the Faculty of

Theology, the secular master Henry of Ghent, who augmented and fine-tuned several aspects of Gerard’s teaching. Additionally, by his gift to the Sorbonne, Gerard ensured that the tradition he had inherited would survive in his books. This legacy still echoes in the career of Jean Gerson (†1429). It is often thought that Gerson introduced the study of mystical theology and contemplative theory as means for reforming the teaching of theology within the University, but considering the discovery of Gerard’s questions, it seems that Gerson was in fact reviving an older tradition that had disappeared in the fourteenth century. Tellingly, the older authorities

for mystical theology listed by Gerson are precisely those that are found in the questions on contemplation by Gerard. It seems highly likely that Gerson would have encountered those authors in the library of the Sorbonne.

Finally, as his writings circulated, Gerard’s legacy was not confined exclusively to Paris. A complete copy of his quodlibetal disputations found its way into the papal library at Avignon by the beginning of the fourteenth century. In this collection is a question concerning the necessity of the body for the full vision of God at the general resurrection. Gerard argues that the current vision of the wayfarer’s separated soul will be augmented when the body is reunited with the soul, a position which is like the conclusion of Pope John xxii, who was accused of heresy by his opponents. The “heretical” Pope certainly “read and marked” Gerard’s question, and may even have “inwardly digested” it.

In 1937 Palémon Glorieux observed that Gerard of Abbeville “embodied a kind of ‘school’, that of the official Scholasticism, the traditional teaching which found in his writings its most exact expression.” In this study we will see the lineaments of that ‘school’. It is marked by a faithfulness to Augustine and other fathers of the Church. Perhaps most



Figure 2 Thomas attends to the balance of elements: water and fire.

interesting, is its dependence on the thought of Hugh and Richard of Saint-Victor. No longer should these two authors be relegated to some fiction of "monastic theology" in contradistinction to the Scholastic thought of the University. Indeed, for Gerard the Victorine interpretation of Augustine and the Latin contemplative tradition plays a decisive role in the formulation of his theory of cognition.

It should not be assumed, however, that because of his heavy reliance on traditional authorities that Gerard was hostile or unresponsive to innovation and new discoveries. Gerard attempted to accommodate Peripatetic thought (Aristotle and his commentators) into his traditional philosophy and theology. His library alone attests to his interest in Arabic philosophy, so much so that Ernest Renan once grouped Gerard with Siger of Brabant for their shared "penchant pour l'arabisme." Gerard would not be swayed, however, by the more rationally coherent but inevitably erroneous, from the perspective of Christian truth, account of Peripatetic philosophy. He was guided by his understanding of the end of human existence, which required a conception of wisdom and knowledge that emphasized the continuity of human cognition from faith to the direct vision of God in contemplation and in patria. Gerard's philosophy and theology are the mainstream of Parisian Scholastic thought in the second half of the thirteenth century. Only when he and his fellow secular masters are thoroughly edited and studied will historians of medieval thought be able to judge accurately who was innovative, conventional, deviant, heterodox and orthodox among Scholastic theologians in the thirteenth century.

This study is based in large measure upon texts by Gerard and Eustace of Arras that have never been edited until now. The majority of these will be found in the Appendix (vol. 2) of this study after the complete descriptions of two manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Mss. lat. 15906 and 16405. At the end of each description is a list of Gerard's questions that appear in that manuscript. To maintain the coherence of the Appendix, it seemed appropriate to limit it to texts related to the subject of human cognition. Other texts were edited for this study. Because they relate directly to material covered in a given chapter and are not concerned with human cognition, they appear at the end of chapters 1, 2 and 5. I am confident that these texts will expose Gerard as a professional, speculative theologian with a coherent rationale, and will correct his historiographical image, fabricated by opponents, as simply a polemicist for a cause to preserve institutional privilege. With two exceptions, these texts exist in only one manuscript, in one of Gerard's libri magistri. For this reason, in my editions I have preserved the orthography of the medieval scribe. Complete bibliographical references are provided in the apparatus fontium of each text or question. The citations to the Scriptures correspond to the Latin Vulgate, unless otherwise indicated; the citations to the Glossa ordinaria of the Latin Bible are to the fifteenth-century printed edition by Adolph Rusch of Strassburg; the citations to Gratian's Decretum and the Decretals are to the edition by Emil Friedberg according to the convention indicated by James Brundage. All translations of texts that appear in the chapters of this study are my own, unless otherwise indicated. <>

This volume considers important aspects of Eckhart's life and teaching from the point of view of his multiple stays in Paris, as well as his time in Strasbourg. The Paris section is a collection of papers given at the meeting on 28-30 May 2010, in Paris, and the Strasbourg section is a collection of papers given at a conference on 19-20 September 2013, in Strasbourg, to mark the 700th anniversary of the arrival of Meister Eckhart in Strasbourg. The two events that these papers witness to are only a small selection from what has become a major issue of debate in recent years with respect to understanding and placing Eckhart in the context of his day.

I. Meister Eckhart In Paris

1. Vado Parisius, ubi sunt homines ualde sapientes: Raimundus Lullus' letzter Aufenthalt in Paris (1309-1311) und dessen Ertrag by Peter Walter

From the time of his conversion, Raimundus Lullus (c. 1232-1316) engaged in missionary activities towards Muslims. Spreading his Ars he thought to convince them in his Christian belief so that Christianity would prevail. In this endeavor, he sought the support of influential people like the French King Philip the Fair and from the famous University of Paris. The University he admired for their impact on the protection of Christian truth. Especially his autobiography, written at Paris, the so-called Vita coetanea, gives us insights into motives and results of Lull's stay at the French capital.

The present article deals particularly with his last stay at Paris in the years 1309 to 1311, during which Lull fought against the Parisian Averroism. The importance of this philosophical approach in the University of Paris can be seen from its 'negation of Lull's life-time work' (R. Imbach) which in the eyes of Lull must have been the breakthrough of error at the place of truth. To get a letter of support and proof of orthodoxy from the University of Paris or the king was another motive for Lull's last journey to Paris. The members of the faculty of theology, who did not share Lull's concept of argument and therefore rejected the way he did theology, first resisted his request. Only towards the end of his stay did he receive the letter of support in which his writings were not only attested to be in uniformity with the faith and morals of the Catholic Church, but also his lifetime achievements were recognized.

2. Geflügelte Motive und Leitbilder: Meister Eckhart liest Marguerite Porete by Dietmar Mieth

The contribution describes the 'motifs and core images', which connect Meister Eckhart and Marguerite Porete, suggesting a literary relationship, even if it cannot be proven. Had Marguerite's trial been in 1311, by which time Eckhart was in Paris, then a literary relationship between Porete and Eckhart would probably be easier to establish. However, the only evidence that we have is Eckhart's corrective reaction to the opinion of the 'people', which he must have learned from the Grand Inquisitor William of Paris when living in the monastery of St. Jacques. The fact

that Eckhart quoted Marguerite was certainly unusual for a Dominican. Often old French was an obstacle for non-French-speaking readers of Marguerite, however as Eckhart was in Paris for a long enough time, it cannot have been too much of a hindrance for him to access her work in the vernacular. Also the quarrels with the beguines in Paris, which were reported by Gilbert of Tournai (c. 1280), could hardly have remained hidden from him. Furthermore, he would have been familiar with the motifs of this kind from his first Parisian stay prior to 1294. The parallels relate mainly to self-abandonment (Marguerite) and detachment (Eckhart), based on the criticism of the pursuit (of God) guaranteed by religious practices, the reciprocity in the procedural unity, and especially Marguerite's 'to live without a "why"' (*vivre sans pourquoi*) and Eckhart's 'life without a "why"' (*life âne warumbe*) — a passage shared by only these two authors. The differences between both authors can be identified according to the themes of 'intellect' (Eckhart) and 'love' (Marguerite), but it will also be shown according to the treatment of Mary and Martha.

3. Marguerite Porete (gest. 1310) und die Brüsseler *Homines Intelligentiae* von 1410/11 by Franz Josef Schweitzer

Although other movements before Meister Eckhart and Marguerite Porete laid more importance on libertinism (for example the heresy of Nördlingen, 1270/71), throughout the 14th century, mystical speculation and the Free Spirit movement found a 'synthesis': somewhere and at some time between Marguerite Porete (Paris, d. 1310) and the *Homines Intelligentiae* (Brussels, 1411), the high mystical spirituality of the *Miroir*, within certain groups, began to relate to libertinism. It seems that in Brussels the daughter of the Bloemaert family, Heilwic Bloemardinne, who was well celebrated and fought alongside Jan van Ruusbroek, around 1335 took a step towards a further — and not only spiritual — freedom. In the following 70 years a new 'culture' was founded in the city, which respected the corporal nature of man!

4. Meister Eckhart von Paris. Zur Bedeutung von 'Paris' in Eckharts deutschen Predigten und deren Überlieferung by Freimut Löser

This contribution does not deal with Meister Eckhart in Paris, but with the time before and after his stays at Paris. We will bring together a comprehensive collection of all those passages where Eckhart speaks about Paris in his vernacular homilies; in addition, we will look at those readers who made him the Meister Eckhart of Paris. This way it becomes

clear, at least indirectly and by approximation, what 'Paris' means for Eckhart. The article encompasses three parts: first, it gathers the views of Eckhart, before he left for Paris; second, after his return from Paris, and third it deals with his title 'Meister Eckhart of Paris'. We will add a short introduction into Eckhart's earlier stay at Paris prior to the year 1294 and, as an annex, the tract 'Sister Katrei' with its reference to Paris.

5. Der mittelalterliche Disput zwischen Realismus und Idealismus: Meister Eckhart, Gottfried von Fontaines und Marguerite Porete by Andrés Quero-Sánchez

Nicht die Wahrheit, in deren Besitz irgendein Mensch ist oder zu sein vermeinet, sondern die aufrichtige Mühe, die er angewandt hat, hinter die Wahrheit zu kommen, macht den Wert des Menschen. Denn nicht durch den Besitz, sondern durch die Nachforschung der Wahrheit erweitern sich seine Kräfte, worin allein seine immer wachsende Vollkommenheit bestehet. Der Besitz macht ruhig, träge, stolz — Wenn Gott in seiner Rechten alle Wahrheit und in seiner Linken den einzigen immer regen Trieb nach Wahrheit, obschon mit dem Zusatze, mich immer und ewig zu irren, verschlossen hielte und spräche zu mir: wähle! Ich fiele ihm mit Demut in seine Linke und sagte:

Vater gib! die reine Wahrheit ist ja doch nur für dich allein!

[It is not the truth, in the possession of which any man is or who is to be conceived, but the sincere effort which he has made to get behind the truth, the value of man. For not

through the possession, but through the investigation of the truth does his powers expand, in which alone his ever-growing perfection exists. The possession makes calm, dreary, proud. -If God, in his right hand, had a real truth, and in his left hand the only ever impetuous drive for truth, though with the addition of always and ever to err, would shut up and say to me: I fell with humility in his left hand and said:

Father give! The pure truth is only for you alone!]

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing

Meister Eckhart, in Kurt Ruh's opinion, saw 'the extraordinary spiritual value of Marguerite's book' and, he added, he 'was perhaps first drawn to it through the judgement of his older Parisian colleague Godfrey of Fontaines'. This article will show, however, that

Godfrey's own realist position was little acquainted with mysticism and rather critical of Avicenna, Henry of Ghent and other idealist positions, which one finds as foundational in Marguerite's or Eckhart's thinking. Indeed, Eckhart and



Godfrey disagreed on several issues in Paris at the turn of the 14th century, especially, as John F. Wippel has already shown, about the question of being. This questions the reliability of the scholarly opinion which argues that Godfrey provided a positive reference for Marguerite's Mirror.

6. L'essor des études Eckhartiennes en France by Marie-Anne Vannier

Now that Eckhart's work has almost entirely been published in a critical edition (Kohlhammer), the vernacular homilies translated into German, and his biography partly known, the basis is given for Eckhartian studies also to develop further in France. After the time of the pioneers, different parts of his work are now investigated. The identification of the cycle of God's birth in the soul has been a turning point, the discovery of «new» Parisian Questions is also a fundamental contribution to Eckhartian research. The edition of the *Encyclopédie des mystiques rhénans* gives us an orientation guide.

7. Aimer l'un dans l'autre ou d'un désordre amoureux condamné: Une lecture de l'article 25 de la bulle pontificale (In agro dominico) by Julie Casteigt

Whereas the superiority of the cause over its effect is the metaphysical foundation for the principle according to which it is just to love what comes first more than what comes after it, Meister Eckhart refutes this principle in his *Expositio sancti evangelii secundum Iohannem* (n. 728 concerning the verse In 21:15). This proposition will be condemned in the Papal Bull *In agro dominico* (a. 25). Relying on the hypothesis of the liturgical unity of this textual set, thanks to a sequence of Latin and German texts which includes the sermons of the First Sunday after the Trinity, an interpretation will be proposed for the fact that the comparison between love towards Christ and towards one's neighbor does not make sense: in God's love, which is one, there is no difference, no hierarchy. The first doctrinal issue of this paper aims to bring out the different philosophical and theological tenets between the theologians of the Avignon commission and Meister Eckhart. The second issue concentrates on the conceptual elaboration through which Eckhart attempts to conceive what the love of the one in the other is, totally and reciprocally. Such a conception of the One is closely connected to the liturgical context of the Holy Spirit and to the notion of his proper interiority.

8. Eckhart's Early Teaching and Preaching in Paris by Markus Vinzent

The start of Eckhart's teaching and preaching career is still under-researched, as we have few documents pertaining to it. Particularly for the English speaking world, access to these texts are difficult. In order to give some insights into what Eckhart thought and taught at Paris, this contribution offers the texts with English translations and commentaries, first Eckhart's *Collatio in Libros Sententiarum*, second, a homily which he gave on Easter 1294 and third, a homily in honour of Augustine on the saint's feast on Jes. Sir. 50:10 (Vas auri 1302/1303). As the first is reckoned to be the oldest Latin text from the pen of Eckhart, Loris Sturlese suggested that every search for the origin and the

development of Eckhart's philosophical and theological project should start with it (LW I/2 474).

9. Kenosis and God's Power in Meister Eckhart's Parisian Question VI by Christopher M. Wojtulewicz

From the short but intense introduction to Eckhart's thinking about God's absolute and ordained power in his Question VI, we may find reason to consider more broadly his understanding of power relative to man according to kenosis. Working through some examples from elsewhere in his works, we here trace Eckhart's reasoning about God's abandonment of power in the incarnation and passion, and explore more of what it means to link his 'Parisian' thinking to other periods and genres in his life.

10. Transforming Vision: Meister Eckhart's Speculative Interpretation of the Real Presence in the Eucharist by Martina Roesner

There are hardly any Christian mystics who have been more critical towards the classical forms of medieval sacramental piety than Meister Eckhart. Nevertheless, his conception of the immediate 'generation' of God in the intellectual soul of every human being does not aim to abolish the sacraments altogether, but only to correct their classical interpretation as instruments of salvific 'mediation'. Without ever putting into question the Real Presence as such, Eckhart does not follow the strategy of most contemporary scholastics, who try to explain Eucharistic transubstantiation according to the substance-accident schema of Aristotelian physics. Instead, he adopts a speculative approach that considers the Eucharist as the paradigmatic place where the immediate but latent self-recognition of the absolute substance of the divine intellect in all created beings becomes evident. To Eckhart, Christ's presence in the Eucharist is not of a 'merely' sacramental nature, but appears as an explanatory corollary of his doctrine of creation, which is based on the idea of the real immanence of the divine being in all things. As a consequence, the reception of Holy Communion by the faithful has to be interpreted as a process of quasi-metabolic assimilation and transformation of the human being, not into a perfect but passive mirror, but into an active spiritual eye, capable of responding to the loving gaze of the divine intellect. Thus, the Eucharist is no longer a place where the divine presence is mysteriously hidden but, on the contrary, a place where this presence becomes most evident in order to reveal the whole world as transparent to God.

II. Meister Eckhart In Strasbourg

11. Présentation by Marie-Anne Vannier & Mgr. Jean-Pierre Grallet

12. D'Erfurt à Strasbourg. L'arrivée d'Eckhart à Strasbourg il y a 700 ans by Marie-Anne Vannier

While Eckhart's presence in Erfurt and Paris have been researched more widely over the past decades and in recent years, his stays in Strasbourg during the years 1313/1314 and 1323/1324 are more difficult to trace. In this introductory article a framework will be set out that opens up an avenue for the contributions in this section which are the result of the conference, mentioned in the foregoing presentation.

13. La petite étincelle de l'âme dans la prédication d'Eckhart à Strasbourg (Sermon 26) by Isabelle Raviolo

Meister Eckhart is not the first theologian to use the metaphor «scintilla animae», («little spark of the

soul») (vunkelîn der sêle) which is applied to the «innermost [part] of the soul» (innigsten der sêle) like the «little castle», «nobleman», «highest point», «seed»). However, he is the first one to choose it as central expression to create a link between philosophy and theology, and to develop a mysticism of the ground (grunt der sêle) exploring the inner nature of subjectivity. Indeed, this is a central metaphor for understanding the Dominican's teaching about the human soul.

With Sermon 2,6, Eckhart the exegete and Eckhart the preacher are inseparable in the sense that his preaching takes its departure from biblical verses (Genesis, Gospel of John) to show the essential relationships between trinitarian theology, christology and anthropology. Indeed, with this central metaphor of the little spark, the German Dominican expresses the fused identity of both God and human: he wants to say the birth of the Word and filiation by grace. Indeed, there are important connections between the little spark and geburt /gebern, and the birthing motif that is so widespread in Eckhart's preaching on the birth of the Word in the soul. Eckhart brought the birthing theme to new heights of subtlety and daring — for example, he speaks of the «uncreated light» which comprehends God without a medium, a comprehension that is to be understood as happening when the birth takes place. This «spark of the soul» wants to go into the simple ground, into the quiet desert (achieving indistinct identity of God and human in what Eckhart calls «a single, or simple, One») [ein einic ein]). But this identity is a dynamic identity. It is not a fusion, a state or condition that transforms man into another God. This point is very important because we cannot understand Eckhart's mysticism if we do not connect what he says about this «little spark» with the question of the image of God (Genesis 1:26) and Christ as the image of invisible Father (Colossians 1:15). So, the emphasis in this Strasbourg

14. Strasbourg en 1313 by Francis Rapp

Sometime during the year 1313 Eckhart arrived at Strasbourg, even if he did not explore the city. Already in 1307, he had seen it during a General Chapter of the Dominicans. We do not know what he thought about the city. As a member of the Order of Friars Preachers he could not have remained ignorant about the context of his mission. The following article will give an insight into what Eckhart may have experienced during the year 1313.



15. «Je vois la cathédrale»: l'édifice gothique et l'acte créateur. Remarques en marge du Sermon 110 by Yves Meessen

Meister Eckhart lived in Strasbourg at the time when Master Erwin built the large rosette of the western portal of the cathedral. The structure of the vast Gothic construction gets close to

hierarchical scholastic thought, as shown by Panofsky, yet it does not correspond to the speculative mysticism of Thuringia. Indeed, Eckhart turns away from the spatial juxtaposition intended to turn attention to the source which engenders it. He proposes a new relationship between the sensitive and the intelligible, which is not staged but imbricated. To achieve this, he looks into the creative act through a description of the master-builder; here the metaphor is played out. God is himself involved in the work even more than the craftsman, not hesitating to confront the material by giving its form.

16. Aspects 'caractéristiques' de la prédication alsacienne de Maître Eckhart: Présentation synoptique du cycle de sermons allemands Q 25 à 27 by Maxime Mauriège

This contribution studies some characteristic aspects of the Alsatian preaching of Meister Eckhart, in reply to the desideratum expressed by Freimut Laser, who identified a cycle of three German sermons from the 'Strasbourg decade'. A synoptic presentation of the content of these sermons (Q 25-2.6-27) will show their interconnection with the highlighting of several linguistic and thematic concordances, in order to shed light on the difficult question of a specificity (or not) of Eckhart's Alsatian preaching.

17. Des témoignages de la prédication de Maître Eckhart à Strasbourg ? Gertrud von Ortenberg, les Sermons 25-27, et les Sermons 63 et 64 by Freimut Löser

This contribution deals with some texts and manuscripts that might be regarded as possible testimonies of Eckhart's preaching at Strasbourg which have been questioned since the conference of the Eckhart-Gesellschaft at Strasbourg (Meister-Eckhart-Jahrbuch 2, 2008). First of all there is the 'Life' of Gertrud von Ortenberg, who — together with another woman (Heilke) — visited Strasbourg and even lived there for a while, where both of them were in contact with famous lectors ('Iesemeister') ; since there stay at Strasbourg was during a time, when Eckhart is known to have been there as well, one may ask, whether or not Meister Eckhart may have been among these and traces of his sermons might be identified in the text recollecting Gertrud's life. This question is vital, since there are, indeed, various traces of different sermons to be found in the text. The second part of the contribution shortly introduces some Alsatian manuscripts and a cycle of Eckhart-sermons (nrs DW 25-27) that might be regarded as Alsatian as well. The

last part argues that another sermon (63) is connected with Sermon 26 and therefore might have belonged to the cycle as well. A short analysis of this sermon 'got ist[die] mynne' concludes the article. The contribution originally was given at a Strasbourg-conference in 2013 (and therefore has been translated into French).

18. Nicolas de Cues et Maître Eckhart, sous le feu de la critique de Jean Wenck de Herrenberg by Jean-Claude Lagarrigue

Based on the text of *De ignota litteratura* (An unknown type of literature), written by Jean Wenck of Herrenberg against the *Docta ignorantia*, one asks oneself how well founded the theory is that makes Cusanus a direct disciple of Eckhart, either to blame him or congratulate him. Wenck's criticism, in the style of Gerson, aims especially the universalisers, i.e. the pantheists, who confuse, according to him, the universal's mode of being in God and in the universe. He certainly has in mind Amaury of Bene, and David of Dinant, thinking about the 'errors' of Johannes Scotus Eriugena. Cusanus, however, is interested less in 'the problem of universals' than in the intimate union of Christ and humanity, in which we participate according to the degree of our faith (*analogia fidei*). In him and through him, an admirable exchange takes place that sees death become immortal after the immortal has died. We are, indeed, involved in this 'communication of idioms' in a limited way, to the extent of our finite faith which is never a full one. This explains why the resurrection does not eliminate the possibility of a sentencing to hell, and also why Cusanus cannot under any circumstances be placed on the side of the 'pantheistic' who see hell empty under the pretext of an *apocatastasis*.

19. *Le Libre Esprit*, l'évêque de Strasbourg et Maître Eckhart by Jean Devriendt

The 'Brotherhood of the Free-Spirit' is a well-known expression, commonly used in many scholarly works. However, an analysis of the rare studies dedicated to this Free-Spirit movement seems to leave only an empty shell: was this Free-Spirit movement only a stone in the construction of a mythical Middle Ages? For the analysis of the sources as well, it appears that this question dates precisely from the time of Meister Eckhart, who was one of its first victims. Was the Free-Spirit movement part of Meister Eckhart's public preaching, or one of the great fears, the phantasm of Henry of Virnebourg and Johannes of Durheim — one the bishop of Köln, the other the bishop of Strasbourg: two cities which form the two last stages before Eckhart undergoes (an increasingly suspect) trial. The historical sources do mention many 'Spirituali' — people known as members of the Free-Spirit movement — but could this not simply be a linguistic oddity, which opens the door to a disciplinary presumption? Could Eckhart have been in the wrong place — Strasbourg — at the wrong time: while the Rhineish bishops were anxious about the life of the beguines and had decided to manifest their authority?

Excerpt: In recent years it has been the focus of many within circles who study Meister Eckhart to be attentive to the question of place and time. What this essentially means is that our understanding of Eckhart is enriched enormously by the contextualization of where he was at

what time, and where he had been. What does it mean to speak of Eckhart — the great German preacher — as a teacher in Paris, taking part in routine exercises associated with the role of magister, not least giving *Quaestiones Parisienses*? What of Eckhart, the Parisian 'academic', who heads back to Erfurt, or to Strasbourg, in order to preach and counsel? As recent research has considered these things — including new texts — one can conclude that never before has there been more reason to view the 'German' and the 'Latin' Eckhart as one and the same.

Meister Eckhart in Context and Contemporary Research

So often Meister Eckhart has been treated as something of an ethereal character, with his works taken as a rather 'disembodied body' of literature: sermons, tracts, biblical commentaries and so on, but without much appreciation for their placement within Eckhart's life, or the life of those around him. To be sure, we are still growing in our knowledge of the details of Eckhart's biography, and this contains within it the problematic issue of dating texts — an area where there is much doubt; but we have seen a growth in appreciation for the ways in which his confreres, the political, social and intellectual surroundings in which he found himself, affect the way we understand the issues raised by his texts. This is not just to say Eckhart's reception, but also to speak specifically of Eckhart's influences from his time in Paris, in Erfurt, in Strasbourg. In this light, we focus upon a slightly different set of persons from those who receive Eckhart both immediately (not just with Tauler and Suso, but with William of Ockham and other figures from the *academe*) and through the centuries (Nicolas of Cusa, Martin Luther, but also Schopenhauer and the German Idealists). What adds so much to both our present knowledge of Eckhart and the fertile world in which he worked, is our growing knowledge of those Eckhart interacted with personally.

Thanks to a number of collaborative initiatives from across the world of Eckhart studies, Eckhart is no longer the vague Dominican who loves 'frater Thomas' yet so often disagrees with him. Nor is Eckhart the Dominican writing and teaching — though essentially aloof from — the (much over-simplified) binary opposition of 'Dominicans versus Franciscans'. Instead, our understanding is now much more nuanced about the activities of the many other orders at work in Paris at the time — the Augustinians, the Carmelites, the Victorines, to name but a few, and to say nothing of the different receptions of masters among the various and growing 'schools' of the period: not only the reception of Thomas Aquinas (for example, in Godfrey of Fontaines, Hervaeus Natalis and Durandus de Sancto Porciano) or Bonaventure and the Franciscan tradition (for example, in Alexander de Alexandria, Gonsalvus de Vallebona, and John Duns Scotus) but also the constellation of various figures with whom Eckhart potentially had personal knowledge:

William of Paris, Henry of Freimar (the Elder), Alexander de Sancto Elpidio, James of Ascoli, Gregory of Lucca, Thomas of Erfurt,' as well as some of the other names just mentioned.

As we come to appreciate the questions, debates and issues of the day between these figures we can not only appreciate their significance for Meister Eckhart's choice of concerns, but also to understand his contribution to the debates of the day, what themes were of interest to him (in distinction perhaps to themes that

were not of interest to him) and even consider questions like who he studied under, who he studied alongside, and who he may well have been teaching. We appreciate how the concerns of those to whom he was entrusted for pastoral care shaped and informed his preaching and counseling, so too we can now begin to appreciate the sorts of questions his students were asking, against the backdrop of the debates of the day, and the matters he was discussing in dialogue with other, fellow teachers. We are also therefore able to understand more broadly the environment in which Eckhart was working, and thankfully also this has given rise to finding and editing texts by various other authors of the period. Three of note now include Thomas of Erfurt (the teacher of grammar at the Schottenkloster in Erfurt, who Martin Heidegger had mistaken for Scotus when writing his habilitation), whom Eckhart would have known in Erfurt and possibly even in Paris, James of Ascoli (the Franciscan student of Scotus) and Alexander de Sancto Elpidio (from 1312 the General of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine) who were in Paris at or around the same time as Eckhart in his second magisterium (1311-1313).

Particularly of note at this point we must mention a few significant developments in the field to give the contributions to this volume a greater sense of contextualisation. In the first instance, the very foundation

of this volume is supported by Markus Vinzent's and Oliver Davies' AHRC-funded project at King's College London entitled 'Meister Eckhart and the Parisian University in the Early Fourteenth Century: Codex Vaticanus Latinus 1086' (2013-2016). It was enriched and enhanced by its host, the

Max-Weber-Kolleg of the University of Erfurt and its manuscript library collection, the Amploniana and the collaboration with Loris Sturlese and his team at the University of Lecce, Italy. This project has contributed to the development of our understanding of Paris at the time of Eckhart's second magisterium, to take further the rediscovery of four Quaestiones



Figure 3 Strasbourg

Parisienses in Vat. lat. 1086.

On a related topic to these important questions, Walter Senner OP has significantly advanced our understanding of Eckhart's biography — and we would like to draw the reader's attention to the context of his youth and education on which Pater Senner elaborates — which has caused us all to rethink and even at times change our understanding of key elements of Eckhart's life which we had otherwise taken for granted.

Loris Sturlese, not only in making a significant contribution by translating so much of Eckhart's works into Italian, has put us in mind of the development of Eckhart's thought and the different ways in which we can consider reading his works, but especially by his recent publication of German sermons (MHG-Italian facing translation) which are in order according to the liturgical calendar.

The recent completion of Marie-Anne Vannier's French edition (with the translation of Jean-Claude Lagarrigue and Jean Devriendt) of Eckhart's important Commentary on Wisdoms is one of the many significant and recent contributions of the Équipe de Recherches sur les Mystiques Rhénanes (ERM, Maison des sciences de l'homme Lorraine, USR 3261), including the major work *Encyclopédie des mystiques rhénans d'Eckhart à Nicolas de Cues et leur réception*. It is also worth noting for the

purposes of the second part of this volume, on Eckhart and Strasbourg, the work Eckhart à Strasbourg.

As one of the very productive Eckhart scholars, Dietmar Mieth has recently published his monograph on Meister Eckhart in which he gives a more systematic insight into the master's dynamic theology, summarizing and elaborating on many of his earlier studies.'

Freimut Löser also has published much recently which has drawn our attention to the context in which Eckhart's German works were written, not least for the purposes of ensuring a critical reading which attends to the various difficulties of questions of authorship and issues of manuscript transmission. Not only this, Löser has enriched our understanding of Eckhart as 'Meister Eckhart of Paris' from what we can understand of this from the German Works, considering his life before and after at least the latter two of the three occasions he was in Paris (see his contributions in this volume).

We also still should look forward to more German works of Eckhart to emerge, as Georg Steer continues to prepare them for the German edition. In the same light we also have to wonder what is on the horizon of discovery for Eckhart's Latin Works; whilst it may be the case that there is nothing at this moment waiting to be edited, we have at least indications of works which we are missing — whether the sense of abbreviatio that is implied by the Quaestiones Parisienses in Vat. lat. 1086, or from Eckhart's own pen when he alerts us to further discussion elsewhere, in works we unfortunately do not possess.

As Eckhart research teams around the world continue to follow interesting leads — among the universities and libraries with holdings of late thirteenth and early fourteenth century manuscripts — and check the various manuscripts which have not been consulted for many years, there is every hope that more texts will be found.

Marguerite Porete and the Parisian Chapters

On 1 June 1310, in Paris at the Place de Grève, the beguine Marguerite Porete from Valenciennes (born around 1250) was burnt to death because she was regarded as a renitent heretic. If she regarded herself at this time as a beguine (or, if she did, to what extent) is difficult to decide. What is clear is that she had an enormous impact on the Beguine movement. This movement emerged during the 13th century and became known in various areas of central Europe (Germany, France, Northern Italy, the Netherlands). The Beguines were the female counterpart to the mendicant orders (Franciscans and Dominicans), which were successful in the North, and were also close to Cistercian piety. The Beguines became particularly known for:

a larger presence of more prosperous and better-educated daughters of merchants and members of the middle class; the rejection of marriage together with an (at least

temporary) vow to lead a life of penitence, poverty, celibacy and obedience; the rejection of any ecclesiastically-approved monastic rule. Instead, they opted for self-ruling and the self-direction of individual households.

The town councils protected the households of the Beguines, while Cistercians and mendicants provided for them spiritually. According to a papal decree of 1281 the minor brothers also offered the sacrament of penance; only the obligation of parishioners to confess once a year to the parish priest remained. The Franciscans were sometimes allowed to switch endowments to Beguines or got them looked after by the Beguines, so that they themselves remained truthful to their vows of poverty.

Rightly, the Beguines are a source of mystical marriage and piety and a reference for religious experience (especially the three leading Figures Hadewijch, Mechthild of Magdeburg and Marguerite Porete). Marguerite was the author of an important book, *Le miroir des simples limes* (The Mirror of Simple Souls). It was a widely successful book (soon after made available in medieval French, English, Italian and Latin), a sort of 'medieval bestseller' which nevertheless delivered her into the hands of the inquisition (like Eckhart a few years later, although with different outcomes). First, her book had been publicly burnt in Valenciennes (around 1305). The widespread distribution of her condemned book was given as reason to instigate the process against her in Paris (1308-1310). Yet, one needs to remember that Porete's book had been read and positively reviewed by three theologians, amongst them Eckhart's colleague Godfrey of Fontaines, and that — according to inserts in the text which make it likely — she was working on a detailed explanation of it. After the showcase, based on 21 theological reports, and because she refused to renounce her positions during the two years of her process and her imprisonment, she was sentenced to death as a renitent heretic by the inquisitor William of Paris, the confessor to King Philip IV. As the documentation of her process survived, the development can still be traced relatively clearly.

Some scholars assume that the process against Porete proved the harsh stance of Philip against heretics in general, not only against the Templars. He seems to have been willing to please the pope by his position, since the attempts by the Church to discipline the Beguines, once they were no longer enjoying the support of the institution, were hardly successful. The Council of Vienne in 1311 was a mirror of such moves, for which Marguerite's process in Paris set a sign. It was primarily directed against the 'free spirits', about whom, as so often with heretics, we only know from the documents of their judges.

Kurt Ruh has pointed out that the 'brothers of the free spirit' distanced themselves from Meister Eckhart. And

yet, Eckhart shows some commonalities with Marguerite like his insistence on poverty, the annihilation of the self, or the work without a 'why'. Perhaps, after his second stay as master in Paris (1311-1313) he may have set himself the task (or perhaps had received this task as an order) to embrace positive elements of religious individuality, and to set these into an overarching frame of Christian interpretation, potentially correcting some of their excesses. He did so, using his vernacular preaching which, however, made him the target of those who thought he was instructing the 'unlearned' in an unrestricted manner.

Marguerite's fate became known to famous contemporary figures of Paris: Dante Alighieri who on his flight (he was sentenced to death at Florence in 1302) perhaps stayed in Paris; Raimundus Lullus (Ramon Lull) from Mallorca, the famous representative of the Jewish-Christian-Islamic dialogue. Now, Paris was the center of academic learning and an important powerhouse of Europe, the meeting point and mirror of intellectual and political processes, but also of the inquisition. At these crossroads, however, we find the female figure of the merchant's daughter who is highly educated in literature and theology and who relentlessly defends her personal religious experience and competence, against all external pressures. Her book remained a success, despite the 'damnatio memoriae' of its author. When the pope attended the Council of Basel in 1436 there were still a few copies of it available.

The present volume brings together some of the articles which were presented at a workshop in memory of Marguerite in 2010, as well as some additional papers, including ones resulting from the research of the AHRC project on Meister Eckhart at King's College London (2013-2016):

Peter Walter in *Vado Parisius, ubi sunt homines ualde sapientes* describes Lull's last stay in Paris (1309-1311) and its results. He mentions the various journeys of Lull, especially his advertising of the mission to the Muslims, insisting on the introduction of compulsory Arabic language courses in monasteries, the crusades, and finally, in his last stay at Paris, the recognition of his writings through the faculty of Paris.

Dietmar Mieth in 'Geflügelte Motive und Leitbilder' assesses the commonalities between Meister Eckhart and Marguerite Porete, pointing to a literary dependency (Kurt Ruh). Although such proximity cannot be fully proven, there are a few hints that support the assumption. Eckhart was long enough in Paris to have learned some details about the struggle of and with the Beguines there, which was reported on by Gilbert of Tournai (around 1280). This would explain how he got to know several Beguine sayings early in his life, and became familiar with topics like the reciprocity of a dynamic unity, Marguerite's living 'without a why' (Eckhart speaks of a 'Leben âne warumbe') — a concept known only from her work and that of Eckhart.

Franz-Josef Schweitzer writes about Marguerite Porete and the reception of the Beguine movement a hundred years later with the Brussels' 'homines intelligentiae' in the years before 1410. There are some typical features of the 'Movement of the Free Spirits' which he demonstrates

however, subsists in what is to be characterized as self-description and what as external attribution by the inquisition — and the matter cannot easily be resolved. Some of the typical motives are: the rejection of asceticism — the defense of fleshly and natural needs, sexual activities and the claim of a sinless state of unity, or even that it does not make a difference whether you are in hell and heaven. This kind of perceived environment certainly played a role during the process of Marguerite.

Freimut Löser looks at Eckhart before and after Paris, hence he starts from the young Eckhart (having discovered a homily which shows parallels to the early work of the Talks of Instruction). In addition, he points out the presence of topics that seem to reflect the spirituality of Beguines, as they are described in the famous 'Occultus Effordensis'. This follows Loris Sturlese's insight that many of Eckhart's core ideas had been developed early on in his life. Focusing on Eckhart after Paris, one finds Eckhart still remembering and mentioning his time there while preaching at Cologne and Strasbourg. There is one place in Eckhart's defense, in which he explains that he is not subjugated to anybody except the pope or the University of Paris (LW V 293, n. 126). In his vernacular homilies, too, he mentions Paris, especially the debate between scholars, not without giving his own positions. Both, the presence of Paris and also its impact is noticeable, while we can also see Eckhart distancing himself from a purely learned society.

Andrés Sánchez compares Meister Eckhart and Godfrey of Fontaines with regards to the teaching of the nothingness of creatures. He demonstrates that Godfrey, as an Aristotelian realist, read Marguerite's book certainly with a critical eye, but because of his tolerant position in dogmatic thought of the work as somehow acceptable (with reference to Loris Sturlese's theories about the 'homo divinus'). While Godfrey sees individual potentiality as an approximation, Marguerite and Eckhart regard 'being' as 'being to be'. Marguerite's real being is only attained in the state of otherness — that of the beloved.

Marie-Anne Vannier gives a thorough overview of Eckhart studies in France. The breadth of editions, translations, discussions about biographical, geographical, terminological and encyclopaedic as well as philosophical research is encouraging. The vernacular homilies are still the focus, although in more recent times the Latin works are also considered. Spirituality and the inter-religious dialogue are also both prominent.

Julie Casteigt studies the concept of love (« La doctrine de l'amour de Maître Eckhart »), first through the eyes of Eckhart's theological critiques in the « votum avenionense », art. 26, §§ 101-5. The authors reproached Eckhart for stating the equality of the love of God and that of the neighbor. This they believed to be heretical because one's neighbor should be loved on behalf of God. They could not accept Eckhart's view of a correlative and reciprocal dynamic of the love of God and human beings, while for Eckhart love could not have gradations but needed to be seen to equal the statement 'God is God' (see his Pr. 65 und 67).



In focusing on the relationship between Meister Eckhart and the theologians in Avignon, Casteigt considers the non-hierarchical nature of the love shown to Christ and to one's neighbor in Eckhart's teaching. This Casteigt develops into a discourse on the 'One', and the question of superiority with respect to cause and effect — a matter that would go on to form a focus in the papal bull.

The final three articles in this section reflect the discussions of the other papers and consider Eckhart's place in and relation to Parisian debates, the first two are the result of research in the AHRC project on Meister Eckhart at King's College London (2013-2016).

Markus Vinzent returns the reader to the very foundations of the Latin works of Eckhart, giving English translations of the *Collatio in Libros Sententiarum*, the *Sermo paschalis Parisius habitus* (of 1294), the homily *Vas auri* on the feast of St. Augustine which gives us, as Vinzent shows, an insight into what we might term Eckhart's 'political theology', together giving us in English some of the earliest Latin texts of Eckhart that we possess. Drawing upon these texts, and others, Vinzent puts into context the scope of Eckhart's Latin works, and gives a comparative exposition with the figure of Richard Rufus of Cornwall, showing convergences and divergences of their respective thoughts.

Christopher Wojtulewicz looks at the explanation of the nature of power in God, as described by Eckhart in his sixth Parisian Question. There we find an expression of ideas which tie together thoughts on kenosis, upon which Eckhart elaborates elsewhere in his works. As the

weakness of God is manifest in the incarnation and passion, so the transformation of man and his relation to God takes place, whereby the freedom exercised in kenosis and the ensuing transformation together form a picture of Eckhart's understanding of divine power.

Additionally, the article contains a first complete English translation of Latin Sermon XLVI.

Martina Roesner's article on Eckhart's understanding of the Real Presence in the Eucharist looks at what is speculative in Eckhart's thinking relative to that of others — particularly Thomas Aquinas — on the Eucharist. Roesner shows that Eckhart is keen to emphasize the instantaneousness of miraculous events which, of themselves, could nevertheless take place more slowly. Establishing and working together Eckhart's Eucharistic theology with his metaphysics of the incarnation of Christ into human nature (but not human personhood) would be a natural next step of this seminal work by Roesner on the Eucharist, and would develop our understanding of the relationship Eckhart sees between the person of Christ and the nature of reality — a relationship which would shed greater light for understanding Eckhart as a figure relative to others of the period.

Meister Eckhart and the Strasbourg Chapters

In the context of Eckhart's time in Strasbourg, Marie-Anne Vannier also emphasizes for us the fact that, in comparison to questions about Eckhart's Parisian and Erfordian activities, his time in Strasbourg has received comparatively less study. This is not without reason, however, for it proves to be a difficult task. In the opening contribution to this section of the volume, Vannier sets forth the agenda for questions concerning Eckhart's time in Strasbourg.

Isabelle Raviolo questions the relationship between Eckhart as preacher and Eckhart as exegete in his Strasbourg Sermon 26 with respect to the 'spark of the soul'. In analysing this description that Eckhart gives, Raviolo explores the ways in which Eckhart's anthropological thinking is important in ascertaining the meaning of the relationship between God and the individual. What this forged 'dynamic identity' is, takes on heightened intensity, it would seem, in Eckhart's time in Strasbourg.

Francis Rapp develops the theme of contextualisation maximally by considering Eckhart's relationship to the city of Strasbourg. Resulting from his membership in the Dominican Order, and an undoubted interest in the locality of his mission — wherever that would be — Rapp considers what can be concluded from Eckhart's interest in Strasbourg.

Drawing upon the relationship discussed in Eckhart between the architect and building, between matter and form, Yves Meessen considers the implications of the

building of Strasbourg Cathedral and the complicated relation between scholastic thought and Thuringian mysticism'. Meessen asks where Eckhart fits into this picture of the completion of the cathedral and the architectural vision and uniqueness that lay behind its conception.

Maxime Mauriège focuses on three sermons from Eckhart's time in Strasbourg, principally to investigate whether one can conclude whether there is anything that thematically unites them, allowing us to speak of their 'Strasbourgian' or 'Alsatian' nature. Mauriège's analysis closely follows the linguistic and thematic strands in the sermons to draw out his conclusions.

As with the 'Alsatian' emphasis of Mauriège, Freimut Löser looks to extend our knowledge of which German sermons belong to Eckhart's time in Strasbourg from analyzing the texts and manuscript witnesses. Löser also gives the details of the biographical text which witnesses to the life of Gertrud von Ortenberg, who spent time living in Strasbourg, and there met famous teachers. Löser asks whether this would likely include Meister Eckhart among them.

Jean-Claude Lagarrigue considers the relationship between Cusanus and John Wenck, and particularly with respect to questions surrounding pantheism, asks whether the criticisms of Wenck give us reason to reconsider the degree to which we understand Cusanus to be a close follower of Eckhart.

In assessing the studies dedicated to the 'Movement of the Free Spirit' Jean Devriendt questions the actions and intentions of the bishops of Cologne and Strasbourg to pose the possibility that in fact the movement was an invention. Devriendt takes Eckhart's preaching as an example, looking for evidence for the movement in its content.

We are glad that after some years of continuous work on the locating and placing of Eckhart, we can hand this volume over to the reader, thanking Peeters Publishers for their support and encouragement to publish studies on Eckhart.

The series Eckhart: Texts and Studies is the first of its kind to provide English translations, commentaries and studies (monographs and collected essays) of the Dominican Meister Eckhart (ca. 1260-1328). With the critical edition of his German and Latin works coming to completion, the scholarly focus of the coming years will shift towards translation, interpretation, critical reading and dissemination of his philosophical theology. In many ways

a child of his time, Eckhart also transcends it and is the most widely read scholastic scholar today, acknowledged also outside the field of Medieval Studies, even outside Philosophy, Theology and the Western tradition with several societies and prizes named after him.

Eckhart: Texts and Studies is a peer-reviewed series.

Detachment is widely recognized as one of the key concerns of Eckhart in his anthropology. This monograph of the editor of the series introduces this concept from Eckhart's teaching on divine essence, the principle and the transcendentals, to then re-interpret his anthropology by contrasting it with Augustine's Neo-Platonic model of progressing spiritual stages. A close reading of his famous vernacular homilies 2 and 86 and On detachment will exemplify how his new philosophical theology translates Luke 10:38-42.

This rather short text by Eckhart has been available in a critical edition for decades, but has been rarely read and studied, regarded by its editors as a mediocre piece of the young Eckhart. It is, indeed, a strangely looking work, almost entirely a cut-and-paste piece from Thomas Aquinas' Golden Chain. A close study of Eckhart's commentary, however, gives insights into his reception of the Patristic tradition, his dealing with Thomas' choice and provides a masterpiece of Eckhart's teaching on prayer. He himself held his work in high regard and used it when writing trinitarian homilies.

This book attempts a comparative study between Zhu Xi (1130-1200), a Neo-Confucian master of the Song dynasty in China, and Meister Eckhart (1260-1328), a scholastic and mystic in the medieval West. With a focus on the theme of human intellect as presented in the works of the two thinkers, this study also explores the massive hermeneutical framework in which that concept is unfolded in Zhu Xi and in Eckhart. Thus, the complexity of each thinker's understanding of the human intellect is demonstrated in its own context, and the common themes between them are discussed in their own terms. Based on a systematic study of the original texts, the comparison between Zhu Xi and Meister Eckhart goes much deeper than a general dialogue between East and West. The comparative model of this book, based strictly on textual study, aims to develop an in-depth communication between a scholastic Confucian mind and his equally sophisticated counterpart in Christendom, in the hope that the intellectual brilliance and spiritual splendor of one

thinker will be illuminated by the light of the other. Probably only when one encounters a like-minded counterpart brought up in a totally different tradition will such a mutual illumination become meaningful.

This volume considers important aspects of Eckhart's life and teaching from the point of view of his multiple stays in Paris, as well as his time in Strasbourg. The Paris section is a collection of papers given at the meeting on 28-30 May 2010, in Paris, and the Strasbourg section is a collection of papers given at a conference on 19-20 September 2013, in Strasbourg, to mark the 700th anniversary of the arrival of Meister Eckhart in Strasbourg. The two events that these papers witness to are only a small selection from what has become a major issue of debate in recent years with respect to understanding and placing Eckhart in the context of his day.

What is this 'principle' (principium) in which God is said to have created heaven and earth? This is the first question Eckhart poses at the very beginning of his Commentary on Genesis. During the course of this book a space is opened up in order to speak about the relationship between God and creation in a 'principal' way. Tracing the concept as it is used throughout his Latin (and, on occasion, German) works, the panoply and resonance of its use establish the necessary place of principium within the vocabulary of Eckhart's metaphysics of creation and generation. Ranging from the nature of being to the question of what constitutes human personhood, the 'principle' serves to identify Eckhart's teaching on the mutual compenetration between God and man.

What is time, what is space and how do they relate to each other? Even to pose these questions is to presume their existence, says Meister Eckhart in his Commentary on Exodus, from where he then develops his own view on the subject. Although far from having become mainstream, his redefinition of time as presentiality and space as non-categorical creativity had an enormous influence throughout history, particularly in the arts. In this thematic volume, the contributors explore the concepts of time and space in Eckhart's thought, situating these historically, philosophically, theologically, and culturally, whilst also focusing on their interpretation in art works, particularly by the American-Korean

performance and video artist Taery Kim (b. 1988) who refers explicitly to Eckhart. Kim advances the questions 'what is time?' and 'what is space?' as embodied questions in her performances and video installations, thus exploring Eckhart and inquiring into the ways we can think about our relationships, as embodied subjects, to the vagrancies and bindings of time and space now. Drawing together artists, art historians, theologians, and philosophers, as well as building on existing scholarship, this volume provides the first lengthy discussion of spatio-temporality in Eckhart's writings, highlighting Eckhart's relationship to performance art, and the works of Kim.

This volume argues that the on-going fascination for the middle-age mystic, philosopher and theologian Meister Eckhart (1260-1328) has to do with his understanding of reality as a complex relationship of plurality and unity: as such it defies one-dimensional views and guides to approach it from plural ways. The contributions from different scholarly perspectives (philosophy, theology, history, philology) take this complexity into account and, ipso facto, demonstrate a paradigmatic shift in recent Eckhart research: away from closed terminologies (and attempts to place Eckhart's thought therein) towards more process-oriented dynamic understandings of his work and the object of his work. <>

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